

The Ancient Novels and the *New Testament*: Possible Contacts¹

ILARIA RAMELLI
Catholic University of Milan

Late in the reign of Nero, in Rome, Petronius, a member of the so-called ‘Neronian Circle’ and Nero’s arbiter in matters of taste or *arbiter elegantiarum*, wrote his novel, *Satyricon*. It was during the time of, or soon after, the first Christian persecution,² which was initiated by Nero himself against the members of a religion that a decision of the Senate in A.D. 35 had labelled as an ‘illicit superstition.’ According to Tertullian, Tiberius in the Senate proposed to recognize the Christians’ religion, but the senators refused, and proclaimed Christianity a *superstitio illicita*, so that every Christian could be put to death. But Tiberius, thanks to his *tribunicia potestas*, vetoed the Christians’ condemnations, and there was no Roman persecution until the time of Nero.³ According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 44), in A.D. 64, at the time of the

¹ This article is the revised version of the paper presented at the SBL Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Nov. 22–25 2003, *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative Group*.

² See e.g. Rowell 1958, 14–24, who identifies Petraites, mentioned in *Sat.* 52, 3 and 71, 6 with the famous gladiator of the Neronian age; Schnur 1959, and Moreno 1962/4, according to whom the economic background of the *Satyricon* points to the Neronian age; Rose 1962, who dates the novel between the end of A.D. 64 and the summer of 65; Id. 1971, esp. 46 and 76; Baldwin 1976, 35–36. It is certain that on this occasion the Romans were able to distinguish clearly between Jews and Christians: cf. Jossa 2004 with rich documentation on the first relationships between Judaism and Christianity. Add Tomson 2001; Bockmuehl 2003; Park 2003; Nickelsburg 2003; Lieu 2003; Das 2003.

³ Tertullian’s reliability is accepted by Sordi 2004, chs. 1–2, and confirmed by me with a new fragment in Sordi-Ramelli 2004, 59–67; Ramelli forthcoming b. On *superstitio* in the Roman world: Martin 2004, ch. 9. For early Christianity and Roman Empire add now: Novak 2001; Riley 2001; for early Christianity as *superstitio*: Kippenberg 2003. For Tiberius’ *tribunicia potestas* and the control over the Senate, see Rowe 2002, 43ff.; 54ff. For the Senate’s power: Griffin 1997, 249–253. For the absence of persecutions be-

infamous fire of Rome, the Christians, who were very numerous, a *multitudo ingens* in the city, a *πολὸν πλῆθος* according to Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 5),⁴ and were hated by people because of their supposed wrong-doings (*ob flagitia inuisi*), were accused of arson and underwent spectacular tortures, which stirred pity (*miseratio*) even among pagan spectators.⁵

At that time it is likely that Mark's Gospel was already circulating in some form. In fact, according to the Christian tradition of the late first-early second century, represented by Papias (*ap. Eus. HE* 3, 39, 15), Clement of Alexandria (*Hypot.* 6, *ap. Eus. HE* 2, 15; 6, 14, 6, and F9 Staehlin), and Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 1,1),⁶ it was written in Rome, at the beginning of Claudius' reign after St. Peter's preaching: the audience, imperial officials and Roman knights (*Caesariani et equites*), asked Mark for a written version of the oral preaching. Evidence for this early tradition may come from the possible identification of the Qumrân papyrus fragment 7Q5 with a short passage of Mark's Gospel (6, 52–63). The fact that it is a link passage in the narrative texture may lead us to believe that it was written in a late phase of the composition of the Gospel⁷ – if we admit a 'stratified' writing, which some scholars do not accept.⁸

tween Tiberius and Nero, Sordi 2004, chs. 1–2; Rinaldi 1995, 269–278. Attitude of Mark's Gospel (henceforth: Mk) towards Rome: Moore 2003; Thiede 2004, 27. See also Grzybek 2002, 561–567.

⁴ See Luisier 2003; Dassmann 2004, 57–59; new edition Ehrman 2003, 1

⁵ For Tac. *Ann.* 15, 44: Singor 1991, 375–399; Rinaldi 1998, 1, 95–96. On the use of *rumores* in Tacitus: Verdejo Sánchez 2001, 107–138. For Roman spectacles in the early imperial age, to the bibliography already given add Augenti 2001; Mahoney 2001; Ramelli forthcoming d, Part 2.

⁶ See Sordi 2004, 32–34; I am going to devote a study to these attestations, adding further sources. To the bibliography already given add Maier 2002. On Papias and his information on the Gospels Baum 1998, 144–151; texts in Ehrman 2003, 2, 92–118, especially 96 and 102 for Mk; on Papias witness for Mk: Baum 2000, 21–35.

⁷ For the representation of a broad consensus of contemporary Gospel scholarship: Denau 2002; Theissen 2002; Baird 2002; Nickle 2001, ch. 2, 'The Background of the Gospels': the two-documents theory is the best for the Synoptic Problem, even if the Q source can represent one document, several, or a mixture of oral and written sources (ed.: Robinson 2000; an entire section is usually devoted to Q at the SBL Annual Meetings; also Heil 2003); on the historicity of the Gospels, 20: 'extreme suspicion simply is not justified. It is far more likely that the disciples reverently remembered and accurately reported their recollections of Jesus,' and e.g. Sordi 2003ab. See also Sanders-Davies 1989; Simonetti 2000, 9–16; Schweitzer 2001; Stanton 2004; Neville 2002 presents an analysis of the debate and concludes that 'at the compositional level, both the Markan hypothesis (on which see Burkett 2004) and the two-Gospel hypothesis are able to offer satisfactory ex-

This identification, asserted by José O’Callaghan and then by Carsten Peter Thiede, has been accepted also, e.g., by Orsolina Montevicchi, Sergio Daris, and, most recently, Karl Jarosh.⁹ The Gospel of Mark could thus have been written before A.D. 50, as suggested by the palaeographic style of the papyrus fragment, and in any case before A.D. 68, when the Qumrân Caves were definitively closed.¹⁰ The fragment itself was found in an amphora with the Aramaic word for ‘Rome’ on it: *rwm*. Anyway, contemporary scholarly research commonly acknowledges a date of composition before or around A.D. 70 for Mk;¹¹ thus, it is possible that this Gospel circulated in a written form in Rome in the late Neronian age,¹² and, in any case, it is probable that it circulated in an oral form in that period.

planation’ for the question of order (338); Burrige 2004, ch. 1, offers an overview of scholarship on the Gospels; ch. 4 especially for recent scholarship on the relationship between the Gospels and classical literature; also see ch. 2, p. 25ff., with methodological suggestions for inquiry in the literary genre of the Gospels (compared with Graeco-Roman biography). On the unity of Mk as a narrative: Rhoads 2004 with my review forthcoming in *Stylos*; Ramelli 2007.

⁸ E.g. M. Sordi, or Persili 2000, or Innocenti 2002, 6, or Ceruti 2004; Mejía 2000, 1–5. Distinction between oral and written modes of transmission in Mk is found in Kelber 1997; Gerhardsson 2001: the study of the origins of the Gospel tradition (1–58, in comparison with the Jewish tradition) allows us to conclude that the Gospels are historically reliable documents in which one can hear the voice of Jesus (89–143). Their ground is not the predication (*kêrugma*) of the post-Easter Church, but directly the Jesus tradition, handed down and giving rise to interpretation in the process of oral transmission between Jesus’ earthly life and the Evangelists’ writings (86). On the historicity of the Gospels and their setting in context see also: Drane 2001, chs. 1–10; historical perspective in Alonso 2001, esp. Part 1; Dawes 2001; Nodet 2003; Bauckham 2006; Ramelli 2007 and forthcoming d.

⁹ See e.g. Thiede 1998 and 2003; Jarosh 2000, 148–154 for 7Q5 with bibliography. Recent survey on NT papyri: Naldini 2000, 23–30 with bibliography.

¹⁰ For a recent survey on the Caves, see Magness 2004, who accepts de Vaux’s thesis, now challenged (see Bioul 2004), that the inhabitants of the caves were Essenes.

¹¹ See e.g. Marcus 1992; *status quaestionis* and discussion in Victor 2003, 13ff.; Mora 2003, 54, based on Rodríguez 1995, 147; Rhoads 2004, 61. A date immediately after the Jewish War is supposed by Brandon 1973, 230; 238ff.

¹² See e.g. Thiede 2002; Nock 1972, 49–133: 104: ‘He [Mark] and the other synoptic strain represent a remarkably careful attempt to reproduce a record of the past, rather than an adaptation thereof to present needs and experience;’ Sherwin White 1963, 186–193, uses Mk and the NT as historical sources; also Blomberg 2001. A very late date (toward the close of the first century, in Rome) is proposed for Mk by Peabody 2002, with the rethinking (17–54, 344–47) of a hypothesis of J.J. Griesbach (XIX cent.) and W.R. Farmer (middle XX cent.), which however was already present in Augustine, and the demonstration of Mk’s alternative use of Mt and Lk through the pericopae and within each, and

In this context it is not so strange that in the literary work of Petronius, a pagan author who was close to Nero and to his court and was proconsul of Bithynia (probably an already Christianized region at the beginning of the Sixties of the first century, as is clear from Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan on the Christian question), and on the other hand was interested in certain aspects of the Judaic culture, although from a critical point of view,¹³ around the year A.D. 64, it is possible to point out probable traces of knowledge of Christianity – even if partial and expressed with irony, if not with hostility –, and perhaps, as it seems, also of the Gospel of Mark.¹⁴ Petronius clearly alludes to the fire of Rome in his novel and writes during the persecution against the Christians, or immediately after it.¹⁵

I shall expand here on the passages in which the *Satyricon* seems to reveal some knowledge of the Christian sect and, in particular, of Mark's Gospel. First of all, Petronius in *Sat.* 77, 7–78, 4 seems to present a parody of the Anointing of Jesus in Bethania, narrated in Mk 14, 3–9,¹⁶ where Trimalchio's use of the ointment *nardum* – the most important among ointments according to Plin. *NH* 12, 26, 42: *principale in unguentis*, commonly used in the Greek

Mk's use of words and phrases typical of Mt and Lk, together with others characteristic only of Mk; moreover, some Patristic authors claim that Mt is earlier than Mk. Especially the 'Hebrew' Mt, I note, may be very early (Matthew published his Gospel 'among the Jews in their language' before the composition of Mk according to Irenaeus *ap. Eus. HE* 5, 8, 2; Papias, *ibid.* 3, 39, 16: 'Matthew composed the sayings [*ta logia*] in the Hebrew tongue [*Hebraidi dialektōi*], and each one interpreted [or. translated] them to the best of his ability'. Matthew wrote *primus in Iudaea* according to Jerome; see Ramelli in Ramelli-Dognini 2001, chs. 3–4; add Amphoux 1995, 67–77; Baum 2001, 257–272; the problem with this interesting and carefully argued hypothesis is only the date, contradicted by the late first-early second century tradition about Mk's composition in Rome at the time of Claudius and by 7Q5 (if it is Mk), and generally not endorsed by scholars (see Ramelli 2007). See also Donahus-Harrington 2002; Hatina 2002; France 2002, chs. 11, 1–16, 8. Review of contemporary scholarship's mainstream view of Mt and its relationship with Mk in Clarke 2003.

