Educated Cultures:
Ancient Narratives and the Graphic Novel

Edmund Cueva

This essay briefly surveys the genesis, development, time span, resistance (public, academic, and institutional), and eventual or current status of the ancient Greek and Roman novel vis-à-vis that of the modern graphic novel. There exist great similarities between what may seem to be two very dissimilar literary genres. In addition to sharing the literary term "novel," which, in and of itself, is problematic and has caused confusion for those involved in studying them, these two varieties of literary and artistic creative activity share common traits in their respective developments and receptions. For example, both types of novels had to gain some sort of respect or legitimacy when they first made their appearances in print. Indeed, both genres were not well received by so-called learned or educated people and had to wait for the academic community to validate them as worthy of scholarly enquiry, though this is not to say that that the ancient novel and the modern graphic novel were not warmly and enthusiastically received by their respective general reading audiences.

To begin with, there are eight extant ancient Greek and Roman novels in addition to many other examples of this genre in fragmentary form.[1] Five ancient Greek novels survive complete: Chariton's *Callirhoe*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*, and Heliodorus of Emesa's *Aethiopica*. The two Roman novels are Petronius' *Satyricon* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. The eighth novel, *Apollonius of Tyre*, is written in Latin but may originally have been written in Greek. The Greek novels contained love stories full of adventures that involved, among many other things, abductions, narrow escapes, murders, funerals, pirate treasures, damsels in distress, femme fatales, threatened virginities (of both sexes), separations, and reunions (mostly happy). Willem J. Aerts writes that the plots could be "often too far-fetched for a modern sophisticated public," but that the ancient reader or listener would have identified to a high degree with the "vicissitudes of the actors in the romances" because of shared life insecurities (381).[2] Aerts also notes that the Roman novels had plots that were quite absurd and fictitious but entertaining nevertheless. For example, Petronius' Trimalchio is an unparalleled *nouveau riche* with im-

mense wealth; Apuleius' novel not only has its main character transforming into an ass, but is full of witches and magic; and *Apollonius of Tyre* has incestuous relationships, a shipwreck, and divine interventions.

In 1967, Ben Edwin Perry published *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins*, which at that time was among the first scholarly works that analyzed the ancient novel genre with some degree of academic credibility. After all, if the ancient Greeks and Romans did not consider the ancient novel worthy of serious consideration, why should anyone else bother with this genre. Indeed, the ancient novel was not considered a genre by the ancient Greeks and Romans, who did not even categorize the novel as a separate type of literature such as they had done, for example, with epics, tragedies, comedies, lyric poetry, etc. Perry writes:

> This vagueness and reticence on the part of the ancients in speaking about novels, the disdain with which such works were regarded by educated men (when regarded at all), the humble nature of the entertainment which they provided, and the fact that the form itself, in spite of its great potentialities as medium of expression of all kinds of intellectual and artistic values, was nevertheless confined, in Graeco-Roman antiquity, to a narrow range of uses, tending either to become stereotyped as melodrama for the edification of children and the poor-in-spirit, or employed by intellectuals on isolated occasions for the ostensible purpose of satire or parody—all these aspects of the ancient novel maybe regarded as more or less typical of the initially restricted scope of the genre in any literature at an early stage in its history. The novel appears first on a low and disrespectable level of literature, adapted to the taste and understanding of uncultivated or frivolous-minded people. As such, it is ignored or despised as trivial by the prevailing literary fashion of the time, because that fashion honors only traditional or academic forms, usually more concentrated forms, and insists upon a higher standard of artistic or intellectual value than what is to be found in a string of fictitious adventures, or a love affair that end in complete felicity. (4-5)

Perry complicates the ancient view of the novel by offering "young people of both sexes" as the readership for the novel, specifically Chariton's *Callirhoe* (98), and by so doing unintentionally also denigrates the form of the novel as something that is not to be read by adults or sophisticated individuals. Other scholars have gone so far as to suggest that the primary audience of these first novels were women or that the authors of the novels were women based on the internal characteristics of the texts: the names of the novels, the weak male protagonists, the strong female characters, etc.

