

Sixth International Conference on the Ancient Novel

The Ancient Novel: Roads Less Travelled

Thagaste Monastery, Ghent, Belgium, 21-24 September 2022

List of abstracts (alphabetical by author)

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The women of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* occupy different social positions and play different narrative roles, but one characteristic links them: their speech. This paper argues that a key feature of women's speech in the novel is its duplicity, meaning that it is 1) deceptive and 2) carries different meanings for different audiences. Although many highlight the linguistic and hermeneutic richness of women's speech in Greek and Latin literature (Adams 1984; 2005; Fögen 2004; Kruschwitz 2012), discussions of the characterization of the *Metamorphoses*' women rarely examine their speech (Cooper 1980; Shelton 2005; Gardner 2015; Harrison ed. 2015). Notably, the *Metamorphoses* differentiates women's discourse neither through vocabulary nor register, but duplicity: duplicitous speech and actions constitute assertions of empowerment and are depicted positively or negatively depending on how they affect male characters. As Dutsch (2008), Haynes (2003), and Zeitlin (1985) observe, women in ancient literature often serve to define elite masculinity, but the *Metamorphoses* also opens a window onto how women might exert power in a patriarchal society.

To demonstrate the pervasiveness of these ideas, this paper focuses on side characters. Comparing the adulterous wife in the Tale of the Tub (9.5-7) with Charite in Book 7 reveals the role of the narrator's knowledge in characterizing women and their discourse. The wife uses duplicitous speech to fulfil her sexual desires; Lucius, recognizing both meanings of her words, offers surprisingly little moral judgment. Although Charite speaks deceptively to help her fiancé, when Lucius does not perceive the hidden meaning of her words, he judges her as faithless; when he does, he praises her. The baker's wife (9.14-31) demonstrates how the "bad" women of the novel – witches, adulteresses, and murderesses – use deceptive words and actions such as magic as tools of empowerment, to overturn the "natural" order in which women are subservient to men. "Good women" such as Charite (8.9-14) and Plotina (7.6-7) employ similar duplicities, but to avenge or save their husbands. Their actions are lauded as "masculine": *animam uirilem* (8.14), *ingenio masculo* (7.6). I end with Psyche, who challenges the good/bad binary by moving from harmful to helpful in her interactions with Cupid. The speech of Apuleius' women is part of a nexus of ancient associations between gender, morality, and power that encompasses not only language but also social status, sexuality, and the assumption of the superiority of masculinity and masculine knowledge; it is also a critical element of characterization in the *Metamorphoses*.

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Kruschwitz, Peter. "Language, Sex, and (Lack of) Power: Reassessing the Linguistic Discourse about Female Speech in Latin Sources." *Athenaeum* 100 (2012): 197-229.

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Alvares, Jean (Montclair State University): Archetype, ideal, and possible beginnings and endings in Petronius' *Satyricon*

Literature's ironic/sardonic elements gain force from evocations of ideal elements (Jameson). Encolpius' youth and wanderings, aligned with the Quest paradigm, allow for a positive *telos*, as does his virtual underworld journey, which often begin with sea voyages (Frye), here from Massalia. The *Satyricon's* underworldly dimensions are clear (Bodel). Odysseus and Socrates are central classical paradigms for learning, and Apuleius' Lucius (explicitly) and Encolpius (more implicitly) fall short of these models (e.g. the Circe episode). Encolpius' considerable knowledge of Latin literature and law indicates Romanness, but his wonder at things Italian suggests origins outside the Roman heartland (Jensson). Encolpius also exhibits the hybridity central to ancient novels (Whitmarsh). The *scholasticus* Encolpius could have gotten a respectable position, but did not. I posit the hybridized Encolpius was born to an exiled Roman family, went Greek in ways associated with elite education and Massalian erotic decadence, committed offences leading to exile. Encolpius as scapegoat can be tied to his later role as *gladiator obscene* (10.1). Like other characters in ideal novels, Encolpius presents himself as divinely singled out for humiliation, and thus, to prolong his sufferings, he escapes in freakish ways. Like Odysseus, Encolpius gives and receives pain, being vulnerable to new experiences, and thus to learning the world's nature, in preparation for mature status. The ideal archetype suggests that Encolpius, as Priapus' witness, might settle down with Giton (perhaps North Africa?) as Cleitophon will be Aphrodite's priest, and Lucius Isis' priest.

Among other ideal elements, Encolpius is young, handsome, displays some genuine love for Giton, even demonstrates moral sentiments (eg. his reaction to Lichas's corpse 115). Encolpius shows regret over his life as a criminal always awaiting punishment (125). Giton likewise has real feelings for Encolpius (114). Informed by novelistic tropes, the *Satyricon* furnishes a culturally engaged narrative of a hero and his lover who, motivated by some ideal feelings and their mythomaniacal imaginations (Conte), maintain relations through trials arising from an imperfect exterior world and from natures largely motivated by forms of desire and expediency.

Assertions that the *Satyricon* mainly concerns literature's decline are too narrowly bibliophilic (Conte), ignore a substantial (if surreal, symbolic, ironized) political unconscious (e.g. the haunted, hypocritical Trimalchio and his subject freedmen). A potential ideal appears in the energies and creativeness of various forms of construction, commerce, war, dining, literature, *et. al.* Mythic models likewise suggest possible greatness. These elements are mostly wasted as scenes descend from the sublime into *bathos* (Conte). Because humanistic productions form society's imaginative/ideological superstructure, their corruption brings delusion and ruin. Petronius is a pathologist, not a moralist, in whose magic realism and twisted adaptations of classic tropes we recognize tendencies to excess and *luxuria* (Arrowsmith) that compromised Roman origins and hasten its decay. More ideal lovers need more ideal worlds (Alvares). A dramatic question: is there any better world for Encolpius and Giton to find if their virtual underworld journey ever ends?

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Besides the originality of its content (orientalism, close connection with folktale tradition, exaggerated presentation of the fantastic and the supernatural) or its complex structure, Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka* –a fragmentary novel written at the end of the second century AD and preserved primarily in a summary by the Byzantine patriarch, Photius (*Bibl.* 94), and in a number of verbatim fragments– has an important rhetorical dimension. In fact, a marginal note to folio 72 r of Photius' *Bibliotheca* (Codex A, Marcianus gr. 450) tells us that Iamblichus was a Syrian by birth who had learnt Greek in order to become a good rhetor. The Iamblichus' rhetorical formation –profoundly influenced, like other novelists, by the Second Sophistic– left its mark on his work, in which, as many scholars have already noted, the accumulation of themes and motifs common to the literature of the time or the presence of intertextual references to authors of different genres and ekphrasis filled with literary echoes play a significant role.

However, there are still gaps to be filled. One of them is the style, regarded by Photius as 'fluent and gentle; and if there is an occasional jolt, it creates not so much a tension but ... an undercurrent of languid excitement' (Stephens-Winkler, 1995: 188). Despite difficulties derived from the fragmentary condition of the text, we can observe in some *excerpta* or literal extracts – particularly frs. 1, 35 and 61 Habrich– a trend to the use of Gorgianic figures, as well as other techniques inherited from classical rhetoric. Our aim is to examine carefully how Iamblichus makes use of different figures (*homoiooteleuton*, parallelism, antithesis, paradox, etc.) in these passages, but also in other verbatim fragments. In conclusion, we pretend to delve into Iamblichus' rhetorical and literary skills from a stylistic perspective, thus shedding some light on one of the aspects of his work, alongside linguistic features, which has received the least attention from the critics.

Amsler, Monika (Universität Zurich): Talmudic seafarer stories: entertaining hyperbole or intellectual pursuit?*

The Babylonian Talmud contains a series of short stories arranged to form a seafarer novel (Baba Batra 73b-74b). The Aramaic stories attribute the observation of nature wonders such as huge and strange sea creatures to several rabbinic sages, most prominently Rabbi bar bar Hana. For example, he and his crew rest on top of a sea creature, mistaking it for an island; they see a beached fish big enough to destroy sixty towns; and they sail between the fins of a huge fish for three nights and days – even though the fish is swimming in the opposite direction. The same and similar creatures are also described in earlier Greek or Latin paradoxographies. The appropriation of these natural marvels by Babylonian Jewish authors – Rabbi bar bar Hana tells the stories in the first person singular – which are located at the geographical margins of the known world, is significant and not a singular case in late antiquity. Earlier scholarship considered these stories tall tales and entertaining hyperbole. In view of recent work on ancient world making and the importance of paradoxographies, the stories rather seem to reflect a systematic inquiry into the natural world. By way of appropriation, knowledge about monstrous sea creatures is moved from the periphery of the known world into the audience's immediate presence. Thus, the marvels invite some form of response, perhaps even preventive measures to shield the community against potential danger: natural curiosities become a driving force of innovation.

The Greek *Vita Aesopi* opens with a comic inversion of what readers expect from an ancient novel protagonist. In the place of beautiful, noble, and rhetorically gifted youths, Aesop's romance introduces a hideous and potbellied adult slave, whose defining attribute is his lack of speech (Jouanno 2006). But between c. 6-13, Aesop transforms from a mute character into a clever speaker, destined for the school of the Samian philosopher Xanthus. This paper proposes that the first segment of the *Vita Aesopi*, in which Aesop acquires the gift of speech, represents a subversive spoof of the *enkuklios paideia*. Imperial readers who had copied and paraphrased Aesop's fables in school would be primed to recognize the satirical nature of Aesop's "first letters."

The first part of this paper analyzes the characterization of Aesop at the beginning of the novel, describing how his garbled sounds (βραδύγλωσσος καὶ βομβόφωνος, 1.6) and use of physical gestures signify his status as a pre-literate *infans*. It then turns to c. 6-7, in which Isis and the Muses bestow speech upon Aesop while he naps in a shaded grove. Explicating the scene's allusions to *Phaedrus* 258e-259e (Mignona 1992, Hunter 2007), I propose that Aesop's soporific speech acquisition subtly rejects Socrates' instruction that Phaedrus not "doze off or be charmed" (νυστάζοντας καὶ κηλουμένους, 259a) in the midst of their dialogue. Plato persisted as an educational authority in Imperial Greece, but Aesop's learning process is thoroughly un-Socratic.

The latter half of this paper then investigates the quality and evolution of Aesop's first letters in c. 8- 13. At first, Aesop acknowledges that his speech is unfiltered "babbling" (λαλῶ ἀκωλύτως, 8.3), a verb that connotes the ignorant chatter of children and animals. Ancient readers would also equate Aesop's early efforts to list nominative nouns with lexical listing exercises that beginning pupils used to improve their letters (Gaebel 1969-70, Golden 1995). But as his speech garners attention from the overseer, Aesop harnesses his newfound words to make arguments and pronouncements "beyond human nature" (ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, 10.22-24). Rhetorical handbooks of the Roman Empire make it clear that Aesop's fables were the genre most closely aligned with *phūsis*. The "unnatural" speech acts of Aesop in the *Vita* therefore turn the scholastic status of Aesop on its head for the comic entertainment of the novel's educated audience (Jedrkiewicz 2015).

Gaebel, R. "Greek Word-Lists to Vergil and Cicero," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (1969-70): 284-325.

Golden, M. "Baby Talk and Child Language in Ancient Greece," in F. de Martino and A. Sommerstein, eds., *Lo spettacolo delle voci*, 1-34. Bari: Levante, 1995.

Hunter, R. "Isis and the Language of Aesop," in M. Paschalis, ed., *Pastoral Palimpsests: Essays in the Reception of Theocritus and Virgil*, 39-58. Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2007.

Jedrkiewicz, S. "Targeting the 'Intellectuals': Dio of Prusa and the *Vita Aesopi*," in M. P. Futre Pinheiro and S. Montiglio, eds., *Philosophy and the Ancient Novel*, 65-80. Groningen: Barkuis, 2015.

Jouanno, C. *Vie D'Ésope: Livre du philosophe Xanthos et de son escale Ésope*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006.

Mignona, E. "Aesopus Bucolicus: Come si 'mette in scena' un miracolo (*Vita Aesopi* c. 6)," in N. Holzberg, ed., *Der Äsop-Roman: Motivgeschichte und Erzählstruktur*, 76-84. Tübingen, 1992.

The nature of family is a central theme of the Latin recensions of *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. While some aspects of family in *HA* have been examined previously by scholars, such as the recurring theme of incest (e.g. Archibald 2001) and mothers and daughters (Panayotakis 2002), there has yet to be a more comprehensive exploration of family in this novel. This paper explores familial relationships in *HA* with particular focus on aberrant configurations of family, from the rupture of traditional relationships to the acceptance of unconventional new ones, leading to a reconsideration of what constitutes family in its Late Antique moment.

The centrality of family to *HA* is established in its opening passages as Antiochus's desire for his daughter violently and irrevocably alters their relationship. The words *pietas*, evoking "Roman family values" (Evans-Grubbs), and *impietas* recur throughout these scenes as the father first resists his feelings and then acts on them (1: *excidit illi pietas*). These scenes show incest as an exact inversion of fatherly duty: the word *impietas* comes to replace *pater* in the riddling language with which Antiochus' daughter speaks to her nurse (2: *Impietas fecit scelus*). The father's violent desire of his daughter forcibly reconfigures their familial bond (1: *oblitus est se esse patrem et induit coniugem*; see also 3 and 9) and the daughter herself ceases to consider him her father (2: *periit in me nomen patris*). This rupture and reconfiguration of traditional, appropriate family roles becomes programmatic in the riddle that Antiochus presents Apollonius, where Antiochus is framed as his own brother, father, and son (Panayotakis 2011).

The novel's interrogation of family is apparent throughout. For instance, Tarsia, although having two living, biological parents, is nevertheless raised by foster parents and given the name of their *patria*, only learning later that those she thinks of as *parentes* are merely *hospites* (29). In another reversal, Tarsia is piously honoring her faithful *nutrix* as a *parens* when her foster mother sends a slave to murder her, definitively rupturing her false family (31-32). Likewise, Tarsia's biological mother, with a living father, husband, and child, is adopted by a stranger, becoming a pseudo-mother to the group of priestesses she leads (27). Finally, the novel is curiously silent on the topic of the title character's parents. This paper offers a broad reading of the novel's problematization of the traditional contours of family.

Patrick Leigh Fermor (1915-2011), one of the finest English writers of the postwar period, turned to the ancient novels when portraying and reflecting on some decisive moments in his life. His lifelong engagement with Petronius, Apuleius, and Longus has not yet been recognized, but it is an important dimension of his writing, as I contend in this paper. Leigh Fermor's reputation has only grown in the decade since his death, thanks to Artemis Cooper's wonderful biography (2012), the posthumous publication of more of his books and letters (Leigh Fermor 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018), and a stream of adulatory accounts in the media about his exploits on Crete during World War II (for example, Thubron 2021). What has largely been missing from the burgeoning critical discussion is an assessment of Leigh Fermor's literary artistry that goes beyond analysis of his inimitable style (as in Eisner 1991 and Mendelsohn 2014) and, instead, considers how literature—the Ancient Novels included—nourished his imagination and changed his life.

In this paper I first show how Leigh Fermor reanimates Petronius' and Apuleius' worlds in his travelogues. When Paddy, as he was affectionately known, set off on his legendary walk across Europe in 1933, he carried a copy of the Loeb *Horace*, inscribed by his mother with words of wisdom from Petronius: "Leave thy home, O youth, and seek out alien shores" (Fermor 1977, 20). Years later, he made Petronius, fragment 31, the epigraph to his crowning literary achievement, his memoir of his journey from Holland to Constantinople comprised of *A Time for Gifts* (1977), *Between the Woods and the Water* (1986), and *The Broken Road* (2013), and thus gives his adventures a Petronian coloring. Paddy playfully affiliates himself with Apuleius' Psyche to explore the reality of myths in *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (1958), during his gorgeous description of his submarine *katabasis* in an underwater cave near Cape Matapan (Fermor 1958, 150-4).

I then discuss Leigh Fermor's only novel, *The Violins of Saint-Jacques* (1953), a melodrama about a lone survivor from a fictional Caribbean Island destroyed in a volcanic eruption who leads a stifling existence on Lesbos after the cataclysm. This brief novel conveys the sensations of sudden, irrevocable separation from all that you know and love—a dominant feature in Paddy's life, following separation from his Romanian girlfriend, Balasha Cantacuzène, and her family at the outbreak of World War II, as he notes in *Between the Woods and the Water*.¹ I show how Leigh Fermor alludes to Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* to critique the common post-apocalyptic fantasy that survivors will recover a simpler, pastoral life (Payne 2020, 23)—something he knew to be false from his experience. I conclude by positioning Leigh Fermor's strikingly personal engagement with Petronius, Apuleius, and Longus in a broader literary context. The powerful and enduring influence of the ancient novels on 20th century novelists, filmmakers, and artists has been widely documented (e.g., Sandy and Harrison 2008; Fusillo 2008; Harrison 2009). Including Paddy in this story reveals how profoundly World War shaped the reception of the ancient novels.

Bowie, E. 2019. *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cooper, A. 2012. *Patrick Leigh Fermor: An Adventure*. New York: New York Review of Books.

Eisner, R. 1991. *Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Fusillo, M. 2008. "Modernity and Post-modernity," in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 321-339.

Hannigan, T. 2021. *The Travel Writing Tribe: Journeys in Search of A Genre*. London: Hurst & Company.

Harrison, S.J. 2009. "Petronius' Satyrice and the Novel in English," in J. Prag and I. Repath (eds.), *Petronius: A Handbook*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. 181-197.

¹ Leigh Fermor 1986, 110: "When the war broke out, all these friends vanished into sudden darkness. Afterwards the uprooting and destruction were on so tremendous a scale that it was sometimes years after the end of it all that the cloud became less dense and I could pick up a clue here and there and piece together what had happened in the interim. Nearly all of them had been dragged into the conflict in the teeth of their true feelings and disaster overtook them all." Cf. Cooper (2012) 268.

- Judt, T. 2005. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Kenney, E.J. (ed.). 1990. *Apuleius: Cupid and Psyche*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leigh Fermor, P. 1950. *The Traveller's Tree: A Journey Through the Caribbean Islands*. London: John Murray. [Reprinted: NYRB 2011]
- . 1953. *The Violins of Saint-Jacques: A Tale of the Antilles*. London: John Murray. [Reprinted: NYRB 2017].
- . 1958. *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese*. London: John Murray. [Reprinted: NYRB 2006].
- . 1977. *A Time of Gifts*. London: John Murray. [Reprinted: NYRB 2005].
- . 1986. *Between the Woods and the Water*. London: John Murray. [Reprinted: NYRB 2005]
- . 2013. *The Broken Road*. New York: NYRB.
- . 2015. *Abducting a General: The Kreipe Operation in Crete*. New York: NYRB.
- . 2017. *Patrick Leigh Fermor: A Life in Letters*, selected and edited by A. Sisman. New York: NYRB.
- . 2018. *More Dashing: Further Letters of Patrick Leigh Fermor*, selected and edited by A. Sisman. London: Bloomsbury.
- May, R. and S.J. Harrison, eds. 2020. *Cupid and Psyche: The Reception of Apuleius' Love Story since 1600*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Menand, L. 2021. *The Free World: Art and Thought in the Cold War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Mendelsohn, D. 2014. "The Inspired Voyage of Patrick Leigh Fermor," *New York Review of Books* 61.11 (06/19/2014): 63-65.
- Morgan, P. 2003. *Fire Mountain: How One Man Survived the World's Worst Volcanic Disaster*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Pattoni, M.P. 2014. "Longus' Daphnis and Chloe: Literary Transmission and Reception," in E.P. Cueva and S.N. Byrne (eds.), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. 584-597.
- Payne, M. 2020. *Flowers of Time: On Postapocalyptic Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Romm, J. 2008. "Travel," in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 109-126.
- Sandy, G. and S. Harrison. 2008. "Novels Ancient and Modern," in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 299-320.
- Schmeling, G.L. and A. Setaioli. 2011. *A Commentary on the Satyricon of Petronius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thubron, C. 2021. "Escape from Fortress Crete," *New York Review of Books* 68.4 (03/11/2021): 29-31.
- Zimmerman, M. et al (eds.). 2004. *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses, Books IV 28-35, V, VI 1-24, The Tale of Cupid and Psyche*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

While it is well known that the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles have similarities to ancient novels, it is less well understood how these imaginative early Christian stories make use of strange and unusual phenomena from around the world to characterize their heroes, provide intriguing predicaments, and add flair to their narratives. This paper analyzes the use of paradoxographical material in the third Act of Philip (the version from *Codex Xenophōntos* 32) where the apostle Thomas is said to have encountered τοὺς σαρκοφάγους παλαμναίους (“the murderous flesh-eaters”), Matthew is said to have faced τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας καὶ ἀνηλεεῖς (“the unmerciful cave-dwellers”), and Philip encounters a speaking eagle and teaches his adherents using putative facts about this bird. The origins of such materials in ancient natural history and paradoxography is discussed, and the effects to which they are used in this particular story analyzed.

The title of this paper purposely picks up on the title of an article by Ronald McCail appeared in 1988 in the journal *Byzantion* ("Did Constantine of Sicily Read *Daphnis and Chloe*?"). McCail seeks to demonstrate the afterlife of Longus' novel in the anacreontic Love Ode by Constantine of Sicily. As he observes, the phenomenon is consistent with the milieu of Byzantine intellectuals from the 9th century in which Constantine was educated, led by Leo the Philosopher (circa 790 – post 869).

Leo the Philosopher, also called "the Mathematician", is a key figure of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. Among his various interests, Leo composed several poems and most likely compiled a collection of epigrams. A series of centos – i.e. verses or part of verses from well-known authors rearranged in a new composition– have also been attributed to Leo (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.361, 381– 382 and *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* 7). It is true that only AP 9.361 is explicitly attributed to Leo in medieval manuscripts, but the authorship of all these centos is still a matter of debate.

As a contribution to the discussion of Leo's authorship, this paper will investigate AP 9.381, a cento that retells the story of Hero and Leander in 12 Homeric hexameters. Unlike other Greek centos, which adapt verses from pagan works to convey the Christian message, the ones attributed to Leo are not religious, but their contents are often erotic and even obscene. This feature agrees with a distinctive inclination of Leo and the poets from his circle to engage with the erotic muse. Moreover, even if Homer constitutes the evident hypotext of AP 9.381, this cento is rich in allusions to the rendering of the legend of Hero and Leander by Musaeus (5th-6th centuries). This paper will thus contribute to the study of the reception of ancient Greek novels in Byzantium at large. Leo and his disciples were certainly familiar with the genre. For example, Leo is probably the author of a book epigram on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (AP 9.203, which appears in Laur. Conv. Soppr. 627 and Vat. gr. 114, two 13th-century manuscripts of Achilles Tatius), although the poem is also attributed to Photios, a famous reader of novels (see e.g. *Bibliotheca codd.* 73, 87, 94, 166). Additionally, the generic affinities of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* with the ancient Greek novels – visible already from the title– support an approach to the cento AP 9.381 as part of the history of their medieval reception.

Bianchi, Nunzio (Aldo Moro): Longo vulgarizzato. Scribes, scholars, and readers of *Daphnis & Chloe* in the sixteenth century: an unpublished Italian translation

This contribution firstly aims to retrace the history of the text and reception of Longus' novel in the sixteenth century –from Fulvio Orsini to Henri Estienne, from Lorenzo Gambara to Annibal Caro, from Luigi Alemanni to the Florentine *editio princeps* by Raffaele Colombani (1598)– with an overview of the scribes, scholars, readers, and translators of the *Daphnis and Chloe* story in that century. The main focus will be on an anonymous and still unpublished translation of Longus' novel made probably in Rome at the end of Sixteenth century. This Italian translation, entirely preserved in a Vatican manuscript, and having many points of resemblance to Annibal Caro's version, is perhaps to be related to the preparatory works for the *editio princeps* (Florence, Giunti), and to its authors and patrons, and can be surely placed at the end of the sixteenth-century history of Longus' novel.

G. Berger, "Longo vulgarizzato: Annibale Caro und Gasparo Gozzi als Übersetzer eines problematischen Klassikers", in H. Hofman (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel, I*, Groningen 1988, 141-151.

M.F. Ferrini, "Il romanzo di Longo e la traduzione di Jacques Amyot: il problema del testo seguito", *Giornale Italiano di filologia* 47, 1995, 77-100.

E. Garavelli (ed.), *Annibal Caro. Amori pastorali*, Manziana (Roma), 2002.

N. Bianchi, "Fulvio Orsini e i romanzi greci. Una lista di scrittori di amatoria nel Vat. gr. 1350", *Quaderni di storia* 73 (2011), 87-103.

N. Bianchi, "L'editio princeps di Longo nelle lettere di Marco Antonio Dovizi a Baccio Valori", in *Romanzi greci ritrovati. Tradizione e riscoperta dalla tarda antichità al Cinquecento*, Bari, 2011, 99-126.

C. Bost-Pouderon – B. Pouderon (eds.), *La réception de l'ancien roman: de la fin du Moyen Âge au début de l'époque classique. Actes du colloque de Tours, 20-22 octobre 2011*, Lyon 2015.

The Oxford Classical Dictionary, when defining reciprocity, states: 'The idea that giving goods or rendering services imposed upon the recipient a moral obligation to respond pervaded Greek thought from its earliest documented history.'² Seaford states that reciprocity is 'the principle and practice of voluntary requital, of benefit for benefit (positive reciprocity) or harm for harm (negative reciprocity)'.³ The theme of reciprocity is strong in Longus' novel, with characters often involved in gift-exchanges or erotic bargaining. At its most basic level, reciprocity is enacted by Daphnis and Chloe in the rearing of goats and sheep as a return for being nursed by such creatures as babies. Following the tradition in pastoral poetry, Dorcon gives gifts in hope of reciprocated love from Chloe, and later offers gifts hoping to be rewarded by marriage to Chloe. Daphnis offers Lycaenion gifts in exchange for her erotic tutelage. Reciprocity is often practised in relation to the erotic antagonists in this novel, demonstrating the ironical and ethically questionable nature of such erotic bargaining, something which can be compared with the treatment of reciprocity in earlier literature, for example in Theocritus' *Idylls*. Reciprocity is also present in Philetas' story, with Philetas offering gifts of fruit to the boy in his garden for a kiss before the boy's identity is revealed as Eros. Philetas gives his pipes to Daphnis after the youth's performance of 'Pan and Syrinx' (and after kissing him, so erotic - and pastoral - reciprocity is present in that scene too, recalling Philetas' desire for a kiss from Eros). The Prologue states that the four books of the novel were produced when the narrator was seized by a desire to respond to the painting in the Nymphs' cave (... με ... πόθος ἔσχεν ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ), so reciprocity is proven to be at the very root of this work, something which is unique in this genre. The ethical, humorous, intertextual and metanarrative implications of reciprocity (particularly in relation to eros) in Longus' novel will be central to this paper, with the aim of reaching an understanding of how this crucial aspect of *Daphnis and Chloe* seems to be both promoted and, to some extent, questioned by the author due to its association with the novel's antagonists.

Herman, G. (2016), 'Reciprocity, Greek' in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford University Press.

Seaford, R. (1998), 'Introduction', in C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, R. Seaford, *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-11.

Van Berkel, T.A. (2020), *The Economics of Friendship: Conceptions of Reciprocity in Classical Greece*, Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Van Wees, H. (1998), 'The Law of Gratitude: Reciprocity in Anthropological Theory' in C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, R. Seaford, *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 13-49.

² Herman, G. (2016).

³ Seaford, (1998), 1. Further discussion of definitions and types of reciprocity can be found in Van Wees, (1998), 15-24 and Van Berkel (2020), 53-56.

Boter, Gerard (Universiteit van Amsterdam): Konjektuurkritik in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

The absence of a reliable critical edition of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Flavius Philostratus has long been felt. During a number of years I have worked on preparing such a critical edition, which was published in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* in March 2022. As a contribution to ICAN VI I would like to give a presentation on the role of conjecture in the constitution of the text of the *Life*. In the course of my work I have hit upon conjectures by many renowned scholars of the past, such as Scaliger (16th century), Bentley (17th century), Reiske (18th century) and Jackson (20th century). Many of these conjectures used to be unknown to scholars because they were only partly published or never published at all. It is my aim to show how much we owe to the genius of our giant predecessors, upon whose shoulders we dwarfs are standing.

This paper contributes to the study of intrageneric intertextuality, a field of growing interest in novelistic scholarship.⁴ Up to now, scholars have focused on the sharing of narrative devices,⁵ recurrent themes,⁶ and features of characterisation.⁷ This paper offers a new case study that enriches the latter focus and compares Achilles Tatius (books 5-6) and Heliodorus (books 7-8) with regard to the characterisation of the antagonists Arsace and Thersander. This new discussion of intrageneric intertextuality increases our understanding of a key virtue of the novelistic genre as a whole, as I argue that the intertextual similarities in the characterisation of Thersander and Arsace have consequences for the characterisation of the protagonists and relates to their well-known *sophrosyne*. Leucippe, in this very episode, exemplarily defends her chastity.⁸ In Heliodorus, Charicleia is traditionally represented as the virtuous Penelopean spouse (5.22). Theagenes too is an example of *sophrosyne* (cf. 10.9).⁹

First, I show that there are intertextual similarities between Thersander's sexual proposals to Leucippe and Arsace's to Theagenes. Thersander and Arsace, who are both antagonists to the protagonists' couple, dispose of a go-between (Sosthenes/Cybele) who kindles his/her master's false hopes (6.15.2, 7.19). Both Thersander and Arsace are 'in fire' for their beloved (6.18.2, 7.9), jealous of Clitophon/Charicleia (6.17.1, 7.26), and react violently when rejected, abusing of their power over their 'slave' Leucippe/Theagenes (6.20.3, 8.5). Moreover, these thematic similarities are enriched by allusions in narratorial gnomic statements (e.g., 8.6) and character-speeches. For example, when advising Theagenes to (fake) consent towards Arsace, Charicleia warns him of the *possible* consequences should he not fan her hopes (e.g., 7.21, 22). Whereas this warning is meaningful on an intratextual level, as De Temmerman has convincingly demonstrated,¹⁰ on an intertextual level, these threatening consequences may remind the readers of the outcome of the Thersander-Leucippe episode (7.1), where the latter's obstinate refusal to the former's desire leads Thersander to take violent action against the protagonists. The evocation of this episode from Achilles Tatius increases the readers' suspense as they approach the Heliodorean scene, for they may fear for Theagenes' adoption of a similar nefarious behaviour in the Arsace episode.

Second, I explain that this intertextual relationship points to a new parallel between Theagenes and Leucippe, which needs further discussion. The fact that Theagenes is paralleled to Leucippe, and less to Clitophon, not only impacts on the characterisation of Theagenes but also allows for drawing conclusions on an essential aspect of the novel as a genre. I suggest that the intertextual relationship thematises a tension between male fidelity and chastity in the two novels,

⁴ For a discussion of how generic intertextuality relates to the definition of the novelistic genre, see Whitmarsh 2013, 35-48.

⁵ See e.g. Bowie 1995 (Heliodorus alluding to Achilles Tatius), Lefteratou 2018 (ecphraseis in Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus).

⁶ See e.g. Létoublon 1993 (*topoi*), Whitmarsh 2013, 42-8 (transformation of episodes in Xenophon, Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus), Tagliabue 2017, 204-8 (more extensively on the same aspect in Xenophon and Heliodorus), Bird 2019a (Chariton and Achilles Tatius).

⁷ See e.g. Robiano 2002 (Melite in Achilles Tatius and Lycaenion in Longus), Morales 2004, 65-6 (Clitophon and Theagenes characterised comically/heroically as Achilles), 114 (differences between feminine characters in Chariton, Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus), De Temmerman 2014, 163-4 (Xenophon and Achilles Tatius).

⁸ See De Temmerman 2014, 190-3. Charicleia's characterisation, though, is rather complex if not ambiguous (*ibid.*, 170-1, 194).

⁹ Cf. e.g. Ramelli 2009, 163-164.

¹⁰ See De Temmerman 2014, 272-3.

and that Heliodorus wittily and seriously formulates positions on Achilles Tatius' ambiguous representation of Clitophon's chastity.¹¹

- Bird, R. 2019: 'Achilles Tatius and Chariton: Reflections and Refractions', *Mnemosyne* 72, 471-487.
- Bowie, E.L. 1995: 'Names and a Gem: Aspects of Allusion in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*', in: D. Innes/H. Hine/Ch. Pelling (eds.), *Ethics and Rhetoric: Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Oxford, 269-280.
- Brethes, R. 2007: 'Poiein aischra kai legein aischra, est-ce vraiment la même chose? Ou la bouche souillée de Chariclée', in V. Rimell (ed.), *Seeing Tongues, Hearing Scripts: Orality and Representation in the Ancient Novel*, Groningen, 223-256.
- De Temmerman, K. 2014: *Crafting Characters: Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Novels*, Oxford.
- Fusillo, M. 1989: *Il romanzo greco: polifonia ed eros*, Venezia.
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- Konstan, D. 1994: *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient novel and Related Genres*, Princeton (NJ).
- Lefferatou, A. 2018: 'The visual trademark of the Greek Novel: Novelistic Opening *ekphraseis* in Chariton and Heliodorus', *L'Antiquité Classique* 87, 77-107.
- Létoublon, F. 1993: *Les lieux communs du roman: stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour*, Leiden.
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- Tagliabue, A. 2017: *Xenophon's Ephesiaca. A Paraliterary Love-Story from the Ancient World*, Groningen.
- Whitmarsh, T. 2013: *Beyond the Second Sophistic: Adventures in Greek Postclassicism*, Berkeley (CA).

¹¹ On these issues in general see e.g. Fusillo 1989, 186-96, Konstan 1994, esp. 45-57, 94, Goldhill 1995, Brethes 2007, Ramelli 2009, Ormand 2010, De Temmerman 2014, 258-77. On Clitophon in Achilles Tatius, see e.g. Goldhill 1995, 94-100, Morales 2004, 152-153, De Temmerman 2014, 158-76.

The *Life and Martyrdom of ss. Galaktion and Episteme* (G&E, BHG 665), which was translated into modern languages only in the last decade, has started to attract the attention of specialists of the ancient novel:¹² this text is a unique specimen of Christian hagiography, presenting itself as a sequel to the novel of Achilles Tatius. Why did the author of G&E choose the protagonists of a pagan novel as the parents of a martyr? The proposed paper aims to grapple with this question by focusing on the generic fashioning of G&E and its literary strategies. In a prologue the servant Eutolmius, who unusually serves as the narrator, admits to the strange nature of his story (διήγησις ξένη καὶ παράδοξος) and attributes several characteristics to the following narrative (πολιτεία καὶ μαρτυρία; βίος σὺν μαρτυρίῳ; ψυχοφελὴς ἱστορία; τὸ τῆς πίστεως ταπεινὸν μοῦ ἀπόφθεγμα). As it seems, he does justice to his name – ‘the one who dares to do good’ – by presenting a new genre, which incorporates many others [BK1]. Yet G&E cannot be characterized as a novel ‘proper’. Most prominently, the *passio*’s literary style is strikingly ascetic – a feature that the author compensates by introducing characters and places with ‘telling’ names. Some of these are symbolic, such as the names of the protagonists, some bear intertextual significance (‘Kleitophon’, ‘[G]leukippe,’ ‘Thekla’), others refer to events considered historical: for example, Mount Pulpion and the persecutor Ursus. With Achilles Tatius G&E shares not only names but some elements of plot, too. The most obvious parallels are the topoi of separation and final reunion of the couple (as discussed by P. Robiano and Anonymus Mioussensis). But both separation and reunion are completely reinterpreted; in one case separation is forced, in the other it is voluntary, and in the first case the reunion is achieved in marriage, and in the second in martyrdom. Finally, G&E contains references to non-Christian allegory – *The Table of Cebes* as well as the Old Testament apocrypha *Joseph and Aseneth* – and the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thekla*. References to Achilles Tatius are obvious, to the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* less so, and those to *Joseph and Aseneth* and the *Table of Cebes* difficult to spot. The proposed analysis of G&E’s literary framework will contribute to our understanding of the narrative’s literary and ideological programme. I conclude that G&E underpins its metapoetic significance with the help of references to allegorical works, which also call attention to the narrative’s own allegorical side, quod est demonstrandum.

¹² Delehay H. *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 1921; Braginskaya N. [Pseudonym Anonymus Mioussensis] Galaktion and Epistima "and" Painting "of Cebet: Life as a scriptio superior of Socratic dialogue. In: *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology* - X. - St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2006. - pp. 192-208 (in Russian); [Pseudonym Anonymus Mioussensis]. Life and martyrdom of the holy martyrs Galaction and Epistima. Introductory article, translation from ancient Greek, commentary, critical edition of the Greek text and study "Galaktion and Epistima: Roman-Life-Passio of Anonymous Miussky. *Journal of Ancient History*. 2009 - No. 3. - P. 210-235. - No. 4. - S. 269-291.-2010 - No. 1 - C241-266. - No. 2 - P. 232-250 (in Russian); Robiano P. Pour en finir avec le christianisme d’Achille Tatius et d’Héliodore d’Émèse: la lecture des Passions de Galaction. *L’Antiquité Classique* 78, 2009 pp.145-160; Alwis, A. *Celibate Marriages in Late Antique and Byzantine Hagiography: The Lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme*. (London and New York, 2011), 286–308.

