
THE PETRONIAN SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

Editor:

GARETH SCHMELING
Department of Classics
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Vol. 18 Nos. 1 & 2
March 1988

Associate Editors:

Raymond Astbury
B.P. Reardon
Gerald Sandy
J.P. Sullivan

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Under *Notices* in Vol. 17, Nos. 1 & 2, February 1987, page 3. The Greek Novel A.D. 1-1985, An International Symposium, 24-26 March 1986, was held at King's College London, and was organized by the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.

Under *Bibliography* in Vol. 17, Nos. 1 & 2, February 1987, page 1. Dimundo, R., "Marginalia a Petronio 85-87".

EDITORIAL APOLOGY

In the last issue of this *Newsletter* there appeared in the *BIBLIOGRAPHY* section a notice about R. Jenkyns, "Silver Latin Poetry and the Latin Novel," within which were set comments about William Arrowsmith's "Petronius" (in *Ancient Writers*). These comments contain errors. The facts of the publication are these: when asked to contribute a piece on Petronius, Arrowsmith replied to the editor of the volume that he could offer only a composite of his earlier essays; the editor agreed that such a composite essay would be satisfactory. The reviewer of the Jenkyns' piece in the *Newsletter* added comments (1) of gratuitous hostility about Arrowsmith's motives (which could not be known) and (2) which are inconsistent. The Editor of the *Newsletter* regrets that these comments were published. Because of the informal nature of the *Newsletter* and because many reviews and notices are received unsolicited the Editor does not know who was the reviewer of the Arrowsmith (Jenkyns) article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aragosti, A., "Lucilio, Sat. XX. Ipotesi per una ricostruzione della cena di Grano," *SCO* 36 (1986) 99-130. From a study of the foods in the *Satyricon* and in the *Satires* of Horace Aragosti proposes to rearrange the fragments of Book 20.

Bailey, D.R. Shackleton, "On Petronius," *AJP* 108 (1987) 458-464. Readings on 27 passages.

Bakhtin, M., "Apulée et Pétrone," *Esthétique et théorie du roman*, trans. D. Olivier (Paris: Gallimard, 1978) 261-277. [Original in Russian, Moscow, 1975.]

Bakhtin, M., "Le roman grec," *Esthétique et théorie du roman*, trans. D. Olivier (Paris: Gallimard, 1978) 239-260. [Original in Russian, Moscow, 1975.]

Barchiesi, A., "Il nome di Lica e la poetica dei nomi in Petronio," *MD* 12 (1984) 169-175. By using the name Lichas Petronius is deliberately drawing the attention of the reader to the Lichas of Ovid *Meta* 9.211 ff. who is drowned by Heracles. The reader is expected to guess that a man named Lichas will die by drowning.

Barchiesi, A., "Tracce di narrativa greca e romanzo latino: una rassegna," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 219-236. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Bartoňková, D., "Prosimetrum, the Mixed Style, in Ancient Literature," *Eirene* 14 (1976) 65-92.

Bauer, J.B., "Staminatas duxi (Petron cena 41, 12)," *Sprache* 31 (1986) 286-287. <ex>taminatas (potiones understood) duxi (= sorbuti).

Boemer, F., "Die Witwe von Ephesus. Petron. 111,1 ff. und die 877. in Tausendundeiner Nacht," *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 138-140.

Borghini, Prof., "A proposito dello zodiaco petroniano," *Aufidius* 2 (1987) 63-86.

Brouwers, J., "Eumolpus' literatuurtheorie en zijn beschrijving van Fortuna," *Lampas* 19 (1986) 231-238.

Bruneau, P., "Deliaca, V," *BCH* 109 (1985) 545-567. *Deliaci manu recisi* are capons.

Capponi, F., "Petr., Sat. 89, 30-33," *Latomus* 45 (1986) 178-179. At 89 v. 31 read *tranquillo minas*.

Cicu, Luciano, "La Matróna di Efeso di Petronio," *SIFC* 79 (1986) 249-271. An analysis of the individual topoi of the story which shows it to be conceived along the lines of ancient prose fiction. The story of the widow is a perfect and complete whole by itself.

Caprettini, G.C., "Gli Indici figurali e la dimensione ironica del personaggio (Apuleio, *Metam.* I, 6)," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 105-115. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Cizek, E., "Céline si Petroniu: un *Satyricon* moderne" [*Céline et Pétrone: un Satyricon moderne*] *Viata Românească* 82 (1987,2) 40-44. Cizek estime que *Mort à crédit*, roman, publié par Céline en 1936, est un *Satyricon* moderne, du point de vue typologique. Que Céline aurait ou non été influencé par Pétrone. Dans ces deux cas, de Céline et de Pétrone, il s'agit des romans picaresques, comportant une réflexion sur la condition humaine et tous les signes d'une satire ménippéenne. Qui plus est, il y a des similitudes entre Enclope et Ferdinand, le narrateur de *Mort à crédit* et surtout entre Eumolpe et Roger-Marin Courtial des Perreires. Mais la vision de Céline est plus sévère, plus dure que celle de Pétrone.

Conte, Gian Biagio, "Una Correzione a Petronio (Sat. 89 v. 31)," *RFIC* 115 (1987) 33-34. Read *tranquillo minax*.

Crook, J., "Si parret and a Joke in Petronius," *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino. Bibl. di Labeo VIII* (Napoli: Jovene, 1984-85) in Volume 3, pp. 1353-1356. Read at 137.9 *parret, non parret, habeto*.

Dimundo, R., "Il perdersi e il ritrovarsi dei percorsi narrativi (Petronio, 140, 1-11)," *Aufidius* 2 (1987) 47-62.

Dimundo, R., "La novella dell' efebo di Pergamo: struttura del racconto," *MCSN* 4(1986) 83-94. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Donnini, M., "Il 'Racconto' sull' amore incestuoso in Pietro Pittore," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 237-246. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Dunbabin, K., "Sic erimus cuncti ... The Skeleton in Graeco-Roman Art," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 101 (1986) 185-256. On the larva at Sat. 34.8.

Elsom, H.E., *Apuleius and the Writing of Fiction and Philosophy in the Second Century* (Dissertation, Cambridge University). (Sandy)

Fedeli, P., "La matróna di Efeso. Strutture narrative e tecnica dell' inversione," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 9-35. [Semiotica della novella latina. Atti del seminario interdisciplinare "La novella latina," Perugia, 11-13 aprile 1985.] See review by Hubbard in this issue.

Fedeli, P., "Petronio: Crotone o il mondo alla rovescia," *Aufidius* 1(1987) 3-34. "Questa mia indagine intende sottolineare un aspetto della tecnica narrativa di Petronio: si tratta dell' uso che del meccanismo dell' inversione egli fa nell' episodio di Crotone; se, infatti, è tipico del romanzo presentare una realtà degradata, in Petronio la degradazione assume spesso il carattere di vero e proprio rovesciamento."

Frings, U., "Lesedidaktisches zur 'Witwe'," *AJ 27* (1985) 54-75.

Furiani, Patrizia, "Achille Tazio VIII 9.9 sgg. e Platon, Leggi XII 961 A-B: un esempio di imitazione e deformazione," *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 179-182.

Furiani, Patrizia, "Religione e letteratura nel 'racconto' di sacrifici umani presso i romanzieri greci d'amore," *Filosofia della Natura e Pensiero Religioso* 3 (1986) 25-40.

Futre, Marília Pulquério Pinheiro, *Estruturas técnico-narrativas nas Etiópicas de Heliodoro* (Dissertation, University of Lisbon, 1987). (Sandy)

Garnsey, P., "Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the Principate," *Klio* 63 (1981) 359-371. On p. 371 there is added "Appendix: the Historicity of Trimalchio".

González-Haba, Mercedes, "Petron. 37, 6 *haec lupatria*," *Athlon: Satura Grammatica in Honorem Francisci R. Adrados*, Vol. II, ed. P. Bádenas de la Peña (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1987) 409-414. On hybrid words and Neumann, *WJA* 6 (1980) 173-180.

Hinojo, G., "Del orden de palabras en el *Satiricon*," *Symbolae Ludovico Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae*, ed. J.L. Melena (Vitoria, Spain: Instituto de Ciencias de la Antiquedad, 1985) 245-254.

Hofmann, W., "In rutae folium: Zu Martial 11.31.17," *Philologus* 130 (1986) 143-144. "In rutae folium ... ist eine vulgare, sprichwoertliche Redensart" which means something like (37.10 and 58.5) "in den Sack stecken" or "in den Schatten stellen". Hofmann follows Friedlaender who explained it as "Sprichwoertlich fuer einen kleinen Raum."

Holzberg, Niklas, review of G. Anderson, *Eros Sophistes. Ancient Novelists at Play* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982) and *Ancient Fiction. The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Croom Helm, 1984) in *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 389-394.

Hosner, J., *Studien zur lateinisch-romanischen Sprachentwicklung am Beispiel der gesprochenen Partien in der Cena Trimalchionis* (Dissertation Bochum, 1984).

Hubbard, Thomas, "The Narrative Architecture of Petronius' *Satyricon*," *AC* 55 (1986) 190-212. "Critics of Petronius' *Satyricon* have often commented upon the seemingly random and aimless nature of the novel's plot, and the relative absence of logical connection between episodes.... Even if it may not be readily apparent on the perceptual level of reader-response, every literary composition necessarily relies on some underlying framework of intention ... which provides cogency and purpose to the author's own activity, and thus also depends on some underlying structure which guides him in the massive task of selecting and organizing his material out of the potentially infinite array of elective and recombinatory possibilities ... What we might thus expect to discover in a poetically inspired prose-narrative like the *Satyricon* is a deliberate patterning of episodes and motifs through sequenced repetition and parallelism."

Huebner, W., *Die Petronuebersetzung Wilhelm Heineses: Quellenkritisch bearbeiteter Nachdruck der Erstausgabe mit textkritisch-exegetischem Kommentar*, Band I Nachdruck der Erstausgabe, Band II Apparat und Kommentar (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987). This is a beautiful two volume work with notes on the 1773 Rome edition of Heine's German translation of the *Satyricon*. Though the place of publication is given as Rome (no publisher listed), we are told that it was published at Schwabach by Mitzler. Huebner lists 24 editions, reprints, and versions of the Heine translation.