¹³ Analysis of this point in Ramelli 2001, ch. 8 and 2001b, 245–274. For the presence of Jews in Petronius' Rome and in the cities of the Empire see also Bartlett 2002; Katzoff 2006, who resumes and develops Clarke 1991–92.

¹⁴ Ramelli 1996, 75–80; 1997, 27–41 (for the intertextuality in the novel also see Branham 2002); 1998, n. 1; 2000, 211–216; 1999, 207–210; 2001, ch. 8 (to bibl. add at least Rimell 2002, who views the *Satyricon* as a sophisticated work, highly symbolical and metaphorical, where e.g. body and food represent literature); 2001c, 67–81; 2001d, 187–206; 2003, 1–17; forthcoming. On Petronius add Courtney 2001; Jensson 2004.

¹⁵ As for the date of the *Satyricon*, to the above cited bibliography I add Vielberg 2002, 32, who dates the novel to A.D. 65. See also von Albrecht 1992, 961 nn. 4–6.

¹⁶ Analysis of this scene in Rigato 2003 [2005], 190–197.

and Roman world both in convivial and in funereal contexts – is in a convivial context¹⁷ as a prefiguration of a funeral unction: it is the only such usage in all of classical literature. After Petronius and the Gospel, Pliny will notice the adoption of perfume by the Romans in both occasions, convivial and funereal.¹⁸ The impressive parallels between the Gospel passage and the Petronian one were already noted – although only very partially – a century ago by Erwin Preuschen,¹⁹ but he supposed that Mark's Gospel was written after the *Satyricon* and stated that it was Mark who imitated the novelist and not vice-versa. I believe that we should invert the terms of the relationship.

In fact, the points of contact between the two texts are remarkable: in both passages, the scene is a banquet;²⁰ an ointment is brought in, and precisely a small jar of *nardum*, which is smeared on the protagonist, in the case of Jesus, or by him, in that of Trimalchio, in prefiguration of his funeral anointing for burial, as the protagonist himself declares:

Stichus, please bring me the ointment [...] at once he [*sc.* Trimalchio] opened a small jar and smeared us all, and said: 'I hope that this will be good for me after my death as much as before [...] Please consider yourselves invited to my funeral party'. The business was becoming particularly nauseating...²¹ (*Sat.* 77, 7–78, 4)

While he was lying, a woman came bringing a small jar of valuable, expensive *nardum* ointment; she broke the jar and poured [the ointment] on his head [...] Jesus said: 'Leave her in peace [...] she did a good thing

¹⁷ On convivial practices in ancient Rome see now Dunbabin 2004. On the multivalence of spices and perfumes see Detienne 1972; Attridge 2003, 86–87, who also reads 2Cor 2, 14–17 as playing on the double use of perfume, for life and for death; the *euôdia* is that of the Anointed One, anointed in life in anticipation of his death and anointed in a death that brought life to the whole world.

¹⁸ *NH* 13, 2: 'The pleasure of perfume was also admitted by our fellow countrymen as well among the most elegant and also most honourable enjoyments of life, and even began to be an appropriate tribute to the dead'.

¹⁹ Preuschen 1902/3. On the contacts between the Gospels and the ancient novels add Thomas 2003.

²⁰ On banquets in the New Testament and in early Christianity, on the background of banquets in Greek, Roman, and Jewish cultures, see Smith 2003.

²¹ *Stiche, profer unguentum [...] statim ampullam nardi aperuit [sc. Trimalchio] omnesque nos unxit et: 'Spero, inquit, futurum ut aequae me mortuum iuuet tamquam vivum [...] putate vos, ait, ad parentalia mea invitatos esse'. Ibat res ad summam nauseam...* Ed. Enout 1967 + Marmorale 1965; I refer to Müller 1995.

[...] she did what she could: she anointed my body in advance, for the burial.²² (Mk 14, 3–8)

In addition, in Mk 14, 3 the Latin version of the *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, surely written before the *Vulgata* and even dated by Antonio Ammassari to the first century A.D.,²³ presents the reading *ampullam* as a translation of ἀλάβαστρον, a unique variant in all the Greek and Latin manuscripts, even compared with the Greek parallel of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis* itself (*D*): at this point, the *Vulgata* presents the reading *alabastrum* and the Greek text gives ἀλάβαστρον, both here in Mark and in the synoptic parallel of Mt 26, 7, whereas Jn 2, 3 has *libram*, Greek λίτραν.²⁴ *Ampullam nardi*, the variant of the Latin column of the *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* for the scene of the Bethany Anointing in Mark, is identical with the *ampullam nardi* of our Petronian passage.

Moreover, it is remarkable that the whole *Cena Trimalchionis* is presented as a ‘Last Supper’, because in the scene of the ‘funeral anointing’ Trimalchio clearly invites the guests to regard the *Cena* as a funeral banquet, and because the references to the death-theme are numerous and constant, disseminated all over the novel, and noted by many scholars.²⁵ But, thanks to a prediction which he steadfastly believes, Trimalchio knows very well that he will live for many more years: in *Sat.* 78, 1 he himself says that an astrologer, whom he consulted, foretold that he would enjoy more than thirty years of life. So, if in the immediate context there is nothing which suggests that we regard the *Cena* as a funeral banquet, it may well be that Petronius drew his inspiration for it from an outside source in which the death-theme was connected with a convivial one – maybe from the Gospel scene itself, even if Petronius seems to allude to it in a parodic manner and has Encolpius

²² Κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς· συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχευεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς [...] ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἄφετε αὐτήν [...] καλὸν ἔργον εἰργάσατο [...]· ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν· προέλαβεν μύρισαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἔνταφιασμόν. Ed. Merk 1984.

²³ Cambridge, University Library, Nn, II 41; *d*: text in Ammassari 1996; see also Id. 1996a, 121–123; Ramelli 1998b, 171–178. On the Latin version of the Gospels in the *Codex*: Auwers 1996, 185.

²⁴ On this Gospel according to the earliest Christian tradition see Bauckham 1993, 24–69.

²⁵ See Arrowsmith 1966, 304–331, who, in the context of a reappraisal of Petronius’ work as a coherent description of a corrupted society, studied the realism and symbolism of the *Cena*. The fact is, however, that Trimalchio knew, or at least believed, that he still had many years to live. Also see Bodel 1994, 237–259.

express a certain disgust.²⁶ The comment which concludes the episode reads: ‘the business was becoming particularly nauseating.’

But there are also other traces that may lead us to suppose a certain knowledge of Christian narratives in Petronius. In the same context of the *Cena Trimalchionis* at *Sat.* 74, 1–3, a cock’s crow is presented by Petronius as sign of a negative and funereal event, such as a fire or somebody’s death, whereas in classical literature it foretells only happy events, such as victories. Moreover, the cock is described by Petronius as *index*, ‘accuser, denouncer:’

While he was saying so, a cock crew. At that cry, Trimalchio got upset, and had some wine poured under the table and also on the lamp. Besides, he transferred his ring to his right hand and said: ‘It is not without a reason that this trumpeter gave a sign: there will surely be a fire, or someone in the neighbourhood will kick the bucket. May this be far from us! So, whoever brings me this *index* will receive a reward.’ And before he finished speaking, the cock was brought in from the neighbourhood, and Trimalchio ordered that he should be cooked in a bronze vessel. Thus, carved by that most skilled cook, he was put in a pot.²⁷

The question arises²⁸ whether this characterization, which is so different from the one that was widespread in classical antiquity, can represent – although here the context is comic and the cock is immediately put in a pot! – a reminiscence of the well-known Gospel episode of the cock’s crow connected with Peter’s betrayal:²⁹ here the cock is really a ‘denouncer,’ an *in-*

²⁶ On which see Miller 1997.

²⁷ *Haec dicente eo gallus gallinaceus cantavit. Qua voce confusus Trimalchio vinum sub mensa iussit effundi lucernamque etiam mero spargi. Immo anulum traiecit in dexteram manum et: ‘Non sine causa, inquit, hic bucinus signum dedit; nam aut incendium oportet fiat, aut aliquis in vicinia animam abiciat. Longe a nobis! Itaque quisquis hunc indicem attulerit, corollarium accipiet.’ Dicto citius de vicinia gallus allatus est, quem Trimalchio iussit ut aeno coctus fieret. Laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco [...] in caccabum est coniectus.*

²⁸ This question was posed, although on more partial bases, by Cabaniss 1960, 36–39. Petronius knew at least an oral version of the Christian message.

²⁹ The Gospel episode of Peter with the cock was known to the pagan polemicist Celsus (*ap. Orig. C.Cels.* 2, 45) and at that time the iconographical representation of the Saint with the cock had spread. Cf. Thiede 1998, *passim*; Rinaldi 1998, 2, 431–432, nr. 587; *Id.*

dex, and his crowing marks the beginning of a day of pain and death, the day of Jesus' crucifixion. Also in this case, it could be meaningful that the Gospel of Mark is the one which most of all stresses this detail of the cock, with a double crow (Mk 14, 30; 14, 68; 14, 72).

Another Gospel scene that may be parodied in Petronius is that of the institution of the Eucharist: in the final episode at Croton (*Sat.* 141, 2) Eumolpus promises with solemnity to leave his whole heritage to those who will divide his flesh in parts and eat it in front of the people: *Omnes qui in testamento meo legata habent [...] hac condicione percipient quae dedi, si corpus meum in partes conciderint et astante populo comederint.*³⁰ In this case the possible polemical allusion on the part of Petronius would fit very well in the context of the contemporary anti-Christian accusation of anthropophagy – one of the presumed wrong-doings (*flagitia*) of the Christians in Tac. *Ann.* 15, 44 –, that originated from a misunderstanding of the Eucharist.³¹

Finally, it seems possible to point out some precise allusions to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Christ in the brief tale of the Widow of Ephesus:³² in this episode, as we shall see, there may be some echoes of the anti-Christian charges which form the basis of the so-called Nazareth Edict, a document – as it seems – of the Neronian age. In *Sat.* 111, 5 –112, 3, in fact, the story concerns three men who have been condemned by a provincial governor around A.D. 30³³ and crucified, and who are guarded by a soldier

2001, 294–296. On the cock in antiquity, documentation in Ramelli 1996 and 2001, ch. 8; Amat 2002.