This view that the ancient novel had the poor-in-spirit, young people, or women as its intended audiences is no longer accepted by those who work on the ancient novel. For example, Tomas Hägg in his 1983 *The Novel in Antiquity* argues that based on the levels of increased literacy in the Eastern Mediterranean that started in the

late second century B.C., the readers of the ancient novel must have attained a high enough level of literacy to understand or appreciate, for example, Chariton's allusions to the classical historians and the novelist's intertextual use of Homer (90-101). Susan A. Stephens, Ken Dowden, and Ewen Bowie further clarify the problems around the intended readership and the requisite level of literacy necessary to not only enjoy the ancient novels but to also appreciate the narratological complexity that exists in some of them (cf. their essays in James Tatum's 1994 *The Search for the Ancient Novel*: "Who Read Ancient Novels," "The Roman Audience of *The Golden Ass*," and "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," respectively). Stephens posits that the while the ancient novels were popular, they were not as popular as Homer, Demosthenes, or Thucydides. Stephens writes that the readers or audience of these three authors, whom "we now think of as belonging to 'high culture'" (415), were probably the same readers of the ancient novels. Dowden concurs with Stephens when he theorizes that the audience for Apuleius' novel was an elite audience that was already infused by and accustomed to the intricacies and convolutions found in other early literature—the novel's readership could handle well the intertextuality combined with depictions of reality. Indeed, the readership may well have been an "elite, philosophically trained audience" (431).[3] Bowie firmly puts an end to the hypothesis of a readership "either intended or actual that centered on women, juveniles, and the 'poor in spirit'" in his masterful analysis of Longus' novel (453). The reader, Bowie notes, has to be mature, alert, and well-educated (452).[4]

In the modern academy the "ancient novel" was often neglected or disdained because it did not have any "noble" classical lineage. Since no one in the ancient world considered the ancient novel worthy of attention, why should the modern academy? Interestingly enough, the ancient novel has over time moved from being on the academic fringe to one of hottest fields in the world of Classical Studies. Gareth Schmeling outlines this change from the periphery to the center (or almost center) in his entertaining "International Conferences on the Ancient Novel (ICAN): The Intellectual Growth of an Idea, the Explosion of a Movement," wherein he writes:

> On 12-17 July 1976, at University College of North Wales, Bangor, B. P. Reardon organized ICAN I. After the conference he edited a volume entitled *Erotica Antiqua* (1977), which was a record of the opening session plus dinner and speaker; the names of the speakers and the titles of their papers (49 in number)….It was not until 1989…that ICAN II was held at Dartmouth College, under the guidance of James Tatum….117 participants… from 14 countries….Then in 1994 a new item was added to the ICAN profile, when Tatum edited a volume of 24 papers from the conference and published it as *The Search for the Ancient Novel*….The scholars who gathered for ICAN were beginning to publish as a group…. Eleven years later in 2000, ICAN was again held in July, 25-30, in Groningen, under the leadership of Maaike

> Zimmerman….The proceedings of ICAN III, *The Ancient Novel in Context*…provides the record of 99 speakers and the abstracts of their papers plus names and addresses (and email) of the 152 participants from 25 countries. S. Panayotakis, M. Zimmerman, W. Keulen edited a collection of 30 papers from the conference and entitled it *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden 2003). In 2008…at ICAN IV, organized by Marília Futre Pinheiro, held in Lisbon….270 speakers including 14 plenary session speakers, from 28 countries.

Before we move to discussing the new found acceptance of comics into the academy, it is useful to say a word or two about the struggle of that genre to gain acceptability. In *This Book Contains Graphic Language: Comics as Literature,* Rocco Versaci notes in his quotation and reference to Matthew Pustz' *Comic Book Culture: Fanboys and True Believers* that it is a common perception that the folks that read comics "form a very interesting, productive, but marginalized community" and that "most Americans view comic books with contempt, especially when read by adults" (2). Unlike the ancient novel,[5] at one time reading comics was thought to be harmful; that negative public sentiment led to the creation of the Comics Magazine Association of America "whose sole mission was to enforce the 'Comics Code,' widely regarded as the most restrictive ratings code that any entertainment medium in this country has ever faced" (8).

The graphic novel has also had a similar trajectory from a type of genre that was generally termed the "comics" and deemed as suitable only for "teenagers" to a class of literature and art that rightfully deserves serious academic attention. Roger Sabin's *Comics, Comix & Graphic Novels* supplies some fascinating background on comics since the nineteenth century and illustrates "where comics have been, where they are going, and above all what they can do" (7). Sabin covers a wide range of items in his analysis: the history of comics, traditional comics and their subversion by the comix movement, fan-based production systems, the relationship between comics and "Art," and academia's consideration of the genre. The "respectability" factor of the genre, it is suggested, hit a high when Art Speigelman won a Pulitzer Prize in 1992 for his *Maus*—Spiegelman was "the first cartoonist ever to be so honored" (186).

