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History 801

The World the Slaves Made: Slaves and Freedmen in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*.

The Ancient Historian Moses Finley identified five societies in world history where slavery occupied such an entrenched position in thinking, economics and social relationships that one might justifiably call these true slave societies: Athens and Rome in the old world, and Brazil, the Caribbean and the southern states of the US in the modern world. Of these five slave societies Rome stands out by its sheer annual demand for slaves (estimated at half a million new slaves p.a. compared to the 80,000 slaves transported to the new world at the peak of the Atlantic slave trade) and through the high number of slaves owned by single individuals (from single digits to several thousands). In spite of all the evidence that we have on slavery in Roman society from a variety of sources (legal; artistic; literary; historical) it is difficult to reconstruct how slaves or ex-slaves experienced slavery. Fortunately, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* presents a lengthy representation of a world dominated by slaves and freed slaves. In his account we are familiarized with their cultural preferences, their business interests and their addiction to food and entertainment. All of this is presented in a sassy and vivid colloquial style of conversation and subtitled by a snobbish commentator who tries to keep up with the tricks and illusions played upon him. Because of these characteristics the *Cena* has been widely regarded as a historical document rich in information on a world that is otherwise closed to us. In this seminar we will examine the questions of the character of this work of prose fiction and especially its relevance for the history of slavery in Rome. We will make use of a number of disciplines and auxiliary sciences in order to unravel its close relationship with the historical world of Neronian Rome: philology, literary criticism, epigraphy, art history, religious studies. Only an integrated approach will prove successful in doing justice to this complex work.

Required Texts:

Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*, edited with commentary and notes by Martin S. Smith, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press 1983; ISBN: 0198144598.

Edward Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius*, New York: Oxford University Press 2002; ISBN: 0199245940.

Keith Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control*, New York: Oxford University Press 1987; ISBN: 019520607X.

Studying Petronius

Petronius has the reputation of being one of the most challenging Roman authors to study. In this course we will make a concerted effort to make Petronius live up to his reputation.

Petronius is a challenging author for the following reasons:

a. The text of the *Satyrica* is in a fragmentary state. We possess material from a couple of books out of a total of 26 books. The longest fragment is the text with which we will be concerning ourselves, the *cena Trimalchionis*. The length of the overall work is unknown; 26 books is simply a guess based on the theory that the *Satyrica* was designed as a parody of Homer. The wrath of Priapus would then be a comical variation on the wrath of Poseidon. Even the text such as it survives is not free from lacunae of uncertain length and is further marred by the occurrence of real or perceived interpolations, additions to the text made by medieval scribes. The text has benefited from years of careful scrutiny and is in much better shape especially thanks to the 5 successive Teubner editions by Konrad Müller.

b. The definition of the genre to which the work belongs. The best shorthand for the *Satyrica* is ancient novel, but it has also been catalogued under the rubric of Menippean Satire, a mixture of prose and poetry. It is not even certain whether Menippean Satire can be seen as a distinct genre. Petronius' work has obvious affinities with satire (note that the banquet and the legacy-hunters of Croton are themes typical of satire), and it has been claimed that the *Satyrica* is a satirical novel. Others, however, have claimed that there is no satire in the *Satyrica* at all. Add to this that Petronius is in the habit of re-hashing, re-incorporating and re-fashioning purple passages from literature at a lower level of sophistication than they were originally positioned, and we have another problem to deal with. Petronius opens up double vistas by drawing in texts and contexts from an earlier age. There are not many authors whose work is not targeted for this procedure. We find Lucilius, Sallust, Vergil, Ovid, Catullus, Varro, Horace etc.

c. The role of the narrator is suspicious to say the least. Encolpius is the main victim of what Gian Biagio Conte has called mythomaniac aspirations. What he means by this is that Encolpius is permanently tempted to explain his own mundane adventures on a much higher literary register. He fantasizes, invents and is highly delusional. He is a man of grandeur and a normal event is quickly turned into a tragedy. In the *Cena* he stars as an incompetent social critic. If he is in competition with Trimalchio to be acknowledged as a cultural icon there is no doubt that he is on the losing side. He vents his frustration at not being able to penetrate the cultural world of the freedmen by criticizing Trimalchio's behavior, but it can be demonstrated that he is totally inept at this game. His narrative cannot be trusted. Finally, Encolpius is both narrator and protagonist which raises all sorts of problems. If he is the loser in the cultural battle with the freedmen, does he represent himself as less or more naïve than he was at the time the banquet took place? Are there two Encolpiuses? The old, wise one and the more excitable young one? Can we tell them apart?

d. The *Cena Trimalchionis* is considered by many to be the most realistic portrayal of a Roman subculture especially in the parts where the freedmen engage in lively conversation amongst themselves or vent their anger and frustration at what they consider to be a show of disrespect from the freeborn. The realism in the *Cena* is particularly problematic because it is not clear what purpose it would serve. Also, it is not clear how realism or verism would be able to work together with satire, the exaggeration of cultural and social flaws. Realism as we know and define it was not even a recognized goal in ancient literature. For this reason, you will see some scholars use the term verisimilitude.

