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## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, J.N., "Words for Prostitute in Latin," *RhM* 126 (1983) 321-358.

Alexandrou, A., trans. *Petroniou Satyricon* (Athens: Nephela, 1985). Introduction, pp. 7-26; translation with notes, pp. 27-214. Greek translation only. (Sakellariou)

Apuleius, *Amor en Psyche* (*Met.* IV 28 - VI 24), vertaling van Hein Boeken. *Met een inleiding, aantekeningen en een nawoord van Rudi van der Paardt* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984) 88 pages. A reprint of the Dutch translation by Hein Boeken (1901) with a new introduction, notes and epilogue on Boeken's connections with Apuleius by R. van der Paardt.

Baldwin, B., "The Slaves' Chorus in Petronius," *Emerita* 52 (1984) 295-296. "The Greek refrain *μαδεα περιμαδεα* at *Satyricon* 52,10 has been much suspected and much emended by editors. I offer a new textual solution, one that is palaeographically close, suitable to the narrative, and supportable by parallels in other Greek and Roman writers ... Read, therefore, *μαδεα περιμαδεα* ... translating as "Baldy! Baldy!"

Baldwin, B., "Apuleius, Tacitus, and Christians," *Emerita* 52 (1984) 1-3. "Collation of Apuleius, *Met.* IX 14 with Tacitus, *Ann.* XV 44 strongly suggests that the former is deliberately echoing the latter, thus furnishing evidence that Tacitus was read soon after his death, despite the usual contrary statements. Furthermore, Apuleius can clearly be seen to be alluding to Christians rather than Jews, a disclosure that may settle that perennial dispute amongst Apuleian scholars as to whom the novelist is satirizing."

Baldwin, B., "Trimalchio and Maecenas," *Latomus* 43 (1984) 402-403. Baldwin suggests that the lines quoted from 'Publilius' by Trimalchio in 55 are intended by Petronius as a parody of the poetry of Maecenas. [Astbury]

Barbieri, A., *Gli inserti poetici nel Satyricon di Petronio* (Milano 1974). Reference only, seen in E. Flores, "Petronio e lo *schedium Lucilianae humilitatis*," *Prosimetrum e Spoudogeloion* (Genova: Università di Genova Facoltà di Lettere, 1982) p. 66. If anyone knows of this publication, I would appreciate a copy.

Barchiesi, M., "L'orologio di Trimalchione (struttura e tempo narrativo in Petronio)," *I Moderni alla ricerca di Enea* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1981) 109-146. [Book of essays, 177 pages]. On the macrostructure of the text and the narrative rhythm imposed by Petronius.

Bastet, F.L., "Petronius en de schilderkunst," *Hermeneus* 54 (1982) 139-152.

Bauer, J.B., "Semitisches bei Petron," *Festschrift für Robert Muth zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Paul Händel (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft 1983) 17-23. A bibliographic correction.

Bechet, F., "Cena Trimalchionis - Spectacol implicit și explicit," *Studii Clasice* 22 (1984) 51-55.

Boerma, R.E.H. Westendorp, "Het Weeuwteje van Ephesus (Petron. *Saty.* c. 110,6 - 113,3)," *Hermeneus* 54 (1982) 94-109.

Borghini, A., "Petronio *Sat.* LVIII 3 e LXII 6: Nota di Folklore," *MD* 9 (1982) 167-174. An inquiry into the significance of the magic circle and *circummingere* and their survival into modern Italy.

Browne, G., "Chariton and Coptic," *ICS* 10 (1985) 135-137.  
Cervellera, M., "Omossessualità e ideologia schiavistica in Petronio," *Index* 11 (1982) 221-234. The passive role of some homosexuals is compared to that of many slaves. Passivity = slavery = repression.

Chiarini, G., "Esogamia e incesto nella *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*," *MD* 10-11 (1983) 267-292. Chiarini sees the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* as a kind of popular tale (or a written version of a popular tale) in which the "literary" incest of King Antiochus and his daughter can be seen as *esogamia*, tribal law prohibiting marriage of two persons of the same tribe. Apollonius is the external hero who tests the system. The tribal system functions well in the case of King Archistrates and his daughter, in whose relationship there is only the proper form of father-daughter love. Apollonius is again the external hero, but this time he wins the girl. This novel sets the example of one father off against the example of the other.

Citroni, M., "Copo compilatus: Nota a Petronio 62, 12," *Prometheus* 10 (1984) 33-36. Citroni holds that Rogge [*PhW* 47 (1927) 1021f.] was the first to interpret properly the expression *copo compilatus* as an "innkeeper who had been robbed", and that he need not necessarily be a character from the stage, but that the expression was probably proverbial. For further evidence Citroni cites a passage from the *commentariolum petitionis* (2.8) [attributed to Quintus Cicero].

Citroni, M., "Un' espressione proverbiale in Petronio (67, 10)," *Prometheus* 9 (1983) 247-256.

Colton, R.E., "A Note on Petronius and Chekhov," *Classical Bulletin* 61 (1985) 11-12. Colton attempts "to show the similarities (and some of the differences) between Petronius' passage [the Widow of Ephesus, *Sat.* 111-112] and Anton Chekhov's one-act farce *The Bear* ... 1888."

Daviault, A., "La destination d'Encolpe et la structure du *Satyricon*: Conjectures," *Cahiers des Études Anciennes* 15 (1983) 29-46. Puteoli, location of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, is mid-point between Marseilles where the *Satyricon* began and Lampsacus where Petronius may have intended to end his novel.

Dimundo, R., "La novella del fanciullo di Pergamo. Structure narrative e tecnica del racconto," *AFLB* 25-26 (1982-83) 133-178. Bibliographic correction.

Dimundo, Rosabla, "Da Socrate a Eumolpo. Degradazione dei personaggi e delle funzioni nella novella del fanciullo di Pergamo," *MD* 10-11 (1983) 255-265. A comparison of Alcibiades-Socrates with the young lad-Eumolpus in *Sat.* 85 or, stated differently, a comparison of Alcibiades/young lad with Socrates/Eumolpus, shows a clever parody of the Greeks by the Roman Petronius.

Evenhuis, J.R., "De discrete charme van de Petronius-veraltsingen," Hermeneus 54 (1982):156-159.

Fehling, D., "Die alten Literaturen als Quelle der neuzeitlichen Märchen," in Antiker Mythos in unseren Märchen (Kassel: Erich Röth Verlag, 1984) 79-92. Fehling reasserts his thesis that Apuleius invented the tale of Cupid and Psyche himself and maintains that it was this literary version which gave rise to later versions. Swahn rejects this thesis (see Swahn below). [Scobie]

Ferrero, A., "La simplicitas nell' età Giulio-Claudia," AAT 114 (1980) 127-154. Discussion, among other authors, of Petronius and his *nova simplicitas*.

Beiträge zum griechischen Liebesroman, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Hans Gärtner (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984) XII + 472 pp. 68 DM. Olms Studien 20.

Gärtner is known to scholars of the ancient novel as a perceptive and innovative researcher. We continue to be in his debt with the publication of this collection of previously printed essays. The earliest article in this book was published in 1892 and the latest in 1969. Several of the articles originally appeared in journals or books which are now exceedingly difficult to obtain. Gärtner divides his project into two parts: Teil I Zur Gattung des antiken Liebesroman (10 different modern authors) and Teil II Zu einzelnen Werken (10 authors). The selections chosen for Teil I deal with the origins and rise of the Greek novel in antiquity and come from the pens of such scholars as Bürger, Heinze, Lavagnini, Perry, and Reardon, who try in general terms to define and characterize the Greek novel. Teil II is concerned with studies on individual authors. There is one article on Chariton, one on the dependence of Xenophon on Chariton, one on Xenophon, one on Achilles Tatius, two on Longus, and four on Heliodorus. Gärtner chooses certain pieces for re-printing because (1) they are seminal works or (2) they deal comprehensively with special problems in one author (e.g., Keydell's article on dating Heliodorus). Gärtner's book is a most valuable tool for research in the ancient Greek novel.

Gagliardi, D., "La Letteratura dell' Irrazionale in Età Neroniana (Lineamenti d' una Ricerca)," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 2047-2065. "Petronio e l' Irrazionale" pp. 2054-2058. "Nel 'Satyricon' i personaggi talvolta si perdono al buio, e queste tenebre paiono quasi denotare un' eclissi della ragione, i segni d'una temperie di disfacimento e d' illogicità" (p. 2058).

Gagliardi, D., "Il corteo di Trimalchione: Nota a Petron. 28, 4-5," RFIC 112 (1984) 285-287. He argues that the description of Trimalchio's departure from the public baths is intended to recall a funeral procession. [Astbury]

Giardina, G., "Note a Petronio," Museum Criticum 18 (1983) 243. At Sat. 12.6 read <parvi aes>timaret fidem oculorum; at 14.8 read rixam discussi; at 117.2 read inopiam for +pensm+.

Gillmeister, R., "The Origin of European Ball Games: A Re-Evaluation and Linguistic Analysis," Stadion 7 (1981) 19-51. A discussion of, among other things, Chapter 13 of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, in which a ball game is described.

Griffin, Miriam, Nero: End of a Dynasty (London: Batsford, 1984). See especially "The Artistic Tyrant" (pp. 143-163; Notes 273-281). It is possible to find contemporary allusions to Lucan and Seneca in the Satyricon, but is difficult to know what to do with them. "The Theory of a Literary Opposition. This notion has usually been accompanied by the view that there were in Neronian Rome literary circles in which contrasting styles of writing accompanied contrasting political ideologies and even contrasting philosophies. Nero's conflicts with contemporary writers are then seen in terms of the support and hostility of particular groups ... What evidence can we use to identify the supposed coteries? Literary judgements are no guide to alignments. Everyone professed to admire Virgil and Horace, declared themselves against archaisms, neologisms and excessively high-flown expressions, and advocated straight clear diction. More precise criticism of particular writers or more specific recommendations, such as the demand, made by Petronius' hero, for divine intervention in epic, tell us more; but not enough to enable us to assign writers to different stylistic schools ... Even where we feel some confidence in detecting allusions - as in Petronius' poem or the Civil War - the spirit of the reference eludes us, - hostile or complimentary, serious or ironic" (pp. 155-156).

Hermeneus 54.2 (April-May 1982). Whole issue devoted to studies in Petronius; items are found in this Bibliography under the names of the authors who wrote them. P. 66 is a translation of Tacitus Ann. 16.18-19 by A.D. Leeman; pp. 67, 73, 75, 114, 116, 123, 132, 140, 141, 146, 148, 150, 166, contain picture suggestive from the ancient world; pp. 154, 155, 160 have photographs from the Fellini Satyricon.

Herrmann, L., "Pandera selon Phèdre e Pétrone," REA 83 (1981) 281-282. Herrmann argues that the story of the Widow of Ephesus in Petronius and Phaedrus alludes to a story in Celsus that a soldier called Pandera was the lover of Mary, mother of Jesus, and that the references to cannibalism in the Croton episode allude to the Christian eucharist; hence it may be concluded that Petronius was anti-Christian. [Astbury]

Horsfall, N., "Aspects of Virgilian Influence in Roman Life," Atti del Convegno Mondiale Scientifico di Studi su Virgilio, Mantova, Roma, Napoli, 19-24 Settembre 1981 (Milano: Mondadori, 1982) vol. 2, pp. 47-63. Virgil is so popular that even slaves and ex-slaves quote from him in the Cena. Trimalchio for his part has Trojan War scenes as his wall. See pages 49, 57.

Horsfall, N., "The Origins of the Illustrated Book," Aegyptus 43 (1983) 199-216. Horsfall suggests (p. 210) that Trimalchio's Homer paintings may be related to book illustrations of Homer. [N.W. Slater]

Jones, F., "Two Notes on Petronius," Acta Classica 27 (1984) 136-138. At Sat. 104 read ceterum Lichas [ut] Tryphaenae somnium exp[er]iavit <et> ... inquit: "But Lichas (unlike Eumolpus) was terrified at Tryphaena's dream and said (in response to Eumolpus) ..." At 110.4 read quem alloquio dignum <iam> ne Lichas quidem crederet: "no-one else was talking to me, and even Lichas (who had not been interested in Giton before) did not believe me worth talking to (as soon as he saw him repositum in pristinum decorem)."