³⁰ Bowersock 1994, 134ff. too suggests that in this Petronian passage there is a reference to the Christian Eucharist. For the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist see e.g. Nodet-Taylor 2000.

³¹ See Nagy 2001, 223–249: the accusation of human sacrifice and cannibalism was already alive against the Jews: see Isaac 2004, 466–478; 210 for this accusation against the Christians; also Waltzing 1925; Rives 1995; Ramelli 2001b, 245–274.

³² Cabaniss 1954, 98–102 suggests a possible parallel between this Petronian passage and the Gospel story. Comic interpretation of the episode: Porter forthcoming. On the topic of Roman widows and early Christianity: Winter 2003. On resurrection and the early Christians see Riley 1995; Ruggiero 2002, ch. 1 and *passim*; Ramelli forthcoming c.

³³ Already A. Sogliano had seen in Petronius a parody of Jesus' resurrection (*Archiv. St. Prov. Napol.* 21, 1896, 178). Colin 1953, 101ff. proposes in Petr. 111, 10 the reading *acetabuleo odore corrupta*, 'corrupted by the smell of the vinegar,' when the soldier who guarded the crucified offered the vinegar drink to the widow, and thus finds a further possible parallelism with Mk 15, 36, where Jesus on the cross receives vinegar from the

during the night, in order that no one can steal their bodies. But on the third day one of the corpses is stolen and replaced with another. The people wonder at the reanimation of the crucified man: and Petronius seems to smile at this sarcastically.

It is important to notice that the Jews actually accused the Christians of stealing a dead body (τυμβωρυχία), according to Mt 28, 2, and that on this charge the so-called Nazareth Edict seems to be founded. It orders the death of those who have stolen a corpse from its grave: it was a very severe penalty for a crime that was usually punished only by a fine. This imperial edict (διάταγμα Καίσαρος) was probably promulgated under Nero, and it probably was aimed precisely at the Christians,³⁴ because it condemned not only the stealers of dead bodies, as the Christians were regarded, but also – according to E. Grzybek’s interpretation – those who worshipped a human being, while only the gods should be worshipped. As for Petronius himself, he certainly seems interested in life after death: Trimalchio says to Habinnas: ‘I beg you to represent a little bitch at the feet of my statue [*sc.* on the tomb], and garlands, and ointments, and all the fights of Petraites, in order that, thanks to you, I can live after my death.’³⁵ But this kind of life after the present life is very different from that of the Christian resurrection, at which Petronius seems to be poking fun.

So, all these clues taken together can lead us to suppose a certain knowledge of the Christian narratives by Petronius, and perhaps knowledge of Mark’s Gospel. The novelist’s attitude is certainly full of irony and his approach parodic.³⁶

soldiers. For the date, which, however, remains very problematic in my view, see Hermann 1927; Colin 1953.

³⁴ So Grzybek-Sordi 1998, 279–291. On the Nazareth Edict (*SEG* 8, 1937, nr. 13) and the possibility of a Claudian date cf. also Boffo 1994, 319–333; Bruce 1962, 309–326. For the link between the edict and Petronius and Chariton see Ramelli 2001, chs. 1; 8. For Mt 28, 12 I add now the *Catena* commentaries in Simonetti 2001.

³⁵ *Valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statuæ meæ catellam pingas, et coronas et unguenta et Petraitis omnes pugnas, ut mihi contingat tuo beneficio post mortem vivere.*

³⁶ Bibliography in Ramelli 2001, ch. 8 and 266–267; see also Plaza 2000; Brioso Sánchez 2000, 121–141.

These suggestions have been kept alive, commented on and developed, to my knowledge, by scholars of different interests, such as M. Sordi, C.P. Thiede, G.G. Gamba,³⁷ A. Setaioli, B.P. Reardon,³⁸ A. Casalboni, L. Motti, A. Torielli and G. Ravasi.³⁹

Moreover, a possible parody of the Christian initiation rite may be suggested by a parallel, already observed by Quasten,⁴⁰ between another episode of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, at *Sat.* 40, where the guests swear after raising their arms to the ceiling, and the baptismal rite as described by Ps. Dionysius Areopagite, where the man / woman to be baptized swears to submit to Christ after raising his / her arms to heaven (*Eccl. Hier.* 2, 2, 6). However, here the parallel would not be with the Gospel, but with a liturgical practice, and it seems to me rather doubtful.

After a methodical analysis on the ancient novels⁴¹ I feel that several motifs that seem linked to the Gospel narratives are present not only in Petronius, but also in other classical novelists. For example, Chariton of Aphrodisias, who probably was a contemporary of Petronius or wrote soon after him in an area already populated by Christians,⁴² presents scenes of crucifixion, defilement of tombs by the theft of bodies, and resurrection: all of these are apparent. In particular with regard to resurrection, Glen Bowersock posed the question whether Chariton could have been influenced by the Christian narratives; more recently Carsten Peter Thiede analysed the Charitonian scenes in detail, and pointed out remarkable affinities with the Gospel

³⁷ Sordi 1998, 217–229; Thiede 1998, 96–123; 2004b, 331–332; 398–399; 406–407; Gamba 1998, but at least with Ramelli 1999, 207–210. Even though I find it unlikely, according to Thomas Völker (I am deeply grateful to the author, who communicated with me *per litteras*) Petronius, who wrote in A.D. 62, read also Jn and Mt; he finds a number of parallels in sequence, and he thinks that the so-called catholic epistles (1, 2Pt; 1, 2, 3Jn) include references to Petronius when they speak of irrisio and *blasphēmia*. All this is very problematic.

³⁸ Setaioli 2000, 159–172; Reardon 2001.

³⁹ Casalboni 2001, 48–55; Motti 2004, 14–24; Torielli 2005, 61–63 on the tale of the Widow of Ephesus as a parody of resurrection and the connection with the Nazareth Edict; 84–84 on the Porphyrian fragment referring to Jesus' apparitions after his resurrection and the s.c. of AD 35; 164–167 on echoes of the Gospel narratives in the tragedy *Hercules Oetaeus* ascribed to Seneca; 215–216; Ravasi in Torielli 2005, 9.

⁴⁰ Quasten 1935–37, 281 n. 6.

⁴¹ Ramelli 2001 and further reflections; Ead. forthcoming d.

⁴² Discussion in Ramelli 2001, ch. 1; to add: Cueva 2000, 197–208; Barnhart-Kraeger 2000; Rinaldi 2002, 99–126; Ramelli forthcoming d, Part I, ch. 2.

narratives,⁴³ above all with the Gospel of John, which was written in a geographical area next to that in which Chariton wrote,⁴⁴ and with the Gospel of Matthew, the only one that mentions the anti-Christian accusation of *τυμβωρυχία*. The crucifixion Chariton describes is that of Chaereas – ordered and then revoked by the oriental governor Mithridates⁴⁵ –, together with other wrong-doers. Chaereas, keeping silence, and without accusing anyone, not even the girl who is responsible for his troubles, carries his cross himself and is ‘delivered into the hands of the executioners’ (see the parallels in Mt 36, 45; Mk 9, 31; 14, 41; Lk 9, 44; 24, 7). There is also the exhortation to Chaereas to get down from the cross: *κατάβηθι* (4, 3), precisely the same verbal form as in Mt 27, 40: it is also the only occurrence in the whole novel.

Moreover, a particularly interesting scene is that of the *τυμβωρυχία* and of Callirhoe’s ‘death’ and ‘resurrection,’ both apparent, in 3, 2–3. This episode is linked both with the previously mentioned episode of the Widow of Ephesus and with the Gospel narratives: first C.P. Thiede and then I⁴⁶ pointed out many evident lexical and syntactical affinities between Chariton and the Gospels. The third day after the burial, at dawn, after the night during which Callirhoe has been stolen from the tomb by the *τυμβωρύχοι* (3, 3, 1–7), Chaereas comes to the grave and brings funeral offerings, but finds the stones rolled away from the entrance, and he does not know what to do or

⁴³ Bowersock 1994, 119; Thiede 1998, 130–132. Of course we must remember the existence of dying and rising gods like Osiris (see e.g. Casadio 1999, 180 on Aion = Osiris as a rising god; Id. 2003, 250ff. for Adonis and Osiris as rising gods; Id. 2005, 208; Griffiths 1980), but the chronological coincidence with the birth of Christianity and the affinity of scenes and themes seem to suggest possible ‘Christian’ references.

⁴⁴ Blomberg 2001 through each pericope demonstrates the historicity of the Gospel and the authorship of John, the son of Zebedee, who wrote it near the end of the first century (80s–90s or somewhat earlier) for churches in and around Ephesus in Western Asia Minor (41–44). There is a special link with Mk, the Gospel that Petronius perhaps knew: ‘numerous features of his narrative read as if he is trying to allude to events in Mark for those who are familiar with them’ (48), because all four Gospels would have circulated widely quite quickly. But he is an ‘independent witness to the words and works of the historical Jesus’ (49). See also Dodd 1983; Barrett 1983; Hill 1998, 582–629; Busse 2002; Hill 2004, a fresh examination of how the books traditionally associated with John the Apostle, which constitute a major portion of the Christian NT, were accepted or not accepted, in the early Church. On the ancient sources concerning the redaction of the Gospel of John see Ramelli 2007. The *topos* of the apparent resurrection in ancient narratives is now studied by Prince 2003; for a comparison with that of Christ in the NT see e.g. Persili 2000; Thiede 2001 and Bieringer 2002.

⁴⁵ Cf. Alvares 2000, 383–384.