The increase in respectability of and interest in the comics genre has not gone unnoticed. For example, in 2000 Dave Eggers writes "After Wham! Pow! Shazam! Comic Books Move Beyond Superheroes to the World of Literature" in *The New York Times Book Review* on Lynda Barry's *The! Greatest! Of! Marlys!*, Ben Katchor's *Julius Knipl, Real Estate Photographer: The Beauty Supply District*, Daniel Clowes' *David Boring*, and Chris Ware's *Jimmy Corrigan: The Smartest Kid on Earth*. Interestingly enough, Eggers writes:

> There are always those who equate comics with the mean and puerile (sometimes with good reason), and thus respect for the literary cartoonist has been more stingily granted. But it does happen. The benchmark is Art Spiegelman's "Maus"—which is not only the ever-visible mountaintop of the medium but is widely considered

> one of the best books produced about the Holocaust, in any form. In its shadow, graphic novelists have been toiling ever since.

The *New York Times Magazine* four years later revisits the graphic novel in a cover story by Charles McGrath titled "Not Funnies," where one reads:

> Comic books are what novels used to be—an accessible, vernacular form with mass appeal—and if the highbrows are right, they're a form perfectly suited to our dumbed-down culture and collective attention deficit. Comics are also enjoying a renaissance and a newfound respectability right now….These are the graphic novels—the equivalent of "literary novels" in the mainstream publishing world—and they are beginning to be taken seriously by the critical establishment. "Jimmy Corrigan" even won the 2001 Guardian Prize for best first book, a prize that in other years has gone to authors like Zadie Smith, Jonathan Safran Foer and Philip Gourevitch. (24-25)

One may not be exactly sure what to make of McGrath's tone, but comics and graphic novels' inclusion in both *The New York Times Book Review* and *The New York Times Magazine* do give this medium a sort of popular respectability. This is not to say that *The New York Times* publications are the be-all and end-all for determining whether a literary genre is worthy of study. However, the pieces by Eggers and McGrath serve simply to convey to the non-academic public what has been happening in universities, colleges, and libraries across the country.[6] The move toward gaining respect in the academy parallels to a great extent that of the ancient novel. On this change, Catherine Labio's "What's in a Name?: The Academic Study of Comics and the 'Graphic Novel'" focuses on the actual phrase "graphic novel" vis-à-vis "comics":

> "Graphic novel" sanitizes comics; strengthens the distinction between high and low, major and minor; and reinforces the ongoing ghettoization of works deemed unworthy of critical attention, either because of their inherent nature (as in the case of works of humor) or because of their intended audience (lower, less-literate classes; children; and so on). Indeed, much would be lost if scholars were to jettison the comparative study of the complex sociolinguistic and cultural codes associated with comics in favor of a monocultural, one-note "graphic novel" in a sad search for respectability, relevance, and larger classes. (126)

Very well then. Here we have two genres that have experienced similar obstacles and successes as they move from lowbrow peripheries to acceptance in the academy. But how do the two genres relate to each other? How do comics or the graphic novel intersect with the ancient Graeco-Roman novels? In order to answer these two questions it is first necessary to touch upon the interaction between comics and graphic novel and the ancient Graeco-Roman Classics (not just the ancient novel). Second, one needs to take a look at the

so-called Romance Papyrus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl. gr. 1294), which is also known as the Alexander Papyrus.

The ancient Greek and Roman Classics have often been the inspiration for comics and graphic novels. For example, in his *The Slings & Arrows Comic Guide*, Frank Plowright includes among many other instances Eric Shanower's *Age of Bronze*, which focuses on the Trojan War; C. Scott Morse's *Ancient Joe*, which creates new myths but has Orphic undertones; Eddie Campbell's *Bacchus*, which, Plowright writes, "begins as a vehicle for retelling whichever Greek myths catch Campbell's magpie eye, with a certain joyous irreverence" (50); Albert Kanter's *Classics Illustrated*, which included among its 167 issues such well known Classics as Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Darren Brady's *Ikaris* and Alex Ogle's *Toad*, which are included in Amaze Ink's *Iliad*; and the Golden Fleece inspired *Jason and the Argonauts* (Oni Press) and *Jason and the Argonauts* (Tome).[7]

