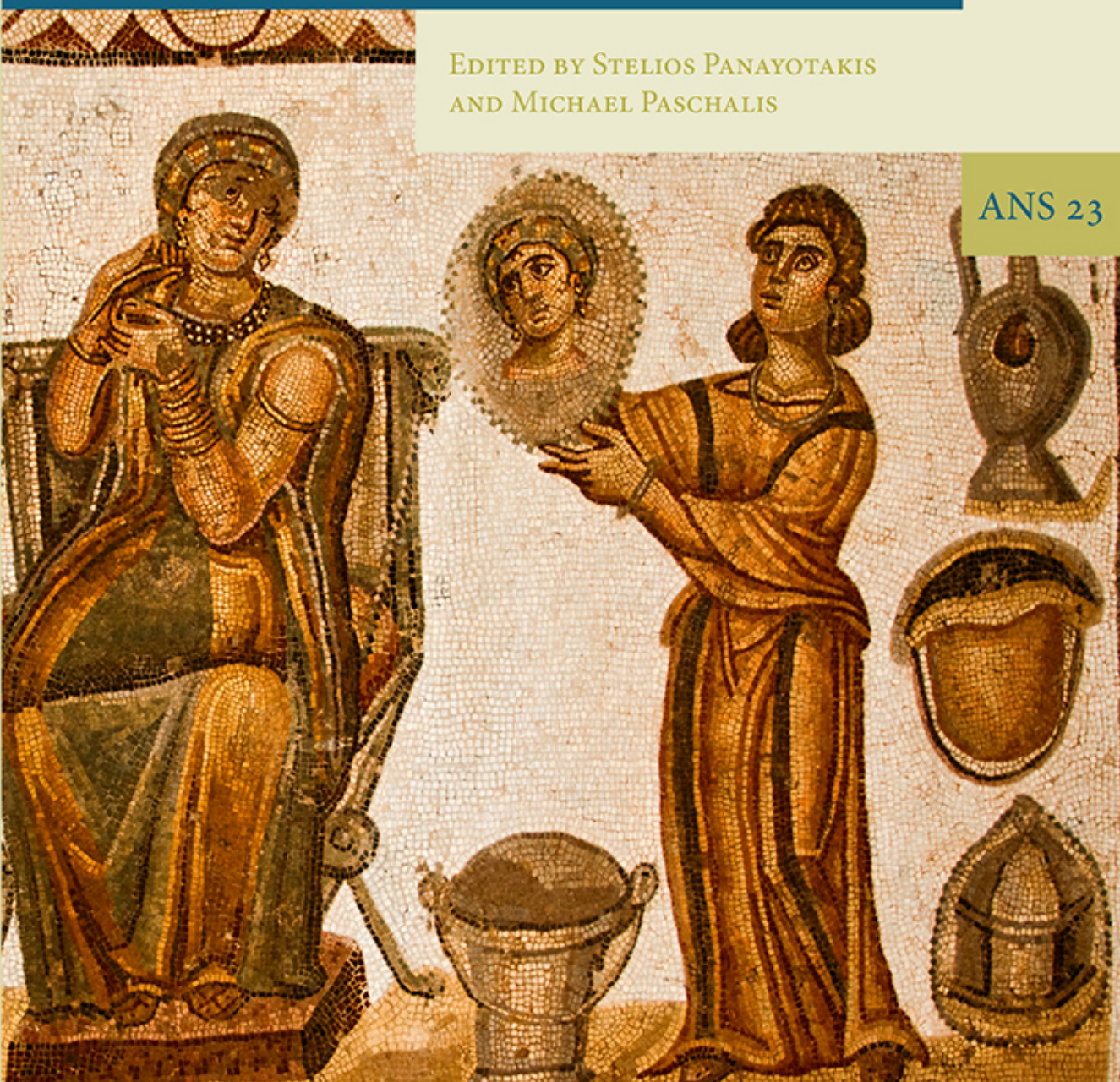
Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel

Edited by Stelios Panayotakis
and Michael Paschalis

ANS 23



Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel

ANCIENT NARRATIVE

Supplementum 23

Editorial Board
Gareth Schmeling, *University of Florida, Gainesville*
Stephen Harrison, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*
Heinz Hofmann, *Universität Tübingen*
Massimo Fusillo, *Università degli Studi dell'Aquila*
Ruurd Nauta, *University of Groningen*
Stelios Panayotakis, *University of Crete*
Costas Panayotakis (review editor), *University of Glasgow*

Advisory Board
Jean Alvares, *Montclair State University*
Alain Billault, *Université Paris Sorbonne – Paris IV*
Ewen Bowie, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*
Jan Bremmer, *University of Groningen*
Koen De Temmerman, *University of Ghent*
Stavros Frangoulidis, *Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki*
Ronald Hock, *University of Southern California, Los Angeles*
Irene de Jong, *University of Amsterdam*
Silvia Montiglio, *Johns Hopkins University*
John Morgan, *Swansea University*
Michael Paschalis, *University of Crete*
Judith Perkins, *Saint Joseph College, West Hartford*
Tim Whitmarsh, *University of Cambridge*
Alfons Wouters, *University of Leuven*
Maaike Zimmerman, *University of Groningen*

Website
www.ancientnarrative.com

Subscriptions and ordering
Barkhuis
Kooiweg 38 9761 GL Eelde the Netherlands
info@barkhuis.nl www.barkhuis.nl

Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel

edited by
Stelios Panayotakis
and
Michael Paschalis

with an Introduction by
Costas Panayotakis

BARKHUIS &
GRONINGEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
GRONINGEN 2019

Book and cover design: Barkhuis

Frontcover photograph: The Toilet of Venus, or Matron at her Toilet (detail), Baths of Sidi Ghrib, late 4th cent. AD, Bardo National Museum, Tunis; downloaded from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carthage_museum_mosaic_1.jpg, file made by Fabien Dany, www.fabiendany.com

ISBN 9789492444196

Copyright © 2019 the authors

All rights reserved. No part of this publication or the information contained herein may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronical, mechanical, by photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the author.

Although all care is taken to ensure the integrity and quality of this publication and the information herein, no responsibility is assumed by the publishers nor the author for any damage to property or persons as a result of operation or use of this publication and/or the information contained herein.

Contents

Acknowledgments VII

COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS
Introduction IX

JOHN HILTON
The Role of Gender and Sexuality in the Enslavement
and Liberation of Female Slaves in the Ancient Greek Romances 1

KOEN DE TEMMERMAN
Noble Slaves: The Rhetoric of
Social Status Reversal in the Ancient Greek Novel 19

WILLIAM M. OWENS
Callirhoe: A Therapeutic Slave Narrative 37

STEPHEN M. TRZASKOMA
Slavery and Structure in Xenophon of Ephesus 55

KEN DOWDEN
Slavery and Despotism in Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka* 75

ALAIN BILLAULT
Achilles Tatius, Slaves, and Masters 95

EWEN BOWIE
Animals, Slaves and Masters in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* 107

SILVIA MONTIGLIO
They Get By Without a Little Help From Their Slaves:
The Exceptional Destiny of Chariclea and Theagenes 127

J.R. Morgan and Ian Repath
Mistresses and Servant-women,
and the Slavery and Mastery of Love in Heliodoros 139

John Bodel
Liber esto: Free Speech at the Banquet of Trimalchio 161

Costas Panayotakis
Slavery and Beauty in Petronius 181

Regine May
Apuleius' Photis: Comic Slave or Elegiac Mistress? 203

Michael Paschalis
Masters and Slaves in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos*
and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 221

Jeremy B. Lefkowitz
Reading the Aesopic Corpus:
Slavery, Freedom, and Storytelling in the *Life of Aesop* 233

Contributors 259

Abstracts 263

Indices 271
Index locorum 271
General Index 273

Acknowledgements

‘Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel’ was the topic of the 7th Rethymnon International Conference on the Ancient Novel (RICAN 7), which was organized by the Division of Classics, Department of Philology, University of Crete, and generously sponsored by the Special Account for Research Funds of the University of Crete (CN 3812) and by the Department of Philology of the University of Crete. I am grateful to these sponsors for their support. The conference took place in the comfortable conference-room of the hospitable Student Cultural Centre ‘Xenia’ on May 27-28, 2013, in front of a large audience of students and colleagues. I am indebted to all for coming to the event and for contributing to the informative discussion-sessions. The chapters comprising this volume are revised versions of most of the papers which were delivered at the conference. I would like to thank Michael Paschalis and Costas Panayotakis for our cooperation in the publication of this volume, and also our publisher, Roelf Barkhuis, for producing—yet again—a splendid *Ancient Narrative Supplementum*.