Jones, F., "An Aspect of Petronian Speeches," LCM 9.5 (1984) 66-69. Jones discusses examples of changes of direction within the speeches of Petronius' characters and how Petronius uses this technique "to adumbrate the scenes behind the speeches and to increase the fullness of the characters". [Astbury]

Jones, F., "A Note on Petronius 9.10 - 10.1," LCM 9.9 (1984) 131. Jones suggests that Encolpius' words subduxisti te a praeceptoris colloquio, which are "grossly anticlimactic" and "irrelevant to the matter in hand", are incomplete and broken off by Ascyrtos' interruption quid ego, etc. [Astbury]

La Penna, A., "L'ariete di Polifemo in Petronio," Maia 35 (1983) 123-124. At Sat. 97.4 read pronò arieti.

La Penna, A., "L'intellettuale emarginato da Orazio a Petronio," in Il comportamento dell' intellettuale nella società antica. Atti delle Settime Giornate Filologiche Genovesi, 1979 (Genova: Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale, Università di Genova Facoltà di Lettere, 1980) 67-91. Comments on the isolation of the intellectual in a world controlled by money, greed, ignorance and the vulgus.

La Penna, A., "Tre Note alla Novella della Matriona di Efeso in Petronio," Maia 37 (1985) 45-47. La Penna writes three short notes. (1) Sat. 111.6 vitio gentis humanae looks back to Sallust Historiae fr. I 7 M and fr. I 103 M. (2) Sat. 112.2 nec deformis aut infacundus iuvenis castae videbatur looks back to Ovid Ars Amatoria 2.123-4. (3) Donna debole o ipocrita? La Penna feels that Widow of Ephesus is debole and probably not ipocrita in her failed attempt to commit suicide on her husband's body.

La Penna, A., "Il Bellum Civile di Petronio e il Proemio delle Historiae di Sallustio," RFIC 113 (1985) 170-173. La Penna compares the Bellum Civile of Sat. 119-124 with the Historiae of Sallust.

Leeman, A.D., "Petronius en de literatuur van zijn tijd," Hermeneus 54 (1982) 110-119.

Loporcaro, M., "Il proemio di Eumolpo. Petronio, Satyricon 83, 10," Maia 36 (1984) 255-261. L. argues that the function of the poem qui pelago credit as Eumolpus's proem is shown not only by its position but also by its structure and content. [Astbury]

MacQueen, B., "Longus and the Myth of Chloë," ICS 10 (1985) 119-134.

Marzullo, B., "Petron. 58, 7-9 (alogias menias)," Museum Criticum 18 (1983) 245-257. Confusion over ἀλογουμένα leads a proud but uneducated man to utter alogias menias. Marzullo studies the literary motif of a proud but ignorant man who boasts that he cannot read or write.

Morford, M., "Nero's Patronage and Participation in Literature and the Arts," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II. 32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 2003-2031. Morford divides this study into four parts (Imperial Literary Patronage before Nero, Neronian Literary Patronage, Neronian Games and Festivals, Nero's Visit to Greece), a conclusion, three appendices, and a bibliography. "Patronage of literature, music, and the arts, was a part of the Augustan policies that Nero and his advisers sought to recreate in 54. Once Nero let this side of his policy consume his attention and his personal energies he was bound to fail" (p. 2027).

Narducci, E., "Commercio e status sociale in Cicerone e in Petronio (a proposito di un recente libro di John H. D'Arms)," Quaderni di Storia 10(1984) 229-245. On pages 235-245 Narducci discusses the value of J. D'Arms, "The 'Typicality' of Trimalchio," Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome (Harvard 1981) pp. 97-120.

Nelson, H.L.W. "Het vulgaire Latijn van Petronius," Hermeneus 54 (1982) 82-93.

van der Paardt, R. Th., "Tot welk genre behoort Petronius' Satyricon? Een nieuwe poging," Hermeneus 54 (1982) 68-81.

Pekkanen, T., "Petroniana," Arctos 18 (1984) 65-73. Sat. 52.9 madeia perimadeia are distortions of Homer's Odyssey 6.129. Sat. 58.9 longe venio, late venio: "When venio is understood as fiio and longe and late as predicative adverbs used instead of the corresponding adjectives, the riddle longe venio, late venio is easily solved as longus fio, latus fio, 'I become long, I become broad' ... The solution of the riddle is the same as that of the two following, i.e. penis."

Pellegrino, C., "A proposito delle tre biblioteche di Trimalchione e dei vitia di Massa: Petron. Satyr. 48,4 e 68,8," Sileno 7 (1981) 187-201. Of the three libraries ascribed to Trimalchio at 48.4 Pellegrino contends that one is Semitic. The remark of Habinnas at Sat. 68.8 that his slave is recutitus should be understood to be anti-Semitic.

Perutelli, A., "Modo modo e Petron. 38,7," RFIC 112 (1984) 171-176. Perutelli discusses the use of the phrase modo modo at 37.3, 42.3 and 46.8 and argues that at 38.7 modo modo solebat collo suo ligna portare should be read. [Astbury]

Petersmann, H., "Umwelt, Sprachsituation und Stilschichten in Petrons 'Satyrica'," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 1687-1705. Petersmann divides his article into six sections: Entstehungszeit, Intention und Titel des Werkes; Petron und die Stiltheorien des Peripatos; Die Eigenart der Sprache Petrons im Vergleich zu anderen Autoren (Der sermo urbanus; Der sermo vulgaris; Die poetischen Einlagen); Petron und sein Lesepublikum; Zusammenfassung; Literaturverzeichnis.

C. Petronius Arbitrator, Cena Trimalchionis. Ausgewählt, eingeleitet und bearbeitet von C. Bodamer und J. Huber (Stuttgart: Klett, 1983) 48 S., Beiheft 16 S. (Altsprachliche Textausgaben Sammlung Klett).

Petronius. Satyricon. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und mit einem Nachwort von Fritz Tech. Ausstattung und Illustrationen Werner Klenke (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1984). 4. Auflage. [Astbury]

Reeve, M.D., "Petronius," in Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 295-300. This six page survey of Petronian MSS is a gem in a mine full of gems. Reeve provides us with a quick overview of MSS, their transmission, and the establishment of the modern text of the Satyricon.

Relihan, J., "On the Origin of 'Menippean Satire' as the Name of a Literary Genre," CP 79 (1981) 226-229. "Modern criticism has filled in a gap in ancient literary nomenclature by naming a genre 'Menippean satire', just as it has done with the name 'epyllion'. Quintilian's misleading contention that Varro's work was merely a type of Roman satire should not cause us to ignore the Greek origins of the form."

Richardson, T. Wade, "Homosexuality in the Satyricon," C&M 35 (1984) 105-127. A comprehensive look at homosexuality in the Sat. from its Greek origins to parody at the hands of Petronius.

Richardson, T. Wade, "A New Renaissance Petronian Manuscript: Indiana, Notre Dame 58 (I)," Scriptorium 38 (1984) 89-100. I is dated to the last quarter of the Fifteenth century, has a North Italian origin, belongs to the Subgroup  $\alpha$  of the O class, is closely associated with E and was probably the source of the additions in Barb. [Astbury]

Ricotti, E. Salza Prina, L'arte del convito nella Roma antica (Roma: L'Erma, 1983), lavishly illustrated and with 90 recipes. Chapter entitled "Petronio Arbitro e la Cena di Trimalchione" is found at pp. 117-150. Manners, food, dining rooms and texts from ancient Rome.

Robert, Jean-Noël, Les Plaisirs a Rome (Paris: Société d' Edition Les Belles Lettres, 1983). Collection Realia. In the chapter "Les plaisirs de la table", pp. 99-126, there are several references to the Satyricon.

Rodriguez, M. "La presenza di Orazio nella Cena Trimalchionis," AAPel 57 (1981) 267-280.

Rogier, A., "Matavitataou ou: Sur un mot de Pétrone," BAGB (1983) 309-310. At Sat. 62.9 read mataiotata ( $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\alpha$ ) = "tout a fait inutilement".

Sakellariou, A., "Some Petronian Passages and Modern Greek," IAATQN 36 (1984) 47-50. This article appeared first in Greek in Parnassos 24 (1982) 49-53 and was noted in the Petronian Society Newsletter 12.2 and 13 (1982) 3. The 1984 version is in English.

Scobie, A., "Trimalchio en 'Folklore'," Hermeneus 54 (1982) 120-129.

Sinclair, B., "Encolpius and Asianism (Satyricon 2.7)," Classical Texts and their Traditions. Studies in Honor of C.R. Trahan, ed. D. Bright & E. Ramage (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984) 231-237.

Smith, Martin S., "A Bibliography of Petronius (1945-1982)," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 1624-1665. Smith provides the scholarly world with a valuable tool. He divides his article into abbreviations, bibliographical sources, editions and commentaries, translations, books and articles, index locorum, and 17 subject lists.

Sochatoff, A. Fred, "Petronius Arbitrator," in Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Vol. 3, ed. F.E. Cranz (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1976) 313-339.

Sommariva, G., "Eumolpo, un 'Socrate Epicureo' nel Satyricon," ASNP 14 (1984) 25-58. Sommariva examines the two fabulae of Eumolpus at Sat. 85 and 111 and concludes that the role of Eumolpus is that of a teacher like Socrates and the role of Encolpius is that of a student (learner) like Alcibiades. A message of Eumolpus is to learn the difference between fortuna and sapientia. "... si potrà interpretare il Satyricon come 'romanzo di educazione' illustrante l'evoluzione di Encolpio da un' ingenuità, permeata non di rado di concezioni filosofiche vicine specialmente allo stoicismo, alla scaltrezza acquisita grazie all' esperienza" (p. 52). In an appendix entitled "L'antitesi Socrate-Lica in Senofante e un suo possibile influsso su Petronio," pp. 54-58, Sommariva notes that in Xenophon's Memorabilia (1.2.61) there is a conflict between Socrates and Lichas and that this conflict could have been used by Petronius in the meeting between Eumolpus (Socrates) and Lichas at Sat. 104ff.

Soverini, P., "Il Problema delle Teorie Retoriche e Poetiche di Petronio," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 1706-1779. Soverini offers a comprehensive study of rhetorical and poetic theory in his article in ANRW. This study is done in three parts: La Discussione 'Retorica' fra Encolpio e Agamennone (Satyricon 1-5); I Pronunciamenti Critici e le Performances Poetiche di Eumolpo (Sat. 83-89, 119-124); Conclusioni Generali. Il 'novae simplicitatis opus'. Stoneman, R., Daphne into Laurel. Translations of Classical Poetry from Chaucer to the Present (London 1982). The only translations from "Petronius" which he includes are that of fr. 30 Bu. by John Addison and fr. 54 Ernout by Ben Jonson. [Astbury]

Sullivan, J.P., "Literature, Patronage, and Politics: Nero to Nerva," Mnemai: Classical Studies in Memory of Karl K. Hulley, ed. H.D. Evjen (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984) 151-180. Among others Petronius and his position and influence at Nero's court are analyzed.

Sullivan, J.P., Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). See especially "Court Politics and Petronius" pp. 153-179. The literary and political positions of Petronius, Persius, Seneca and Lucan, attempts to please or to annoy the emperor Nero, and the mixture of literary and political theories among writers near the court of Nero, provide the background for Sullivan's study. To be reviewed in the next Newsletter.



Sullivan, J.P., "Petronius' 'Satyricon' and its Neronian Context," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.32.3, herausgegeben von W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 1666-1686. Sullivan divides his study into six sections: Date and Author of the "Satyricon"; The Background of the Work; Critical Views of the "Satyricon"; Historical, Social and Literary Considerations: The Court Circle; The "Satyricon" and Contemporary Literature: Lucan and Seneca; The Literary Interpretation of the "Satyricon".

Swahn, Jan, "Psychemythos und Psychemärchen," in Antiker Mythos in unseren Märchen (Kassel: Erich Röth Verlag, 1984) 92-112. [see Fehling above]

Tatum, J., "Habinnas en de eros van Trimalchio," Hermeneus 54 (1982) 130-137.