The ancient novel has also appeared in the modern graphic novel. Unfortunately, there are no comics that illustrate and adapt the Greek novels, but Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, for one reason or other, has caught the attention of the comics world. Not the entire novel, but the story of Cupid and Psyche, which is located almost at the midpoint of the larger novel; this story spans from book 4, section 28, to book 6, section 25, which is about twenty percent of the entire Roman novel. The content of Apuleius' story of Cupid and Psyche may partially account for the attention paid to this novel by graphic novel artists, illustrators, and authors. Apuleius includes love, sibling rivalries, deities, monsters, adventures, tasks that at first glance seem to be impossible to bring to completion, hidden identities, near-death experiences, helpful animals, angry in-laws, and a happy ending. A second reason that this ancient novel may have been selected for rendering as a graphic novel[8] is the novel's popularity in such other popular vehicles as Jean Cocteau's 1946 film *La Belle et la Bête*, Walt Disney Pictures' 1991 film *Beauty and the Beast*, and Linda Woolverton, Alan Menken, Howard Ashman, and Tim Rice's 1991 musical *Beauty and the Beast*.[9] I have not been able to locate any other modern graphic novels that are based on the ancient Greek
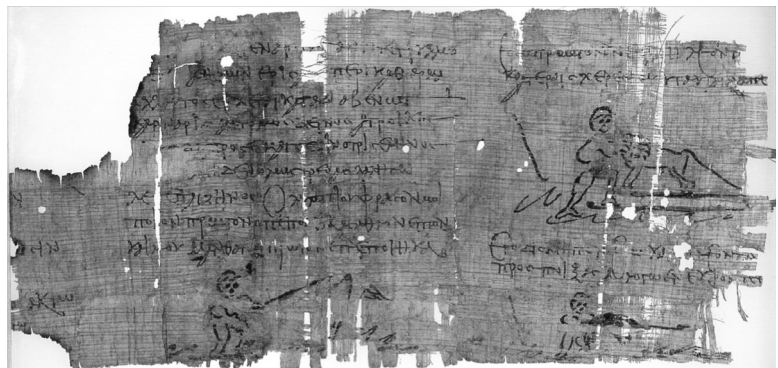

Figure 1: the Alexander Papyrus

and Roman novels, which is surprising since Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is also a story of young love that encounters all sorts of obstacles and ends happily. Perhaps *Daphnis and Chloe* will turn into a graphic novel at some point since Fokine found this ancient text interesting enough to create a ballet, *Daphnis et Chloé*, for which Ravel created the music, and the story was also used by Jacques Offenbach for the operetta *Daphnis et Chloé* and by Marc Chagall to create beautiful paintings (and Goethe once even said that this Greek novel should be reread every year in order to learn from it and appreciate its beauty) (*Conversations with Eckermann*, March 21, 1831).

The most thorough study of the relationship between the Classics and comics and graphic novels is George Kovacs and C. W. Marshall's *Classics and Comics*, which includes sixteen essays that cover a wide spectrum of topics. Among them is an intriguing article by Gideon Nisbet titled "An Ancient Greek Graphic Novel: *P.Oxy*. XII 2331," which partially discusses the so-called Romance Papyrus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl. gr. 1294; also known as the Alexander Papyrus). (Figure 1) This papyrus fragment possibly dates to the second century, was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1900, and has yet to be published. It has been speculated that this ancient Greek manuscript is of an unknown novel—I suggest that is not only an example of ancient novel, but it may be one of the earliest extant examples of a literary precursor to the modern graphic novel.
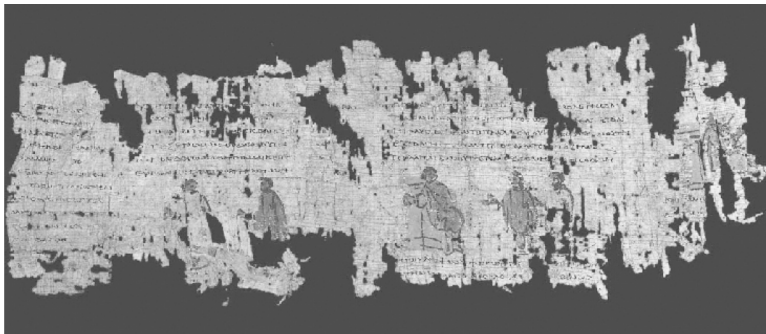

Figure 2: the Hercules Papyrus

Nisbet has as the focus of his essay another early papyrus that has also been suggested as a precursor to the graphic novel: the Hercules papyrus, *P.Oxy*. XXII 2331. (Figure 2) The Hercules papyrus was discovered by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt in Graeco-Roman Egypt's Oxyrhynchus. The papyrus was published in C. H. Robert's 1954 *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and is believed to date to mid-third century A.D. The papyrus contains one or two columns of verse and some *grulloi*, which are "humorous cartoons, drawn in black ink and with fading traces of original coloration in green and two shades of yellow" (Nisbet 28). Illustrations of any type are rarely found on papyri according to Nisbet, but the existence of *P.Oxy*. XXII 2331 possibly confirms the yet unproven hypothesis that the ancients illustrated their "books."