Briand, Michel (Université de Poitiers): Ancient Greek novels as choreographic devices: interplays of multisensorial ekphrasis, kinaesthetic empathy, and the pleasures of reading in the *Ephesian Tale*

Both contemporary literary theory and dance studies recently concentrated on the cognitive effects of actively embodied reception and kinesthetic empathy, which play a crucial role in: the readers' and spectators' identification with characters, intradiegetic audiences, and even performers or narrators; emotions such as compassion, admiration, horror, solidarity; and types of *katharsis* in literary genres (epic, lyric, tragedy, comedy, novel, etc.) and in discursive genres (lamentation, dispute, satirical narrative, description, etc.). (G. Bolens, *The Style of Gestures: Embodiment and Cognition in Literary Narrative*, 2012). Through all senses (vision, audition, kinesthesia, but also touch, smell, and, more generally, synesthesia), ancient novels make readers experience scenes entangling linear and tabular structures of narratives and descriptions: in this rhetorical context *ekphraseis* are less description of works of art, in the modern meaning, than intense and variegated descriptions of actions (festival, battle, season, encounter, trial, dream, etc.) (R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, 2009, & M. Briand, «Achilles Tatius' Ecphraseis of Abused Female Bodies: Interplays of Gendered Metafiction and Intensity», E. Cueva, S. Harrison, H. Mason, W. Owens, S. Schwartz (eds.), *Re-Wiring the Ancient Novel, 1. Greek Novels*, 2018, 127- 150). Questions of gender and sexuality are here very important, for instance in the characterization of the feminine and masculine in terms of agency and gaze. As it is often considered a (problematic) prototype of ancient novel, stylistically simple and filled with orality (A. Tagliabue, *Xenophon's Ephesiaca. A Paraliterary Love-Story from the Ancient World*, 2017), the *Ephesian Tale* (Anthia and Habrocomes) provides a rich field of investigation about the dynamics of embodied reading as a transmedial experience, and the relations of literature and performing arts, sophistic and popular culture, serious and parodic discourse, documentary interest and (meta-)fictionality, sensoriality and abstraction, immersion and distance, or aesthetics and ethics. A series of six significant scenes would be focused on:

1. About interplays of erotic emotions and learning:
I.1-2 Eros/eros, and I.4-5 Love's pathetic and spectacular effects.
2. About narrative arc and transformations:
I.9. The wedding night, and V.14-15. The lovers' final reunion.
3. About Anthia's ambivalent agency:
III.6-7. Dying of feigned poisoning, and V.7. Staging sacred disease.

The title of this abstract presents the ancient Greek novel as a choreographic (and precinematic) device offering the readers a spectacle to be staged in their phantasia, with vivid sensorial, emotional, thence cognitive effects, rather than just a text to decode.

Erotic experience and playful exploration lie at the heart of Ovidian erotodidactic poems and the novels of Longus and Achilles Tatius. For instance, in Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria*, the lover must learn how to decipher, through a semiotic and sensual labyrinth, the reactions provoked by certain stimuli. This lover must also find inscribed in the beloved's body the signs of a likely mutual attraction, considering that "women and men disguise their desire: the former out of modesty and the latter in order to overcome that modesty" (Sissa 2008). If the acts of viewing, gazing or touching play a part in objectifying the desired body as something to conquer and possess, this sensual activity also expresses a form of subjectivity and self-representation. This process thus stands at the crossroads of knowledge (How to be a good learner and decipher?), gender performance (Am I a good actor/actress, or a good pretender?) and consent (How to consider and to deal with the beloved's resistance?).

In this paper, I shall consider if these Ovidian protocols can be paralleled and explored in Longus and Achilles Tatius, where issues of erotic experience and knowledge are problematized in contrasting and complementary ways. *Daphnis and Chloe* displays, at least partly, a celebration of innocence. The protagonists are indeed unconventional lovers insofar as they are unaware of what love is, and how to name and satisfy it, but they try out bodily experiences that challenge the traditional sexual dimorphism. *Leucippe and Clitophon* targets "the convention of reciprocal love" (Jolowicz 2021) and is ironically portrayed as a fiction of impotent knowledge: if Clitophon and even Leucippe try to be good Ovidian pupils by sharing multiple sensual connections, they are eventually prevented from becoming champions of "mutual orgasm" (Volk 2010) by various obstacles. While Longus is pushing to the limits the ignorance of sexual achievement, Achilles Tatius mocks an excess of bookish expertise since the lovers' cultural dispositions are nothing but helpful in their erotic quest. My final point is to suggest that Longus and Achilles Tatius are engaged in a dialogic relationship mediated by their own reading of Ovid's prescriptions.

Jolowicz, D. A. (2021) *Latin Poetry in the Ancient Greek Novels* (Oxford).

Purves, A. (ed.) (2017) *Touch and the Ancient Senses* (London).

Sissa, G. (2008) *Sex and Sensuality in the Ancient World* (New Haven).

Volk, K. (2010) *Ovid* (Chichester-Oxford-Malden).

According to an anecdote reported by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (*Hist. Eccl.* XII 34), sometime after becoming bishop of Tricca, Heliodorus was forced to decide whether to burn the romance he had composed in his youth or to give up his religious role; unable to destroy his work, the novelist-turned-bishop abandoned the priesthood. That this story hardly contains any reliable information is widely agreed upon (e.g., Mecella 2014, 634-5); yet, by positing the existence of a profound affective bond between Heliodorus and his romance, Nicephorus highlights an important, albeit not fully recognized, aspect of the *Aethiopica*, namely, that Heliodorus exploits some of the parental figures he has created – Calasiris, Persinna, and Hydaspes – to dramatize his affective ties to his work and his concerns about its future. It is precisely this aspect that I intend to explore in my paper.

By means of Calasiris, I will argue, Heliodorus calls attention to the affective dimension of artistic creation. Scholars have remarked that this character’s narrative ability makes him a surrogate of the author (e.g., Whitmarsh 1998, 100; Hunter 2014, 154); however, his claim that Charicleia and Theagenes are his children because he has given birth to them through the labor pangs of his soul (ἀπέτεκον αἱ ψυχῆς ὠδῖνες, 2.23.2) – a claim that recalls Socrates’ account of male pregnancy in the *Symposium* (Pizzone 2013) – has not been read in a metaliterary light. If we attend, though, to the Platonic account and to the analogy between artists and mothers articulated by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (cf. Payne 2013), Calasiris’ bond with his “children” appears endowed with metaliterary valence: his giving birth to them resembles the mental processes of literary creation, whereas his agony to tell his and their story to Cnemon – an agony akin to labor pangs (cf. ὠδίνω at 2.21.6) – appears to symbolize Heliodorus’ anguish to give birth to his romance. Hydaspes and Persinna, in turn, allow Heliodorus to articulate his anxieties about the future of the *Aethiopica*: while the self-reflexive force of Hydaspes’ fears concerning authenticity and legitimacy has been well discussed (Whitmarsh 1998, 121; Nì Mheallaigh 2014, 201-2), Persinna’s wish that the words of the *tainia* may not remain unread (4.8.8) has not been connected with Heliodorus’ own desires. This, too, I will suggest, is an important component of Heliodorus’ exploitation of parental affects and of his metaliterary reflection.

Hunter, R. 2014. “‘Where Do I Begin?’: An Odyssean Narrative Strategy and Its Afterlife.” In D. Cairns and R. Scodel (eds.), *Defining Greek Narrative* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 137-55.

Mecella, L. 2014. “L’enigmatica figura di Eliodoro e la datazione delle Etiopiche.” *Mediterraneo antico* 17.2: 633-58.

Nì Mheallaigh, K. 2014. *Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Payne, M. 2013. “Aristotle on Poets as Parents and the Hellenistic Poet as Mother.” In V. Zajko and E. O’Gorman (eds.), *Classical Myth and Psychoanalysis: Ancient and Modern Stories of the Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 299-314.

Pizzone, A. 2013. “When Calasiris Got Pregnant: Rhetoric and Storytelling in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*.” In A. J. Quiroga Puertas (ed.), *The Purpose of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity: From Performance to Exegesis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 139-60.

Whitmarsh, T. 1998. “The Birth of a Prodigy: Heliodorus and the Genealogy of Hellenism.” In R. Hunter (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus* (Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society), 93-124.

By comparing Paul's visit to Ephesus in the *Acts of the Apostles* and the opening Ephesian scene of Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*, this paper explores Ephesus and its novelistic representation. Both passages reflect the role of Artemis as a hallmark of Greek culture by emphasizing the involvement of large crowds. Whereas the *Acts* expose the cracks that were affecting popular pagan belief (craftsmen selling religious souvenirs incite a rowdy mob against 'the Jews' who undermine the prestige of Artemis), Xenophon depicts an idealized scene of worship, where the people are united in their pious and edifying devotion to the goddess. Such a juxtaposition is intriguing. The Ephesian Artemis became a cultural battleground: Christian writers readily coined for her the epithet 'multibreasted', which Jerome disparagingly attributes to 'the Greeks', whereas Minucius Felix uses the same word to ridicule pagan gods altogether. We also know from various sources that under the Roman empire the worship of Ephesian Artemis went through moments of decadence followed by restoration attempts, and the description found in the *Acts*, as Stephan Witetschek has shown, is likely to reflect a time later than Paul's. An important symbol of paganism, then, came to be under threat, which brought about a strong popular reaction. Xenophon ignores such gloomy developments. Rather, he 'restores' the past by shaping a fictional reality where the Greek people are in full bloom. Xenophon depicts a timeless Ephesus, and, remarkably, his Artemis is not Ephesus' 'multibreasted' and oriental goddess that attracted sharp criticism, but is modeled on the Goddess' pan-Hellenic iconography. This stylized postcard from an ideal past can be construed as an answer to the tensions surrounding the worship of Artemis, all the more so because Xenophon seems to echo Christian texts in other passages as well: thus, for example, the story of the struggle between Jacob and the angel is rewritten so as to become a shamelessly fanciful piece of popular fiction or mime (5.7.7-8). Xenophon's restoration of the Greek identity, then, is twofold: on one hand, a number of passages possibly hint at the Scriptures; on the other, the novelist creates a fictional scene of popular devotion, which flatly ignores the present and resurrects a vague 'classical' past based on an instance of Greek 'cultural convergence': local varieties are played down so as to create a popular identity, a (post)card to be played against Christian and Roman influences.

Carmignani, Marcos (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina): Borges, Petronio y la *curiosa felicitas*

Es sabida la admiración que algunos autores latinos provocaron en Borges: los casos de Virgilio o Lucrecio son los más conocidos, pero también Plinio, Séneca o Juvenal ocuparon un lugar destacado dentro del canon clásico borgiano. En esta ponencia, nos ocuparemos de un autor que tiene un lugar marginal dentro de ese canon, pero que, a pesar de eso, mereció por parte de Borges algunos comentarios y citas: se trata de Petronio, autor del *Satyricon*. En particular, se analizará una cita petroniana, la famosa frase que Eumolpo, en el cap. 118 de la novela, dedica a Horacio: *Horatii curiosa felicitas*. Borges retoma y cita esta expresión petroniana en algunos de sus textos, por lo que el objetivo central de la ponencia será examinar los contextos de aparición de esta cita y la posible función estética que puede tener en la obra borgiana. Finalmente, y a partir de lo anterior, se intentará dilucidar qué lugar ocupaba Petronio dentro de la consideración artística y estética de Borges. Todo esto será contrastado y refrendado, además, con algunas opiniones que Bioy Casares recoge en su monumental *Borges*.

Bauzá, Hugo. "Los autores latinos en la biblioteca de Jorge Luis Borges". *Nova Tellus* 30 (2012): 199-214.

Fedeli, Paolo. "Borges e a nostalgia do latim". *Euphrosyne* 38 (2010): 267-280.

García Gual, Carlos. "Borges y los clásicos de Grecia y Roma". *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos* 505-507 (1992): 321-346.

García Jurado, Francisco. *Borges, autor de la Eneida. Poética del laberinto*, Madrid: ELR, 2006.

Jensen, Laura. *Borges' Classics. Global Encounters with the Greco-Roman Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Carver, Robert (Australian Catholic University): The Antipodean Ass: the reception of Apuleius in Australia and New Zealand in the nineteenth and twentieth century

In September 1936, Australia's liberal press was galvanized by reports of Customs Officers 'descending' on Perth Literary Institute and seizing seventeen books, including Petronius' *Satyricon* and Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. Perth's *Sunday Times* condemned the 'raid' as both imperialistic ('By order of the Czars of Canberra') and fascistic ('It is really a short step to Hitlerism'). Perth's *Daily News* opined: 'Canberra, in taking upon itself to decide what is pornography and what is literature, has made a fool of itself and of the country.' Sydney papers expressed relief that Professor F. A. Todd (who was due to lecture on Apuleius, Petronius, and Longinus the following month) would 'probably be allowed to keep his copy of *The Golden Ass*', since 'discretion was exercised in the case of books which might be of value to professional men, but which were considered unsuitable for the rank and file.' Sydney Public Library was permitted to retain the banned titles, 'On condition that the books were locked in a safe'.

In 1950, the debate was reignited by the impounding of 5,000 copies of Robert Graves' new Penguin translation of Apuleius. The outcry was loud ('Australia was the only country in the world ever to question *The Golden Ass*') and the Federal Government's response swift: following the report of the Literature Censorship Board and his personal examination, the Minister for Trade and Customs approved the release of Graves' 'unexpurgated' translation, priced at 2 shillings (paperback). '*The Golden Ass* is free', trumpeted Sydney's *Daily Telegraph*. The Adelaide *News* headline was more prosaic: '*Golden Ass* sold here'. Adelaide booksellers had been selling William Adlington's translations of Apuleius with impunity for years, but at prices ranging from 10 shillings to £5 a copy – enough to deter the most impressionable class of reader.

Colonial and provincial environments tend to preserve, filter, and refract the values and productions of imperial cultures in ways that are interesting for reception studies. This paper will explore the functions of *The Golden Ass* as cultural capital in Australasia between 1850 and 2000 – from John Woolley (whose unpublished translation of 'Cupid and Psyche' was lost in the sinking of the SS London in 1866), to Eugène Ernest Hillemacher (*Psyche aux Enfers*, National Gallery, Melbourne, 1872), to a demotic retelling of 'Cupid and Psyche' in which the heroine's trials are recast to reflect the struggle for the 8-hour working day (1900), to twentieth-century Australian fiction.

Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* opens with a famously puzzling tableau of the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, just twenty miles from the future site of Alexandria. This passage has been read as enigmatic ekphrasis (e.g., Bartsch 1989, Whitmarsh 2002), as a reference to the *Odyssey* (e.g., Telò 2011, Tagliabue 2015), and through the lens of Greek tragedy (Winkler 1980). My paper takes an ecocritical approach that focuses on Alexandria and its absence. Instead of a bustling urban center familiar to the novel's contemporary readers, we encounter a wasteland: a beach strewn with bodies and, in the midst of it all, the novel's protagonists, Theagenes and Charicleia. The scene is so stunning—and so bewildering—that the internal audience of "Egyptian bandits" identify Charicleia as either "Artemis or the local goddess Isis" (1.2.6). This moment of bodily syllepsis between Greek and Egyptian frames of reference, I suggest, invites us to read Heliodorus' "(re)wilding" and depopulation of the space through another Egyptian tradition: apocalypse. In particular, I argue for multiple linguistic and thematic resonances between the *Aethiopica* and an Egyptian text known as the *Oracle of the Potter*, which predicts the destruction of Alexandria and the restoration of native Egyptian kingship.

One of the aims of ecocriticism has been "to highlight and analyse the often inseparable relation between human and political injustice and environmental destruction" (Clark 2020). Perhaps no ancient discourse was more suited to such ends than "apocalypse." In the Egyptian tradition (unlike Jewish and Christian traditions), such narratives frequently relate a period of natural and human chaos, concluding in a cyclical restoration of natural, divine, and cosmic order and traditional Egyptian rule. Egyptian apocalyptic texts have never, to my knowledge, been connected with Heliodorus, but traces of them are present in the Alexander Romance, especially in its narrative of the foundation of Alexandria. The Romance, I suggest, is important for understanding Heliodorus' relationship to Egyptian apocalyptic tradition. In this context, the absence of Alexandria signifies not a restoration of the Pharaohs, but rather reveals another period during which Egypt was ruled by outsiders (the Persians). Such a reading prompts a reevaluation of Heliodorus' relationship to Hellenism as well as to Egypt itself: "pure" Egyptian kingship remains impossible. Both Heliodorus and the *Potter's Oracle*, thus, "unfound" Alexandria by projecting their narratives into the past or future. In so doing, they demonstrate that Egypt's natural landscape subsumes, opposes, pre-dates, and outlasts its administrative capital.

Images of the ritual killing of bound captives were a central component of the iconography of royal power in the Nubian kingdom of Meroe. Just as in Egypt (Janzen 2013), these images continually reenacted the victory of the Meroitic kings and queens over their enemies and symbolically the victory of order over chaos. In Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, Chariclea and Theagenes arrive in Meroe as bound captives (δέσμιοι) reserved for ritual killing (9.1.4). Recent scholarship has suggested that Heliodorus may have had sources of knowledge about contemporary Nubia beyond Herodotus, his main literary source (Hilton 2016). This paper uses the evidence provided by Nubian objects in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to suggest that Heliodorus draws on elements of the iconography of Meroitic royal power to add complexity to the syncretism of Emesan, Greek, Egyptian, and Meroitic ritual at the end of the novel.

These objects, including two ritual bells depicting bound captives impaled with arrows (MFA acc. 24.858a and 24.859, Kendall 1982: 52-56) as well as a ritual quiver and arrow set (MFA acc. 24.963.1, Zieliński 2016) reveal the importance of archery in the expression of Meroitic royal power through ritual killing. A rock carving at Gebel Qeili, which depicts a Hellenized Helios handing over bound captives to the Meroitic king Sherkarer who holds a bow and arrow in his hand (Lacovara 2012), provides a tantalizing link between ritual killing by arrow and sun-worship. Greek literary tradition also associates archery with Meroitic kingship (Herodotus 3.21.2-3), which may have led the emperor Nero to choose a bronze bowl with an image of Actaeon (MFA acc. 24.979) as a diplomatic gift to the ruling Meroitic Queen Amanikhatahan, associating an archer queen with the archer goddess Artemis. Heliodorus' Chariclea, the lost Ethiopian princess, is herself not only an accomplished archer, but is even repeatedly mistaken for Artemis (1.2.6, 5.31.1, 2.33.4). When Chariclea leaps on the grid-iron, appearing as a goddess (10.9), she is revealed to be too perfect of a sacrificial victim, dangerously blurring the lines between victim, queen, and goddess.

Hilton, J. L. 2016. "Emeralds and Embassies in The Ethiopian Story of Heliodorus." *Akroterion*. 61: 25–42.

Janzen, M. D. 2013. *The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt*. Dissertation. University of Memphis.

Kendall, T. 1982. *Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile*. Brockton: Brockton Art Museum.

Lacovara, P. 2012. "Gebel Qeili." In *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*, eds. M. Fisher, P. Lacovara, S. Ikram, S. D'Auria, 229. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Zieliński, Ł. 2016. "New Insights into Nubian Archery." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*. 24(1): 791–801.

Connors, Catherine (University of Washington): Sibylline figures and the stories they tell in Early Modern illustrations of Apuleius' Psyche

Three early modern illustrations of Apuleius' scene of the old woman in the bandits' cave telling the story of Psyche and Cupid to Charite visually link the storyteller to sibyls, prophetic figures whose ability to read, write and speak about the future was important for centuries (Parke 1988) and became entwined with the authority of female storytellers down through the ages (Warner 1994, 67-79). In a woodcut illustration in Boiardo's *Apulegio volgare* (1518), the storyteller has similarities to images of the Tiburtine Sibyl, reputed to have prophesied to Octavian about the coming of Christianity (on which see Cutler 1965). In an image attributed to Michiel Coxie and printed by the so-called Master of the Die in the 1530s (Cavicchioli 2002 154-71), the old woman strongly resembles Michelangelo's Cumaean Sibyl in the Sistine Chapel and Raphael's Tiburtine Sibyl in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome. In an image inspired by Coxie's in Perino de Vaga's frescoes in the Papal apartments of Paul III in Castel Sant' Angelo (1545-47) (Haight 1916, Acocella 2001, 118-24; Cavicchioli 2002, 155), the storyteller wears a veil that closely resembles that of Raphael's Tiburtine Sibyl. She is also represented as African. After considering some contexts for a representation of a person of African heritage in this setting (McGrath 1992 and 2007, Earle and Lowe 2005, Kaplan 2021, Otele 2021), including the possibility that this representation posits an African source for Apuleius (Plantade and Plantade 2014 adduce Berber folktales as evidence of such a source), I argue that cheese, garlic and herbs in the fresco scene may also allude to the only extended representation of an African woman in Latin literature, Scybale in the *Moretum* once attributed to Vergil (on which see Haley 2009). I propose further that Perino's visual allusion may respond to an allusion to Scybale already made by Apuleius. Scybale is strikingly described as the *unica custos* (sole guardian) of Simulus' household (*Moretum* 31, with Kenney 1984). Apuleius says, in an equally striking way, that in the bandits' household, the old woman is the one "to whom alone the safety and protection (*tutela*) of such a number of young people seemed to have been entrusted" (*Met.* 4.6.7). Recognizing an Apuleian allusion to Scybale and its reception in Perino would contribute to the complex histories of Afro-Europeans documented in Otele 2021.

Overall, the sibylline qualities of each of these illustrations are a significant feature of the reception of Apuleius' Psyche: because sibyls were said to have predicted Christianity, a sibylline old woman telling an allegorical tale of the soul's suffering and deliverance claims space for Psyche's tale in a Christian world.

Acocella, M. 2001. *L'Asino d'ora nel Rinascimento: Dai volgarizzamenti alle raffigurazioni pittoriche*. Ravenna: Longo Editore.

Cavicchioli, S. 2002. *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche, An Illustrated History. Translated from the Italian*. New York: George Braziller.

Cutler, A. 1965. "Octavian and the Sibyl in Christian Hands," *Vergilius* 11, 22-32.

Earle, T.F. & Lowe, K.J.P. 2005. *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gaisser, J.H. 2008. *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass: A Study in Reception and Translation*. Princeton & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haight, E.H. 1916. "The Myth of Cupid and Psyche II: In Renaissance Art," *Art and Archaeology* 3.2, 87-97.

Haley, S.P. 2009. "Be Not Afraid of the Dark: Critical Race Theory and Classical Studies," in Nasrallah, L. & Fiorenza, E. Schüssler, eds., *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender and Ethnicity in early Christian Studies*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Kaplan, P. 2021. "Black Women in Early Modern Art and Culture," in Hobson, Janell, ed. *The Routledge Companion to Black Women's Cultural Histories*. London: Routledge.

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Cooperson, Michael (University of California, Los Angeles) & Honacharian, Ani (University of Utah): The children of the sun in *Digenis Akritis**

The Byzantine narrative poems *Digenis Akritis* and the *Song of Armouris* are conventionally read as describing frontier battles between Greek Christians and Muslim Arabs. This paper, presented jointly by an Armenologist and an Arabist, will argue that the two poems – in one layer at least – concern another group: the Arevordik or “Children of the Sun”. The Arevordik were an ethnoreligious community whose doctrines are closely linked to Zoroastrianism. A series of reports by Armenian ecclesiastical figures beginning in the eleventh century identify them as Armenian-speaking but not “Armenian” in the sense of “Christian.” We believe that their well-attested practice of swearing by the Sun (not the Son) lies behind the many solar oaths and exclamations in *Digenis* and *Armouris*.

Although the Armenianness of the characters is visible only at certain moments, reading *both* the “Muslims” and the “Christians” as crypto-Arevordik, and the site of the action as a postconquest society, allows us to explain a number of oddities in both stories. When the Emir of *Armouris* offers his daughter in marriage, he does not ask Arestes to convert to Islam, nor does he offer to convert to Christianity. If both parties are crypto-Arevordik, intermarriage between them becomes more plausible. We can also explain why the narrator of *Digenis* notes that a Saracen “addressed the Emir in his own tongue”. If both are “Saracens” – that is, Arabic speakers – the comment is unmotivated; but if the Emir is a Armenian-speaking convert who has learned some Arabic, then the scene becomes an ordinary one, reminiscent of similar scenes in the annals of post-conquest Islamic Iran.

Rather than a Muslim-Christian faceoff, then, the epic is (at least in part) about members of a post-conquest community in constant negotiation across religious, linguistic, and geographical boundaries, trying to leverage its position in order to game the system. As the epic plays out, different members of the community make different choices, splitting their families. Yet the epic does not describe its heroes as acting out of rational self-interest or religious conviction. Instead, it depicts them as switching sides for love. That is, it transposes the experience of divided loyalty into the language of affect. A careful reading of these episodes may afford some insight into the lived experience of post-conquest societies in medieval West Asia.

In this presentation we will analyze the relationship between the novel *Drosilla and Charikles*, composed by Niketas Eugenianos in the 12th century, and its Ancient and Comnenian predecessors. Although the debt of this work with respect to the tradition is recognized and multiple studies have focused on the knowledge that the character Kallidemos shows with respect to the late-antique novels (Jouanno, 1989; Nilsson, 2014), the awareness that the hero Charikles shows with respect to the literary genre in which he develops has not received so far its due attention, beyond some considerations (Roilos, 2006). We propose, then, to study the appropriation of the genre of the novel in relation to the main character from two scenes. First, the one in which he falls in love with the heroine and, therefore, is inserted in the literary genre novel (*D&C* III 341-350); second, the monody of the first book in which he imagines the situations through which his beloved goes through in which it can also be seen that his knowledge comes from previous readings (*D&C* I 230-257). Our interpretation is supported by the postulates of cognitive narratology that relate the way people (characters, in this case) think to their knowledge of literature (Herman, 2010).

Herman, D. (2010) "Directions in Cognitive Narratology: Translating Stories, Media, and the Mind" en J. Alber y M. Fludernik (eds.) *Postclassical Narratology: Approaches and Analyses*. The Ohio State University, pp. 137-162.

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In 406, Rufinus of Aquileia sent to Bishop Gaudentius his Latin translation of Clement of Rome's *Recognitions*. For what reason Rufinus, who already translated Eusebius of Caesarea, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea, would now decide to translate the *Recognitions* of Clement? In his Preface to Bishop Gaudentius, he makes it clear that his intention is to "restore Clement to Latin" (*ut Clementem nostrae linguae redderemus*) and "contribute to the use and profit of roman people, no small spoil, taken from the libraries of the Greeks." In the same Preface, we learn that it is the virgin Silvia who enjoined him to translate the *Recognitions*. Since both Gaudentius and Silvia were engaged in the origenist controversy that opposed Rufinus and Jerome, we may wonder if there were political reasons, besides the cultural ones ("to restore Clement to Latin") that motivated Rufinus to translate the *Recognitions* into Latin.

In this paper, I shall firstly analyze the Preface to Gaudentius in order to understand how Rufinus perceived the story of Clement that we call the *Pseudo-Clementine* novel. As a matter of fact, nothing allows us to think that Rufinus ever called Clement's autorship in question or saw anything fictional in the *Recognitions*. Secondly, I shall bring to light the literary devices by which the author of the *Recognitions* combined History and fiction in such a way that Rufinus believed he could put on equal footing Eusebius and Clement. Oscar Cullmann considered the *Pseudo-Clementines* to be the first Christian novel. Perhaps we should also consider the *Pseudo-Clementines* to be the first historical novel.

Cross, Cameron (University of Michigan): Call him Diyanus in Greek! The correlating of pagan and Islamic knowledge in 'Unsurī's *Vāmiq-u 'Azrā*

While many of the early Persian romances of the eleventh century show a marked affinity with the distinctive topoi, motifs, and narrative structures of the ancient Greek novel, none are so explicitly aligned with that tradition as Abū al-Qāsim 'Unsurī's *Vāmiq-u 'Azrā* (VA), a narrative poem that, though only extant in fragments now, shows a direct connection with the equally fragmentary first-century tale of *Mētiokhos kai Parthenopē* (MP). That the connection exists is hard to deny, thanks to the extensive researches of Hägg and Utas, but the question of why 'Unsurī chose to versify this work—and, presumably, to present it to his powerful patron, Mahmūd of Ghazna (d. 1030)—remains. This paper seeks to investigate this question through a focused study of the specifically Hellenistic, or pagan, cultural elements of the story, attending to their framing and presentation to a majority Muslim audience. Given that we lack 'Unsurī's introduction to his rendition of the story, these elements may help us guess at the benefits he saw possible in renovating this story, and, by implication, in the genre of the romance/novel and the pagan past more broadly, for his contemporary audience.

My research in this topic is still preliminary, but there are some interesting points. 'Unsurī's interest in the distant past manifests itself in a curious syncretism between antique Hellenistic and Iranian cultures. For example, when the lovers first encounter each other at the temple, the narrator of VA pauses on an instructive note: "Know that this temple in Pahlavi is a name for 'idol-house,' if you listen." Later on, 'Unsurī proposes a kind of cultural mapping between pagan and Islamic mythology; when the minstrel begins singing in the secret (*nuhuft*) songs of Dionysos, the narrator interjects, "Know Diyānūs to be a name of Hārūt! [Call] him Diyānūs in Greek!" By forging these analagous relations, 'Unsurī seems to be both indigenizing and universalizing the pre-Islamic past. This would re-present some of the extended passages in VA, like the discourse on the invention of the lyre and the symposium on Love, as part and parcel of Islamic knowledge. The most radical implication of VA, however, may lie in the literary form itself, given that 'Unsurī demonstrated this cultural syncretism through the unprecedented step of recasting a Greek novel into Persian verse.

Cueva, Edmund (University of Houston-Downtown): Apuleius' graphic novel: the comics and Cupid and Psyche

The ancient Greek and Roman Classics have often been the inspiration for comics and graphic novels. For example, in *The Slings & Arrows Comic Guide* (Top Shelf Productions, 2003), Frank Plowright includes, among many other examples, Eric Shanower's *Age of Bronze*, which focuses on the Trojan War; C. Scott Morse's *Ancient Joe*, which creates new myths but has Orphic undertones; Eddie Campbell's *Bacchus*, which, Plowright writes, "begins as a vehicle for retelling whichever Greek myths catch Campbell's magpie eye, with a certain joyous irreverence" (50); Albert Kanter's *Classics Illustrated*, which included among its 167 issues such well-known Classics as Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Darren Brady's *Ikaris* and Alex Ogle's *Toad*, which are included in Amaze Ink's *Iliad*; and the Golden Fleece inspired *Jason and the Argonauts* (Oni Press) and *Jason and the Argonauts* (Tome). One should also include William Messner-Loebs and Sam Keith's *Epicurus the Sage*, in which we read of Epicurus and his adventures and encounters with Plato, Aristotle, and Alexander the Great. The table of contents lists "Visiting Hades," "Many loves of Zeus," "Riding the sun," and "Helen's boys." The ancient novel has also appeared in the modern graphic novel. Unfortunately and oddly, there are no comics that illustrate and adapt the Greek novels. Still, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, for one reason or other, has caught the attention of the worlds of the comics and graphic novels. After an in-depth outline and analysis of the adaptation of this novel to the graphic novel or comics, this paper will review the possible reasons why this is the only novel to have made its way into this modern format.

Chariton does not seem to have had much success in Byzantium, especially if compared to other ancient novelists, such as Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. Byzantine authors do not talk about him, and only one 13th-century manuscript saved his novel from oblivion. Yet, the manuscript did not magic the novel out of nowhere. It must have had enough of an audience that copies of it were required and produced to ensure its circulation. This is common sense, but so far no traces of readership have been found.

The aim of this paper is to begin to chart the territory of the reception of Chariton in Byzantium. In fact, it is the same territory, namely the domain of hagiography and historiography, where traces of other Greek novels have been found (e.g. Trzaskoma 2017, 2022). I will look at two 11th-century texts, the *Life of Mary the Younger* and Psellus' *Chronographia*, and show imitation of Chariton at work in the narration of love triangles. My argument is that plot was Chariton's strong point. In particular, that his orchestration of love triangles involving a woman beyond reproach provided a blueprint that could serve other authors well.

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This paper aims to analyse the *ethos* displayed by the narrator of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* in parallel with that of the main character. This novelistic text is a travel story written by Philostratus of Athens in the years 210–220 and dedicated to Apollonius, a historical figure who lived in the 1st century AD. Philostratus' *opus magnum*, originally entitled *In honour of Apollonius*, is indebted to epideictic rhetoric among other literary genres: although Apollonius was dismissed as a charlatan by 2nd century writers, the narrator of the text praises him as a Pythagorean sage.

Several clues suggest that the *Life of Apollonius* is told from the point of view of a sophist whose status is very similar to that of the narrator in the *Lives of the Sophists*, written in the years 230–240. Even though the historical Philostratus was himself a Greek sophist recognised as such during his lifetime, the few 'autobiographic' pieces of information given by the narrator within the *Life of Apollonius* are part of a self-staging.

The 'Philostratus' character identifies himself as a rhetorician in the prologue (1.3). Consequently, he only superficially engages with Pythagorean theories; rather, he pays a great deal of attention to Apollonius' rhetorical skills (1.17). In turn, readers must draw on their own rhetorical education, rather than on their knowledge of Pythagorean ideals, in order to critically engage with the discourses given by Apollonius, and even to detect the presence of the narrator within the direct speeches by the character (8.6).

The narrator also appears to be a polymath, i.e., a 'sophist' in the sense that he is an expert of knowledge. He indeed displays his ability to comment on the teachings given by Apollonius in several fields related to natural philosophy: geography, zoology, botany, medicine, and such. Yet, the narrator himself admits that Apollonius, as a 'divine man' (*theios anēr*), possesses a knowledge that goes beyond his area of expertise. The 'Philostratus' character therefore shares his own knowledge with his readers but deprives them of Apollonius' ability to be in communion with the gods and to access a superior, metaphysical wisdom. Whether the *Life of Apollonius* was addressed to restricted sophistic circles or to a wider audience, its readership is conveyed to become a Philostratean 'sophist' rather than a Pythagorean Master.

Studies on the *praeceptores amoris* (teachers of love) in Longus and Achilles Tatius have chiefly focused on the philosophical, ideological and occasionally poetical underpinnings of their precepts. In addition, by teaching verbal (and non-verbal) means to control Eros, *praeceptores* are reminiscent of rhetorical handbooks in which *pathopoia* is described as a powerful tool to achieve persuasion (e.g. Arist. *Rh.* 2, Quint. *Inst.* 6). My paper investigates how these scenes dramatize the problems involved in the verbal control of emotions and how they discuss rhetorical theories about such control.

First of all, the discursive tools taught by the *praeceptores amoris* encode the stylistic features of the novels. Clinias' erotodidaxis for instance contains references to the contemporary theory of *ideai*. Learning how to control love consists primarily in learning how to control language.

Secondly, these passages discuss the pragmatic effect of language on the target, and in particular confront the relative efficiency of poetry and sophistic/rhetoric theory and practice. For instance, in Longus' novel, while in Philetas' speech the claim that poetry cannot assuage the pain of love discuss Theocritus' and Virgil's views on the issue, Gnathon and the narrator echo the sophists' claim that they change emotions through language. These contradictory statements could echo the Imperial debate about the relative prestige of poetry and rhetoric.

Finally, my paper investigates whether a commentary about the novels' ability to manipulate the emotions of the readers can be detected in these precepts, and what this commentary is. In Achilles' novel, the relationship between Leucippe and Clitophon is a metaphorical representation of the relationship between the readers and the text: by representing Clitophon using the same discursive tools to talk to Leucippe and to the primary narrator, Achilles Tatius suggests that fiction is a form of seduction. In Longus' novel, the precepts of the *praeceptores amoris* explore the issue already raised in the preface of the correct emotional distance between the readers and the fictional world.

In sum, in my paper, I suggest that concepts from rhetorical theory and practice open a channel of communication between readers and writer to think about fiction and the power of emotions and language.

De Temmerman, Koen (Universiteit Gent): Callirhoe and Euphemia

This paper explores a Christian, late antique miracle story that is better known among Syriacists than among classicists or byzantinists: the miracle story of Euphemia of Edessa (modern-day Şanlıurfa, in South-East Turkey) and the Goth. It is probably dated to the fifth century and has been preserved in a Syriac and two Greek versions (premetaphrastic BHG 739-39k and metaphrastic BHG 738, the latter of which was recently edited by Papaioannou 2017). The story is loosely connected with the cult of the Edessan martyrs Guria, Shmona and Habbib (Gurias, Samonas and Abibos in Greek). As is the case for so much early Christian narrative, research into this story has predominantly focused either on questions of authenticity and historical enquiry (Muravyev 2020 is a recent example) or on the question of whether the Greek or the Syriac version is the original (see Von Gebhardt and von Dobschütz 1911: I-lvi and Burkitt 1913 for opposing views; but evidence on either side remains inconclusive: Messis and Papaioannou 2013: 26).