Stelios Panayotakis

Introduction

COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS
University of Glasgow

Slavery underpinned every aspect of society and life in the Greek and Roman worlds, as well as in other civilisations of the ancient Mediterranean: it manifested itself in various forms (a variety that was reflected in the multitude of nuanced Greek and Latin lexical terms, which served to designate diverse types of male and female slaves), and there existed many routes that led into a state of unfree labour, a state of servitude. Influential thinkers of the ancient world—such as Aristotle (*Pol*. 1254b16-21), Cicero (*Parad. Stoic*. 5.33-4), Caesar (*BG* 3.10), Varro (*RR* 1.17), Seneca the Elder (*Contr.* 7.6.18), and the jurist Gaius (*Inst*. 1.9)—writing in different eras and engaging with widely divergent literary types of writing, expressed powerful views on the extent to which servitude ought to be viewed as a 'natural' and justified social condition, and approached the topic through different, though complementary, perspectives. Despite the inescapable presence of slavery in ancient societies, both rural and urban, the majority of our *literary* sources concentrate mainly on the portrayal of household slaves, who are mostly and predictably viewed with prejudice and through the eyes of their masters or of people socially superior to them, and whose textual 'voice' is heard only indirectly. Inscriptional evidence may be deemed to be somewhat more revealing in terms of capturing a slave's aspirations and thoughts, but that too has its own bias. There is also a huge amount of formal legal writing on slavery during the Imperial period, and this reveals a fundamental tension in the existence and management of slavery in the post-Republican world: Roman law is quite clear that slaves are possessions that can be owned by men and women, but also acknowledges that enslaved persons are human, they have human capacities, and there may (indeed, there should) be legal frameworks and environments within which these human capacities could be given the opportunity to develop fully and to be treated fairly. This tension was surely fuelled by the changes which came about in the nature of slavery as a consequence of Rome's imperialistic conquests that, from at least the second century BC, redefined the roles of slaves and slavery in society, and

stressed in a clear fashion for the ancient reader how awfully easy it was to lose one's freedom owing to the consequences of war or the vicissitudes of fortune (or perhaps Fortune). In the literary and epigraphic sources some slaves were often seen to have cultivated a special physical or spiritual bond with their masters and mistresses, a bond of loyalty and mutual exploitation which in fact continued (and was expected to continue) even when the slave was formally manumitted. Opportunities for the freedom of slaves and for the social mobility of former slaves increased, and so did the social power of some freedmen, although the stigma of the servile past was often impossible to erase and formed an easy target of derision on the part of those who were born free and belonged to the upper classes.

It is clear, therefore, that, by the time the Greek and the Roman novels which have come down to us were composed and circulating, a lot of attention had already been paid on the issue of slavery as social phenomenon, philosophical question, metaphor, or symbol, and the boundaries in the behaviour, entitlement, roles, expectations, and power of slaves, former slaves, and their masters were portrayed as blurred and fluid; freedom does not always mean being in control and slavery does not always indicate absence of virtues; in many ways the fluidity we find in literary texts (including the narratives that are conventionally linked with the literary category of the ancient novel) is a symptom of the real-life apprehension or anxiety which the master or mistress felt regarding the influence that a slave may have on him or her, thus reversing the roles of master and servant and suppressing a power that had been taken for granted.

By linking the Greco-Roman novelistic narratives with the earlier literary tradition which featured captivity, unfreedom, and oppression as narratological themes or as erotic metaphors, and slaves as influential secondary characters within the narrative, and by viewing slavery both as a revealing social phenomenon and as a structural device that not only functioned intertextually and intratextually but also raised all kinds of important questions about identity, stability of the self, gender, social mobility, social death, and social control, the fourteen chapters comprising this volume form part of the ongoing scholarly interest in (and bibliography on) slavery (ancient and modern) and illuminate different aspects of the complex two-way relationship which operated between slaves and masters in the ancient novel. The chapters are revised versions of most of the papers which were delivered at the end of May 2013 during the 7th Rethymnon International Conference on the Ancient Novel (RICAN 7), and they represent interpretations on the topic 'Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel'. All the authors of the canonical Greek novels (Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, Longus, Heliodorus) receive major attention here, along with Iamblichos, Petronius, Ps.-Lucian, Apuleius, and the anonymous author of the *Life of Aesop*.

Despite their different aims and methodological approaches, all the chapters in the volume demonstrate that, often, the limits between these two apparently conflicting social positions (slave and master) were strikingly narrow and alarmingly close, that the threat of social enslavement—with its consequent loss of privileges—was for the characters and for the readers of the novels not only a mere literary topos taken from epic or tragedy but also an all-too-real anxiety that (especially for freeborn women) pertained to the crucial social issues of the legitimacy of children and their legal right to inheritance, and that the opposition between slave and master turned out to be most inspiring and productive in terms of character-portrayal, narrative structure, social realism, and audience-engagement for the author of each text under discussion.

In his discussion of 'The role of gender and sexuality in the enslavement and liberation of female slaves in the ancient Greek romances', John Hilton demonstrates how the ancient novels contain slavery-related scenarios, which, though influenced in their content by case-studies of celebrated privileged women who featured in high-register literature (such as Andromache in epic and Cassandra in tragedy), are comparable to historically plausible and factually attested situations in which gender becomes a powerful means for elite women enabling them to manipulate and eventually escape from the harsh conditions of female captivity. Drawing on the 14th and the 15th orations of Dio Chrysostom, Hilton usefully observes that social status at the time (and in the world) of the novels was viewed as a fluid concept, real freedom was deemed to be found not in artificial constructs such as citizen status but in a person's inner virtue, and enslaved people (in particular, temporarily captured female citizens) are given a voice in the novelistic narratives, which, despite their emphasis on slavery, do not challenge slavery directly.

Equally insightful concerning the permeability that characterizes the boundaries between the *eugeneis* ('people of noble birth') and the slaves in the Greek novels is Koen De Temmerman's chapter 'Noble slaves: the rhetoric of social status reversal in the ancient Greek novel', which explores ambiguities and paradoxes (for example the theme of the enslaved who enslaves the enslaver) that relate to how references to (and speech about) *eugeneia* and slavery are relevant to the portrayal and behavioural patterns of key characters in the novels. Although the *eugeneis* may temporarily become slaves, their inner *eugeneia* is not lost, and they themselves are painfully aware of their loss of high status. Like Hilton, De Temmerman views this awareness through the literary perspective of classical (especially Euripidean) tragedy (for example *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Trojan Women*), which is thus exploited to effectively verbalize and conceptualize in the novelistic texts the deterioration of social status. We experience slavery through

the soliloquies of the enslaved protagonists, some of whom use slavery as part of their rhetorical strategy when addressing others and when they articulate their own thoughts and experiences.

Linking the narrative discourse of the temporarily enslaved but eventually freed protagonist(s) to the important question of the readership of the ancient novels, William Owens in his chapter '*Callirhoe*: a therapeutic slave narrative' views Chariton's text as a story specifically addressed to an audience that included people who had actually experienced slavery but were subsequently manumitted. Owens discusses the presence of slaves and ex-slaves in the cultural and intellectual life of the late Republic and the early Empire, and then argues through close analysis of some episodes of Chariton's text that Chariton's ex-slave readers would have been offered through Callirhoe's adventures not one but two (parallel) types of narrative: a narrative that comments explicitly and normatively on the experience of slavery, and a narrative which may be accessed by the reader only indirectly, and which is critical of the master-slave normalized attitudes. 'The explicit narrative', writes Owens, 'is transacted in the open, through public statements of the characters and direct authorial intrusion. The implicit narrative, in contrast, is indicated in silences and inconsistencies in the explicit narrative; it is also embedded in the private thoughts and statements of the characters.' For Owens, the corrective re-narration of Callirhoe and Chaereas' behaviour and actions in the latter part of the novel as well as the happy ending of Chariton's story—with the hero and heroine regaining their freedom and high social status—function as a type of social therapy for the ex-slave readers, who were meant to see their own freedom reflected in the trials and final freedom of Chaereas and Callirhoe.

Following on from Owens' interpretation of Chariton's novel, Stephen Trzaskoma, in his chapter 'Slavery and structure in Xenophon of Ephesus', focusses on the meaningful and central role that slavery plays within the overall structure of the narrative of the *Ephesiaca*. According to him, there is a recurring and symmetrical pattern in the storyline of Habrocomes and Anthia, which is unattested in the other extant Greek novels and which comprises two frameworks of free status, one at the start and one at the end of the story, with alternating episodes of captivity or unhappy freedom filling in the narrative between the initial and the concluding frameworks. The main leitmotif of the plot is the experience not merely of being a slave but more importantly of repeatedly becoming a slave at different points in the plot. This distinctive feature of servitude in the *Ephesiaca*, Trzaskoma argues, is qualified further by two factors: first, the protagonists are (or at least the heroine is) enslaved in each of the books of the text and, second, their enslavement takes place simultaneously and functions complementarily. Slavery thus becomes as important and omnipresent as the unfailing love which

the main characters experience, it enhances the mutual devotion which the lovers feel for each other, and it enables the lover to express his affection for (and constant support of) the beloved in various literary situations that include also the status of servitude.

In his chapter on 'Slavery and despotism in Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka*', Ken Dowden offers valuable observations on the varied and nuanced terminology of slavery in ancient Greek (*doulos*, *oiketēs*, *therapōn*, *andrapodon*, *pais* and its diminutives, *sōma*, *hupēretēs*), on its statistical distribution in all the major extant Greek novels, and on the implications of that distribution, and he then concentrates on the fragmentary *Babyloniaka*, in which the condition of slavery does exist but seems to have very little prominence. Through a concise and sharply focussed commentary on select fragments of the novel, though, Dowden situates Iamblichos' slave-related information within its historical, social and legal context, and singles out the threat of despotism, not that of slavery, as the driving force in the story.