Marblestone, H., "Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes," *Mnemosyne* 38 (1986) 166-167. M. contends that the Aramaic name Trimalchio was understood by the "literary gourmets" at Rome to be equal to the word king, that *matavitatau* is not a corrupt reading but "a hybrid asseveration with (Syrian) Aramaic *matu(t)ā*, 'death', over against Latin *vita*, 'life,' and that both words represent the kind of Syrian influence railed against by Juvenal at 3.62 *Syrus ... Orontes*.

Mazzoli, G., "Ironia e metafora: Valenze della novella in Petronio e Apuleio," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 199-217. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

McCullough, H., "A New Reading for *dacalusias* at Petr. Sat. 41.2," *Paideia* 40 (1986) 33-34. Read *postquam itaque omnis abaco lusi ac consumpsi*, "And so after I had wasted and used up all my thoughts with (calculations from) the gaming board/sideboard".

Miralles, C., "Ipponatte e Petronius," *QUCC* 50 (1985) 89-103. Petronius like Hipponax does not write allegories but describes types of real people.

de Nardis, L., "Petronio e Arlecchino," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 95-104. [See P. Fedeli citation in this issue.] See review by Hubbard in this issue.

Nyman M., "The Meaning of *micarius*," *Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto*. *Arctos* Suppl. II (Helsinki: Classical Association of Finland, 1985) 143-146. *Sat.* 73.6 *micarius* means one who licks sale.

Oldoni, M., "Streghe medievali e intersezioni da Apuleio," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 267-279. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Parca, M., "Deux récits milésiens chez Pétrone (*Satyricon*, 85-87 et 111-112). Une étude comparative," *RBP* 59 (1981) 91-106. Eumolpus at 85-87 and the miles at 111-112 are the opposites of the good people they portray, and yet each succeeds in attaining his goal and in being a successful character in the *Satyricon*. Petronius seems to be amoral.

Parroli, T., "Lupi e lupi mannari, tra mondo classico e germanico, a partire da Petronio 61-62," *MCSN* 4 (1984) 281-317. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Pervo, Richard, "Wisdom and Power: Petronius' *Satyricon* and the Social World of Early Christianity," *Anglican Theological Review* 67 (1985) 307-325. This article on Petronius belongs to the category of "social description." The text of the *Satyricon* is examined for the illumination it might shed upon nascent Christianity. The focus is upon the principals, itinerant sophists of the less successful and

scrupulous sort, with some features in common with the "opponents" decried by NT authors, and Trimalchio and his circle, ex-slaves exhibiting some of the social dissonances and marginized status likely to be found in early Christian leaders (e.g., the patrons of Pauline Churches).

Perutelli, A., "Le chiacchiere dei liberti. Dialogo e commedia in Petronio 41-46," *Maia* 37 (1986) 103-119.

Petersmann, H., "Der Begriff *satura* und die Entstehung der Gattung," in *Die roemische Satire* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986) 7-24.

Polara, G., "La tradizione medievale della novella petroniana del *vitro infrangibile*," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 131-142. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Polì, D., "La Donna la donnola e lo sciamano in Apuleio," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 247-265. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Portulas, J., "Ipponatte e Petronio," *QUCC* 49 (1985) 121-139. Petronius follows in the iambic feet of Hipponax.

Salanitro, M., "Le pentola che non bolle (Petron. *Satyr.* 38, 13)," *A&R* 36 (1986) 23-27. This proverb is alive in southern Italy.

Santini, C., "Il vetro infrangibile (Petronio 51)," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 117-124. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Santini, C., "Il Supplizio del miele e delle formiche (Apuleio *Met.* VIII 22)," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 125-130. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Scobie, A., "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World," *Klio* 68 (1986) 399-433. Two passages in the *Sat.* (47.5 and 27.3-5) are discussed on p. 410. At 47.5 Trimalchio "authorizes his guests only to urinate, not defecate in the *triclinium*"; and the words *omnia foras parata sunt* "are best taken to refer to a domestic latrine" and hardly constitute "proof that high-status Romans did not use latrines in their own houses".

Sega, G., "Due milesie: la matrona di Efeso e l'efebio di Pergamo," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 37-81. [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Semiotica della novella latina. Atti del seminario interdisciplinare "La novella latina", Perugia 11-13 aprile 1985. Roma: Herder, 1986. 319 pp., 35000 Lire. See review later in this issue.

Shaw, Brent D., "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *Past and Present* 105 (1984) 3-52. Page 44, note 123: "These novels (referring to the works of Apuleius, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius) are a veritable storehouse of information on popular perceptions of bandits, their motives, targets of attack, the structure of brigand gangs, bandit behaviour and values, and repression by the state. But they are so rich in this sort of detail that they demand separate treatment, which I do intend to undertake."

Slater, Niall, "*Satyricon* 80.9: Petronius and Manuscript Illustrations," *CJ* 82 (1987) 216-217. Slater comments on *mox ubi ridendas inclusit pagina partes*: "Petronius' poem here depicts the living stage performance transformed into the painted figures of book illustration."

Sommariva, G., "Petronio, *Satyr.* fr. 37 e 47 Ernout," *Disiecti Membra Poetae. Studi di poesia latina in frammenti*, ed. V. Tandoi (Foggia: Atlantica Ed., 1984) 117-145.

Sommariva, G., "*Rotundum horti tuber*. Petr. *Satyr.* 109, 10," *A&R* 30 (1986) 45-52. The shaved head of Giton is compared to a *cucurbita* which is smooth and round.

Starr, R., "Trimalchio's *homeristae*," *Latomus* 46 (1987) 199-200. "*Homeristae* were low-class reciter-performers who used shields, prop swords with retractable blades, and perhaps even theatrical blood. They should not be appearing at all in a private individual's home. Achilles Tatius (3.20.4) specifies that they appear in theaters, and all their appearances in papyri are for public events (see *P. Oxy.* 619, 1026, and 1050 = M. Vandoni, *Feste Pubbliche e Private nei Documenti Greci* [Milan, 1964], numbers 36, 26, and 39). Trimalchio's grandiosity in presenting *Homeristae* in his home at a dinner party offends customary practice all the more because, instead of merely contracting for them to appear, he *owns* the troupe ... In the *Cena*, theatrical illusion encroaches upon the sphere of the kitchen until the host and the servers become temporary members of the troupe of *Homeristae*."

Starr, R., "Trimalchio's Libraries," *Hermes* 115 (1987) 252-263. At 48.4 read II instead of *tres bibliothecas*. Trimalchio's claim to have two libraries "reinforces our impression of him as culturally pretentious ... He makes the extraordinary claim that his collections find their parallel only in the imperial libraries." Carlo Pellegrino had earlier made a case for three libraries: "A Proposito delle tre biblioteche di Trimalchio ...," *Sileno* 7 (1981) 187-201.

Tappi, O., "Interdiscorsività e intertestualità in una 'novella' di Apuleio (*Metamorfosi* 10, 2-12). Fenomenologia del tabù dell'incesto," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 179-197 [See P. Fedeli citation.] See review below by Hubbard.

Zurli, L., "*Anus, sed admodum scitula*. Modello e racconto in Apul. *Met.* I, 6-19," *MCSN* 4 (1986) 143-177. [See P. Fedeli citations.] See review below by Hubbard.

OLD TESTAMENT - NEW TESTAMENT AND ANCIENT PROSE FICTION

A Report by Richard I. Pervo

The Literary Guide to the Bible, ed., Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, Belknap Press of Harvard U.P., Cambridge: Mass, 1987, has useful analyses of Esther and Daniel and a few words on Judith. Jack M. Sasson's study of Esther, pp. 335-342, contains useful comparison between the Greek and Hebrew texts. Helen Elsom of Clare College, Cambridge contributes "The New Testament and Greco-Roman Writing," 561-579, with discussion of Gospels and Acts in relation to ancient "Romance" 568-570. Her Bibliography includes Chalk's article on Longus and works of Perry and Winkler. It is erratic, suggesting limited knowledge. Reardon, Anderson, even Bowie's survey from the Cambridge History are missing!

An article on Joseph and Asenath by C. Burchard, *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987) 102-134 includes a valuable bibliography, 131-134. Those interested in this, the one Jewish novel most often examined by students of the novel in antiquity, should note that Burchard has published a preliminary text: "Ein vorläufiger griechischer Text von Joseph und Asenath," *Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament* 14 (1979) 2-53, with emendations, *ibid.* 16 (1982) 37-39. This text, which will appear in a more formal and accessible dress, is to be preferred to that of M. Philonenko. The differences are major.

Burchard's introduction and translation, together with many notes, is available in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985, 2:177-247. This is an invaluable resource. Roughly identical is the German edition issued in the series *Judische Schriften aus Hellenistischer Römischer Zeit* 2.4, Guetersloh, 1983.

Elizabeth A. Clark's translation of *The Life of Melania the Younger*, N.Y.: Mellen, 1984, contains a lengthy discussion of the influence of romantic novels upon hagiography.

Additional suggestions for the popularity of romantic novels emerges in Maddalena Scopello's *L' Exegese de L' Ane, Nag Hammadi Studies* 25, Brill: Leiden, 1985. Her topic is the Coptic Gnostic Treatise on the Soul (English in *Nag Hammadi Library*, ed. J.M. Robinson, 180-188), describing the fall and restoration of the soul. Her discussion of the genre is on pp. 46-55. This work would also interest those engaged in research upon Apuleius' presentation of Cupid and Psyche.

PETRONIUS AND "SPYCATCHER"

by J.P. Sullivan

Petronius' authority is invoked in the most unlikely places. Witness this from *The Guardian* (August 25, 1987, p. 11):

Wright and wrong

ONCE the Law Lords have finished with Spycatcher may I suggest that Mr Baker ask them to join one of his advisory committees? Their ability to pronounce on the suitability of reading material for the nation would be very valuable.

Should a colleague of mine be allowed to keep the words of Petronius Arbiter on his study wall any longer?

"We trained hard but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams we would be reorganised. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganising... and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency and demoralisation." Petronius Arbiter - 210 BC.

R A Cunningham,
140 Pineapple Road,
Birmingham.