My paper, by contrast, directs attention to the narrative qualities of this story, which have received far less attention (exceptions are Harvey 1996: 39 n. 46 on themes from Genesis, and Messis and Papaioannou 2013: 30 on family-romance). I argue that the *Miracle* characterizes Euphemia as a novelistic heroine and that it does so not only through the adoption of narrative tropes and topoi associated with the novelistic genre but also by systematically constructing a cluster of references to one Greek novel in particular (whose afterlife is commonly believed to be non-existent before its only extant version in the 13th-century codex *Florentinus Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 627): Chariton's *Callirhoe*. I identify and survey a number of (thematic, conceptual and lexical) similarities between this novel and the different versions of the Euphemia story and argue that the Metaphrastic version of the *Miracle*, unlike the premetaphrastic and the Syriac versions, models its heroine on Chariton's specifically. I then explore possible reasons for Metaphrastes' innovation and examine what such modelling means for our understanding of Euphemia's characterization. Thus my paper aims to contribute not only to the history of the reception of Chariton but also to our understanding of the *Miracle*: my observations destabilize any straightforward reading of the text and suggests that the common and rather crude distinction between 'truth' and 'fiction' with which this text, like most hagiography, has traditionally been approached, insufficiently captures the narrative complexities at work.

Burkitt, F.C. (ed.) 1913. *Euphemia and the Goth, with the Acts of martyrdom of the confessors of Edessa* (London-Oxford).

Harvey, S.A. 1996. 'Sacred Bonding: Mothers and Daughters in Early Syriac Hagiography', *JECS* 4.1, 27–56.

Messis, C. and Papaioannou, S. 2013. 'Histoires 'gothiques' à Byzance. Le saint, le soldat et le Miracle d'Euphémie et du Goth (BHG 739)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67, 15-47.

Muravyev, A. 2020. "'Perfidious Goth', Holy Martyrs Cult and the Memory of Roman Troops in 5th Century Edessa', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 80, 134–142.

Papaioannou, S. 2017. *Christian Novels from the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

von Gebhardt, O. and von Dobschütz, E. (eds.) 1911. *Die Akten der edessenischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Firstly, this paper discusses the status of the *Pseudo-Clementines* in earlier scholarship on the ancient narrative and Christian fiction. Too often, the *Pseudo-Clementines* have been neglected as examples of the late ancient novel and as expressions of Christian fiction. This paper outlines some further markers for the research into the *Pseudo-Clementines* as an ancient novel and where precisely their originality as expressions of late ancient fiction is to be found. I will elaborate on some methodological lines to emphasize the status and role of the *Pseudo-Clementines* in the field of ancient narrative.

One of the markers of the originality in this work of Christian fiction are the metafictional strategies, that is, commentaries on the fictional status of the work itself, which position the novel against other traditions, and, more specifically, against ancient (Greek and Latin) novels. As a case study here, I want to discuss the passage of *Hom.* 13.9.3.

The author of the Greek *Pseudo-Clementines* deliberately reflects on the status of his/her work by addressing the unique notion of 'dehellenization' (ἀφελληνισθῆναι) in a passage which is to be read in the light of other novels. Near Aradus – which is already an important novelistic topos – the beggar Mattidia, sitting in front of a temple, is asked by Peter to recount her misfortunes. Instead of recounting her life, she twists the facts, pretends to be a novelistic heroine and tries to deceive Peter with her story to such an extent that Chariton's and Achilles Tatius' novels comes into mind. Peter reflects on Mattidia's 'dehellenization' by praising her chastity (*sōphrosunē*) and her faithfulness to her husband despite her misfortunes (which are novelistic *topoi* such as shipwreck, loss of her family, threats of her chastity, ...). I reflect on the meaning of this passage, how the Homilist deals with the metafictional value of his/her text and how the text is constituted in relation to other novelistic expressions. This will give us more insight into the dynamics of Christian fiction and the way it reflects on sexuality, *paideia*, Greek/Hellenistic culture, and fiction.

Rhetoric is everywhere in Petronius' *Satyricon*. Detractors of the novel might easily point to this as a weakness. It has often been read as a product of and reflection on the rhetorical, "scholastic" culture bred by the practice of declamation in the early empire. While this mode of reading has proven highly useful, there is a sense of nostalgia often implicit in this kind of analysis: the idea that Petronius both enacts and reflects a "rhetorized" imperial culture often implies the loss of a pre-rhetorical, "classic" phase of Latin literature. Another purported weakness of Petronian fiction is its portrayal of character. For all that Petronius' portrayal of freedmen has been hailed as an early triumph of literary realism, his main characters have often seemed, by comparison, flimsy and inconsistent. This paper endeavors to place these two apparently troubling aspects of Petronius' fiction – the influence of declamation and the apparently inconsistent portrayal of character – into dialogue.

Drawing, on the one hand, on scholarship on the ancient Greek novel, and, on the other, on work on rhetoric in Roman imperial culture, I hope to offer new ways of reading Petronius' protagonists. As products of the system of declamation, these characters engage in a constant rhetorical project of performing their identity, a never-finished process of becoming that challenges the very criterion of character as the manifestation of an implied stable, inner consciousness. In other words, when we read any number of Encolpius' speeches, we might be tempted to cringe at his insincerity, were it not for the fact that the techniques of Petronian fiction seem to question the very usefulness of "sincerity" as a metric. To make sense of this, I draw on Bakhtin to argue that the way this novel uses laughter to lay bare the rhetorically shifting nature its characters' selfhood is one key to understanding Petronius' literary innovation. Rather than an index of decline, the presence of rhetoric, and mockery of rhetoric, in the *Satyricon* helps to create a dynamic, shifting sense of personhood and identity that marks Petronius as an important stage in the development of literary representation of persons in narrative. Petronius' characters' radically externalized self-presentation allows us to watch them undergo the type of radical change in their encounters with the world that, when imputed greater psychological depth, yielded techniques for representing character development.

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Rudich, V. (1997). *Dissidence and Literature Under Nero: The Price of Rhetoricization*. London: Routledge.

Seo, J.M. (2013). *Exemplary Traits: Reading Characterization in Roman Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taking her cue from Freud's insistence that narcissism is the "universal original condition" of humanity, Linda Hutcheon argues in *Narcissistic Narrative* that narcissism is "the original condition of the novel as a genre" (1984: 8).¹³ Such "metafictional" or "self-reflexive" literature is regularly dated to the seventeenth century. My aim in this paper is to build on an article I published in *Frontiers of Narrative Studies* (2017), in which I argued that narcissism is not a post/modern phenomenon; rather, reflexivity permeates ancient narratives. As Robert Frost might say, failed attunement to these ancient examples leads us, like Narcissus, to kneel "at well-curbs," looking, but "never seeing" this "road less travelled."¹⁴ Expanding the work of scholars such as Ewen Bowie, who remarks that Antonius Diogenes' *The Incredible Things Beyond Thule* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* are "interested . . . in flaunting their textuality" (2009: 115), and Tim Whitmarsh, who observes the "notable self-reflexivity" in Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale* (2011: 4), I explore the ways that ancient novels can be read as metafictional reflections on their own narrative nature.

Specifically, I suggest that we consider narrative narcissism on a continuum, a spectrum of degrees, and its expression as dependent on contingencies that elude control. Narcissistic narratives ought to be conceived as variously located on a spectrum of explicitness, ranging from a narrator's first-person reflections on the task of narration (e.g., *The Golden Ass* 1.1, 8-9; *Gospel of Luke* 1.1-4) and direct address to readers (e.g., *Chaireas and Callirhoe* 8.1.4; *Gospel of Mark* 13.14) to scenes of characters reading and interpreting narratives. The latter scenes implicitly thematize the larger narrative in which they are situated, and reveal a literary sophistication that often remains neglected in scholarly discourse. As Simon Goldhill writes: "The scenes of reading in the text are witty, knowing, and cultured" (2008: 193). Achilles Tatius, for example, describes Clitophon reading a book as he lurks around Leucippe (1.6.6). In this "extraordinary passage of literary mirroring," two acts of viewing are conflated into one act of erotic interpretation (Morales 2004: 79). The realities of narrative production, the always-fluid dynamics of readerly interpretation, and the contexts of delivery and reception affect the relative degrees of reflexivity in any given narrative. How might we read the rhetoric of such novelistic moments of mirroring?

¹³ Narrative narcissism should be distinguished from psychoanalytic treatments of narcissism as clinical/medical diagnosis.

¹⁴ Robert Frost's poem, "For Once, Then, Something," is a reflection on Ovid's myth.

Longus' novel is framed by the language of property and by economic concerns. In the Prologue, the Hunter-narrator offers up his story as a *ktema terpson* – a Thucydidean reference immediately reframed in economic terms to refer to the country estate of the wealthy landowner that provides the novel's setting (Prol. 3; 1.1.2).¹⁵ This estate is a *ktema* – a piece of real property; the adoptive families of the novel's main characters provide enslaved labor for households in the city; the marriage at the novel's end is negotiated by dowry and ultimately depends upon the revelation that the children are foundlings of equivalent elite status. The economic relationships that frame the story have attracted attention not just from scholars interested in how the novel reflects its contemporary setting,¹⁶ but also from those interested in the dynamics of Longus' pastoral world and the entanglements of city and countryside.¹⁷ In this paper, I argue that the evolving relationship between the novel's protagonists, too, is articulated in economic terms, specifically through the series of inset stories culminating with Longus' unique version of the myth of Echo (3.21-23).¹⁸

The three inset mythological stories have been interpreted primarily as cautionary tales about the threat of male violence and female subordination in heterosexual relationships.¹⁹ However, while the violence is undeniable, male self-assertion is not presented as an unqualified success when it comes to asserting control over women as property. In this paper I propose to read the third – and most violent – of the inset tales as a story of male failure juxtaposing two economic models: one a zero-sum model of possession and (male) control, the other an ethos of (female) autonomy and abundance.

The narrative context dramatizes the economic lesson: Daphnis asks Chloe to pay him for the story – naming a fixed price in kisses (3.22.4) – but Chloe handles the exchange independently, ignoring his price, but giving him “countless kisses” of her own accord (3.23.5).²⁰ In the context of Book Three, which highlights the economic dimensions of relationships of all kinds – political, social, personal, and erotic (especially the encounter between Daphnis and Lycaenion) – the myth of Echo models the impossibility of absolute male control over the female subject.²¹ As Daphnis and Chloe move from the symmetry of adolescent, epicene sexuality towards adulthood,²² they negotiate together the structure of their relationship – a negotiation conducted partly in economic terms.

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Funke, M. 2012. “Female Sexuality in Longus and Alciphron.” In: P. Futre Pinheiro, M. B. Skinner and F. I. Zeitlin, eds. *Narrating Desire: Eros, Sex, and Gender in the Ancient Novel*. Berlin.

Hubbard, T. 2006. “Virgil, Longus, and the Pipes of Pan.” In: M. Fantuzzi and T.D. Papanghelis, eds. *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*. Leiden. 417-464.

Hunter, R. L. 1983. *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe*. Cambridge.

Jolowicz, D. 2021. *Latin Poetry in the Ancient Greek Novels*. Oxford.

Konstan, D. 1994. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*. Princeton.

¹⁵ See e.g. Morgan 2004, 147 and 151.

¹⁶ See e.g. Mason 1979.

¹⁷ On the pastoral world, see Cresci 1999 and Bowie 2019 *passim*; on city and countryside, see Pandiri 1985.

¹⁸ See Hubbard 2006 and Jolowicz 2021.

¹⁹ See Winkler 1990 and Hunter 1983.

²⁰ See Schlapbach 2015.

²¹ See Funke 2012.

²² See Konstan 1994.

- Mason, H. J. 1979. "Longus and the Topography of Lesbos." *TAPA* 109. 149-163.
- Morgan, J. 2004. *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe*. Oxford.
- Pandiri, T. 1985. "Daphnis and Chloe: The Art of Pastoral Play." *Ramus* 14.2. 116-41.
- Schlapbach, K. 2015. "Music and meaning in Longus' Daphnis and Chloe: the Inset Tales in their Performative Settings." *Phoenix* 69. 79-99.
- Winkler, J. J. 1990. "The Education of Chloe: Hidden Injuries of Sex." In: *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. New York. 101-26.

This paper addresses the textual appropriations from Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* in John Xiphilinos' (ca. 1010–1075) *Miracula* and *Passio* of St Eugenios of Trebizond. It showcases the incorporation of ekphrastic passages, *ēthopoietic* vignettes and gnomic wisdom into Xiphilinos' hagiographic works (altogether five instances of novelistic imitation). On the one hand, the paper aims to assess Xiphilinos' novelistic appropriations against the background of contemporary Constantinopolitan and (wider) Byzantine hagiographic interaction with the ancient novel. On the other hand, it attempts to relate these textual findings with Xiphilinos' biography by arguing that his works on St Eugenios should be dated after his initial departure for Constantinople in the 1030s and not before as hitherto ascertained. For Xiphilinos' consistent hagiographic undertaking is ascribed to his early twenties as it is assumed that he was born ca. 1010–1013 and that he departed to Constantinople during the reign of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) for pursuing higher studies. Overall, the paper contends that the novelistic appropriations are better accounted for by a (post) Constantinopolitan-related intellectual context. Furthermore, it suggests that Xiphilinos' thorough and sincere commitment to monasticism (ca. 1050–1053) better accords with his hagiographical production.

Narration in the present tense to designate past state of affairs – the historical present [HP] – initially occurred in the oral tradition of early vernacular languages. This narrative technique became popular in Classical historical and rhetorical writings, dramatic plays, New Testament and Byzantine texts within the corpus of earlier Greek literature. In terms of narrative modes (*diegesis*, *mimesis*) as elaborated by Pseudo-Longinus and narrative movements (*ellipsis*, *pause*, *summary*, *scene*) as established by Gérard Genette, the *diegetic* HP in *summary narrative* and the *mimetic* HP in *scenic narrative* as two principal categories of this narrative technique can be recognised in several genres of earlier Greek literature, including the novel.

The present paper investigates various discursive functions of the *diegetic* and *mimetic* HP in Longus Sophistes' pastoral novel *Daphnis & Chloe*. It compares it with the functions of the narrative technique in the Late Byzantine romance, taking as examples the narratives Byzantine *Achilleid* and *Kallimachos & Chrysorrhoe* (13th–15th centuries). First, several similarities and dissimilarities between the two groups of the narratives in terms of the HP's semantics and discursive functions will be pointed out, thus touching the matter of the diachronic development of the narrative technique. Second, the question will be answered if the HP as used in rhythmic prose in the Ancient novel is influenced by formal constraints, comparably to the political verse in the Late Byzantine romances. The comparative study aims to present the continuity in the narrative technique employed by the Greek authors over the centuries and shed light on new directions of its development in the Late Byzantine narrative fiction.

Apuleian intertexts and allusions are used as markers in Late Antique prose to indicate language-based jokes such as puns, interlingual wordplay, and fraudulent translations for its contemporary audience. Already in the first chapter of Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses* the narrator presents himself as being a native speaker of Greek, who only with great difficulty has learned Latin and begs indulgence for any mistakes, signalling a play on the transfer and adaptation of a Greek novel into a Latin version, and the troubles of multilingualism. It also foreshadows the perplexing and humorous use of translation and language. For example, Apollo, who 'although a Greek and an Ionic Greek at that' utters his prophecy in Latin, as a favor to the narrator (4.32). Elsewhere in the novel a non-Latin speaker is addressed in Greek, but the line is presented in Latin (9.39). The narrator not only directly laments his lack of linguistic skills, but early announces that the work is in the Milesian style (1.1), and refers to himself in the story of Apollo as 'the author of this Milesian tale' (4.32).

In the Late Antique *Historia Augusta*, a work with several inventive fabrications and abounding with intertexts, one of the first instances of a spurious translation concerns the pretender Clodius Albinus, who is depicted as a writer of Milesian tales and a friend of Apuleius (*Alb.* 11.8 and 12.12). The *Historia Augusta* has many examples of fake translations, supposedly written in Greek or other languages, but appear to have no original and presented in Latin. Furthermore, like Apollo above, changing languages occur; for instance, the holy man Apollonius of Tyana, appearing as an apparition, switches to Latin in order to be understood by the uneducated emperor (*Aurelian.* 24.3-6). (Such code switching appears in other Late Antique authors, e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus 30.5.9.) The comical deceits of language can be argued to not only be inspired by Apuleius, but also be indicated by allusions to Apuleius, as to be understood as jesting by the audience of Late Antiquity (e.g. *Pesc.* 8.1-6).

The reception of Apuleius' novel is apparent, but it is an active original recreation as well. The innovative reinterpretation of the polyglot witticisms could perhaps be regarded as comments on the increase in translations and language confusion in Late Antiquity. The passages could also be regarded as referencing the tradition of cryptic oracular answers that had to be translated and decoded, or even hilariously misinterpreted. This paper aims to outline and contextualize the use of Apuleius in Late Antiquity, focusing on spurious translation and other code switching word play.

Typically, suspense in a narrative is associated to the reader's lack of knowledge on what will happen next. Yet scholars point out that 'anomalous suspense' is at work, for instance, in Homer, where the audience feel suspense despite its awareness of what is going to happen. This presentation will argue that a similar suspense and, we may add, surprise, is at work in the Byzantine novel, particularly in *Hysmine and Hysminias* (12th c.). There is, however, one crucial difference with Homer: in him, suspense and surprise are still anchored in the temporal structure of the work, while the Byzantine novel goes a step beyond. Usually, temporal dynamics are key to understanding suspense and curiosity. No less than Homer, the Greek novel recurs to an innovative temporal dynamic, with the frequent and sometimes abrupt interweaving of narrative threads, or a forceful *in medias res* beginning, undreamed of in previous narratives. Suspense and surprise may be of different types, but those indebted to temporal dynamics are doubtlessly present in the Greek novel – even though the reader knows the outcome of the narrative, as in Homer.

In the Byzantine novel, I will argue, the role of non-linear temporal dynamics is less prominent towards creating suspense and surprise; they are related, instead, to the devices the writer utilizes in the space of the text rather than in the time-space of his storyworld. The Byzantine novel has shifted the focus to a narrative praxis where temporal twists and, more in general, events that happen *in time*, are less crucial. Yet suspense and surprise are still key elements: not so much in the plot as in the wrongly called 'retardation' elements (in which, apparently, the plot does not move forward). The reader of the Byzantine novel justly wonders at every page what feature of the Greek novel will be selected for re-enactment, how it will be modified, what twist in the *topos* of the sea-storm will be applied, what new ironic perspective on love will be advanced, etc. The active engagement required of the reader, whose thrilling experience is linked to a lively set of expectations about what will happen next in the space of the text, produces a different and, we may say, very unusual combination of suspense and surprise. The aim of this presentation is to tackle those in their relation to the temporal dynamics at work.

Finn, Ash (University of Melbourne): Roman revenge and violent vengeance in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

...ipsos partim constrictos uti fuerant provolutosque in proximas rupinas praecipites dedere, alios vero suis sibi gladiis obruncatos reliquere. Tali vindicta laeti et gaudentes civitatem revenimus.

"Some of the bandits still in their chains they then rolled headlong over into the nearest gorges; others they slew with their own swords, and left them exposed there. We then returned to the town, elated and in good spirits, having taken our revenge." (Apul. *Met.* 7.13 trans. Walsh 1994)

The *Metamorphoses* by Apuleius is by any measure a violent novel. But it is also a vengeful novel with episodes of actual vengeance or fantasies of revenge occurring thirty-four times throughout. Yet whilst the violence in the *Metamorphoses* has attracted scholarly attention, most notably Garrett Fagan and more recently William Fitzgerald, the theme of revenge has received little to none. This is perplexing given the regularity of revenge in the novel, and the role revenge plays in Greek and Latin literature in general. Furthermore, the theme of revenge is either absent or much less prominent in the Greek *Onos*, suggesting that the theme of revenge is an Apuleian innovation. This paper aims to make amends for this by examining the theme of revenge as it appears in Apuleius's novel. To do so, it utilises two approaches. The first approach takes an historical perspective and asks what the *Metamorphoses* can tell us about what provoked a Roman to pursue revenge, how they might go about it, and why they would. The second turns to Apuleius himself and the controversial question of the true 'meaning' of his novel. It asks what role the topic of revenge plays in the narrative given the author's self-identification as an entertainer and philosopher.

Fagan, G. (2011) 'Violence in Roman Social Relations' in M. Peachin (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford : OUP) 467-96

Fitzgerald, W. (2018) 'Cruel Narrative' in M. R. Gale and J. H. D. Scourfield (eds.) *Texts and Violence in the Roman World* (Cambridge; New York : CUP) 286-308

Comprising a collection fifty-eight *vitae* of contemporary anti-Chalcedonian bishops and monastics, as well as the collective biographies of several ascetic communities in Mesopotamia and Constantinople, the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* were composed progressively throughout the late 560s by the bishop John of Ephesus (Ashbrook Harvey 1990: 1-42; and Van Ginkel 1995: 39-44). A principal source for the Severan-Jacobite church during the reigns of the emperors Justin I, 518-527, and Justinian, 527-565, the subjects of the majority of the *Lives* are named individuals, whose existence and historical biographies are at least partially corroborated by other late antique sources. Accordingly, the work has been studied for its historiographic value, as well as for the witness which it provides to the shifting attitudes of a dissenting Christian minority towards the social structures and religio-political claims of the Roman Empire.

However, in addition to the lives of these historically identifiable figures, the collection also contains six stories of anonymous ascetics. Covering a diverse assortment of patterns of ascetic practice and vocation, these stories of anonymous saints intersect frequently with the themes of the larger compilation, forming a clear part of its religious and rhetorical program (Ashbrook Harvey 1990: 43-56). Nevertheless, these anonymous narratives, which include some of the more overtly fantastical and supernatural episodes recounted in the *Lives*, stand out as a group from the remainder of the collection as works of literary invention, fictions – albeit fictions written with expectation of both conveying and being received as truths (Kaldellis 2014).

By focusing on these anonymous stories, this paper will explore their function within the larger collection as well as the literary devices employed by the John of Ephesus in their narration, such as storytelling *topoi*, specific motifs and authentication strategies. It will examine ways in which they offer spaces in which notions of authenticity and fiction become operative. In so doing, it will seek to examine and establish the role played by storytelling devices within the *Lives*, in addition to questioning what, if any, relationship they possess to narrative strategies of other genres of ancient prose fiction, such as the ancient novel.

Ashbrook Harvey, S., *Ascetism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints*, (1990, Berkeley, CA).

Kaldellis, A., "The Emergence of Literary Fiction in Byzantium and the Paradox of Plausibility," in P. Roilos (ed), *Medieval Greek Storytelling: Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium*, (2014, Wiesbaden), pp. 115-129.

Van Ginkel, J. J., *John of Ephesus: a Monophysite Historian in Sixth-Century Constantinople*, Ph.D. dissertation, (1995, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen).

Recently, I have argued that Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* can be read as an intervention designed to subvert the erotic discourse of Lesbos that associated it with female poetics and homosexuality.²³ Chloe, learning from the fate of the female musicians in the inset stories, hangs up her instruments to become a silent wife.²⁴ In this paper, I will focus on Longus' construction of masculinity in this context. Since a driving concern of the narrative is to locate the invention of heterosexuality on Lesbos (Gilhuly 2018), with an emphasis on the mechanics of (a patriarchal version) of sex (Winkler 1990, Goldhill 1995), Daphnis must mature along a different path than Chloe, and a notable asymmetry marks their erotic and poetic development (*contra* Konstan 1994). While there has been significant focus on the representation of female sexuality in the novel (Funke 2012), this paper will argue that Longus forges a distinctive type of masculinity, modelled on Dionysus and proven not on the battlefield, but in the domains most relevant to the identity of Lesbos: art and love.²⁵

When Dorkon and Daphnis vie in a beauty contest (1.17), Dorkon mocks Daphnis for being beardless, with skin as dark as a hyacinth. Daphnis responds that he looks like Dionysus. While Dorkon's critique indicates that Daphnis falls short of a masculine ideal, Daphnis embraces this unconventional model, for which he is later admired by women at the harvest (2.2). The presence of Dionysus and Daphnis' close association with him grow more pronounced as the text unfolds (Alvares 2014, Zeitlin 1990). I suggest that the figure of Dionysus facilitates the depiction of Daphnis' coming of age, and is implicated in the protagonist's ultimate assumption of the role of ideal husband.²⁶

This model illuminates the distinctive construction of masculinity in *Daphnis and Chloe* as compared to the characterization of other male heroes in the Greek novels.²⁷ It considers Longus' active role in norm construction,²⁸ and provides a rationale for why Daphnis avoids military confrontation, but asserts himself in erotic and aesthetic domains. Daphnis wins the approval of Philetas with his musical performance (2.37),²⁹ rebuffs Gnathon's advances (4.12), and in a hybrid feat of aesthetics and eros, plucks the Sapphic apple which he gives as an amorous gift to Chloe (3.33-4).

Epstein, S. 2002. "The Education of Daphnis: Goats, Gods, the Birds and the Bees." *Phoenix* 56. 25-39.

Gilhuly, K. 2018. *Erotic Geographies in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*. London.

Goldhill, S. 1995. *Foucault's Virginity*. Cambridge.

Konstan, D. 1994. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*. Princeton.

Lalanne, S. 2006. *Une éducation grecque: Rites de passage et construction des genres dans le roman grec ancien*. Paris.

Merkelbach, R. 1988. *Die Hirten des Dionysos. Die Dionysos-Mysterien der römischen Kaiserzeit und der bukolische Roman des Longus*. Stuttgart.

Montiglio, S. 2012. "The (Cultural) Harmony of Nature: Music, Love, and Order in "Daphnis and Chloe." *TAPA* 142.1. 133–156.

Morgan, J. 1985. "Longus and the Myth of Chloe." *ICS* 10. 119-34.

²³ See Gilhuly 2018, 117-137.

²⁴ For the narrative of Chloe serving as a continuation of the inset myths, see Morgan 1985.

²⁵ On the importance of Daphnis' masculinity to the novel, see Lalanne 2006, 162-168. For the influence of Pan and Daphnis' characterization, see Epstein 2002.

²⁶ For an interpretation of Dionysus in relation to ritual initiation see Merkelbach 1988.

²⁷ See Heliodorus' Theagenes, who "breathes the spirit of Achilles" (Hld. 2.35), and Chariton's Chaereas, who is compared to both Achilles (Char. 1.1.3, 1.5.2, 4.1.5, 7.4.6) and Hector (3.5.6, 7.2.4).

²⁸ This extends Winkler's (1990) reading of sexuality that sees social norms as being reflected in the text.

²⁹ See Montiglio 2012 and Schlapbach 2015.

- Schlapbach, K. 2015. "Music and Meaning in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*: the Inset Tales in their Performative Settings." *Phoenix* 69. 79–99.
- Winkler, J. J. 1990. *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. New York.
- Zeitlin, F. 1990. "The Poetics of Eros: Nature, Art, and Imitation in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*." In: D. M. Halperin et al. ed. *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton, N.J. 417-64.

Glass, Gillian (University of British Columbia): Romancing the divine: how epiphany and recognition determine appropriate marriages in the Greek novel

Few tropes of the Greek novels are so recognisable as the protagonists' exceptional and awe-inspiring beauty. It is a significant marker of hero and heroine's innate nobility and goodness (Konstans 1994; Perkins 1995; Haynes 2003; Jones 2012). Furthermore, this beauty contributes to a variety of other literary motifs, such as epiphany and recognition, found throughout the novel genre (Hägg 2002; Montiglio 2012; Cioffi, 2014). This paper suggests that reading the motifs of beauty, epiphany, and recognition together elucidates how the novels imagine endogamy (Whitmarsh 2018). These tropes complicate the idea that these unions are indeed spontaneous love-matches, instead of arranged marriages. Rather, I argue that these marriages are divinely arranged and sanctioned, and that the motifs of epiphany and recognition are central to ensuring the protagonists' union.

Epiphany is an ideal motif for exploring questions of boundaries and connection. Epiphanies operate paradoxically: they simultaneously collapse and expand the distance between the divine and the mundane. The deity's presence in mortal space temporarily collapses divinity and mundanity, while the manifestation of the divine also reinforces the differences between the two (Petridou 2012). In other words, epiphany is where the extraordinary becomes proximate and reminds humanity of its limitations. This experience sparks extreme reactions in the audience. The paradoxical experience and the emotional response mirror the erotic experiences of the various (would-be) lovers of the ancient novel, as their success in maintaining proximity with each other is contingent upon their eligibility as spouses. Moreover, the lover's ability to recognise and understand what s/he is seeing contributes to their ability to maintain this proximity. Collectively, I refer to these scenes as *erotic epiphanies*, as they draw on the imagery of appearance and reaction to the gods to explore the topics of attraction and marriage (Petridou 2012, 229).

In order to demonstrate this wide-spread use of erotic epiphany in ancient fiction, this paper draws examples from two novels: *Callirhoe* and *Joseph and Aseneth*. These disparate novels reveal this imagery's cultural currency between diverse groups in antiquity. In both novels, these encounters between appropriate and inappropriate lovers play on inter- and intra-textual references. Dionysius' falling in love with Callirhoe is comparable to Chaereas' own *coup de foudre*, and to the encounter of Anchises and Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn*. In *Aseneth*, Aseneth's vision of Joseph initially sets her up as a predator, like Potiphar's wife in *Genesis* (39:5-20) (Whitmarsh 2012, Standhartinger 2015), but her transformation reveals her to be Joseph's divinely chosen wife (Warren 2014; Glass 2021). The resulting effects of combined epiphany, eroticism, and (un)recognition establish how and why someone is deemed an appropriate spouse.

Cioffi, R.L., "Seeing Gods : Epiphany and Narrative in the Greek Novels," *Ancient Narrative* 11 (2014): 1–42.

Glass, R.G., "Aseneth's Epiphanies," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* (2021): 1–37.

Hägg, T., "Epiphany in the Greek Novels: The Employment of a Metaphor," *Eranos* 100 (2002): 51–61.

Haynes, K., *Fashioning the Feminine in the Greek Novel* (Routledge, 2003).

Jones, M., *Playing the Man: Performing Masculinities in the Ancient Greek Novel*, Oxford Studies in Classical Literature and Gender Theory (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Konstan, D., *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

Montiglio, S., *Love and Providence: Recognition in the Ancient Novel* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Perkins, J., *The Suffering Self. Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (Routledge, 1995).

Petridou, G., *Divine Epiphany in Greek Literature and Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2015). Standhartinger, A., "Humour in Joseph and Aseneth," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 23.4 (2015): 239–59.

Warren, M.J.C., "A Robe like Lightning: Clothing Changes and Identification in Joseph and Aseneth," in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. K. Upson-Saia, C. Daniel-Hughes, & A.J. Batten Ashgate, (2014), 137–53.

Whitmarsh, T., *Dirty Love: The Genealogy of the Ancient Greek Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

This paper will look at the reception of the popular novelistic trope of the bandit (or pirate) attack in early hagiographical literature, specifically in Jerome's three *Lives* of holy men. It will show the parallels between bandits and persecutors in these texts to analyse how these external aggressors reveal the character of the protagonist: while Malchus is captured by Saracens by way of divine punishment for abandoning his monastery (*The Captive Monk* chs. 3–4), his chaste marriage to his fellow captive redeems him and enables them both to escape from their master (ch. 9). The more virtuous ascetic Hilarion miraculously evades a pair of *latrones* in the marshes near Gaza (*Life of Hilarion* ch. 7), and he thwarts an attack of pirates by forbidding them to approach the ship on which he is sailing, with the effect that their oar strokes carry them back to the shore (*Life of Hilarion* 29.8–13).

Both Hilarion and the protagonist of the earlier *Life of Paul*, moreover, share the experience of being threatened by persecutors authorised by a Roman emperor – Decius in Paul's case and Julian in Hilarion's. Both saints' evasion of their persecutors is reframed as a larger spiritual journey – Paul makes a virtue out of necessity (*necessitatem in uoluntatem uertit*) as he retreats further and further into the desert (*Life of Paul* ch. 5), and Hilarion's dominant motivation is to escape his own popularity. This method of narrating minimises the threat posed by the persecutors and aligns the will of these two consummate saints with divine providence. Such ambiguous and elusive engagements with a scenario that is generally exploited in the novel to create narrative tension will be read as evidence of Jerome's innovative rewriting of generic rules as he transforms the novel into hagiography.

This paper examines representations of contact between human characters and the earth in the Greek novels, drawing on approaches from material ecocriticism. Usually in these texts the hero and heroine are kept apart from mud, soil, dust, silt and their close equivalents. Ground contact is often linked with low status (e.g. in the *Onos* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*) or with foreign cultures in ethnographic contexts. When the protagonists of the Greek novels are exposed to those things it tends to be only temporarily, before regaining a pose of elite detachment. That is the case especially for Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, but we see a similar phenomenon in Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus (e.g. at Chariton 2.2, where Kallirhoe washes off the 'silt' of her sea journey to reveal her beauty; cf. Longus 1.13, among several other passages). Even in an author like Achilles Tatius, who tends to be more open than the other novelists to various kinds of bodily immersion or interfusion, especially in relation to water, the material substance of the earth can seem surprisingly absent. In that sense these narratives can look disappointing if we turn to them in search of an ancient equivalents of phenomenological accounts of the bodily, immersive character of landscape experience – for example in Tim Ingold's conception of ground not as 'the surface of materiality itself', but as 'a textured composite of diverse materials that are grown, deposited and woven together through a dynamic interplay across a permeable interface between the medium and the substances with which it comes into contact' (Ingold, *Being Alive*, 2011; cf. Sullivan, 'Dirt theory and material ecocriticism', *ISLE* 2012; Iovino and Oppermann, *Material Ecocriticism*, 2016 among many others). When we look more closely, however, it becomes clear that there are some important passages that complicate that narrative. This paper looks at several of these passages in turn, including scenes in Achilles Tatius Books 3 and 4 and Heliodorus Book 9 involving the earth and mud of Egypt, and the use of soil in the wolf trap of Longus Book 1. Each of these episodes has its own intricate significance in relation to the wider narrative of which it forms a part, but they all share an interest in complicating straightforward ideas about human mastery over the environment, and exploring the way which images of encountering and moulding soil and mud can prompt reflection on processes of literary creativity.

Dans ses travaux sur le sublime, J. Porter (en dernier lieu *The Sublime in Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2016) a montré qu'il convenait d'élargir notre approche du sublime antique au-delà des cadres où il est habituellement cantonné. Loin de se réduire au domaine rhétorique, aux termes de la famille de ὕψος, et de faire son apparition vers le 1^{er} s. avant notre ère, le sublime représente une expérience esthétique ancienne, mise en évidence dans une vaste tradition de textes, poétiques, scientifiques, philosophiques. Porter a mené sa démonstration en enquêtant vers l'amont, surtout, du traité du Ps-Longin. Dans cette communication, je souhaite poursuivre l'enquête en aval et explorer l'hypothèse selon laquelle le corpus de Philostrate s'inscrit, lui aussi, dans cette tradition. Ce n'est pas un hasard si Gorgias et Eschine, deux orateurs dont Porter fait des témoins remarquables de l'esthétique sublime, sont aussi pour Philostrate des figures essentielles. Je m'attacherai surtout à la *Vie d'Apollonios* et à l'*Héroikos*, où plusieurs motifs récurrents portent la signature du sublime : par exemple le motif de l'observation du ciel, qui caractérise le personnage de Palamède dans l'*Héroikos*, et celui de l'ascension, voire du voyage céleste, associé aux Brahmanes et à Apollonios dans la *Vie d'Apollonios* ; l'esthétique du colossal ; la puissance expressive du silence. On partira aussi en quête d'éventuels héros sublimes dans les *Images*, avec pour enjeu de mettre au jour un fil rouge méconnu dans le corpus philostrateen, et de préciser sa place au sein des deux traditions distinguées par J. Porter (sublime matériel/immatériel).

Aristaenetus' epistolary collection entitled *Erotic Letters* (ca 500 A.D.) is a curious intertextual patchwork of passages taken from previous literary masterpieces. Borrowings from novels are both numerous and various: Aristaenetus used some of genre's typical motifs, and one recognizes protagonists' names as well as paraphrases, even *verbatim* quotations of Achilles Tatius', Xenophon's, Longos', Chariton's or Heliodorus' passages.

My meticulous research of the extant novels and Aristaenetus' *Letters* revealed several new probable parallels, i.e. previously undiscovered intertextual borrowings, to be added among those already traced by the scholars who dealt with Aristaenetus' intertextuality (e.g. Mazal 1971, Arnott 1972 and 1982, Gallé Cejudo 1999, Drago 2007, Tagliabue 2013 etc.).

The final goal of my paper is to analyse gender constructing in novel-inspired Aristaenetus' letters and in the source-texts themselves, in order to compare them. I am interested in finding out how often does Aristaenetus intervene into his models' gender roles by challenging or inverting them. Several letters contain names taken from novels or clearly alluding to these, with the additional alteration of the protagonist's sex (e.g. 1.3, 1.12, 1.13). Further analysis of the letters containing *imitatio cum variatione* of this kind will be conducted; I plan to investigate if there is any gender-related "origin" for these intertextual gender reversals in the very novel the borrowings derive from (e.g. somewhat "effeminate" male hero or female's unusual assertiveness). If these gender reversals prove to be connected to the plot of Aristaenetus' letter only, they can be considered his own (and significant) literary contribution. In that case I find it important to examine the purpose and the literary advantage of Aristaenetus' interventions into behaviour patterns of others authors' protagonists.