⁴⁶ Thiede 1998, 130–132; Ramelli 2001, 37–38.

think. Then Rumour, represented as an ἄγγελος, rapidly spreads the paradoxical piece of news, and so all the people run to the grave, but nobody dares to go in before Hermocrates, Callirhoe's father, allows it. Then Chariton insists on the bystanders' incredulity (ἀπιστία, ἄπιστον) before the empty grave: they wonder where the corpse is. Some people ascribe the disappearance of the girl to τυμβωρύχοι, who, they suppose, have stolen her (ἔκλεψαν αὐτήν: Mt 28, 13 ἔκλεψαν αὐτόν), while Chaereas goes in, and, 'eyes raised to heaven, arms outstretched,' proclaims Callirhoe's divinization and assumption in heaven.⁴⁷

The stealing of a corpse in the τυμβωρυχία is the only element that, unlike the others mentioned above – crucifixion, apparent death, resurrection –, did not become a commonplace in the ancient novels. The noun τυμβωρύχοι, which occurs 16 times in Chariton's novel and sometimes also in the grave inscriptions of Aphrodisias, does not occur in any other Greek novel. This seems to confirm that at the time of Chariton the anti-Christian accusation of τυμβωρυχία was current, as attested by Mt 28, 13: this accusation is probably reflected in Petronius, in the episode of the Widow of Ephesus included in the *Satyricon*, and in the so-called Nazareth Edict: in fact, the Gospel of Matthew, the novels of Petronius and Chariton, and the Edict are roughly contemporary documents.⁴⁸

Subsequently, this charge lost vigour: it is not present in the later literature, nor in the novels (at least after Xenophon of Ephesus), where however the other themes continue to occur, as I pointed out in detail in a recent analysis of the ancient novels.⁴⁹ In fact, crucifixion, apparent death and resurrection are frequent elements in the ancient novels,⁵⁰ precisely from the middle of the first century A.D. on. Thus in another early novel, that of

⁴⁷ See Ramelli 2001, ch. 1; forthcoming d, Part I, ch. 2. To the bibliography given in 2001 I add Alvares 2000b, 5–14; Schäberg 2003; Cueva 2004, ch. 1.

⁴⁸ They would be roughly contemporary even if we accepted a very late date for the composition of Mt, as A.D. 85–90 proposed by Schnackenburg 2002. But several scholars think of an early date. Cf. Clarke 2003.

⁴⁹ Ramelli 2001, with reviews by Sordi 2002; Perea Yébenes 2002; Lavallo 2002; Hilhorst 2003; Ceruti 2003. The topic of apparent death, as well as the chastity theme, continues to occur also in Medieval Persian narrative: cf. Davis 2002, 37–59.

⁵⁰ To bibliography given in my work add McGill 2000, 323–326, who investigates one avatar of this topos: Cleitophon's speech over Leucippe's supposed corpse in Achilles Tatius (5, 7) reworks a motif present in some sepulchral epigrams (*AP* 7, 288; 7, 506; 7, 542); Bremmer 2002, chs. 1; 4; for the resurrection theme in the Near East and its presence in local religious traditions, see Mettinger 2001.

Xenophon of Ephesus,⁵¹ there is the crucifixion of the male protagonist and the apparent death and resurrection of the female, in connection with a *τυμβωρυχία* episode. In Iamblichus⁵² the episodes of unsuccessful crucifixion number three, and also the scenes of apparent death and ‘resurrection’ multiply; in one of these Iamblichus seems to be engaged in a polemic against those who believe in resurrection, an attitude very similar to that of Petronius in the tale of the Widow of Ephesus. Moreover, the murder of Setapus by Sinonis exhibits interesting parallels with the Old Testament scene of Judith killing Holofernes. In Achilles Tatius,⁵³ the scenes of apparent death and ‘resurrection’ multiply and thicken, perhaps even more than in Iamblichus.

Other important themes in the novels are the proclamation of non-violence, the opposition to suicide and the praise of chastity – also in the form of male virginity, scarcely known and esteemed previously in the pagan world, but very much in the Christian one.⁵⁴ In Lollianus – whose fragmentary novel I did not take into consideration in my monograph, but studied only later – the theme of male virginity is present too.⁵⁵ Photius in an epi-

⁵¹ Ramelli 2001, ch. 2; to bibliography I add at least Cueva 2004, ch. 2.

⁵² *Ibid.* ch. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.* ch. 4. To add: Cueva 2004, ch. 4.

⁵⁴ In addition to the bibliography given in my book, I also refer to: Gasparro 1984; Drijvers 1987, 241–273; Brown 1988; 1990; Cameron 1989; Elm 1994; Lalanne 1999; Rodríguez Martín 2002; Foskett 2002, on the portrayal of Mary as a virgin in Lk and the *Protoevangelium of James*. On the significance of early Christian virginity: Milazzo 2002; McInerney 2003, chs. 1–2; Feichtinger-Seng 2004. For the chastity theme in early Christian and Jewish narrative: Wudel 2003. On the perception of chastity in Judaism: Horst 2002, ch. 10, ‘Celibacy in Early Judaism’; Deming 2004. Encratism is seen as the normal form of Christianity in Syriac regions by Lloyd-Moffett 2003; see also Gero 1986, 287–307; Bengochea Jove 1999, 267–281. For the encratic trend of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles see Tissot 1981, 109–119; Burrus 1987; Goldhill 1995; Cooper 1996; Konstan 1998, 15–36. See also Gaca 2003, and, on love relationships in the ancient novels, Konstan 1987, 21 and 23; Id. 1994, who shows the equivalence of the roles of the female and male protagonists in the ancient novels; Id. 1997, 117–133. On the feminine characters in the ancient novel see Pouderon 2001: here in particular Reardon 2001b, who investigates the role of the heroines, beginning with Chariton’s novel: he notices a shift of the author’s interest from the adventures to the emotions and the ethical character of the female protagonist; this development is also present in other novels of the first century A.D., such as *Chione* and *Metiochus and Parthenope*.

⁵⁵ Fr. A2r, which parallels a passage of Achilles Tatius’ novel, describes the offering of a payment for a man’s lost virginity. Sandy 1979, 367–376, compares Lollianus’ fragments with the novels by Petronius and Achilles Tatius and investigates a strange mystery ritual described in his novel. See also Jones 1980, 243–254, who analyses the parallels between

gram appreciated very much this high esteem for chastity, which in the novel of Iamblichus can even turn into an acceptance of martyrdom: this theme of the martyrdom was very conspicuous in contemporary Christianity, and we can find several indications of it in the pagan literature of the time, too. Also Longus, in his proem, prays that the deity allow him to live always in chastity and write the love stories of other people. Heliodorus⁵⁶ seems characterized by a deep religious feeling and by a particular insistence on the chastity motif, including male chastity; here too, episodes of apparent death and ‘resurrection’ multiply and for the first of these it is even possible to give precise Gospel parallels. Moreover, it is important to note that suicide is described as an impiety. We may note, too, that certain Christians valued the novel of Heliodorus very highly.

On the whole, from a systematic analysis of the novels it has often been possible to recognize some linguistic elements that are common also to early Christian literature, and some moral values, such as loyalty, chastity, faith, respect for human life, that point to a spiritual and cultural world close to the Christian one, and seem to suggest a common *Weltanschauung*.⁵⁷

Moreover, David Konstan⁵⁸ has recently pointed out that the Jewish-Christian God is strongly characterized by pity, unlike the Greco-Roman divinities, who, according to Aristotle’s definition of pity in *Rhet.* 2, 8, 2, would be immune to this *pathos*, because they are not liable to the same misfortunes that the pitied suffer, and because pity implies suffering in those who feel pity as well. Many examples from literature and Greek epigraphy adduced by this scholar show that, if it is not always absent, at least pity is very problematic for the pagan gods, and in any case it is not part of their essence. Thus, it seems very interesting to me that in the Greek and Latin novels it is possible to find explicit appeals to the gods’ pity, as in the Chris-

Lollianus and Apuleius and hypothesizes that Lollianus was not a sophist; Stramaglia 1992, 59–63, on fr. B1; Prauscello 1998, 67–70; Alson 1999, 129–153, with references to Achilles Tatius and Lollianus.

⁵⁶ Ramelli 2001, ch. 6. See now Konstan forthcoming. I am deeply grateful to the author, who kindly let me read the article and discussed with me Heliodorus’ possible relationship to Judaic and Christian culture. On Heliodorus also add at least Cueva 2004, ch. 5, according to whom Heliodorus is the Greek novelist who makes the most extensive and consistent use of mythology, and now Ramelli forthcoming e on the virtue of chastity in Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus.

⁵⁷ Another common topic between Hellenistic culture (of which the ancient novels are an expression) and early Christianity has been recently explored in Horst 2003.

⁵⁸ Konstan 2001, ch. 4.

tian world. I think that this may be another trait that links the ancient novels to Christianity, and Konstan in fact does not exclude some interaction, remarking rightly that Christianity developed within the Graeco-Roman world, in continuous cultural exchange with it.

On the basis of a methodical analysis⁵⁹ and further research I have tried to demonstrate a knowledge of Christians and Christianity in several Greek and Latin novels in and after the first century A.D.: in some cases, this knowledge seems certain or very probable, in others, at least possible. It is demonstrably the case in Lucian⁶⁰ and almost certainly, for example, in the second-century novelist Apuleius, who seems to allude to the Christians in an ironical tone not so different from that of Petronius. In fact, he presents a mass of current anti-Christian accusations in the description of the miller's wife in *Met.* 9, 14–15.⁶¹ The woman is charged with: cruelty (*saevitia*), obstinacy (*pertinacia*), drunkenness, atheism, lasciviousness (*lascivia*), immodesty (*impudicitia*), witchcraft. Further references to Christianity seem to be present also in the *De magia* or *Apologia*.⁶² At *Apol.* 90, 5–6 a catalogue of magicians includes the names of Moses and, perhaps, Jesus; at *Apol.* 56 Aemilianus, the brother of Pudentilla's first husband, is presented as an atheist who despised gods, temples and sacred ceremonies, and derided religion as if it were a joke (*facetiae sibi habere res divinas deridere*).⁶³ It seems particularly significant to me that Aemilianus was called 'Charon' because of the gloomy sadness of his face and soul: the accusation of *tristitia* was a typical anti-Christian charge from the second half of the first century (see Ramelli 2001d).

⁵⁹ Ramelli 2001.

⁶⁰ Rinaldi 1998, 1, 100–101; Ramelli 2001, ch. 7.

⁶¹ Ramelli 2001, ch. 9; Ead. 2001b; Ead. forthcoming d, Part I, ch. 3, with further documentation and bibliography; Frangoulidis 2000, 57–66; to the references already provided in the book add at least Moreschini 1983, 133–161; above all Ruggiero 2002, ch. 3, who agrees with me in seeing a probable parody of a Christian woman in the portrait of the miller's wife. Rinaldi 1995b, 99–100 and Moreschini 2004, 28 also accept the Christianity of this woman depicted by Apuleius. Schmidt 1997 and 2003, too, studies the passage of the miller's wife and maintains that hostility against the Christians is expressed in it, and that there may be an allusion to the Eucharist; Apuleius is the first philosopher who contrasts the characterization of the Christian God as the only and sole God. For the pagans on Christian women in antiquity see Mac Donald 1996, 49–126.