Verdière, R. "Notes critiques," Sileno 8 (1982) 78. At Sat. 62.9 read attattatae (an interjection) instead of matavitatae; at 111.10 read cenulaeque instead of certe ab eo.

Vidmanová, A., "Ke staročeské povídce o Apollónovi Tyrském," LF 107 (1984) 232-239. There is provided a résumé in German, "Zur alttschechischen Erzählung über Apollonios von Tyros."

Winkler, J., Auctor & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's The Golden Ass (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) XIII + 340 pp. To be reviewed in the next issue.

Wooten, C., "Petronius and 'Camp'," Helios 11 (1984) 133-139. "Susan Sontag defines 'camp' as 'the love of the unnatural, of artifice and exaggeration ... a sensibility that converts the serious into the frivolous ... To perceive camp in objects and persons is to understand Being as Playing a Role... It is the farthest extension, in sensibility, of the metaphor of life as theater.' This is an excellent description of the behavior of the major characters in the Satyricon ...."

Zieger, R., "Die Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri und der Kaiserkult in Tarsos," Chiron 14 (1984) 219-234. The Historia was written soon after A.D. 215 in Latin.

Connolly, Cyril, The Unquiet Grave: A World Cycle by Palinurus (New York: Persea Books, 1981; originally published in Horizon 1944). There are at least two references to Petronius: (p.9) "Periods when I lived: the Augustan age in Rome, in Paris and London from 1660 to 1740, and lastly from 1770 to 1850. My friends in the first were Horace, Tibullus, Petronius and Virgil; in the second: Rochester ...." The second is: (p. 87) "O litus vita ...", the first two lines from Fragment 49 plus translation.

Connolly, Cyril, Enemies of Promise (New York: Persea Books, 1983 [1938]). Petronius appears often on the pages of this book. In an autobiographical sketch C. remarks that "In 1910 I was sent home from Africa .... By now I had become an aesthete .... Sunsets were my preoccupation .... Then there was the sea itself, though, like Petronius, I cared only for the sea-shore..." (p. 147). When C. writes about his first sexual stirrings he (almost) quotes a line from Sat. 79, sic ego perire coepi (p. 150). C. as a youth rebelled quietly against the established Church: "I liked the world of Suetonius and Tacitus but the Latin prose-writer for me was Petronius Arbiter. I had four editions of the Satyricon. The best I had bound in black crushed levant and kept on my pew in chapel where it looked like some solemn book of devotion and was never disturbed. To sit reading it during the sermon, looking reverently towards the headmaster scintillating from the pulpit and then returning to the racy Latin, 'the smoke and wealth and noise of Rome' was 'rather a gesture'" (p. 224). At Eton C. claims to have been a popular boy who worked hard, a "brilliant idler, a by-product of dandyism." He then quotes the opening lines from Tacitus' description of Petronius (pp. 226-7). The last reference to Petronius is on page 250, where C. again speaks of reading Petronius in chapel.

DeMaria, Robert, The Empress (New York: Jove/HBJ, 1978). Nero, Acte, and Petronius from Rome to Baiae. Petronius is mentioned about 40 times.

### The Matron of Ephesus in Spain

by Alex Scobie

The recent book of Maxime Chavalier, Cuentos folklóricos españoles del siglo de oro, Barcelona 1983, contains on p. 263f. a version in verse of the Matron of Ephesus which was known in Spain during the golden age. Its ultimate source is not immediately clear, but Chavalier cites it from Miguel de Madrigal, Segunda parte del Romancero general II, pp. 299-301. Chavalier also indicates in a note (p. 264) that other versions of the tale were known: Esopo (3.9) Las fabulas ... (1546); Poetas dramáticos valencianos, Madrid 1929, vol. 2, p. 561-2 (anon.).

### NACHLEBEN

Connolly, Cyril, The Rock Pool (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981; originally published in Paris: Obelisk Press, 1936; reprinted London: Hamish Hamilton, 1947). The Rock Pool owes much to the pagan Norman Douglas and his South Wind (1917); the tradition has been continued by Jean Rhys and her Wide Sargasso Sea (1966). In the Introduction to the 1981 Oxford edition Peter Quennell notes (IX) that Petronius was one of Connolly's favorite authors; in a letter sent by Connolly (Chelsea 1935) informing Quennell that he was dedicating The Rock Pool to him, Connolly notes (letter included in 1981 Oxford edition, XVI): "Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, Martial, Catullus and even Petronius were among the writers whom the authorities, confident in the immunity which their methods of teaching bestowed, included in the curriculum, and we were also able to find a master whose mind was naturally Roman, and who confirmed us in that we had thought. Henceforth the invective of Catullus, the bile of Juvenal, and the aristocratic bawdy of Petronius became the natural food of our imaginations ...."

Connolly's love of the Satyricon is set out in detail in his essay "On Re-reading Petronius" [reprinted in Previous Convictions (New York: Harper, 1963) 105-109].



Petronian Lesefrüchte: Melville's Redburn

by J.P. Sullivan

Among the many casual classical references that Herman Melville throws about in his works, with considerable artistic freedom, two reference to Petronius are worth noting in Redburn: His First Voyage (1849). In c. 56 the author compares the small graceful hand of Harry Bolton to those of some Roman worthies:

It was as the sturdy farmer's hand of Cincinnatus, who followed the plough and guided the state; but it was as the perfumed hand of Petronius Arbiter, that elegant young buck of a Roman, who once cut great Seneca dead in the forum.

It was perceptive of Melville to divine an antipathy between Seneca and Petronius. He contrasts them again later (c. 58) in discussing the attitude to imminent death as an index of life and faith. Melville's young narrator sees Socrates and even Hume dying Christian deaths. By contrast:

Seneca died dictating to posterity; Petronius lightly discoursing of essences and love-songs...

"Essences" pulls one up sharply. Melville is obviously alluding to the famous passage in Tacitus' Annals, 16.18, where Petronius' death is described. There the dying Petronius listens to his friends, who do not bother him with serious philosophical topics such as the immortality of the soul, but offer instead levia carmina et faciles versus. Melville's "love-songs" does well enough for levia carmina, a traditional description of elegiac love-poetry, but where in the Latin (or some English translation thereof) are the "essences"? Melville's misreading of his notes? A lapsus calami or error typographicus? The editorial remedy is easy: for "essences", read "easy verses".

ANNOUNCEMENTS

George Clement Whittick died at age 84 on 30 March 1985. Up to his retirement he had been since 1921 at the Classics Department of King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne (now University) and was for many years Senior Tutor in Arts. Though his chief research concerns lay in Roman archaeology, he was deeply interested in Petronius. It is only proper that the Newsletter call attention to his passing.

The attention of the reader is called to an article in this Newsletter, "Tres Albi Sues: Petronius Cena, 47.8-50," sent just before Mr. Whittick's death and corrected by his son-in-law Anthony Rowland-Jones of Grantchester. Mr. Rowland-Jones has also generously donated the Petronius papers of Mr. Whittick to the Petronian Society Library.

REVIEWS

R.L. Hunter. A Study of Daphnis and Chloë. Cambridge Classical Series. Cambridge, 1983. ix + 136pp. £17.50.

review by Donald Norman Levin

In the Preface to his slender volume H. makes clear that his aim is "to fill the gap" which results from "the lack of a basic guide to the literary and rhetorical background against which this work [sc. Longus' D&C] was written" (p. vii). Correspondingly it is his intention to say very little about a subject which has preoccupied scholars ever since the initial publication of Erwin Rohde's Der griechische Roman in 1876, namely how the ancient novel may have originated. To his credit, H. stresses differences among extant examples of prose-fiction from Greco-Roman antiquity "in terms of wit, rhetorical skill and narrative coherence" (ibid.).

In his opening chapter, "Title, Author, Date" (pp. 1-15 and nn.), H. speculates that the original designation for D&C was simply Λεσβιακά or Πομπεινά or even Λεσβιακά πομπεινά (p. 1). As for the creator of this much admired fiction, H. prefers to accept the name Longus rather than assume anonymity, prefers too to classify him, despite epigraphical evidence that Longi at Mitylene belonged to the gens Pompeia and served as magistrates, not as an Italian writing in Greek, but as a Romanized Hellene rather (p. 2). Rightly or wrongly, H. points to "his polished style" by way of proof (ibid.). I say "or wrongly" in view, for example, of the mastery of English idiom and prose-style exhibited in a latter day by a triad of celebrated novelists whose native tongues were respectively Polish, Armenian, and Russian, the gentlemen in question being Joseph Conrad, Michael Arlen, and Vladimir Nabokov.

What of chronology? At the end of the chapter H. concedes that his survey of the available evidence must be termed "rather disappointingly inconclusive" (p. 15). In succession he had considered (1) parallelism between Longus' novel and the clearly "sophistic" L&C of Achilles Tatius, which latter work appears, thanks to papyrological finds, to have been composed no later than the second century (p. 3), (2) the seeming absence from D&C of accentually defined rhythmic clausulae, a feature of Greek prose written after A.D. 350 (ibid.), (3) the likelihood that the three thousand drachmae discovered by Daphnis are pegged to pre-inflationary values which prevailed before the last third of the third century (pp. 3f), (4) the possibility that the author of D&C was influenced by Roman landscape painting of the mid-second century (pp. 4-6), (5) parallelisms between Longus's novel and Alciphron's not so easily datable Letters of Farmers (pp. 6-13), (6) the possibility that the Letters of Farmers ascribed to Aelian (ca. 170-230 A.D.) contain Alciphronic borrowings (pp. 13-15). Nevertheless in the end H. makes clear that he cannot bring himself to reject or even seriously to doubt "the communis opinio that D&C was composed in the late second or early third century or our era" (p. 15).

Inviting the reader to take note of what will be set down in ensuing chapters, H. opines that the dating in question "also suits the novel's literary and stylistic affiliation" (ibid.). In Ch. II, "The Constituent Elements" (pp. 16-58 and nn.), H. delves into some of the subtleties and ambiguities with which he finds D&C to be rife. Would that he had organized his discussion as intelligibly as Longus organized his novel! Still, there is much of merit in this chapter, particularly in Sec. IV (pp. 38-52 and nn.), devoted to discussion of the ecphrastic poem prefixed by Longus to his four-book narrative. Concern for the subtle and/or ambiguous persists into Ch. III, "The Literary Texture" (pp. 59-83 and nn.), in my judgment the most successfully presented portion of H.'s book. "D&C is replete," H. observes at the outset, "with echoes of and allusions to archaic, classical and Hellenistic Greek literature" (p. 59 ad init.). He concedes that debt to previous writings may be unconscious in some cases or reflect a general tradition rather than be dependent on some specific antecedent. "In the majority of cases, however," he insists, "an echo of earlier literature invests a scene with a layer of meaning which would otherwise be difficult to fit into the artificially simple narrative" (ibid.).

The authors from whom Longus appears to have borrowed most often are Homer and Theocritus. Not surprisingly, therefore, H. addresses himself straightway to discussion of a series of possible Theocritean and Homeric echoes (pp. 59-63). Without employing the term *contaminatio* (applicable, for example—but H. says nothing of this—to Terence's having modelled, by his own admission, his *Andria* on the *Perinthia* as well as on the *Andria* of Menander) H. nonetheless credits Longus with having looked to two or more models in some instances as well as with having shown his independence by making alterations in lone originals (p. 60 ad init.).

Particularly noteworthy, however, is H.'s reminder that some Theocritean echoes may in turn echo archaic models to which Theocritus was himself indebted: e.g. poems of Anacreon and Sappho (pp. 62f.). And, as in the case of Polyphemus the Cyclops, with whom—of all persons!—Longus' *Daphnis* appears to be sometimes compared, the novelist may look both to Theocritus' *Idylls* and to Homer's *Odyssey* (p. 63).