The paper relies on relevant theoretical scholarship on intertextuality (esp. Doulamis, K. (ed.) (2011): *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*; Harrison, S. J., Frangoulidis, S., Papanghelis, T. (eds.) (2018): *Intratextuality and Latin Literature* and Paschalis, M. (2007): "The Greek and the Latin Alexander Romance: Comparative Readings" in: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*, Paschalis, M. et al. (eds.)) and on gender, esp. in ancient novel (Futre Pinheiro, M., Skinner, M., Zeitlin, F. (eds.) (2012): *Narrating Desire: Eros, Sex, and Gender in the Ancient Novel*; Haynes, K. (2003): *Fashioning the Feminine in the Greek Novel*; Jones, M. (2012): *Playing the Man: Performing Masculinities in the Ancient Greek Novel*; Morales, H. (2002): "Gender and Identity in Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*" in: *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, Miles, R. (ed); Morales, H. (2005): "Metaphor, Gender and the Ancient Greek Novel" in: *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*, Harrison, S. J. et al. (eds.); Morales, H. (2008): "The history of sexuality" in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*, Whitmarsh, T. (ed.) etc.).

Regarding the analysis of intertextual gender reversals, the paper will follow the methodology used in a similar research, conducted on Tibullus' poems (Damer, E. Z. (2014): "Gender Reversals and Intertextuality in Tibullus", *Classical World* 107, no. 4, 493-514).

Harrison, Stephen (University of Oxford): Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche and the Victorian novel (1830-1900)

The emergence of the novel as the hegemonic literary form in English in the nineteenth century was accompanied by some recognisable receptions of the major Roman novels of Petronius and Apuleius (see Harrison 2004 and 2009). Such evocation in Victorian novels of the Latin texts which could be plausibly seen as the generic ancestors of modern prose fiction amounts to an implicit claim that the apparently recent English novel has an authentic classical pedigree and merits consideration alongside more obviously established literary forms such as epic, verse drama and lyric poetry which derive some of their status from evident classical antecedents.

The romantic plot of Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche, which presents true lovers overcoming problems to achieve an eventual happy marriage, has an obvious resemblance to the plot-line of the conventional Victorian novel, and was consequently popular in prose fiction, not least in female novelists. The only full-length adaptation in English Victorian prose fiction is in fact the historical romance *Love and Life* (1880) by the prolific novelist Charlotte M. Yonge (see Schulze 2020); here I pick out a few instances of more small-scale allusion from better known novelists.

In *Adam Bede* (1859), George Eliot compares the doomed romance of the handsome and susceptible gentleman Arthur Donnithorne with the pretty dairymaid Hetty Sorrel to that of Cupid and Psyche (see Hall 2015), with clear allusion to Apuleius, while in *Middlemarch* (1871-2) and *Daniel Deronda* (1876) Eliot shows awareness of versions of Apuleius' Psyche in art. Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) presents a heroine who resembles the Psyche of C&P in a number of ways (both are young females transported to a magical new environment where they successfully resist the persecutions of a powerful female). Finally, *Marius The Epicurean*, the 1883 historical novel by Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde's Oxford tutor, contains a famous version of the story narrated by Apuleius as a fictional character, a version which had an impact on Wilde's own early fairy stories.

Hall, K. (2015), 'It is all one': Hetty Sorrel and the myth of Cupid and Psyche', *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 67: 278-94.

Harrison, S.J. (2004), 'Two Victorian Versions of the Roman Novel' in Zimmerman and van der Paardt 2004: 265-78.

Harrison, S.J. (2009), 'Petronius' Satyricon and the English Novel' in Prag and Repath 2009: 181- 97.

May, R. and Harrison, S., eds. (2020), *Cupid and Psyche: The Reception of Apuleius' Love Story since 1600*, Berlin and New York.

Prag, J. and Repath, I., eds. (2009), *Petronius: A Handbook*, Chichester and Malden.

Schulze, C. (2020), 'Gothic allegory and feminist critique: Cupid and Psyche in the novels of Charlotte M. Yonge and Sylvia Townsend Warner' in May and Harrison, 289-305.

Zimmerman, M. and van der Paardt, R., eds. (2004), *Metamorphic Reflections: Essays presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*, Leuven & Paris.

The iconography of sex-workers in erotic visual representation has been the subject of much debate in recent scholarship, namely as to its didactic, pornographic, or comedic function in both private and public spaces (Myerowitz 1992; Clarke 2007; Strong 2016). Known as *figurae veneris*, the specific choreographed movements available to the Roman sex-worker constitute the majority of Roman erotic display. These explicit erotic images, found in shuttered frescoes called *pinakes*, present their subjects in fluctuating dominant and pathic roles, allowing for a visual juxtaposition between the expected bodily movements of sex-workers and *matronae*. This expression of sexual fluidity in visual art is in direct conversation with the bodily presentation of the liminal female characters of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. This paper seeks to reevaluate the relationship between the visual art and the erotic femme encountered within the novel by analyzing the extent to which Charite's promise to immortalize riding Lucius-as-ass in a domestic tapestry in 6.29 anticipates his participation in the later erotic *pinax* of Book 10.

Known only as the *matrona*, the figure of the elite woman in Book 10 aggressively inverts conventional *figurae*, showcased in earlier erotic vignettes (1.13-14; 2.17), and interrogates the power dynamics between viewer and subject (Bartsch 1994). Pictured as opulent, maddened by desire (10.19.3) and surrounded by matronly accoutrement (10.20.2), the woman's physical form is cursorily described as "utterly stripped of all her clothes, even the breastband" (10.21.1). This significant removal of the breastband, a marker of matronly modesty, exposes her meretrician sexual urges as much as the nudity of her form. While it is the desire of the *matrona* that prompts the encounter, it is Lucius' asinine body—his hooves, mouth, rocky teeth, waist, and genitalia (10.22)—that dominates the vignette. Poignantly analogous to the frescoed sex-worker, Lucius' asinine body is open to the scopophilic gaze of both the libidinous woman in the scene as well as the complicit reader. As his body is centered within a corrupted inversion of Charite's heroic tapestry, Lucius achieves his visual immortalization, albeit behind the shuttered doors of the erotic *pinax*.

Apuleius' play with visual iconography informs both how we interpret the erotic power dynamics within the novel and how we understand sexual fluidity in Roman wall painting. Thus, positioning the liminal women in the *Metamorphoses* alongside the *figurae veneris* in Roman art reveals the ways in which sexual power dynamics were conceptualized by Apuleius' contemporary viewer.

Bartsch, S. 1994. *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak From Nero to Hadrian*. Harvard University Press.

Clarke, J. 1998. *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 B.C.-A.D. 250*. University of California Press.

—. 2007. *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250*. University of California Press.

Fredrick, D. 1995. "Beyond the Atrium to Ariadne: Erotic Painting and Visual Pleasure in the Roman House." *CA* 14. 2. 266-288.

Myerowitz, M. 1992. "The Domestication of Desire: Ovid's *Parva Tabella* and the Theater of Love." *Pornography and Representation in Greece & Rome*. Ed. A. Richlin. OUP. 131- 157.

Olson, K. 2003. "Roman Under-wear Revisited." *CW* 96. 2. 201-210.

—. 2006. "Matrona and Whore: Clothing and Definition in Roman Antiquity." *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Ed. C. Farone. University of Wisconsin Press. 186-204.

Strong, A. 2016. *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press.

Zimmerman, M. 2012. *Apulei: Metamorphoseon Libri XI*. OUP.

Hofmann, Heinz (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen): Der romantische Apuleius: Das Hexenabenteuer von Aristomenes und Socrates aus den *Metamorphosen* in Charles Nodiers Novelle *Smarra ou les Démons de la nuit* (1821)

Charles Nodier (1780-1844) gehörte zur ersten Generation der französischen Romantiker und errang vor allem durch seine Traum- und Gespenstergeschichten auch außerhalb der französischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts größere Berühmtheit. Seine 1821 erschienene Novelle *Smarra ou les Démons de la nuit*, die von der Apuleius-Forschung bisher kaum beachtet wurde, beruht auf Aristomenes' Erzählung in *Met.* 1, 11 ff. von dem nächtlichen Abenteuer mit den Hexen, die seinem Gefährten Sokrates das Herz aus dem Leibe reißen und zum Schluß noch ihre Blase über ihn – Aristomenes – entleeren. Im Vortrag soll Nodiers Novelle kurz vorgestellt und in ihren Beziehungen zu Apuleius untersucht werden, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf den Rezeptionsformen des lateinischen Praetexts in der Novelle und möglichen zeitgenössischen Kontexten, die in Nodiers Bearbeitung ihre Spuren hinterlassen haben, liegt.

„the author's most celebrated work, a remarkable novella, one of his dream writings, which features a vampire. The word "Smarra" was taken from the Dalmatian word for "Nightmare" (Wikipedia)

Photius' *Bibliotheca* plays an outsize role in the ancient novel's early reception history. Composed of nearly three hundred works the patriarch claims to have read while on a diplomatic mission, the *Bibliotheca* is especially valuable as a document of novelistic reception for two key reasons. Firstly, the *Bibliotheca* is essentially the primary source for Iamblichus and Antonius Diogenes' novels, as Photius' detailed plot summaries rescue these otherwise extremely fragmentary texts from near-total loss. Secondly, although scattered references to the novels have been identified from the fourth century onwards, these are often extremely brief and highly ambiguous. Conversely, Photius' explicit analysis of multiple novels offers a more coherent picture of novelistic reception which anticipates the Byzantine revival of the novel, in contrast to the uncertainty of late antique novelistic reception.

Yet, this requires further interrogation. The *Bibliotheca*'s role in transmitting these fragmentary novels places scholars in an awkward position, as attempts to explore Photius' subjectivity risks undercutting our sole source for these texts' plot and style. These novelistic codices have mostly been considered in isolation from the rest of the *Bibliotheca*, leading to Photius being characterised as a prudish and unnuanced reader who criticises Achilles Tatius' obscenity and simplifies Heliodorus' famously complex plot. Yet, as foundational scholarship on the *Bibliotheca* has made clear (Wilson 1968, Hägg 1975, Treadgold 1980, with the more recent work of Ronconi 2015 and Bianchi 2018), the *Bibliotheca* is not simply a collection of summaries, but participates in an active process of criticism and reception guided by Photius' own interests and biases. How then do the aims and approach of the *Bibliotheca* as a whole affect Photius' engagement with novelistic texts, and how does this influence our understanding of the earliest reception of the novel?

This paper aims to offer a more nuanced and holistic analysis of Photius' reading of the novels within the wider context of the *Bibliotheca* as a whole. After considering the stated aims of the *Bibliotheca* and their impact upon Photius' reading of novels, I explore Photius' approach to novelistic fiction against his engagement with other fictional texts, and argue that Photius is a more nuanced and considered reader of fiction than usually considered. Rather than simply reading Photius as a window to lost novels, therefore, this paper proposes a more nuanced understanding of Photius as one of the earliest attested readers of the ancient novels.

Bianchi, N. (2018) 'Sequenze di lettura nella *Biblioteca* di Fozio: i capitoli sui romanzieri,' in R. Otranto and P. M. Pinto (eds) *Storie di testi e tradizione classica per Luciano Canfora*, Rome: 1-11.

Hägg, T. (1975) *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exserpieren in der Bibliothek*, Uppsala.

Ronconi, F. (2015) 'Il *moveable feast* del Patriarca. Note e ipotesi sulla genesi della *Bibliotheca* di Fozio,' in L. Del Corso, F. De Vivo, and A. Stramaglia (eds.) *Nel segno del testo: Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere*, Firenze: 203-238.

Treadgold, W. T. (1980) *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, Washington D.C.

Wilson, N. G. (1968) 'The Composition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*,' *GRBS* 9: 451-55.

The Greek novels are enjoying something of a critical boom, not least in their status as sophisticated and intertextually aware products of *paideia* that catered for an equally learned readership. Whilst discussions of the literary texture of the novels have generally focused on their Greekness, the importance of Latin literature and culture are increasingly coming to the fore as necessary parameters in any reading of these texts. Bearing witness to this recent trend are a number of articles on individual novelists (e.g. Hubbard 2006, Brethes 2017, Klein 2018) as well as a monograph-length discussion of Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Longus (Jolowicz 2021).

However, the fragmentary novels have so far been left out of the conversation as regards any possible links with Latin literature (with the exception of some observations on 'crimino-satirical' elements of the Greek *Phoinikika* and *Iolaus* fragments and Apuleius/Petronius). The aim of this article is therefore to state and pursue some intriguing connections between the fragmentary novels known as the *Ninus* and *Chione*, and two episodes from the second half of Vergil's *Aeneid* that involve the contested suit for Lavinia. My claim is that the authors of these novels were involved in a direct engagement with Vergil at the level of both plot and lexical choice. I shall argue that the issue of Turnus' betrothal to Lavinia, and the dynastic implications attaching to it, constitute much of the intertextual underpinning of 'Fragment A' of the *Ninus* romance, which charts the negotiations for marriage between Ninus and Semiramis, as well as their psychosomatic effects (including tears and a blush). The *Chione* narrative likewise bears a number of striking thematic similarities with the dynastic situation of the second half of the *Aeneid* (a king who has already betrothed his daughter to somebody else), as well as a raft of lexical proximities.

Given the engagement of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* with Vergil's *Aeneid* (e.g. Cataudella 1927, Tilg 2010, Jolowicz 2021), in combination with the proximity in style and content between Chariton and the *Ninus/Chione* novels, this paper will also reopen the question as to whether to the *Ninus* and *Chione* may have been authored by Chariton (or be part of a so-called 'School of Chariton').

Songs and music play a significant part in several important episodes of *Digenis Akritis* : 1) in the story of the Girl's abduction, where Digenis repeatedly appears as a musician hero (G and E) ; 2) in the narrative devoted to Digenis' fight against the Apelates, where the main focus is on the Girl's song (G and E); and in the description of the protagonists' idyllic way of life on the banks of the Euphrates, with an emphasis on the pleasures of music (in G only). I intend to investigate such "musical episodes" from a double point of view, socio-ethical on the one hand, and mythico-literary on the other.

The first approach involves taking into account Byzantine views on music and more particularly the somewhat controversial role that Byzantine society allotted to songs and music in girls' education and women's life – an element critical to our appreciation of why *Digenis* depicts its heroine as a singer.

The second approach assesses the originality of the literary treatment of *Digenis*'s "musical theme." A first question concerns the author's possible debt to the oral tradition in relation with the much-debated topic of links between Byzantine epics and folksongs. A second point to consider is the specificity of the author's literary choices in comparison with ancient and Byzantine novels (that is, to generically related texts such as those by Achilles Tatius, Longus and Nicetas Eugenianos, some of which offer interesting parallels). One remarkable common feature is the insertion of lyric songs into the narrative. This stylistic peculiarity is to be found in most novelistic works of the Palaeologan period, such as *Kallimachos*, the *Achilleid*, or *Libistros*, where musical material is especially abundant. It may be that *Digenis Akritis* played a seminal role in paving the way for these literary developments of the Late Byzantine period.

Comparative scholarship on the Greek novels and Christian Apocryphal Acts thus far has primarily focused on shared motifs and themes (e.g., Schroeder 2000; Pinheiro et. al. 2013). This paper demonstrates how the similarities between these texts also encompass narrative strategy. I argue that both Chariton's *Callirhoe* and the *Acts of Andrew* unexpectedly lead their audiences to sympathize and empathize with a character whose role is structurally that of a villain.³⁰ In Chariton's *Callirhoe*, this antagonist is the "rival-lover" Dionysius, whose love for Callirhoe temporarily prevents her from being reunited with her first husband Chaereas. In the AA, the antagonist is the pagan husband Aegeates, who is a "rival" insofar as he is an enemy to the apostle Andrew.

In analyzing these rivals' characterization, I follow Sklar (2013) in distinguishing between sympathy and empathy. With respect to sympathy, I focus on how the narratives portray the rivals' suffering as undeserved.³¹ In my analysis of empathy (which, unlike sympathy, involves absorption in the feelings or experiences of another), I adopt the recent cognitive approach to narrative immersion.³² Narrative texts promote immersion through features such as verisimilitude, internal focalization, and transparency (Allan 2020). Through this immersion, the audience is enabled to empathize with the narrative's characters.³³

Following a brief discussion of methodology, I first examine several passages in Chariton's novel that lead the audience to empathize with Dionysius. Even though his love for Callirhoe threatens the happiness of the novel's protagonists, a passage in book two (2.4.1–3), for example, employs internal focalization (marked by multiple verbs of perception and will, e.g., θέλων... οἰόμενος... ἐβούλετο) and asyndeton (e.g., τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς κόμης, πῶς <ἐπ>εστράφη, πῶς ἀνέβλεψε) to immerse the audience into Dionysius' experience as he wrestles with his burgeoning emotions for Callirhoe. I also discuss how the novel mediates sympathy for Dionysius by including in-frame sympathetic responses.³⁴ Subsequently, I turn to Aegeates' characterization in the AA, arguing that his portrayal is not merely negative.³⁵ For example, after Aegeates' rejection by his wife, the narrative elicits empathy for him (14) by describing his response with immersive language, including internal focalization and verisimilitude (e.g., a focus on physical objects – ἐνόδιον ἐσθῆτα – and verbs of motion – ἀποδυσάμενος, ατακλιθεῖς). Moreover, I discuss how a prominent feature of Aegeates' characterization – as one who misunderstands why his wife rejects him – may elicit the audience's sympathy, insofar as this misunderstanding is largely facilitated by other characters in the narrative.

Allan, R.J. "Narrative Immersion: Some Linguistic and Narratological Aspects." In *Experience, Narrative and Literary Criticism in Ancient Greece*. Edited by Huitink, L., Grethlein, J., and Tagliabue, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

³⁰ For my analysis of the *Acts of Andrew*, I use the Greek text as reconstructed by Dennis MacDonald under the title "The Passion of Andrew." Like all the major Apocryphal Acts (except for the *Acts of Thomas*), the *Acts of Andrew* is not extant in its entirety and has a complicated text-critical situation. See Spittler 2013.

³¹ The judgment that the suffering of another is undeserved was central to ancient understandings of sympathy/pity/compassion, or *eleos*; Konstan 2006 and Nussbaum 2001.

³² Narrative immersion refers to the reader's mental state of being absorbed in the narrative world such that she may experience it as if it were the actual world. For further discussion, see Ryan 2001.

³³ In the same article, Allan discusses how the concept of immersion evinces similarities with ancient concepts such as *enargeia* and *ekphrasis*.

³⁴ As Morgan (among other scholars) has pointed out, in-frame reactions – namely, the reactions of characters within a narrative – often function to inform the external audience how to respond to the events of a plot themselves. For further discussion, see Morgan 1991.

³⁵ See Pesthy 2000 and Spittler 2008; both Pesthy and Spittler highlight Aegeates' negative portrayal and inimical relation to the other protagonists of the story.

- Konstan, D. "Pity." In *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*, 201–218. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Morgan, J. R. "Readers and Audiences in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros." In *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IV*, edited by H. Hofmann, 85–103. Groningen: E. Forsten, 1991.
- Nussbaum, M. C. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: CUP, 2001.
- Pesthy, M. "Aegeates, the Devil in Person." In *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, 47–55. Edited by Bremmer, J.N. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
- Pinheiro, M.P. Futre, Perkins, J., & Pervo, R. (Eds.). *The Ancient Novel and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative: Fictional Intersections*. Ancient Narrative Supplementum, 16. Havertown: Barkhuis, 2013.
- Ryan, M. L. *Narrative as Virtual Reality: Immersion and Interactivity in Literature and Electronic Media*. Baltimore, MD: 2001.
- Schroeder, C.T. "Embracing the Erotic in the Passion of Andrew. The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, the Greek Novel, and Platonic Philosophy." In *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, edited by J.N. Bremmer, 110–126. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
- Sklar, H. *The Art of Sympathy in Fiction: Forms of Ethical and Emotional Persuasion*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013.
- Spittler, J.E. *Animals in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: The Wild Kingdom of Early Christian Literature*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum neuen Testament. 2. Reihe; 247. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- , "μανθάνεις πρὸς τίνας εἴρεται τὰ εἰρημένα: Metalepsis in the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew." In *Metalepsis in Ancient Cultures*, edited by P. v. Möllendorff and U. Eisen, 387–402. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.

The aim of this paper is to examine the characterisation of Damis, the important figure who appears as a faithful companion to the protagonist Apollonius in Flavius Philostratus' 'fringe' novel *Apollonius* (VA). Critics dealing with this figure have concerned themselves especially with his historical existence and, in connection with this, his detailed record of the words and deeds of his teacher, commonly called the 'Damis document' (VA 1.3), and thus little attention has been paid to the character himself, regardless of the fact that he almost always shows himself (with Apollonius) in the work. Without doubt our author takes special care to make the character as impressive as possible to his readers. To better understand the characterisation technique of Philostratus, this study will look at Damis together with the characters who are given similar positions or roles in other ancient texts and thus could be used as models by Philostratus in creating his Damis. The comparanda characters are divided into two groups: (1) friends of Socrates in Plato's dialogues (Phaedrus in the *Phaedrus* and Crito in the *Crito*) and (2) comrades of male protagonists in Greek novels (Polycharmus in Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Hippothous in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*, Clinias in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Cnemon in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*). These figures spend a certain amount of time with the main characters, exchanging opinions on serious matters, which is true for Damis as a friend of Apollonius. He too accompanies Apollonius in his worldwide travel like the male friends in the novels, and takes part in earnest discussions often presented by the Tyanean sage like Socrates' friends in Plato's works. A series of comparison will reveal that Damis is a 'hybrid' figure, sharing many features with the characters in the related texts, and, more significantly, that he is not a mere foil to Apollonius (the idea offered by Knoles (1981), and implicitly, by Miles (2018)) but a distinguished character who has his own personality.

Knoles, T.G. (1981) *Literary Technique and Theme in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Diss., Rutgers University.

Miles, G. (2018) *Philostratus: Interpreters and Interpretation* (London).

While recent scholarly works have found thematic connections and similarities in phrasing (from one language to another) that enable us to contend that Greek novelists have read and imitated Latin poets from the Late Republic onwards, a particular issue remains at stake: why are the former not explicit about their use of such models? Allusive signposts that allow an author to comment from within the text regarding his literary borrowing, and other 'Alexandrian footnotes' (to borrow D. O. Ross' terminology), have been well studied for Latin poetry (e.g. Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, 1996, famously shows how the vocabulary of memory or repetition, for example, may thematize and indicate intertextuality; Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext*, 1998, further elaborates on such techniques of allusive annotations).

To what extent is it possible to track the same kind of sophisticated thematization of allusive gestures in Greek novels that betray knowledge of Roman literary works? I shall focus on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, in which several scholars have recently highlighted elegiac – and particularly Ovidian – influences, and shall thus explore whether (and how) these imitations can be signaled to the cautious reader by a kind of innovative (maybe even paradoxical) signposting.

Ecological disruption is a recurrent feature of *Daphnis and Chloe*: time and again the novel's pastoral landscape is directly or indirectly impacted by the incursion of violently acquisitive forces (whether piracy itself or the 'piracy of desire', 1.32) into a delicately balanced rural ecosystem. Applying insights from the field of disturbance ecology (as analysed e.g. by Turner 2010; Newman 2019; for definitions of the field see White and Pickett 1985), this paper considers the impact of disturbance regimes on bodily autonomy and pastoral ecosystems in Longus' novel. The paper focuses primarily on the dissolution of assumed boundaries between human and non-human bodies at critical moments of natural and anthropogenic disturbance, and particularly as a response to the spectre of bodily violence, be that metaphorical, threatened, or fully realised. In *Daphnis and Chloe* human beings are treated like animals, or themselves desire to take on the attributes of non-human animals, at critical moments of physical or emotional pressure catalysed by a range of disturbances. The aggressive desire for human bodies – as sexual objects or as material goods – in Longus' novel reveals the complexity of the relationships between species and erodes the presumed fixity of taxonomic systems; so too the behaviour of human beings is repeatedly seen to mirror or result from the disarray into which non-human animals are thrown when the stability of their ecosystem is disrupted. Longus' novel, I argue, offers competing visions or theories of its own rural ecosystem, setting hierarchical models against a more fluid relationship between species, and interrogating the degree to which disturbances can or should be traced to endogenous (autogenic) or exogenous (allogenic) forces.

In Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, the *syrinx* regularly punctuates the narrative (the word occurs 59 times), either as an object given (as a votive, a gift in wooing, a gift as a rite of passage), as an instrument played (in herding, in religious ritual, in social performance) or used to teach Chloe to play (with strong erotic overtones). It is thus intertwined with central themes of this pastoral story, notably herding and lovemaking. Embodied interaction with the *syrinx* expresses the desires of the giver or player, actively develops those of the pupil (Chloe) or audience, and has agency over the behaviours of humans and animals. The *syrinx* also features on a supernatural register: it is played by Pan in an uncanny intervention to save Chloe from the pirates; while the inset myth of the origin of the instrument – the story of the nymph Syrinx and Pan – narrated during a performance and mimetically acted out by Daphnis and Chloe adds further symbolic layers to the meaning of this object. The *syrinx* is therefore present throughout the novel in multiple literary registers and forms.

This paper moves beyond LeVen's astute 2021 exploration of the myth of Syrinx by encompassing the entirety of the presentation of *syrinx* in this text and applying sensory and ecocritical approaches. It analyses the role of the *syrinx* in the text, focusing on the evocation of its materiality (reeds, wax, bronze) and embodied engagements (lips, fingers, breath, voice) and effects (movements, emotions) within the natural landscape. This entails a discussion of the material history of the *syrinx* as a real-life object outside the text. The paper argues, first, that the repeated appearance of the *syrinx* associated with key erotodidactic and religious themes functions as a leitmotif; and second, that its fusion of natural materials and human bodies within the 'theatre' (4.15.2) of the natural landscape speaks to the novel's broader themes of transformation and maturation which inextricably combine the human, material and natural.

Konstan, David and Resh, Daria (New York University): The Lives of Saint Barbara: narrative and the practice of metaphrasis

The late antique and Byzantine practice of metaphrasis, that is, the rewriting of stories in various genres and stylistic registers, began well before the landmark *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, at the end of the first millennium. The great majority of the lives of Barbara that precede Symeon's compilation have never been edited. We are preparing an edition of all known texts, which take the forms of Passion, Metaphrasis, Encomion, Kanon, Kontakion, and Encomion with Metaphrasis. We have identified the major junctures of the narrative, along with the linguistic and stylistic transformations of the story as reflected in each form. We have also now covered the entire chronological span represented by these texts, from the 6th c. version to the late tenth-century metaphrastic versions. By examining the history of manuscript transmission we have also observed the legend's impressive geographical spread, from Constantinople to South Italy, and from Crimea to Cyprus. In our presentation, we will survey the narrative strategies that characterize these forms of rewriting, and discuss their relation to the ancient Greek novel and other narrative genres.

The proposed paper focuses on the *passio prior* of Galaction and Episteme (BHG 665), a Christian work from late antiquity or Byzantium.³⁶ This text is a sequel to Achilles Tatius's novel, narrating the marriage and conversion of (G)leucippe and Clitophon as well as the life and martyrdom of their son and his wife.

Previous studies, which tend to assume a primitive author who knows *Leucippe and Clitophon* only superficially, come to contrasting conclusions about the nature of this unique instance of novelistic reception. Some argue that the connection between the two texts is loose and irrelevant;³⁷ others suggest that the sequel's aim is to promote a specific perspective on Achilles Tatius.³⁸ While agreeing that the *passio*'s relationship to the novel is crucial to our understanding of this narrative, I aim to show that the involved processes of novelistic reception as well as their ideological implications are far more intricate and momentous than suggested by existing scholarship.

First, I shall argue that the author of the *passio* is a remarkably sophisticated, 'modern' reader of *Leucippe and Clitophon*, demonstrating familiarity with features of the novel that have only started receiving attention in recent decades. For example, by portraying Clitophon as an egoistic, violent husband, the Christian writer 'decodes' and exposes the sexist, self-obsessed internal focalisation dominating Achilles Tatius's ego-narrative;³⁹ moreover, the choice of writing a sequel to this particular novel and of relocating its protagonists to Emesa implies that this author grappled with the remarkable open ending of *Leucippe and Clitophon*.⁴⁰ Thus, this supposedly primitive writer displays a deeper understanding of the novel's narratological intricacies than any other extant early interpretation.

Building on this analysis, the second part of my paper explores the ideological implications of Christian sequel-writing. Against the *communis opinio*, which sees this as a relatively simple attempt at 'legitimising' the novels – necessitated by the combination of their scandalous content and central literary status – I suggest that the *passio* represents a much more ambitious cultural intervention. Reading this text against the background of late antique and early Byzantine discourses of pagan literature and its usefulness in a Christian context,⁴¹ my paper argues that the sequel is best understood as a provocative, triumphant act of ideological appropriation: by showcasing that even the 'most pagan' of Greek novels can be absorbed by Christianity, the *passio* turns an act of literary reception into a performative celebration of cultural hegemony.

Alwis, A.P. (2012) *Celibate marriages in late antique and Byzantine hagiography: the lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme*, New York 2011.

Bossu, A. (2014) *Quick-witted women: literary studies of female characters in the Latin post-Nicene passions of the martyrs*, Diss. Ghent.

Braginskaya, N. et al. (2009) 'ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΓΑΛΑΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ', *Вестник Древней Истории* 270: 210–235.

Delehaye, H. (1921) *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, Brussels.

Dörrie, H. (1938) 'Die griechischen Romane und das Christentum', *Philologus* 93: 273–276.

Fusillo, M. (1997) 'How novels end: some patterns of closure in ancient narratives', in D.H. Roberts ed., *Classical closure: reading the end in Greek and Latin literature*, Princeton: 209–27.

Morales, H. (2004) *Vision and narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon*, Cambridge.

Morgan, J. (2007) 'Kleitophon and Enkolpius: Achilleus Tatios as hidden author', in M. Paschalis, S. Frangoulidis et al. eds, *The Greek and the Roman novel: parallel readings*, Groningen: 105–20.

³⁶ On the question of dating see Braginskaya et al. 2009; Alwis 2012.

³⁷ See, e.g., Delehaye 1921; Alwis 2012.

³⁸ See Dörrie 1938; Robiano 2009; cf. Bossu 2014.

³⁹ Morales 2004; Morgan 2007; Whitmarsh 2011.

⁴⁰ Fusillo 1997; Repath 2004.

⁴¹ Esp. Basil of Caesarea, *De legendis gentiliis libris*; John Chrysostom, *De inani gloria et de educandis liberis*.

- Repath, I. (2005) 'Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Cleitophon: what happened next?', *CQ* 55: 250–65.
- Robiano, P. (2009) 'Pour en finir avec le christianisme d'Achille Tatius et d'Héliodore d'Émèse: la lecture des Passions de Galaction et d'Épistèmè', *L'antiquité classique* 78: 145–160.
- Whitmarsh, T. (2011) *Narrative and identity in the ancient Greek novel: returning romance*, Cambridge.

The characters in medieval literature are often rightly labelled as flat and stereotypical. Serving as mere vehicles for the plot, they represent a type “individualized by means of the story, but not by means of personal and non-transferable characteristics” (Schulz, *Erzähltheorie*, 2012, 12). In other words, the medieval literary character is constructed in and through the story. This undoubtedly stands also for characters in *Digenis Akritis*. The aim of the proposed contribution is to study the story space as another means of characterization. I briefly analyse several examples from the G version of the poem: Digenis washing himself and changing after his first hunt (4,213–245), the Arabian girl abandoned in the desert (5,30–63), and the first encounter of Digenis and Maximou (6,546–583). I will argue that, on one hand, the surroundings within which a character is presented, the way in which this space is represented, and the spatial details brought to the fore mirror his/her inner feelings and character features, as well as actual life circumstances, and thus serve as a means of character construction. This function of the story space explains the great attention paid by the author/redactor of the G version to the representation of space.

Lateiner, Donald (Ohio Wesleyan University): The social emotion of embarrassment in Ancient Greek novels (Goffman's micro-sociology)*

This paper examines Greek novelists' scenes of embarrassment and shame. Self-conscious emotional awkwardness—especially teenage gaffes—enriches novel characterization and plot. The social psychologist Erving Goffman's analyses of American everyday self-presentation can explicate scenes in which both inexperienced and unempowered ancient persons suffer embarrassment (e.g., Chaireas, Daphnis, Charikleia) and empowered persons maliciously and strategically embarrass and humiliate others (Thersandros, Demainete, Arsake). Thus embarrassment presents a tool of characterization for weak and strong characters.

Darwin (1872) drew scientific attention to *The Expression of Emotions*, with Chapter 13 exploring Self-Attention—Shame—Modesty. There, he analyzed blushing, the signature sign of the emotion **embarrassment**. Classicists digested anthropologists' (outer) **shame** and (inward) **guilt** dichotomy before the field experienced the more nuanced "emotional turn." Meanwhile, Goffman (1956/1967, 1959, etc.) recognized embarrassment as a separate and universal **social emotion** using concepts of "face," "scenes," and other metaphors of "performance." Embarrassment identifies a failed social performance. Psychologists of emotions and students of nonverbal behaviors (e.g., Rowland Miller (1996) also contribute insights to neglected areas of spoiled rituals, lasting stigma, and expression gamesmanship.

Although classicists now detect and discuss many emotions, feelings and displays of ruined modesty and maladroitness have been understandably neglected, *because* the Ancient Greeks, even Aristotle, did not have a term specific for embarrassment. Absence of lexical presence does not provide evidence of the feeling's absence. *Aidōs* (Cairns 1993) and *Aiskhynē* (Fisher 1992) furnish the closest relevant Greek terms. We can identify various spoiled performances in ancient texts without specific lexemes, easily when blushes appear, but more frequently when persons—especially, young and/or female (disprivileged) persons—dread losing, or do lose, "face." We consider the paradigms presented by flustered Homeric Telemachos and nervous Nausikaa, Tatius' Kleitophon, and Heliodoros' Charikleia. "Loss of face," suddenly accrued social stigma, short-circuits reasonably anticipated social interactions,

Ancient Greek epochs and barbarian locales differ in rules for social control and strategies for expressing responsibility, deference, self-esteem, politeness and impoliteness (Skheria, Sparta, Ionia, Persia, Aithiopia). Cultural misreadings enrich the multi-cultural novels with embarrassing faux pas. In fact, representations of human efforts to fit in with groups and to avoid conspicuous loss of face populate all genres, not least the five extant Greek novels. The novels well exemplify Goffman's face-destroying, face-losing, and face-saving "scripts," rituals, and strategies—both within ethnic groups (approach protocols) and across cultures (e.g., *proskynesis*).

Cairns, D. 1993. *Aidōs*. Oxford.

De Temmerman, K. 2014. *Crafting Characters. Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Greek Novels*. Oxford.

Fisher, N. 1992. *Hybris. A Study in the Value of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*. Warminster.

Goffman, E. 1955. "On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction," Repr. *IR* 5-45.

_____. "Embarrassment and Social Organization," reprinted in *IR* 97-112.

_____. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City.

_____. *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs.

_____. *Interaction Ritual*. Garden City. [=IR]

Lateiner, D. 1998. "Blushes and pallor in ancient fiction," *Helios* 25.2: 163-89.

Miller, R. S. 1996. *Embarrassment. Poise and Peril in Everyday Life*. New York.

Miller, W. I. 1993. *Humiliation*. Ithaca.

Empress Eudocia, the educated Christian wife of Theodosius II, was a celebrated poet of biblical paraphraseis. Among her writings is a hexametrical poem entitled *Saint Cyprian* that is a metrical revision of the *Conversion, Confession, and Martyrdom of St. Cyprian of Antioch*. In reworking Cyprian's hagiography, the poem abounds in allusions from epic, especially Homer's *Odyssey*, and the novel, especially Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. In it, the beautiful but chaste heroine *Justa* needs to defend herself both against the attempts of a suitor called Aglaidas but also from the attacks of Cyprian, a famous magician and an early Faust figure, whom Aglaidas hires in order to seduce the virgin.

This presentation aims to present the entanglement of epic and novel in Eudocia's *Saint Cyprian*, where epic as genres contributes mainly towards the gravitas of the hexametric hagiography and novel towards the adventure patterning. In more detail the analysis will focus on the following:

1. The complex characterisation of *Justa* as a Penelope, the faithful wife par excellence, and its parallel reworking for the depiction of Mary in Eudocia's other poem, the Homeric *Centos*.
2. The adventure motif and that of the unwanted suitor evoked in *Justa*'s seduction by magic that abounds in Christian and pagan fiction and in particular in Heliodorus, where Calasiris pretends to apply magic on the love-sick Chariclea.
3. The subversion and Christianisation of the theme of love-by-hearing, as opposed to the novelistic version of love-by-sight, which is already present in Philostratus' revision of the Helen myth in the *Heroikos* 54.3 and Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*.
4. The late antique trend of versifying novelistic scenarios and the relationship between St Cyprian and Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*.

Berranger-Auserve, D. "Cyprien, personnage romanesque dans la Confession de saint Cyprien." In *Les Personnages Du Roman Grec*, ed. B. Pouderon. Lyon: 1999.

Bevegni, C. *Eudocia Augusta: Storia Di San Cipriano*. Milano: 2006.