⁶² Ramelli 2001, ch. 9, with bibliography, to which add McNamara 2003.

⁶³ In addition to my bibliographical references see Rinaldi 1998, 1, 99–100; 2, nrs. 125 and 649. As for the ass, which the Christians were accused of adoring, see Vischer 1951, 15–16; Ramelli 2001b, 245–274; Albrile 2004, 457–472.

Some further points: according to the *Suda*, s.v., Achilles Tatius, the author of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, was a Christian, and, according to Socrates, the historian of the Christian Church (5, 22, 50–51), Heliodorus, the author of the *Aethiopica*, was bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, where he introduced the rule of ecclesiastical celibacy: the first statement seems rather suspect and in any case it is neither verifiable nor deniable, while I have tried to advance some arguments in favour of the trustworthiness of the second, put in its context and considered in the light of Socrates' serious historiographical methodology: it seems that Socrates learnt this information directly in Thessaly, thanks to his knowledge of local customs and episcopal lists.⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that the novel that makes the most of the chastity theme is that by Heliodorus (together with the novel of Achilles Tatius, the other supposed bishop), who introduced celibacy for the ecclesiastics in his diocese.

The above argument also has interesting consequences for our estimation of the novelists' public:⁶⁵ if we admit that the authors insert parodies and allusions to Christians and Christianity in their works, we ought to assume that also their public had some knowledge of the Christians, so that they could appreciate these references. This is very probable in the case of Petronius, who wrote in Rome soon after the Neronian persecution and who clearly alludes in his *Satyricon* to the fire of Rome, which caused so many spectacular executions of Christians. Moreover, in the court *milieu*, which Petronius frequented and addressed, the presence of Christians is attested already in the New Testament: St. Paul in the Letter to the Philippians (4, 22) mentions Christians 'of the house of Caesar.' Chariton, who wrote in Caria in the second half of the I century A.D., lived very close to areas of the Asia Minor where Christianity had already spread, thanks to St. Paul's preaching.⁶⁶ In both cases, the narratives of the New Testament, especially related to the crucifixion and the resurrection, could have been known both to the novelists and to their public.

Furthermore the Gospel narratives related to Christ's passion, death and resurrection seem perhaps to be known not only to Petronius and Chariton, but also to a contemporary of theirs, the author – whoever he is – of the trag-

⁶⁴ Ramelli 2001, ch. 6. To the bibliography on contemporary Christianity add now Burkett 2002; Brown 2003.

⁶⁵ See Brioso Sánchez 2000/1; Holzberg 2001; Ramelli 2001, ch. 1 and *passim*.

⁶⁶ See Ramelli 2001, ch. 8.

edy *Hercules Oetaeus*, which has been handed down in Seneca's *corpus* but is nowadays regarded by most scholars as spurious, as the work of a Stoic imitator of Seneca.⁶⁷

Moreover, the crucifixion theme, also linked to the episode of the spectacular executions in Rome in A.D. 64, is present in other roughly contemporary pagan authors.⁶⁸ For example Martial, who was in Rome in A.D. 64 and who probably was aware of the facts connected with the fire,⁶⁹ in *Spect.* 8 recalls a particularly spectacular and bloody performance of the *Laureolus* mime, in which the protagonist, a slave, was really crucified, and presents as reason for this punishment the fact that he set the fire in Rome. It is precisely the incrimination used against the Christians: it is perfectly possible that here Martial was thinking of the Neronian episode. Seneca, too, seems to have been greatly impressed by the torment of the cross, which he mentions several times in his works, especially in the *Ep.* 14 and 101, written during his retirement from the political scene, viz. during the Neronian persecution against the Christians; moreover, Seneca says that Atilius Regulus suffered the cross (*Ep.* 98, 12; *Prov.* 3), unlike all other preceding authors. Soon after Seneca, Silius too affirms that Regulus suffered that torment,⁷⁰ and he thinks of it as an instrument of glory more than a mortal torture.⁷¹ So, these are

⁶⁷ Ramelli 1998, 11–31; Ead. forthcoming d, Part II, ch. 5. Christian echoes in *Hercules Oetaeus* were noted especially by Pfister 1937, 58ff.; Deschner 1986, 70–72. I observe that Seneca sees Hercules' death on Mount Oeta as a figure of the Stoic universal conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) and an element of identification between Hercules and Iuppiter: [*Io- vum nominant*] *Herculem, quia vis eius invicta sit quandoque lassata fuerit operibus editis, in ignem recessura*: 'They call Juppiter Hercules, because his power is invincible and, once relaxed after the completion of his works, it will withdraw and change into fire' (*Ben.* 4, 8, 1). See Torre 2000, 182–183. On the phenomena that occurred at Jesus' death and at Hercules', see Peláez 2001, 139–157, according to whom all these indicate a theophany.

⁶⁸ Ramelli 1999b, 241–252, with bibliography on Neronian spectacles to which add e.g. Köhne 2001, not concerned only with gladiatorial spectacles; Ramelli forthcoming d, Part I, chs. 6–8.

⁶⁹ For Martial's chronology and work, bibliographical references in Ramelli 1999b, to which add Scherf 2001; Holzberg 2002.

⁷⁰ Cotta Ramosino 1999, 93–106.

⁷¹ Manilius too, in the Andromeda episode (*Astr.* 5, 538–619), deliberately alters the mythographical tradition: he maintains that the heroine suffered the cross and he praises her for the dignity and the *decorum* shown by her during the torment.

themes that, in the second half of the first century A.D., seem to have had some influence on pagan literature.⁷²

It seems possible, in conclusion, that there was some interest in and knowledge of New Testament episodes, and in particular of those aspects of Christianity – viz. the Eucharist as eating Christ's body, the crucifixion and the resurrection – which generally surprised the pagans and which probably were objects of polemic for them. And if Petronius and his public had such a knowledge of Christianity, it is plausible that other novelists too knew something about it and alluded to it in their writings.

Bibliography

- Albrecht, M. von. 1992. *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 1–2, Bern: Francke.
- Albrile, E. 2004. 'La liturgia dell'asino. Elementi di una transizione simbolica,' in *Convegno internazionale La Persia e Bisanzio*, Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 457–472.
- Alonso Ávila, A. 2002. *Sentir la historia: un acercamiento al judío Jesús*, Madrid: Signifer Libros.
- Alson, R. 1999. 'The Revolt of the *Boukoli*: Geography, History and Myth,' in K. Hopwood (ed.), *Organized Crime in Antiquity*, London: Duckworth with the Classical Press of Wales, 129–153.
- Alvares, J. 2000. 'A hidden magus in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*,' *Hermes* 128, 383–384.
- 2000. 'Perspective and Ideal in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*,' *AClass* 43, 5–14.
- Amat, J. 2002. *Les animaux familiers dans la Rome antique*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Ammassari, A. 1996. *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis. Copia esatta del manoscritto onciale greco-latino dei quattro Vangeli e degli Atti degli Apostoli*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- 1996a. *Il Vangelo di Marco nella colonna latina del Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

⁷² All this could be an example of reciprocal influence between pagan and Christian culture, on which see Oakes 2002. For knowledge of the Sacred Scripture among the pagans, note e.g. Cook 2000; Rinaldi 1998.

I am very grateful to Professors David Konstan, Judith Perkins, Bryan Reardon and Gareth Schmeling, who much encouraged me to prepare and publish this article, and discussed with me many points on ancient novels and early Christianity. Judith Perkins and Gareth Schmeling read a previous version of this paper; David Konstan read the final version too; they all, together with the anonymous referees who read this article for the publication in the journal, provided helpful suggestions, for which I thank all of them heartily. Many warmest thanks to Maaïke Zimmerman too, for her usual kindness. I would also like to dedicate this study to the memory of Professor Carsten Peter Thiede, who died too early in December 2004: his generous attention for my scholarly activity and his love for research were highly stimulating for my own work.

- .Amphoux, C.B. 1995. 'L'Évangile selon les Hébreux,' *Apocrypha* 6, 67–77.
- Arrowsmith, W. 1966. 'Luxury and death in the *Satyricon*,' *Arion* 5, 304–331.
- Attridge, H.W. 2003. 'Making Scents of Paul,' in J. Fitzgerald, T.H. Olbricht, L.M. White (eds.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Essays in Honor of A.J. Malherbe*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 71–88.
- Augenti, D. 2001. *Spettacoli del Colosseo nelle cronache degli antichi*, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Auwers, J.-M. 1996. 'Le texte latin de l'Évangile dans le codex de Bèze,' in D.C. Parker, C.B. Amphoux (eds.), *Codex Bezae. Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill.
- Baird, J.A. 2002. *Holy Word: The Paradigm of New Testament Formation*, JSNTSuppl. 224, London etc.: Sheffield Academic Press, Trinity Academic Press.
- Baldwin B. 1976. 'Petronius and the Fire of Rome,' *Maia* 28, 35–36.
- Barnhart, J.E., Kraeger, L.T. 2000. *In Search of First-Century Christianity*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Barrett, C.K. 1983. *Il Vangelo di Giovanni tra simbolismo e storia*, Turin.
- Bartlett, J.R. (ed.) 2002. *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, London–New York: Routledge.
- Bauckham, R. 1993. 'Papias and Polycrates on the origin of the Fourth Gospel,' *JThS* 44, 24–69.
- 2006. *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses. The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony*, Grand Rapids – Cambridge: Eerdmans.
- Baum, A.D. 1998. 'Papias, der Vorzug der *Viva Vox* und die Evangelienchriften,' *NTS* 44, 144–151.
- 2000. 'Der Presbyter des Papias über einen Hermeneuten des Petrus,' *ThZ* 56, 21–35.
- 2001. 'Ein aramäischer Urmatthäus im kleinasiatischen Gottesdienst,' *ZNTW* 92, 257–272.
- Bengoechea Jove, M.C. 1999. 'Taciano y el encratismo,' *HAnt* 23, 267–281.
- Bieringer, R. (ed.) 2002. *Resurrection in the New Testament. Festschrift J. Lambrecht*, in coll. with R. Koperski, B. Lataire, Bibliotheca EThL 165, Leuven: Peeters.
- Bioul, B. 2004. *Qumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Les hypothèses, le débat*, préf. J.D. Dubois, Paris: De Guibert.
- Blankenhorn, D., Browning, D., Stewart van Leeuwen, M. (eds.) 2004. *Does Christianity Teach Male Headship? The Equal-Regard Marriage and its Critics*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Blomberg, C.L. 2001. *The Historical Reliability of John's Gospel: Issues and Commentary*, Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, Ill. [or. *Die historische Zuverlässigkeit der Evangelien*, Nürnberg 1998.]
- Bockmuehl, M. 2003. *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics*, Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans.
- Bodel, J. 1994. 'Trimalchio's Underworld,' in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore–London: John Hopkins University Press, 237–259.
- Boffo, L. 1994. *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Brescia: Paideia Editrice.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1994. *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brandon, S.G.F. 1973. *Religion in Ancient History*, London: Allan and Unwin.
- Branham, R.B. (ed.) 2002. *Bachtin and the Classics*, Evanston, Il: Northwestern University Press.