Having now described the main problems we face in examining the *Cena Trimalchionis*, this should not stop us from developing our own ideas on this work. The first and most important thing that we have to do is to keep the above 4 problem areas in mind all the time and use our common sense to spot problems and to find solutions. What I have done to make this course an exciting one is to divide the course roughly into 2 different parts. In the first couple of weeks we will be reading on the various areas that will influence our thinking, such as the reign of Nero, the historical backdrop, the role of the narrator etc. In the second part we will be looking at individual themes connected with slavery and the social world of the freedmen. The passages that we will be looking at will not be long (in some cases our main concern will be a single sentence or even a single word). All we need to do is use our brains.

In order to facilitate debate I have subdivided the students into three groups. I encourage you to come together and discuss the readings and the ideas that you derive from them before you come to the seminar on Wednesdays. You will notice that this will enhance the level of debate. During the meetings I shall act as a monitor for the discussion. Debate is mandatory and I encourage everyone to take part.

The groups are as follows:

Group 1: Eric, Tate, Megan, Casey.

Group 2: Irina, Sofia, Jeannie, Stephen.

Group 3: Michael, Joy, Liz, Nikolas.

The readings for your group will be specifically indicated with every weekly program. In addition there are general readings to be done by all the students in the seminar. The other literature under the rubric select bibliography lists material that you might like to consult.

For each week's work the instructions are simple. There is material to read, passages in Petronius and secondary literature, and there is a question or a number of questions that will guide your thinking. By using the material at your disposal you are challenged to find an answer to the question(s). Even if it is not stated explicitly you are expected to use Smith's commentary and the books by Bradley and Courtney to round out your thoughts.

Course Details

Meetings will take place every Wednesday between 6 September and 13 December in the Greek and Latin Reading Room on the fourth floor of the Memorial Library (11:00-1:00).

Requirements:

1. Weekly readings: these are indicated in the schedule of weekly meetings below. Be sure to read the article or chapter that is allocated to your group in addition to the readings done by the entire group:
2. A paper of 20 pages on a topic of your choice on Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*. The paper **MUST** be submitted before Friday 15 December, 4:00 pm. Late papers will not be accepted.

Grading

Attendance and participation in the discussion: 20%.

Paper: 60%.

Presentation: 20%.

TEACHING PROGRAM

Wednesday 9/6: Literature and Life under Nero.

Wednesday 9/13: The Author and Date of the *Satyrica*.

Wednesday 9/20: The *Satyrica* and the role of the narrator.

Wednesday 9/27: Slavery in the Roman Empire.

Wednesday 10/4: History and Setting in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.

Wednesday 10/11: Authenticating Servile Experiences.

Wednesday 10/18: Slave Numbers in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.

Wednesday 10/25: Dirty, Rotten Slaves.

Wednesday 11/1: Slaves are Human Beings, too.

Wednesday 11/8: Servile Errors and Punishment.

Wednesday 11/15: Freedom and the Staging of Manumission.

Wednesday 11/22: Trimalchio and Nero.

Wednesday 11/29: Trimalchio as Benefactor.

Wednesday 12/6: Presentations.

Wednesday 12/13: Presentations.

General Bibliography

Texts and Commentaries:

Friedländer, Ludwig 1960. *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Amsterdam; reprint of the second edition published in Leipzig 1906.

Lowe, W. D. 1905. *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Cambridge.

Maiuri, Amedeo 1945. *La Cena di Trimalchione di Petronio Arbitro*, Naples.

Öberg, Jan 1999. *Petronius. Cena Trimalchionis. A New Critical Edition*, Stockholm.

Sedgwick, W. B. 1939. *The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius*, Oxford.

Smith, Martin S. 1975. *Petronius: Cena Trimalchionis*, Oxford.

Monographs:

Bagnani, G. 1954. *Arbiter of elegance: a study of the life and works of C. Petronius*, Toronto.