The publication of this papyrus caused Kurt Weitzmann some concern because Weitzmann had pretty much established what most people believed about illustrated texts from antiquity: in "classical antiquity, book illustration was reserved for well-loved literary classics—popular texts such as the *Iliad*. The illustrated versions of these were run off in volume for something approaching a mass readership, much wider than the readership that classicists and ancient historians would normally associate with ancient literary texts" (Nisbet 31). The objections to Weitzmann's theory are too many to enumerate in this essay. However, it can be said that Weitzmann based his idea on the Romance Papyrus, which Weitzmann noted, was proof that "popular books"—whichever way one interprets that phrase—were illustrated in the classical period. Unfortunately, the Roman Papyrus is the only illustrated text that exists from the classical period since all other papyri that have been discovered thus far are post-classical in date.[10]

Since the Romance Papyrus has not been published, it is necessary to review what others have said about the papyrus. The earliest work that mentions the Romance Papyrus dates to 1906: Josef Strzygowski and Adolf Bauer's *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik* (pages 174-177), which refers to but does not describe in detail this papyrus.[11] It is said that this papyrus contains "einen Roman" (174). In 1914, Oskar K. Wulff writes *Altchristliche Und Byzantinische Kunst* and includes a reference to the unpublished papyrus on page 280, but he does add that the papyrus "enthält einen unbekannten Roman." This is true, the papyrus contains a text that has not been identified, but the accuracy of the "Roman" label is unclear. In the main text of *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie I Jego Tradycje W Sredniowieczu,* which is written in Polish, Stanislaw J. Gasiorowski does not mention that the papyrus contains an unknown romance (2), but he does do so in the English synopsis of the tradition of the roll in monuments (section V); he footnotes Wulff in the Polish text. J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber (*New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Third Series: Some Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Classical and Later Periods*) have some doubt that the papyrus contains a novel ("if it is rightly ascribed to romance, would raise the interesting question of the illustrated novel" [253]). The 1958 *Byzance Et La France Médiévale: Manuscrits À Peintures Du Ile Au XVie Siècle, [exposition]* includes a description of the text:

> Fragment de rouleau dont le texte n'a pas été identifié. Il y est question d'un chef de district, d'une vieille femme et d'un soldat; ces deux derniers, en contestation pour une affaire d'argent semble-t-il, comparaissent devant le gouverneur siégeant à son tribunal. Les petits personnages peints illustrent cette partie du récit. (Translation: Papyrus roll fragment; the text has not been identified. It is about a district chief, an old woman and a soldier; the latter two seem to be arguing about a matter of money and appear before the governor sitting in his court. Small painted figures illustrate this part of the text.)

Ten years later Hugo Buchthal (*The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*) echoes this: "the well-known

fragmentary papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in which an otherwise obscure Greek novel is unpretentiously illustrated with single features and straightforward scenes, simply arranged beneath the text" (58).

Kurt Weitzmann is the scholar most closely associated with the Romance Papyrus—although as stated above, the papyrus itself has not been published. Weitsmann first writes about the papyrus in 1947 in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*:

> This fragment, generally attributed to the second century A.D., contains remnants of three writing columns, the text of which, supposedly an unknown romance, is not yet identified. Each column contains a scene: the first shows two figures in tunics with clavi, one of whom is turning around as if in a hurry to leave the other; the second picture, which is placed one writing line higher up in the column than the first, represents another discussion scene between a man sitting on the left on a throne and two persons standing in front of him; of the third scene, which is about five lines higher up in the column than the second, only a part of a very damaged figure is left, which sits on a piece of brown colored furniture. All figures are outlined by thick, black brush strokes, their garments painted in pink and blue-grey, and their faces in brown, done in a very rough manner with no great skill. Even so, it is clear from the attitude and the gestures of the figures that a Greek-Hellenistic model stands behind them.