Dümmmler, N. N. "Musaeus Hero and Leander: Between Epic and Novel." In *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception*, ed. M. Baumbach and S. Bär. Leiden, 2012.

Johnson, S. F. "Late Antique Narrative Fiction: Apocryphal Acta and the Greek Novel in the Late Fifth-Century Life and Miracles of Thecla." In *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. S.F. Johnson. Hampshire, 2006.

Montiglio, S. *Musaeus' Hero and Leander, introduction, text, translation, and commentary*. New York, 2020.

Rigo, M. S. "Writing a Homeric-Christian Poem: The Case of Eudocia Augusta's *Saint Cyprian*." In *The Genres of Late Antique Christian Poetry. Between Modulations and Transpositions*, ed. F. Hadjittofi and A. Lefteratou. Berlin: 2020.

Sowers, B. P. *In Her Own Words. The Life and Poetry of Aelia Eudocia*. Harvard: 2021.

Greek novels are fertile ground for studies of intertextuality. Tim Whitmarsh demonstrated this recently in connection with Achilles Tatius' Books I and II. I would like to come back to the passage from Book II in which the slave Satyros plays with another slave called Conops by telling him two fables adapted from Aesop, "The lion, Prometheus and the elephant" (fable n ° 210) and "The Mosquito and the Lion" (fable n ° 188), but it must rather be said that the novel features in a pleasant way an exchange of fables between two slaves. As in Petronius' *Satyricon*, the language of the fable has a liberating aspect, it is a performative language in the strong sense of the term, which serves to establish the superiority of Satyros (the Satyr) over the Mosquito (Conops) who will be caught in a spider's web. The intertextual set of allusions obviously refers to fables, but also to the tradition of the *Life of Aesop*, since the episode in Achilles Tatius narrates the social rise of a Phrygian or African slave who ends up being the victim of his own *hybris*. In Achilles Tatius' novel, we can assume that it is a game - ironic of course - about social relations between slaves imitating those of masters and about the power of rhetoric, which is able to overcome strong forces. It is also a testimony to the "syncretism" studied by Michel Tardieu.

Billault A., "Achilles Tatius, Slaves and Masters", in *Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel*, S. Panayotakis & M. Paschalis eds, Groningen, 2019.

Forsdyke S., *Slaves tell tales and other episodes in the popular culture in Ancient Greece*, Princeton, 2012.

Forsdyke S., *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, 2021.

Jouanno C., *Vie d'Esop*. Paris, 2006.

Marchesi Ilaria, "Traces of a Freed Language: Horace, Petronius, and the Rhetoric of Fable", *CA* 24,2, 2005, 307-330.

Tardieu M., "Histoire des syncrétismes de la fin de l'Antiquité", cours au Collège de France en 2001-2002 :

https://www.college-de-france.fr/media/micheltardieu/UPL5627052569776867790_2001_2002.pdf

Whitmarsh T., "The Flowers of the Meadow: Intrageneric Intertextuality in Achilles Tatius 1-2", in *Dynamics of Ancient Prose. Biographic, Novelistic, Apologetic*, T.S. Thorsten & S. Harrison eds, Berlin, 2018, TSCV, 115-0000.

The ancient Greek novels, as Mikhail Bakhtin claims, are a structural paradox: the beginning and end are near-identical points separated by the “sharp hiatus” of the hero and heroine’s adventures, which do not affect their lives.⁴² This structure resists both teleological readings — which risk downplaying the novel’s center — and nonlinear readings — which risk missing the novel’s obsession with marriage. Both strategies of reading are erotonormative; they are driven by compulsory sexuality.⁴³ They assume that “being sexual is the default and neutral mode of being” and that desire (usually but not always sexual)⁴⁴ is the main force which supports and opposes narrative structure.⁴⁵ Because the novel’s tense, unstable relationship with desire and time exists outside the erotonormative binaries of marriage/chastity and linearity/nonlinearity, the ancient novel demands an asexual theoretical approach.

Asexuality is a queer orientation involving the non-experience of sexual attraction. Asexual theory, a subfield of queer theory, interrogates compulsory sexuality by decentering desire as the driving force of narrative and deconstructing the binary of linear or nonlinear reading. This approach introduces ‘the asexual possibility’,⁴⁶ the idea that desire might not be the driving force or endpoint of a narrative. The ancient Greek novels, by centering desire, necessarily invite the asexual possibility, which displaces desire and uncovers less prominent but equally influential narrative forces: chance, stasis, and absence itself.⁴⁷

The asexual possibility provides particularly valuable insight regarding perspective and chance in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. The novel’s first unnamed narrator chooses to prioritize Eros, although Cleitophon himself ascribes his experiences to Chance and the Fates in his opening statement (1.2, 3) and in every book of the novel. Asexual theory resists this erotonormative lens by defocalizing Eros, thereby approaching Cleitophon’s narrative on his stated terms.⁴⁸ While Cleitophon’s egonarration often obscures Leucippe’s agency and desire, the asexual possibility introduces a subversive interpretation of her (and Cleitophon’s)⁴⁹ lack of overt sexual desire: we can

⁴² Bakhtin (1981) 89.

⁴³ Przybylo defines compulsory sexuality as “a term developed within asexuality studies that, drawing on Adrienne Rich’s term 2 “compulsory heterosexuality,” speaks to the ways in which sexuality is presumed to be natural and normal to the detriment of various forms of asexual and nonsexual lives, relationships, and identities.” Przybylo (2019) 1.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Hanna Hanson clarifies that “narrative desire is not always sexual, but the discourse I have inherited is prone to that 3 simplification, informed by the reification of asexual erasure by psychoanalysis and other modern accounts of sexuality and subjectivity.” Hanna (2014) 349 in Cerankowski and Milks (2014).

⁴⁵ Przybylo (2019) 6.

⁴⁶ Ela Przybylo’s reception of Adrienne Rich’s ‘lesbian possibility.’

⁴⁷ Absence as a narrative force can be analyzed using the language of lack inherent to asexuality, as Angela Chen explains. “To 6 explain asexuality and what it means to not experience sexual attraction, aces [asexual people] must define and describe the exact phenomena we don’t experience. It requires us to use the language of “lack,” claiming we are legitimate in spite of being deficient, while struggling to explain exactly what it is we don’t get.” Chen (2020) 19.

⁴⁸ Cleitophon’s terms are almost certainly unreliable, but this does not mean we should not seek to understand them, especially 7 because a firmer grasp of Cleitophon’s perspective would clarify Achilles Tatius’ broader narrative strategy.

⁴⁹ Melite scorns Cleitophon’s lack of sexual desire at length (5.25); Cleitophon describes himself as adhering to the male form of 8 virginity (5.20, 8.5); he engages in sex out of fear of Eros and to secure safety for himself (6.1); and he does not initiate sexual acts or ascribe himself agency in sex (5.27). Leucippe, like many novel heroines, avoids sex at every turn, and the asexual possibility offers us space to interpret Cleitophon’s alternating silence and narration about her as deliberate cover for the lack of sexuality in their relationship (6.14, 8.19). An asexual reading also encourages us to understand Artemis and Aphrodite’s joint appearances and cooperation throughout the novel not as exceptions to their conventionally antagonistic relationship, but as a theological reflection of the novel’s decentering of desire (4.1-2, 8.2, 8.5).

read them as asexual characters in an asexual relationship. Crucially, asexual theory is equipped to interpret Leucippe's perplexing final absence, because unlike Cleitophon and the reader, it does not equate narrative resolution with resolved desire.

The asexual possibility, which neither needs nor moves toward a desired end, embraces Cleitophon's philosophy of chance and anticipates the novel's seemingly random sequence of adventures. As absences implied by the text, both Leucippe and the asexual possibility (like Bakhtin's adventure-time) "leave no trace"⁵⁰ in the frame narrative, yet they quietly and persistently destabilize erotonormative reading strategies. Therefore, through an asexual reading of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, this paper argues that an asexual theoretical approach complicates and deepens our understanding of this novel's unique portrayal of desire and perspective, while countering erotonormative modes of reading which overemphasize eros and exclude other narrative mechanisms.

- Bakhtin, M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Trans. C. Emerson & M. Holquist, ed. M. Holquist. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Cerankowski, K.J. & Milks, M., eds. *Asexualities: Feminist and Queer Perspectives*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.
- Chen, A. *Ace: what asexuality reveals about desire, society, and the meaning of sex*. Beacon Press, 2020.
- Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*. Trans. R. Hurley. Pantheon, 1978.
- Goldhill, S. *Foucault's Virginity: Ancient Erotic Fiction and the History of Sexuality*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Konstan, D. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*. Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Morales, H. *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Cleitophon*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Przybylo, E. *Asexual Erotics: Intimate Readings of Compulsory Sexuality*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2019.
- Rich, A. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." *Signs* 5(4), Summer 1980: 631-60.
- Vilborg, E. *Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Cleitophon*. Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955:1-161.
- Whitmarsh, T., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Whitmarsh, T., ed. *Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Cleitophon Books I-II*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

⁵⁰ Bakhtin (1981) 110.

On connaît depuis longtemps le goût pour l'exotique dans les romans grecs et les liens entre ce genre et les récits de voyage antiques, une tendance particulièrement manifeste dans les *Éthiopiennes*.⁵¹ Cet intérêt est présent chez l'écrivain courtois Théodore Prodrome au XII^e siècle dans son roman *Rhodanthè et Dosiclès*, qui prend pour modèle le roman d'Héliodore.⁵² Je propose d'interroger l'évolution de l'exotisme d'Héliodore à Prodrome et d'expliquer pourquoi l'écrivain byzantin s'est tourné vers un passé lointain au lieu de pays lointains.

Bien qu'Héliodore situe son roman dans une période bien antérieure à la sienne, il ne souligne pas les différences entre cette époque et son propre temps : l'aspect religieux du roman est davantage lié au climat religieux de l'antiquité tardive qu'à la religion du VI^e siècle avant notre ère.⁵³ En revanche, la représentation des pratiques païennes est devenue chez Prodrome une indication de la différence entre le monde du roman et celui de ses lecteurs. Malgré la temporalisation inexacte du roman, il est clair qu'il cherche à plonger le lecteur dans un passé exotique et soigneusement réalisé.⁵⁴ En plus, l'écrivain byzantin ne partage pas le désir d'Héliodore de décrire de façon minutieuse des pays étrangers. Tandis qu'Héliodore se base sur des réalités historiques et des traditions littéraires spécifiques au sujet de l'Éthiopie, les barbares de Prodrome remonte plutôt à la topique générale du barbare et il ne cherche pas à présenter une société distincte.⁵⁵

En outre, les changements culturels requièrent que les *topoi* que Prodrome emprunte à Héliodore changent de sens : Chariclée et Rhodanthè sont toutes deux prises pour des déesses (H 1.2.1, 6 ; P 1.61-7), mais au XII^e siècle cette identification avait un côté plus exotique. Le motif du sacrifice humain apparaît dans les *Éthiopiennes* (10) comme un attribut d'un pays étranger mais, dans *Rhodanthè et Dosiclès* (7-8), plutôt comme une coutume du monde ancien.

Enfin, j'étudierai la façon dont les auteurs tournent le regard exotique vers leurs propres cultures : Héliodore s'en sert du point de vue des pirates pour rendre étrange l'habit de prêtresse

⁵¹ E. Rhode. *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 3rd edn. Leipzig, 1914 (1^{re} édition. 1876 ; réimprimé. Hildesheim 1960) ; James Romm, « Travel ». *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2008. p.112-118 ; Heinrich Kuch. « A Study on the Margin of the Ancient Novel : "Barbarians" and Others. » *The Novel in the Ancient World*, sous la direction de Gareth Schmelling. Leiden : Brill, 1996, p.209-220 ; Héliodore. *Les Éthiopiennes* : Théagène et Chariclée. Édité par R.M. Rattenbury et T.W. Lumb. Traduit par J. Maillon. 3 vol. Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1935. J.R. Morgan. « E. Heliodoros ». *The Novel in the Ancient World*, p. 417-456

⁵² Fabrizio Conca, éd. *Il Romanzo Bizantino del XII Secolo*. Torino : Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1994. Panagiotis Agapitos. « Narrative, Rhetoric and "Drama" Rediscovered : Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus ». In *Studies in Heliodorus*, sous la direction de Richard Hunter, 125-56. Cambridge : Cambridge Philological Society, 1998 ; Kaldellis, Anthony. *Hellenism in Byzantium : The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2007 ; Meunier, Florence. *Le Roman byzantin du XII^e siècle : à la découverte d'un nouveau monde ?* Paris : Champion, 2007.

⁵³ Katherine Krauss. « Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* : A New Patristic Context » *Ancient Narrative*, vol.18, 2021, p.1-23 ; Marília P. Futre Pinheiro. « Heliodorus, the Ethiopian Story ». *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* sous la direction de Edmund P. Cueva et Shannon N. Byrne. p. 76-94 Oxford : Wiley-Blackwell, 2014 ; J.R. Morgan. « E. Heliodoros ».

⁵⁴ Florence Meunier. *Le Roman byzantin du XII^e siècle : à la découverte d'un nouveau monde ?* Paris : Champion, 2007, p. 81-8.

⁵⁵ J.R. Morgan. « Heliodorus the Hellene » *Defining Greek Narrative*, sous la direction de Douglas Cairns et Ruth Scodel. Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2014 ; J.R. Morgan. « E. Heliodoros » ; J.P. Sanchez Hernandez, « Merchant's Road Toward the Utopia in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* » *Antichthon* vol. 52, 2018, p. 143-160 ; Corinne Jouanno. « Les Barbares dans le roman byzantin du XII^e siècle : fonction d'un topos ». *Byzantion*, vol. 62, 1992, p. 264-300 ; Meunier. *Le Roman byzantin du XII^e siècle*, p. 71-80.

d'Artémis porté par Chariclée (1.3.6) et Prodrome récrit le christianisme de façon subversive à la fête de Gobryas (4.111-316).⁵⁶ Cette communication mettra en valeur l'exotisme que Prodrome a hérité d'Héliodore et expliquera la transformation d'un exotisme de lieu en un exotisme de temps.

- Conca, F., éd. *Il Romanzo Bizantino del XII Secolo*. Torino : Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1994.
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⁵⁶ Anthony Kaldellis. *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2007. p. 274.

Why is Mytilene the setting for such climactic events in the *Historia* as Tarsia's experiences in the brothel and the riddle exchange that leads to her recognition by Apollonius?

Mytilene was not known for slave markets or prostitution, and weather patterns and trade routes do not explain why both the pirates and Apollonius sail there from Tarsus. Pirates may lie behind *IG* 12.2.15, a treaty of Mytilene with the Aetolians about ransoms, but it is unlikely that this was known to potential readers of the *Historia*. Apollonius arrives in Mytilene during a festival for Neptune (39); *IG* 12.2.95 and 484 provide evidence for the worship of Poseidon at Mytilene, but other cults, notably that of Aphrodite, were better known.

It was "generally recognised," according to Isocrates (*Letter* 8.4), that Mytilene was "highly musical" (*μουσικωτάτη*). This may explain why, in the *Historia*, the Mytileneans accompanied Tarsia to the brothel *cum symphoniacis* (34), and honoured her as *nobilem et sapientem* (33) and as a performer on the lyre (36). In this Tarsia evokes Sappho, who was admired in the Roman period more for her learning than her eroticism, and imitated by the high-born and scholarly Julia Balbilla, the companion of Hadrian's consort Sabina.

Also distinctly Mytilenean is Athenagoras' position as a *princeps* (not King), who has to plead with the people in the *forum*. Mytilene, which rejected kingship early, was considered the type-example of competitive aristocracy. In the Roman period, its politics were dominated by distinguished and learned figures such as Potamon and Theophanes (Strabo, 13.2.3) and their descendants, who may be reflected in Longus' Dionysophanes.

The topography of Mytilene, clustering agora, temples and residences close to the shoreline of a small island (Diodoros of Sicily, 13.79), helps to explain such events in the *Historia* as Athenagoras' visiting Apollonius' ship while *deambulans in litore* (39), and the dragging of the *leno* from the brothel to the *forum* (46).

The *Historia* may also recall two famous events in Mytilene's harbour: (1) Pompey anchoring off Mytilene after Pharsalus, being reunited with his family, and, like Apollonius, not entering the city (Lucan 8. 33-110); (2) The dramatic arrival of two ships from Athens at the end of the Mytilenean revolt. Athenagoras' appeal to the assembly *ne pereat ista civitas* may recall Thucydides' last words about Mytilene (3.49): "so close did Mytilene come to catastrophe."

Apuleius' witch Meroe in *Metamorphoses* 1 is an important character for the novel as a counterfigure to Isis, but also as the first and thus scene-setting practitioner of magic we encounter as its readers. Furthermore, her speaking name is unusual enough to be instantly associated with magic by Apuleius' later readers, and Meroe comes to represent much of what readers through the Middle Ages and modern literature thought they knew about ancient witchcraft. Consequently, Meroe's character travels through European literature as a touchstone with which we can identify changing attitudes to magic and witchcraft over time, and her name alone becomes a convenient shortcut for many writers throughout the centuries to create an instantly recognisable, but also changeable, allusion to witchcraft. A history of Apuleius' reception unexpectedly becomes a cultural history of witchcraft.

This paper will look at Meroe and (thus Apuleius) in texts as diverse as 16th century witchcraft treatises, George Peele's play *The Old Wives' Tale* (1595 which features significant intertextuality with the *Metamorphoses* as a whole), Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), as well as 19th and 20th century novels ranging from the Gothic (Charles Nodier's *Smarra ou les démons de la nuit*, 1821) to comic novels of the twenty-first century. It will show that Meroe, the transformer of men into animals, herself has been transformed many times, but always in lockstep with changing attitudes to magic and witchcraft, a change that continues even today.

McCoey, Marsha (Southern Methodist University, Dallas): The road from Petronius' *Satyricon* to *The Great Gatsby*: Gatsby, Trimalchio, and Platonic origins

Like the title of an earlier version of his memorable novel, *The Great Gatsby*, which he initially called *Trimalchio*, F. Scott Fitzgerald appears to model the character of Jay Gatsby on the freed slave in the *Satyricon* who, like Gatsby, gives loud, ostentatious parties (West. 2000), even though Gatsby's romantic extravagance and Trimalchio's cynical coarseness suggest significant dissimilarities between the two characters (MacKendrick. 1950; Zeitlin. 1971). In fact, explicit descriptions of Gatsby's character and his relationship with Daisy reveal rather affinities with Plato's *Symposium*, a text on which Trimalchio's banquet also draws, though primarily by inversion in its contrast of the refined setting and lofty discussions of love in Plato's dialogue with the raucous dinner crowd and obscene tales of lust and ardor in the *Satyricon* (Conte. 1996; Rimell. 2002). Nick Carraway, the narrator of *Gatsby*, describes how Gatsby "sprang from his Platonic conception of himself," and pursued that ideal to the end. Gatsby, in "the colossal vitality of his illusion," invests Daisy with an idealistic perfection to make her his perfect, Aristophanic love match. Unlike Gatsby's boorish party guests, Nick describes Gatsby himself as having "one of those rare smiles with a quality of eternal reassurance in it, that you may come across four or five times in life." Jay Gatsby, and *The Great Gatsby* itself, invoke Trimalchio, but not to draw a simple American analogy to the Roman arriviste. Rather, Fitzgerald reaches through Trimalchio back to a common Platonic origin to create in Gatsby a glorious, if tragic, character who, though flawed, nevertheless envisions Platonic ideals of both himself and his beloved, and pursues those ideals to the unattainable place where ideas and ideals, Platonic and otherwise, have always resided, in the human spirit and its capacity for love.

Fitzgerald, F. Scott. 1991. *The Great Gatsby*, ed. M. J. Bruccoli. Cambridge.

Conte, G. B. 1996. *The Hidden Author. An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon*. Berkeley.

MacKendrick, P. 1950. "The Great Gatsby and Trimalchio." *CJ* 45.307-14.

Rimell, V. 2002. *Petronius and the Anatomy of Fiction*. Cambridge.

West, James L. W. 2000. *Trimalchio: An Early Version of The Great Gatsby by F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Cambridge.

Zeitlin, F. 1971. "Romanus Petronius: a Study of the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*." *Latomus* 30.56-82.

In this paper, I attempt to broaden and deepen our understanding of the role and the implications of death in Chariton's central narrative by exploiting perspectives from space and trauma theory. Earlier discussions have challenged the concept of 'ideal' love in the novels by demonstrating the role of violence and the macabre; my aim is to illustrate that the spectre of death plays a pivotal role in the narrative, not an auxiliary one.

Given the highly heterogeneous material concerning death in *Callirhoe*, and the limitations of space, this paper will focus on what I call the 'dark topography' of the romance, and more precisely on tombs and graves.⁵⁷ In order to show how the tomb/grave actively interacts with the theme of 'ideal' love, I draw a spatial distinction between material tombs and immaterial graves. On the one hand, at what I term the 'material level', the tomb has fixed objective coordinates and an uncontested spatiality. On the other hand, the term 'immaterial level' comprises the characters' morbid fantasies about graves.

For this paper my focus will be on a selection of both tombs and graves which will be examined as 'narrative sextants'. Namely, I will read them as Callirhoe's instruments for 'morbid cartography' as they assist her in achieving some sense of control over her constant spatial dislocations by allowing her to place herself and Chaereas on the map. In this way, I hope to call attention to one aspect of death's symbiotic engagement with the romantic love and its importance for gaining a deeper understanding of Callirhoe's psyche.

Alexiou, M. 2002. *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*. Rev. Yatromanolakis Dimitrios & Roilos Panagiotis.

Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford.

Caruth, C. 1996. *Unclaimed experience: trauma, narrative, and history*. Baltimore.

Chew, K. 2003 'The representations of violence in the Greek novels and martyr accounts' in Panayotakis, S., Zimmerman, M. & Keulen, W. (eds.) *The ancient novel and beyond*. Leiden and Boston: 129-42.

Harland, P. A. 2017 "'Do not deny me this noble death": depictions of violence in the Greek novels and *Apocryphal Acts*', *Ancient Narrative* 14: 129-47.

MacAlister, S. 1996. *Dreams and suicides: the Greek novel from antiquity to the Byzantine empire*. London and New York.

Rehm, R. 1994. *Marriage to death: the conflation of wedding and funeral rituals in Greek tragedy*. Princeton.

Scippacercola. 2011. *Il lato oscuro del romanzo Greco*. Amsterdam.

Sistakou, E. 2012. *The aesthetics of darkness: a study of Hellenistic Romanticism in Apollonius, Lycophron and Nicander*. Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA.

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1995. *'Reading' Greek death: to the end of the classical period*. New York.

Tuan, Y. F. 1977. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. London.

⁵⁷ The Greek text uses the word *τάφος* which refers to both tomb (above ground) and grave (below ground). To distinguish the two material *τάφοι*, I refer to Callirhoe's and Chaereas' *τάφος* as tomb; I use the term grave to refer to the other references to *τάφος*.

A well-known feature of the Greek novels is the lack of detail and individualization in the description of the protagonists' beauty, owing at least in part to the impossibility of putting its sublimity into words. But Chariclea has the most invisible and intangible features of all the novelistic heroines (with the possible exception of Anthia). Several narrative strategies and motifs allow the reader to glimpse the face and even the body of Callirhoe, Leucippe and Chloe: the gaze of other characters (Leucippe's face as seen by Clitophon, Chloe's by Daphnis, Callirhoe's skin as seen and touched by Dionysius' servants); erotic fantasies (Callirhoe with her dress tucked up and her breast heaving, in the feverish mind of Artaxerxes); the potentially eroticizing exposure caused by *Scheintod* (Leucippe, Callirhoe, Anthia); the suggested resemblance of the heroine with a painting that draws the sensual lines of a woman's body (Leucippe). Chariclea, in contrast, is not the victim of a real *Scheintod*, inspires no fantasy, is never described by those who fix their gaze on her (including Theagenes), and while she is the reproduction of a woman in a painting, that woman displays no specific bodily features. The invisibility of Chariclea's features is all the more remarkable because the male protagonist, Theagenes, is one of the two best described novelistic hero (the other is Daphnis). We know the color and the expression of his eyes and hair, his hairdo; he is tall and broad-chested (II 35, 1; VII 10, 4). The scribe of Vat. Gr. 157 found Theagenes' description detailed enough to deserve a lemma, "ekphrasis of Theagenes". In contrast, Chariclea's eyes have no color; neither do her face, cheeks and mouth, while those of Leucippe and Chloe do. Only her hair does: it is blonde, as *de rigueur* in the genre. Blondness is part and parcel of her dazzling luminosity, the only, and hardly physical, trait of her beauty that is repeatedly stressed. The combination of this characteristic with the lack of drawn bodily features serves two main purposes: to convey Chariclea's solar, divine quality and especially to enhance and even protect her chastity from "naughty" readers by giving their imagination almost no cue for erotic flights.

Moretti, Paola Francesca (Università degli Studi di Milano): Apuleius' novel being read by a 4th century bishop? The strange case of Zeno of Verona

Zeno of Verona, a late 4th century bishop possibly of African origin, left a relatively small corpus of *sermones* (Löfstedt 1971; Banterle 1987), concerning different topics. The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius have been mentioned among the profane readings that apparently left a trace in these *sermones* (Vokes 1966; Dümmler 2013). However, modern scholarship of Apuleius' Nachleben have almost totally disregarded Zeno (e.g., just a hint at him is met with in Stramaglia 2003, 133, whereas no mention of him is found in Carver 2008).

The relationship of Zeno to Apuleius' novel will be considered under two respects. First, Zeno's taste for a refined use of words and wordplays in broad sense will be focused on, possibly in the wake of Apuleius (on whom see, besides Stramaglia 2003, Nicolini 2011). Second, and most importantly, attention will be paid to elements suggesting that Zeno takes the novel – and its (potentially moral) teaching – quite seriously: as a matter of fact, some intertextual references seem to exploit their Apuleian original context in order to increase the effectiveness of the homilist's spiritual teachings (e.g., *sermo* I,1 on *pudicitia*, possibly bearing trace of the reading of the adultery tales of *Metamorphoses*, book 9th). Therefore, Zeno's 'Apuleianism' might shed light both on the 4th century reception of the novel and on the 'intended listener' of the bishop's preachings.

G. Banterle, trad., Zenone di Verona, *I discorsi*, Milano - Roma 1987

R.H.F. Carver, *The Protean Ass. The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Oxford 2008

B. Dümmler, *Zeno von Verona zu heidnischer Kultur und christlicher Bildung*, Tübingen 2013

B. Löfstedt, ed., *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, Turnholti 1971

L. Nicolini, *Ad (I)usum lectoris: etimologia e giochi di parole in Apuleio*, Bologna 2011

A. Stramaglia, *Apuleio come auctor: premesse tardoantiche di un uso umanistico*, in O. Pecere, A. Stramaglia, ed., *Studi apuleiani*, Cassino 2003, 119-152

F.E. Vokes, *Zeno of Verona, Apuleius and Africa*, in *Studia Patristica* VIII/2, Berlin 1966, 130-136.

This paper examines how Japanese translations of *Daphnis & Chloe* have changed in the past one hundred years and reveals the strategy of translation as well as the historical, social, and cultural contexts in which Longus has been read in Japan from the prewar period to the present. Early Japanese translations of *Daphnis & Chloe* were relay translations from French. In Gen'ichi Yanome's first Japanese translation (1925) from Charles Zévort (first published in 1856), the morality of the prewar period strongly affected his translation and passages regarded as obscene were considerably mutilated by unique self-censorship. Soon after World War II, on the other hand, three new translations of *Daphnis & Chloe* were published successively from 1947 to 1949, which reflected the more liberal atmosphere in the postwar Japan. Kiyoshi Eguchi (1947) and Ryûkô Kawaji (1949) both translated from Paul-Louis Courier's French translation and in their postfaces, they put more focus on the French translator and included his biography, while they mentioned Longus very briefly. Even their titlepages claimed the author's name as Courier instead of Longus.

Daphnis & Chloe was translated into Japanese from classical Greek (probably based on E. E. Zeiler's edition, 18432) for the first time by Shigeichi Kure (1948). Although his translation was reprinted several times in different forms (still available in e-book), the changes in the Japanese language led to a new translation. Kure's Japanese is beautiful, but the expression is already old-fashioned for young readers. Chiaki Matsudaira's new translation (1987) was issued in a more accessible *bunko* (Japanese paperback) format. It is a readable translation accompanied by several illustrations of Pierre Bonnard, but it does not lack in expertise. According to his postface, however, he could not obtain Michael Reeve's new Teubner edition by mistake and used George Dalmeyda's older Budé edition (1934). It is noteworthy that Kure and Matsudaira, two of the leading pioneers of Japan's classical scholarship, were both interested in the ancient novel from early on and led the trend (Kure published a small booklet on Greek romances in 1945 and Matsudaira also translated Xenophon of Ephesus in 1948). However, the re-evaluation of the ancient Greek novel after the late twentieth century requires a new translation, which I have been currently working on myself. Even in the past one hundred years, therefore, multiple factors such as the taste of the time and the strategy of translation strongly affected Japanese translations of *Daphnis & Chloe*.

Petronian critics and translators today generally agree that *frater* is a coded term for “lovers” or “boyfriends” in the context of a relationship between men (e. g., Courtney 2001:49; Schmeling 2011:28, 34), but their evidence is ultimately speculative, often relying on the notion that *frater* is an example of the argot of a sexual subculture (Taylor 1997; 328). Occasional appearances of *frater* or *soror* in a potentially erotic or quasi-erotic context elsewhere are sometimes cited (OLD s. v. 3b), but the Petronian use of *frater* is essentially unique.

In the *Satyrice*, *frater* is used of the relationships between Encolpius, Ascyltos, and Giton (11.2, 24.6, 79.9, 80.5, 97.9, 127.2, 127.3, 129.8). While not all of these instances *must* imply a sexual relationship, enough do that Courtney (2001, 64) calls one instance an exception in which the word merely means “roommate”. While Martial does use *frater* and *soror* in erotic senses (e.g., 2.4.3; 10.65.14), his examples do not support the identification of these words as coded terms within a subculture. We must rely on the Petronian instances themselves. Like the English word “buddy,” itself often assumed to derive from “brother” (e.g., Merriam Webster s. v.), *frater* is a term of familiarity among male friends. The Petronian occurrences of this word, I argue, are only sexually charged because of the over-sexed nature of this particular group of buddies. Thus, being Encolpius’ buddy entails being his partner in sex in a way that is not a feature of all male relationships.

Yet scholars persist in the notion that *frater* has a specialized use in Petronius drawn from a historical group of Roman males. I suggest that this understanding provides a measure of comfort to those who do not want to grapple with a Rome that is too diverse and too open in its possibilities for human relationships. If they are members of a subculture with its own in-group language, Encolpius and his friends can be viewed as outliers who serve to show an overall stability and regularity to Greek and Roman sexuality and male identity.

Petronius’ point is perhaps both messier and ultimately more interesting: rather than self-identified members of a particular group, Encolpius, Ascyltos, and Giton are individuals whose notions of friends and acquaintances derive from their own libidos rather than a greater set of social norms.

In the Echo's tale (III, 21-23) Daphni, trained in the use of *syrix*, tells the story of the nymph killed by order of Pan. But the song of Echo endures after her death, because the Earth resounds, as the nymph played the *syrix*, and imitates everything (*μιμεῖται πάντα*). The mythological intermezzo, that is one of the clear Longus' reflections on the poetics of imitation, is proleptically introduced by the image of the fisherman's boat: the fishermen sing following a single rhythm as a choir (*καθάπερ χορὸς ὁμοφώνως*), their voices resound, as the Earth resounds for Echo, and the result of the song is a pleasure for who listens (*ἄκουσμα τερπνόν*). This section is strictly close, in terms of vocabulary as well, to the image of the Sirens that Homer offers in XII Book (184-194) of the *Odyssey*, an important section where the scholarship has recognized Homer's implicit reflection on his own poetics and on the problem of the deception of the poetry. The hidden allusions appear on several times. Just as there is no breath of wind as the fishermen's boat passes by, so the wind ceases in the *Odyssey* in front of the island of the Sirens; as the fishermen's song is a *τερπνόν*, so Odysseus describes the sound of honey that provokes pleasure for who listens (*τερψάμενος*); and as the fishermen's song ceases with the echo after they pass the inlet, so the voice of the Sirens is no longer heard after Odysseus and his companions go on ahead. The literary implications of this parallel are significant. Firstly, it is not only a matter of lexicon, because Longus transforms the image of the Sirens on a narrative niveau too. In *Daphnis and Chloe* indeed are the fishermen who sing, in a specular manner with respect to the *Odyssey*, because in the XII Book Odysseus' sailors have wax plugs in the ears for not listening Sirens' song. This reversed construction suggests a second - and broader - reflection: with the allusion to Homer, Longus constructs in the Echo's tale a theory of the *μίμησις* that, transforming the image of the Sirens, transforms and renews the traditional Greek poetry; in this sense, the Echo's tale can be read also as one of the founding step for the literary genre of the pastoral novel as whole.

In conclusion, Longus, hiding the Sirens' profile behind the fishermen, establishes his new literary road towards the *μίμησις*, where Echo's tale is also a part of a new, and renovated, poetic tradition.

Since we do not have any Syriac translations of ancient Greek novels or explicit references to any of them in Syriac literature, scholars agreed for a long time that these novels never reached Syriac Christian environments. However, Aldo Corcella (2008) recognized two excerpts from Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (III, 10.2 and 10.5) in the fifth book of the *Rhetoric* written by the 9th-century West Syriac monk Antony of Tagrit (subject 2, "On figures", ed. Watt 1986). Antony was a school teacher and his *Rhetoric* was composed as a handbook in five volumes for his students. As discussed in a recent paper on the topic (Nicosia, forthcoming 2023), Antony is the earliest witness known to us of the Syriac rhetorical tradition, which was based on Greco-Roman models as well as properly Syriac ones, and drawn from both pagan and Christian texts. He used quotations and examples from Greek and Syriac literature, again both Christian and non-Christian, to explain the main concepts and topics of rhetoric, and it is within the framework of this didactic purpose that we find the two quotations from Heliodorus' novel, disguised under a peculiar translation and even a different title. But is it really a different title? The evidence offered by a recently-discovered 9th-century manuscript from the Egyptian monastery of Deir al-Surian proves that, at least when the *Rhetoric* was composed, the title was relatively correct. My paper will therefore address the issue of when and why the title changed.

Moreover, I will examine the occurrence of the same Heliodorean excerpts in another Syriac text: the 13th-century treatise *The Book of Dialogues*, composed by the West Syrian bishop Severus bar Šakko, in the section called *Dialogue on Poetry* (question 17), which is based on Antony of Tagrit's fifth book of the *Rhetoric*. After hypothesizing who could have been the author of the Syriac translation of these passages, I will discuss when this translation was realized, and examine when these excerpts started circulating in Syriac schools. The paper aims to follow up on Corcella's discovery, adding new data, and discusses the role played by Greek novelistic material in the Syriac school teaching. It will also analyse the translation technique employed by the translator of the Heliodorean excerpts and it will compare the evidence offered by Antony of Tagrit's and Bar Šakko's texts to suggest a possible path of transmission of the novelistic material in the Syriac world.

Corcella, A. 2008. 'Due citazioni dalle Etiopiche di Eliodoro nella Retorica di Antonio di Tagrit', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74.2, 389-416.

Nicosia, M. (forthcoming, 2023). 'Classics of Syriac Rhetoric and the Greco-Roman *Paideia* in the Syriac World', in *Classicising Learning, Performance and Power across Eurasia. Comparative approaches from Antiquity to Sixteenth century CE*, Edinburgh.

Watt, W.J. 1986. *The Fifth Book of the Rhetoric of Antony of Tagrit*, Louvain.

Nilsson, Ingela (Uppsala Universitet): 'Striking and varied': early modern and modern perspectives on novelistic storyworlds (keynote speech)

With a point of departure in modern genre theory and postclassical narratology, this paper offers a diachronic perspective on the Greek novel and its reception in the early modern period and perhaps even today. While the ancient corpus is small, even if we include the so-called fringe novels, the reception of the tradition spans centuries from medieval times onwards. It extends well beyond what we have come to understand as the 'genre' of the ancient novel and is therefore worth examining from different angles. The Greek novel will here be understood as a recognizable form of narration, but above all as a 'type of rhetorical action' (Miller 1984) building on certain 'storyworlds' or 'mental models' (Herman 2002) that still come into play in modern literature. Such 'roads less travelled' pertain not only to reception per se, but also how we still read and analyse the 'big five.'