Boyce, Bret 1991. *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius' Cena Trimalchionis*, Leiden.

Cavalca, Maria Grazia 2001. *I grecismi nel Satyricon di Petronio*, Bologna.

Connors, Catherine 1998. *Petronius the Poet: Verse and literary tradition in the Satyricon*, Cambridge.

Conte, Gian Biagio 1996. *The Hidden Author*, Berkeley.

Courtney, E. 2001. *A Companion to Petronius*, Oxford and New York.

Dunbabin, Katherine M. 2003. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge.

Grondona, Marco 1980. *La religione e la superstizione nella Cena Trimalchionis*, Brussels.

Panayotakis, Costas 1995. *Theatrum Arbitri: Theatrical Elements in the Satyricon of Petronius*, Leiden.

Plaza, Maria 2000. *Laughter and Derision in Petronius' Satyricon. A Literary Study*, Stockholm.

Rankin, H. D. 1971. *Petronius the Artist: Essays on the Satyricon and its Author*, The Hague.

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

- Rose, K. F. C. 1971. *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden.
- Slater, Niall W. 1990. *Reading Petronius*, Baltimore.
- Sullivan, J. P. 1968. *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study*, London.
- Walsh, P. G. 1970. *The Roman Novel*, Cambridge.
- Walsh, P. G. 1996. *Petronius: The Satyricon*, Oxford.

Week 1: Literature and Life under Nero.

Featured Problem: What was literary life like under the emperor Nero? Can we characterize the literary world as rife with conflict, as Sullivan does, or is this an exaggeration? As an artist and poet in his own right, did Nero stimulate or stifle literary creativity? How does the answer to this question affect our interpretation of Petronius?

Entire Group: Toynbee, Jocelyn M. 1942. 'Nero artifex: The *Apocolyntosis* Reconsidered', *Classical Quarterly* 36, 83-93 (available through JSTOR); Momigliano, Arnaldo 1944. 'Literary Chronology of the Neronian Age', *Classical Quarterly* 38, 96-100 (available through JSTOR).

Group 1: Rose, K. F. C. 1971. *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden, pp. 61-75.

Group 2: Mayer, Roland 1982. 'Neronian Classicism', *American Journal of Philology* 103, 305-18 (available through JSTOR).

Group 3: Sullivan, J. P. 1968. 'Petronius, Lucan, and Seneca: A Neronian Literary Feud?', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 99, 453-67 (available through JSTOR).

Select Bibliography:

Griffin, M. 1976. *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics*, Oxford.

Rudich, Vassily 1997. *Dissidence and literature under Nero: the price of rhetoricization*, New York, pp. 186-255.

Sullivan, J. P. 1985. *Literature and politics in the age of Nero*, Ithaca.

Williams, G. 1978. *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire*, Berkeley.

Week 2: The Author and Date of the *Satyrica*.

Featured Problem: What are the most important arguments for and against accepting the theory that the Petronius who features in Tacitus' *Annals* is the author of the *Satyrica*? How is solving this issue important for our project?

Passages: Tacitus, *Annals*, 16.18-20; Petronius, *Satyr.* 132.15.

Entire Group: Courtney, E. 2001. *A Companion to Petronius*, Oxford and New York, pp. 5-12; Rowell, Henry T. 1958. 'The Gladiator Petraitas and the Date of the *Satyricon*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 89, 14-25 (available through JSTOR).

Group 1: Baldwin, Barry 2001. 'Notes on the Tacitean Petronius: (*Annals* 16.18-20)', *Petronian Society Newsletter* 31; no pagination (available online at <http://www.ancientnarrative.com/PSN/archive/2001/articles&reviews.htm>).

Group 2: Rankin, H. D. 1971. *Petronius the Artist: Essays on the Satyricon and its Author*, The Hague, pp. 1-11; 88-100.

Group 3: Setaioli, Aldo 1997. 'The novae simplicitatis opus and Petronius' Poetics', *Petronian Society Newsletter* 27; no pagination (available online at <http://chss.montclair.edu/classics/petron/VOL27N1N2/PSN27N1N2.HTML>). For the really die-hard fans of Petronius there is also a longer version of this paper in Italian: Setaioli, A., 'Il novae simplicitatis opus (*Sat.* 132.15.2) e la Poetica Petroniana', *Prometheus* 23 (1997), 145-164.

Select Bibliography:

Beck, Roger 1973. 'Some Observations on the Narrative Technique of Petronius', *Phoenix* 27, 42-61 (available through JSTOR).