Alain Billault's chapter, 'Achilles Tatius, slaves, and masters', situates the multitude of servants operating in the plot of *Leukippe and Clitophon* (both the free characters who are enslaved but ultimately regain their freedom and the characters who were born slaves and remain slaves throughout the story) not only within the historical reality of Achilles Tatius' era but also in relation to the earlier literary tradition, in particular the bourgeois world of New Comedy. Thus Billault's methodology resembles closely that of Hilton and De Temmerman in their contributions earlier in the volume. For Billault, the success of Achilles Tatius' literary achievement with relation to the slave-master complicated relationship lies in his detailed description of the multifaceted interaction between masters and slaves which may be said to echo real life (especially in the case of characters such as Leukippe, who is treated cruelly when enslaved) but also is indebted to the finely observed conventions and psychologically plausible behaviour associated with the comic drama of the Hellenistic period.

In a masterful examination of the animals, insects, and mammals which populate the rural society of Longus' text and of their relationship with the humans (shepherds) who interact with them and who often function as their masters, Ewen Bowie, in 'Animals, slaves and masters in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*', demonstrates how carefully Longus has chosen these non-human 'actors' in the storyline of his novel as agents who are much more important than mere indicators of realism, how heavily loaded these animals are with intertextual reminiscences of Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, and other authors whom Longus expects his readers to have read, and how meaningfully he uses the slave-related terminology *doulos*, *oiketēs*, and *therapōn*, when he allocates it to human characters in Books Three

(from 3,25) and Four of his story. The multiple and parallel layers of master-slave rapport which Bowie identifies in the plot (sheep and goats serving shepherds and goatherds; slaves and low-rank people serving high-rank members of Greek cities) prompt the readers to consider the controlling role of Rome and Roman power over the high-rank members of Greek cities.

Equally distinct is the presence of the theme of slavery in Heliodorus' lengthy novel in terms of lexicon, character-portrayal, imagery, and function. In her chapter 'They get by without a little help from their slaves: the exceptional destiny of Chariclea and Theagenes', Silvia Montiglio makes the important points that, in contrast to the description of slaves in the other novels, almost all the slaves in the *Aethiopica* are (regardless of gender or age) immoral, unreliable, and straightforwardly bad. Montiglio explains this in relation to the geographical and moral map within which these slaves operate: their presence is prominently localized in corrupt Athens and in the court of the tyrannical Arsace, no slave helps the protagonists overcome their ordeals, and the wickedness of the slaves reflects negatively on the landscape through which the heroes travel; like Billault, Montiglio stresses the author's literary debt to New Comedy, but also perceptively observes that the connection between comedy and characterization seems to fade away, and comedy gives its place to epic and tragedy, as the journey brings the heroes closer to Ethiopia.

Montiglio's contribution should be read together with the chapter by John Morgan and Ian Repath, 'Mistresses and servant-women, and the slavery and mastery of love in Heliodoros', which focusses on the multifaceted relationship that two slave women of the *Aethiopica*, the harmful plotter Thisbe and the go-between Kybele, have with their respective mistresses Demainete and Arsace. In their structured analysis of this rapport, Morgan and Repath discuss at length many of the topics that have occurred in previous chapters, including the fluidity of the servile status in the Imperial period, the reversal of the master/mistress-slave relationship, the imagery of the slavery of love and of the slavery to love. For Morgan and Repath, the larger framework within which we should view these two case-studies of the immoderate sexual desire of the mistress who is aided by an unworthy servant-woman is best labelled the 'Phaedra model', a model that involves the domination and coercion of an unwilling beloved in combination with the lover's metaphorical enslavement in an illicit love. To this model of love Heliodorus (according to Morgan and Repath) counterproposes the '*Phaidros* model', which is manifested in the text lexically (through puns) and thematically, as well as through the favourable representation of a higher type of love which is not sexual and which the heroine Charikleia—unlike the unstable and passionate

mistresses Demainete and Arsace—experiences dispassionately in her relationship with Theagenes.

With his contribution '*Liber esto*. Free speech at the banquet of Trimalchio', John Bodel expertly brings to light—through a close reading of the speeches of Trimalchio's freedmen-guests as well as an analysis of the surrounding scenes of the roast boar with the *pilleus* and the informally freed slave-boy 'Dionysus' in the *Satyrica*—the anxieties, prejudices, tensions, and illusions that operated within Petronius' fictional dining context which featured ex-slaves competing for power and social approval in a world where members of the Roman upper classes as well as carefully crafted legislation pertaining to informal manumission prevented slaves from actually forgetting their servile past and even ensured that the transition from servitude to freedom was only temporary, ephemeral, and insubstantial. Bodel raises important questions about the collective memory and group identity of slaves and freedmen/freedwomen, and relates the sophisticated imagery of Petronius' narrative to the hard reality of the bleak future of ex-slaves, as it was shaped and decided by the master and the upper class. For Bodel, 'freedom from slavery did not negate a servile past and the self-perpetuating mentality it created, and freedom from aristocratic disdain was an unattainable goal'. Bodel thus identifies a real tension between the high aspirations of the newly freed slave and the difficulties that awaited him or her upon manumission.

Complementing Bodel's chapter, the contribution by Costas Panayotakis, 'Slavery and beauty in Petronius', makes a threefold point. First, the protagonists in Petronius' *Satyrica*, Encolpius and Giton, are neither slaves nor freedmen but free men; nonetheless, in the topsy-turvy world of the novel, slavery is shown to be beneficial (not harmful) for the heroes from a material and an erotic point of view, whereas their free status is associated with trouble and disempowerment. Second, the vocabulary of male slavery (mainly *puer*, *servus*, *puer delicatus*, and *puer capillatus*) and physical beauty (in particular, *formosus*, *speciosus*, *pulcher*, *decorus*, and *bellus*) in Encolpius' sophisticated narrative is socially and intertextually nuanced, and reveals Petronius' linguistic originality, the narrator's haughty personality, Trimalchio's influence on the narrator, and the destabilization of societal norms and authority figures in the text. Third, Panayotakis shows how, in contrast to the Greek novelistic ideology which dictates that beauty and slavery are conflicting concepts, the sexual objectification and exploitation of handsome male slaves in Petronius echoes Roman male-to-male sexual practices but also complicates our understanding of them, since (at least in Trimalchio's case) it forms part of the millionaire freedman's wish to embrace and not erase his servile past, but redesign and restage it, with Trimalchio himself being the *dominus* surrounded by beautiful slave-boys who play the role he used to play in

the past in relation to his *dominus*. Social memory is thus refashioned to suit the new identity and class of the successful freedman.

In 'Apuleius' Photis: comic slave or elegiac mistress?', Regine May shows that the literary basis on which Apuleius has constructed the portrait of Milo's slave-girl is not love-elegy, as has been argued so far, but Roman comedy, on which elegy itself depends for some of its poetic motifs. May argues that, in addition to some specifically Plautine words and phrases which may point to Photis' comic characterization, Apuleius has deliberately linked physical details (for example Photis' hair) and imagery (for instance the theme of the *militia amoris*) connected to Photis with Roman comedy. This is not, however, a mere intertextual game that Apuleius is playing for the sake of the enjoyment of his readers, for, in May's view, the portrayal of Photis as a slave-courtesan with features inspired from Roman comedy paves the way for Lucius' eventual separation from the seductive maid in order that he may marry and settle in a new, permanent, meaningful, and stable relationship with a socially accepted wife, in this case, the goddess Isis. Lucius' metaphorical sexual voluntary enslavement thus acquires a new meaning when seen through the literary repertory of Roman comedy, a meaning which is intimately connected with the story of Lucius itself.

Like Dowden, Bowie, and Panayotakis, so Michael Paschalis, in his chapter 'Masters and slaves in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', pays attention to the calculated semantics of the slavery-related terminology, and (through close reading of key passages in the text) argues that the author of the Greek *Onos* uses not haphazardly but with great sophistication and most carefully the terms *pais*, *paidiskē*, *oiketēs*, and *therapōn/therapaina*, each of which he has incorporated suggestively and according to their special meaning within the larger lexical but also thematic context of each episode of the Greek ass-story. Equally prominent in the Greek ass-narrative seems to be the role of the *despotēs*. Paschalis interestingly observes that this imaginative authorial approach is rarely evidenced in the exploitation of the Latin vocabulary of servitude and mastery (*puer*, *famulus*, *servus*, *servulus*, *dominus*) in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, although he is rightly cautious in drawing hasty conclusions from the linguistic evidence discussed.

The volume closes with Jeremy Lefkowitz's contribution 'Reading the Aesopic corpus: slavery, freedom, and storytelling in the *Life of Aesop*'. Lefkowitz views servitude and freedom in the *Life of Aesop* not as indicators of social realism or as intertextual loans but in relation to the process of literary production itself and connected to narratological concepts such as improvisation, orality, fixedness, word-based permanence, and the material reality of the written text. Having discussed two events from the *Life* (the episode that ends with Aesop gaining his

freedom and the scene in which Aesop returns triumphantly to Samos after a period of fable-writing in Lydia), Lefkowitz argues that there are two distinct types of storytelling in the Aesopic *Life*: the 'enslaved' narrative that covers the period of Aesop's life before his manumission and the 'free' narrative that focusses on fable-telling after Aesop's manumission; '[t]he former', writes Lefkowitz, 'involves an emphasis on the physical presence of Aesop, the *impromptu* responses to the context in which he finds himself, and the manipulation of language and signs to turn the tables against his addressee(s), …; the latter involves the telling of actual fables, having recognizable formal features and content'. These sets of slavery-related narrative are viewed by Lefkowitz both as integral parts of the whole 'career' in the *Life* of Aesop and as representatives of the 'past' and 'present/future' of the ancient fable genre. Above all, however, the tension between slavery and freedom is seen as a positive literary force and an authorial mechanism or source of inspiration that generates high literature.