- Bremmer, J.N. 2002. *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, New York: Routledge.
- Brioso Sánchez, M. 2000. *Aspectos de intertextualidad genérica en la novela griega antigua*, in *Intertextualidades en las literaturas griega y latina*, Madrid–Salamanca, 121–141.
- 2000/1. ‘Oralidad y literatura de consumo en la novela griega antigua,’ *Habis* 31, 117–217; 32, 425–461.
- Brown, P. 1988. *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Faber and Faber.
- 1990. ‘Bodies and Minds. Sexuality and Renunciation in Early Christianity,’ in D. Halperin, J. Winkler, F. Zeitlin (eds.), *Before Sexuality. The Constitution of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 479–493.
- 2003. *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, AD 200–1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford – Malden, Ma: Blackwell.
- Burkett, D. 2002. *An Introduction to the New Testament and the Origins of Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2004. *Rethinking the Gospel Sources: From Proto-Mark to Mark*, New York: T. & T. Clark.
- Burridge, R.A. 2004. *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Burrus, V. 1987. *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of the Apocryphal Acts*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Busse, U. 2002. *Das Johannesevangelium. Bildlichkeit, Diskurs und Ritual. Mit einer Bibliographie über den Zeitraum 1986–1998*, Bibliotheca EThL 162, Leuven: Peeters.
- Bruce, F.F. 1962. ‘Christianity under Claudius,’ *BJRL* 44, 309–326.
- Cabaniss, A. 1954. ‘A Footnote to the Petronian Question,’ *CPh* 49, 98–102.
- 1960. ‘The *Satyricon* and the Christian Oral Tradition,’ *GRBS* 3, 36–39.
- Cameron, A. 1989. ‘Virginity as Metaphor: Women and the Rhetoric of Early Christianity,’ in Ead. (ed.), *History as Text*, London: Duckworth, 181–205.
- Casadío, G. 1999. ‘From Hellenistic *Aiôn* to Gnostic *Aiônes*,’ in D. Zeller (ed.), *Religion im Wandel der Kosmologien*, Bern–Berlin–Bruxelles: P. Lang, 175–190.
- 2003. ‘The Failing Male God: Emasculation, Death, and Other Accidents in the Ancient Mediterranean World,’ *Numen* 50, 231–268.
- 2005. ‘*Aiôn*,’ in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., Detroit–New York–San Francisco *et alibi*: Thomson Gale, MacMillan Reference USA, vol. 1, 207–210.
- Casalboni, A. 2001. ‘Maria e Giovanni a Efeso secondo il *Satyricon*,’ *Eteria. Viaggi e cultura nell’oriente cristiano* 27, 48–55.
- Ceruti, M.C. 2003. ‘Un nouveau savant favorable à la datation haute des Évangiles,’ *Les Nouvelles de l’Association J. Carmignac* (Paris) 18, 3–4.
- 2004. *Les évangiles sont des reportages*, Paris: Téqui.
- Clarke, H. 2003. *The Gospel of Matthew and Its Readers. A Historical Introduction to the First Gospel*, Bloomington Ind.: Indiana University Press..
- Clarke, W.M. 1991–92. ‘Jewish Table Manners in the *Cena Trimalchionis*,’ *CJ* 87, 257–263.
- Colin, L. 1953. ‘Il soldato della matrona d’Efeso e l’aceto dei crocifissi: Petronio 111,’ *RFIC* 31, 97–128.
- Cook, J.G. 2000. *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Graeco-Roman Paganism*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 3, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Cooper, K. 1996. *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.

- Cotta Ramosino, L. 1999. 'Il supplizio della croce in Silio Italico (*Pun.* I 169–181; VI 539–544),' *Aevum* 73, 93–106.
- Courtney, E. 2001. *A Companion to Petronius*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cueva, E.C. 2000. 'The Date of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* revisited,' *C&M* 41, 197–208.
- 2004. *The Myths of Fiction. Studies in the Canonical Greek Novel*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- D'Aiuto, F. (ed.) 2000. *I Vangeli dei Popoli: la Parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, in coll. with G. Morello, A Piazzoni, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- Das, A.A. 2003. *Paul and the Jews*, Peabody, Ma: Hendrickson.
- Dassmann, E. 2004. 'Die historischen Zeugnisse für Leben und Sterben des Petrus in Rom,' in L. Cirillo, G. Rinaldi (eds.), *Roma, la Campania e l'Oriente cristiano antico*, Naples: Università "L'Orientale", 51–76.
- Davis, D. 2002. *Panthea's Children: Hellenistic Novels and Medieval Persian Romances*, New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press.
- Dawes, G.W. 2001. *The Historical Jesus Question: The Challenge of History to Religious Authority*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Deming, W. 2004. *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy. The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7*, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Denau, A. (ed.) 2002. *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift Delobel*, Bibliotheca EThL 161, Leuven: Peeters.
- Deschner, K. 1986. *Abermals krähte der Hahn. Eine kritische Kirchengeschichte*, Düsseldorf–Wien: Econ Verlag.
- Detienne, M. 1972. *Les Jardins d'Adonis*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Dodd, C.H. 1983. *La tradizione storica nel quarto vangelo*, Brescia: Paideia.
- Donahue, J.R., Harrington, D.J. 2002. *The Gospel of Mark*, Sacra Pagina 2, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press.
- Drane, J. 2001. *Introducing the New Testament*, 2nd ed. completely revised and updated, Minneapolis, Mi.: Fortress Press.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. 1987. 'Virginity and Asceticism in Late Roman Western Elites,' in J. Blok, D. Mason (eds.), *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society*, Amsterdam: Gieben, 241–273.
- Dunbabin, K. 2004. *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehrman, B. (trans.) 2003. *The Apostolic Fathers, 1: I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache; 2: Epistle of Barnabas, Papias and Quadratus, Epistle to Diognetus, The Shepherd of Hermas*, LCL 24–25, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Elm, S. 1994. *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ernout, A. (ed.) 1967. *Pétrone. Le Satiricon*, 6th ed., Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Feichtinger B., Seng, H. (eds.) 2004. *Die Christen und der Körper. Aspekte der Körperlichkeit in der christlichen Literatur der Spätantike*, BzA 184, München–Leipzig: Saur.
- Foskett, M.F. 2002. *A Virgin Conceived: Mary and Classical Representations of Virginity*, Bloomington Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- France, R.T. 2002. *The Gospel of Mark*, Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans.
- Frangoulidis, S. 2000. 'An Exemplary Widow in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*,' *Thallos* 11, 57–66.

- Gaca, K.L. 2003. *The Making of Fornication: Eros, Ethics, and Political Reform in Greek Philosophy and Early Christianity*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Gamba, G.G. 1998. *Petronio Arbitro e i Cristiani. Ipotesi per una lettura contestuale del Satyricon*, BSR 141, Rome: Salesiana.
- Gasparro, G. Sfameni 1984. *Enkrateia e antropologia. Le motivazioni protologiche della verginità e della continenza nel Cristianesimo dei primi secoli e nello Gnosticismo*, SEA 20, Roma: Augustinianum.
- Gerhardsson, B. 2001. *The Reliability of the Gospel Tradition*, introd. by D.A. Hagner, Peabody, Ma.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Gero, S. 1986. 'With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity,' in C.W. Hedrick, R. Hodgson (eds.), *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity*, Peabody, Ma.: Hendrickson Publishers, 287–307.
- Goldhill, S. 1995. *Foucault's Virginity. Ancient Erotic Fiction and the History of Sexuality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Griffin, M.T. 1997. 'The Senate's Story,' *JRS* 87, 249–253.
- Griffiths, J.G. 1980. *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, Leiden: Brill.
- Grzybek, E. 2002. 'Les premiers chrétiens et Rome,' in *Neronia VI. Rome à l'époque néronienne*, Coll. Latomus 268, Bruxelles: Latomus, 561–567.
- , Sordi, M. 1998. 'L'Édit de Nazareth et la politique de Néron à l'égard des Chrétiens,' *ZPE* 120, 279–291.
- Hargis, J.W. 1999. *Against the Christians. The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemics*, New York etc.: Lang.
- Hatina, T.R. 2002. *In Search of a Context: The Function of Scripture in Mark's Narrative*, London etc.: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Heil, C. 2003. *Lukas und Q: Studien zur lukanischen Redaktion des Spruchevangeliums Q*, Beihefte zur ZNW 111, Berlin etc.: de Gruyter.
- Herrmann, L. 1927. 'La matrone d'Éphèse dans Pétrone et dans Phèdre,' *BAGB* 14, 20–57.
- Hilhorst, A. 2003. Review of Ramelli 2001. *Ancient Narrative* 3, 182–184.
- Hill, C. 1998. 'What Papias said about John (and Luke),' *JThS* 49, 582–629.
- 2004. *Johannine Corpus in the Early Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holzberg, N. 2001. *Der antike Roman: eine Einführung*, Düsseldorf–Zürich: Artemis Verlag.
- 2002. *Martial und das antike Epigramm*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Horst, P.W. van der 2002. *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity*, Leuven: Peeters.
- ed. 2003. *Persuasion and Dissuasion in Early Christianity, Ancient Judaism, and Hellenism*, in coll. with M.J.J. Menken, J.F.M. Smit, G. Van Oyen, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 33, Leuven: Peeters.
- Innocenti, E. 2002. 'Gesù a Roma'. *Commento al testo lucano degli Atti degli Apostoli*. Rome.
- Isaac, B. 2004. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jarosh, K. 2000. 'Die Qumranfragmente der Höhle 7 (7Q) im Computertest,' *Aegyptus* 80, 147–168.
- Jensson, G. 2004. *The Recollections of Encolpius. The Satyrical of Petronius as Milesian Fiction*, Groningen, AN Suppl. 2: Barkhuis and Groningen University Library.