Connors, Catherine 1998. *Petronius the Poet: Verse and literary tradition in the Satyricon*, Cambridge, pp. 72-4.

Rose, K. F. C. 1971. *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden, pp. 1-38.

Sullivan, J. P. 1968. *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study*, London, pp. 21-34.

Week 3: The *Satyrica* and the Role of the Narrator.

Featured Problem: What is the *Satyrica* about? How do we interpret the concept 'novel' in the case of the *Satyrica*? What is the role of the narrator? How reliable is he?

Entire Group: Conte, Gian Biagio 1996. *The Hidden Author: An Interpretation of Petronius's Satyricon*, Berkeley, pp. 1-57.

Group 1: Beck, R. 1975. 'Encolpius at the *Cena*', *Phoenix* 29, 271-283 (available through JSTOR).

Group 2: Schmeling, Gareth 1999. 'Petronius and the *Satyrica*', in Heinz Hofmann (ed.), *Latin Fiction: The Latin novel in context*, London and New York, 23-38.

Group 3: Jones, F. 1987. 'The Narrator and the Narrative of the *Satyricon*', *Latomus* 46, 810-819.

Select Bibliography:

Schmeling, Gareth. 1994-1995. 'Confessor gloriosus: a role of Encolpius in the *Satyrica*', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 20, 207-224.

Schemeling, Gareth 1996. 'The *Satyrica* of Petronius', in Gareth L. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Leiden, Boston etc., 457-490.

Walsh, P. G. 1970. *The Roman Novel*, Cambridge.

Week 4: Slavery and Freedmen in the Roman Empire.

Featured Problem: What are the main features of Rome as a slave society in the first century AD? How cruel was Roman slavery?

Entire Group: Bradley, Keith R. 1984. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire*, Brussels, pp. 13-81.

Group 1: Finley, M. I. 1980. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, London, pp. 93-123.

Group 2: Wiedemann, Thomas 1985. 'The regularity of manumission at Rome', *Classical Quarterly* 35, 162-75 (available through JSTOR).

Group 3: Andraeu, Jean 1993. 'The freedman', A. Giardina (ed.), *The Romans*, Chicago, pp. 175-99.

Select Bibliography:

Barrow, R. H. 1928. *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, New York, pp. 1-23.

Bradley, Keith R. 1994. *Slavery and Society at Rome*, Cambridge, pp. 1-31; 132-54.

Duff, A. M. 1958. *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge.

Hopkins, Keith 1993. 'Novel evidence for Roman slavery', *Past and Present* 138, 3-27 (available through JSTOR).

Watson, Alan. 1983. 'Roman Slave Law and Romanist Ideology', *Phoenix* 37, 53-65 (available through JSTOR).

Week 5: History and Setting in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.

Featured problem: How do we judge the urban landscape of the *Cena Trimalchionis*? What are the main urban features and with which city should the city of the *cena* be identified?

Passages: Petronius, *Satyr.* 44-45; 57.9-11; 81.3.

Entire Group: Courtney, E. 2001. *A Companion to Petronius*, Oxford and New York, pp. 39-43; Lake, Agnes Kirsopp 1941. 'A Note on the Location of the *Cena Trimalchionis*', *American Journal of Philology* 62, 494-6 (available through JSTOR).

Group 1: Sullivan, J. P. 1968. *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study*, London, pp. 98-106.

Group 2: D'Arms, J. H. 1981. *Commerce and Social Standing in the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor, pp. 97-120.

Group 3: Jones, Frederick M. 1991. 'Realism in Petronius', H. Hofmann (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IV*, Groningen, 105-21.

Select Bibliography:

Bagnani, Gilbert 1956. 'Encolpius Gladiator Obscenus', *Classical Philology* 51, 24-7 (available through JSTOR).

Boyce, Bret 1991. *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius' Cena Trimalchionis*, Leiden, pp. 79-85.

Cerrutti, Steven M. 1989. 'The retiarius tunicatus of Suetonius, Juvenal, and Petronius', *American Journal of Philology* 110, 589-95 (available through JSTOR).

Lynch, John Patrick 1982. 'The Language and Character of Echion the Ragpicker: Petronius, *Satyricon* 45-46', *Helios* 9, 29-46.

Mulroy, David 1970. 'Petronius 81.3', *Classical Philology* 65, 254-6 (available through JSTOR).

Pack, Roger 1960. 'The Criminal Dossier of Encolpius', *Classical Philology* 55, 31-2 (available through JSTOR).