This concluding remark, interpreting slavery and mastery in metaphorical and symbolic ways, may easily be applied to all the novelistic authors and texts that are discussed within the framework of this edited volume.

Contributors

ALAIN BILLAULT is Professor of Greek at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. His main fields of research are the Greek novel and the Greek prose of the Roman period. He also works on Hellenistic poetry and ancient literary theory.

JOHN BODEL is W. Duncan MacMillan II Professor of Classics and Professor of History at Brown University. He wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on *Freedmen in the Satyricon of Petronius* in 1984 and has maintained an interest in Petronius and the Roman novel since then. He has published several articles on Petronius and one on Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*.

EWEN BOWIE was Praelector in Classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1965 to 2007, and successively University Lecturer, Reader and Professor of Classical Languages and Literature in the University of Oxford. He is now an Emeritus Fellow of Corpus Christi College. He has published articles on early Greek elegiac, iambic and lyric poetry; on Aristophanes; on Hellenistic poetry; and on many aspects of Greek literature and culture from the first century BC to the third century AD, including Plutarch and the Greek novels. He edited (jointly with Jaś Elsner) a collection of papers on Philostratus (CUP 2009) and (jointly with Lucia Athanassaki) a collection of papers entitled *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 2011) and has recently completed a commentary on Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* for CUP (2019).

KOEN DE TEMMERMAN is Research Professor of Ancient Literatures and European Literary History in the Department of Literary Studies, Ghent University. He is the recipient of prestigious awards, such as the Triennial Prize for Humanities of the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts (2008), and a ERC Starting Grant (2013). He has published extensively on ancient narrative literature, and is the author of *Crafting Characters: Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Greek Novel* (Oxford 2014) and the editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Biography* (forthcoming).

KEN DOWDEN is Professor of Classics at the University of Birmingham, and Head of the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion (his page: http://tinyurl.com/lnoah27). He is well known for his work on mythology (e.g., *Uses of Greek Mythology*, Routledge 1992); and, with Niall Livingstone, the *Companion to Greek Mythology*, Blackwell 2011) – work which is now turning towards mythography. He has also edited and commented on many fragmentary Greek 'historians' (from Diktys of Crete to Poseidonios and Dio Chrysostom) for *Brill's New Jacoby*. His interest in the novels has led to discussions especially of Apuleius and Heliodoros, typically on their religio-philosophical aspects. Many of these are in the pages of the *Ancient Narrative* supplements, several others (in French) are in the various acts of the colloquia at Tours, eds. B. Pouderon & C. Bost-Pouderon (*Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*, Lyon).

JOHN HILTON is Professor of Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa. He was awarded his doctorate, *A Commentary on Books 3 and 4 of the Aithiopika of Heliodoros*, by the University of Natal in 1998, and has published a number of articles and books, including a translation of the *Florida* in S. Harrison et al. (eds.), *Apuleius: Rhetorical Works* (Oxford 2001).

JEREMY B. LEFKOWITZ is Assistant Professor of Classics at Swarthmore College. His main interests are in the Aesopic fable tradition, comic and satirical literary genres, and ancient narrative. His current book project is entitled *Aesopic Fables: Greek and Latin Fables from Hesiod to Odo of Cheriton, with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation*, to be published by Oxford University Press.

REGINE MAY is Lecturer in Latin Literature at the University of Leeds and the author of two books on Apuleius: *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage* (Oxford: OUP 2006) and *Apuleius, Metamorphoses Book 1: With an Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips 2013). She has also written articles on women, characterisation and medicine in the novels. Her new project is the reception of the *Metamorphoses* from the Renaissance to modern times.

SILVIA MONTIGLIO is Basil L. Gildersleeve Professor of Classics at The Johns Hopkins University. Among her publications are *Silence in the Land of Logos* (2000), *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* (2005), *From Villain to Hero: Odysseus in Ancient Thought* (2011), and *Love and Providence: Recognition in the Ancient Novel* (2012-2013).

J.R. MORGAN is Emeritus Professor of Greek at Swansea "University", and leader of KYKNOS, a grouping of scholars in Wales who work on Ancient Narrative Literature. His publications include the translation of Heliodoros in Bryan Reardon's *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* and a commentary on Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe.*

WILLIAM M. OWENS is Associate Professor of Classics and Chair of the Department of Classics at Ohio University in Athens. His contribution to this volume has been drawn from his research for a monograph examining the representation of slavery in the five extant Greek novels.

COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS is Professor of Latin at the University of Glasgow. Author of *Theatrum Arbitri: Theatrical Elements in the* Satyrica *of Petronius* (1995) and *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments* (2010), he is currently researching on Atellane comedy and on the moral maxims associated with the mimographer Publilius; he is also preparing a new edition, translation, and commentary of Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*.

MICHAEL PASCHALIS is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Crete. He has published articles on Hellenistic and Roman poetry and prose including the ancient novel, on the reception of the Classics and on Modern Greek literature. He is the author of *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997) and has edited three volumes of *Rethymnon Classical Studies*. He has co-edited six volumes of *Ancient Narrative Supplements* and *The Reception of Antiquity in the Byzantine and Modern Greek Novel*.

IAN REPATH is Senior Lecturer in Classics at Swansea University and leader of KYKNOS, the Swansea and Lampeter Centre for Research in Ancient Narrative Literatures. He works and has published on several aspects of the Greek and Latin novels, especially intertextuality.

STEPHEN M. TRZASKOMA is Professor in the Department of Classics, Humanities & Italian Studies at the University of New Hampshire. His main areas of research are ancient prose fiction and Greek and Roman mythology and mythography. On the former, he has published several studies, with particular emphasis on intertextuality, generic considerations and late antique and Byzantine reception.

Abstracts

JOHN HILTON

The Role of Gender and Sexuality in the Enslavement and Liberation of Female Slaves in the Ancient Greek Romances

The Aristotelian analysis of social status did not fully examine how gender and servitude interrelated. While some work has been done on the interaction between female owners and female slaves in Classical Greek drama, very little has been done with regard to the ancient Greek romances. These provide many insights into how elite women came to be enslaved, how they dealt with their new condition, and how they attempted to free themselves. Chariton's romance gives an empathetic account of the enslavement of elites in line with Stoic ideas of moral slavery as articulated in the 14th and 15th orations of Dio Chrysostom.

KOEN DE TEMMERMAN

Noble Slaves: The Rhetoric of Social Status Reversal in the Ancient Greek Novel

As is well known, the Greek novels constitute a particularly interesting testing ground for questions dealing with loss, change and reversal of social status. This paper examines how notions of slavery and *eugeneia* impact, affect, shape or interact with behaviour and speech of characters, and how these notions are relevant to their characterization. First, I ask how characters are characterized by how they think and speak about slavery and *eugeneia*. Second, I pay attention to how characters themselves use these concepts as rhetorical devices, not only in speeches addressed to others but also in soliloquies that explore and vocalize their own experiences. All three levels add to the complexity underlying the seemingly unproblematic and straightforward topoi of *eugeneia* and slavery in the novels.

WILLIAM M. OWENS

Callirhoe: A Therapeutic Slave Narrative

Chariton represents the slavery of Callirhoe and Chaereas through explicit and implicit narratives. The explicit narrative affirms the stereotypes that slave owners held of slaves as morally depraved. The implicit narrative undermines these stereotypes: Chariton's protagonists act like stereotypical slaves in order to survive. When the action moves to Persia, both protagonists confront situations parallel to those in which they behaved like slaves. This time, however, Callirhoe and Chaereas behave honorably and expunge the moral taint of slavery they had acquired earlier. This corrective re-narration offered Chariton's ex-slave readers a καθάρσιον, a means of expunging the shame of their servile past.

STEPHEN M. TRZASKOMA

Slavery and Structure in Xenophon of Ephesus

This paper investigates the narrative, structural and symbolic centrality of slavery in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*. It begins by establishing that slavery in this novel differs from its role in the other extant Greek novels both by its greater prominence and frequency, as well as its more symmetrical deployment in the plot. The multiple complementary enslavements of the hero and heroine form one of the primary means of structuring the entire narrative. In the end, what emerges is a text in which slavery is not merely one threat among many or a one-off occurrence but becomes a modality of romantic, heroic love and a method of testing the characters through a set of shifting but thorough literary experiments.

KEN DOWDEN

Slavery and Despotism in Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka*

The chapter together with its appendix provide, first of all, some statistics on, and interpretation of, the different terms for 'slave' that are employed in the Greek novel. The fragmentary nature of the *Babyloniaka* is considered and it is shown how this has given a misleading impression in the statistics. Slaves are not at all prominent. But what is said about them, even when it seems odd, does correspond to the historical and legal picture when that is properly understood. Particular scenes are reviewed – the master's prosecution of the slave who was his wife's adulterer in her dream; the retinues of an oriental(ised) monarch and a rich man;

the chase of slaves or posse complete with covered waggon after the heroine intent on murder; and the slavery or freedom of shepherds and fisherfolk. At the end, it is clear that the uses of enslavement (and brigands) have been taken over by a discourse on tyranny and persecution.