- Jones, C.P. 1980. 'Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Lollianus' *Phoinikika*,' *Phoenix* 34, 243–254.
- Jossa, G. 2004. *Giudei o Cristiani? I seguaci di Gesù in cerca di una nuova identità*, Brescia: Paideia.
- Katzoff, R. 2006. 'Eccentric Jews in Ancient Rome,' in *International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature*, Edinburgh, 2–6 July 2006, Section Graeco-Roman World, forthcoming.
- Kelber, W.H. 1997. *The Oral and the Written Gospel. The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- Kippenberg, H.G. 2003. 'The Couple *religio-superstitio* as Notions in European Legal History,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 22–25*.
- Köhne, E. (ed.) 2001. *Gladiators and Caesars: the Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome*, in coll. with C. Ewigleben – R. Jackson, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
- Konstan, D. 1987. 'La rappresentazione dei rapporti erotici nel romanzo greco,' *MD* 19, 9–27.
- 1994. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1997. 'Amor, matrimonio y amistad en la novela antigua,' *Humanitas (Coimbra)* 49, 117–133.
- 1998. 'Acts of Love: a Narrative Pattern in the Apocryphal Acts.' *JECS* 6, 15–36.
- 2001. *Pity Transformed*, London: Duckworth.
- Forthcoming. 'Travel in Heliodorus: Homecoming or Voyage to a Promised Land?,' paper delivered at the 2004 FIEC Meeting.
- Lalanne, S. 1999. *Héros et héroïnes du roman grec ancien*, Diss Univ. Paris I-Sorbonne.
- Lavalle, R. 2002. Review of Ramelli 2001. *Stylos* 11, 193–194.
- Lieu, J.M. 2003. *Neither Jew Nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity*, London etc.: T&T Clark.
- Lloyd-Moffett, S. 2003. 'The 'Heresy' of Encratism and the History of Christianity in Eastern Syria,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 22–25 2003*.
- Luisier, Ph. (ed.) 2003. *Studi su Clemente Romano. Atti degli Incontri, Roma, 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, OCA 268, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale.
- MacDonald, M.Y. 1996. *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Women*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Magness, J. 2004. *Debating Qumran. Collected Essays on Its Archaeology*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4, Leuven: Peeters.
- Maier, H.O. 2002. *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism 12, Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Marcus, J. 1992. 'The Jewish War and the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark,' *JBL* 111, 441–462.
- Marmorale, E.V. (ed.) 1965. *Petronii Arbitri Cena Trimalchioni*, 2nd ed., Florence: La Nuova Italia.
- Martin, D. 2004. *Inventing Superstition. From the Hippocratics to the Christians*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.
- Martos, J. (ed.) 2003. Apuleyo de Madauros. *Las metamórfosis o El asno de oro. Introducción, texto latino, traducción y notas*, I, *Libros 1–3*; II, *Libros 4–11*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- McGill, S. 2000. 'The Literary Lives of a Scheintod,' *CQ* 50, 323–326.

- McInerney, M.B. 2003. *Eloquent Virgins: From Thecla to Joan of Arc*, New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McNamara, J. 2003. 'The only wife worth having? Marriage and Story-telling in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*,' *AN* 3, 106–128.
- Mejía, J.M. 2000. 'Il libro dei Vangeli: testimone del mistero incarnato nella storia,' in *D'Aiuto* 2000, 1–5.
- Merk, A. (ed.) 1984. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, Rome: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici.
- Mettinger, T.N.D. 2001. *The Riddle of Resurrection. Dying and Rising Gods in the Ancient Near East*, Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series 50, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Milazzo, V. 2002. *Educare una vergine. Precetti e modelli in Ambrogio e Girolamo*, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia Moderna, Catania: Tipografia Universitaria.
- Miller, W.I. 1997. *The Anatomy of Disgust*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.
- Moore, S.D. 2003. 'Mark and Empire Zealot and Postcolonial Readings,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 22–25*.
- Mora, F. 2003. 'Religioni fondate,' *Archaeus* 7, 37–78.
- Moreno, P. 1962/4. 'Aspetti di vita economica nel *Satyricon*,' *AIIN* 9–11, 53–73.
- Moreschini, C. 1983. 'Monoteismo cristiano e monoteismo platonico,' in H.H. Blume, F. Mann (eds.), *Platonismus und Christentum. Festschrift H. Dörrie*, Münster: Asschendorff, 133–161.
- . 2004. *Storia della filosofia patristica*, Letteratura Cristiana Antica 1, Brescia: Morcelliana.
- Motti, L. 2004. *Maria a Efeso?*, Diss. Antonianum, Bologna.
- Müller K. 1995. *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon reliquiae*, 4th ed., Stuttgart–Leipzig: Teubner.
- Nagy, A. 2001. 'La forme originale de l'accusation d'anthropophagie contre les chrétiens, son développement et les changements de sa représentation au 2e siècle,' *REA* 47, 223–249.
- Naldini, M. 2000. 'La prima diffusione dei Vangeli: la voce dei papiri,' in *D'Aiuto* 2000, 23–30.
- Neville, D.J. 2002. *Mark's Gospel Prior or Posterior: A Reappraisal of the Phenomenon of Order*, JSNT Suppl. 222, London etc.: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2003. *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation*, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Nickle, K.F. 2001. *The Synoptic Gospels: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Nock, A.D. 1972. *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nodet, É. 2003. *Histoire de Jésus? Nécessité et limites d'une enquête*, Paris: Cerf.
- , Taylor, J. 2000. *Le origini del Cristianesimo*, Casale Monferrato: Marietti.
- Novak, R.M. 2001. *Christianity and the Roman Empire: Background Texts*, Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International.
- Oakes P. (ed.) 2002. *Rome in the Bible and the early Church*, Carlisle, Cumbria – Grand Rapids, Mi: Baker Academic.
- Park, E.C. 2003. *Either Jew or Gentile: Paul's Unfolding Theology of Inclusivity*, Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Peabody, D. (ed.) 2002. *One Gospel from Two: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke*, in coll. with L. Cope, A.J. McNicol, Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.
- Peláez, J. 2001. 'Wonderful phenomena at the Death of Jesus: History or Symbolism? (Mt 27.45–53),' in A. Pérez Jiménez, G. Cruz Andreotti (eds.), *La verdad tamizada*:

- cronistas, reporteros e historiadores ante su publico*, Madrid–Málaga: Ediciones Clásicas: Charta Antiqua Distribución Editorial, 139–157.
- Perea Yébenes, S. 2002. Review of Ramelli 2001, *Gerión* 20, 763–764.
- Persili, A. 2000. *Sulle tracce del Cristo risorto con Pietro e Giovanni testimoni oculari*, Tivoli (Roma): Ed. Casa della Stampa.
- Pfister, F. 1937. 'Herakles und Christus,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 34, 42ff.
- Plaza, M. 2000. *Laughter and Derision in Petronius' Satyricon: a Literary Study*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 46, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Porter, J. 2005. 'A Tomb with a View: Petronius' Widow of Ephesus and the Comic Adultery Tale,' paper presented at the *Third Rhethymnon International Conference on the Ancient Novel, Rhethymnon, Crete, May 23–24 2005*.
- Pouderon, B. et al. (eds.) 2001. *Les personnages du roman grec*, Lyons: Collection La Maison de l'Orient 29, Litt. 7.
- Prauscello, L. 1998. 'Il fr. A. 2r 11–13 delle *Storie Fenicie* di Lolliano: un problema di interpretazione,' *ZPE* 122, 67–70.
- Preuschen, E. 1902/3. 'Die Salbung Jesu in Bethanien,' *ZNW* 3, 252–253; 4, 88.
- Prince, D.T. 2003. 'The 'Ghost' of Jesus: Luke 24 in Light of Ancient Narratives of Post-Mortem Apparitions,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 22–25*.
- Quasten, J. 1935–37. *Monumenta Eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*, Bonnae: Sumptibus P. Hanstein.
- Ramelli, I. 1996. 'Petronio e i Cristiani: allusioni al Vangelo di Marco nel *Satyricon*?,' *Aevum* 70, 75–80.
- 1997. 'Il *Satyricon* di Petronio: tradizione, parodia, allusione,' *KAIRIA SUGGELASAI* 7, 27–41.
- 1998. 'La Chiesa di Roma e la cultura pagana: echi cristiani nell'*Hercules Oetaeus*?,' *RSCI* 52, 11–31.
- 1998b. Review of A. Ammassari, *I Vangeli nel Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, *RSCI* 52, Vatican City 1996–97, 171–178.
- 1999. Review of Gamba 1998, *Aevum* 73, 207–210.
- 1999b. 'Alcune osservazioni sulle occorrenze di *crux* in Manilio, Seneca, Giovenale e Marziale,' *ETF* 12, 241–252.
- 2000. Review of C.P. Thiede, *Ein Fisch für den römischen Kaiser*, *RSCI* 54, München: Luchterhand 1998, 211–216.
- 2001. *I romanzi antichi e il Cristianesimo: contesto e contatti*, *GREC* 6, Madrid: Signifer.
- 2001b. 'Elementi comuni della polemica antiggiudaica e di quella anticristiana fra I e II sec. d.C.,' *SR* 49, 245–274.
- 2001c. 'Possibili allusioni al Cristianesimo nel romanzo classico del tardo I sec. d.C.: i casi di Petronio e di Caritone,' *Stylos* 10, 67–81.
- 2001d. '*Tristitia*. Indagine storica, filosofica e semantica su un'accusa antistoica e anticristiana del I secolo,' *InvLuc* 23, 187–206.
- Dognini, C. 2001. *Gli Apostoli in India nella Patristica e nella letteratura sanscrita*, Milan.
- 2003. 'Aspetti delle interrelazioni tra la società pagana e quella cristiana nel I sec. d.C.,' *Laverna* 14, 1–17.
- 2004. 'Diogene Laerzio e i Cristiani. Conoscenza e polemica con Taziano e con Clemente Alessandrino,' *ETF*, ser. II, 15, 27–42.