Since this forgery was uttered circa 1945-6 (see *PSNL* 12.2-13 (1982) 5; May 1981, p. 5; Dec. 1971, p.5), one wonders why Petronius' date has wandered back from Neronian times to 210 B.C. Was it because the Punic menace would be producing the same paranoia as the Red menace nowadays?

by David Lateiner

George Meredith published his convoluted comic masterpiece *The Egoist* in 1879. The father of the heroine (who narrowly escapes an unbearable marriage) is a somewhat pompous student of the Classics: when told of a boy's lie, he responds "For which he should have been reasoned with at the Grecian portico (Ch. xliii)." He also sometimes evades questions and sticky situations with quotations from the greats and castigation of the younger generation and its tastes (like Agamemnon in chh. 2-4). It is, therefore, not surprising to find tags in Latin from Vergil (*Aeneid* 5.6 in Ch. xix), Horace (*Sat.* 2.2.1 and 6.1 in Ch. xxi), Catullus (*Carm.* 39. 6-7 in Ch. xxix), and allusions to Aeschylus (a very relevant discussion of Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter Iphigeneia for the success of his plan to enjoy the Egoist's wine cellar in Ch. xliii). These witticisms appear in Dr. Middleton's mouth, in his learned daughter Clara's mind (when ruminating on a happy-go-lucky character named Horace), as well as in the words and thoughts of others. The young scholar "Vernon had to fall back upon Greek and Latin aphoristic shots at the [female] sex to believe" that his beloved would encourage a youth to immoral behavior (Ch. xxvi). Other males are reduced to similar or worse invectives in their (unjustified) diatribes against the morality of women (cf. the Hesiodic-Hippolytan Egoist in Ch. xl). One of the most remarkable examples of Meredith's sympathy for the plight of women ends with a reference to Cicero *pro Caelio* 62 (cf. Quintilian 8.6.53; in Ch. xxiii):

"The Egoist, ...had no bleeding victim beneath his paw, but there was the sex to mangle. Much as he prefers the well-behaved among women, who can worship and fawn, and in whom terror can be inspired, in his wrath he would make of Beatrice a Lesbia Quadrantaria."

The eponymous character, while not a *nouveau riche* like Trimalchio, shares many of that vibrant personality's self-serving traits. Both enjoy the admiration of their inferiors, both dwell on their services to their family and relatives, both only dimly sense the offensive impression they make on more sensitive souls, both, finally, compel our awe as well as our disgust.

Rather than try to make bricks from straw, I will only point out two references of interest to the readers of this journal. Meredith makes reference to Petronius' world of the early Empire in South Italy when referring to the constancy of Clara's boy admirer Crossjay: "And the lava might overflow him and take the mould of him, like the sentinel at Pompeii" (Ch. xix). Early in the novel, Ch. iv, the egoist Sir Willoughby Patterne contemplates the fact that Laetitia who has always been devoted to him has not been showing the grief that his intended marriage to Clara should have produced:

"She might have buried it, after the way of women, whose bosoms can be tombs. If we and the world allow them to be; absolutely sepulchres, where you lie dead, ghastly. Even if not dead and horrible to think of, you may be lying cold, somewhere in a corner. Even if embalmed, you may not be much visited. And how is the world to know you are embalmed? You are no better than a rotting wretch to the world that does not have peeps of you in the woman's breast, and see lights burning and occasional exhibition of the services of worship. There are women - tell us not of her of Ephesus - that have embalmed you, and have quitted the world to keep the tapers alight, and a stranger comes, and they, who have your image before them, will suddenly blow out the vestal flames and treat you as dust to fatten the garden of their bosoms for a fresh flower of love."

The comic irony resides principally in Willoughby's own inconstancy which rises to a level of absurdity by the end. While the Ephesian chose to save the living man at the expense of a corpse, Willoughby comes to prefer the thought of his intended wife being disgraced or dead to her being in the arms of another.

Comfort, Alex, *Imperial Patient: The Memoirs of Nero's Doctor* (London: Duckworth, 1987), reviewed by Peter Howel in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 18 September 1987. "The style is brisk and slangy ("Up my ass with Romulus" says Petronius), with occasional brief excursions into rather odd Latin (*libelliusculum*), Greek, German and (believe it or not) Welsh." (Baldwin)

Second Groningen Colloquium on the Novel, 1 May 1987, organized by H. Hofmann at the Rijksuniversiteit. The speakers were Hans Kloft, "Zum wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Hintergrund von *Daphnis und Chloe*"; Peter Kneissl, "Zur Rolle der Oberschichten in den kaiserzeitlichen Staedten". Fridolf Kudlien, "Kindesaussatzung im antiken Roman: ein Thema zwischen Fiktionalitaet und Lebenswirklichkeit"; Siegfried Schmidt, "Fiktion und Selbstreferenz als literatursoziologische Kategorien"; Mario Di Cesare, "Knowing and Narrating: Recognition Scenes in Epic"; Helen Elsom, "Apuleius in the Movies".

Fourth Groningen Colloquium on the Novel, 30 October 1987, organized by H. Hofmann at the Rijksuniversiteit. The speakers were B.L. Hijmans, "Reader Reactions in the Manuscripts of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"; J.L. de Jong, "Renaissance Representations of Cupid and Psyche: Apuleius vs. Fulgentius"; Edgar Mass, "Tradition und Formwandel im Romanschaffen Boccaccios"; Perrine Galand, "La Fontaine lecteur de la 'Matrone d' Ephèse'"; Sandro Boldrini, "Il pasto della vedova: cibo, vino, sesso, da Petronio a S. Amado".

Colloque International. Autour du roman grec: formes et traditions littéraires, étude des réalités sociales et des modèles culturels, postérité du genre, École Normale Supérieure, Paris, 18-19 décembre 1987.

ARTICLES

Eumolpus' Poetic Hairs

by Barry Baldwin

At *Sat.* 109.8, it is said of the relentless poet Eumolpus that *vinu solutus dicta voluit in calvos stigmatosque iaculari, donec consumpta frigidissima urbanitate rediit ad camina sua coepitque capillos elegidarian dicere* (the apparently lacunose text goes on to offer three elegiac couplets and seven iambic lines). Rose (*The Date and Author of the Satyricon*, Leiden 1971, 76, 86) registered this sequence as a possible reference to Nero, seeing in this "tasteless poem" (a harsh and perhaps confused, judgement; see below) an allusion to that emperor's verses on the locks of Poppaea known to us from Pliny, *NH* 37.50: *Domitius Nero in ceteris vitae suae portentis capillos quoque Poppaeae coniugis suae in hoc nomen adoptaverat quodam etiam carmine sucinos appellando*. Incidentally, no one seems to have noted that, if *capillos sucinos* is an actual quotation, this would be the only certain fragment of Nero's Muse that is not hexametric (cf. M. Morford, 'Nero's patronage and Participation in Literature and the Arts,' *ANRW* II 32.3, 2017, for the latest general discussion). However, Pliny may be paraphrasing; Nero could have written (for very easy instance) *sucina* along with *capillos* as accusative of respect.

A poem on hair is suggestive of Nero, though not certainly so. Suetonius (*Dom* 20) quotes as an example of Domitian's *sermonis nec inelegantis, dictorum interdum etiam notabilium* the imperial description of a man's reddish grey hair as *perfusam nivem mulso* (an image somewhat similar to that used by an Athenian jester in ridicule of Sulla's face, as preserved by Plutarch, *Sulla* 2. 1). Sensitive about his own thinness on top, and unamenable to references to the condition passed either *loco vel iurgio*, the emperor (*Dom* 18.2) wrote and published a *libellus de cura capillorum*, dedicated to an unnamed friend, from which the biographer mentions Homer, *IL* 21.108 ("Do you not see that I too am handsome and tall?") as ironically quoted by Domitian along with the reflection that *eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero camam in adolescentia senescentem. scias nec gratius quicquam decore nec brevius*. Imperial sensitivity about alopecia was something of a motif, being ascribed to Julius Caesar who was often ridiculed for it, and to Caligula who characteristically sought to preempt jokes by declaring that to look down upon him from above or to mention goats constituted capital offences (Suetonius, *JC* 45.2; *Cal.* 50. 1).

In aiming at *calvos*, then, Eumolpus was doing something pretty conventional. The *stigmatos* comport more interest. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines this term as "covered with tattoo-marks as a sign of infamy; Lewis & Short offer a similar though less prolix rubric. Both dictionaries adduce only the present passage and Pliny, *Ep.* 1.5.2, for this (oddy?) rare epithet. Pliny is furnishing examples of the rough oratorical wit of his *bête noire* Regulus who had dubbed Arulenus Rusticus *Stoicorum simiam* (surely a reminiscence of Cicero's

branding of Favonius as *simios Catonis*, *Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum*. This latter refers to an actual wound; Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.80, describes the incident. *Stigmosus* clearly has a wider range than the dictionaries concede to it, and the Loeb translation of it in the present passage as "branded criminals" may need reconsideration.

Eumolpus seems to have cracked some jokes against both *calvos stigmososque* that fell flat before taking characteristic refuge in poetry. As far as the text permits us to see them, the elegiacs look sympathetic, the iambics more mocking. The latter tone would also suit Nero, who variously lampooned in verse the *mollitia corporis* of Afranius Quintianus (arguably an appropriate context for cutting remarks on lack of hair), the praetorian Clodius Pollio as one-eyed (*Iuscio*), and Mithridates for trying to drive a 10-horse chariot at the Olympics (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.49; Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.1; Nero 24.2). Yet Nero had no monopoly on this sort of thing. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.34) goes to town on Nero's creature Vatinius, alluding amongst other things to his *corpore detorto*. Martial 14.96.2 recalled Vatinius' long nose, and it is a fair bet that the *recitatione tragoediarum* in which Curiatius Maternus boasts (Tacitus, *Dial.* 11.2) that *Vatini potentiam fregi* found a way of working in some carnal insult. Furneaux' note on *Ann.* 15.34 catalogues deformed jesters and jokes about deformities; we shall also remember Agrippina deriding the *trunca manu* of Burrus at *Ann.* 13.14.

Whether or not Nero himself is in cause, this Eumolpan outburst fits perfectly the Neronian scene. Eumolpus starts his performance in his cups, after a lavish feast. Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.16, writing of the year 59, curtly describes the after-dinner poetry workshop of the emperor and associates, whilst Suetonius (Nero 20) mentions that he would listen to the musician Terpnus after dining (cf. J. Sullivan, 'Petronius' Satyricon and its Neronian Context,' *ANRW* II 32.3, 1680-1, on this). Confirmation of the custom is to hand from Persius 1.50-1: *non si qua elegidia crudi/dictarunt proceres?* Strikingly, in developing the scene at v. 56, Persius aims the shaft *nugaris, calve*. Equally eye-catching, given Nero's aforementioned lampoon against Pollio, is the subsequent (v. 128) allusion to one *Iusco qui possit dicere 'Iusce'*. Possibly it is a mark of Trimalchio's (himself *calvus*) lack of sophistication that his poetic efforts are produced during the course of the dinner, not kept for a proper literary seminar with Agamemnon and company afterwards. Finally, a linguistic detail to enhance and complete the picture. Petronius calls Eumolpus' verses on hair an *elegidarium*, a word that occurs only here according to the *TLI*. Persius' term *elegidia* is likewise a *hapax*. Conceivably these are *coterie* terms or parodies thereof.