Plaza, Maria 2000. *Laughter and Derision in Petronius' Satyricon. A Literary Study*, Stockholm, pp. 131-42.

Rowell, Henry T. 1958. 'The Gladiator Petraitis and the Date of the *Satyricon*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 89, 14-25 (available through JSTOR).

Sullivan, J. P. 1963. 'Satire and Realism in Petronius', in id., ed., *Critical Essays on Latin Literature: Satire*, London, 73-92.

Week 6: Authenticating Servile Experiences.

Featured Problem: In the absence of slave narratives and other documents providing essential personal perspectives on the experience of slavery, can we use the *Cena Trimalchionis* to reconstruct the lives and experiences of slaves and freedmen?

Main Passages: 29.3-8; 75.10-76.2.

Additional Passages: 30.1; 30.7-11; 45.8-9; 57.10; 63.3; 74.6-9; 75.4-5.

Entire Group: Pomeroy, Arthur J. 1992. 'Trimalchio as *deliciae*', *Phoenix* 46, 45-54 (available through JSTOR); Bodel, John P. 1989. 'Trimalchio's Coming of Age', *Phoenix* 43, 72-5 (available through JSTOR); Bodel, John P. 1989. 'Trimalchio and the candelabrum', *Classical Philology* 84, 224-31 (available through JSTOR); Baldwin, Barry 1993. 'The Young Trimalchio', *Acta Classica* 36, 143-6; Reeve, M. D. 1985. 'A Change in Trimalchio's Life', *Phoenix* 39, 378-9 (available through JSTOR); Richardson, T. Wade 1986. 'Further on the Young Trimalchio', *Phoenix* 40, 201 (available through JSTOR).

Select Bibliography:

Booth A. D. 1979. 'The Schooling of Slaves in first-century Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 109, 11-9 (available through JSTOR).

Borghini, Alberto 1988. '..Minervaque ducente Romam intrabat: nota a Petr. Sat. XXIX 3', *Aufidus* 6, 43-53.

Dumont, Jean-Christian 1990. 'Le décor de Trimalcion', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 102, 959-81.

Forbes, C. A. 1955. 'The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 86, 321-60 (available through JSTOR).

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- Laes, Christian 2003. 'Desperately Different? *Delicia* Children in the Roman Household', David L. Balch and Carolyn Osiek (ed.), *Early Christian Families in Context. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, Grand Rapids 298-324.
- Mohler, S. L. 1940. 'Slave Education in the Roman Empire', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71, 262-81 (available through JSTOR).
- Neumann, Günter and Erika Simon 1999. 'Petron, Satyrice c. 29, 5', *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 23, 115-23.
- Palagi, Laura Bocciolini 1994. 'L'apoteosi di Trimalchione e l'arte plebea del curiosus pictor (Petr. Sat. 29, 5-6)', *Quaderni di cultura e di tradizione classica* 12, 99-109.
- Palagi, Laura Bocciolini 1998. 'L'ingresso trionfale di Trimalchione (Petr. Sat. 29, 3)', *Maia* 50, 465-474.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton.
- Williams, Craig 1999. *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*, New York and Oxford.
- Wrede, Henning 1981a. *Consecratio in formam deorum: vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.

Week 7: Slave Numbers in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.

Featured Problem: How realistic is the number of urban slaves attributed to Trimalchio?

Main Passage: 47.11-3.

Additional Sources: Pliny *HN* 33.47.134; Horace *Satires* 2.7.118; *Epistles* 1.14.1-3; Dio Cassius 56.27.3; Libanius, *Orationes* 33.12; Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.42-5; Apuleius, *Apology* 93.4.

Entire Group: Baldwin, Barry 1978. 'Trimalchio's Domestic Staff', *Acta Classica* 21, 87-99, reprinted in *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*, Amsterdam 1985, 133-44.

Group 1: Scheidel, W. 1996. 'Finances, Figures and Fiction', *Classical Quarterly* 46, 222-38 (available through JSTOR).

Group 2: D'Arms, John H. 1991. 'Slaves at Roman *Convivia*', William J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, 171-85.

Group 3: Madden, John. 1996. 'Slavery in the Roman Empire: Numbers and Origins', *Classics Ireland* 3, 109-28.

(available online at <http://www.ucd.ie/classics/classicsinfo/96/Madden96.html>).