ALAIN BILLAULT

Achilles Tatius, Slaves and Masters

Achilles Tatius' novel includes many slaves. Some of them play an important part in the plot. This part is mainly derived from New Comedy. In the novel, the masters usually treat the slaves well, but Achilles Tatius makes plain that they also may treat them otherwise. The novelist does not give an oversimplified image of the relationship between slaves and masters. When he speaks about slavery, he is a realistic writer. This realism is most striking when he describes the downfall of Leukippe into slavery with historical accuracy and literary efficiency. Achilles Tatius is unquestionably aware of the unbridgeable distinction between slaves and masters which was the main basis of ancient society. This writer of fiction may also be considered a valuable witness of his time.

EWEN BOWIE

Animals, Slaves and Masters in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

This paper first explores the range of animals deployed by Longus, stressing how often they have roles as agents and not simply, as in many earlier literary texts, as décor or in comparisons, and noting that in this and other respects the boundary between animals and humans is blurred. Next it examines Longus' terminology for slaves and masters, noting that both 'slave' and 'master' terms are virtually confined to the last section of Book Three (from 3,25) and to Book Four. It concludes that towards the end of *Daphnis and Chloe* Longus invites readers to notice the analogy between animals' relations to humans and human slaves' relations to their Mytilenean elite masters, and to be prompted by the name Philopoemen given by the couple to their son to ponder the likewise analogous domination of Greek cities by their Roman masters.

SILVIA MONTIGLIO

They Get By Without a Little Help From Their Friends:
The Exceptional Destiny of Chariclea and Theagenes

Heliodorus' novel differs from the others in the treatment of slavery. References to slaves and slavery are fewer and slaves do not fulfill a major role of literary slaves, including novelistic ones: of helper to the hero, the heroine, or both. This paper investigates the possible reasons Heliodorus discards the traditional and narratively productive character-type of the loyal slave who helps the protagonists in their love. It is argued that the main reasons are two, one related to the cultural and moral map drawn in the *Aethiopica*, the other to the novel's generic borrowings and aspirations. On the one hand slaves are concentrated in morally corrupt environments, belong to immoral masters, and are themselves morally condemnable. Thus, a priest, Calasiris, fulfils the role of helper of the protagonists traditionally devolved to slaves. On the other hand, even the helping priest disappears from the protagonists' side in the second part of the journey because the novel at this point sheds its comic traits—including the type of the lovers' helper—and increasingly borrows from epic and tragedy.

JOHN MORGAN & IAN REPATH

Mistresses and Servant-women,
and the Slavery and Mastery of Love in Heliodoros

Heliodoros uses slaves as part of the realism of his novel, but also exploits the theme of slavery in metaphorical and symbolic ways, in particular to delineate and characterise the erotics of his story. In this paper, we shall explore how Heliodoros interweaves the literal and the metaphorical, by focusing on two slave women, Thisbe and Kybele, and their relationships to their mistresses, Demainete and Arsake. In the first three sections, we consider ways in which Heliodoros uses these relationships and their intratextual and intertextual connections to establish one paradigm of love: this contrasts with the love of Charikleia and Theagenes, which is the focus of the final two sections.

JOHN BODEL

Liber esto: Free Speech at the Banquet of Trimalchio

In this article I argue that the episode of the freedmen's speeches in the *Cena Trimalchionis* (41,10-46,8) is central to Petronius's goal of representing a freedman's world as self-perpetuating and closed. For Trimalchio and his friends, freedom is ephemeral and the prospect of social advancement illusory. The point is established in part through a juxtaposition of vignettes that introduce the dialogue—the serving of a roast boar crowned with a *pilleus* (40,3-8) and the enactment of various aspects of the God of Wine by a slave boy Dionysus, culminating in his manumission (41,6-8)—and a recurrence in the final speech of the episode, in Echion's treatment of his pet-slave Primigenius (46,3-8), of the theme of life emerging briefly from death only to be abruptly ended.

COSTAS PANAYOTAKIS

Slavery and Beauty in Petronius

In this article I discuss the complex portrayal of master-slave relationships in the extant *Satyrica* with regard to beauty, sexual attraction, and power. Having subscribed to the view that the main characters Encolpius and Giton are neither slaves nor freedmen but free men, I show that their free status, in harmony with the subversive character of the novel, brings them mostly danger, disempowerment, and trouble, whereas their disguise as 'slaves' provides them (albeit temporarily) with safety, opportunities for erotic pleasure, and material goods. This subversion of the potential advantages of free social status has interesting implications both regarding the perception and legitimization of slavery as social institution and concerning the unpredictability and uncertainty of life in Encolpius' bleak world. More importantly, in contrast to the Greek novelistic ideology which dictates that beauty and slavery are mutually incompatible concepts, the sexual objectification and exploitation of handsome male slaves in Petronius, especially in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, echoes well-attested Roman sexual practices but also complicates our understanding of them. I argue that the vocabulary of male slavery (*puer*, *seruus*) and beauty (*pulcher*, *formosus*, (*in*)*speciosus*, *decorus*, *bellus*) in Encolpius' sophisticated narrative is socially charged and intertextually nuanced, and reveals Petronius' linguistic originality, the narrator's haughty personality, Trimalchio's influence on him, and the destabilization of societal norms and authority figures in the text.

REGINE MAY

Apuleius' Photis: Comic Slave or Elegiac Mistress?

Recent scholarship analyses the relationship of Photis and Lucius as an elegiac *servitium amoris*. Although components of their courtship found in elegy point to it as a major intertext (seduction during dinner parties, Photis' hair, military language and *militia amoris*, Photis' deification as Venus etc.), all these elements can also be paralleled in comedy. Elegy itself bases its portrait of love on relationships in comedy. Photis' status as a slavegirl is however unelegiac, as elegiac *puellae* are either freeborn or freedwomen, and her substitution at the end of the novel by Isis in a marriage-like relationship is more closely paralleled by comedy, where the finite and socially unequal relationship with the comic love interest, often a slavegirl like Photis, is eventually replaced by socially acceptable marriage.

MICHAEL PASCHALIS

Masters and Slaves in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

The *Onos* text of the ass story exploits the semantics of θεράπων, παῖς and οἰκέτης while Apuleius does not do something analogous with Latin terms for 'slave' and 'servant' (*famulus*, *puer*). The terms θεράπαινα and παιδίσκη are exploited especially in the context of the erotic scenes between Loukios and Palaestra, with reference to the sexual metaphors of 'curing' (θεραπεύω) and 'sporting' (παιδιά). The term οἰκέτης ('household slave') occurs when the robbers invade Hipparchus' οἰκία and when Loukios is thrown out of his ex-lover's οἰκία by the lady's οἰκέται. The *Onos* narrative gives also greater prominence to the role of δεσπότης vis-à-vis *dominus* in respective episodes. The only case in which Apuleius is more imaginative than the author of the *Onos* is in the stable episode at Milo's house, where he introduces a triple ironic reversal of Lucius' status with regard to his fortune, his horse (*famulus*) and his slave boy (*servulus*). It would be hasty, however, to draw any conclusions regarding factual differences as regards the prominence of the slave and master relationship respectively in the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* based on the linguistic evidence presented above, because the whole question cannot be dissociated from the complex relationship between the two works.

JEREMY B. LEFKOWITZ

Reading the Aesopic Corpus: Slavery, Freedom, and Storytelling in the *Life of Aesop*

This paper argues that the *Life of Aesop* distinguishes two visions of Aesopic storytelling, one associated with slavery and one with freedom. The former (*Vita G* 1-89) involves the physical presence of Aesop, his *impromptu* responses to the context in which he finds himself, and the manipulation of language and signs to turn the tables against his addressee(s), usually his master. The latter (*Vita G* 94-142) involves the telling of actual fables, having recognizable formal features and content, which are said to have been written down and archived in a library in *Vita G* (*Vita G* 100). The text's distinction between enslaved and free storytelling maps onto differences between oral and written literature in ways that resonate with the history and evolution of the ancient fable tradition.

Indices

Index locorum[*]

Achilles Tatius
1.1.6, 95
2.20, 88
4.15.6, 99
5.3.15, 95
5.17.3, 11
5.17.3-9, 101
6.16.4-6, 103
6.18.6, 129
6.20.1, 103
7.13.2-3, 14
7.13.3, 104
Alcaeus
fr. 347(a) Campbell, 112
Alexander Romance
rec. ε 15,2, 90
Apuleius
Met. 2.6.4-6, 223
2.7, 209
2.7.7, 224
2.8-9, 206
2.9.6, 210
2.11, 206
2.15.5, 221
2.16-17, 208
3.17, 212
3.25.3-4, 225
3.26, 213
3.27.4, 222, 231
8.15, 85
9.42.4, 230
11.15, 214
Aristoteles
Pol. 1252b1-9, 4
1285a, 90
Bible, *NT*
Luke 15.11-32, 14
Chariton
1.10.7, 20
2.1.3-4, 13
2.8.6, 7, 31
2.10.6-7, 41
4.2.4, 45
4.2.6, 47
6.6.4, 90
7.2.2, 49
8.1.4, 50
8.3.1-9, 10, 24
8.7.4, 51
Cicero
Fam. 4.12, 85
Codex Theodosianus
9.9.1, 81
Dio Cassius
57.10.5, 124
Dio Chrysostomus
Or. 14.1, 9
Euripides
Hec. 59-61, 5
Gaius
Inst. 1.53, 80
4.77-78, 79
Heliodorus
1.4.3, 2, 20, 149
1.10.2, 147
1.15.6-17.4, 142
1.16.4, 140
1.19.5, 23
1.19.7, 150
1.29.4, 156
2.7.1, 157
3.5.4-5, 153
3.10.3-4, 157
3.16.3-4, 150

[*] This index offers only a selection of passages referred to.