The Werewolf Tale of Petronius: the Moral "catabasis" of Niceros

by Ana Victoria Soady

The "Werewolf Tale" (*Sat.* 61-62) is not often treated at any length by commentators, but when it is, the assessments are decidedly mixed. Evan T. Sage compared the narrated tale to a modern short story and admired it as "a condensation in which every word is effective and necessary," while, on the other hand, Brady B. Gilleland bluntly regarded it as "poorly constructed and ridiculous" (Sage and Gilleland, eds., *Satyricon* [New York, 1929, 1969] 230-1). This paper will affirm the judgment of Sage and will demonstrate that Petronius has structured his tale with verbal economy and literary purposefulness in order to relate the new-found heroic and moral resolve which the servile Niceros achieves as a result of his personal *catabasis*.

In his narration of the "Werewolf Tale", Petronius reveals considerable creative imagination and narrative expertise by infusing into what is ostensibly an simple specimen of magical lore, reminiscences, both verbal and situational, of Aeneas' *Journey to the Underworld* in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (for further evidence of Petronius' fascination with *Aeneid* 6 and the *Katabasismotiv* therein, see Rick M. Newton, "Trimalchio's Hellish Bath," *CJ* 77 (1981) 315-19; with thanks to Gareth Schmeling for this apt reference.) There is no doubt that reverberations of Aeneas' courageous infernal exploits are evident in the conduct of Petronius' gullible *fabulator*, Niceros, who never tires of telling how he overcame his personal foes - one "real" (the werewolf), and the rest imaginary - while journeying along a Campanian road at early dawn. Certainly, Petronius' evocation of Vergilian strains in such a context is far from surprising, for, true to his canon that a writer should be *plenus litteris*, Petronius, in the creation of his largely sub-literary *mélange* which is the *Satyricon*, often patterns upon the "higher" genres of Homeric and Vergilian epic, or Ovidian elegy. He does so, it would seem, not to criticize the

classics of Augustan literature, but rather in order to increase the comic effect of his lowly episodes and characters by proffering an often wistful, but seldom embittered, reflection upon the gaps which yawned between the ideal values of Augustan epic and the practical difficulties of troubled mortals living in the Age of Nero.

Although the mere identification of Vergilian parody in the werewolf yarn far from exhausts the critical potentialities of the passage, most critics and most commentators (including Smith, Oxford, 1976, 170-76) have been content to stop their analyses at this point, satisfied with having isolated higher literary inferences, without considering either the unique merits of this tale of the super-natural *per se*, and *sui generis*, or its possible significance as a literary product of Neronian times. Any adequate analysis of the "Werewolf Tale" must also take into consideration the fact that as the creator of a ghost story, Petronius had, in actuality, no literary responsibility more essential than the production of a narrative which would properly terrify, and hopefully amuse, his potential audience. He thus presents his tale with great awareness of the vernacular and the ageless superstitions of the earthy equals who are meant to be hearing it at Trimalchio's *cena*.

There are few today who would wish to decry the reputation of Petronius either as a *litteratus* steeped in the Classics of Greco-Roman literature, or as a raconteur skilled in the creation of verisimilitude even for his most outrageous characters. From the happy confluence of these two aspects of his literary talent, from the depth of his literary learning and from his penchant for realism, Petronius has created in his characterization of Niceros, the very image of a hero who befits his own time almost as neatly as Aeneas harmonized with the virtues of Augustan Rome. It will be shown that either intentionally, or possibly, unintentionally, Petronius has structured the "Werewolf Tale" in such a manner as to represent a "conscious-raising" experience for the servile Niceros, who, upon his emergence from his personal *catabasis*, which begins not unfittingly in a roadside Campanian graveyard, displays a level of moral commitment which is far more meritorious than could be found among the habitués of Nero's court.

Before presenting evidence for the above thesis, and without revealing any conclusions prematurely, there is need for this author to emulate the example of Niceros, by drawing a slender and frankly unheroic blade in an effort to "cut through" a few of the snarling and self-suffocating vines which have grown up among cultivators of the Petronian Garden (*pace* Oskar Raithl). One can no longer choose a metaphor without danger of encroachment upon someone's Petronian "turf"! It should be noted that the above paragraph indicates that Petronius may have structured the "Werewolf Tale" in a certain way, perhaps intentionally, and perhaps not intentionally. Therefore, what follows below is an interpretation of the brief episode which I believe is possible within the text. There are, however, within the Petronian garden some perennials who thrive on the notion that they have dug, as it were, to the roots of the Petronian persona, and thus dare to bespeak forthrightly what are most likely to be the fixed moral and aesthetic attitudes of the Arbiter.

With a mixture of intellectual admiration and bewilderment, these exceptional blossoms may best be dubbed the "Wastelanders" (from which point I promise to abandon all horticultural metaphors for the duration of this paper). Space does not allow a fuller discussion of their often excellent analyses of the symbols and images which pervade the Petronian text and with which it is often possible to find accord. The text of the *Satyricon* is used variously to prove that Petronius was a capital "E" Epicurean, or, alternately, a lower case "c", cynic. These distinctions lead in turn to Sibylline pronouncements such as the following, to which considerable exception may readily be taken: "he (Petronius) is telling us also, I think, of the failure of a Mandarin culture to diffuse itself" (W. Arrowsmith, "Luxury and Death in the *Satyricon*," *Arian* 5 [1966] 320.) It is difficult to imagine that any emperor who pandered to popular whim as much as Nero did, by among other things, giving public theatrical performances, would imagine himself in any sense a Mandarin. Furthermore, the *Satyricon* provides prima facie evidence of the extent to which court etiquette and fancy had been "diffused" among the wealthy *liberti* of Campania, who had more than ample means with which to support local versions of the latest fads and elegances.

More recently, several "Wastelanders" have advanced the notion that Petronius is anti-Classical in his literary stance. This, despite the endorsement of *Romanus Vergilius* and the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace which appear in the work. A leading proponent of this viewpoint has stated that:

The *Satyricon* is a radically anti-Classical work, which by its subversion and rejection of Classical aesthetic theory with its attendant expectations, sets out to project a radically anti-Classical world-view. (F. Zeitlin, "Petronius as Paradox," *TAPA* 102 [1971] 634).

This closely argued thesis might be stronger were it not derived largely from a careful analysis of the *Carmen de Bello Civili* and *Troiae Halosis* selections within the *Satyricon* - the first of which was aimed against the stylizations of Lucan and the second against Silver tragic technique, not to mention the fact that both pieces are presented through the guise of the poetaster Eumolpus and therefore may not deserve such serious regard.

The "Wastelanders" have imparted to Petronius a new seriousness which has in turn stimulated a spirit of purposeful revisionism among critics from which even the humble "Werewolf Tale" has not been able to escape. Theories of Petronian anti-Classicism reached the werewolf in 1976 when William J. O'Neal, following a suggestion first made by Brady B. Gilleland in his revision of E.T. Sage's edition of the *Satyricon* (op. cit. 231), published a brief article entitled "Vergil and Petronius: the Underworld," (CB 52 [1976] 33-4). In this piece he assumes the general acceptance of Petronius as "anti-Classical" and argues that Petronius wrote the "Werewolf Tale" solely to revise certain compositional flaws which the Arbitrator had identified in Vergil's narrative. The complaints which O'Neal decided that Petronius had against Vergil's artistry are three: 1. Aeneas' sword is never in the right place; 2. Aeneas is somehow too calm "in the face of the shocking and extraordinary," while Niceros is not; and 3. Petronius is attacking Augustan sexual propriety in his treatment of the relationship between Niceros and Melissa. No seasoned "Wastelander", I am certain, would sanction such ill-founded and unmitigated invention of a literary intention for Petronius as we witness in this article; nevertheless, O'Neal's effort provides an illustration for the absurdities to which critical dogmatism can lead, particularly when applied to a literary Lampedusa such as Petronius.

Rather than to read between the lines of the "Werewolf Tale," it might be elucidative to allow the story to speak for itself within the established context of the Neronian "matrix" (J.P. Sullivan, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero* [Cornell, 1985]). For there the story belongs, in the tawdry mercantile splendour of Campania, where our hero, Niceros, makes his home amidst other materialistic *superstitiosi*. Within the scant 60 lines of the Werewolf episode, the reader learns a great deal about Niceros and his acquaintances, as Petronius never seems to waste a word throughout the entire narrative. When, as is the case with any storyteller, Niceros is called upon to swear to the veracity of his utterances, he twice reveals his fear that he will lose his money if he tells a lie. Hence, with fealty to the priorities of his freedmen associates, he posts his money as surety against perjury: *'omne me' inquit 'lucrum transeat, nisi iam dudum gaudimonia dissilio* (61.3). Concerning the werewolf's transformation Niceros declares: *ut mentiar, nullius patrimonium tanti facio* (62.7).

Horace confirmed the Petronian depiction of the magical vulnerabilities of the polyglot denizens of the Bay of Naples in his fifth *Epode* where he wrote:

Et otiosa credit Neapolis
Et omne vicinum oppidum
Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunamque caelo deripit
Hic irsectum saeva dente livido
Candidia rodens pollicem,
Quid dixit aut quid tacuit? (43-49)

Pliny (*HN* 8.34.82) adds that belief in the existence of werewolves is a shameful lie (*impudens mendacium*) and offers firm testimony to the excessive credulity of the Greeks who will swallow anything (*Graeca credulitas*). A werewolf tale certainly befits Petronius' audience, and yet such stories were also common fare at the banquets of the cultured (Suet. *Aug.* 76, *aretalogoi* at dinner; 78 *fabulatores* at bedtime).

Petronius predisposes us to admire Niceros by the very placement of this tale within the course of the *cena*, as Trimalchio calls upon Niceros to speak immediately after prayers have been offered to Augustus and to the appropriately chosen household gods of Trimalchio (*Cerdanem...Felicionem...Lucrionem* (60.9)). The banqueters reveal the mood of conviviality by adding prayers for the health and happiness of one another (*bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem*, 61.1), following which, Trimalchio instinctively addresses Niceros. What Trimalchio says is significant as he states that Niceros is a man who has undergone a change of temperament: *solebas inquit suavius in convictu, nescio quid nunc taces nec muttis* (61.2). Trimalchio notes that Niceros seems chastened, not sullen, simply quieter than he used to be. What past experience has changed him? Trimalchio implies an answer by saying: *narra illud quod tibi usu venit* (61.3). "Tell THAT story about what happened to you!"