From p. 63 to p. 65 H. concerns himself with parallelisms between *D&C* and other novels extant from Greco-Roman antiquity, concludes "that the links between *D&C* and the tradition of the prose romance are strong" (p. 65). Yet at the same time he stresses differences even as he denies the validity of some scholars' claim that Longus' creation figures simply as a pastoral version of the novel (ibid.). So far, so good. Yet I am inclined to gainsay H.'s contrasting Longus and Petronius on the supposition that, whereas the latter "has used this likeness [sc. between the adventures of his picaresque heroes and certain situations which occur in "ideal" romance] for humorous and sometimes parodic effects," the former for his part "does not seek to make any sustained capital out of his readers' awareness that he is exploiting the tradition of prose romance (along with many other traditions)" (ibid.).

Did Longus avail himself not only of bucolic poetry, but also of a tradition of bucolic prose represented, for example, by Dio Chrysostom's *Eubolikos*? H. deems it unnecessary to assume such a tradition outside the rhetorical schools, yet admits that the picture may be distorted, thanks to the loss of so much of the literature from antiquity (p. 67). Perhaps so. Yet I am not happy with the bland assurance with which H. announces that what distinguished Dio from Longus is that the former's purpose, unlike the latter's—pace Merkelbachii Chalkiique—is "essentially moralising and exhortatory" (p. 66).

From p. 67 to p. 71 H. focusses his attention on links between *D&C* and the comic tradition, on New Comedy more particularly. While he may be right in suggesting that New Comedy provides prototypes for the depiction of such jaded urbanites as Astylus and the parasite Gnathon (pp. 69ff.), I am less convinced than he that a Menandrian reference to tokens of recognition (*ἀναγνωρισματα*) whose rediscovery prevented a foundling from blundering into marriage with his own sister has any real relevance to the plot of *D&C*. Nor do I rush to concur with H.'s concomitant suggestion "that Longus teases us with the possibility that *Daphnis* and *Chloë* will turn out to be siblings" or that the teen-aged pair's repeated failures at lovemaking hint at such a conclusion (p. 68). On the other hand, I should not fault H. for tying *Lycaenion* and her wolfish name to the comic tradition—even to Old Comedy as well as to New: for H. is aware of the similarity between that young matron's excuse for going forth from her house (*D&C* III 16,1) and that offered by Aristophanes' *Praxagora* (*Ecc.* 528f.) (p. 69 ad init.).

Subjoined to Ch. III are paired Appendices A and B having to do respectively with Longus and Sappho (pp. 73-76 and nn.) and with Longus and *Philitas* (pp. 76-83 and nn.). That the former should prove more convincing is no surprise. Enough Sapphic material is extant to allow for meaningful comparisons. In the case of *Philitas*, on the other hand, whose remains are far scantier, the investigator is forced to rely, just as is H. himself, on supposed Roman imitation. Fortunately H. turns out to be less dogmatic than Jean Hubaux, who in an article published in 1953 took note of certain parallelisms between *D&C* and the *Elegies* of Propertius, only to insist that the novelist could not possibly have been in contact with the elegist's work and that any similarity would have to be due to reliance on a common source such as *Philitas*' lost writing. He who had pegged Longus at the outset as possibly a Romanized Hellene does not shrink from granting that that author might have known the poetry of Propertius and Tibullus and Virgil and Horace.

The fourth chapter, "Language and Style" (pp. 84-98 and nn.), like the second, seems to me somewhat disorganized. Still, H. provides numerous useful tips concerning Longus' two styles: simple and straightforward in much of the narrative, ornate and even "poetic" in set-pieces such as the proem and the intercalated tales and the debate of *Daphnis* and *Dorcon* and the lament of *Lamon* over his ruined garden.

At times, however, H. forgets himself and behaves as if the latter were Longus' only stylistic manner. "The ornate style of *D&C*," he contends at p. 90, "with its balanced phrases, rhymes and assonances must, at least in part, be an attempt to reproduce the characteristics of Greek bucolic poetry in which balance and antithesis are major organising principles." Do I dispute the claim that Longus learned much from the language and manner of the pastoral tradition? Hardly. Nor do I dispute the suggestion on H.'s part that Longus could have acquired the same principles of organization likewise from the writing of the sophist *Gorgias*, if not also from his own contemporary or near-contemporary *Hermogenes*, which latter's discussion of *γλυκύτης* (a quality much in evidence in Longus' writings) H. reproduces extensively in translation (pp. 93-96). Likewise not implausible is the supposition that Longus' penchant for mixing the poetic and the sophistic gained a boost from the encomium of *Eros* ascribed to the dramatist *Agathon* in Plato's *Symposium* (p. 91).

Let it be acknowledged, however, that H. credits the author of *D&C* regularly with restraint, a quality which he appears to find lacking in the novel penned by the ultra-sophisticated *Achilles Tatius* (see p. 73 and—at least by implication *Achilles* suffers a sneer anew—p. 84). And yet, if I may be allowed to return for a moment to the hitherto slighted Ch. II, although he discerns "no necessary divorce between high artifice and real intellectual depth," H. nonetheless refuses to grant Longus any more than *Achilles* entrée into that small and select company of ancient authors who exhibit both characteristics (p. 58). What is my own feeling about this? I feel that, had H. been willing to accept rather than set aside the formulations of *Merkelbach*, *Chalk*, et al., he would surely have bestowed on Longus renewed applause instead of asserting that this author "tickles rather than nourishes our intellects" (ibid.).

Graham Anderson, *Ancient Fiction: The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World*. London and Sydney: Croom Helm. Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Nobles, 1984. vii + 248 pp.

review by Donald Norman Levin

In the Preface to his newest volume A. more or less repeats what he had imparted all through *ES* (sc. *Eros Sophistes: Ancient Novelists at Play* (= *American Classical Studies* #9) (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982) (reviewed by Brent W. Sinclair, *PSN* 15,1 (1983-1984) 4)), saying that he sees ancient fiction "as the work of assured and responsible artists rather than sentimental simpletons" (*AF*, p. v). In his opening chapter he not only denies Hellenistic origins, as opposed to the assimilation of certain features certifiably Hellenistic (pp. 1 and 19), but also attempts to demonstrate what others, starting with Archbishop Huet back in the 1670's, have argued before him, namely that the ultimate antecedents of the Graeco-Roman novel are Oriental. A. looks back, however, not merely to Memphis on the Nile or to Babylon on the Euphrates, but even to pre-Semitic Sumeria, arguing, for example, that Longus' *Daphnis* and *Chloë*, despite indebtedness to such diverse Greek sources as Plato's *Dialogues* and Theocritus' *Idylls* and the comedies of Menander, is derived ultimately rather from such Sumerian forebears as *Dumuzi's Dream* (pp. 6ff.) and *Enmerkar and Enshurkešdanna* (pp. 9ff.). Similarly A. derives *Heliódorus' Aethiopia* in large measure from Sumerian texts having to do with the goddess *Inanna* (pp. 14f.) as well as from *Enlil* and *Ninlil*, which latter work appears to have influenced also (abait via different selections) both *Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoë* (pp. 16f.) and *Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon* (pp. 17f.). Long after the time of the Greek and Roman novelists, A. takes note, *Enlil* and *Ninlil* influenced even *The Arabian Nights* (p. 18). Still, he does not fail to point out that in particulars for the most part "the Arabic is closer to the Greek than to the Sumerian. But since most are also oriental commonplaces, it is probable that *Achilles* drew them from a local tradition of his story, rather than that the Arabic author used *Achilles'* (p. 18 (p. 23 ad fin.), n. 92).

Do I accept A.'s thesis of Sumerian origins? To a degree. Certainly it seems more plausible than the possibly facetious suggestion of Ben Perry that the Graeco-Roman novel came into being through the will of one man on a Tuesday afternoon in July (cited more precisely by A. at p. 25 ad init. from p. 175 of P.'s The Ancient Romances: A Literary Historical Account of Their Origins (= Sather Classical Lectures #37) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1967)). Yet there remains some murky ground between the novels as we know them and the supposed Sumerian exemplars. What is the line of transmission from Dumuzi's Dream and the like to Daphnis and Chloë and Chaereas and Callirhoë and Leucippe and Clitophon and the Aethiopica? Is it straight and direct, with Longus and the rest consciously following Sumerian tradition, or quite indirect, with a number of intermediaries, Babylonian or Egyptian or other, interposed and with Longus and the rest possibly quite unaware of the ultimate source for what they have consciously or unconsciously appropriated?

A. himself, however, tends to be far less cautious than this reviewer. "We can reasonably expect," he announces, a few paragraphs into Chapter 2, "that the first Greek novel was not so much invented, as retold and regenerated as often as the god himself" (p. 27)--the god being, of course, Sumerian Dumuzi = Babylonian Tammuz (Adonis), the very god whose ritual was witnessed in cosmopolitan Alexandria by those two transplanted Syracusan bourgeois who figure as protagonists of Theocritus' fifteenth Idyll (ibid.). "The task of the novelists, then," A. continues, "was not necessarily to invent where this material was already supplied. It would rather have been to supply and present, to accommodate narrative material to a new cultural context" (ibid.).

In ensuing chapters A. offers much of interest even as he continues to tout the merits of four out of "The Big Five," the glaring exception being Xenophon of Ephesus, whose ineptitudes he exposes no less mercilessly in AF than in the previously published ES. Particularly valuable, in my opinion, are A.'s observations in Chapter 4 concerning characterization in the novel. Crediting excessive expectation for the prevalent view of the heroes and heroines of ancient fiction as puppets (p. 62), A. counters with the contention that the male and female protagonist should be viewed "as a Liebespaar, a single organism trying to unite itself [I am surprised that A., so alive elsewhere to Platonic and comic echoes, should say nothing here about the speech assigned to Aristophanes in Plato's Symposium]. They are lovers first, intriguers second, and characters third. Before we judge them as somehow inferior or cloying, we should bear in mind the standard we accept without question for New Comedy" (pp. 62f.).

A. draws a distinction, to be sure, between the traditional hero, for whom involvement with women was marginal rather than central, and the lover-heroes shown in the novel, men who, like Jason in Apollonius' Argonautica, need constant help from others in order to succeed (p. 63). In comparison with Clitophon and Daphnis, however, such individuals as Chaereas and Theagenes "do indeed tend to emerge as puppets, without any profile other than as consorts of the beloved" (p. 64). But what of Chaereas' successful military career? And what of Theagenes' resolute refusal to comply with Arsace's sexual demands? Would that A. had addressed himself thereto? As for heroines, A. sees them as complementary to the heroes (p. 64 still)--albeit "Daphnis and Chloë share the action just about equally, as innocent victims of sexual ignorance and circumstances in about equal measure" (p. 65 ad init.). According to A. (for whom Longus can seemingly do no wrong, just as Xenophon of Ephesus can seemingly do no right), the former "is not a mere pastoral puppet, but a natural adolescent who just happens to be a country cousin" (p. 64), while the latter "comes across as a very young and delightful girl" (p. 65).

I am less happy with A.'s view of Heliodorus' Charicleia--as if he had found her prototype not in ancient Sumeria, but in the Chinese legend of Turandot--"as an icy princess and still icier virgin" (ibid.). Not at all, not at all. Blood rather than ice-water runs in this maiden's veins. She is capable of becoming positively ill and bed-ridden as a consequence of having fallen in love with Theagenes. She worries constantly about her beloved's well-being, even--despite that oath of chastity toward her own person which A. faults her for having extorted from Theagenes himself (p. 65 (p.73), n. 18)--recommends that he have sex with Arsace rather than suffer further physical abuse at the hands of the imperious lady's agents. More interesting, at any rate, is A.'s discussion of the characterization of amorous rivals of both sexes, Arsace herself included. If I have understood A. aright,

And so yet again Mesopotamia would provide the model (p. 65: cf. p. 200).

Does Mesopotamia provide the model also for the religious element of the novels, the prime concern of Chapter 5? Here, however, A. becomes uncharacteristically cautious:

We must now look at this old problem [sc. of whether religious motifs are essential or original in the novelistic genre] in the light of new evidence: the hero of Daphnis and Chloë had been a god after all [sc. Sumerian Dumuzi = Babylonian Tammuz/Adonis]. We must accept that the material of the oriental novel could draw directly on the sacred myths of the Ancient Near East: its hero could indeed be a dying god, his Scheintod could correspond to the onset of winter and the death of plants, his marriage to a cyclic sacred marriage. Moreover the dying god was a hero of narrative long before Greek mystery religions become identifiable as "Greek" at all. We might very easily accept that Dumuzi's Dream could have served as a genuine mystery text: but what does that prove for Daphnis and Chloë? The Odyssey is a far cry from Gilgamesh, in spite of a common ancestry. And even in Sumerian literature the presence of gods has little to do with piety or probity. [pp. 75f].