This paper seeks to examine some of the ways in which metaphors are used in the Greek Novels and how they persisted and transformed in early hagiographical texts. However, the novels are not considered as 'Urtext', but as one of the literary forms hagiographers used for their accounts of exemplary Christian witness. Recent scholarship on hagiography has not only established them as fictional narratives (rather than historical documents),⁵⁸ but also outlined the rich literary landscape, such as – amongst many other literary forms – the Greek Novels, which these texts relate to. Theoretical approaches to metaphor, such as the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, agree that metaphor is no "rhetorical flourish"⁵⁹ and thus restricted to extraordinary, i.e. poetic, language; it rather argues that the metaphorical expressions we find in texts are mere manifestations of our largely metaphorical thought processes. Metaphor allows people to understand unfamiliar and abstract concepts through familiar and concrete concepts. Emotion, which is abstract, is the most important experience of human beings, and love is the most special one among various kinds of emotions. It is not surprising that the Greek Novels, too, use metaphors to narrate the emotions of their characters in order to promote in their narratees narrative immersion and active engagement with the text. The hagiographical texts I am interested in, such as the apocryphal acts, were not only immensely popular texts (like the novels), but also a lot of novelistic motifs can be traced in them, such as the erotic and the travel element. Yet the hagiographies contain two further elements: 1. They were read, because they told of men and women who were extraordinarily devoted to god. Their unyielding faith even under the threat of suffering and death was considered exemplary and worthy of imitation. 2. Hagiographies speak of holiness and god. Many people would probably agree that it is quite impossible to speak about god non metaphorically. This paper seeks to examine the metaphorical imagery these texts use to conceptualise and narrate the emotions of their characters, especially their love to god, holiness and last but not least god. The results are read against the background of the use of metaphors in the novels and highlight some of the strategies the writers of hagiographies employed in presenting their stories.

Brunhorn et al. (eds.) (2020): *Narratologie und Intertextualität. Zugänge zu spätantiken TextWelten*, Tübingen.

Cummings, M. (2009): *Metaphor and Emotion: Eros in the Greek Novel*, Diss. University of Edinburgh.

Gray, C./Corke-Webster, J. (eds.) (2020): *The Hagiographical Experiment: Developing Discourses of Sainthood*, Leiden.

Lakoff, G./Johnson, M. (1980): *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago.

⁵⁸ Cf. Brunhorn et al. (eds.) (2020: 1-8).

⁵⁹ Lakoff/Johnson (1980: 3)

Longus uses two frameworks for thinking about narrative in *Daphnis and Chloe*: 1) Rhetorical treatises that describe three forms of non-forensic narration: *historia*, *mythos*, and *plasma* (i.e., fiction) and 2) Hesiod's encounter with the Muses, through which Longus reflects on the truth of his fiction. I argue that consideration of these frameworks offers new insight into how the author conceived his own narrative and its capacity to show a range of character types. In addition, I argue that, in the context of his play with narrative genres, Longus appropriates and refashions a genre that had come to be associated with slavery and disempowered, that is, enslaved, story-tellers.

At different points in *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus suggests that he is writing *mythos* (2.27), *historia* (1.1), or *plasma* (4.20). The taxonomy likely derives from rhetorical treatises: in Book 4 an irate master warns his slave not to lie (4.20), a remark suggesting familiarity with treatises that illustrated *plasma* through reference to New Comedy. Longus associates these forms with both empowered and disempowered characters: *historia* narrates the agency of male citizens; *mythos* naturalizes female victimhood (cf. Winkler 1990); *plasma* represents character in the socially constructed institutions of marriage and slavery.

However, Longus' narrative not only contains each of these narrative types, it also combines them in a novel synthesis. Philetas' account of his meeting with Eros alludes to Hesiod's encounter with the Muses (Bowie 1985, 2019), an account the protagonists hear with pleasure, "as if they were hearing a *mythos* and not a *logos*" (2.7). The comment plays off the classical antithesis between *mythos* and *logos* and mocks protagonists who take Philetas' story as *logos*, a true account. But what the Muses tell Hesiod is itself a *mythos* (*Theog.* 24). Longus' allusion to Hesiod evokes the archaic notion of *mythos* as authoritative discourse (Lincoln 1999). Later, when Dionysophanes orders his slave Lamon "not to make up things that were like myths" (4.20, μηδὲ ὅμοια πλάττειν μύθοις), Longus re-engages with Hesiod's Muses, who knew how to say many things that are like real things (*Theog.* 27-28, ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα). Longus implies not only that he knows how to tell lies that seem like the truth, i.e., *plasmata*, but also how through these fictions to express truths even more profound than those of historical *logos*, truths possessing the authority of Hesiodic *mythos*: his novel.

In antiquity, the novel was "drastically undertheorized" (Morgan 1993). While my paper does not yield an ancient definition of the novel, it may reveal a practitioner of the genre thinking about its nature, its affinities, and its capacities.

Bowie, Ewen L., ed. *Longus; Daphnis and Chloe*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

_____. "Theocritus' Seventh Idyll, Philetas and Longus." *CQ* 35 (1985): 67-91.

Lincoln, Bruce. *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Morgan, John R. "Make-Believe and Make Believe: The Fictionality of the Greek Novels." *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*. Eds. Gill, Christopher and T. P. Wiseman. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. 175-229.

Winkler, John J. *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge, 1990.

The Greek scholar Adamantios Korais (Smyrna 1748 - Paris 1833) is a pioneering figure in Heliodoran studies, as his text edition-and-commentary on Heliodoros' novel, published in Paris in 1804, was a huge success and was praised for the author's editorial acumen and learnedness in its time and beyond. In the Introduction to the edition (Part One), written in epistolary form and addressed to his close friend, the merchant Alexandros Vassiliou, Korais discusses the name and the definition of the novelistic genre, its main representatives in Greek literature along with their dates and individual characteristics, and finally Heliodoros' literary merits and technique. For the theoretical remarks Korais uses and improves on Huet's *Traité de l'origine des Romans*, while for Heliodoros' evaluation in terms of plot and structure, characterization, and language and style he employs Aristotelian theory on drama and agrees with the comments of the Byzantine authors Photios and Psellos. In the same text Korais shows strong interest both in the survival of Heliodoros in European literature and in the survival of the Greek language diachronically.

'The Letter to Vassileiou' has received much scholarly attention, mainly by scholars of Modern Greek literature, because of its importance in the history of the evolution of the Modern Greek novel and in the context of the language reform promoted by Korais (see e.g. Rotolo 1966, Droulia 1997, Beaton 2009, Polycandrioti 2012). Similarly, the text edition is praised by modern editors of Heliodoros such as Bekker, Rattenbury, and Colonna. By contrast, Korais' commentary (Part Two of the edition), ca 400 pages long, has not received a systematic discussion in modern literature, either in its individual features or as a whole. This is striking given the fact that there is as yet no other full commentary on Heliodoros. While the need for a modern full commentary on the *Aithiopika* remains urgent, the proposed paper aims to revisit Korais' commentary, highlighting the original aspects of his contribution regarding Heliodoros' language, style, intertextuality, religious views, and relating Korais' interests and questions with modern ones, both closed and open.

Beaton, R. 2009. 'Korais and the Second Sophistic: The Hellenistic Novel as Paradigm for a Modern Literary Language', in A. Georgakopoulou & M. Silk (eds.), *Standard Languages and Language Standards: Greek, Past and Present*, London and New York: Routledge, 341-354.

Droulia, L. 1997. 'The Classics in the Service of Renascent Greece: Adamantios Korais and his Editorial Work', *Humanitas* 49, 245-261.

Polycandrioti, O. 2012. 'Anciens et modernes. Approches théoriques du roman grec (XIXe-XXe siècles)', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 9, 161-198.

Rotolo, V. 1966. 'Adamanzio Korais e il romanzo greco', *Atene e Roma* 11, 1-14.

Aris Alexandrou (real name: Aristotle Vassiliadis, 1922-1978) was a Greek poet, prose writer and translator (mainly of works of Russian literature). Alexandrou was member of the left party of Greece and is considered one of the most important post-war Greek authors. After his death, his Modern Greek translation of Petronius' *Satyricon* was published (Athens, 1985) – his one and only rendering of a work of Latin literature. Petronius was not one of the favourite Roman authors for Greek translators, in comparison to e.g., Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* had already been translated into Greek by the monk Maximus Planudes in the 13th century, and his *carmina amatoria* (*Amores*, *Ars amatoria*, and *Remedia amoris*), which were also rendered into Greek by Planudes, or a student of his. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid were translated into Greek a great deal (in ancient Greek, in *katharevousa* [= a mixture of ancient and modern Greek], and in modern Greek), due to the fact that they were part of the curricula of schools and universities. However, *Satyricon* remained untranslated in Greek, apparently due to its immodest content. This fact changed decisively after the appearance of Fellini's *Satyricon* in 1969. The film popularised this work, so three Greek translations were produced within fifteen years: 1) by Achilleas Vagenas in 1970; 2) by K. Michael in 1970 (K. Michael was a pseudonym of Professor M. G. Meraklis, who republished his translation in 1981 and 1983 then signing with his real name; and 3) by A. Alexandrou in 1985. In this paper, I study Alexandrou's book, which contains: a) an introduction of twenty pages containing information for the Roman author and his work; b) his translation into modern Greek; and c) some comments of his own in the footnotes. I examine his introduction and comments, but I mainly insist upon the quality of his translation (translation techniques, possible similarities with the previous Greek translations, and his own literary attribution of the Latin original, as Alexandrou was not only a translator but a litterateur as well). At the end of the paper, I draw my conclusions.

- Alexandrou, A. (1985), *Πετρωνίου Σατυρικόν*, Athens: Nepheli. Courtney, E. (2001), *A Companion to Petronius*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deligiannis, I. – Pappas, V. – Vaiopoulos, V. (eds) (2020), *Post-Byzantine Latinitas: Latin in Post-Byzantine Scholarship (15th – 19th centuries)*, Brepols: Turnhout.
- Michael, K. (1970), *Πετρωνίου Σατυρικόν*, Athens: Keimena.
- Meraklis, M. G. (1981), *Πετρωνίου Σατυρικόν*, Athens: Gnessi (2nd edition: 1983, reprint in 1997 and 2005 in Patakis).
- Munday, J. (2001), *Introducing Translation Studies*, New York: Routledge.
- Onelli, C. (2014), 'Freedom and censorship: Petronius' *Satyricon* in seventeenth-century Italy', *Classical Receptions Journal* 6.1, 104-130.
- Paschalis, M. – S. Panayotakis – G. Schmeling (eds) (2009), *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel*, Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing.
- Raios, D. (2010), *Λατινικό μυθιστόρημα. Πετρώνιος – Απουλήιος*, Ioannina: Carpe diem.
- Reeve, M. (2008), 'The re-emergence of ancient novels in western Europe, 1300-1810', in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Greek and Roman Novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 282-298.
- Sandy, G. – Harrison, St. (2008), 'Novels ancient and modern', T. in Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Greek and Roman Novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 299- 320.
- Schmeling, G. A (with the collaboration of A. Setaioli (2011), *A Commentary on the Satyricon of Petronius*, Oxford – New York, Oxford University Press.
- Vagenas, A. (1970), *Πετρωνίου Σατυρικόν*, Athens: Chrissima vivlia.

Petsalis-Diomidis, Alexia (University of St Andrews): Marc Chagall's colorful antiquities: multi-sensorial colors and the merging of biblical and classical antiquity in Chagall's *Daphnis and Chloe* lithographs*

In 1952 and 1954, Russian-French artist Marc Chagall made two trips to Greece in preparation for a set of lithographs he would make for a 1961 limited-edition French version of the pastoral Greek novel, *Daphnis and Chloe*, by the second-century AD writer Longus. Chagall travelled to Athens, Delphi, Poros, Nauplia, and Olympia, and, upon his return to France, he spent four years translating his drawings and gouaches from Greece into multi-colored lithographs. His engagement with the Greek world and landscape materialized in a set of 42 colored lithographs swirling with layers of colors and vibrant hues of new blues and greens invented for the express purpose of illustrating various episodes from the ancient novel. This paper will investigate Chagall's use of color in a select number of his *Daphnis and Chloe* lithographs as it relates to the use of color in Longus' text, a text that is itself deeply rooted in art and begins with scenes from a painting.

I will first argue for a multi-sensorial dimension to color that engages all the senses and thus mirrors the original Greek text's multi-sensory experience in a powerful articulation of *mimesis* or imitation by exploring the depiction of landscape and bodies in the lithographs. Second, this paper will also argue for the convergence of biblical and classical antiquity, traditionally studied separately. Born and raised in a devout Jewish family, Chagall integrated spiritual and biblical elements into the lithographs; the *Daphnis and Chloe* lithographs influenced some of his later works dealing explicitly with biblical themes. Akin to Longus testing the limits of the pastoral genre and writing, this merging of biblical and classical antiquities further relates to Chagall's experiments in color by bringing together the "Orient," a place traditionally associated with color, and the classical world, a place where color has historiographically been excised. Thus, Chagall manages to construct a multi-sensorial and multivalent version of antiquity united through his innovative use of color that infuses the bodies and landscape depicted.

"Byzantinists have paid little attention to the study of emotions. This is particularly surprising, considering that numerous Byzantine texts are rich in emotional episodes and that Byzantine historians acknowledge emotions as constitutive factors in human action" (Hinterberger 2010, 123-124). Metaphorical language has been object of almost exclusively stylistic and rhetorical approaches, leaving aside its huge cognitive and emotional potential. However, these two last aspects are indissociable and essential for a full understanding of the many-sided nature of this style figure. Emotion and cognition are also intricately related. Imagery is manifestly a basic and omnipresent constituent of the mental life of human beings, 'a cognitive prerequisite of symbolisation and thought (Cormac 1985, 42). Cognitive metaphor theorists agree that metaphor is a matter of thought and not language. G. Lakoff and M. Johnson have argued that metaphor plays an important role in language and cognition, in terms of structuring our basic understanding of experience (Wye 1998, 1, Cummings, 2018). Therefore, the study of the poetic functions of imagery offers us a window into the cognitive semantics of the imaginative mind. We can frequently articulate a key functional role of emotion underlying a traditionally cognitive ability. Metaphor provides a means of expressing emotion-based associations for creative problem solving. Developing the view that emotion plays a key functional role in a traditionally cognitive ability, our aim is to demonstrate that embodied metaphor, as a cognitive and emotional construct, play a crucial role in Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias*, establishing and re-negotiating the whole coherence of the novel. Our approach particularly applies to the development of the intense love story between the protagonists. The mutual erotic attraction is acted out in an intense web of tensions, emotional upheavals, anxieties and fears. Besides being fueled by an intertextual play with the canonical love novels, in particular with Achilles Tatius, the emotional economy of the novel is projected on landscape and vegetation as well as on myth, ritual, imagery and the allegorical level of Byzantine religion.

- Cummings, M. 2018. "The Interaction of Emotions in the Greek Novels", in: M. P. Futre Pinheiro, D. Konstan, B.D. MacQueen (eds.), *Cultural Crossroads in the Ancient Novel*, Trends in Classics-Supplementary volumes 40, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 315-325.
- Hinterberger, M. 2010. "Emotions in Byzantium", in: L. James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium*, Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 123-134.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mac Cormac, E. R. 1985. *A cognitive theory of metaphor*, Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press.
- Wye, M. E. 1998. *Jane Austen's Emma: Embodied Metaphor as a Cognitive Construct*, Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

This paper proposes to explore the anatomy of the central traveling couple Dercyllis – Mantinias in Antonius Diogenes and its function for self- and extra-referentiality. The couple compelled to engage in a tortuous journey, possibly violently separated, and finally reunited and healed, is atypically represented as brother and sister, not as star-crossed spouses or lovers.⁶⁰

The original story of their adventures, though the subject of convoluted (and maybe distorted?) retelling by various ‘voices’ and mediums, is narrated by the female voice of Dercyllis. But telling her story she alienates it, as it is then retold, recorded, preserved, or framed by male voices and actions: Dinias, Erasinides, Cymbas, Balagrus, and ultimately the author himself (not to mention the survival of the text as a subjective epitome scribbled by a monk). As the next step in this alienation process, Dercyllis herself initiates the recording of her story in writing (she provides the tablets) and, furthermore, she is charged to placing the written record for preservation in Dinias’ tomb. Thus, she now completely relinquishes authorship of and authority over the text through this physical transfer.

Per Photius, Antonius Diogenes uses a double epistolary frame for his narrative. The first letter, addressed to a certain Faustinus, identifies the work as fiction and its dedicatee as the author’s own sister, Isidora. The second letter is addressed to Isidora herself, yet the story is presented as the transcription/interpretation by Belagrus of the tablets found in Dinias’ tomb and then sent to his wife Phila along with a letter describing the circumstances of the discovery.⁶¹ The external frame, then, addressed to a male reader, acknowledges the fictionality of Antonius Diogenes’ text, while the internal frame, addressed to his sister, extends the boundaries of fiction to subsume Isidora herself.

This different self-presentation may have implications for the generic identity of the text.⁶² I would like to focus, however, on the incongruence of the traveling couple in the context of the genre and on how the author uses it to frame his own identity and relationship with his work, as the fictional siblings mirror the historical siblings Antonius and Isidora and the story of fictional Dercyllis ends up in the hands of both historical and ‘fictional’ Isidora.

⁶⁰ Heliodorus’ characters pretend for a while to be brother and sister for self-preservation. Moreover, Antonius Diogenes’ Dercyllis and Mantinias take turns appearing to be dead to one another, but simultaneously share life and death while under the spell of Paapis; cf. the parallel state of prolonged sleep/death to which they subject their parents because of Paapis.

⁶¹ Cf. (fictitious) letters accompanying paradoxographical accounts (Phlegon 1; Proclus on Naumachius, In *Remp.* Kroll 115-116).

⁶² I am looking forward to exploring the final product of Consuelo Ruiz Montero and Ian Repath on the epistolary frame and gender and genre respectively, in Claire R. Jackson and Karen ní Mheallaigh (edd., Cambridge, forthcoming)

Simon Magus famously took as his consort a woman called Helen. She is not a *dramatis persona* in the novel, she does not act or even speak, but various men talk about this Helen. Simon Magus claimed she was a heavenly queen: the incarnation of divine wisdom. But his companion was also said once to have been incarnated as Helen of Troy “for whose sake, says he, the Greeks and barbarians fought” (*Hom.* 2; 25). The followers of the True Prophet (Peter, Clement and his newly found brothers) reject Simon Magus and his Helen as but “an image of truth”. Simon Magus and the other representatives of Greek false *paideia* are engaged in a philosophical and rhetorical “Trojan war” with the adherents of the Jewish “barbarian” true wisdom, but one from which the barbarians will emerge victorious. The Egyptian “pharmakon” Helen provided in *Odyssey* IV to sweeten even the most painful stories, and the tradition of the “eidolon” of Helen over which Greeks and barbarians supposedly fought (Stesichorus, Euripides) made the faithful or unfaithful wife of Menelaus a central figure in philosophical and rhetorical debates about the pleasures and dangers of story-telling, mimesis, truthfulness and fiction since Plato and the early Sophists. In the disputes between Peter and Clement on the one hand and Appion and Simon Magus on the other hand, Greek culture is stereotyped as immoral, specifically in its attitude towards sexual relations. The Roman Clement and his mother are characterized as chaste even before they converted to the true faith. In the pseudo-Clementine narrative Mattidia’s refusal to start an adulterous relationship, made her leave Rome and travel to the East. She lies to her husband about the true motive of leaving her home. Years later, she meets Peter in the novelistic setting of Aradus as a disease stricken beggar in front of the temple of Aphrodite. At first she lies to the apostle about her true identity and life-story. Peter engages in a double entendre about a “pharmakon” he will give her when she tells the truth about her life. Here starts the chain of recognitions which will convert her to the teachings of the True Prophet, unite her with her sons and with her husband Faustus. In the “grand finale” Faustus will be the victim of a magical trick performed by the sophist Simon Magus, who swaps his face with the physical appearance of Clement’s father, but in the end the deception will be used to deceive the untruthful magician. This paper will analyse the subtle and complex use the Homilist made of literary, rhetorical and philosophical reflections about the faithfulness of narratives in his novelistic promotion of the true faith.

Pragt, Marion (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): Narrating prophetic lives in Greek and Syriac: the Miracles of Elijah and Elisha*

The prophets Elijah and Elisha are two of the main characters of the biblical books of 1-2 Kings (1 Kings 17-19, 2 Kings 1-4). In this paper, I focus on the portrayal of the two prophets in a Syriac compilation of commentaries on the Bible, which presents interpretations by both Greek and Syriac late ancient authors (ms. Vat. Syr. 103, ninth century). The paper argues that the author of the Syriac collection not only views 1-2 Kings as a historiographical text about the kings of ancient Israel, but also reads it as a narrative (*tash'ita*) about the lives of Elijah and Elisha. Moreover, it will be shown that the wondrous deeds ascribed to Elijah and Elisha in the biblical account take centre stage in the collection. Their activities far exceed the usual job description of Old Testament prophets, ranging from the mundane (making a lost axe float in water) to the gruesome (cursing children, who are then eaten by bears) and the extraordinary (healing, raising the dead). While the books of 1-2 Kings as a whole were not a central focus of Christian literary production, approaching the reception of Elijah and Elisha in the light of ancient life-writing and paradoxography helps us understand how they came to capture the imagination of late ancient Christians.

In the last book of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, the heroine Charicleia is finally recognised by her Ethiopian parents. The main obstacle to this is her skin colour, but the solution is provided by Sisimithres, head of the gymnosophists: Charicleia should be compared with the appearance of Andromeda 'in the painting' (ἐν τῇ γραφῇ) which her mother, Persinna, looked at during her daughter's conception (10.14.7). The exact resemblance of Charicleia to Andromeda convinces her father, Hydaspes, priest of the sun, but Heliodorus includes one more, entirely unexpected, element of the recognition-scene, as Sisimithres encourages Charicleia to reveal the black birthmark on her upper arm (10.15.2).

This is a crucial scene which has received no shortage of scholarly attention (e.g. Whitmarsh, Montiglio, De Temmerman, D'Alconzo), but one aspect which has been neglected is the intertextuality with Achilles Tatius' account of the phoenix. At the end of book 3 of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, the phoenix and its visit to Egypt are described (3.25). After its arrival in Heliopolis, the authenticity of the phoenix is tested by a priest of the sun, who brings a book and assesses the bird from a *graphē*; the bird confirms its identity by revealing certain parts of its body. Achilles Tatius' phoenix is closely associated with the sun, as is normal in the ancient traditions, but its origin in Ethiopia is unusual, and the test it undergoes is unique. Charicleia originates from Ethiopia, the land of the sun, and the confirmation of her identity parallels the phoenix' test.

This paper will explore the ramifications of this intertextuality and consider such aspects as death and genesis, authenticity and parentage, credibility and metafictionality, art and text, and generic affiliation and intrageneric competition. It will examine how the similarities reveal important differences, as Heliodorus engages with Achilles Tatius' account at such a moment as one of the ways in which he emphasises how his novel differs from his predecessor's. The intertextual assimilation of Charicleia to the phoenix takes on an extra level of meaning when Heliodorus reveals at the very end that he himself is a phoenix, encouraging the reader to identify him with his creation, through whom he is reborn and attains a kind of immortality.

Bowie, E. L. 1998. 'Phoenician Games in Heliodorus' *Aithiopica*', in: Hunter, R. L. (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus*, PCPS Suppl. Vol. 21, Cambridge, 1-18.

D'Alconzo, N. 2019. 'Concepts and Conceptions: Reading *Aithiopika* 10,14,7', in: Repath, I. D., and Herrmann, F.-G. (eds.), *Some Organic Readings in Narrative, Ancient and Modern*. *Ancient Narrative Supplementum* 27, Groningen, 211-32.

De Temmerman, K. 2014. *Crafting Characters: Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Greek Novel*, Oxford.

Montiglio, S. 2013. *Love & Providence: Recognition in the Ancient Novel*, New York.

Whitmarsh, T. 1998. 'The Birth of a Prodigy: Heliodorus and the Genealogy of Hellenism', in: Hunter, R. L. (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus*, PCPS Suppl. Vol. 21, Cambridge, 93-124.

During the twelfth century, the Byzantine novel is famously developed in dialogue with (and imitating) ancient Greek novels such as Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon* and Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. Older tales are given new shapes and are adapted for a new, courtly audience. Thus, new stories are being composed (Roilos 2005; Nilsson 2010). In my paper, I focus on the Komnenian novels by Eumathios Makrembolites (*Hysmine and Hysminias*) and Theodore Prodromos (*Rhodanthe and Dosikles*). I examine how the female characters in these novels appear to have an ambivalent relation to their own voices and speech (Jouanno 2006; moreover, in relation to the Byzantine twelfth century more broadly, see Neville 2016 for the case of Anna Komnene and historiography).

How can this ambivalence be understood in relation to the complex literary tradition within which the novels are composed? I examine whether and how an analysis of the views of female characters of their own voices in the Byzantine novels informs us about the twelfth-century reception of their ancient Greek predecessors. I argue for the possibility to interpret these female characters' problematic relation to speech as an intrinsic part of their own way of mirroring, or not mirroring, themselves in the literary tradition under scrutiny; in other words, as a reflection upon their own place in the world of letters and rhetoric. This brings us to the question of what a "female voice" actually *is*. Can we always speak of emancipation when it comes to articulating one's own voice, or can speaking also mean to suffer under oppression (see for example Goldwyn 2021)?

Goldwyn, A. J. 2021. *Witness Literature in Byzantium: Narrating Slaves, Prisoners, and Refugees* (Cham).

Jouanno, C. 2006. 'Women in Byzantine novels of the twelfth century: an interplay between norm and fantasy', in Garland, L. 2006. *Byzantine Women: varieties of experience 800–1200* (Aldershot): 141–62.

Neville, L. 2016. *Anna Komnene: The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (Oxford).

Nilsson, I. 2010. 'The Same Story but Another: A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium', in E. Schiffer and A. Rhoby (eds), *Imitatio – aemulatio – variatio* (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21) (Vienna), 195–208.

Roilos, P. 2005. *Amphoteroglossia: a poetics of the twelfth-century medieval Greek novel* (Cambridge, MA).

The story of Psyche in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* has a long and varied reception history. In this paper I focus on short stories in English (mostly by 20th c. American authors) that modernize Psyche and employ the ingenuous heroine and her curiosity to explore intellectual limitations and psychological pressures imposed on women by society, their families, and themselves. Writers in this study include the luminaries O. Henry, Louisa May Alcott, Edith Wharton, Shirley Jackson, Mary McCarthy, and Joyce Carol Oates. Some of their stories share urban settings, crossing Psyche's naivete and loneliness with caddish predators, social climbers, and the nightmare of Gotham's labyrinthine high-rises. Psyche, one of the few women in Greek and Roman literature who attains her desire, is recast to explore anxieties about independent women, marriage, paternity, birth control, and abortion. In turn, the specific cultural and social concerns of these stories prompt deeper consideration of the Roman context, in which paternity and the independence of women were defined much differently but still sources of social stress.

A second consideration in this reception of Psyche are the fact that these writers all question and reformulate Psyche's "happy ending" for their own times. These responses may be understood through a feminist lens, one that adds depth and complexity to Psyche's character and to her fatal *curiositas* but also implicitly places the Psyche story in a chain of fairy tales that assume marriage and motherhood as the fulfilment of a woman's life. Thus, a final but important consideration in this reception story is that of media and genre: is it the Psyche of art, music, or literature that inspires these writers, and what formal features do their short stories share with the so-called *bella fabella* ("pretty little tale") or *fabula anilis* ("old woman's tale") that is embedded within Apuleius' novel? I briefly consider the publication and readership of the short stories to affirm their links with Apuleius and to elaborate similarities and differences with other contemporary uses of the Psyche story.

Through analysis of a group of short stories that adapt Psyche for their own times, this paper illuminates aspects of the tale in Apuleius (pregnancy, paternity, female agency, legitimacy) that are generally neglected in allegorical interpretations and romantic receptions.

Apuleius, *Cupid & Psyche*

Louisa May Alcott, "Psyche's Art" (1858)

O. Henry, "Psyche and the Pskyscraper" (1912)

Lucy Hughes-Hallett, "Psyche" (2019)

Mary McCarthy, "Polly Andrews, Class of '33" (1963)

Shirley Jackson, "The Daemon Lover" (1949)

Joyce Carol Oates, "Cupid & Psyche" (1970)

Edith Wharton, "The Lamp of Psyche" (1895)

The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (hereafter *H*) has no known author, its original language is either Greek (Kortekaas) or Latin (most others), its date of composition lies somewhere from the early third century (Mastrocinque) to the sixth (Kortekaas and many others), and its content is either pagan or Christian. There are some 120 manuscripts of *H* divided into redactions, and these differ to a marked extent from each other. The manuscript on which I wish to focus, Budapestensis Lat. 4 (ϕ), s. x-xi, 3 ½ folia, belongs to the best redaction, RA, but is subsumed under a cadet branch Rα. ϕ is remarkable among the manuscripts because its margins are full of pen and ink drawings (38) illustrating the action in the text; also it is fragmentary and contains only chapters 31-50, written in Germany (Boreczky, Nemeth, 2011). Because of the drawings the manuscript has attracted added attention (Weitzmann, 1959). The 43 pages (as measured by the Teubner text) of the RA redaction have brought out three large commentaries (more than 1,200 pages): Kortekaas, 2007, Panayotakis, 2012, Vannini 2018. Now at St. Catherine's monastery at Mt. Sinai an Arabic manuscript (NF 8) which has been analyzed with the aid of digital imaging generated by the Sinai Palimpsest Project reveals a fragment of a Latin manuscript in a palimpsest sandwich (18'): the Latin comes from chapter 28 of *H* (*amissa coniuge ... custodiat*), identified by Ganz, and in surrounding pages there appear pen and ink drawings illustrating the actions in the text. The Latin text and drawings are on fragmentary pieces of parchment sewn haphazardly onto other bits of unrelated parchment. All the pages have not yet been analyzed in detail, but this fragment of *H* does not appear to be the source of the later ϕ. Michelle Brown (2020) dates the uncial script Latin of chapter 28 in NF 8 to 600 or a little earlier, and the provenance she gives it is Rome. This means that the Latin text of *H* in NF 8 is 300-400 years earlier than any other manuscript of *H*. Brown has discovered a large number of Latin palimpsest manuscripts at St. Catherine's, where it was thought that almost all manuscripts were Greek or Arabic, and her work surely ties St. Catherine's to the Latin West (2018). *Apollonius Pictus* probably belongs to the class of illuminated texts which seem to have wide distribution, and scholars of *H* must re-think conclusions of language and dating based on texts alone, and search the text-image cycles for more possible discoveries like NF 8.

Recent research on the reception of the Greek novels in Late Antiquity⁶³ – Musaeus being a key example – has produced important results,⁶⁴ but has not been able to fully capture the narrative aesthetics of later Greek texts and their intertextual *surplus*.

This paper expands on this fruitful research by arguing that Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* shares with Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* the recurrent creation of unresolvable ambiguities. Their complex intertextualities often lead to contradictory hermeneutical clues that have to be taken equally seriously in the evaluation of each narrative and its effect on the readers. Focusing on this shared narrative strategy, my paper proposes a new approach to the reception of the Greek novels via the concept of similarity. Similarity, denoting a dynamics of qualitative proximity, allows for creative contingency instead of hermeneutically directed dependency in studying the relations between texts.⁶⁵

In the opening scene of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (1.2) the text orchestrates multiple gliding and failing processes of Charicleia's identification that are mirrored in its many intertextual temptations, dead ends and virtual prolepses: Charicleia is likened to a goddess,⁶⁶ to Odysseus, other novelistic protagonists⁶⁷ or to tragic characters. Likewise, in Musaeus' poem, the protagonist Leander evokes different conflicting models, among which that of Odysseus,⁶⁸ novel protagonists as Clitophon and Theagenes⁶⁹ and Ovidian elegiac *personas*. In either case, similarities can be identified, but cannot be combined into hermeneutically coherent interpretations. Instead, they produce a complex network of references that narratively and aesthetically challenges the reader, since it demands not only multidimensional, but also incompatible, yet simultaneous readings.

Whereas existing studies on the *Aethiopica* focus on the novel's interpretative multiplicities and the different ways in which it orchestrates and reflects on right and wrong ways of reading and interpreting,⁷⁰ I argue that the intertextual entanglement of this narrative aesthetics⁷¹ has to be allowed to unfold freely and affect the reader before subjecting it to hermeneutic or metaliterary reflections. My paper shows how Heliodorus and Musaeus are similar in promoting an ambiguous narrative dynamics through complex and contradictory intertextualities, focusing on the readerly effect of these reverberating textual echoes.

⁶³ See, e.g., the current ERC project in Ghent, led by Prof. Dr. Koen De Temmerman: *Novel Echoes. Ancient Novelistic Receptions and Concepts of Fiction in Late Antique and Medieval Secular Narrative from East to West*.

⁶⁴ Aiming for hermeneutically coherent interpretations, analyses of intertextuality and thematic comparison have led to metaliterary, character-oriented and generic reflections (Dümmmler 2012, Verhelst 2019, Montiglio 2020).

⁶⁵ Similarity is an emerging paradigm of cultural and literary theory that gains its heuristic value not in spite of but *because of* its conceptual vagueness. It describes resemblances outside of the dichotomy between identity and difference: "Similarity arises, declines, and can be more or less clear, important or obvious, according to different aspects and respects. Similarity can be covered up or made more prominent. Relationships of similarity can mark something spontaneous, involuntary, unconscious, even something unwanted and passive." (Bhatti/Kimmich 2018, 6). The concept of similarity revives Ludwig Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblance (see esp. Wittgenstein 1999, 32e–33e), cf. Kimmich 2017, Patrut/Rössler 2019.

⁶⁶ Whitmarsh 2002, 116–119, also on the statuesque pose of Charicleia.

⁶⁷ On both see e.g. De Temmerman 2014, 246–258. On the intertextual dynamics of the opening scene in relation to the reader see also Morgan 1991, 86–90.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Verhelst 2019, Montiglio 2020.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Dümmmler 2012, Montiglio 2020.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Winkler 1982 and Hunter 2008. Hunter 2008, 817 attests an "excess of meaning" in Heliodorus' novel with which its characters and readers alike have to grapple, whereas focusing on contingent relationships of similarity allows us to defer our tendency for hermeneutic synthetization or meta-literary abstraction for a while.

⁷¹ Narrative aesthetics appear to be co-emergent here with stylistic developments, insofar as the phenomenon could be understood as a narrative ποικιλία, which constitutes a stylistic core concept in late antique literature, cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 161–166.

The notion of similarity thus both captures the parallel intertextual narrative technique of Heliodorus and Musaeus and describes their relation to each other. More broadly, by showing the potential of comparing texts based on their shared narrative strategies, my paper aims at a more fluid way of identifying and describing relations of late antique texts beyond the traditional notions of reception.⁷²

- S. Bär/A. Maravela, "Narrative, Narratology and Intertextuality: New Perspectives on Greek Epic from Homer to Nonnus", *Symbolae Osloenses* 93:1, 2019, 1–11.
- Bhatti, A./Kimmich, D. (eds.), *Similarity. A Paradigm for Culture Theory*, New Delhi 2018.
- De Temmerman, K., *Crafting Character. Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Greek Novel*, Oxford 2014.
- Dümmler, N., "Musaeus, Hero and Leander. Between Epic and Novel", in: M. Baumbach/S. Bär (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception*, Leiden/Boston 2012, 411–446.
- Hunter, R., "The *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus. Beyond Interpretation?", in: id. (ed.), *On Coming After. Studies in Post-Classical Greek Literature and its Reception*, Berlin/New York 2008, 804–828 (repr.).
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- Kost, K., *Musaios. Hero und Leander. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Bonn 1971.
- Montiglio, S., *Musaeus' Hero and Leander. Introduction, Greek Text, Translation and Commentary*, London/New York 2020.
- Miguélez Caverio, L., *Poems in Context. Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD*, Berlin/New York 2008.
- Morgan, J.R., "Readers and Audiences in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus," in: H. Hofmann (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IV*, Groningen 1991, 85–103.
- Patrut, I.-K./Rössler, R., "Ähnlichkeit um 1800. Konturen eines literatur- und kulturtheoretischen Paradigmas am Beginn der Moderne. Einleitung," in: I.-K. Patrut/R. Rössler, *Ähnlichkeit um 1800. Konturen eines literatur- und kulturtheoretischen Paradigmas am Beginn der Moderne*, Bielefeld 2019, 13–24.
- Verhelst, B., "Six Faces of Odysseus: Genre and Characterization Strategies in Four Late Antique Greek 'Epyllia'," *Symbolae Osloenses* 93:1, 2019, 132–156.
- Whitmarsh, T., "Written on the Body: Ekphrasis, Perception and Deception in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *Ramus* 31:1–2, 2002, 111–125.
- Winkler, J.J., "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*", in: J.J. Winkler/G. Williams (eds.), *Later Greek Literature*, Cambridge 1982, 93–158.
- Wittgenstein, L., *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, Malden (Mass.) 1999 (repr.).

⁷² I believe that this approach can also be extended to other later texts like Nonnus' poems or early Christian narratives (e.g. *Apocryphal Gospels*), which add the Bible to the mix of their intertextualities.

This paper aims to investigate the references to the mythical figures of Cupid and Psyche in the lyrics (in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian languages) of Western popular music, mainly from the 1990s to the present day. It will give an account of typology of actualization of the Apuleian myth, whose presence is recognized in pop music (e.g. Müller, in May & Harrison 2020) but not systematically investigated. Without bias, the analysis ranges from the words of the international artists, passing through underground culture to emerging songwriters and the study will review and show the manifest, allusive, and antiphrastic citations of the mythical couple, for the purpose of classifying these occurrences. Mythic couple's images and mentions are deciphering and categorizing according to reason, meaning and typology in more one hundred song lyrics in the five different languages. Varying from global to local, pop music embraces and represents multiple cultures in relation to dialects, geography, and music genres. Moreover, it often conveys the thoughts of the younger people. By offering many examples of criteria and context of citation of this ancient myth, the study may shed light on how modern (Western) imaginary concerning Cupid and Psyche takes shape in the Western popular music.