Niceros registers delight at the solicitations of his friend, swearing that he is (literally) bursting with joy at the sight of Trimalchio in such fine fettle *gaudimonia dissilio* (61.4). We know instantly that his Latin is terrible, but his heart is pure. Niceros feigns fear of the

scholastici (a standard *captatio* of the skillful *fabulator*). He adds, however, a tag-line which just might contain some gentle advice for Nero (were he to hear this passage read): *satius est rideri quam derideri* (61.5). "It is better to be laughed with, than at."

At this point, Encolpius, our narrator, interjects a Lucilian hemistich which is also found frequently in Vergil and Livy: *haec ubi dicta dedit, talem fabulam exorsus est*. "Thus when he had spake these words, he began a story of this sort" (*talem fabulam*, 61.5).

As Niceros commences his tale, our sympathy for him mounts; he reveals himself to be ever the consummate Neronian. As his name implies ($\nu\lambda\kappa\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$), he is a lover, not a fighter. Like many of his betters at court, he is in love with another man's wife, a "broad-beamed" (*dacciballum*, Tarentine honey-pot. Interestingly, as was the case with Nero and Poppaea, according to Tacitus, Niceros states that he is attracted more by Melissa's good disposition (*benenoria* - another hapax) and apparent generosity (*fecit assem, semissem habui* (61.8), than by her ample physical attributes (*sed ego non Mehercules corpora-liter* (61.7)).

Here, the usage of the word "*corporaliter*" alerts the careful reader to the possibility that Petronius is offering something beyond a simple ghost tale for our delectation as Niceros reveals himself to possess another Neronian trait: a passing familiarity with Stoic/Epicurean philosophy, or with the voluminous dribblings of its popular but fading aficionado, Seneca. The adverb *corporaliter* is formed from the adjective "*corporalis*" which does not appear until the Silver Age where it is first found in three of the *Moral Epistles* of Seneca: (58.11) *quaedam corporalia esse, quaedam incorporalia*; 117.2; and 78.22, which describes the two kinds of pleasures: *corporales* as opposed to *voluptates animi*, (which even illness cannot remove). That the word is recognizably Senecan is witnessed by the fact that its chief appearances elsewhere are in the *Digest* and *Arnobius*. Thus, Petronius is clearly ridiculing Seneca, or at least the Stoic opposition, by having Niceros proclaim that he spurns the physical side of life (cf. 132.15 against the *Catonians*), a viewpoint which Petronius often indicates is unwholesome for any man, even Seneca.

Petronius continues to flaunt his literary wit as Niceros begins his personal *catabasis*. Niceros gives evidence of his heroic substance by deciding to brave the pre-dawn vicissitudes of a Campanian road in order to reach Melissa's side, because her husband has just died on their master's country estate. Here begins the parallel to the great Vergilian *catabasis*. It may be recalled that the Sibyl states that Aeneas was compelled to visit Hades out of loyalty and respect for his father, qualities which rendered him the very image of piety (*pietatis imago* 6.405). Niceros likewise displays the quality of loyalty; however, he expresses his valour by means of a well-worn, if alliterative, cliché: *in angustiis amici apparent* (61.9).

Where Aeneas has the frightful Sibyl for a guide, Niceros cadges a soldier (Puteoli had soldiers billeted from A.D. 58), a dubious *hospes*, but "strong as hell," *fortis tanquam Orcus* (62.3). The word "Orcus" is sufficient to indicate our epical "descent", which in this case, is into a graveyard. Niceros tries to remain brave, first assuming that the soldier has entered the graveyard to do his necessities (*ad stelas facere*, 62.4). Our hero fights back his fears by sitting down; he starts to sing and count the tombstones when he notices that the soldier has doffed his clothing and has slinked off into the woods in the form of a wolf. Niceros keeps his wits enough to try to steal (*tollerem*) his clothing, but the bundle has, of course, turned to stone. His fears then overtake him and again, as, in the manner of Aeneas, he draws his sword and "slaughters the shadows" (*cecidi umbras*, 62.9) all the way to his friend's villa. Aeneas, it may be recalled (*Aen* 6, 294ff.) rushes at the shades and tries in vain to strike them with his sword of iron, but he has the Sibyl to point out the vanity of his efforts.

One can see the potentialities of the mime in Niceros' description of himself: pale as a ghost; his soul boiling away (*in larvam intravi, paene animam ebullivi*, 62.10); sweat perfusing his agitated loins, as Melissa chides him for being out so late. She has no time for his woes, for she has the story of the wolf to tell.

The dangers having been endured, Niceros takes his fitful rest, but then hurries home. He compares himself to a *copo campilatus*, a cheated innkeeper, in that he feels betrayed and cheated by his comrade whom he had trusted. Upon retracing his steps, he finds, of course, that the pile of clothing is gone, with some drops of blood left in its place. Once home, he discovers the soldier prostrate on his bed with a wound to the neck. It is noteworthy that Niceros had the courage to follow through and to confront the assailant in the daylight. It may be recalled that Julius Montanus was forced to suicide when he apologized for having wounded Nero while the emperor was conducting a night prowling in disguise. In this connection Dio (61.8.2) states that people were not even safe from him in their homes, since Nero and his entourage would forcibly enter these. Tacitus (13.25) adds that Nero often "showed the marks of blows on his face when he returned from these forays." Dio Cassius (62.13.2)

and Suetonius (Nero 29) both report that after the fire of A.D. 64, Nero used to dress in animal skins to attack victims, usually Christians. He also used disguises in order not to be seen but yet to be free to incite the crowd to riot at the circus.

Niceros emerges from his *catabasis* with new-found moral conviction sufficient to feel personal rage at his betrayal by someone he trusted and with enough decency of character to declare that others may think as they wish, but upon threat of death he will never take even a morsel of bread with the soldier again: *intellexi illum versipellem esse, nec postea cum illo panem gustare potui, non si me occidisses* (62.14).

Gilleland comments that Niceros' ignorance is revealed by his slowness in realizing that his comrade is a *versipellis*. At the risk of becoming a "Wastelander" myself, I would like to suggest that the revelation of the word serves as Petronius' punch-line for the tale: Niceros will not associate socially with a *versipellis*, and yet the Roman aristocracy pandered to the personal whims of a far more violent *nocturnus grassator* every day of their lives. The word *versipellis* goes back at least to Plautus, not to indicate a werewolf, but rather to connote any individual with changeable appearance or personality. Hence, Juppiter is called a *versipellis* in the *Amphitryon* because he takes on the appearance of a slave (*Pro*. 123). Plautus also uses *versipellis* to imply intellectual fluidity and cunning, as in the *Bacchides*, where he states that it is best to have two "skins", so to speak, in order to be a good man when with good men and to be evil when with evil men. Most significantly, Pliny, a definite contemporary of Petronius, indicates as part of his discussion of the werewolf at *HN* 8.34.80 that to refer to a man as a *versipellis* is to offer great insult or to consider him under a curse: *unde tamen ista volgo infixi sit fama in tantum ut in maledictis versipelles habeat indicabitur*. The definitions in every sense typify Nero, whose changeability and private excesses were obliterating the vestiges of Rome's former heroism.

If there is a suggestion of Nero's misconduct to be found in Niceros' use of the word *versipellis*, then great significance can be attached to the actions of Trimalchio and his guests at the completion of the tale. For their part, the guests all sigh with astonishment and respect (*attonitis admiratione universis*), while Trimalchio remarks, perhaps with better reason than has been heretofore suggested, that Niceros' words have made his hair stand on end, because he states, he knows that Niceros never speaks in a trifling manner (*quia scio Niceronem nihil iugarum narrare*, 63.11). He adds that Niceros has spoken truly (*certus*) and to the point (*minime linguosus*). With this, the tableau instantly changes, perhaps before Nero can decide whether it is indeed best to be laughed with or at. As if to underscore the futility, not to mention the danger, of protest or moralizing within the Neronian matrix, Petronius proceeds with the narration of Trimalchio's Cappadocian Witch-Tale - which is as prolix as it is pointless.

*Trimalchio and the Candelabrum:
Petronius Sat. 75.10*

by John Bodel

The paper argues for an overlooked allusion at *Sat.* 75.10 to a notorious freedman of the late Republic whose social circumstances and personal history suggest several parallels with those of Trimalchio.

Late in the banquet Trimalchio's drunken maunderings lead him to reflect on his rise from slavery to freedom and fabulous wealth. The autobiographical section of his speech begins abruptly: "tam magnus ex Asia veni quam hic candelabrus est" (75.10). Apart from the predictable notes concerning the gender of "candelabrus" commentators are strangely silent about this peculiar detail, for it emerges that the candelabrum serves as a memento of the days when Trimalchio's youthful charms exposed him to the unwelcome sexual attentions of his master and mistress (75.10-11). A hitherto undetected irony (to be explained) helps account for the detail that Trimalchio used to smear his lips with lamp oil in order to promote growth of a beard, but the key to the passage, as well as to the sources that inspired Petronius to associate Trimalchio's humiliating experience as *puer delicatus* with a piece of household furniture, lies elsewhere. As often, Petronius found his model not in literature but in life.

Pliny the Elder, in remarking the high prices paid for candelabra, recounts the story of a certain Clesippus, a humpback, who once came into the possession of a wealthy woman Gegania as a bonus accompanying an expensive candelabrum bought by her at auction. As Pliny tells it, Gegania arranged for Clesippus to be displayed naked as an amusement for her guests but found herself perversely attracted to him and in time received him not only into her bed but into her will; eventually the humpback "praedives numinum vice illud candelabrum coluit et hanc Corinthii fabulam adiecit" (*NH* 34.11-12). The obvious broad similarities to the situation adumbrated in the *Satyricon*, though previously unobserved by Petronian specialists, have not gone wholly unnoticed: Muenzer in his prosopographical article on Clesippus in the *RE* (VII [1910] 928 no. 3) tentatively suggested that Petronius made "free use" of the story told by Pliny in the passage of the *Satyricon* cited above.