In ensuing paragraphs A., who already in ES had rejected Merkelbach's Mysterienroman-theorie as incompatible with the humorous approach supposedly adopted by the majority of the novelists, even including the baroque portentous Heliodorus, admits anew that gods can be viewed or employed in an equivocal manner (p. 76), further that Hellenistic and Roman authors might respond quite subjectively to the same religious phenomena. He contrasts, for example, Aelius Aristides and Apuleius, finds the one "ponderously pious and neurotic"--at least in his The Sacred Tales (ibid.)--finds the other to be--at least in his Metamorphoses--"an irrepressibly curious religious connoisseur with a wry sense of humour" (ibid.). Does A. link even Apuleius' Metamorphoses--likewise the associated ὄνος-tales ascribed to Lucian and to Lucius of Patrae--to some supposed Sumerian exemplar? Most assuredly. But I forego detailed discussion of A.'s Chapter 13, where the ancestry of the Metamorphoses and of its congeners is explored, likewise of Chapters 12 and 14, where A. looks into the possibility that Petronius' Satyricon is indebted not only to Sumerian literature, but even to "the same tale-complex." I move forward instead to the fifteenth and final chapter. Here A. boldly--too boldly, in my opinion--trumpets forth the good news that the problem of the origins of the novel with which Erwin Rohde so assiduously grappled a century ago "is now substantially solved" (p. 217, with (p. 200) n. 1, where Archbishop Heut's much earlier contribution is likewise acknowledged). To A.'s credit, however, this assertion of Greek and Roman indebtedness to Oriental, more specifically to Sumerian prototypes leads not to denigration, but to appreciative praise of a somewhat different kind of creativity. "Up till the present," A. observes, "it had seemed obvious that Longus was a writer of isolated genius: now he has to be accepted as one of a long line of pastoral miniaturists stretching from the first known literature" (sc. that of Sumeria) (p. 219). Similarly A. points out that Chariton's "tale of the love-triangle across the sea may be suspected of ancestry as old as sailing" (ibid.), also that Petronius' contribution, like that of Apuleius, would establish him "as a flamboyant adaptor, editor and translator rather than as an original artist of the kind we had taken for granted" (ibid.). Acknowledging once again "the Sumerian scaffolding," A. scrutinizes what he calls "the tortuous patterning" of Heliodorus' Aethiopica, sees the convolutions both as tour de force and as evidence of a stronger Oriental element than had at first been granted by scholars (p. 218). Nor need awareness that Calasiris is representative of a type long established in folklore militate against our appreciating to the full "Heliodorus' handling of priestly equivocation" (pp. 217.). Hear! hear! It just so happen that Calasiris, the good-hearted charlatan-priest, and his clever and alert protégée Charicleia are among my favorites in ancient fiction. A. brings his AF to a close with a triad of Appendices. I tarry only for the first Appendix, that which has to do with possible parallelisms between a recently published Sumerian text, BM 120011, and 2, 3-4 of Longus' pastoral novel (both cited in translation at p. 222). It seem to me, however, that A. is flirting already with procrusteanism when he entertains the expectation "that eventually every episode in Daphnis and Chloë can be related to a Sumerian analogue" (p. 223).



How would I rate A.'s AF overall? As a valuable contribution to scholarship, but also as a work to be read with caution and always in conjunction with ES, wherein A. concerns himself not only with humor, but also with what he deliberately excludes for the most part from his more recent volume: the influence on the ancient novel of a wide variety of Greek and Hellenistic exemplars from a number of different literary genres.

#### NOTES

Tres Albi Sues: Petronius Cena, 47.8-50.1

by G. Clement Whittick, Cambridge

The details of this complex episode in the Cena Trimalchionis call for closer consideration than they have hitherto received. Trimalchio invites his guests to choose for immediate slaughter and serving at table one of the three pigs paraded before them ("quem," inquit, "ex eis vultis in cenam statim fieri?": 47.10). But having praised the skill of his cooks, he himself, instead of allowing the guests to make their choice, at once brings in his chef and orders the oldest animal to be slaughtered (continuoque cocum vocari iussit, et non expectata electione nostra, maximum natu iussit occidi: 47.11). This selection of the most aged of the three animals is not one that we - or his guests - would expect, since the other two have been expressly described by the nomenclator as of the more tender age of two years and three years respectively. Clearly, then, we need to be able to explain why Trimalchio makes the choice, in spite of his invitation to the guests, and more especially why he makes this particular choice. The reason, as I believe, is that - like a conjuror about to perform a card-trick - he is forcing this, the oldest and least attractive animal, upon his guests as an essential preliminary to a prepared scene that is to follow. He fills in a short interval by some self-advertisement (48.1-3, with some preliminaries in 47.12-13), including a display of his own qualifications as a student of literature and rhetoric. Amid the dutiful applause which this produces (48.7), he himself, still careful to address Agamemnon as a "professor" from whom the right knowledge and the right kind of answer could be expected (note the personal singular tu (#4) continued in ne ..... putes, and onwards to #7) introduces two points from literature and mythology which are not so artlessly chosen as may at first appear. They serve in fact to link his boasted academic knowledge with the proof of remarkable culinary powers which are at that very moment in process. Both points are prompted by the dish of pork which is being prepared, in much the same way as the confused literary and mythological references of 52 (init.) are prompted by the reliefs on the goblets. The full meaning of Trimalchio's reference to the Cyclops is admittedly not clear, but at least it seems evident from porcino (so H: 48.7)<sup>1</sup> that it involves the use against Ulysses of something recognisably related to the word porcus. In the reference to the labours of Hercules the pig motif is not far to seek; Trimalchio is surely reminding his guest that Hercules, too, killed a sus. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the tusks of the sus Erymanthius were reputed to be preserved in the temple of Apollo at Cumae<sup>2</sup>, the very place linked with another marvel seen there by Trimalchio with his own eyes, the wizened Sibyl in ampulla (nam Sibyllam quidem, #8: cf. Friedländer on 38.4, nam mulam quidem, for the increase in emphasis). In view of the words nondum efflaverat omnia (49.1) we should picture Trimalchio as slowly and dramatically breathing out, with lingering emphasis on the aspirates, the old Sibyl's reply to the urchins' taunts (for efflare of the words of the dying, cf. Florus II.17.11 [iv.7]): we have here another instance of the mimicking of scenes from everyday experience, as well as of drama or theatrical or musical turns (cf. 64.5, 68.3, 7 etc), culminating in the expression of Trimalchio's own basic obsession with the idea of death - "fingite me mortuum esse" (78.5). But why does Trimalchio introduce here his reference to the Sibyl of Cumae? To regard it merely as another fragmentary example of his knowledge (so Friedländer, ad loc.) is not satisfactory: the point is surely that the Sibyl, like the chosen pig, is an unduly long-lived creature (vivax Sibylla, Ovid., F. IV. 875) who should in normal circumstances have met her end long ago.

Note that in 47.8, in the description of the animal imposed by Trimalchio upon his guests, the reading of H is tercium vero<sup>3</sup> iam senem. In senem we have a technical term frequently found in such a context, and it should be retained, not changed to sexennem (Wehle: edd. pl.) - the pig has already reached old age, contrary to what must have been the more common fate of such animals. We may compare Juvenal's contrasting reference (IV. 160) to Jewish abstinence: et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis, where senibus is predicative, "so that they reach old age"<sup>4</sup>. Further, consider Trimalchio's remark in 47.10: mei coci etiam vitulos aeno coctos solent facere. Here vitulos, say the commentators and translators, means "whole calves". But even if the Latin said this (which it does not) the remark would not be at all impressive. The cooking of "whole calves" would be no more of a recommendation for Trimalchio's cooks than the cooking of whole boars, and this was an everyday occurrence, according to Pliny<sup>5</sup>; the appearance later indeed, of a vitulus elixus as part of another contrived scene (59.6) arouses no special comment (cf. 40.3). vitulos in 47.10 is open to suspicion as being feeble and pointless in the context; what is needed is not emphasis on the quite ordinary size for a culinary product, but on the culinary skill that can make an old animal tender - a sense that vitulos, which refers to the young, cannot give. If, however, we read vetulos (an easy and natural scribal error), the picture becomes clear. Trimalchio's cooks can perform wonders: they kill off old creatures (vetulos) who have survived beyond the natural life-span and then serve them up succulent (cf. percoqui 49.2), fresh and lusty, not shrunken or withered as might be expected.<sup>6</sup> Trimalchio, on the above analysis, is indulging in a ludicrous and elaborate death-and-rejuvenation/rebirth episode. The old pig, unexpectedly selected perforce in preference to its younger companions after its advanced age has been expressly announced by the nomenclator (47.8) (whose presence, the cause of much dispute among editors - see, e.g., Maturi ad loc. - thus becomes an essential feature of the scene), is treated by Trimalchio's clever cooks, and so, in the latter part of the action, which is based on the so-called porcus Troianus of Roman banquets,<sup>7</sup> quickly returns dead indeed but larger (49.2) and with a fine content of guts (49.10) which are then made to play their part in a brief "divination" for Trimalchio's benefit. One is reminded of Juvenal's comment<sup>8</sup> on divination similarly by means of the exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci. The setting of the scene in 47.8 ff. favours its interpretation as a comedy of ritual. The tables have been purified by cleansing (commundatis ad symphoniam mensis, 47.8): the three pigs are white (the most suitable and best for sacrifice) and are adorned with tintinnabula (an apotropaic feature associated with religious rites) and with capistra (used for leading victims safely to sacrifice);<sup>9</sup> the chosen animal in fact here not only displays no ill-omened reluctance to go to its fate<sup>10</sup> but departs so eagerly that its guardian is left dragging behind (47.13 [48.1]: the accusative cocum ..... admonitum calls for no change). Finally, as the actual evisceration takes place (though exinterare is primarily a culinary term) the slaves present, already schooled for the purpose, solemnly utter the ritual cry "Gaio feliciter" (50.1: cf. 60.7). So, with happy augury for Trimalchio himself from the entrails of the allegedly reconstituted animal, the scene is concluded. The mythological points involved in the scene are few and of a popular kind, not likely to be beyond the comprehension of guests who have already been expected to be familiar with (e.g.) Pegasus and Marsyas (36.3,4) and indeed to be able to appreciate the much more complex details of the astrological dish of 35-39. The scene is in keeping with Petronius' general characterisation of Trimalchio as a man attracted by the themes of death and rebirth.<sup>11</sup> As often (and doubtless in spite of the efforts of his structor) Trimalchio tends to muddle his literary and other references. But the whole episode is well-suited to mark the resumption of the dinner-party after Trimalchio's return (41.9 and 47.1) and its anticipated effect upon the guests is appropriately emphasised in the opening words of 47.8 (nec adhuc sciebamus nos in medio, quod aiunt, clivo laborare). It shows the same combination of self-display and selfish superstition (an aspect of popular religion in which Trimalchio was something of a specialist) as prompted his astrological dish at one extreme, and, at the other, such incidents as the sacrifice of the cockerel in 74.1-5, a minor display which from its context and description is also seen to have been contrived rather than accidental.