Select Bibliography:

Bellen, H. 1982. 'Antike Staatsräson. Die Hinrichtung der 400 Sklaven des römischen Stadtpräfekten L. Pedanius Secundus im Jahre 61 n. Chr', *Gymnasium* 89, 449-467.

Bravo García, A. 1974. 'El Satiricon como reflejo de la esclavitud de su tiempo', *CFC* 6, 195-207.

- Buonocore, M. 1984. *Schiavi e liberti dei Volusi Saturnini: Le iscrizioni del columbario sulla via Appia antica*, Rome.
- Caldelli, M. Letizia/Ricci, Cecilia. 1999. *Monumentum familiae Statiliorum: Un riesame*, Rome.
- Crook, J. A. 1970. 'Strictum et aequum: law in the time of Nero', *Irish Jurist* 5, 357-67.
- Duncan-Jones, R. P. 1982. *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantative Studies*, Cambridge².
- George, M. 1997a. 'Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house', Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond*, Portsmouth, RI, 15-25.
- 1997b. 'Repopulating the Roman House', B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, Oxford, 299-321.
- Ginsburg, Judith 1993. 'In maiores certamina: Past and Present in the Annals', T. J. Luce and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, Princeton, 86-104.
- Hasegawa, K. 2005. 'The collegia domestica in the Elite Roman Households: the evidence of domestic funeral clubs for slaves and freedmen', C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. 12, Brussels, 250-67.
- Higman, B. W. 1984. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*, Baltimore.
- Hunink, Vincent 1998. 'Comedy in Apuleius' Apology', H. Hofmann and M. Zimmerman (eds.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IX*, Groningen, 97-113.
- Kaltenstadler, W. 1978 *Arbeitsorganisation und Führungssystem bei den römischen Agrarschriftstellern (Cato, Varro, Columella)*, Stuttgart/New York.
- Kudlien, Fridolf 1986. 'Empticius servus: Bemerkungen zum antiken Sklavenmarkt', *Historia* 35, 240-57.
- Pavis-D'Esurac, H. 1974. 'Pour une étude sociale de l'Apologie d'Apulée', *Antiquités Africaines* 8, 89-101.
- Puglisi, G. 1986. 'Instrumentum della casa di Trimalchione', *Siculorum Gymnasium* 39, 3-25.
- Puglisi, G. 1987. 'Il microcosmo di C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus. Schiavi e liberti nella casa di un mercante romano (Petr. 27-78)', *Index* 15, 207-26.

Purcell, Nicholas 1983. 'The *apparitores*: a study in social mobility', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51, 125-73.

Scheidel, Walter 2005. 'Human Mobility in Roman Italy, 2: the Slave Population', *Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005), 64-79.

Treggiari, Susan M. 1975. 'Jobs in the Household of Livia', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 43, 48-77.

Wolf, J. G. 1988. *Das Senatusconsultum Silanianum und die Senatsrede des C. Cassius Longinus aus dem Jahre 61 n. Chr.*, Heidelberg.

Week 8: Dirty, Rotten Slaves.

Featured Problem: At 34.5 Trimalchio states that slaves are *putidissimi* (most smelly; most stinking) and that in order to keep them at a distance each guest will have his own table. What is the meaning of the label that Trimalchio uses and why is he using it at this point in time? How does the remark correspond with his attitude toward slaves?

Passages: 34.4-5; 38.11; 54.1; 64.13; 65.7; 73.2.

Additional sources: Mart. 2.37.7; 3.23; 3.60; 3.82; 4.68; 6.11; 7.20; 7.48; 9.2; 9.22.11-2; 9.25; 10.98; 11.56.11-2; 12.87.2; Horace *Epodes* 8.1; Catullus 42.10; 11; 19; 20; Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 2.6; Lucian *Saturnalia* 22; Juvenal *Satires* 5; Cicero, *In Pisonem* 67; Cicero, *Ad Att.* 13.52; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.11.2; Suet., *Divus Augustus* 74.

Entire Group: D'Arms, John H. 1990. 'The Roman *Convivium* and the Idea of Equality', Oswyn Murray (ed.), *Symptica: A symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford, 308-21.

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D'Arms, John H. 1991. 'Slaves at Roman *Convivia*', William J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, 171-85.

Cucchiarelli, Andrea 1997. 'Trimalchione e la cena di Marte (partendo da *Satyr.* 34, 5)', *SCO* 46, 585-601.

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Fitzgerald, William 2000. *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination*, Cambridge.

Lilja, Saara 1972. 'Odour sensations in the Roman novel', *Arctos* 7, 31-45.