I shall attempt to put the case more strongly by adducing the evidence of Clesippus' epitaph, which survives intact from what was once a monument of impressive dimensions - *sepulchrum nobile*, according to Pliny (*CIL* 1².1004). The honors recorded in that late Republican text, *mutatis mutandis*, reveal a man whose social aspirations and attainments closely resemble those of Trimalchio. From that observation, as well as for other reasons to be explained, several interesting inferences regarding Petronius' literary aims and methods in his characterization of Trimalchio necessarily follow. In conclusion, the implications of these will be briefly explored. (This is an abstract of a paper read at the December 1987 annual meeting of the APA.)

Semiotica della novella latina: Atti del seminario interdisciplinare "La novella latina" (Perugia, 11-13 Aprile 1985) = Materiale contributi per la storia della narrativa greco-latina 4 (Rome: Herder Editrice, 1986). Pp. 317.

review by
Thomas K. Hubbard

This collection of sixteen essays, based on a conference of Italian scholars in 1985, centers around the theme of the Latin "novella" or "tale" within the novels of Petronius and Apuleius. Several of the contributions make explicit use of interpretative categories familiar from the work of Greimas, Bakhtin, Genette, and others; given the recent upsurge of interest in narratological analysis and Russian formalist theory, a collection of essays applying some of these methods is a welcome addition to the scholarship on Latin prose narrative, which, with a few notable exceptions, has been relatively uninfluenced by developments in contemporary narrative theory. The tales embedded within the primary narrative contexts of Petronius' and Apuleius' novels offer particularly rich material for criticism of this type, in view of their simultaneously self-contained structure and complex relation to the surrounding narrative. The tales are also notable for presenting in tightly compressed form a dense array of evocative symbols, which must be analyzed from multiple frames of reference. It is in this broader, non-technical sense that most of the essays in the collection are "semiotic." Fully half of the essays are in one way or another comparative, viewing the tales either within the framework of literary *Nachleben* or from the standpoint of cross-cultural folklore studies.

Since this volume is extremely difficult to obtain, and not owned even by most large academic libraries, I will attempt to give a fairly complete summary of what each article has to contribute that strikes me as both new and significant. As in any collection, some essays are more illuminating than others, and may warrant more attention.

Paolo Fedeli's "La matrona di Efeso. Strutture narrative e tecnica dell'inversione" (pp. 9-35) is the first essay in the collection, and also one of the best. Although not written from any explicit theoretical viewpoint, the article gives an acute and engaging close reading of the Widow of Ephesus-story, with particular attention to the text's language and techniques of verbal repetition, juxtaposition, and irony. For instance, Fedeli sees in the first line of the tale (11.1 *matrona quaedam Ephesi tam notae erat pudicitiae...*) not only the usual tension between fabular vagueness (*quaedam*) and narrative specificity (*matrona...Ephesi tam notae pudicitiae*), but also a foregrounding of the tale's dominant tension between chastity (designated by traditional Roman concepts such as *matrona* and *pudicitia*) and sensual gratification (suggested by the setting in a luxuriant Asian port such as Ephesus). The terms *matrona* and *pudicitia* function as signposts, being repeated at the very moment (11.2.1) that the soldier is first successful in gaining the widow's attention; a similar irony underlies the juxtaposition *iuvenis castae* in 11.2.2, with the widow being called chaste in the very phrase announcing that the young soldier seemed

attractive to her (*nec deformis aut infacundus iuvenis castae videbatur*). As the final words of the sentence in which the soldier and widow consummate their love, we see her called *puclissima uxorem* (112.3), with the concept of *puclitia* intensified into the superlative form and the widow for the first time identified as *uxor* (at the moment of her ceasing to be a faithful *uxor*).

Fedeli notes one other critical transition in the tale where the terms *matrona* and *puclitia* are brought forward: 111.5 *una igitur in tota civitate fabula erat ...* returns to the general *mise-en-scène* of 111.1, with general recognition of the widow's devotion and the widow herself set on expiring in her husband's tomb, when *cum interim...* introduces a new development into the story. The *imperator provinciae* commanding the crucifixions represents a force of irresistible power, in comparison with which the family tomb is merely a diminutive *casulam*; on the other hand, in the eyes of the low-ranking soldier with his diminutive *cerulam* (111.8), the tomb appears to be a grand *monumentum*, attesting the family's wealth and influence (note the juxtaposition of the terms in *adtulit in monumentum cerulam suam*). By lying together (112.3 *iacerunt*), the soldier and widow imitate the corpse of the lying man (111.9 *iacentis*); by later threatening suicide as a response to the theft of the crucified thief's body, the soldier proposes to take the place of the widow's dead husband altogether.

In addition to noting such verbal and thematic inversion, Fedeli makes a number of valuable observations on the use of military terminology to describe the soldier's actions and the construction of the whole tale as a conflation of the traditional Aesopic fable preserved in Phaedrus (App. 13) with paratragic debasement of the *Aeneid*. While critics have long recognized the parody of *Aeneid* 4 which takes place here, Fedeli also notes that Eumolpus' introduction of the tale (110.8 *conversis igitur omnium in se vultibus auribusque sic orsus est*) echoes Aeneas' beginning in *Aen.* 2.1f. (*conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant; inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*). Both speeches turn out to have unforeseen effects upon their audience, ultimately putting the speaker and his companions into danger: even as Dido identifies with Aeneas' wanderings and loss of spouse, Lichas identifies all too personally with the adulterous betrayal described in Eumolpus' story.

Rosalba Dumando's "La novella dell' efebo di Pergamo: struttura del racconto" (pp. 83-94) attempts to provide the same kind of reading for Eumolpus' other famous Milesian tale, although perhaps with less verbal subtlety. The author has already published three other articles on this tale (in *AFLB* 25/26 [1982/3] 133-78, *CL* 3 [1983] 33-41, and *MD* 10/11 [1983] 255-65), and the present study seems mainly designed as a general overview of the tale's structure and rhythm. She makes some interesting observations on the tension between Eumolpus' professorial, rhetorical style and diction within the story and his discreditable persona aims. But the bulk of her treatment is concerned with the tale's structure of reversal: Eumolpus is the dominant protagonist controlling the plot until he has achieved full sexual consummation with the boy, after which he has nothing further to gain, and the boy takes aggressive control of the plot's resolution. The boy's transition from passive to active is foreshadowed, however, by a progressive intensification of interest with each of Eumolpus' three prayers.

Alessandro Barchiesi's "Tracce di narrativa greca e romanzo latino: una rassegna" (pp. 219-36) is a good survey of recent work on Greek narrative literature, with a view to assessing its importance as a generic background to the *Satyricon*. Barchiesi challenges the traditional idea that Greek romance and Menippean satire were competing influences: in his view, sharp generic boundaries could not really be drawn between these forms at such an early stage in the development of Greek prose fiction. One finds a prosimetric form comparable to Petronius' in the Iolaus-romance, as well as a concern with the sexual adventures of social low-life. In Barchiesi's view, Lollianus' *Phoinikika* is also an example of non-idealized, non-serious Greek romance with picaresque sexual escapades involving male prostitutes and deflowered maidens. Our perception of Greek romance as always being an idealized story of separation and fidelity through multiple trials and temptations may be an accident of preservation: the Iolaus-romance and the *Phoinikika*, as well as completely lost works like Philip of Amphipolis' bawdy *Rhodiaca* or the memoirs of the courtesan Philaenis, may have been equally typical. Even a conventional "ideal" romance like that of Chariton has mock-heroic elements, particularly as evoked by its frequent Homeric citations; Barchiesi sees this use of epic allusion in Chariton as comparable to the employment of verse inlays in prosimetric fiction, and speculates that the earliest of our extant Greek romances has much in common with prosimetric comic fiction of the sort discussed. Barchiesi's essay is unfortunately not concerned with the "Milesian tale" or the predecessors for the type of metadiegetic narrative discussed in the rest of this volume. Most of the material which he treats has been surveyed elsewhere (as in T. Haegg's *The Novel in Antiquity*), but he does draw some interesting connections between phenomena, and his essay is one which merits attention from those seriously interested in this question.

Among the essays of an explicitly theoretical character, one of the best is Oreste Tappi's "Interdiscorsività e intertestualità in una 'novella' di Apuleio (*Metamorfosi* 10, 2-12). Fenomenologia del tabù dell'incesto" (pp. 179-97). Tappi reads the Hippolytus/Phaedra-story in Apuleius not only intertextually (i.e. in terms of specific textual details which respond to Euripides or Seneca) but also interdiscursively (i.e. in terms of the tale's relationship to the overall myth and its social function). Apuleius' story deviates from tradition in several important respects: the role of Hippolytus is divided into two parts (the older son being the victim of unjust accusation, the younger son going through the experience of death and resurrection), as is that of Theseus (whose family role is assumed by the father, but whose political and juridical authority is here represented by the city's magistrates and senators). The *deus ex machina* and divine intervention of the myth is here replaced by the shrewdness and foresight of the physician (= 10.12.5 *providentia divina*). The archetypal tragedy of incest and family conflict is transformed into a legal process within the framework of an apparently orderly system of municipal government, where everyone rushes to judgment on the basis of false and contrived evidence; Tappi sees this reinterpretation of the myth as in part generated by Apuleius' own legal misfortunes, when the author was falsely accused by in-laws of murdering his step-son Pontianus.

But more is involved than merely bitter personal reminiscence: in Tappi's view, the very idea of treating so basic a human problem as incest as if it were primarily a legal issue (rather than an innate law of nature) in itself makes a statement about the kind of society which Apuleius saw around him in the 2nd century A.D. Although the orderly society of this story is, like Antonine Rome, very progressive and modern in comparison with the *barbarica feritas* and *tyrannica impotentia* (10.6) which the senators wish to avoid (and which Tappi equates with an absolutist monarchical system, like that of Theseus in the myth), on another level this society appears petty, bourgeois, and unheroic. Here, the characters have no names, but are purely embodiments of social function. The son flees the scene not out of a sense of pollution and horror, as Hippolytus does, but only because of advice from his tutor to seek personal safety. The wicked step-mother does not kill herself out of shame, like Phaedra; in contrast to Theseus, this father is marginal and impotent. The wise physician who takes the place of divine intervention is well rewarded with gold for his concern. I would add that the step-mother's sentence of exile, while perhaps legally correct, clearly does not match the heinousness of her crimes.