1. aut de Ulixe fabulam, quemadmodum illi Cyclops pollicem poricino extorsit. poricino (H) = porcino in vulgar form; Bücheler suggests perhaps some tool shaped like a pig's head. The apparent reversal of the situation from that normally found in such a well-known story suggests that illi Cyclops is better retained, as in H, to give the required emphasis. In certain folk-tales parallel to the Homeric story Ulysses loses a finger during his escape; but he himself is said to cut it off, as the only way to rid himself of a vocal magic-ring taken from the Cyclops, which is guiding its master to the new wearer (an interesting anticipation of the homing "bleep" of modern electronics). See Sir J.G. Frazer's edition of *Apol-lodorus* (Loeb: 1921), II, App. XIII, 404 ff.
2. Pausan. VIII. 24.5: Κυμαῖου δὲ οὐ ἐν Ὀπικῶσι σὺδὲ ὀδόντας ἀνακειμένους παρά σφίσι ἐν Ἀπὸλλωνος ἑερῶν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς οὐ ὀδόντες ὕδὲ εἶεν τοῦ Ἑρμῆος.  
Pausanias himself was not convinced by the claim.
3. Gaselee (*The Codex Traguriensis*, Cambridge, 1915) transcribes as tercium no(n) iam senem. But in H the first letter of the prepenultimate word is clearly not n but u, in an abbreviation of vero (cf. 29.4, 32.3, 37.9).
4. Columella (VII. 9.2-4) says that a sow was thought fit for breeding purposes up to seven years, but quanto fecundior est, celerius senescit: boars were fattened for food at the age either of six months or of three to four years, i.e., before or after the nominal period of sexual maturity. Varro (*De r.r.* II. 4.8: the text is not certain) seems to say that a boar is useful for breeding purposes from eight months up to three years, deinde it retro quoad perveniat ad lanium. Hic enim conciliator suillae carnis datus populo.
5. cotidiana res: Pliny, H.N. VIII. 210: cf. Juv. 1.140-1: Βουχανῶνδης λέβης Anth. Pal. 6.153.
6. Cf. Petron. Frag. XXI anus recocta vino: Catull., LIV. 5, seni recocto: Cic., *De Sen.* XXIII. 83 of Pelias' (i.e., Aeson's) rejuvenation, and, of the same episode, with the same confusion of names, Plaut., *Pseud.*, 869-71: Anthol. Pal., XI. 256.
7. Macrobius, III. 13.13.
8. Juv. X. 354-5
9. Cf. P. -W., s.v. 1513.
10. Pliny, H.N. VIII. 183.
11. Cf. A.M. Cameron, "Myth and Meaning in Petronius," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 405ff.

#### Why the Werewolf Urinates

by Barry Baldwin

At ille circuminxit vestimenta sua, et subito lupus factus est (Sat. 62.6). Why? In Smith's words, the circle of urine is "probably" to be seen as a magic device for protecting the clothes rather than for effecting his transformation into a wolf. Smith, I think, is on the right track, and he might have been more confident in his view, as might have been M. Schuster, *Wien. St.* 48 (1930), 161-62 who detects an element of parody. At stake is the account of Arcadian werewolves in Pliny, *NH* 8. 80-81, retailed in ridicule of Graeca credulitas. In Pliny's version, the werewolf leaves his clothes on an oak tree in the middle or a marsh, whence he reclaims them nine years later by swimming back across the water. The Petronian circle of urine is a comic variant on this. I do not insist that this conjunction of Petronius and Pliny does anything for the date of the *Satyricon*, though some might. To appreciate fully the humour of Petronius here, one should not turn so much to the usually cited article of K.F. Smith, *PMLA* 9 (1894), 1-42, or even to Herodotus' brief mention (4. 105) of Neurian werewolves, but rather to the (pseudo) scientific accounts of the symptoms and cure of lycanthropy in such Greek texts as the fragment of Marcellus Sidetes published by W.H. Roscher, *Abhandl. der Philol.-Historisch. Class. der Königl. Säch.* 17.3 (Leipzig, 1897), 79-86, the largely identical text in J.L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci* (Berlin, 1841), 282, and the versified remarks of the eleventh-century Byzantine polymath Michael Psellus in his *De Re Medica*, ed. Ideler, *op. cit.*, 227, vv. 837-41. From these we learn that, as in Petronius, werewolves were associated with graveyards, also that they are recognisable by pallor and dull eyes, characteristics which Petronius comically transfers to his narrator Nicerus, and that their condition is curable by blood-letting, which Petronius again comically achieves by having his werewolf wounded in the neck by the farmhands.

#### Trimalchio's "One and Only"

by Barry Baldwin

A speaker at Sat. 37.4 commends Fortunata as Trimalchionis topanta. Rightly rejecting as implausible the notion of Süs that it is due to the influence of topos, Smith's note on the passage otherwise does not go beyond the lame "the explanation of the change for ta panta to topanta is unknown." Unless Petronius intended his speaker to commit a solecism (the view of Bücheler), the simple answer may be that there is no change. Although the marginal Greek ta panta in L looks more like a gloss than a variant, I can see no objection to reading Petronius' word as tapanta, which is how Lewis and Short register it without qualms- the OLD has topanta. In support of this, one may adduce the unique Latin noun tapantio, meaning paraphernalia and obviously based on the Greek ta panta, found in *CIL* 6.25861.5 (=Dessau, *ILS* 8146).

#### Opimian Wine

by Barry Baldwin

In *AJP* 88 (1967), 173-5, I suggested on the basis of Pliny, *NH* 14. 55, that Trimalchio was showing his oenosophic ignorance by serving as a choice beverage an old wine that in his day was normally used as a seasoning. Smith in his Commentary (Oxford, 1975) reports this notion without criticism, adding that Trimalchio was being absurd in putting centum on his label along with a remote consular date. An alternative to my suggestion is that of P. Bicknell who (*AJP* 89 (1968), 347-9), having quoted Pliny, *NH* 14.62, to the effect that Falernian is only secundae nobilitatis, concludes that Trimalchio's Opimian is a palpable fraud in that he has assigned a vintage to a wine whose vintage cannot in fact be specified, also that he gives it the wrong date. Bicknell further quotes the opinion of Galen in Athenaeus 26c to the effect that Falernian is potable after ten years and good from fifteen to twenty, after which it produces headaches and injury of the nervous system. Galen should have known since, as I now see, in *De Antidotis* (14.25 Kühn) he mentions that he tasted Falernian wines (which, unlike Pliny, he calls the best - ton ariston) more than a century old according to the labels on the jars. I emphasize that this Antonine reference is not put forward in support of Marmorale's date for the *Satyricon* - I remain a Neronian on that. It does seem to confirm that Trimalchio was trying realistically to ape his betters, but that as so often he got the details wrong.

#### Seleucus' Bad Language

by Barry Baldwin

Frigori laecasin dico is Seleucus' summing-up (Sat. 42.2) of the calorific effect of mulsi pularium, his preference over bathing. In his note on this passage, Smith comments on the rarity of such obscenities in the *Satyricon*. Two points may be added. First, one cannot "screw" the cold any more than one can "screw" avarice as in Martial 11.58.12 - literally, that is. This metaphorical usage may imply that the force of the imported indecency had weakened in first-century Roman drawing rooms, a view tendered by Ker in his Loeb of Martial and developed in J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), 132, albeit contrary to that of H.D. Jocelyn in his magisterial paper on laikazein in *Proc. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* 206 (1980), 17-19. There are plenty of parallels in contemporary British and American English. Secondly, Petronius probably had in mind such passages as the fragment of Antiphanes quoted in Athenaeus 18c where the speaker begins by cursing the bath in a mild way (eis makarian to loutron) and goes on to bemoan the pain of scraping, exactly as Seleucus does. The literary element in Petronius is not to be downplayed, and such similarities are likely to have been consciously included and intended for the appreciation of an educated reader.

The "Very Rich" Trimalchio

by Barry Baldwin

Ipsē nescit quid habeat, adeo saplūtus est, says a speaker at Sat. 37. 6 of Trimalchio. Saplūtus, an apparent hapax legomenon, is explained by Smith and others as standing for the Greek zaploutos. I agree with this view, which has the epigraphic backing of CIL 1. 1047 (adduced by Smith), though we might note that Lewis and Short register the word as zaplūtus. In selecting saplūtus, however, Petronius may have intended a pun on salaputium, a rare word used by Catullus 53.5 in reporting what a heckler said of one of Calvus' speeches. I agree with J.N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary (London, 1982), 65, 252, against J. Knobloch, Rh. Mus. 112 (1969), 23-27, that the word is offensive, having to do with penises. Not being one who feels a need to find dubious double entendre everywhere in Petronius, I emphasize that my reason for suspecting one here is the fact that the same speaker goes directly on to call Fortunata a lupatria, another unique hybrid and another one whose level of insult is debatable; cf. Adams' discussion in Rh. Mus. 126 (1983), 333.

"all this...to coincidence" if "The Tale of the Hunchback" in the Arabian Nights did not also provide points of contact.

A. Scobie, Apuleius and Folklore (1983), has recently applied his expertise as a folklorist to elucidating the folkloric background of Books 1-3 and the episode at 9.29-31 of the Golden Ass.

Finally, in the context of searching for the cultural and intellectual "origins" of the Golden Ass mention should be made of the innovative approach of G. Anderson in Eros Sophistes (1982). He sees the novel as in part a pastiche of Plato.

In closing, it should be emphasized that the few details that I have reported represent only minor elements in the books of Winkler and Anderson. They are a small sample of their determination as well as Scobie's to advance beyond the kinds of monolithic interpretations that with regrettably few exceptions have been in a state of suspended animation since the time of Beroaldus' commentary of 1500.

Freedmen in the Satyricon: the Portrait of Hermeros

by John Bodell

Recent, Innovative Scholarship on Apuleius' Golden Ass

by Gerald Sandy

Readers of the Newsletter who attended the International Conference on the Ancient Novel in 1976 may recall that in my report on the scholarly activity devoted to Apuleius during the one-hundred years subsequent to the publication of Rohde's Der griechische Roman I was able to cite distressingly few original contributions to the study of the Golden Ass. Peter Brown who is quoted on the dustjacket of one of the books to be highlighted below, seems to have been equally distressed when he wrote of the "state of suspended animation to which it [viz. the Golden Ass] had been condemned by monolithic interpretations." On the same occasion almost ten years ago I expressed the desperate need for a book such as T.D. Barnes' study of Tertullian to present Apuleius wearing his many caps--those of novelist, sophist, orator, philosopher, folklorist and natural scientist--within the intellectual climate of the second century.

Four important books have recently set out new perspectives from which to try to catch glimpses of Apuleius' intentions and of the cultural context from which his novel emerged. I do not propose reviewing them in detail here but instead only singling out a few points of view that they share or that seem to me to be particularly promising.

From the University of California Press, which seems to be becoming the alma mater of seminal studies of the ancient novel (first Ben Perry's great book, then Hägg's, followed now by Winkler with one by Reardon imminent as well as the translations being edited by him scheduled to appear in a few years), comes J.J. Winkler's Auctor & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' "The Golden Ass" (1985). In answer to the question why did Apuleius choose Isis rather than some other symbol that could give new meaning to the earlier events of the novel Winkler proposes among other considerations the Life of Aesop, which presents "a common format of cultural criticism that is informed by a peculiarly self-denying intelligence." Winkler maintains that the folk-book Life of Aesop helps to elucidate the Golden Ass in at least two ways. First, its vulgarity, wit and divine intervention establish it as a previously overlooked comparandum. Second, Aesop is the traditional Deformed Man who "speaks comically and culturally against the tyranny of conventional wisdom," performing the same function as Apuleius' "Socratic game of provocative question with no authorized answer."

In a chapter provocatively entitled "The Golden Satyr, or Encolpius the Ass," G. Anderson, Ancient Fiction (1984), moves from a conventional comparison of the Golden Ass with the Satyricon to consideration of "a number of short but quite striking links between either ... [one or the other of them] and a common third text," the Life of Aesop. Anderson cites some of the same episodes as Winkler and would be inclined to assign

A widely held view maintains that the freedmen guests assembled at Trimalchio's table, though noticeably less vulgar than their host, are essentially no different from him. This view, which is mistaken, has obscured an important part of Petronius' literary intentions in the Cena. The "realistic" depiction of Trimalchio's milieu was neither gratuitous (realism for its own sake) nor intended to reveal directly Petronius' attitude towards freedmen (moralizing social commentary); rather, it served as one component in Petronius' development of the theme that a freedman's status is immutable and inescapable.

Hermeros is a figure of greater importance than has previously been recognized. The pattern of his contributions to the conversation distinguishes him from the other freedmen and sets him up as a foil to Trimalchio. Hermeros' attitudes towards education, wealth, and "status" reveal a fundamentally different conception of the Roman social hierarchy than that held by Trimalchio. A close comparison of Hermeros' autobiography (Sat. 57) with the non-literary evidence for real freedmen shows that Petronius drew a consistent portrait, without distortion or exaggeration, of a successful independent freedman. The things that Hermeros values most -- his Roman citizenship, financial solvency, and reputation for honesty -- are the things that real freedmen proudly recorded on their tombstones. Above all, Petronius emphasizes Hermeros' lack of social pretensions and his pride in having worked his way out of slavery.