Week 9: Slaves are Human Beings, too.

Featured Problem: Study Trimalchio's remark at 71.1 that slaves are human beings too. Is his observation in contradiction with his behaviour and attitude elsewhere? If so, why would he all of a sudden be so kind and considerate toward his slaves? If not, what is the relevance of his remark, for our understanding of the *Cena Trimalchionis* and for coming to terms with slave-owning in first century AD Rome?

Passages: 34.5; 42.5-6; 67.2-3; 71.1; 74.6-8.

Additional sources: Seneca, *Moral Epistles* 47; Epictetus, *Discourses*, 1.13.2-5; Varro, *Men. Sat.* fr. 251.

Entire Group: Garnsey, Peter 1996. *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, Cambridge, pp. 64-75.

Group 1: Manning, C. E. 1986. 'Stoicism and slavery in the Roman empire', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 36.3, Berlin, 1518-1543.

Group 2: Vogt, Joseph 1975. *Slavery and the Ideal of Man*, trans. Thomas Wiedemann, Oxford, pp. 103-22.

Group 3: Bradley, Keith R. 1986. 'Seneca and slavery', *Classica & Medievalia* 37, 161-172.

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- Garnsey, Peter 1997. 'The Middle Stoics and slavery', E. Gruen, P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs: Culture, History, and Historiography*, Berkeley, 159-75.
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- Rieks, Rudolf 1967. *Homo, Humanus, Humanitas: zur Humanität in der lateinischen Literatur des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts*, Munich.

Week 10: Servile Errors and Punishment.

Featured Problem: Against the background of what we have learned about slavery in first-century Rome, how would you describe Trimalchio's treatment of his slaves? Is he more or less cruel than the norm in Roman society? How does our trio of heroes respond to servile errors and how do we explain their behaviour?

Passages: 28.7; 30.5-31.2; 34.2; 49.4-50.2; 52.4-6; 53.3; 54.1-5.

Entire Group: Bradley, Keith R. 1984. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire*, Brussels, pp. 113-139.

Group 1: Jones, C. P. 1987. 'Stigma. Tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 77, 139-155 (available through JSTOR).

Group 2: Fitzgerald, William 2000. *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination*, Cambridge, pp. 32-51.

Group 3: Parker, Holt 1989. 'Crucially Funny or Tranio on the Couch: The *Servus Callidus* and Jokes about Torture', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119, 233-46 (available through JSTOR).

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Baldwin, Barry 1978. 'Trimalchio's Domestic Staff', *Acta Classica* 21, 87-99, reprinted in *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*, Amsterdam 1985, 133-44.

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Saller, R. P. 1983. 'Martial on Patronage and Literature', *Classical Quarterly* 33, 246-57 (available through JSTOR).

Saller, Richard P. 1991. 'Corporal Punishment, Authority, and Obedience in the Roman Household', Beryl Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 144-66.

Week 11: Freedom and the Staging of Manumission.

Featured Problem: Study the sequence of episodes that starts with the introduction of the capped boar. How do we judge Hermeros' explanation that the boar has been manumitted? How do we subsequently deal with Encolpius' response? Next study the self-manumission by Dionysius. Is this a legal manumission? Finally, study Trimalchio's response to this event and his claim that he has a freeborn father. What is the significance of these events (especially if they are not legal)?

Passages: 40-41.8.

Entire Group: Bradley, Keith R. 1984. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire*, Brussels, pp. 81-113.

Group 1: Kritzinger, J. P. K. 2003. 'Non negabitis me' inquit 'habere Liberum patrem': Petronius, *Sat.* 41.8 revisited', *Acta Classica* 46, 111-7.

Group 2: Newton, Rick M. 1992. 'Bacalusias: a transitional hapax in Petronius Satyricon 41.2', *Classical Philology* 87, 246-9 (available through JSTOR).

Group 3: Baldwin, B. 1970. 'Capping the Boar', *Petronian Society Newsletter* 1, 3 (available online at <http://chss2.montclair.edu/classics/Petronius/PSN1.2/PSN1.2.html>).

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Housman, A. E. 1918. 'Jests of Plautus, Cicero, and Trimalchio', *Classical Review* 32, 162-5 (available through JSTOR).

Jones, C. P. 1991. 'Dinner Theater', W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, 185-99.

Pepe, L. 1948. 'Petronio e il porcus Troianus', *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 1, 331-6; rprint in Luigi Pepe, *Studi Petroniani*, Napels 1957, 9-21.