In his 1951 *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* Weitzmann declares that this literary papyrus is the only one that has illustrations on it and repeats that it seems to be an unidentified love romance, yet unpublished (197). In his 1957 "Narration in Early Christendom," Weitzmann states the same thing about the identification of the romance without much detail about the nature of the papyrus. However, in his 1959 *Ancient Book Illumination* the description of this "unidentified" (100) love romance is much more complete:

> It contains the remnants of three writing columns, each with a miniature at a different level in the place where it best fits the text. In the first scene two persons, dressed in tunics with clavi, apparently have just had an argument and one of them is leaving in haste; in the second, two standing persons talk with a third who is seated on a throne and by his chlamys characterized as a man of higher rank; of the third, only a seated man is left, presumably the same as in the second. The style of the figures is rather sketchy, the thick outlines are filled with simple pink and grey-blue color, and as a whole the pictures are of a low quality and rather stereotyped; nevertheless, they prove for the romance also the existence of a type of illustration characterized by a dense sequence of several phrases of one episode, allowing the reader to read the progress of the action just as coherently in the picture as he does in the text.

In 1979, Weitzmann includes the papyrus in two separate publications: *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, Through February 12, 1978* and *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*. In the former, he notes that the papyrus is a "fictional narrative, or romance, but too little survives to identify the subject more closely." In this book, he does give a more detailed description of the characters, though:

> Scene 1: a man and an old woman are having an argument; the woman moves away to the left. They were tunics with stripes (clavi); one tunic is pink, the other is gray blue. Scene 2: the same two figures stand before a magistrate, who is seated on a yellow chair or throne. Their vigorous gestures show that they are addressing the seated man. There is no background or groundline. The sketchy figures were drawn quickly, with bold contours; then color was added.

In the latter, a brief reference is made to "a romance from the second century, in Paris" (10).[12]

And so, it can be seen that we have two genres that were created millennia apart but have had similar trajectories in their respective developments. Both the ancient novel and the modern graphic novel were at first rejected, disdained, or relegated to the periphery of respectability. Academic recognition of both genres changed how one views these genres and through this recognition scholarship on these two literary and artistic fields has increased tremendously. For example, this special issue of *Works and Days* is evidence of that increase and clearly demonstrates the need for further scholarly enquiry into this topic. The Romance Papyrus—whether or not it truly contains a fragment from an ancient novel—serves as a good catalyst for analysis of both the ancient and the modern varieties of fiction and illustrated texts. The next step (and project in my research agenda) is to publish BnF supplément grec 1294, which is located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in order to verify if it is a novel or not. The graphic illustrations should help.

Notes

[1] Cf. Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments*, for a detailed review of the fragments.

[2] Willem J. Aerts, "The 'Entführung aus dem Serail'-motif in the Byzantine (vernacular) Romances," in Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman, and Wytse H. Keulen, *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, 381-92.

[3] Heinz Hoffman identifies the audience for the Roman novels as "broadly" (6) the same as that of the Greek novels.

[4] In "The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novels" (in Gareth Schmeling, *The Novel in the Ancient World*, 87-106) Bowie states that the "sophistic novels" were principally "intended for and chiefly read by well educated readers" and that *Callirhoe* may have had the same intended audience, but the *Ephesiaca* may have had a "lower level of reader" (105-106). J. R. Morgan in his introduction to his and Richard Stoneman's *Greek Fiction: The Greek*

Novel in Context succinctly summarizes the current view of readership: "The canonical novels and most of the other types of fiction discussed in this book clearly took themselves seriously as literature, and imply a high standard of literary competence among their readers, for example in the matters of allusion and stylistic awareness. There is nothing to support the idea that they were targeted solely or primarily at those of few means, low taste and poor education. No doubt the audience for Greek fiction was not monolithic and was stratified to some degree by taste and social class." (4-5). On female readership, see Brigitte Egger's "Looking at Chariton's *Callirhoe*" in this collection by Morgan and Stoneman. For the most recent survey on novel audience/readership, cf. Richard Hunter's "Ancient Readers" in Tim Whitmarsh, *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*, 261-71.

[5] This is not exactly accurate. Although the ancient novel was not appreciated as a separate and unique genre by the ancients and even when it was referred to as a type of literature, the ancients can be said to have been hostile toward this type of narrative. For example, Julian the Apostate writes a letter in which he warns pagan priests against reading novels (cf. Susan A. Stephens, "Fragments of Lost Novels," in Schmeling 2003, 655-683). The prohibition might have been based more on the erotic tone of the novels rather than on the quality or caliber of the writing.