Unlike Trimalchio, who struggles to adopt attitudes and behavior appropriate only to persons of distinctly higher social status, Hermeros presents himself as a typical member of his class and demands respect for being what he is, a freedman. Taken together, the two characters' attitudes towards their social standing illustrate the true immutability of a freedman's status: neither Hermeros nor Trimalchio can win respect in the eyes of his social superiors because neither can escape the taint of his former servitude.

The interpretation is supported by another passage in the Cena. Immediately preceding the series of five freedmen's speeches recited in Trimalchio's absence (41-46), Petronius presents two of Trimalchio's jokes, back to back, which reiterate precisely the point that he makes in his portrait of Hermeros: the transition from slavery to freedom is simple; the transition from freedman status to freeborn status is impossible. By portraying Hermeros as a typical freedman, Petronius suggests that his literary representation of a freedman's milieu be seen as reflecting the circumstances of real freedmen of the period and encourages his readers to recognize that his aims in the Cena are not purely burlesque. (Abstract of a paper read at the 1984 APA meeting in Toronto, 28-30 December.)



## The Greek Novel

by B.P. Reardon

This report contains items that have appeared since the last one (Newsletter 15.2 June 84), with occasional mention of an earlier item in special cases. It was mostly put together last summer; there may be holes in it, since for some months my access to libraries has been restricted by tyche (I have been captured by medical pirates - but I hope to escape soon). A few elusive items are asterisked; if your library is beaten I could help (but only asterisked items, please!); Dept. of Classics, University of California, Irvine, CA 92717. PSN/GN 1 = Newsletter report on the Greek Novel in 12.2/13 May 82; PSN/GN 2 = 15.2 June 84; AP = L' Année Philologique. Readers are invited to send items to Gareth Schmeling or to me for dissemination here.

### I. GENERAL

Some prolegomena are appropriate this time, to pick out matters of comprehensive interest, as follows:

Literary Histories: three accounts have suddenly appeared at once in English. At last the first (Greek) volume of the Cambridge History of Classical Literature (CHCL) has emerged from the pipeline: E.L. Bowie's discussion of the novels now stands beside Lesky's, if indeed it does not replace it, as the only systematic literary-historical discussions available in English in this form (but of course there is now Hägg's book, PSN/GN 2); J. de Romilly's account, though it does not cover much ground, is reliable; Peter Levi's is not. See below.

Translations: there are now Spanish and German collections to add to the French (Grimal 1958) and Italian (Cataudella 1958). Spanish: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos, Madrid. Several volumes: Alex.-roman, C. García Gual, 1977; Char. Xen. Eph., Fragments, Julia Mendoza, 1979; Hld., E. Crespo Güemes, 1979; Ach. Tat., Long., published but details not known; Ap. Tyan., details not known; those I have used are excellent. German: as well as Plepelits (Char. 1976, Ach. Tat. 1980, both with good introduction), there is now a collection ed. by B. Kytzler, Im Reiche des Eros. Sämtliche Liebes- und Abenteuer-romane der Antike, 2 vv., München 1983; also a Chariton, Kallirhoe (after Plepelits?), by Chr. Lucke and K.H. Schäfer, Nachwort by H. Kuch, Leipzig 1985, Verlag Philipp Reclam. For the UC Press volume in progress, see below.

Collected Beiträge. A long-projected volume has now appeared: H. Gärter (ed.), Beiträge zum gr. Liebesroman, Hildesheim, Olms, 1984. Photo-reprinted articles or chapters: ten on the Gattung (Bürger, Heinze, Barwick, Lavagnini, Sinko, Giangrande, Merkelbach, Wehrli, Perry, Reardon) and ten on individual canonical authors (Perry and Papanikolaou on Char.; Zimmermann on Xen. Eph.; Sedelmeier on Ach. Tat.; Georg Rohde and Chalk on Long.; Weinreich, Szepessy, Mazal, Keydell on Hld.); bibliographical update. A very useful volume.

Stanford Conference: A mini-conference took place at Stanford in May 1985 (main speakers John Winkler, Susan Stephens, Ludwig Koenen) on The Greek Novel Fragments and Egyptian Narratives. Speakers agreed that there was no connection of any significance between them: lucus a non lucendo. This was related to the new Winkler-Stephens edition of the fragments (in progress). Details below, s.nn. and see In Preparation, Fragments.

### GENERAL - INDIVIDUAL PUBLICATIONS

Anderson, Graham, Ancient Fiction: the Novel in the Graeco-Roman World, London/Sydney (Croom Helm) and Totowa, NJ (Barnes & Nobles Books) 1984, pp. 248. This is a series of fifteen essays around a theme, not a literary history à la Hägg; and the preview in PSN Dec 83 (p. 8), although taken straight from the publisher's own announcement, now needs considerable modification. "In this book I have set out to illustrate the diversity of techniques and outlook of the Greek and Roman novelists in a new framework. At last it has proved possible to trace the origins of the works to the earliest known Near Eastern civilisation, and to begin to see what

classical craftsmen were able to make of a heritage of story-telling as old as the oldest known literature of any kind" (Preface)... "Rohde's great problem, the origins of the Greek novel, is now substantially solved" (Ch. 15). A bold claim. I let Tomas Hägg speak (see below, Forthcoming, "The Oriental Influences on the Greek Novel", note 83). "A's recent book, while not solving, as it claims, the problem of the origins of the novel, has the great merit of assembling a rich material from Oriental sources (from Sumerian myths to Arabic and Persian narrative literature and modern folktales) which show more or less close resemblance to the story-patterns and motifs of the ancient Greek and Roman novels. The handling of this material, however, leaves much to be desired: many of the parallels adduced are less than convincing, the author completely fails in making a distinction between phenomenologically explicable similarities and really significant ones, and he makes no real effort to sift his material chronologically or trace the actual ways of influence". Though mindful of the compliment of a dedication, I must agree. But with this thought, that like Merkelbach's rival Mysterientext theory A's thesis (which is conducted with his customary fluent erudition) could turn out more fertile than we yet know, if only by provocation. The methodological parallel with Merkelbach's book is remarkable, in fact: Hägg's sentiments could be applied as is to Roman u. Mysterium. Watch this space.

Bowie, E.L., "The Greek Novel", in Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, ed. P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1985, ch. 20.6 = pp. 683-99. A major and very welcome treatment. Predictably acute and independent, it joins the Handbuch merits of a literary-historical section to rewarding critical analysis of the major texts. B. brings out well the range of the now quite numerous extant texts and fragments; he play down socio-cultural analysis (e.g. Reardon) in favor of more purely literary aspects (recalling Rohde - after all!); the form is "lighter reading for the intelligentia" more than myth for the time (are the two mutually exclusive?). Recommended strongly to those who do not know the novels, and urgently to those who think they do.

\*Cicu, L., "La Poetica di Aristotele e le strutture dell'antico romanzo d'amore e d'avventura", Sandalion 5 (1982) 107-41. Not in AP 1982; a new journal from ?Padua ?Pisa ?Perugia, not yet in all drugstores.

\*Effe, B., "Entstehung und Funktion 'personaler' Erzählweisen in der Erzählliteratur der Antike", Poetica 7 (1975) 135-57. Increasing sophistication in ancient narrative technique. This is in AP but is easy to fail to get; as with Emerita, there is more than one journal under the name.

Kuch, H., "Gattungstheoretische Überlegungen zum antiken Roman", Ph 129 (1985) 3-19. Tour d'horizon of the problems involved in classifying ancient prose fiction.

Levi, Peter, A History of Greek Literature, London, Viking Press, 1985, pp. 448-53 on the novel. Amateurish and inadequate. We learn from the bibliography, incidentally, that E.R. Dodds wrote a book called Pagan and Christian in an Age of Eternity.

Romilly, Jacqueline de, A Short History of Greek Literature, translated by Lilian Doherty, Chicago/London, U. of Chicago Press, 1985. Not intended to be a critical discussion (cf. the title of the original, Précis de littérature grecque, Paris, P.U.F., 1980), but a handy summary of the current state of play; the two pages on the novel (205-207) are of course sound, though they discuss only the Liebesromane.

Stark, Isolde, "Zur Erzählperspektiv im gr. Liebesroman", Ph 128 (1984) 256-70. Narratological examination of "points of view" and their consequences.

\*Tsagarakis, O., "Odysseus' Story-telling and the European novel", Archalognosia 1 (1980) 353-65; in Greek, résumé in English p. 365. In AP (1982 #2369), but not a readily accessible journal, and AP does not point out that the narrative art in question is ego-narrative, which is subsequently picked up by Ach. Tat., Hld., and some Renaissance writers.

## II AUTHORS

Achilles Tattius

Segal, Charles, "The Trials at the End of Achilles Tattius' Clitophon and Leucippe [sic]: Doublet and Complementaries", SIFC 77 (1984) 83-91. Like many romance-writers, Ach. Tat. uses the structural device of doubling and complementation, in characters (sensual Melite, innocent Leucippe) and narrative function (violent death, intact rebirth), "to explore the dual aspects of the archetypally feminine".

Chariton

\*Edwards, D.R., "Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe: Religion and Politics Do Mix", Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers, ed. K.H. Richards, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1985, #24 = 175-81. Studies "the interplay of [the] religious element with political and social features in Chariton's text with special emphasis on the role of Aphrodite...Chariton's text in part expresses the civil and religious pride that Aphrodisians felt for their cult of Aphrodite." An interesting and thoughtful paper, which uses the evidence produced by excavation at Aphrodisias to establish the writer's social context. A promising approach, although I think that the function of Aphrodite in the story is overestimated.

Lucke, Christina, "Zum Charitontext auf Papyrus", ZPE 58 (1985) 21-33. A thorough and important contribution to the text: the papyri, with the exception of P. Michael. 1, are a more reliable guide to the text than F, and Molinié's text must be replaced (cf. my REG review of Molinié, PSG/GN 2).

Heliodorus

\*Colonna, A., "Volgarismi in Eliodoro", Paideia 37 (1982) 86. 4th C. Umgangssprache? (AP 1982 #1998).

Puiggali, J., "Le sens du mot ἀντιθέος chez Héliodore 4.7.13", Ph 128 (1984) 271-75. The word never = "hostile", as LSJ ad loc., but always derives from the sense "godlike".

Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri

Hunt, J.M., "More on the Text of Apollonius of Tyre", RhM 127 (1984) 351-61. "An annex to my 'Apollonius Resartus: A Study in Conjectural Criticism', now on the eve of publication in CPH".

Vidmanová, A., "Zur alttschechischen Erzählung über Apollonios von Tyros", LF 107 (1983) 232-39: German résumé 239. Text tradition, after Kortekaas' massive edition (PSN/GN 2).

Ziegler, R., "Die Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri und der Kaiserkult in Tarsos", Chiron 14 (1984) 219-34. Original redaction soon after A.D. 215: Caracalla and religious activities in Tarsus reflected in HART.

Longus

Billault, A., "Les amants dans l'Ile: Longus, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Mishima", BAGB 1985.1 73-86. Islands offer novelists a setting for an ideal (but coherent) world distanced from the real world. Evolution of the genre: de Saint-Pierre, Paul et Virginie, 1787; Yukio Mishima, Le tumulte des flots, 1954.

\*Billault, A., "Le mythe de Syrinx dans Daphnis et Chloé", Recherches sur l'imaginaire, Univ. d'Angers, U.E.R. des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Cahier X, 1983, 16-26. Digression, or integral in the story? Treatment in other authors (Ovid, Ach. Tat.) and resemblances to other myths, function in Longus.

Bowie, E.L., "Theocritus' Seventh Idyll, Philetas and Longus", CQ 35 (1985) 67-91. Longus is put to use to elucidate Theocritus VII; in this process it is argued that some episodes in L. are based on elements in Philetas. In making his point B. takes issue with Green (JHS 1982) and Mason (TAPA 1979) (PSN/GN 1, 2) on the matter of where on Lesbos L. sets his story: B. thinks it is on the E. coast, by the modern village of Mystegná.