Salanitro, Maria 1999. 'Servi presunti nella *Cena Trimalchionis*', *Maia* 51, 423-9.

Week 12: Trimalchio and Nero

Featured Problem: In several vignettes in the *Cena Trimalchionis* Trimalchio is associated with attributes that other sources link with Nero or other emperors or with the emperor as such. The key problem for this week is to explore the meaning of Trimalchio's imperial aspirations and why Petronius has deftly transferred some of the odd characteristics of Nero to outline his main character. Was this done to criticise Nero?

Passages: 53.1-10

Entire Group: Bagnani, G. 1954. 'Trimalchio', *Phoenix* 8, 77-92 (available through JSTOR).

Group 1: Rose, K. F. C. 1971. *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden, pp. 75-87.

Group 2: Baldwin, Barry 1979. 'The *Acta Diurna*', *Chiron* 9, 189-203; republished in B. Baldwin, *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*, Amsterdam 1985, 459-74.

Group 3: Rose, K. F. C. 1967. 'Trimalchio's Accountant', *Classical Philology* 62, 258-9 (available through JSTOR).

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Crum, R. H. 1952 'Petronius and the Emperors', *Classical World* 45, 161-167; 197-201.

Merkle, Stefan 1999. 'News from the past: Dictys and Dares on the Trojan War', in Heinz Hofmann (ed.), *Latin Fiction: The Latin novel in context*, London and New York, 155-67.

Walsh, P. G. 1970. *The Roman Novel*, Cambridge, pp. 111-41.

Week 13: Trimalchio as Benefactor

Featured Problem: How do we judge Trimalchio's self-presentation as a benefactor? In what capacity did he distribute money to the people, and how common is it to decorate one's tomb with such a scene? Find illustrations of the main parallels for this scene on Trimalchio's tomb.

Passages: 30.1-3; 71.5-12.

Entire Group: John F. Donahue, 'Energetic Self-Representation and the Inscriptions at *Satyricon* 71.10', *Classical Philology* 94 (1999), 69-75 (available through JSTOR).

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Mary Beard, 'Vita inscripta', W. W. Ehlers (ed.), *La biographie antique*, Geneva 1998, 83-115.

C. Bossu, 'M' Megonius Leo from Petelia (Regio III): a private benefactor from the local aristocracy', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 45 (1982), 155-65.

Carla Compostella, 'Iconografia, ideologia e status a Brixia nel I secolo D.C.: la lastra sepolcrale del sevirus Anteros Asiaticus', *Rivista di Archeologia* 13 (1989), 59-75.

Nicholas Purcell, 'Tomb and Suburb', H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds.), *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, Munich 1987, 25-41.

William J. Slater, 'Handouts at Dinner', *Phoenix* 54 (2000), 107-23.

Jane Whitehead, 'The "Cena Trimalchionis" and biographical narration in Roman middle-class art', Peter J. Holliday (ed.), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, Cambridge 1993, 299-327.

Research Paper:

You can choose to write your essay (ca. 20 pages) on any topic connected with the *Satyrica* and the *Cena Trimalchionis*. It does not have to be on slavery or freed slaves. You will have come across plenty of possibilities while reading the secondary material for this course. In order to find more material you can use the research tools listed on the following page. Whatever topic you have chosen for your essay, I want you to keep pushing yourself to find solutions for the problems that you have identified and want to address. Easy solutions may not always be the best solutions. Keep on testing your ideas.

Research Tools:

<http://www.psms.homepage.t-online.de/petronbib.html>

On the website of the Munich branch of the Petronian Society. A good and useful bibliography for the study of the *Cena*. The bibliography is organized alphabetically (by author), thematically, and even by passage from the *Cena*.

<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/amphoras/tocs.html>

Tocs-in from the website of the Department of Classics of the University of Toronto. Use a keyword and find articles. Not exhaustive.

<http://www.ancientnarrative.com/PSN/index.htm>

The website of the Petronian Society offers a lot of useful information on the ancient novel, articles, reviews, and new and recent publications.

<http://www.annee-philologique.com/aph/>

The website of L'annee philologique (in English!!!) which allows you to search comprehensively for articles and books using modern and ancient author searches and searches by using key terms (even three or four combined).

Martin S. Smith, 'A Bibliography of Petronius (1945-1982)', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II.32.3, Berlin etc. 1985, 1624-1665.

Good and useful tool available in the Greek and Latin Reading Room. Has an alphabetical list of publications for the period covered and also a list of publications for individual passages.