Heliodorus (*cont.*)
4.4.4, 152, 154
5.4.4-5, 155
5.31.1-2, 157
6.3.2-3, 133
6.9.4, 152
7.6.4-5, 135
7.7.1-2, 135
7.8.1-2, 135
7.19.1, 148
7.26.10, 27, 146
9.26.1, 22
10.41.3, 158
Herodotus
6.31, 144
Historia Apollonii
14-15, 7
Homerus
Od. 8.523-530, 7
Horatius
C. 3.27.55, 197
Iamblichos
Bab. F 35 Habrich, 77
F 84, 83
F 90-91, 86
Joh. Chrysostomos
*serm.*40,5 (*PG* 61,353), 83
Justinianus
Inst. 1.8.2, 80
Livius
3.44, 5
30.12-15, 5
Longus
1.11.1, 110
1.15.1, 119
2.23.3, 118
3.15.1, 113
3.26.1-2, 113
3.31.3, 120
3.34.2, 114
4.7.3, 115
4.13.1, 121
4.14-17, 86
4.15.4, 115
4.19.5, 117
4.22-24, 14
4.29.4, 120
4.33.2, 115
4.34.3, 88
Marcianus
dig. 1.5.5.2, 7
Ninos
col. AIII.36-A IV.4, 98
Ovidius
Ars 3.421, 197
Met. 3.714-15, 176
Petronius
30.7-31.1, 187
40.3-6, 168
41.6, 165
41.10-12, 164
44.1, 163
44.17-18, 173
46.3-8, 174
49.5-7, 190
54.5, 188
57.9, 185
61.6, 196
64.11-12, 193
71.1, 185
71.11, 189
74.8-75.5, 198
75.11, 192
78.5, 171
110.1-2, 199
111.11-12, 196
117.12, 182
140.4, 198
Phaedrus
3 *Prol.* 33-38, 254
Photios, *bibl. cod.*
94 § 15-16, 84
94 § 3, 86
Plato
Phdr. 243e9-257b6, 153
256b1-3, 156
Smp. 180c4-185c3, 150
Plutarchus
Phil. 1.7, 124
Ps.-Lucianus
Onos 1.3, 222
5.3-6, 223
6.4-10, 224
11.1-2, 226
14.4-8, 225
29.4-11, 227

Ps.-Lucianus (*cont.*)
Onos 42.5-17, 230
45.20-27, 229
Ptolemaeus
Tetr. 2,3 p.66 Cam, 91
Seneca
Con. 2.1.34-36, 79
Souda
s.v. Ἰάμβλιχος, ι 26, 76
Statius
Silv. 5.5.80, 176
Suetonius
Tib. 42.3, 124
Terentius
Eun. 730, 195
Ulpianus
dig. 48.2.5, 80
48.5.2, 80
Vita Aesopi
G 4-9, 244
33-34, 241
38, 242
83-89, 236
84-85, 241
89, 234
G 100, 233, 237
100-103, 251
109-110, 252
133, 249
G + *W* 2-3, 240
Xenophon
Eph. 1.4.5, 66
1.11.3-6, 64
1.13.6, 64
1.16.7, 69
2.5.2, 69

General index

Achaimenes, 144
Achilles Tatius
and New Comedy, 98
Adams, J.N., 169, 187
Adrados, F.R., 236
adultery
in declamations, 79
slave accused of -, 77
Aesop
lesson-bearing performance, 239
status as a free sage, 238
Aesop and Xanthus, 243
aetiology, 239
agent, 113
Ahiqar, 250
ainos, 109
ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν, 87
Alessio, G., 171
Alpers, K., 77, 205, 207
anagnorisis, 215
anc. Greek novel
and tragedy, 30
ancillula, 226
Anderson, G., 66
ἀνδράποδ-, 91
Andreau, J., 176
animal fable, 109
animal similes, 115
animals
in Greek literature, 108
Annequin, J., 217
Anthia, 63
Anthia and Habrocomes
mutual devotion, 64
Antoninus Liberalis, 111
'archive'
theoretical concept of -, 235, 238
Ascyltus, 182
asylum, 14, 104
audience
engagement of -, XI
of Chariton's novel, XII
audience expectations
reversal of -, 185
Auerbach, E., 161
αὐτομολία, 49
Avila Vasconcelos, B., 203, 217
Baldwin, B., 167
barbarians
in Greek thought, 90

Barchiesi, A., 166, 212
Barsby, J., 209
Baslez, M.-F., 47
beauty, 191, 192
    artificial -, 199
    in the anc. Greek novels, 198
beauty, vocabulary of -
    in Petr. *Satyrica*, 195
Bellido, J.A., 211
bellus, 196
Bessone, F., 161
Billault, A., 27, 131
Birchall, J., 29
Bird, R., 155
Bodel, J., 171
body, Aesop's
    in *Vita Aesopi*, 243
Bokchoros/Bokchoris, 82
Bonner, S.F., 81
Booth, A.D., 192
Bowie, E.L., 37, 55, 108
Boyce, B., 161
Bradley, H., 238
Bradley, K.R., 5, 39, 119, 203, 217
Brethes, R., 134, 135
brigandry, 89
Brown, P.G.McC., 216
Bücheler, F., 166
Buckland, W.W., 13, 79, 166
Calasiris
    as a '*servus callidus*', 134
    death of -, 136
Callirhoe
    as a tragic heroine, 28
    elite status of -, 7, 41
Callirhoe and Artaxates, 48
Callirhoe and Dionysius, 40
Callirhoe and Plangon, 44, 128
Callirhoe enslaved
    not a 'real' slave, 40
capillatus, 192
captivity
    ~ slavery, 65
Carey, C., 12
Carver, R., 205, 213, 215
Cassandra, 5
Cavalca, M.G., 196
Champeaux, J., 176
Champlin, E., 254
characterization, XI
    Arsake, 24, 146
    Calasiris, 134
    Callirhoe, 25
    Cnemon, 135
    Garmos, 91
    Hydaspes, 22
    in Petronius, 161
    of slaves in Hld., 136
    Photis, XVI, 208
    Photis as a courtesan, 211, 217
    through intertextual references, 205
    through speech, 21
    Thyamis, 23
    Trimalchio, 167, 189
Charikleia
    journey to Ethiopia, 154
Charikleia and Theagenes, 128
    captured, not enslaved, 132
    mutual devotion, 133
Chariton
    implicit narrative in -, 39
    re-narration in -, 40
Chariton's 'Persia', 48
chastity, 149, 153, 155
Chloe, 13
    status of -, 118
Christensen, K.A., 14
Christes, J., 38
Ciaffi, V., 161, 164, 169
cicada, 111
Citati, P., 205
Claudius Terentianus, 187
Cock, J., 4
Cohen, D., 14
Cohoon, J.W., 9
communication
    through gestures, 244
Compton, T., 238
Conybeare, F.C. Harris, J.R.,
    and Lewis, A.S., 250
Courtney, E., 162, 182, 185, 193
cow-herd, 108
Crismani, D., 28, 134, 136
Crosby, H.L., 9
cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, 174
Czachesz, I., 55

Daphnis, 13
servile status of -, 60, 117
Davidson, J., 209
de Smet, R., 205
De Temmerman, K., 19, 23, 29, 155
declamation
embedded - in Iamb. *Babyloniaka.*, 77
deductio, 214
deformity, 194
Delz, J., 170
Derrida, J., 238
desire, 146, 149
δέσποινα, 121, 140
δεσπότης, 120, 140
despotism, 90
διακωδωνίζω, 87
Dickey, E., 121
Diggle, J., 19, 172
Dillery, J., 236, 241
Dio Chrysostomus
*Or.*14 & 15, 8
Dionysius
jealous slave-owner, 43
Dionysus, 120, 176
Pater Liber, 165
Dixon, S., 205
dolphin, 113
Donnini, M., 148
Doody, M.A., 55
δοῦλος, 116
Dowden, K., 58, 90, 151
dream
adultery in a -, 78
Dryas
status of -, 118
Dubberstein, W.H., 85
duBois, P., 236, 243
Duckworth, G.E., 213
Dué, C., 28, 30
Duncan-Jones, R., 172
Dupont, F., 161
eagle, 113
Easterling, P.E., 27
Eberhard, A., 233
Echion
speech of -, 174
ecphrasis, 65, 95
Egger, B., 2, 129, 130, 133, 135
Emmerson, A.L.C., 167
Encolpius, 182, 184
Englert, J. and Long, T., 207
enslaved protagonists
dangers for -, 64
self-perception of -, 27
enslavement, 2, 20, 132, 253
and loss of status, 29
by beauty, 9, 132
in history and fiction, 5, 105
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 59
Leucippe, 14, 101
metaphorical -, 208
of freeborn persons, XI, 3, 100
of the enslaver, XI
of war prisoners, 6, 24, 100, 131, 143
enslavement, erotic -
Habrocomes, 65
enslavement, simultaneous -
Anthia and Habrocomes, 61
epimythium, 248
Epstein, S.J., 113
eros
'Phaedra model' vs.
Phaedros model', 158
Eros
Ἔρως Ποιμήν, 122
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 65, 67
eugeneia, 20, 25, 199
eunuchs, 83
Euripides, 29, 148
exposed children, 13
in Greek literature, 131
ex-slaves
as teachers and scholars, 37
elite prejudices on -, 39, 177
in Petronius' novel, XV
readers of Chariton's novel, 47, 52
self-perpetuating mentality, 173
fable
epimythium, 240, 250
fable tradition
and *Vita Aesopi*, 246, 250
orality and textuality, 235
fables, 109
fables, Aesop's
oral and literary tradition, 233