Cavallini, E. *Achilles in the Age of Steel: Greek Mith in Modern Popular Music*, <<Conserv. Sci. Cult. Heritage>> IX, 113-141.

Gamberale, L. *Non solo classici, non solo letteratura*, <<QUCC>> LXXIX, 127-151.

May, R., & Stephen J. Harrison (eds.), *Cupid and Psyche: The Reception of Apuleius' Love Story since 1600* (Trends in Classics – Pathways of Reception), Berlin/Boston.

Mennella-Bettino, D. *Miti pop. Il mito classico nella popular music dagli anni Cinquanta a oggi*, Roma.

Minervini, F., *Incanto classico. Autori latini e greci e cantautori d'oggi in concerto*, Bari.

Sacerdoti, A. *Reception of Classics: the song Oedipus by Regina Spektor between Graeco-Roman and Jewish Cultures*, <<WASET>>, 480-483.

Scippacercola, N. "La figura di Atlante nella musica leggera occidentale degli ultimi decenni: esempi di attualizzazione del mito", in A. Sacerdoti (a c. di), *Percorsi del classico nel contemporaneo (poesia, narrativa, cinema, fiction, musica contemporanea e i classici greci e latini)*, Napoli, 161-192.

Spina, L. *Latinum est... et canitur*, <<AOFL>> X 1, 126-139.

Thisbe's letter to Cnemon, at Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* 2.10, presents an attempt to extract herself from the clutches of the Egyptian bandit who has captured her and kept her prisoner. In this paper, I will offer a close reading of this letter and demonstrate how it stands as a *tour de force* of rhetorical persuasion, emotional manipulation, and narratological self-consciousness. In the first part, I will explore Thisbe's masterful use of epistolary conventions, rhetoric, and language, which has received strikingly little scholarly attention.⁷⁴ For example, Thisbe shows knowledge of the epistolary customs and clichés but adheres to them only to the extent that they serve her purpose and desired tone. Thus, while we have an elaborate address formula in the opening, there are no other customary formalities such as a wish for good health, or the final *formula valedicendi* ἔppωσο, because that could diminish the personal and desperate tone. On the other hand, the reference to the carrier of the letter (an epistolary cliché) serves as an opportunity to flatter Cnemon before issuing the request, which is made in urgent bare imperatives instead of using verbs such as δέομαι or ἄξιω that are often found in petition letters.

In a second part, I will discuss the letter's role in the narrative of the novel and its function as a device of deception, a subject that is at the core of the *Aethiopica* and which also permeates Cnemon's novella. Thisbe has been referred to as a 'poetess' or in another interpretation an 'instigator' of plots at 2.8.2, a description that recalls the role that slaves play in New Comedy as 'writers' of scripts (see e.g., Slater 2000, Jenkins 2005). The enticing rhetoric of her letter to Cnemon, which resembles the speech to his father (at 1.16.2–4), makes one thing clear: had it been delivered on time, the novel could have taken a different course. By circumscribing its potential, Heliodorus underlines the 'path not taken' and the kind of narratives that he will not privilege as motivators of Charicleia's and Theagenes' story. In this sense, Thisbe's letter is set in contrast to the next letter in the narrative, Persinna's embroidered band (4.8), which motivates the elopement of the protagonists. Nevertheless, by letting Thisbe's voice be heard, Heliodorus enhances the social polyphony of his narrative (Whitmarsh 2008: 84). Furthermore, by highlighting Cnemon's and Theagenes's reactions to it, he adds a significant metanarrative dimension to the scene (Kruchió 2020: 37–42).

Hunter, R. L. (1998) 'The *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus: beyond interpretation?', in Hunter, R. L. (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 40–59.

Jenkins, T. E. (2005) 'At Play with Writing: Letters and Readers in Plautus', *TAPhA* 135: 359–92.

Kruchió, B. (2020) *Into the Snake Pit: Heliodorus's Aethiopica and Cognitive Pluralism*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Cambridge.

Létoublon, F. (2003) 'La lettre dans le roman grec ou les liaisons dangereuses', in Panayotakis, S., Zimmerman, M., and Keulen, W. H. (eds.), *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, Leiden: Brill, 271–88.

Morgan, J. R. (2008) 'Heliodorus: An Ethiopian Story', in Reardon, B. P. (ed.) *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, 2nd edn., Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 349–588.

Rosenmeyer, P. A. (2001) *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slater, N. W. (2000) *Plautus in Performance: The Theatre of The Mind*, 2nd edn., Amsterdam: Harwood Academic.

Whitmarsh, T. (2008) 'Class', in Whitmarsh, T. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 72–87.

⁷³ Transl. by Morgan 2008 (slightly modified).

⁷⁴ Although there are various surveys on the use of letters in the Greek novels (e.g., Rosenmeyer 2001: 133–68, Létoublon 2003), there has been no detailed analysis of the rhetorical functions of this letter yet, except for Hunter (1998: 42–45), who briefly notes its 'rhetorical winningness' and manipulative language.

The *Satyricon* includes many inscriptions, like for example the famous « *Cave canem* », that Encolpius wrongly interprets by being scared, instead of understanding that this is precisely not a real dog, as one can see if he looks carefully, and that the painting should be admired for its quality of illusion. The phenomenon has been interpreted through the concept of 'epigraphic habit' theorized by R. Mac Mullen, used to name the way individuals, and specifically freemen, used inscriptions during the Empire to construct their social identity. This paper aims to look at this corpus from a literary perspective and to show that it is part of a *mise en abyme* of the question of interpretation, which is central in the novel. The project is to study both *tituli* or *libelli* that are only mentioned (like the *tituli* of the prostitutes (7) or the one on the Trojan horse in 89) and the ones appearing explicitly like Diogenes' announcement that he has bought a house (38). Most of this second corpus is found in the *cena*. Some examples are clear way to construct characters as the indications of weight and price on Trimalchio's silver plates, by which he shows off his wealth to his guests, and the author underlines his bad manners. But all inscriptions don't necessarily make the interpretation easier, as Trimalchio's inscription for his funeral monument ending with the formula « *et tu* », which can be read as the expected salute from the passer-by or a complex invitation to the reader to interpret as M. Beard has shown. We would like to propose three hypotheses: first, the inscriptions as part of Roman culture of jokes with speaking objects; secondly, these inscriptions as part of a very sophisticated literary game, using a kind of reverted *ekphrasis* in which the text written on the object is more important than the description of the object itself and the competition is not between concrete arts et literature, but between two different types of discourse: the specific language of the inscription and the literary language; third, that these inscriptions are part of a general challenge for the reader to decode the novel and of a game that can sometimes try to fool him.

Sissa, Giulia (University of California, Los Angeles): *Rusticitas, non pudor*. Green sensuality in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* after Ovid's *Ars amatoria**

Longus' novel is the emplotment of a deferral. Erotic love and the possibility of coition is there from the outset, but the execution of the heterosexual act takes place only at the very end, after goofy attempts, false starts, and frustrating failures. Sensuality is there, because the body, the senses, the mind concur in an experience of lingering desire. But not even various theoretical lessons seem to help Chloe and Daphnis understand how to have sex. Practical teaching is in order. It is not sexual abstinence, therefore, but sexual *incompetence* that keeps awake the anticipation of both the characters and the readers.

Why is it so difficult to imagine and to learn what to do? I intend to situate this question in the fictional environment of a rural and pastoral countryside, and in the tradition of a Greek and Roman poetry that is keen, precisely, on that greenery. Both Lucretius and Ovid place the invention of erotic love in a pre-urban, woody landscape (*De Rerum Natura* 5.962-965; *Ars amatoria* 2.477-480). But Ovid also warns his pupils about the dangers of *rusticitas*. Far from favorizing instinctual drives, a life spent lingering out of the city might make people erotically inept (*Ars amatoria* 1.669-671). Hence the need for an art of love, which is also a good use of the Roman cityscape. Longus, in contrast, situates the action of his novel in a green scenery where agriculture, gardening and care for domestic animals create occasions of intimacy, while offering the example of spontaneous coupling. But this is to no avail. As if he were taking Ovid literally, Longus creates an environment of *rusticitas*, not *pudor*. He imagines a possible world, where a young man would be unworthy of the impromptu kisses he is lucky to have received. In a reversal of the Ovidian synergy of an untaught inclination to find pleasure and the urban art of love (Sissa 2011 and 2021), Longus makes of that young man a naïve, slow-witted and seemingly unteachable lover. And Chloe too is at a loss.

Apart from possible relations to an ancestor text or Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, the existing Pseudo-Lucianic *Onos* and its narrator exhibit philosophical interests not strictly shared with Apuleius's version. The comedy of this Lucius's quest for self-knowledge through both fear and laughter has its own, sometimes subtler rewards.

Lucius's drive is not just curiosity about magic: he tells Palaestra that he wants to learn by experience (πείρα μαθεῖν, *Onos* 13) whether his ψυχή will metamorphose along with the physical form. Once transformed, he never mentions his ψυχή again, only his νοῦς, through which he must process his experiences in animal form—and despite his anger at Palaestra, his next reaction is laughter at his own situation (15) when his own horse pushes him away in the stable. Immediately thereafter though, Lucius fears an attack by wild animals, simultaneously acknowledging that he had no idea what he should *really* fear.

Laughter plays a more varied role here than in Apuleius. Lucius himself is the first to laugh (at Palaestra's warning of the dangers she offers, 6). Some laughter is cruel (the robbers mocking the re-captured girl, 24), some justified, at least for Lucius (at the Syrian priests, 38), but learning to accept laughter at himself is key to Lucius's eventual escape. Though at first fearing the bakers will discover him eating their food and distressed when they do, Lucius soon realizes that becoming a spectacle and object of laughter, first for his fellow slaves, then for the master and his symposium guests, will save him—by making him a παίγνιον (47).

The use of this term suggests a connection with, and meditation on, Plato's complex views on comedy and society in the *Laws*, where all creatures are a kind of plaything contrived by the gods (τὸ παίγνιον ... μεμηχανημένον, 803) but citizens must leave the performance of such things to slaves. Taught by experience, Lucius rationalizes his lot as an enslaved animal, even seeing himself as Pasiphaë's bull with the condemned woman, but specifically casting aside his fear of wild animals in the arena he can finally save himself. Complete restoration requires rediscovering the ability to laugh at himself after the libidinous rich woman rejects him in human form.

Even in its present form, the *Onos* demonstrates its interest in the search for self-knowledge and play with philosophical concepts (some Platonic, some more shared) and the limits of experience in conferring it.

Smith, Steven (Hofstra University, New York): Greek and Ethiopic in the *Aithiopika*: linguistic code-switching and religious transformation in the fourth century

In the fourth century CE, Aezanas, the first Christian King of Axum, issued two public inscriptions – one in Ge'ez, the other in Greek – to commemorate his military victory over the Noba. Incidentally, these inscriptions also bear witness to Aezanas' conversion to Christianity. Earlier inscriptions credit Aezanas' successes to the god Maḥrem/Ares, but the two Noba inscriptions profess faith in a different god. The Ge'ez document (*RIE* I.189, pp. 263-267) refers to the "Lord of Heaven" and the "Lord of all," while the Greek inscription (*RIE* I.271, pp. 370- 372) refers explicitly to Jesus Christ and the holy trinity. As Bowersock aptly puts it, "Aezanas felt he could be more open in the official language of eastern Christianity than in his own native Ge'ez" (2013: 73).

These two Axumite inscriptions provide contemporary historical comparanda for the linguistic code-switching in the final book of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. When the Ethiopian King Hydaspes asks the gymnosophists to begin the rites in which Charikleia and Theagenes are to be sacrificed to the Moon and the Sun, Sisimithres tells Hydaspes that the gymnosophists must not be present and that they have already been polluted by their participation in the preliminaries to the sacrifice; the narrator is emphatic that Sisimithres spoke to Hydaspes "in Greek, and so the multitude didn't understand" (10.9.6). Later, when Hydaspes has discovered the couple's true identity, Sisimithres declares that the gods engineered this discovery to end human sacrifice in Ethiopia. Again, the narrator emphasizes that Sisimithres makes his pronouncement "not speaking Greek, but speaking Ethiopic, and so everyone, too, heard him" (10.39.1).

Aezanas tailors his Ge'ez and Greek inscriptions in such a way that marks Christianity as a foreign influence that cannot easily be translated into the local idiom, at least at this particular moment in Axumite history. Heliodoros, by contrast, imagines religious transformation as an indigenous Ethiopian phenomenon. Sisimithres is outspoken in his native Ethiopic when he proclaims the will of the gods at the climax of the novel. Greek, consequently, sounds conspiratorial; it is both the language of outsiders and an instrument of power at the fictional court of Meroe. That the *Aithiopika* itself is an ostentatiously Greek artefact composed by a Phoenician is not just sophistic irony. The linguistic code-switching of Aezanas and Sisimithres produces a metaliterary awareness that an Ethiopian romance in Ethiopic would speak to a different audience and would tell a different story about religious revelation.

RIE = *Receuil des Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*. Paris, 1991.

Bowersock, G. (2013) *The Throne of Adulis: Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*. Oxford.

Groves, R. W. (2012) "Cross-language Communication in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*." Ph.D. Diss. UCLA.

Hilton, J. (2019) "Speaking truth to power: Julian, the Cynics, and the Ethiopian gymnosophists of Heliodorus," in P. R. Bosman (ed.), *Intellectual and Empire in Greco-Roman Antiquity*: 202-215. London and New York.

Shalev, D. (2006) "Heliodorus' Speakers: multiculturalism and literary innovation in conventions for framing speech." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 49: 165-191.

It has been understood since the publication of William Thalmann's 2011 book that Apollonius Rhodius' story of the expedition of the Argonauts was shaped in part by knowledge of the expedition of Alexander the Great that opened up new geographical horizons for the Greeks. At the same time, his presentation of the Argonauts' leader, Jason, has been much discussed in view of his frequent indecisiveness (*amechania*), to the extent that Dee Clayman has interpreted the poem as a demonstration of Pyrrhonian Scepticism in 'action'. At the least, the poem may be seen as a vision of what happens when an 'ordinary' man has to go through the motions of a heroic epic.

The *Alexander Romance*, which I treat in this paper, on the strength of previously published arguments on the subject, as in essentials a Hellenistic text, depicts a hero who often resembles a picaresque trickster, more akin to the fictional Aesop than to Achilles, or even Odysseus.

I consider a number of similarities in the two texts, *AR* and *Ap.Rh.*, ranging from thematic concerns and geographical references to the behaviour and 'character' of the two protagonists. Among the first is the theme of setting the boundaries of the world (and the eccentric geography of both texts); the fact that both expeditions get lost in unknown lands; encounters with alarming alien creatures; Amazons in both; and encounters with the Bebryces in both. The Egyptian background of both texts is frequently apparent (as Susan Stephens has emphasised for *Ap. Rh.*). As regards the character of the heroes, I consider the spectrum of their responses to crisis, from cunning and resourcefulness to fear and despair; the religious competence of both heroes (the historical Alexander is relevant here); the importance for heroic achievement of managing or avoiding sexual involvements. As for the last point, there is no sex in the *AR*, while the Argonauts quickly abandon the Lemnian women; however, Jason actually achieves his end through one of the most famous sexual involvements in Greek literature.

The aim is not to suggest 'influence' of either writer upon the other, though I think it likely that Apollonius was aware of the Alexander legend that was being put together in Alexandria in his time; rather I hope to suggest that both texts contribute to the development of a different kind of heroic personality, emerging from the cosmopolitan and 'bourgeois' world that Alexander's conquests had created.

When describing epiphanies of gods, Imperial Era authors like Aristides and Pausanias highlight correspondences between oneiric images and images from the waking world.⁷⁵ This paper identifies a similar phenomenon in 'human' dreams from Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus' novels and Perpetua's *Passion*;⁷⁶ both non-Christian and Christian texts stage a competition between dreams and the waking world, but with different results and purposes.

In recent decades, many scholars have studied novelistic dreams with narratological, intertextual, historical, allegorical and psychological approaches.⁷⁷ Structural narratology mostly reads ancient dreams as prolepses which stimulate the characters' and readers' interpretations.⁷⁸ This paper uses cognitive narratology to make three points:⁷⁹ (a) on account of their slow motion, bodily movements, and emotions, ancient dreams possess an enactive and immersive quality;⁸⁰ (b) this interpretation is confirmed by characters' own immersion into the oneiric world; (c) the oneiric content transfers to the waking world, launching the *aforementioned competition*. In each of the paper's sections, I identify these three points in the selected texts.

Section 1 focuses on Pantheia's **enactive dream** in Achilles Tatius' novel.⁸¹ Pantheia's embodied reaction to her dream further triggers the readers' immersion.⁸² Later, Pantheia's dream *enters the main narrative* through Leucippe's disembowelment;⁸³ this frightening passage *displays a higher degree of immersive quality than the dream*.⁸⁴

Section 2 discusses Thyamis' dream in Heliodorus' novel.⁸⁵ While scholars focus on Thyamis' multiple interpretations of this dream,⁸⁶ I stress its **enactive quality** and Thyamis' immersive response.⁸⁷ Finally, Thyamis sees again the *dream's images in the war* happening in front of him,⁸⁸ and this spectacle *is more immersive* than the dream.

In Section 3, I focus on the **enactive** conclusion of Perpetua's Vision 1, where Perpetua receives food from the shepherd;⁸⁹ this vision's immersive effect is confirmed by Perpetua's performance of dream's actions after reawakening.⁹⁰ Later, Perpetua's enactive stepping on the

⁷⁵ See Platt 2011, 253-292.

⁷⁶ Following Hanson's classification (1980, 1409-13), I consider dreams and visions to be the same from the ancient perspective.

⁷⁷ Cf. Hägg 1971, 222-3, 231-2 and 237-9 and Bartsch 1989, 80-108 (narratological); Hilton 2001 (intertextual); MacAlister 1996, Harris 2009, Harris-McCoy 2012 and Harrison 2013 (historical); Vitek 2017 (allegorical); Cox Miller 2014 (psychological).

⁷⁸ Cf. Bartsch 1989, 80-108 and Morgan 2007, 478 and *passim*.

⁷⁹ See Caracciolo and Kukkonen 2014, and Grethlein, Huitink and Tagliabue 2020.

⁸⁰ Cf. Grethlein and Huitink 2017 on enactivism in ancient Greek literature. For a definition of immersion, see Allan, de Jong and de Jonge 2017, 34: immersion "refers to the mental state of being absorbed in a virtual world such that one experiences it—to a certain extent—as if it were the actual world." On the foundation of immersion studies, see Ryan 2001.

⁸¹ See Ach. Tat. 2.23.5. Cf. Cleitophon's first dream at 1.3.4, which is also enactive, and evokes the Aristophanic myth from Plato's *Symposium* (as in Morales 2004, 53).

⁸² Ach. Tat. 2.23.6. On Pantheia's dream, see Bartsch 1989, 85-9 and Whitmarsh 2020, 235

⁸³ See Ach. Tat. 3.15.

⁸⁴ As a result, violence does not fully enter the main narrative. See Morales 2004, 182: "The violence is largely contained in the *ekphraseis*, dreams and theatrical interludes."

⁸⁵ See Hld. 1.18.4.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hld. 1.18.5, 1.30.4; Winkler 1982, 310; Bartsch 1989, 94-7, and Hilton 2001, 86, ft. 23.

⁸⁷ See Hld. 1.30.4.

⁸⁸ See Hld. 1.30.3.

⁸⁹ 5 See *P. Perp.* 4.8-9. For a narratological analysis of Perpetua's narrative, with the distinction between Perpetua's and the redactor's account, see Formisano 2012. Bibliography on Perpetua's visions is huge: cf. e.g. Waldner 2012.

⁹⁰ See *P. Perp.* 4.10.

Egyptian's face in Vision 4 is turned into reality in the redactor's account.⁹¹ In the latter, however, Perpetua's stepping is not vividly narrated, stressing the dream's higher immersivity.

In conclusion, I draw a difference between Christian and non-Christian narratives. In the former, the higher immersivity of the dream-world pushes readers close to God, the source of dreams.⁹² In Greek novels, the higher immersivity of the waking world (and of the main narrative) enhances the characters' and readers' puzzlement in front of the dream and alert the readers to the dreamlike status of the novels, where 'dreamlike' captures the work of *phantasia*.⁹³

Allan, R., Irene J. F. de Jong, I. and Casper, C. 2017. "From *Enargeia* to immersion: the ancient roots of a modern concept". *Style* 51.1: 34-51.

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Hanson, J.S. 1980. "Dreams and visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity", *ANRW* 2.32: 1395-1427.

Harris-McCoy, D.E. 2012. *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford.

Harris, W. V. 2009. *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass. And London.

Harrison, J. 2013. *Dreams and Dreaming in the Roman Empire: Cultural Memory and Imagination*, London/New York.

Hilton, J. 2001. "The dream of Charikles (4.14.2): intertextuality and irony in the Ethiopian Story of Heliodorus." *Acta Classica* 44. 77-86.

MacAlister, S. 1996. *Dreams and Suicides: The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire*. London.

Morales, H. 2004. *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon*. Cambridge.

Pizzone, A. M. V. 2013. "The tale of a dream: Oneiros and Mythos in the Greek novel." In: M. P. Futre Pinheiro, A. Bierl and R. Beck. eds. *Intende, Lector - Echoes of Myth, Religion and 5 Ritual in the Ancient Novel*. Berlin, Boston. 67-81.

Platt, V.J. 2011. *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion. Greek culture in the Roman world*. Cambridge and New York.

Ryan, M-L. 2001. *Narrative as Virtual Reality: Immersion and Interactivity in Literature and Electronic Media*. Baltimore.

Vitek, T. 2017. "Allegorical dreams in antiquity. Their character and interpretation." *Wiener Studien* 130: 127-52.

Waldner, K. 2009. "Visions, Prophecy and Authority in the *Passio Perpetuae*." In: Bremmer and Formisano. 201-19.

Whitmarsh, T. 2020. *Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon Books I-II*. Cambridge.

Winkler, J.J. 1982. "The mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*." *YCS* 27: 93-158.

⁹¹ Cf. *P. Perp.* 10.1 and 18.7.

⁹² Cf. MacAlister 1996, 85-89.

⁹³ Cf. Pizzone 2013, 70-71 on the key role played by *phantasia* (imagination) in the genesis of dreams.

Therrien, Philippe (Université de Lausanne / Université Laval): Narrating a quest for true religious knowledge: a comparison between the Pseudo-Clementines *Homilies* and the *Apocryphon of John* (BG 2; NH III,1)*

In ancient Graeco-Latin novels, the initiatory journeys of the protagonists usually possess an important religious dimension. This relationship between personal transformation and the divine could be one of the keys to understand the Pseudo-Clementines *Homilies'* choice of the ancient novel as a literary form. Readers can follow the main character, the tormented Clement, on his quest to find true religious and philosophical knowledge, leading to his initiation and baptism at the hands of the apostle Peter.

But in the *Homilies'* case, religious knowledge is not just a part of the plot: it has important implications for the readers. The *Homilies* seek to convince them that the knowledge they contain is apostolic, authentic, and superior to any other kind. They present their own take on Church history in order to conceive a normative discourse on piety, a discourse in which characters become symbol of trustworthiness (Peter) or deceit (the philosophers, Simon Magus).

This narration of a personal quest for religious knowledge can also be found in other texts such as *Thessalos the Philosopher on the Virtue of Herbs* and *Apuleius's Golden Ass*. Their use of similar patterns could reveal the existence of literary tropes that influenced the *Homilies*. Relevant examples can also be found in the Nag Hammadi literature: in the *Apocryphon of John* (BG 2; NH III, 1), a protagonist – the apostle John – is afflicted by his failed search for true religious knowledge, only to be saved by the revelation of a divine being.

By a comparison between the *Homilies* and the *Apocryphon of John*, this paper intends to shed light on a literary form, the « gnoseological narration », defined as setting the plot of a quest for true religious knowledge. This type of narration seems to have been particularly influenced by the ancient novel since it uses novelistic themes and tropes as tools to support gnoseological claims. However, if the *Homilies* and the *Apocryphon of John* utilize similar devices, they are in fact competitors and enemies in the field of gnoseology. In other words, the use of a narrative frame to convey religious knowledge allows texts to occupy a position in their literary, intellectual, and theological context.

In all the earliest recensions of *The Alexander Romance*, Alexander is conceived when the deposed Egyptian king Nectanebo sleeps with Olympias on the pretext of facilitating her intercourse with the god Ammon and bringing about the conception of a child who will avenge the wrongs Philip has done to her. Yet their presentation of this episode differs significantly. This paper examines how each depicts Olympias' awareness of Nectanebo's ruse and judges her willingness to betray Philip with a "god". While Julius Valerius' Latin translation and the A and β Greek texts present Olympias as taken in, the Armenian translation suggests that she is aware of Nectanebo's identity with her lover "Ammon," explicitly condemning her as deceitful. While in every case the reader knows that Alexander's father is Nectanebo, Olympias' belief in the divinity of her partner has consequences for how the recensions interpret the stories of Alexander's connection to Ammon that circulated in the historical sources.

Since the Armenian translation is considered a reliable witness to the earliest Greek version, I ask how much of its knowing and wicked Olympias could have been present in the "original" and why the other early recensions present her as shockingly gullible. Wolohojian (1969, 3) suggested that the Armenian recension's narrative and psychological coherence may derive from the "original Greek" text, pointing especially to the "duplicity and concupiscence of [Olympias and Nectanebo's] voluntary and mutual deception." Indeed, the Armenian recension belongs to the movement in early Armenian letters that privileged fidelity to the Greek over fluency in Armenian. This evidence for close translation sits uneasily alongside the harsh portrait of Olympias. While the few surviving historical sources often treat Olympias with hostility, we may wonder whether the earliest Greek Romance, which may derive from Egypt, possibly even Ptolemaic Alexandria, would have deflated the story of Alexander's divine and Egyptian paternity in such a human way.

Would a Greco-Egyptian audience eager to claim Alexander read the aware Olympias as a clever and empowered woman, who chose an Egyptian father for her child? Or does the exposure of Olympias' cynicism fit an anti-Macedonian take on Egypt's first Greek ruler? Could the faithful translation style conceal an Armenian perspective seeking to expose the sham of pagan gods? This paper explores these possibilities to clarify the early textual history of the *Romance* and the varied receptions of Alexander in the fiction of Late Antiquity.

Carney, O. 2006. *Olympias: Mother of Alexander the Great* (New York).

Cowe, P. 1996. "Aspects of the Translation and Redaction Process of the Alexander Romance in Armenian,"

Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics ed. D. Sakayan (New York) 245-260.

Stoneman, R. and Gargiulo, T. 2007. *Il Romanzo di Alessandro* Vol. 1 (Milan).

Traina, G. 2016. "Some Observations on the Armenian Pseudo-Callisthenes," *Greek Texts and Armenian Traditions: An Interdisciplinary Approach* ed. F. Gazzano, L. Pagani, and G. Traina (Berlin) 23-30.

Whitmarsh, T. 2018. *Dirty Love: The Genealogy of the Ancient Greek Novel* (Oxford).

Wolohojian, A. M. 1969. *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes, Translated from the Armenian* (New York).

Of all the Greek novels, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is the most limited in its engagement with the visual arts. Aside from the framing prologue, which famously represents a painting mediated through an *ekphrasis*, Longus deliberately eschews describing the few artworks found within the bucolic landscape.⁹⁴

In particular, at an important turning point in the novel, we encounter an extended *ekphrasis* of an artistically curated park (4.2-3), where we find a temple with "Dionysiac paintings." These γραφαί portray Semele giving birth, Ariadne sleeping, the binding of Lycurgus, the σπαραγμός of Pentheus, the conquered Indians, the metamorphoses of the Tyrrhenians, Satyrs treading grapes, Bacchants dancing, and Pan playing the syrinx. Although scholars have focused on Dionysophanes' παράδεισος as an urbanized counterpart to Philetas' garden,⁹⁵ they have devoted little attention to the role these paintings play, except to note how violent episodes from Dionysus' life are analogous to other inset tales.⁹⁶

In this paper, I take the material presence of the paintings as an invitation to meditate on the reader's participation in the novel. On the one hand, the paintings represent a shift from a world controlled by Pan to one ruled by Dionysus – i.e., from the violence of nature to the refinement of aesthetic pleasure and erotic experience. In this way, they signify the transition Daphnis and Chloe will undergo from country to city, from slave to noble, and from rustic to urbane.⁹⁷ For us as readers, however, the paintings reveal how the urban fantasy of the country life is superimposed onto the bucolic landscape. While shared themes (σπαραγμός, metamorphosis, and music) seem to evoke the violent inset stories of books 1-3,⁹⁸ these γραφαί are also replicated in a meaningful way in the novel's close. Central to the artistic design is the long-awaited marriage of an abandoned beloved (Ariadne), the birth of a child, and a celebration of marriage in performance: Satyrs treading, Bacchants dancing, and Pan accompanying them on the syrinx all foreshadow the celebrating participants in Chloe's marriage, who likewise mimic the harvest, dance and sing (4.38.3). Most importantly, painting – with a representation which, once again, goes undescribed – enters the bucolic landscape when Daphnis dedicates εἰκόνες to Pan (4.39.2). The poignant lack of an *ekphrasis* where we would expect one invites us not only to fill in gaps, but also to recognize how aesthetic engagement with the novel is itself mediated by Dionysiac (rather than bucolic) approaches to sexuality.

Bowie, E. 2004. "The Function of Mythology in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*." In: J. A. López Férez, ed. *Mitos en la literatura griega helenística e imperial*. 361-76.

Hunter, R. L. 1983. *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe*. Cambridge.

Laplace, M. 2010. *Les Pastorales de Longos* (Daphnis et Chloé). Bern.

Montiglio, S. 2012. "The (Cultural) Harmony of Nature: Music, Love, and Order in "Daphnis and Chloe." *TAPA* 142.1. 133–156.

Morgan, J. R. 2004. *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe*. Oxford.

Schlapbach, K. 2015. "Music and Meaning in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*: the inset tales in their performative settings," *Phoenix* 69. 79-99.

⁹⁴ This is true even for the εἰκόνες Daphnis dedicates to Pan in the closing chapters, which have been read as a possible ring-compositional reference to the γραφή in the framing prologue (e.g. Hunter 1983, 42-3). On other forms of art relevant to the novel's protagonists (esp. music), see Montiglio 2012 and Schlapbach 2015.

⁹⁵ See Zeitlin 1990 and Morgan 2004, 223-25.

⁹⁶ See Bowie 2004, 372-3. These inset tales likewise provide ambivalent analogues to Chloe's erotic education, which expands the mise en abyme effect of the paintings (see Laplace 2010, 85- 7).

⁹⁷ See Morgan 2004, 225-26.

⁹⁸ See Winkler 1990.

- Winkler, J. J. 1990. "The Education of Chloe: Hidden Injuries of Sex." In: *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. New York. 101-26.
- Zeitlin, F. 1990. "The Poetics of Eros: Nature, Art, and Imitation in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*." In D. Halperin et al., eds. *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton. 417-64.

The presence of judicial rhetoric in the ancient novel, particularly manifest in the recurrent motif of the trial, is well documented. And so is epideictic rhetoric, notably in the numerous descriptions embedded in the narrative frame. Deliberative rhetoric, which appears for example in episodes where characters deliberate on their lines of conduct or actions, has drawn less attention, however. In this paper I would like to have a look at some episodes in Greek and Latin novels where deliberation becomes part of the action, and to examine its incidence on the narrative's suspense and rhythm (plot-speed). Furthermore, I will try to determine whether the principles guiding the decision-making process in those episodes are identical to the ones we encounter in theoretical treatises, where criteria such as utility and necessity are central, or if the fictional universe has its own rules when it comes to deliberation.

Van Pelt, Julie (Universiteit Gent): The *Life of Makarios the Roman* between history and fiction*

Travel narratives (or narratives with a focus on travels) often tread the borderline between history and fiction, lending, for instance, importance to eyewitness reports, on the one hand, while portraying distant, unknown and fantastic lands, on the other. In this paper, I discuss both strategies as they emerge in the *Life of Makarios the Roman*, a popular saint's *Life* from late antiquity about the fantastical journey of three monks in search of the end of the world, which leads them through pitch dark forests and over dangerous cliffs, along lands inhabited by centaurs, dog-headed people and other terrifying creatures. To make sense of the text's ambivalent status – between history and fiction – I will take stock of potential direct and indirect influences of the paradoxographical tradition and the *Life's* relation to Ps-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance*, both well known for mixing the two. The latter relation has been identified by scholars before but will here be used as a stepping stone to think deeper about the specific ways in which history and fiction work together in this *Life*, and for what purpose. The paper argues that Makarios' *Life* extolls and simultaneously domesticates God's unfathomable power and glory, by portraying three ordinary monks recovering it from beyond the furthest and strangest corners of His creation.

Veikou, Myrto (University of California, Los Angeles): Landscape biographies of the Byzantine frontier: an analysis of 'spatial' narratives in *Digenis Akritis* (G & E)*

The recently established sub-field of landscape research called "landscape biographies" explores the long and complex histories of landscapes from personal and social perspectives. As an essential part of human life-worlds, landscapes have the potential to absorb something of people's lives, works, and thoughts. But landscapes also shape their own life-histories at different timescales, transcending human life cycles and generating their own temporalities and rhythms. Consequently, the co-scripting of landscapes and people figures prominently in biographical literary works (Renes, Kolen & Hermans, *Landscape biographies*, 2015).

While there is no consensus on the generic classification of the Byzantine poem *Digenis Akritis* among 'medieval epics', its content justifies reading it as biographical literature (Jouanno, *Shared Spaces*, in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, 2016, 271-78). Furthermore, differences in narrative structure and coherence have been observed between the two oldest versions of the poem – the E and the G, here discussed (Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, 1998). It has been suggested that E is more related to the oral tradition-based 'epic' style (Fenik, *Digenis: epic and popular style*, 1991) while G follows those rules and principles of composition and coherence more broadly valid for contemporary works of literature (Kulhánková, *Narrative Coherence*, BMGS 45, 2021, 184-198). The predominance of 'spatial' narratives in the poem has also attracted scholarly attention. Catia Galatariotou first discussed such narratives as constituents of a psychological category informing every aspect of the text (Galatariotou, *Structural Oppositions*, BMGS 11 1987, 29–68). Corinne Jouanno has proposed that spatial designations in both the E and G versions are just one expression of the poem's generic versatility, whereby it aims to communicate a strong image of the 'divided self of the medieval *homo Byzantinus*' within a fictional diachronic and multicultural world (2016). From a comparative perspective, John Rutherford Kee has discussed wilderness in particular as a key narrative motif for the literary representation of the Byzantine borderland (*Narrating the Byzantine Border*, thesis CEU, 2019).

The present paper picks up on the aforementioned discussions and proposes a closer reading of the 'spatial' narrative techniques used in both E and G. Relevant narrative aspects, such as spatial designation, identification and appropriation, as well as mobility and other forms of spatial interaction, are discussed and interpreted in respect to (a) their role within the biographical narrative, and (b) their contribution to Byzantine biographies of frontier landscapes.

It has long been noted that the canonical *Acts of the Apostles* contain numerous topics and motifs that are met also in ancient novels and bear interesting features of the latter. A wandering hero, in constant danger courageously traveling quixotic regions, repeated confrontations with “bad people”, encounters with people in high places, a dramatic trial, spectacular divinely inspired interventions, a shipwreck with miraculous escape, a love lost (between friends), unexpected turns in the story and in the attitude of major characters, some of whom are clearly less trustworthy than one might have assumed, occasional parallels with a hero of the (recent) past, and in the end an apparently all-positive outcome. The Acts have it all, and one can easily cite parallels from ancient novels for all these topics. Yet, they are not commonly classified as a novel and commentators as a rule only occasionally refer to parallels from the novel.

This paper examines from one case study how topics and features that are typically at home in the novel but that to my knowledge have hardly ever been connected with it in scholarly literature on Acts are used, in an adapted form, to serve the double purpose of creating a good story and of infusing the reader with information of (pseudo-)philosophical-religious nature. The shipwreck account in Acts 27:13-44 is probably the best known such story, but I would like to focus on a passage that is not really brought in play in commentaries when comparing Acts and the novel: Paul’s travels in ‘barbaric regions’ as told in Acts 13–14 (esp. the encounter at Lystra in 14:8-20). Two topics in particular will be studied: that of traveling “uncivilised regions” and encountering “barbarians” and that of the amusing case of mistaken identity that follows.

Bechard, D. P., *Paul Outside the Walls: A Study of Luke’s Socio-geographical Universalism in Acts 14:8-20* (Rome: PIB, 2000).

—, “Paul among the Rustics: The Lystran Episode (Acts 14:8-20) and Lucan Apologetic”, in *CBQ* 63 (2001) 84-101.

Brant, J. A. et al. (eds.), *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative* (Atlanta: SBL, 2005).

Breytenbach, C. and Ch. Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas from Paul to Amphilochius of Iconium* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017).