[6] Stephen E. Tabachnick's *Teaching the Graphic Novel* supplies a diverse, thorough, and comprehensive array of essays that focus on the graphic novel and its entry into and use in the academy. Of special and relevant interest for the graphic novel and the academy, confer the following essays. Gretchen E. Schwarz' "Graphic Novels for Multiple Literacies" surveys the arguments for the inclusion of novels across the curriculum and Amanda Gluibizzi suggests in "The Aesthetics and Academics of Graphic Novels and Comics" that graphic novels can serve to facilitate or enhance the university or college library's role in the learning and creative process. In "Looking High and Low at Comic Art," Katherine Roeder discusses the intellectual and artistic respectability of the graphic novel and attempts to answer the question of why the field has been neglected and the possibilities it may hold for scholars of American art. However, Roeder does point out a problem that stems from the nomenclature being used: "The term 'graphic novel' is used most often as a means of distinguishing the work from comic books and their mass-cultural associations. This unfortunately fosters a high-low dynamic within a field that is already marginalized and fighting for aesthetic approval" (6). Jan Baetens somewhat echoes Roeder's sentiment in his "Of Graphic Novels and Minor Cultures: the Fréon Collective" when he writes that it is "largely assumed that all media are created equal, but some media nevertheless remain 'more equal' than others. The spectacular cultural upgrading of comics—first ignored by academics, yet eventually embraced, though not as comics *per se* but as 'graphic novels'—illustrates, however, that hierarchies are never fixed. The graphic novel now has its own journals, its own conferences, and even an MLA handbook" (95). Baetens also notes that there even exists a divide between how the French and American scholars view comics. The *bande dessinée* has not sparked much academic interest in the French academy, but "in the US the institutionalization of the study of the *bande dessinée* seems to follow more closely the wide cultural legitimization of the genre" (95). Hillary Chute in "The Texture of Retracing in Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*" also lists the areas of academic respectability into which the graphic novel has entered. Elizabeth M. Downey's "Graphic Novels in Curriculum and Instruction Collections" wonderfully traces the progression of the genre: "What was once disregarded as a lower form of literature has evolved into pop culture artifact, then into a tool to lure the reluctant reader, and now a medium to increase literacy, comprehension, knowledge, and creative thinking" (186).

[7] One should also include William Messner-Loebs and Sam Kieth's *Epicurus the Sage* in which we read of Epicurus and his adventures and encounters with Plato, Aristotle, and Alexander the Great. The table of contents lists "Visiting Hades," "Many loves of Zeus," "Riding the sun," and "Helen's boys."

[8] Some examples of the popularity of Apuleius in graphic novel form are: Marie P. Croall and Ron Randall's *Psyche & Eros: The Lady and the Monster: a Greek Myth* (London: Lerner, 2010); Ryan Foley and Sankha Banerjee's *Stolen Hearts: The Love of Eros and Psyche* (New Delhi: Kalyani Navyug Media, 2010); and Marcia Williams' *Psyche and Eros* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). It should be noted that Marie P. Croall and Ron Randall's *Psyche & Eros: The Lady and the Monster: a Greek Myth* incorrectly titles this story as a Greek myth when, in fact, there is no Greek example of this story. It is generally agreed that Apuleius created an original story for the tale of Psyche and Eros (better known as Cupid). While the *Metamorphoses* novel may have a Greek model for the basic structure of the general plot, the story of the lovers is unique to Apuleius.

[9] There are too many incarnations of Apuleius' story in modern pop culture to list.

[10] Weitzmann writes that the papyrus is a "second century A.D. papyrus of an unknown romance" (Edgar Lobel and Colin H. Roberts. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part XXII*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1954, 85).

[11] Cf. entry 2641 in Roger A. Pack's *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965) page 137 for bibliographical sources for this papyrus.

[12] The Bibliothèque nationale de France has the papyrus in its electronic catalogue (BnF, département des Manuscrits, supplément grec 1294; http://classes.bnf.fr/livre/grand/306.htm). The relevant section of the entry reads: "Dans ce rouleau, l'alliance des quelques mots lisibles et des illustrations permet de deviner le sens général du récit: deux personnages, l'un vêtu de rose et l'autre de bleu, sans doute une vieille femme et un soldat, sont en contestation au sujet d'une grosse somme d'argent; aussi se rendent-ils chez le juge, que l'on voit siéger sur une espèce de trône ocre, pour qu'il règle leur différend. La technique des petits dessins qui ponctuent le texte écrit est sobre, mais d'une grande expressivité: quatre couleurs seulement sont utilisées, les mouvements et les reliefs étant soulignés par des traits noirs."

Works Cited

Baetens, Jan. "Of Graphic Novels and Minor Cultures: the Fréon Collective." *Yale French Studies* 114 (2008): 95-115. Print.