fable-telling, 235
Aesopic -, 237, 239
by free Aesop, 247
Fantham, E., 211
'Fast of Ceres', 173
fear
of slave for master, 121, 145
Fedeli, P., 185
female sexuality, 145
female slavery
in anc. literature, 5
female slaves, 3, 4, 15, 140
Ferrari, F., 233, 236
Ferrari, G., 28
Finkelpearl, E.D., 234, 236, 241, 253
Fitzgerald, W., 208, 213, 217
Flower, H.I., 175
food and wine
and desire, 206, 209
formosus, 195
Forsdyke, S., 14
fortune
reversal of -, 6
Foucault, M., 238
Fredrick, D., 213
freedmen, 163, 177, 182, 187
conversation of - in Petr., 165
freedom, 236, 253
freedom, Greek -
vs. Persian slavery, 10, 48, 146
Fuchs, H., 124, 162
Fusillo, M., 24
Ganymedes
speech of -, 174
Garmos, 83, 85, 86
Garnsey, P., 6, 9, 21, 22, 39
Gazich, R., 177
gender
and social relations, 4
and social status, 11
gender and slavery
in classical Greek drama, 6
gender hierarchies
reversed, 143
generic complexity
Calasiris, 135
generic crossing
Longus, 108
generic polyphony
in Apuleius' *Met.*, 204
George, P., 183
Gibson, R.K., 21, 197
Giton, 182, 199
goat-herds, 108
Godwin, J., 192
Goold, G.P., 46
Greek tragedy
enslaved heroines, 28
Grethlein, J., 139
Griffiths, J.Gwyn, 67
Grondona, M., 171
Habermehl, P., 183
Hägg, T., 25, 38, 100, 247, 251
hair
in Latin love elegy, 206
in Roman comedy, 210
Photis', 206, 210
Hales, S., 172
Hamel, D., 12
hapax legomenon
baciballum, 196
harmamaxai, 82
Harper, K., 80, 88
Harris, W.V., 37
Harrison, S.J., 204
Harvey jr., P.J., 192
Haslam, M.W., 251
Hecuba, 5
Heine, R., 212
Hercher, R., 78
Hermeros, 186
Hermippus of Berytos, 38
Hesiodus
animals in *Works and Days*, 109
hetaira, 141, 216
Highet, G., 161
Hindermann, J., 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 213, 214
Hippothous, 63
historical realism
in Ach. Tatius' novel, XIII, 100, 105
Hock, R.F., 9
Holland, J.E. and Dominic, W.J., 186
Holzberg, N., 233, 234, 236, 247
Homerus
animals in *Il.* and *Od.*, 108

Hopkins, K., 1, 236, 245
horses, 115
Housman, A.E., 165
Hubbard, T., 162
Hug, A., 83
Hughes, S.F., 85
Hunt, P., 49
Hunter, R., 5, 37, 236, 241, 247
Hutchinson-Gilford syndrome, 194
Huys, M., 131
Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka*
    transmission, 76
Ieiunium Cereris, 173
imaginaire, 80
immunity, 104
initiation
    Lucius', 216
intellectual elite
    in the Roman Empire, 37
intertextuality
    change of subtexts in Hld., 134
    Dio Chr. ~ Chariton, 9
    Euripides ~ Heliodorus, 148
    formal patterns, 29
    hypotext, 153
    in Apul. *Metamorphoses*, 203
    in Heliodorus' novel, XIV, 148
    in Longus' novel, 109
    in Petr. *Satyrica*, 191, 196
    Plato ~ Heliodorus, 151
    Plato's *Phdr.* ~ Heliodorus, 156
    Plautus ~ Apuleius, 209
    Plutarchos ~ Iamblichos, 78
    Theocritus ~ Longus, 110
irony, 22, 27, 41, 231
Isis, 208, 214
James, P., 205, 210
James, S.L., 212, 214
Jedrkiewicz, S., 238, 239
Jensson, G., 172
Jolowicz, D., 107
Jolowicz, H.F. & Nicholas, B., 82
Jones, M., 26, 150, 151, 152, 156
Jouanno, C., 234, 236, 245, 247
Kajanto, I., 176
Karadagli, T., 248
Karla, G.A., 233
Kaster, R.A., 38
Kenney, E.J., 150
Killeen, J.F., 169
Kleitophon
    and Satyros, 96
Koenen, L., 215
Konstan, D., 24, 55, 56, 61, 66, 68, 195, 197, 199
Konstantakos, I.M., 235
Korn, M and Reitzer, S., 186
Kossaifi, C., 109
Kovacs, D., 29
Kowalzig, B., 113
Krabbe, J., 205
Kritzinger, J.P.K., 166
κύριος, 120
Kurke, L., 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 243, 249
Kussly, R., 250
Kybele
    wicked slave, 129
Kybele and Arsake, 144
Kytzler, B., 55, 62
lamentations
    in anc. Greek novels, 29
Langslow, D., 198
Laplace, M.M.J., 33
Lateiner, D., 24, 214
Latin epitaphs, 164
Lattimore, R., 164
Le Bohec, Y., 96, 102
Le Bonniec, H., 174
Lefkowitz, J.B., 239, 243
Lefteratou, A., 29
legal terms
    caput, 79
    dominium, 80
    ius peregrinum, 82
    lenocinium, 80
    mancipium, 190
legislation
    Augustus, moral -, 80
    Constantine, decree on adultery with slave, 81
    Domitian, law against castration, 83
    M. Aurelius, rescript on prosecution of slaves, 81
    Senatus consultum Silianum, 85
Létoublon, F., 19, 131
Létoublon, F. and Genre, M., 27

Leucippe
and Clio, 96
/Lacaena, 101
Lieberg, G., 207
Life of Aesop, XVI, 25
Life of Ahiqar, 247, 250
Lindenberger, J.M., 250
Lissarague, F., 239, 243
literacy
of ex-slaves, 38
Lopez Barja de Quiroga, P., 167
love
and war, 65, 211
mutual heterosexual -, 154
two sorts of -, 150
love's slavery, 139, 143, 146
in Heliodorus' novel, 133
in Plato's *Symposion*, 151
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 66
Lowe, D., 194
Lucius
and Isis, 214
and Photis, 204, 207, 214
λύκαινα, 111
luxury, 193
Luzzatto, M.J., 235
Lyne, R.O.A.M., 139, 152
Macleod, M., 223
MacMullen, R., 88
Maiuri, A., 161, 169, 172, 173
Makowski, J.F., 183
mancipium, 190
Manoff, M., 238
manumission, XII, 165, 176, 253
of Aesop, 246
Marchesi, I., 161, 167
Marmorale, E.V., 169
marriage
as path to freedom, 12, 31
in comedy, 216
offered to Anthia, 69
Martin, D.B., 1, 9
Martin, R., 234, 235
Mason, J.M., 221
master
terminology for -, 120
master and slave, 190
in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, 186
masters, bad -
~ bad slaves, 129
Mathis, A.G., 203, 205
May, R., 209
Mayor, J.E.B., 172
McCoskey, D.E., 4
McNamara, J., 214
memoria, 175
memory, 154
metaphor
'curing', 225
δοῦλος, 120
enslavement, 208, 214
fire (erotic -), 224
love as imprisonment, 21
love's slavery, 21, 67, 146, 152
love-madness, 143
military -, 205, 211
militia amoris, 207
ποιμήν λαῶν, 123
Methymna, 123
metonymy, 174
Mignogna, E., 236
militia amoris, 207, 211
mise-en-abyme, 123
mistress, 140
mistress and slave, 147
Monteil, P., 195, 197
Montiglio, S., 131, 153
Morales, H., 14
Mordine, M., 167
Morgan, J.R., 2, 19, 22, 23, 38, 60, 130, 133, 135, 143, 149, 158
Mossman, J., 32
motif
death preferred to slavery, 31
deification of the beloved, 207, 211
dinner, wine, and love, 209
servitium amoris, 66, 133
unadorned hair, 211
Mouritsen, H., 39, 165, 176, 177
Mrozek, S., 172
Müller, K., 162
Murray, D.E., 82
myth
of the soul, 154
Phaedra and Hippolytos, 147