\*Brioso Sánchez, M., "Notas sobre Longo", Habis 10-11 (1979-80) 105-18. A miscellany on matters arising in Books I-II: sources, interpretation, text.

Geyer, A., Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit, Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1977, esp. pp. 14-28, on the relation between Longus and Dionysus-cult: D. & C. is not a mystery-text. Cf. her 1977 article in WJA (NF) 3 (1977) 179-96.

Imbert, C., "Stoic Logic and Alexandrian Poetics", in Barnes et al., Doubt and Dogmatism, Oxford 1980, 182-216 (esp. 198-216). Not the likeliest place, perhaps, to look for a discussion of Longus; I thank David Blank for the tip. "Longus' prologue contrasts two ways of perceiving the picture he found in the grove of the nymphs...L. elevates the first simple vision into a revelation" (203). In other language, the prologue "examines... the way in which discursive thought is subordinated to the enigmatical synthesis of an image treated as a sign" (194). Oh.

Vieillefond, J.R., Pour l'amour du grec, Cahiers Paul-Louis Courier II.7-8 (1982) (Tours). Pp. 49-137 and notes 137-436 (=pp. 169-91) are on the subject of the infamous inkstain made by Courier on ms. Conv. Soppr. 627 (see e.g. Dalmeida's Budé of Longus, 107-14). Did Courier do it accidentally or deliberately? V.'s conclusion is that Courier cannot be excused after all: "in a fit of depression he made an angry, despairing gesture, smearing [the ms.] at the spot which had given him the most trouble" (102). But Courier was really a good guy, like most impulsive people: "an excess of uncontrolled violence is the most plausible and kindest explanation". So now we know, after 179 years and much heated argument; the incident indeed caused a diplomatic row between France and Italy. And the matter is still not forgotten, in the Laurentian library; when in 1972 I asked to look at Conv. Soppr. 627, speaking French because my Italian was inadequate, a library official accused me of being French and therefore personally implicated in the vandalism. But I was finally allowed to look at the ms., under individual scrutiny. Cf. PSN/GN 1.

Lucian

Morgan, J.R., "Lucian's True Histories and the Wonders beyond Thule" of Antonius Diogenes", CQ 35 (1985) 475-490. Challenges the accepted belief that VH is in some degree dependent on Ant. Diog.'s Apista. This acute and thoroughly argued article scores a hit, a very palpable hit: "it is salutary to be reminded how a guess based on the flimsiest of evidence can acquire unquestioningly accepted authority simply by being repeated often enough... Lucian himself would have been pleased with that thought".

Xenophon Ephesius

\*Garson, R.W., "The Faces of Love in Ephesiaca or Anthia and Habrocomes", Museum Africum 7 (1981) 47-55 (AP 1981 #5221). Xen. has had an occasional sympathetic or even admiring treatment (Zimmermann, Witt, Schmeling); here is another. Not a scholarly discussion. Much relating of plot, with some analysis: Eph. is about the impediments to love and its final triumph. Not many have seen psychological realism and skillful construction in this text. We are assured that "the rich human interest of X.'s material ensures its universal appeal:.. Wanna bet?"

## III. FRAGMENTS

Antonius Diogenes

Morgan, J.R., see above, Lucian.

Metiochus and Parthenope

Hägg, Tomas, "Metiochus at Polycrates' Court", Eranos 83 (1985) 98-102. Cf. id. SO 59 (1984) 61-92, PSN/GN 2. M & P is emerging into the light: first Maehler (ZPE 23 [1976] 1-20), now Hägg. And more can be expected from extended examination, when that becomes possible, of the recently-published fragments of an 11th C. Persian romance, Vamīq and Adhra (along with other material). "The chief object of

the present brief note is to see to what extent the Persian version may help us to restore the principal Greek fragments in the part where the two overlap, namely the description of Metiochus' participation in a symposium at Polycrates' court... The preliminary conclusion is that V & A ...will be able to advance considerably our general knowledge of M & P, its setting, plot and characters, but only to a lesser extent contribute to the actual restoration of the preserved Greek text". H. also makes a substantial contribution to establishing more of the (increasingly Chariton-like) historicity of M & P. All of this, together with H.'s other ventures into the Oriental tradition (see Forthcoming), makes a considerable step forward, both in putting flesh on an important fragmentary Greek text and in exploring an Oriental Nachleben of the ancient novel.

#### Nectanebus

Koenen, L., see General, Stanford Conference. K.'s view was that Nectanebus is not a "roman" but a Königsnovelle.

#### Sesonchosis

O'Sullivan, J.N., "The Sesonchosis Romance", ZPE 56 (1984) 39-44. O'S attempts to fit the new fragment (P. Oxy. 3319) to the two already known: order of the fragments, outline of the whole story. Cf. PSN/GN 2 (O'Sullivan) and 1 (West, Luppe). Another novel-outline emerging (cf. above, Hägg)? "The fragments accommodate themselves well to the notion that the novel was a romanticizing version of the Greek legendary tradition concerning Sesonchosis, just as the Alexander Romance is a romanticizing version - garbled very probably to an unusual extent - of the history of its hero".

#### Tefnut

Koenen, L., see General, Stanford Conference. K.'s view was that Tefnut is not a "roman" but a riddle-text.

#### Other

Lucke, Christina, "Bemerkungen zu zwei Romanfragmenten (P. Berol. 10535 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 2631 und P. Berol. 21234)", ZPE 54 (1984) 41-47. These were identified by Maehler as belonging to the same papyrus and published by Gronewald (ZPE 35 [1979] 15-20), who thought that 21234 followed directly on 10535; this article contests that position. These are the texts which G. thought reminiscent of Char., and possibly parts of Chione.

Renner, T., "A Composition concerning Pamphilus and Eurydice", Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Papyrologists, Chico 1981, 93-101. I repeat, for interest - since non-papyrologists may very well not see these Proceedings in the normal run of things - AP 1981 #3014. "On P. Mich. inv. 3793, reportedly from Oxyrhynchus, of the 3rd or early 4th C. A.D. The papyrus contains a fragmentary text suggesting a love affair, reminiscent of a Greek romance". Most such papyri are a century or so older.

Stephens, S., see General, Stanford Conference. S. discussed several papyrus texts: Sesonchosis, Pack<sup>2</sup> 2636 (P. Mich. inv. 5, "Magus bested by love"), 2628 (PSI 981, Calligone), 168 (P. Oxy. 416, "Séance"), 244 (Cod. Theb., Chione); 2621 (P. Dubl. 3, Herpyllis) was on the program but time ran out. Reexamination of the papyri is certainly not otiose. See below, Winkler. (Rostovtzeff's suggestion that Calligone comes from a historical romance, à la Ninus, seems more and more plausible: Rattenbury, New Chapters 240-44 [scripsi]). On Sesonchosis, S. made the points that (1) exotic content in a text does not imply an exotic form, and (2) similarity in narrative patterns, from one culture to another, does not imply a relationship (pace Anderson, q.v. above).

Whitehouse, H., "Shipwreck on the Nile: a Greek Novel on a 'lost' Roman mosaic?", AJA 89 (1985) 129-34. I will let the title do the work; AJA is readily accessible. I suggest that on the analogy of "Magus bested by love" (see previous entry) this putative ΑΥΡΥΤΤΟΝ ΔΙΨΥΝΑ (the point is W.'s) be known as "Shipwrecked passengers threatened by a hippopotamus". (This mosaic is in Cardiff, which is not very far from Stratford-on-Avon; so perhaps it influenced "Exit pursued by a bear"?)

Winkler, J.J., see General, Stanford Conference. W. discussed "Definitions and Distinctions" (in narrative), and produced his own commentaries on the texts discussed. He also distributed copious material (including those commentaries) on all the topics on the program; qua est amabilitate, he would perhaps do the same, on request, for those who were not there?

#### IV. NACHLEBEN

Billault, A., see above, Longus

Dyck, A.R., see Forthcoming.

Hägg, T., see Fragments and Forthcoming.

Molinié, G., Du roman grec au roman baroque. Un art majeur du genre narratif en France sous Louis XIII, Centre de Recherche "Idées, Thèmes et Formes 1580-1660", Service des Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le-Mirail, 56 rue du Taur, 31000 Toulouse, France, 1982; PSG/GN 1, now published. Aimed at the French novels, not the Greek; literary-theoretical - compare (and contrast) G.N. Sandy's paper in A. & A. 1982 (note the coincidence of dates) (PSN/GN 2), which covers similar ground and some of the same authors literary-historically.

Wilson, N.G., Scholars of Byzantium, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1981. Contains a number of interesting passages on Byzantine Nachleben of the novels (see Index), and on their manuscript tradition: p. 225 for the notorious Conv. Soppr. 627

#### Translation

The UC Press Collected Greek Novels in Translation, ed. B.P. Reardon, proceeds; PSN/GN 1. It will now include also the Alexander Romance (K. Dowden) and Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri (G.N. Sandy), the latter being closely enough connected with the Greek tradition to justify its inclusion; the addition reflects the importance of these texts in later periods (as well as UC Press's laudable forbearance in taking that point). It has simply not been possible to get it out as soon as was hoped, with the best will in the world - though predictions of its imminent appearance, more optimistic than informed, never did emanate from its editor, who is more anxious than anyone to see it finished but proposes to do the job properly. The volume is in fact nearing completion, but UC Press say they will need a good two years for the total publication process; so 1988 at the earliest, or not too long thereafter.

#### Book

Reardon, B.P., The Form of Romance in Antiquity (PSN/GN 1) is almost completed, or so the author and the editor of the series (Eidos series, University of California Press, T.G. Rosenmeyer) fervently hope.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

James Tatum now announces the second International Conference on the Ancient Novel for 1989, at Dartmouth: PSN/GN 2. The postponements are not Tatum's fault, but mine if anyone's; the intention is to link the Conference, if possible, to the publication of Collected Greek Novels in Translation (see above) in order to extend its scope to a wider audience. Further plans will be announced here and elsewhere; in the meantime, those interested are invited to write to Prof. J. Tatum, Dept. of Classics, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755. (cf. Longus, Vieillefond, above), which W. dates with confidence around 1270 ± 10 (early 14th C. has also been suggested, but is out of court now).



FORTHCOMINGIn Press

Dyck, A.R., Michael Psellus, Two Essays in Comparative Criticism: The Comparisons of Euripides and George of Pisidia and of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, edited with introduction and commentary, in Byzantina Vindobonensia (monograph series).

Hägg, Tomas, "The Oriental Reception of Greek Novels: A Survey with some Preliminary Considerations", SO 61 (1986). A substantial treatment of a major new topic, the Nachleben of the form in the East - "it is seldom even realized that there was such a thing". Three forms of transmission or influence are considered: translation, adapted translation, creative borrowing. Several factors militate against an extensive tradition. Clearly this stands in some relationship to Anderson's book, q.v. above, General.

In PreparationTexts

Chariton: two editions projected: H. Petersmann (Teubner Leipzig and B.P. Reardon (Teubner Stuttgart); prediction about dates would be asking for trouble. Two at once seems a lot, but Chariton's survival has been as aleatory in the 20th C. as it was in antiquity and later. Blake (1938) - the first and so far the only scientifically conducted edition - came out in a very limited number of copies (300, I am told, but surely more than that?), and is rarer than the proverbial hens' teeth (anyone who can let me have a copy can have my soul in exchange). Three subsequent editions never appeared, for various reasons: Zimmermann (obit editor), Reardon's Loeb (obit Loeb, or almost), Papanikolaou's Leipzig Teubner (why?). And Molinié's 1979 Budé needs replacing, to say the least (see Lucke, above, s.n. Chariton). Outrageous tyche may have more slings and arrows up her sleeve, so we will talk about saturation when saturation occurs.

Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri: Gareth Schmeling's Teubner is in progress, for the more visible future (he tells me).

Fragments

Stanford Conference: the Winkler-Stephens edition of the fragments proceeds; and L. Koenen expects to publish his contributions (see above Fragments, Nectanebus and Tefnut).