Byzance Et La France Médiévale: Manuscrits À Peintures Du Ile Au XVie Siècle, [exposition]. Paris, 1958. Print.

Buchthal, Hugo. *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*. London: Warburg Institute, 1968. Print.

Chute, Hillary. "The Texture of Retracing in Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36 (2008): 92-110. Print.

Croall, Marie P., and Ron Randall. *Psyche & Eros: The Lady and the Monster: a Greek Myth*. London: Lerner, 2010. Print.

Downey, Elizabeth M. "Graphic Novels in Curriculum and Instruction Collections." *Reference & User Services Quarterly* 36.2 (2009): 181-188. Print.

Eggers, Dave. "After Wham! Pow! Shazam! Comic Books Move Beyond Superheroes to the World of Literature." *The New York Times Book Review* (November 26, 2000): 10-11.

Foley, Ryan, and Sankha Banerjee. *Stolen Hearts: The Love of Eros and Psyche*. New Delhi: Kalyani Navyug Media, 2010. Print.

Gasiorowski, Stanislaw J. *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie I Jego Tradycje W Sredniowieczu*. Krakow: Wydane z zasilku warunkowo-zwrotnego Wydzialu nauki Ministerstwa wyznan religijnych i oswiecenia publicznego, 1928. Print.

Gluibizzi, Amanda. "The Aesthetics and Academics of Graphic Novels and Comics." *Art Documentation: Bulletin of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 26.1 (2007): 28-30. Print.

Goethe, Johann W., and Johann P. Eckermann. *Conversations with Eckermann, 1823-1832*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984. Print.

Hägg, Tomas. *The Novel in Antiquity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983. Print.

Hofmann, Heinz. *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Kovacs, George, and C. W. Marshall. *Classics and Comics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.

Labio, Catherine. "What's in a Name?: the Academic Study of Comics and the 'graphic Novel'." *Cinema Journal* 50.3 (2011): 123-126. Print.

Lobel, Edgar, and Colin H. Roberts. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part XXII*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1954. Print.

McGrath, Charles. "Not Funnies." *The New York Times Magazine* (July 11, 2004): 24-33.

Messner-Loebs, William, and Sam Kieth. *Epicurus the Sage*. Los Angeles: WildStorm Productions, 2003. Print.

Morgan, J. R., and Richard Stoneman. *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*. London: Routledge, 1994. Print.

Pack, Roger A. *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965. Print.

Panayotakis, Stelios, Maaike Zimmerman, and Wytse H. Keulen. *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2003. Print.

Perry, Ben Edwin. *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. Print.

Plowright, Frank. *The Slings & Arrows Comic Guide*. Great Britain: Slings & Arrows, 2003. Print.

Powell, J. U., and E. A. Barber. *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Third Series: Some Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Classical and Later Periods*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933. Print.

Roeder, Katherine. "Looking High and Low at Comic Art." *American Art* 22 (2008): 2-9. Print.

Sabin, Roger. *Comics, Comix & Graphic Novels*. London: Phaidon, 2001. Print.

Schmeling, Gareth L. "International Conferences on the Ancient Novel (ICAN): The Intellectual Growth of an Idea, the Explosion of a Movement." *Ancient Narrative* 10 (2012): 89–93. Web. 10 Jan. 1914.

Schmeling, Gareth L. *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003. Print.

Schwarz, Gretchen E. "Graphic Novels for Multiple Literacies." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 46.3 (2002): 262-265. Print.

Stephens, Susan A., and John J. Winkler. *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. Print.

Strzygowski, Josef, and Adolf Bauer. *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik: II*. Wien: A. Hölder, 1906. Print.

Tabachnick, Stephen E. *Teaching the Graphic Novel*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2009. Print.

Tatum, James. *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. Print.

Versaci, Rocco. *This Book Contains Graphic Language: Comics As Literature*. New York: Continuum, 2007. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, Through February 12, 1978*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Ancient Book Illumination*. Cambridge: Published for Oberlin College and the Department of Art & Archaeology of Princeton University by Harvard University Press, 1959. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*. New York: G. Braziller, 1977. Print.

Weitzmann, Kurt. "Narration in Early Christendom." *American Journal of Archaeology* 61.1 (1957): 83-91. Print.

Whitmarsh, Tim. *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Print.

Williams, Marcia. *Psyche and Eros*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Print.

Wulff, Oskar K. *Altchristliche Und Byzantinische Kunst*. Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H, 1914. Print.