Hock, R. F. (ed.), *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

Klauck, H. J., “With Paul in Paphos and Lystra: Magic and Paganism in the Acts of the Apostles”, in *Neotestamentica* 28 (1994) 93-108.

Lerle, E., “Der Predigt in Lystra”, in *NTS* 7 (1960) 46-55.

Martin, L. H., “Gods or Ambassadors of God? Barnabas and Paul in Lystra”, in *NTS* 41 (1995) 152-156.

Pervo, R. I., *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (1989).

Schreiber, S., *Paulus als Wundertäter. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und den authentischen Paulusbriefen* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1996).

Smith, A. T., *The representation of Speech Events in Chariton’s Callirhoe and the Acts of the Apostles* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014).

Le musée des Beaux-arts de Gand abrite une toile de J. Paelinck, *La Belle Anthia marchant à la tête de ses compagnes au temple de Diane à Éphèse*, qui emporta la victoire au concours de peinture d'histoire de l'Académie royale des Beaux-arts de Gand en 1820. On peut être étonné, quand on connaît la mauvaise fortune critique du roman de Xénophon d'Éphèse, de découvrir que ses personnages ont été élevés au rang de héros mythologiques, jugés dignes de figurer sur un tableau du grand genre. *Les Éphésiaques* n'ont certes pas connu le succès littéraire et iconographique des *Éthiopiennes* aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, mais l'existence de quelques productions iconographiques inspirées du roman de Xénophon, que l'on se propose d'étudier ici, doit permettre d'évaluer la place singulière qu'il occupe dans l'histoire de la réception des romans grecs aux époques modernes et contemporaines. Outre le tableau de J. Paelinck, seront considérées trois autres œuvres picturales : *La rencontre d'Anthia et d'Habrocomès à la fête de Diane*, de J. Amigoni ou G. Tiepolo (1743, Venise), *La belle Anthia* de S. Frémiet, future épouse Rude et concurrente de Paelinck (1820, collection particulière), *Les Amours d'Abrocome et de la belle Anthia*, de F. de Vigne (1830, Bruxelles). Seront également incluses dans l'étude les gravures qui accompagnent la traduction française des *Éphésiaques* par J.-B. Jourdan dans son édition de 1748 (Paris). En tâchant de replacer gravures et tableaux des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles dans leur contexte de création ainsi que dans la tradition iconographique inaugurée au début du XVII^e siècle avec *Les Éthiopiennes* d'Héliodore, on tentera de répondre plus particulièrement à deux questions. La première est centrée sur le traitement des *topoi* du roman grec, qui constituent l'un des fondements du genre romanesque et qui font l'objet des représentations étudiées dans cette communication : que peut-on dire du choix des artistes et de leurs commanditaires qui représentent des passages aussi *topiques* que le portrait de l'héroïne en déesse Artémis ou la scène de coup de foudre ? La seconde interrogation, intimement liée à la précédente, porte sur l'éventuel glissement du « romanesque » au « mythologique », qui semble, à première vue, justifier le fait de proposer *Les Éphésiaques* pour un concours académique de peinture d'histoire, ce qui pourrait constituer une sorte d'ennoblissement du récit de Xénophon. On se demandera, finalement, si c'est le romanesque ou son euphémisation qui suscite l'intérêt des amateurs de ce roman au cours du premier siècle de sa redécouverte.

Research on the ancient novel has long recognized that Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* stands in stark contrast to the other Greek love novels that have come down to us. Longus arranges its love plot artificially and sets his novel in a highly stylized spatial setting.⁹⁹ He removes all threats to the growing love between the protagonists, and isolates the two young lovers from their social environment, placing them in a literary world that has nothing to do with the realities of a pastoral and peasant life of the Imperial period.¹⁰⁰ In my contribution, I would like to argue that such designs serve the purpose of turning the world of this novel into a "laboratory" in which the essence of desire, ἔρως and πόθος, can be explored experimentally – that is, not analytically, but in a performative way.

The experience of beauty, which is a deeply aesthetic experience, triggers ἔρως and πόθος.¹⁰¹ However, I will not use 'aesthetics' as a synonym for 'beauty', but rather to mean 'perception of form.' Perception (αἴσθησις) of form has both a temporal and a spatial vector;¹⁰² both dimensions are condensed in a moment of self-referential perception, generating both presence and intensity;¹⁰³ this αἴσθησις is not intended to serve as the basis of communication or action. The novel promotes this self-referential perception by focusing on the course of the seasons and the small spatial context of Lesbos. The beauty of this world is the result of its mimetic constitution, in which nature and culture are formally connected.¹⁰⁴

In the act of *mimesis*, self-referential impression is expressed in a way that is both formally adequate and erotic. This erotic principle of *mimesis* manifests itself on the one hand in the love relationship of the protagonists, which is triggered by Chloe's perception of Daphnis' beauty and her affirmative desire to repeat this aesthetic experience. On the other hand, it manifests itself on the poetically highest level of the novel: the novel aspires to be an adequate textual correlate of the image in the grove of the Nymphs (ἀντιγράφει τῇ γραφῇ). Accordingly, mimetic desire also permeates the entire language of the novel¹⁰⁵ and finds its elementary unfolding in the echo episode of Book 3.¹⁰⁶ Basic vocal *mimesis* is multiplied here in time and space and culminates in Daphnis' short narrative of the nymph Echo, allowing us to observe Longus' experimental aesthetic concern in an exceptionally concentrated form.

Bierl, A. 2018. "Longus' Hyperreality: Daphnis and Chloe as a Meta-text about Mimesis and Simulation." In: E. Cueva, S. Harrison, H. Mason, W. Owens and S. Schwartz. eds. *Rewiring the Ancient novel. Volume 1: Greek Novels*. Groningen. 3-28.

Billault, A. 1996. "Le temps du loisir dans Daphnis et Chloe." In: J.-M. André, J. Dangel and P. Demont. eds. *Les loisirs et l'héritage de la culture classic*. Brussels. 162-9.

Cikán, O. and Danek, G. 2018. *Longos. Daphnis and Chloë. Ein poetischer Liebesroman*. Vienna and Prague.

Gumbrecht, H.U. 2012. *Präsenz*, Frankfurt a. M.

Kim, L. 2008. "Time". In T. Whitmarsh. ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and the Roman novel*. Cambridge. 145-161.

⁹⁹ For examples, see Morgan 1994.

¹⁰⁰ See Bierl 2018.

¹⁰¹ For a metaliterary discussion of Eros in Longus' novel, see Zeitlin 1990.

¹⁰² For studies of Longus' unique approach to time, see Billault 1996 and Kim 2008, 155-158.

¹⁰³ See Seel 2007, 39-81, and Gumbrecht 2012.

¹⁰⁴ For a study of φύσις and τέχνη in Longus, see Newlands 1987 and Teske 1991.

¹⁰⁵ See Cikán and Danek 2018.

¹⁰⁶ See Longus 3.21-23.

- J. R. Morgan, J. R. 1994. "Daphnis and Chloe: Love's own sweet story." In J.R. Morgan and R. Stoneman. eds. *Greek Fiction: The Greek novel in context*, London and New York. 64- 79.
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Webb, Ruth (Université de Lille): Showing 'how': uses of the *ekphrasis tropou* in the Greek novels*

The scant explicit attention paid to the category of the *tropos*, the manner in which something is done or made, in theoretical texts belies the centrality of this concept to the ancient definition of *ekphrasis*. Most importantly, it is the details of "how" an action was performed or an event played out that distinguished *ekphrasis* from plain *diegesis*. In forensic oratory, the question of "how" the deed was done was important in questions of definition and in establishing motivation (e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.52) so that an *ekphrasis* of the *tropos* can simultaneously engage the imagination of the reader/listener and set in motion processes of reasoning. In this paper I will look at some examples in the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus where attention is drawn to the use of this type of *ekphrasis* in order to understand how it functions in context.

In many of its iterations, the 'sensory turn' has privileged aesthetic experience over hermeneutics, and 'feeling' over 'meaning'. As Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht (one of the architects of the movement) has claimed, however, literary texts require the coexistence of both 'presence effects' and 'meaning effects'. 'Presence effects' generate in the reader a sense of the aesthetic immediacy of what is described; 'meaning effects' provoke the reader to seek a supervening truth above and beyond the words on the page.

Arguably, presence and meaning converge most significantly in the matter of stylised literary expression, which can be a mechanism for the generation both of presence (e.g. sonorous or evocative language can vividly evoke being-in-the-world of the text) and of meaning (expression can indicate ironies, higher truths etc.). This paper addresses one aspect of the prose-poetic stylistic repertoire of Achilles Tatius, here named the 'syzygic affirmation' (SA). A SA typically describes an unusual phenomenon *x*, using the formula 'this (i.e. *x*) is the *y* of the *z*': e.g. 'this was the wind of the artist' (1.1.12), in connection with the bulge in Europa's robe: i.e. 'this was the technique used by the painter to indicate wind'; or 'this was the purple of the earth' (1.15.5), of the violet; 'is this not a sort of kiss of the desirous stone and her beloved, the iron?' (1.17.2), of magnetic attraction. It is tempting to discuss these instances in terms of metaphor, and indeed that is the way these are usually understood. This would be a 'hermeneutic' way of analysing them, in terms of their ultimate 'meanings'. As I aim show in the paper, however, SAs operate in a variety of ways, only some of which are metaphorical.

Most fundamentally, I argue, what the SA does is to erase frames and blend together different orders of being: the fictional and the real, the constructed and the natural, the human and the animal/vegetal/mineral/divine. In its very affirmative nature (magnetic attraction IS kissing; the violet flower IS a form of sea-purple), it demands an alternative, anti-hierarchical way of experiencing the world in terms of continuity of experience. It is also deeply subjective: all of these SAs focalise Clitophon's own boozy hallucinations, which result from his erotic intoxication. Ultimately, then, the SA is a means of creating presence, of interpellating the reader into Clitophon's thoughts, of making his world ours.

In book 5 of his novel, Achilles Tatius describes at length a painting that represents the myth of Prokne, Philomela and Tereus. This *ekphrasis* has of course attracted scholarly attention; a connection with Sophocles' *Tereus*, the most influential treatment of the myth in the antiquity, is far from unlikely (Dova 2020, 75, 78-79). As Liapis once noticed, however, "Surprisingly enough [...] Tatius' relation to Sophocles' play has never been dealt with, except in a tangential fashion" (Liapis 2006, 230).

In my paper I would like to provide a fresh discussion of the whole passage, with a view to establishing its dependence on the Sophoclean drama. My analysis will focus on three points.

1. The first lines of the *ekphrasis* provide a vivid depiction of the revelation scene: the two sisters stand next to each other, the peplos is unfolded before their eyes, Philomela points to the robe and Prokne "listens" to her wordless account; with its emphasis on actual action, as if the characters were performing onstage, the phrasing of the passage strongly evokes a theatrical context.

2. The idea of a fabric, woven by a woman, which "narrates" a story is as old as Homeric poetry (think of Helen in *Iliad* 3). In Athens, the new peplos offered every year to Athena was decorated with mythical scenes (gigantomachy) and its delivering was represented in the east frieze of the Parthenon (V 34.35); what is more, metopes 19-20 of the southern side very likely represented (Dörig 1978, 226-228) Prokne and Philomela looking at the "speaking" peplos. The iconography closely resembles that of the frieze and is compatible with the *mise-en-scène* implicit in Achilles Tatius' description.

3. We can conclude that by the age of Sophocles the Athenians would have connected the myth of Prokne and Philomela not only with images of Itys' killing and with the anthropophagic banquet (which was popular with vase painters: Touloupa 1994), but also with the scene of the "speaking" peplos. This was probably the "defining scene" in the *Tereus* of Sophocles (Finglass 2020, 95-96), a dramatist who is extremely sensitive to iconographic suggestions (think of the staging of Ajax's suicide). Achilles Tatius, who had access to Sophocles' original text (Liapis 2006, 222-227, 235-238), composed his account of the myth with this scene in mind.

One final point. The theatrical background underlying the *ekphrasis* of Philomela's painting may also shed light on the paintings of Andromeda and Prometheus in book 3. The matter would of course require further investigation, yet it is tempting to construe these scenes along similar lines. The arrival of Perseus from the air was the spectacular opening scene of Euripides' *Andromeda*, and Heracles shooting the eagle was probably the big scene of Aeschylus' *Prometheus unbound*. Arguably, these three descriptions form a triptych based on spectacular scenes from all three big Attic tragedians.

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Zelli, Jessica (University of Queensland): 'Medium is the message': virginity in the novel in the second to fourth centuries AD

'I will cut my hair off and I shall follow you, wherever you go,' Thekla boldly declares to Paul in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* (3.25). Paul refuses Thekla, yet shortly thereafter takes her to Antioch, where, during a conflict with the local governor, she is sentenced to her death. What compelled Thekla to make such a statement? What kind of journey did she mean? And how does this statement connect to her eventual martyrdom?

In this paper, I endeavour to present a new angle to a case study in my recent MPhil thesis. In that thesis, I compared the representations of suicides and martyrdoms in novelistic Greek and Latin literature dating to the second to fourth centuries AD. I examined how representations of death were used to contribute to ongoing changes in social and religious practices; namely, how the deaths of women were used to persuade readers about how to negotiate changes in respect to gender and sexuality during a period of great instability.

A compelling case study investigated the martyrdom of Thekla and her pagan counterpart, Charikleia, the heroine of Heliodorus' fourth-century *Aethiopica*. The intriguing similarities between the execution scenes of these women has been observed in scholarship before; however, I argue that these climatic deaths, the reasons for their similarities, and the messages which they communicate, belong to a far broader context which unfolds in the development of the women elsewhere in the novel. Moreover, the themes of subversion, marriage, and the infatuation which Thekla (inappropriately) has for Paul suggest the meaningfulness of these narratives transcends the perceived purpose of their genre. In other words, these 'stories' provide important insight into contemporary fourth century culture and how change was being experienced by the readers themselves.

By contextualising the deaths of Thekla and Charikleia in the plot of each novel, and by addressing how their characters develop over the course of each narrative, this paper explores how the metaphor of the journey, the guidance of the 'wandering priest', and 'suicide as a test' are used as powerful literary motifs to communicate a loaded message during a particularly turbulent time. This message addresses the contemporary social expectations of the ancient woman, how she might achieve these expectations, and for whom she endured change, challenges, and chastity.

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List of panel abstracts (alphabetical by title)

Body and environment in the Greek novels: sensory and ecocritical approaches to Longus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus (R. Cioffi, E. Gonzalez, E. Kneebone, J. König, A. Petsalis-Diomidis, T. Whitmarsh; responses by C.R. Jackson & K. ní Mheallaigh)

This panel applies ecocritical, embodied and sensory approaches to a number of Greek novels (Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus and Longus in particular). There has been a recent expansion of interest in exploring sensory and environmental themes in classical literature, driven among other things by new materialist and posthuman perspectives, and by the growing impulse to think harder about the relationship between modern environmental discourse and its premodern equivalents. The Greek novels have generally been missed out of these conversations. The partial exception is Longus, whose text has attracted lots of work on the themes of nature and culture, but even in that case with relatively little attention to the novel's representation of sensory and embodied experience. Our hypothesis in this panel, by contrast, is that approaching the Greek novels (especially Longus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus) through these frames can help us to see them with new eyes. The papers chart a range of different ways in which sensory engagement is represented in the novels, supplementing sophisticated existing work on the visual with attention to haptic, acoustic and olfactory effects, and to their play with the idea of multisensorial engagement with art and text. In doing so they offer fresh perspectives on a number of key themes in the novels, including the porousness of ontological categories (e.g. human / animal and human / inanimate), the representation of violence and disruption, and the metaliterary connotations of images of human encounter with natural phenomena. Several papers take a comparative approach to the relationship between ancient and modern environmental thinking, with the goal of shedding light on the distinctiveness of the Greek novels' representations of the relationship between human bodies and their environments. The panel ranges ambitiously from predominantly literary approaches to others focused on materiality and art, and also embeds classical reception in the conversation by the inclusion of a paper on Chagall's 1961 lithographs of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Digenis Akritis: between genres, between worlds (M. Cooperson, A. Honacharian, C. Jouanno, M. Kulhánková, M. Veikou)

The aim of this panel is to offer fresh insights into the verse narrative *Digenis Akritis*, one of the most peculiar and most studied works of Byzantine literature. Although we now have many noteworthy studies of particular themes and many, sometimes mutually contradictory interpretative suggestions, our understanding of the poem still remains sketchy. Our four papers attempt to add some pebbles to the mosaic by looking at the poem from several points of view, combining history, landscape studies and narratology with close reading of the texts. Our suggestions for the understanding and interpretation of different parts and particular aspects of the texts include the solar oaths and exclamations, the various forms of spatial interactions, the narrative function of the environment in which the characters are presented, and the role of the musical episodes. In our consideration of *Digenis*, we take in account the two oldest preserved versions of the poem (the Grottaferrata and the Escorial one, hereafter G and E), but we also look at the poem in the broader literary context, including both the oral (the *Song of Armouris*) and the learned background (the Komnenian and the Palaeologan novel).

One of the emerging questions facing scholars of the Greek novel, and imperial Greek literature more generally, is the question of whether Greek authors were interested in, and betrayed knowledge of, Latin literature and culture. A steadily increasing number of publications have addressed this issue in connection with specific novelists: Cataudella (1927) and Tilg (2010) on Chariton and Vergil's *Aeneid*; Di Virgilio (1991) and Sissa (2012/2021) on Longus and, *inter alia*, Ovidian elegy; Hubbard (2006) and Di Marco (2006) on Longus and Vergil's *Eclogues*; M. Jones (2012) and Brethes (2017) on Achilles Tatius and Ovidian elegy; Klein (2018) on Longus and Ovidian hexameter. A monograph by Jolowicz (2021) puts the case for Chariton, Achilles Tatius and Longus as readers and interpreters of a range of Augustan and Neronian poets, and there is a forthcoming book-length project by Brethes on experiencing sensuality and shaping erotic knowledge in Ovidian elegy and Greek novel.

The orthodox view has for a long time been (and still partly is) that, while the Romans engaged with Greek cultural practices, the Greeks were on the whole indifferent to, and silent on, the subject of Latin literature. However, as adumbrated by the bibliographical survey above, the ground is shifting, and scholars are subjecting the prevailing orthodoxy to an increasing amount of pressure. A paradigm shift is taking place, and the idea that the Greek novelists were readers of Latin literature is gaining traction. The reception of Latin literature, and especially Latin poetry, is therefore coming into focus as a big-ticket issue not only within the study of the Greek novels, but also for the various forces at work in the imperial world from the Augustan Age onwards. That said, it is still a controversial proposition (especially for the first two centuries of the Common Era), and much is at stake regarding how it bears on our modelling of Graeco-Roman relations at the literary, cultural and socio-political levels.

This panel therefore aims to capitalize on recent work in this field and pursue some of its (many) unanswered questions by utilizing a variety of methodological approaches. Its four papers will address the following: (i) the (hitherto unexplored) question of the extent to which the novelistic fragments (especially the *Ninus* and *Chione*) respond to Latin poetry; (ii) the comparative mapping of the male and female body in Ovid's *Amores* and *Ars Amatoria* in the novels of Longus and Achilles Tatius; (iii) the 'green sensuality' in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* as a reversal of Ovidian erotodidaxis; (iv) the innovative signposting system created by Achilles Tatius to signal to his readers his debt to Ovid.

Brethes, R. (2017) 'Clitophon lecteur d'Ovide', in Biraud, M., and Briand, M. (eds) (2017) *Roman grec et poésie: dialogue des genres et nouveaux enjeux du poétique: actes du colloque international, Nice, 21–22 mars 2013* (Lyon): 133–48.

Cataudella, Q. (1927) 'Riflessi virgiliani nel romanzo di Caritone', *Athenaeum* 5: 302–12.

Di Marco, M. (2006) 'The pastoral novel and the bucolic tradition', in Fantuzzi, M. and Papanghelis, T. (eds) (2006) *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden): 479–97.

Di Virgilio, R. (1991) *La narrativa greca d'amore: Dafni e Cloe di Longo* (Rome).

Hubbard, T. K. (2006b) 'Virgil, Longus, and the pipes of Pan', in Fantuzzi, M. and Papanghelis, T. (eds) (2006) *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden): 499–514.

Jolowicz, D. A. (2021) *Latin Poetry in the Ancient Greek Novels* (Oxford).

Jones, M. (2012) *Playing the Man: Performing Masculinities in the Ancient Greek Novel* (Oxford).

Klein, F. (2018) 'Quels critères de l'allusion pour une intertextualité 'latente'? Échos cachés/ dispersés des Métamorphoses d'Ovide dans l'Écho de Longus', *Dictynna* 15.

Sissa, G. (2011) *Sexe et sensualité. La culture érotique des Anciens* (Paris).

- Sissa, G. 'Rustic Skepticism and Slow Sensuality. Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*', in M. Jufresa & F. Mestre (edd.), *ΑΠΟΙΝΑ/ἀποίνα. Estudis de literatura grega dedicats a Carles Miralles*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l'IEC, 2021.
- Tilg, S. (2010) *Chariton of Aphrodisias and the Invention of the Greek Love Novel* (Oxford).

The relationship between ancient novels and rhetoric has been variously conceptualized in scholarship. While some studies locate the birth of the novels in rhetorical classrooms, others have considered the presence of rhetoric in the novels as intrusive and resulting from a static process of influence. According to this view, the novels and rhetoric function as two self-contained discourses: the novelists would draw stock-motifs or characters from declamations or rhetorical exercises which they would include in their narrative for various purposes.

However, recent studies have laid stress on the cultural importance of rhetoric in the Imperial age. As the quotation from Hermogenes' *On Issues* (28.5–6 Rabe) in the title of this panel indicates, the value of rhetoric is not restricted to specific locations such as deliberative assemblies or law courts in which a formal, argumentative use of language is expected, but extends “everywhere”, that is, in every situation in which the use of language is required. Accordingly, scholars have outlined a much more positive relationship between novels and rhetoric. D. Van Mal-Maeder has convincingly argued that the vocabulary of literary filiation inadequately describes the interface between rhetorical theory and the novels; school exercises, she argues, are given a new function in the novels. In addition, R. Webb (2007, 2017) has insisted on the role of education in imparting techniques of fictional storytelling and in conveying concepts to think about this creation. Thus, the relationship between rhetoric and the novels is dynamic, and rhetorical theory and practice provide readers with tools shared with the writers to interpret the narratives and to make sense of their own experience of fiction (Decloquement (2021); Demerre (2021)).

In keeping with this reassessment, this panel aims to contribute to refine our conceptualisation of the interface between (sophistic) rhetoric and the novels. How does the cultural importance of rhetoric manifest itself in the novels? To what extent are concepts from rhetorical theory and practice relevant for our interpretation of the novels? Conversely, how do novels help us make sense of rhetorical theory? How do novels negotiate the interface between rhetoric and other fields of *paideia* such as philosophy? How can rhetorical theory and practice contribute to our understanding of the dynamic of reception and production of the novels?

Decloquement, V. (2021) “A Rhetorical Trojan War. Philostratus' *Heroicus*, the Power of Language and the Construction of the Truth.” In: P. Bassino and N. Benzi, eds., *Sophistic Views of the Epic Past from the Classical to the Imperial Age*, pp. 187–210.

Demerre, O. (2021) “A Stormy Debate. Issue- and Idea-Theory in Longus' Pastoral Trial.” *Mnemosyne* 74.3, pp. 423–47.

Van Mal-Maeder, D. (2007) *La fiction des déclamations*. Leiden: Brill.

Webb, R. (2007) “Rhetoric and the Novel. Sex, Lies and Sophistic.” In: I. Worthington, ed., *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, Malden (Ma):Blackwell, pp. 526–541.

Webb, R. (2017) “Rhetoric and Fiction.” In: M.J. MacDonald, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 279–88.

The genre of paradoxography, which denotes collections of natural curiosities and rarities, as well as wondrous and miraculous phenomena from around the world, is one of the lesser-studied ancient genres. Nonetheless, the content of these collections seems to have been rather popular throughout antiquity, and many stories recur in different contexts and genres. For instance, when a narrative character in ancient fiction sees or experiences something marvellous, a remarkably similar phenomenon can often be found in earlier paradoxographical works, which likely provided the raw material for the author. Following the renewed interest in paradoxography within Classical scholarship, which is evident from new editions and translations, this is a good time for scholars working on ancient fiction to address the synergy between paradoxography and narratives. Analyzing this interplay could advance our understanding of what is often perceived as the fictionality of ancient narratives. Viewing paradoxography as a serious intellectual pursuit in late antiquity, this panel aims to explore various ways in which paradoxographical material was used, for many different ends, in literary contexts. Realizing that paradoxographical interests transcended traditional linguistic, cultural, and religious borders, we aim for a broad perspective that reaches beyond Greek and Latin material.

Paper 1 offers a **rhetorical analysis** of women's speech in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* that reveals a dimension of female characterization and empowerment transcending differences in social position and narrative role. **Paper 2** makes an **innovative theoretical move** in applying sociologist Ervin Goffman's concept of "face" to episodes in the Greek novels where characters feel embarrassment. **Paper 3** argues that Longus positions his fiction through comparison and contrast with non-forensic **genres of narrative** described in rhetorical treatises. These papers differ in their analytic focuses and theoretical approaches, but each offers a new perspective on characters who were in different ways socially marginalized: the young, women, and the enslaved.

As a whole, the panel takes on the question of characterization. Each paper seeks to enrich and complicate our understanding of how figures within the novels and even the genre itself are presented in complex ways: a focus on duplicitous speech of female characters in *Metamorphoses* situates the novel in the nexus of social and cultural associations involving gender, morality, and power (Paper 1); the association of the social emotion of embarrassment in the Greek novels with young and/or female characters in particular enriches our appreciation both of novel characterization and the social mores that configure this under-recognized emotion (Paper 2); a connection drawn between different narrative genres and character types in *Daphnis and Chloe* shows that, at least ironically, Longus associates the genre of fiction, or *plasma*, with the stereotypical character of the lying slave (Paper 3).

In sum, these papers integrate variously marginalized characters into readings that emphasize in new ways the social contexts of the novels, while raising interrelated questions about methodology. Thus, the rationale for the title of our panel: "New Approaches to Disempowered Individuals in the Greek and Roman Novels."

Novel echoes: receptions of ancient Greek novels – 1. in Byzantium; 2. Byzantium and the Near East (N. D’Alconzo, K. De Temmerman, S. Ford, C.R. Jackson, M. Nicosia, E. Söderblom Saarela)

This panel offers six contributions to the study of late antique and medieval receptions of ancient Greek novels across both hagiographical and secular narrative traditions in Byzantium and the Levant. In recent decades, much scholarly attention has been paid to a wide range of narrative motifs, *topoi*, and tropes that these novels share with other (mainly early-Christian) narrative traditions, such as the apocryphal acts of the apostles and many (mainly pre-Constantinian) martyr acts (see Konstan & Ramelli 2014 for an overview). This growing body of scholarship stands in stark contrast to two observations, which form the background of this panel: first, the relatively limited attention paid to such topical narrative material from the period between the fourth century and the novels’ famous revival in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and second, our comparatively limited knowledge about receptions of specific novels. From this 800-year period, we currently have, in addition to Photius’ lonely 9th-century discussion of (some of) the novels in his *Bibliotheca*, a handful of scattered references to Greek novels and a number of texts that have been shown to engage intertextually with them – mainly, not to say exclusively, with Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus (see, for example, Robiano 2009, Jazdzewska 2009, Trzaskoma 2014, 2017, Morgan 2015, and De Temmerman 2022).

This panel aims to contribute to these two strands of the debate by adducing and exploring new evidence, not only from the Greek tradition (D’Alconzo, Jackson, Söderblom Saarela, De Temmerman) but also in Syriac (Nicosia, Ford), and from different textual genres – hagiography (D’Alconzo, De Temmerman, Ford), rhetorical theory (Nicosia), literary criticism (Jackson), historiography (D’Alconzo) and Byzantine fiction (Söderblom Saarela). The methodological questions of how exactly to conceptualize the notion of ‘reception’ in these different narratives and cultural traditions and how to navigate and interpret both specific intertextual dependencies and common uses of topical story-telling material will be at the heart of this panel. We thus aim to enhance our understanding of both the novels’ afterlives (two papers centre for the first time on receptions of Chariton’s *Callirhoe* before the 13th century, for example) and the ways in which late antique and medieval texts conceptualize specific aspects of narrative and fiction. As we will show, these texts accommodate interactions with ancient Greek novels in very different forms – from fully-fledged, detailed discussion of their most salient narrative features (Jackson) over one-on-one intertextual play (D’Alconzo, Nicosia, De Temmerman) to adoptions of novelistic plot patterns, motifs and *topoi* (Söderblom Saarela, Ford), shared reading strategies (De Temmerman, Jackson) and imagery (De Temmerman, Söderblom Saarela); and they do so for very different purposes, such as moral or rhetorical exemplarity, imitation of story-telling techniques, characterization, and/or reflection on the very concept of fiction. By exploring these different approaches collectively, this panel aims to shed light on the hitherto elusive earliest readers of the ancient novels, and to demonstrate just how diverse and complex these varied reception histories are.

De Temmerman, K. 2022. ‘A Desire (Not) to Die for: Narrating Emotions in Pseudo-Nilus’ *Narrations*’, in M. de Bakker, B. van den Berg & J. Klooster (eds.) *Emotions and Narrative in Ancient Literature and Beyond*. Leiden - Boston: Brill, 682–96.

Jazdzewska, J. 2009. ‘Hagiographic Invention and Imitation: Niketas’ *Life of Theoktiste* and Its Literary Models’, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 49, 257–79.

Konstan, D. & Ramelli, I. 2014. ‘The Novel and Christian Narrative’, in E.P. Cueva & S. Byrne (eds.) *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*. Malden, MA – Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

- Morgan, J.R. 2015. 'The monk's tale: the Narratio of pseudo-Nilus of Ancyra', in M. Paschalis (ed.) *Holy Men/Women and Charlatans in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen: Barkhuis, 167–93.
- Robiano, P. 2009. 'Pour en finir avec le christianisme d'Achille Tatius et d'Héliodore d'Émèse: la lecture des Passions de Galaction et d'Épistémè', *AC* 78, 145–60.
- Trzaskoma, S.M. 2014. 'Some New Imitations of Achilles Tatius in the ε Recension of the *Alexander Romance*', *Exemplaria Classica* 18, 73–9.
- Trzaskoma, S.M. 2017. 'The Storms in Theodoros Daphnopates (*Ep.* 36), Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 1878) and Achilles Tatius (3.1.1-5.6)', *Byzantion* 87, 375–86.

As ICAN 6 approaches, a substantial amount of scholarship has been published on the ancient Greek novels. This statement is especially true for Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. Four commentaries on the novel have been published,¹⁰⁷ along with eight monographs¹⁰⁸ and many articles topics ranging from the novel's reception history to its engagement with myth and rhetoric.¹⁰⁹ This panel seeks to extend several open conversations within Longan scholarship, specifically relating to the study of sexuality, violence, aesthetic experience, and the role of Dionysus within the novel.

In 1990 Winkler read *Daphnis and Chloe* as a fable of male dominance within an implicitly violent cultural system.¹¹⁰ Scholarly response has been divided. Whereas Lalanne and Montiglio, for example, support Winkler's reading, focusing on Daphnis' superior education,¹¹¹ Konstan and Bowie have drawn attention instead to the protagonists' sexual symmetry.¹¹² Two papers in this panel address the questions raised by Winkler's reading. **Paper 1** by Kate Gilhuly extends Winkler's reading by acknowledging Daphnis' possession of a distinctive masculinity, modelled on Dionysus and focused on art and love. **Paper 2** by Janet Downie challenges Winkler's reading of the novel as a story of the triumph of male violence by reading the inset stories in their narrative context as part of an economic process through which the protagonists negotiate their relationship.¹¹³

The other two papers in the panel take up questions about aesthetic and narratological effects within the novel. **Paper 3** by Jeffrey Ulrich identifies intratextual connections between Longus' Dionysiac paintings and the conclusion of the novel, as a result of which Dionysus is responsible for the novel's final transition to marriage and the city – finding a new role for Dionysus in the novel, a figure neglected by scholars in the wake of dissatisfaction with Merkelbach's reading of *Daphnis and Chloe* as a Dionysiac cultic text.¹¹⁴

Finally, scholars have recently started to enrich Morgan's structural work on Longus with studies of the readers' aesthetic experience,¹¹⁵ including their response to the rhythm and parallelisms of Longan prose.¹¹⁶ **Paper 4** by Peter v. Möllendorff stresses the importance of aesthetic experience by arguing that readers of *Daphnis and Chloe* experience "Ἔρως and πόθος through the vivid intensity of Longus' poetic language, enhanced by the concentration of the novel's plot in Lesbos and by the cyclical progression of seasons.

Overall, by engaging in a critical reassessment of key questions in Longan scholarship this panel aims to offer a model for advancing scholarship on the ancient novel in its mature stage.

¹⁰⁷ For a narratological commentary, see Morgan 2004; for an intertextual commentary, see Pattoni 2005; for linguistic and literary commentaries, see Cikán – Danek 2018 and Bowie 2019.

¹⁰⁸ See Valley 1926, McCulloh 1970, Hunter 1983, Merkelbach 1988, Barber 1989, MacQueen 1990, Teske 1991, and Laplace 2010.

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. Cresci 1999 on intertextuality, Winkler 1990 on sexuality.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Winkler 1990.

¹¹¹ See Lalanne 1996, 136-145 and Montiglio 2012.

¹¹² See Konstan 1994, 79-90 and Bowie 2004, 373-5. For more criticism of Winkler, cf. Goldhill 1995, Epstein 2002 and Funke 2012.

¹¹³ Scholarly discussion of the inset stories has focused on their violence, and whether they should be read as parallel or foil to the protagonists' relationship. Cf. Nimis 2001, 197. For the parallel reading, see e.g. Lalanne 2006, 141-2 and 201-3; De Temmerman 2014, 211, 226 and passim in 206-245; for the foil reading, see e.g. Pandiri 1985, 130-3 and Bowie 2004, 365-76. For scholars acknowledging the possibility of both readings, see e.g. Morgan 2004, 171-2, 195-8, 213-6 and Kossaiifi 2012, 575, 579 and 585-6.

¹¹⁴ See Merkelbach 1998. Laplace 2010, 107-21 re-opened this conversation identifying a parallelism between Eros and Dionysus.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Bierl 2018. For structural work on Longus, cf. Morgan 2003 and 2004.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Cikán und Danek 2018, esp. 283-291.

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This panel sets out to explore the *Pseudo-Clementines* as a Christian novel and the ways in which the *Pseudo-Clementines* reflected on their fictional status and in which they had an impact on their readers in Late Antiquity. The '*Pseudo-Clementines*' is the traditional title of a Christian novel (3rd-4th century), of which we have extensive versions in Greek, Latin and Syriac. This novel not only offers Clement's autobiographical account of how he lost his parents and brothers but also discusses how the main characters, Peter and Clement himself as Peter's follower, enter into discussions with the opponents Simon Magus, the Egyptian grammarian Appion, the Epicurean Athenodorus, and the astrologer Annubion. The novel shows us how those characters claim truth and argue about true culture and education, and the role philosophy, rhetoric, mythology and revelation were thought to play in cultural identities.

A quick look at several general works on ancient narrative, Jewish and Christian narrative, and ancient fiction already gives away an important result: the *Pseudo-Clementines* have not received ample discussion, and are often even neglected. This is clearly the case in recent *Companions* and handbooks on the ancient narrative. The remark made by Mark J. Edwards, in his article dating from 1992, that the *Pseudo-Clementines* "are treated all too frequently as material for historians, not for critics" (Edwards 1992, 459), is still relevant today.

Apart from the difficulty in defining the concept of fiction in Antiquity, some persistent bias in the assessment of the literary and rhetorical competences of the *Pseudo-Clementines* may be responsible for having caused this situation. The competences of the *Pseudo-Clementine* authors have often been negatively evaluated, especially from a source-critical point of view. Moreover, this negative attitude was, and still is, reinforced by academic compartmentalisation.

In recent years, however, the *Pseudo-Clementine* versions have been read increasingly – be it moderately – as original and unique narratives in their own right. This moderately positive appreciation has stimulated a shift in the methodological approaches to the narrative with new insights into the rhetorical and literary techniques (Liverani 2005, Boulhol 2008) and originality of the *Pseudo-Clementine* versions as unique Christian narratives from Late Antiquity (Vielberg 2000, Côté 2001 and 2008, Montiglio 2012, Duncan 2017, De Vos 2020, and De Vos and Praet 2022).

This panel wants to elaborate on this 'less travelled' road by putting forth the following objectives:

1. An examination of the several *Pseudo-Clementine* versions as unique late ancient novels which deserve the attention of scholars working in the fields of ancient narrative, Christian and Jewish narrative, and ancient rhetoric.
2. A closer look at the dynamics of the concepts of Christian fiction and Christian novelistic literature.
3. A more detailed study into metafictional strategies in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, that is, commentaries about their own status as fiction and their relationship with the intended readers. How do they present themselves as works of fiction and, in particular, of Christian fiction? In addition, how do they constitute themselves as works of fiction in comparison to other expressions of fiction such as the Greek novels and Christian fiction such as hagiography?

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