Tappi sees the whole story as an allegory for the insufficiency of political and legal processes in a society which has lost its sacred foundations, and for which the old beliefs and myths (like that of Phaedra and Hippolytus) are no longer relevant or meaningful. This society is not immoral, but flat and amoral. Tappi sees the death-and-resurrection theme and the *providentiae divinae condignum exitum* (10.12.5) as an adumbration, albeit an imperfect one, of the Isis-initiation soon to come in Book 11. Indeed, Tappi regards it as the aim of the novel in Apuleius' time to provide new mythologies capable of legitimating moral order in the world; as such, the prose *fabula's* function is comparable to that of tragic *fabula* in an earlier age, although the novel must operate in a private and individual sphere, rather than as a public ceremony. There is much in Tappi's approach which recalls the work of René Girard, although he is never mentioned. This is a thoughtful and instructive essay which deserves to be read.

Also highly illuminating is Giancarlo Mazzoli's "Ironia e metafora: valenze della novella in Petronio e Apuleio" (pp. 199-217). Mazzoli's essay stands almost alone in this volume in considering the tales not from the standpoint of intrinsic structure and reference, but in their complex relation to the framing narrative. I do not find his use of Greimasian squares very helpful, but Mazzoli does present an interesting thesis in arguing that the relationship between tale and frame in Apuleius is essentially metaphoric (i.e. associative and constructive), while in Petronius it is essentially ironic (i.e. dissociative and deconstructive). Apuleius' tales are seen as in one way or another paradigmatic for the experiences of the narrator Lucius: both Aristomenes' tale in Book 1 and Thelyphron's in Book 2 admonish Lucius of the dangers involved in dealing with witches and magic, and it is no surprise that Lucius himself later becomes involved and is exiled from his previous life like the two storytellers. These two tales are not just adumbrations of what will happen, but they also adapt the atmosphere to make the reader receptive to Lucius' own transformation. Lucius' emphatic assertion of belief in Aristomenes' story (1.20), as against the doubts and guffaws of Aristomenes' travelling companion, creates a strong sense of personal identification and suspension of disbelief which is valid for the whole narrative of the *Metamorphoses*. In Mazzoli's view, the novel ends with no distance between author and narrator, and with all the digressive tales metaphorically recuperated in light of the final revaluation of Book 11. Not all critics of Apuleius will necessarily agree with this view of Book 11, but I do think that Mazzoli is right in perceiving the tales as essentially metaphorical in relation to the novel as a whole.

Petronius, however, does everything possible to unbalance and upset any structure of correspondence between the tales and novel. The tales in Petronius are always very brief (much briefer than in Apuleius) and tightly structured around a central peripeteia, in contrast to the novel as a whole, which is seemingly endless and unstructured. The stories are often set in a remote past markedly different from the present: Niceros' and Trimalchio's ghost-stories (61-3) occurred when they were both slaves, and the story of the unbreakable glass (51) transpired during the reign of Tiberius. The freedmen are quite alien from the main character of the novel, and their experiences are certainly not paradigmatic. Internally, the stories develop by overturning the ideal reader's expectations. All of this is not to say that there are no points of contact between tale and novel, but the relationship is usually one of dissonance or hypocrisy. The putative lesson of Trimalchio's story about the unbreakable glass is that gold would be as worthless as mud if glass were unbreakable (51.6 *aurum pro luto haberemus*); but Trimalchio himself is the one who treats precious objects like garbage (note the silver plate thrown out in 34.2-3, Trimalchio's comments about gold smelling bad in 50.7, or Habinnas' comment *mulieres si non essent omnia pro luto haberemus* in 67.10). A similar tension between the tale's overall purpose and ultimate reference is apparent in Eumolpus' stories: the Pergamene Boy is related to cheer Encolpius up after his loss of Giton, by reminding him of boys' inconstancy, but the story does not succeed in this regard so much as in adumbrating Eumolpus' own pederastic interest and ultimate emergence as a second rival for Giton (I would add that Eumolpus' relation to the younger Encolpius also takes on pederastic overtones, as in 140.5,13). While the Widow of Ephesus entertains some in the audience, it also offends Lichas by too closely evoking his own experience; indeed, not much later, Lichas himself becomes a maltreated corpse. I am disappointed that Mazzoli does not also discuss the connection of the story with Eumolpus' expressed wish that his heirs should eat his corpse (141), or the evocation of the Pergamene Boy by Philomela's offer of her two children to Eumolpus' intellectual and sexual tutelage (140.1-4). But Mazzoli does have some interesting remarks on Trimalchio's straw-man story (63) as a reflection on Encolpius' impotence, although I am more skeptical about seeing Niceros' wolf-man as a reflection on Encolpius' robber-band. However we may disagree about particulars, Mazzoli's overall methods of identifying ironic dissonance between a tale's immediate purpose and ultimate implications is clearly fruitful. As I have argued elsewhere, Petronius developed very sophisticated patterns for echoing and inverting seemingly insignificant details much later in the novel; Mazzoli's observations on Petronius' use of the metadiegetic interludes support such a view of this author's technique.

Gian Paolo Caprettini's "Gli indici figurati e la dimensione iconica del personaggio (Apuleio, *Metam.* I,6)" pp. 105-15 strikes me as an interesting, but less successful attempt to create a theoretical framework for interpretation. Caprettini elaborates the concept of "figural indices," which are critical points of both paradigmatic significance (thus "figural") and syntagmatic relevance (thus "indices"). Apuleius himself seems to imply this concept in the prologue (1.1.1) by speaking of his novel as *figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas*; the connection of the two terms implies that a man's fate (*fortuna*) is visible in his external appearance (*figura*), and that both undergo changes into other forms during the course of the novel (*imago* has to do with the relation or comparison of one form to another). He illustrates this intersection of paradigmatic symbolism and syntagmatic plot-development with the example of Socrates (in Aristomenes' tale), whose physical description is "proleptic" (anticipating what we are then told about his experiences, both previous and subsequent): Socrates' emaciation and *larvale simulacrum* indicate someone who is moribund, his veiled head someone who is already dead. Proleptic description could be a useful concept, if we were given other examples of it within the *Metamorphoses*; clearly, it applies in some sense to Lucius' *figura* (and *fortuna*) as an ass. But as elaborated in this essay, Caprettini's theoretical structure does not tell us much beyond the obvious fact that a fictional character's appearance reflects his personality and fortune.

Loriano Zurli's "Anus, sed admodum scitula. Modello e racconto in Apul. met. I 6-19" (pp. 143-77) uses several methodological approaches in discussing Aristomenes' story. The article begins by mapping the plot's conceptual structure in terms of Greimas' model R (relationship) - A (abandonment) - V (vengeance), but notes that the actual narration of the story inverts the conceptual structure by unfolding the background in the order V-A-R. The rupture in the relationship stems from the instability inherent in any extra-normal sexual union, such as that between a young and old partner (I would add particularly that between a younger man and older woman). Socrates and Meroe begin the relationship in their public roles as merchant and hostess (each with its traditional sexual connotations), but the relationship is complicated when Meroe's role turns out also to be that of a witch (Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 18.18 and various folkloric sources suggest a traditional connection between the two roles). Zurli also has some

good remarks on the name Meroe, which can be connected either with *merum* or with the remote, magical island Meroe in the Southern Nile; he sees the ambiguity as connected with Meroe's two roles, and notes the association of drunkenness and magic in literary figures such as Ovid's Dipsas or Petronius' Oenothea. The second half of this essay is concerned with narratological issues, such as the relationship between "narrating I" and "narrated I," "narrating present" and "narrative present," the absence of descriptive pause or ephrasis, the tale's techniques of summary and variation of narrative velocity. But none of these narratological parameters are related to the author's broader interpretation of the tale in a useful or interesting way. It must be said that this article is long and difficult even for readers fluent in Italian: there are no footnotes (all bibliographical citations are in the text), the sentences are long, and the paragraphs are sometimes interminable (as much as four or five page at a time).

But it is Giovanni Segal's "Due milesie: la matrona di Efeso e l' efebo di Pergamo" (pp. 37-81) that is the longest and, I regret to say, least successful essay in the collection. Here we see narratology at its most mechanical and least illuminating. Despite the title, the essay is primarily concerned with the Widow of Ephesus, examined not only in its Petronian version, but also as the fable appears in Phaedrus and the medieval *Romulus* collection. Segal divides each version into its semantic components and then proceeds to catalogue these from various frames of reference (space of action, temporal phase, actor). None of this really does much to clarify the essential differences or interests of the three versions, or to advance our understanding of the texts in their own right. There are some useful remarks on ternary structure in Petronius' tales (also discussed by Fedeli), but in the final analysis one gains little from this essay.

Among the collection's eight essays of a comparative nature, the best is Giovanni Polara's "La tradizione medievale della novella petroniana del vetro infrangibile" (pp. 131-42). This essay accomplishes something rare but valuable in comparative studies, which is to use later literary adaptations of a text in a way that enhances our understanding of the original as well as the derivative material. We have here a close examination of Petronius' (51) and Pliny's (*NH* 36.65f.) story of the unbreakable glass as retold by Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 16.16) and John of Salisbury (*Policraticus* 4.5, 521b-d). Isidore takes away the element of Caesar's fear present in Petronius (51.3 *Caesar non pote valdius quam expavit*) by having Caesar himself (rather than the glassmaker) throw the glass down onto the floor, out of disgust at the paltriness of the gift. The story is remolded to give Caesar the commanding and active role in the plot, whereas for Petronius the artisan is clearly the protagonist; Isidore's artisan does nothing to threaten or upset the established hierarchy, but is decapitated nevertheless, as a final affirmation of the social order and its absolute supremacy over the individual.

Unlike Isidore, John of Salisbury seems unacquainted with Pliny's reference to the story. The *Policraticus* is designed to outline the norms of behavior for a good prince, and hence presents the story with a prolonged exposition, setting all the characters and their actions within a formal, ceremonial court environment. Actions are seen not only as significant in themselves, but also in terms of their perception by the court audience. Whereas Petronius' artisan keeps everyone waiting by repairing the glass with his hammer *otio belle*, John's artisan, careful not to violate court decorum, does it *crebris ictibus*. John lowers the tension of the story's *dénouement* by formulae leading us to expect the glassmaker's execution; Petronius, on the other hand, exploits the tension, with the artisan expecting commendation for his unique achievement, but instead being punished with death. All three authors frame their version of the story from distinct political perspectives. Petronius contrasts political power (and I might add, wealth) with intellectual liberty and technical progress, in a bold challenge to the forces of order and authority in his day. John of Salisbury also questions temporal authority, but in a more regressive way, valorizing the primacy of the ecclesiastical order and return to a pre-monetary economy. Isidore, on the other hand, is concerned with describing the properties of glass, and does not want to say anything which challenges the established order of his time. It is precisely through this comparison of perspectives and variants that the radical political implications of Petronius' story become evident.