myths, founding -
of Rome, 124
Mytilene, 123, 124
Nakatani, S., 23
name
Leucippe ~ Lacaena, 101
loss of -, 101
name, significant -
Agelē, 116
Echion, 176
Ganymedes, 173
Kybele, 146
Lycainion, 111
Palaestra, 224
Philopoimen, 116
Primigenius, 176
name, slave -
Dama, 163
Mithridates, 187
names
in Ach. Tatius' novel, 95
naming
of slaves, 102
narrative
explicit - and implicit -, 38
explicit - in Chariton, 40, 45
focalization, 197
implicit - in Chariton, 43, 46
polyscopical presentation, 45
re-narration, 40, 48
repetition, 68
strategy, 40
structure, 162
narrative structure, XI
Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, XII
New Comedy, 120
and Ach. Tatius, XIII, 98
nobility, 24
Nøjgaard, M., 234, 247
O'Sullivan, J.N., 55
obedience, 115, 124
Oettinger, N., 250
Ogilvie, R., 5
οἰκέτης, 116, 227, 240
Oikonomou, M.-E., 72
ὁμόδουλος, 117
orality, 235
orality vs. textuality
in *Vita Aesopi*, 253
orientalism
Iamblichos, 82, 84
Osborne, R.G., 109
Osiek, C., 4
Oudot, E., 130
Ovidius
Ars Amatoria, 205
παιδάριον, 93
~ παίω, 227
παιδαρίσκος, 93
paideia
of Callirhoe, 26
παιδίον, 93
παιδισκάριον, 93, 139
παιδίσκη, 225
παῖς, 92, 226
Panayotakis, C., 189
Papadimitropoulos, L., 149, 154
Papathomopoulos, M., 233
paradox, 20, 21, 185
paradoxography, 82
parasites, 120
parody, 111
Paschalis, M., 227
Patterson, O., 39, 101, 206
Paulsen, T., 134
Pecere, O., 163
Pellegrino, C., 170
Pepe, L., 177
performance studies, 235
performances
of Aesop while enslaved, 239
Perry, B.E., 233, 234
Persia
in Greek thought, 48
Perutelli, A., 161
Pervo, R.I., 247
Petronius
structure of the *Cena*, 161
'Phaedra model', the -, 149
Philetas, 119
Philopoemen, 116, 124
Photis, 208
pilleus, 165
Pinkster, H., 187

Plangon, 8, 41
Plato, 154
power, 115
progymnasmata, 29
proverbs, 253
Ps.-Lucianus
Onos, XVI
puella, 208
puer, 188
puer capillatus, 193
pulcher, 195
puns, 148, 156
Liber/*liber*, 197
Rabinowitz, N.S., 4, 5
Ragone, G., 236
Ramsby, T., 189
reader
educated -, 112
reader, role of -
in Iamb. *Babyloniaka*., 82
in Longus' novel, XIV, 122
readers
ex-slaves as -, 38
of Petronius, 163, 171
readers, Greek -
of Longus' novel, 122
readers, Roman -
of Petronius, 176
readership
of Chariton's novel, 37
of Longus' novel, 109
realism
in Petronius, 161
Reardon, B.P., 2, 13, 50, 55
recusatio, 211
Relihan, J.C., 223
re-narration
in Chariton's novel, 48
Repath, I.D., 154, 156
repetition
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 68
rhetorical cunning
and slavery, 25
Rhodanes, 84, 86
Richlin, A., 183, 192
Rimell, V., 166
ring composition
Petronius' *Cena*, 162
rite of passage, 217
Rocca, R., 148
Rohde, E., 78
Roman comedy
in Apuleius' novel, XVI
Roman Comedy, 44
Roman elegy, 203
Roman law
punishment of slaves, 80
Roman Law, 82
Roman power, 123
Rome, thoughts of -
in Longus' novel, 123
Romulus and Remus, 111, 123
Rosen, R.M., 239
Rosivach, V.J., 85
Roth, U., 190, 197
Rudd, N., 191
Ruiz-Montero, C., 62
Sage, E.T. and Gilleland, B.B., 169
Salanitro, M., 161, 172
Sandy, G., 135, 204
Scarcella, A., 60, 71
Schlam, C.C., 204
Schmeling, G., 165, 169, 172, 174, 182, 185, 189, 193, 196, 198
Schmidt, V.S., 204
Schwartz, S., 7, 20, 72
Scott, J.C., 38
Scourfield, J.H.D., 28
servile status
fluid - in Imperial period, XIV
servitium amoris, 203, 205
servulus, 190
servus callidus, 25
Plangon, 44, 128
Satyros, 98, 127
Thisbe, 141
Setaioli, A., 196, 199
Sētapos, 85
shame, 28
shepherds, 108
in Iamb.*Bab.*, 87
she-wolf, 111, 124
Shiner, W., 247
significant name
Agelē, 116
Echion, 176

significant name (*cont*.)
Ganymedes, 173
Kybele, 147
Lycaenion, 111
Palaestra, 223
Philopoemen, 116
Primigenius, 176
Sinōnis, 84
Slater, N., 194
slave
prosecution of a -, 78
slave terms, distribution of -
in the Greek novels, 76
slave-girls, 140, 212
slavery, 236
and *eugeneia*, 33
and freedom in *Vita Aesopi*, 239
and oral fable-telling, 254
and ugliness, 198
degrees of -, 4
depiction of - in Chariton, 1
depiction of - in Hld., 2
discourse of - in Hld., 146
female slaves in anc. fiction, 2
in anc. legislation, 6
in anc. thought, IX, 22, 39
in Arsake's palace, 145
in Iamb. *Babyloniaka*, 87
in Roman law, IX
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 64
metaphorical -, 217
moral -, 9
terminology of -, XIII, 75
to brigands, 89
slavery, male -
and physical beauty, XV
slaves
agricultural -, 45
becoming free men, 165
characters in narrative lit., X
herdsfolk, 119
in Chariton's novel, 130
in retenues, 83
pet-slaves, 193
physical abuse of -, 243
punishment of -, 85, 213
runaway -, 49, 104
terminology for -, 91, 116, 186
torture of -, 99
treatment of - in Ach. Tatius' novel, 99
vulnerability of -, 246
slaves in anc. Greece
indeterminacy of status, 12
slaves, attractive -
symbols of wealth, 193
slaves, distribution of -
in the Greco-Roman world, 88
slaves, faithful -
Leucon and Rhode, 69, 128
slaves, helping -, 127
slaves, male -
sexual exploitation, 191
slaves, role of -
in Roman Imperial society, IX
slaves, voice of -
inscriptional evidence, IX
'slavish symmetry'
Anthia and Habrocomes, 66
Smith, M.S., 169, 171
Smith, R.R.R., 123
Smith, S.D., 24, 56
social mobility, X, 185
social realism, XI
social realities
in Ach. Tatius' novel, 96
in Petr. *Satyrica*, 191
social status
Encolpius, 184
fluid -, XI
Solin, H., 163, 173, 187
σώματα, 92
Sommerstein, A., 6
sophrosyne
in the anc. Greek novels, 68
soul
divinity of the -, 153
space
in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, 71
space and time
in Longus' novel, 107
Spaeth, B., 174
speciosus, 197
status
Aesop, free sage, 238
display of -, 83, 193
reversal of -, 19, 117

status, slave-
courtesans, 212
Stephens, S.A., 37
Stephens, S.A. and Winkler, J.J., 99
storytelling
Aesopic -, 239
stuprum, 182
Suetonius
De grammaticis et rhetoribus, 38
Sullivan, J.P., 186, 191
Süss, W., 169
symposium literature, 109, 168
Tagliabue, A., 62, 67, 68
Taylor, D., 235, 238
Tchernia, A., 174
Thalmann, W.G., 47
theatricality
in Ach. Tatius' novel, 98
theme
enslavement by beauty, 2
from royal status to slavery, 5
Theocritus, 109
θεράπαινα, 140, 224
θεράπων, 117
Thisbe
unloyal slave, 128
Thisbe and Demainete, 139
relationship reversed, 142
Thurman, E., 66
Tilg, S., 13, 37
torture, 87
of slaves, 99
Trapp, M.B., 154, 156
Trembley, J.T., 214
Treu, K., 100
Trimalchio, 167, 169, 189
and Chrysanthus, 170
Trost, P., 161
Trzaskoma, S.M., 28, 31, 59
ugliness, 182
Aesop as a slave, 244
ὑπηρετ-, 93
van der Paardt, R.Th., 209
van Dijk, G.-J., 234, 247, 250
van Mal-Maeder, D.K., 205, 206, 209, 214
Van Thiel, H., 221
Vannini, G., 161, 183, 195, 196
Velody, I., 238
vindicare, 166
violence
against Aesop's body, 245
against slaves, 47
between lovers, 213
from slaves, 47
Vita Aesopi
and Ahiqar legends, 250
Volt, I., 19
Voss, P.J. and Werner, M.L., 238
Walsh, P.G., 161, 172, 182
Walters, J., 213
Watson, A., 81, 83, 166
Weaver, P.R.C., 167
Webb, R., 29
Wesseling, B., 37
Westermann, W.L., 12
wet-nurse
Kybele, 143
Whitmarsh, T., 1, 19, 30, 39
Whitmarsh, T. and Morales, H., 28
Wiechers, A., 238, 249
Williams, C.A., 182, 191
Winkler, J.J., 15, 95, 236, 241
Winterbottom, M., 79
wisdom, 150
Aesop's improvisational -, 243
'performances of - ', 235
Wiseman, T.P., 124
Wistrand, E., 172
wolf, 110
word play, 148, 156, 158, 197
Aesop on λύσις/λύω, 236
οἰκέτης ~ οἰκία, 228
Wrenhaven, K.L., 22, 24, 29
Xenophon Eph.
vs. contemporary novelists, 66
Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*
careful structure, 62
in modern criticism, 62
Zeitlin, F.I., 185
Zelnick-Abramovitz, R., 8, 12
Zimmerman, M., 148, 223