- 2004b. 'Diogene Laerzio e Clemente Alessandrino nel contesto di un dibattito culturale comune,' *ETF*, ser. II, 15, 207–224.
 - 2005. 'Dione di Prusa, Giovenale, e l'impressione probabilmente suscitata da alcuni supplizî delle prime persecuzioni anticristiane,' *Augustinianum* 45, 1 (2005), 35–45.
 - 2005b. 'Indizi della conoscenza del NT nei romanzieri antichi e in altri autori pagani del I sec. d.C.,' in E. Dal Covolo, R. Fusco (eds.), *Il Contributo delle scienze storiche alla interpretazione del Nuovo Testamento*, Vatican City–Rome, 146–169.
 - 2007. 'Fonti note e meno note sulle origini dei Vangeli: notazioni per una rivalutazione dei dati della tradizione,' *Aevum* 81, forthcoming.
 - Forthcoming b. 'Possibili tracce di conoscenza della religione cristiana nei romanzi antichi? Una contestualizzazione storica e culturale,' in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Potere e religione nel mondo indo-mediterraneo dall'ellenismo alla tarda antichità*, *Atti del Convegno della SISR, Roma 26–27 ottobre 2004*, Rome.
 - Forthcoming c. 'Philosophen und Prediger. Pagane und christliche weise Männer: der Apostel Paulus,' in S. Fornaro, E. Amato (Hrsg.), *Dio von Prusa. Der Philosoph und sein Bild*, Göttingen, ser. SAPERE, ch. 4.
 - Forthcoming d. *Ampulla nardi. Intertestualità tra vangelo e letteratura classica*.
 - Forthcoming e. 'Les vertus de la chasteté et de la piété dans les romans grecs et les vertus des chrétiens: les cas d'Achille Tatius et d'Héliodore,' in *Roman IV: Vertus, passions et vices dans la Roman grec, Tours, 19–21.X.2006*, ed. B. Pouderon, forthcoming.
- Reardon, B.P. 2001. *Preface* to Ramelli 2001.
- 2001b. 'Callirhoé et ses soeurs,' in Pouderon 2001, 21–27.
- Rhoads, D. 2004. *Reading Mark, Engaging the Gospel*, Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press.
- Rigato, M.L. 2003. *Il titolo della croce di Gesù. Confronto tra i Vangeli e la tavoletta-reliquia della Basilica Eleniana a Roma*, Roma: Gregoriana [*ibid.* 2005, 2nd ed.].
- Riley, G.J. 1995. *Resurrection Reconsidered: Thomas and John in Controversy*, Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press.
- 2001. *The River of God: A New History of Christian Origins*, San Francisco: Harper.
- Rimell, V. 2002. *Petronius and the Anatomy of Fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rinaldi, G. 1995. 'La *Lex de Templo Hierosolymitano* e l'atteggiamento di Luca verso Roma,' *Protestantesimo* 50, 269–278.
- 1995b. 'Donne autonome e innovative: le donne cristiane viste dai pagani,' in A. Valerio (ed.), *Donna, potere e profezia*, Naples: M. D'Auria, 97–119.
 - 1998. *La Bibbia dei pagani*, 1–2, Bologna: Dehoniane.
 - 2001. 'Pietro Apostolo e i vescovi romani nel giudizio dei pagani,' in *Pietro e Paolo. Il loro rapporto con Roma nelle testimonianze antiche*, Roma: Augustinianum, SEA 74, 291–314.
 - 2002. 'Pagani e cristiani nell'Asia Proconsolare. Note prosopografiche,' in *Cristiani nell'Impero Romano, Giornate di Studio, S. Leucio nel Sannio – Benevento, 22–29 marzo e 5 aprile 2001*, Naples: Arte tipografica, 99–126.
 - 2004. 'La Bibbia dei Gentili. Tre riflessioni sulla conoscenza della Bibbia tra i pagani,' in *Saggezza straniera: Roma e il mondo della Bibbia. Atti del Seminario Invernale dell'Associazione Biblica, Verbania-Intra, 30 gennaio-3 febbraio 2002*, Settimello: Firenze, 189–226.
- Rives, J. 1995. 'Human Sacrifice Among Pagans and Christians,' *JRS* 85, 65–85.
- Robinson, J.M. (ed.) 2000. *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q*

- and Thomas, in coll. with P. Hoffman, J.S. Kloppenborg, Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press, Leuven: Peeters.
- Rodríguez, A.C., 1995. 'Il Vangelo secondo Marco,' in R. Aguirre Monasterio, Id. (eds.), *Vangeli Sinottici e Atti degli Apostoli*, Brescia: Paideia, 91–163.
- Rodríguez Martín, E. 2002. 'Las vírgenes cristianas en Tertuliano,' in V. Alfaro Bech, V.E. Rodríguez Martín (eds.), *Desvelar modelos femeninos. Valor y representación en la antigüedad*, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones. Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga.
- Rose, K.F.C. 1962. 'The date of the *Satyricon*,' *CQ* 12, 166–168.
- 1971. *The Date and the Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden: Brill, Mnemosyne Suppl. 16.
- Rowe, R. 2002. *Princes and Political Culture: the New Tiberian Senatorial Decrees*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rowell, H.T. 1958. 'The gladiator Petraitis and the date of the *Satyricon*,' *TAPA* 89, 14–24.
- Ruggiero, F. 2002. *La follia dei Cristiani La reazione pagana al Cristianesimo nei secoli I–V*, Rome: Città Nuova.
- Sanders, E.P., Davies, M. 1989. *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, London: SCM Press, Philadelphia: Trinity Press International.
- Sandy, G.N. 1979. 'Notes on Lollianus' *Phoenicia*,' *AJPh* 100, 367–376.
- Schaberg, J.D. 2003. 'The Women at the Tomb: Different Reconstructions,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 22–25*.
- Scherf, J. 2001. *Untersuchungen zur Buchgestaltung Martials*, München–Leipzig: Saur, BzA 142.
- Schmidt, V. 1997. 'Reaktionen auf das Christentum in den *Metamorphosen* des Apuleius,' *VChr* 51, 51–71.
- 2003. 'Is there an Allusion to the Christian Eucharist in Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 14–15?,' *Latomus* 62, 864–874.
- Schnackenburg, R. 2002. *The Gospel of Matthew*, Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans.
- Schweitzer, A. 2001. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, ed. J. Bowden, Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press.
- Setaioli, A. 2000. 'La scena di magia in Petr. *Sat.* 131, 4–6,' *Prometheus* 26, 159–172.
- Sherwin White, A.N. 1963. *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Simonetti, M. 2000. 'I Vangeli dall'origine alla canonizzazione,' in D'Aiuto 2000, 9–16.
- 2001. *Matthew 14–28*, Downers Grove, Ill: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, NT 1b.
- Singor, H.W. 1991. 'Tacitus en de Christenvervolgung van het jaar 64,' *Lampas* 24, 375–399.
- Smith, D.E. 2003. *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World*, Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press.
- Sordi, M. 1998. 'L'ambiente storico-culturale greco-romano e la missione cristiana nel I sec.,' *Ricerche Storico-bibliche* 10, 217–229.
- 2002. Review of Ramelli 2001, *Aevum* 76, 221–222.
- 2003. 'La crédibilité de l'Incarnation racontée par les Évangiles et celle de l'existence historique de Jésus,' *Les Nouvelles de l'Association Carmignac* 20, 4–5.
- 2003a. 'Il racconto dei Vangeli: la forza della storia,' *Vita e Pensiero* 76, 1, 90–93.
- 2004. *I Cristiani e l'Impero romano*, revised ed., Milan: Jaca Book.
- , Ramelli, I. 2004. 'Il Senatoconsulto del 35 contro i Cristiani in un frammento porfiriano?,' *Aevum* 78, 59–67.
- Stanton, G.N. 2004. *Jesus and Gospel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Stramaglia, A. 1992. 'Covi di banditi e cadaveri 'scomodi' in Lolliano e Apuleio,' *ZPE* 94, 59–63.
- Theissen, G. 2003. *The New Testament*, New York – London: T*T Clark.
- Thiede, C.P. 1998. *Ein Fisch für den römischen Kaiser*, München: Luchterhand.
- 2001. *Die Auferstehung Jesu – Fiktion oder Wirklichkeit?*, Basel: Brunnen Verlag.
- 2002. *Die Messias-Sucher. Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer und die jüdischen Ursprünge des Christentums*, Stuttgart.
- 2003. 'Quel papiro è davvero Marco,' *Avvenire* 3, 12, 26.
- 2004. 'The Perfect Beginning? A Look at Mark's Gospel and Its First Readers,' *The Church of England Newspaper* Febr. 12, 27.
- 2004b. *Jesus und Tiberius. Zwei Söhne Gottes*, München: Luchterhand.
- Thomas, C.M. 2003. *The Acts of Peter, Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel. Rewriting the Past*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tissot, Y. 1981. 'Encratisme et Actes apocryphes,' in F. Bovon (ed.), *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres: christianisme et monde païen*, Geneva: Labor et Fides, 109–119.
- Tomson, P.J. 2001. 'If this be from Heaven...': *Jesus and the New Testament Authors in their Relationship to Judaism*, trans. J. Dyk, Sheffield: The Biblical Seminar 76.
- Tornielli, A. 2005. *Inchiesta sulla Resurrezione. Misteri, leggende e verità*, Milano: Gribaudi.
- Torre, C. 2003. 'Cornuto, Seneca, i poeti e gli dèi,' in I. Gualandri, G. Mazzoli (eds.), *Gli Anni. Una famiglia nella storia e nella cultura di Roma imperiale, Proceedings of the International Congress, Milano-Pavia, 2–6 maggio 2000*, Como: new Press, 167–184.
- Verdejo Sánchez, M.D. 2001. 'Propaganda and the Deformation of History in Rome. Tacitus and the use of rumores,' in A. Pérez Jiménez, G. Cruz Andreotti (eds.), *La verdad tamizada: cronistas, reporteros e historiadores ante su publico*, Madrid: Málaga: Ediciones Clásicas: Charta Antiqua Distribución Editorial, 107–138.
- Victor, U. 2003. *Antike Kultur und Neues Testament. Die wichtigsten Hintergründe und Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, in coll. with C.P. Thiede, U. Stingelin, Basel–Gießen: Brunnen.
- Vielberg, M. 2002. 'Der Dichter und Erzähler Eumolp – ein unzeitgemäßer Held Petrons?,' in G.R. Kaiser (Hrsg.), *Der unzeitgemäße Held in der Weltliteratur*, Heidelberg: Winter, 29–45.
- Vischer, L. 1951. 'Le prétendu "culte de l'âne" dans l'église primitive,' *RHR* 139, 15–16.
- Waltzing, J.-P. 1925. 'Le crime rituel reproché aux chrétiens du IIème siècle,' *BAB* 11, 205–239.
- Winter, B. 2003. *Roman Wives, Roman Widows. The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
- Wudel, B.D. 2003. 'When Aseneth Met Thecla: Desire and Restraint in Two Conversion Tales,' paper delivered at the *Annual Meeting of the SBL*. Atlanta, Ga. Nov. 22–25.