Carlo Santini contributes a short essay on the same story, "Il vetro infrangibile (Petronio 51)" (pp. 117-24), in which he briefly surveys the same material as Polara, in addition making use of Cassius Dio 57.21. Santini sees as significant the economic motive alluded to by both Petronius and Pliny (implying fierce rivalry between the established metalworking trades and the emerging glass industry). But he regards as equally significant the mythological and archetypal status of the artisan as a dangerous wonder-worker or magician whose arts can threaten the established social order; trades like glass-making constitute a primitive sort of alchemy, with their own secrets and initiation practices. Santini makes apt use here of the work of Mircea Eliade and others.

Santini includes another brief essay on "Il supplizio del miele e delle formiche (Apuleio *Met.* VIII 22)" (pp. 125-30). He examines this kind of honey-coated punishment by insects in various folklore sources, as well as in several classical authors, including Boeus (*Ornithogonia*), Hyginus, Suidas, and some of the church fathers. He also has some interesting remarks on the symbolism of the bond in Apuleius' narrative, including as it does the sundered marital bond of the bailiff and his wife, the bond holding the wife and child together as she kills herself, and finally the bond which gruesomely holds the bailiff to the ant-covered tree.

Diego Poli's "La donna la donnola e lo sciamano in Apuleio" (pp. 247-66) also makes use of folkloric and mythological material to cast light on a tale in Apuleius. His essay begins with an analysis of Thelyphron's story in *Met.* 2.21-30, in which a series of correspondences between characters can be established: the sleeping guard merges in identity with the like-named corpse, the protective uncle merges with the shaman Zatchlas whom he hires, and the adulterous, murdering wife is assimilated to the witches who attempt to violate the body of her dead husband in the form of a weasel. The second half of the essay accumulates mythological, folkloric, and linguistic evidence supporting the symbolic identification of the weasel with women and feminine attributes.

Similar in approach is Teresa Pàroli's "Lupi e lupi mannari, tra mondo classico e germanico, a partire da Petronio 61-62" (pp. 281-317). This is an impressive and well-documented study of lycanthropy and wolf-symbolism in the classical and medieval worlds. The essay starts with a close examination of Niceros' story in the *Satyricon*, making several valuable observations about its language and rhetoric, which, like that of the other freedmen, combines vulgarity with pretense. But the author's attention quickly shifts to an examination of allusions to lycanthropy in Vergil, Propertius, Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, and the elder Pliny, in addition to a survey of the wolf's prominent characteristics in the fables of Aesop and Phaedrus. Although wolves are typically depicted as greedy, deceitful, ravenously hungry, and anti-social in classical literature and myth, they are never seen as a direct threat to men. At worst, wolf-men are feared for their magical powers, but not for actual aggression against human beings. The soldier in Niceros' story appears to undergo his wolf-transformation involuntarily, and is himself the primary victim to suffer from it, in terms of both physical wounds and social isolation.

But in the Middle Ages, the situation is altogether different, and wolves are indeed feared as aggressors against humans. Pàroli challenges the traditional view that this change in attitude toward the wolf is due to the influence of the scriptures or scriptural exegeses. She concludes rather that the image of the wolf as homicidal and demonic stems from environmental factors in the 5th to 8th centuries: due to a combination of deforestation and depopulation in the wolf's natural habitat of central Europe, the wolfpacks no longer had their customary food sources in nomadic herds and were compelled to become more aggressive in attacking human settlements. Pàroli notes that the wolf is an important symbol of the threat to divine order in Germanic and Scandinavian mythology of this period. At the same time, however, warriors were often represented wearing wolf-skins or even changing into wolves in Nordic/Germanic saga, myth, and iconography; there is an important sense in which the wolf's attributes are also those of the ideal warrior, and wolfpacks are like warrior communities (one notes also the frequency of the root "wolf" in German male names). Pàroli thinks it no accident that the character who changes into a wolf in Niceros' story is a soldier, and speculates that we are to imagine him as influenced by warrior practices of the German tribes. She also raises the possibility that familiarity with such customs could suggest a late date for the *Satyricon*, at a time when the Germans themselves constituted a significant part of the Roman army. This essay goes rather far afield, but is throughout a fascinating anthropological investigation.

Mauro Donnini's "Il 'racconto' sull' amore incestuoso in Pietro Pittore" (pp. 237-46) describes a medieval analogue for Apuleius' Phaedra/Hippolytus-story (*Met.* 10.2-12) in Petrus Pictor's satire against women (*De muliere mala* 87-213). Here, the mother is likened to Eve, and tempts her son by invoking the pagan gods Venus and Cupid, while the son responds by invoking the all-seeing Christian God. The loving Christian son prefers to be condemned to death by the court rather than accuse his mother, until God restores order by freeing the son, punishing the mother, and burning the city to the ground.

Massimo Oldoni's "Streghe medievali e intersezioni da Apuleio" (pp. 267-79) questions assumptions about the widespread diffusion and influence of Apuleius during the Middle Ages. He contends that direct acquaintance with the text of Apuleius was probable only for English writers of the 12th century (like John of Salisbury), but sees a number of second-hand narrative analogues elsewhere, such as adap-

tation of *Met.* 2.29-39 in the idea of burying a malefactor alive in Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* 4.12, 5.3), or the chewing off of an adulterer's nose and ears in *Chron. Salernitanum* 15. I am very skeptical about any of these as analogues to Apuleius; the idea of punishment by burial alive certainly occurs elsewhere, and adultery was commonly punished by mutilation of the nose and ears (cf. Martial 2.83, 3.85). Equally unconvincing is Oldoni's belief that Rodericus Vitalis' and Herbert d' Aurillac's use of the rare word *versipellis* shows the ultimate influence of *Met.* 2.22. The argument about Walter Map's allusion to the title of the *Metamorphoses* in *De Nugis Curialium* is on a sounder footing.

Luigi de Nardis' "Petronio e Arlecchino" (pp. 95-104) discusses Petronius' reception in 17th-century France, with particular emphasis on the critical work and translations of Saint-Evremond, and the adaptations of the Widow of Ephesus for the Italian harlequin-theater by Fatouville and Fuzelier.

Although Luigi Pepe provides a short preface, the collection suffers from lack of a real introductory essay, attempting to define the "novella" and its essential characteristics as a genre. Little is said in any of the essays (including Barchiesi's) about the genesis of this literary form, whether in a genre of Milesian tales or in other forms of paradigmatic digression and story-telling, such as we find in works running the gamut from Homeric epic to Herodotus' *Histories* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. And aside from Mazzoli's important essay, scant attention is paid to the question of how the tales interact with and comment upon the frame narrative; in my view, this should be the central theoretical question open to discussion. In a collection of this nature heterogeneity is both welcome and inevitable. But common focus on certain critical issues is also desirable.

It will be evident from my preceding remarks that I am more enthusiastic about some of the essays in this collection than about others. Nevertheless, I have learned at least something from nearly all of them, and find it regrettable that this volume is not more readily available in American libraries. Several of the essays (particularly those of Fedeli, Barchiesi, Tappi, Mazzoli, Polara, and Pàroli) are highly significant works of scholarship which should not be ignored.

M. Korn and S. Reitzer, *Concordantia Petroniana* (Olms: Hildesheim, 1986). Pp. 262. DM 118.

review by
T. Wade Richardson

Here now after ninety years of Segebad-Lommatzsch is a new computer-gathered concordance to the *Satyricon* and *Fragments*, handsomely and unpretentiously presented in quarto and published by the same house. We had of course got used to the old 'Lexicon', esteeming it no less for its smallness than for its efforts to arrange entries to enable reflection on grammar and style (thus under *ego* we have it first preceding verb, then following verb, and finally with conjunctions and particles). Such qualities do in fact ensure its continuing usefulness now that we have learned to overcome its defects of imprecise citation and dated text by simply referring to our favourite editions. But there can be no denying that with the appearance of Korn-Reitzer we are even better served. In the familiar modern manner entries are listed entirely sequentially (in order of occurrence) in the middle of a long ambient line, thus gaining from precision and access to a fuller context what they may lose in alusiveness. It certainly makes for interesting browsing, and much statistical data on incidence and frequency now stands clear and ready to be logged and interpreted. The text used is the best available, that of Mueller³ (1983), and the compilers have kept to it and spared the researcher a selection of conjectural variants. It scarcely needs saying that Petronius specialists should all have their own copy of this useful reference tool.

J.P. Sullivan, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*. Cornell University Press (Ithaca and London, 1986), pp. 218.

review by
Brent Sinclair

S. delivered a series of Martin Lectures under the title "Literary Politics in the Age of Nero" in March of 1976. He presents us now with the published version, annotated and heavily revised to reflect gains in the intervening scholarship. Its slight change of title is held to signal a more accurate representation of his topic (pp. 9-10): "the book deals not only with literature and politics in the usual sense but also with certain critical controversies of the time which sometimes had political implications".

S. draws generously on his earlier work on Neronian writers, so his critical methods will be familiar to most. He disavows any interest in New Criticism or poststructuralist "Gallic pipings" in favor of a historical approach on the conviction that art is shaped predominantly by the pressures--personal, political, economic and literary--of its creator's immediate environment (pp. 10-11). Proceeding on the corollary that Neronian texts are especially well suited to this approach, he treats in turn the *Apocolocyntosis*, Calpurnius Siculus and the *Octavia* (Chapter I), Persius (Chapter II), Seneca and Lucan (Chapter III) and of course Petronius (Chapter IV), underscoring in each case the extent to which historical forces color their content, technique and purpose. He ends with an overview of literary activity under the Flavians (Epilogue) to place in high relief what he sees as a special dimension of the Neronian renaissance: the use of literature as a weapon in the fight for status at court and real political power in the Emperor's *consilium*.

Not surprisingly S.'s rehandling of a favorite author or topic sometimes leads him to restate a familiar interpretation. For example, Persius' jabs at the far-flung prolixity of contemporary verse were aimed at a group of neo-Callimachean poets which probably included Nero himself (pp. 94 ff.; cf. *AJP* 99, 159 ff.); Petronius' subsidiary aim in Eumolpus' *Bellum Civile* was to increase his favor with Nero by defending Julius Caesar against Lucan's Republican bias (pp. 161 ff.; cf. *Neronia 1977* [ed. Croiselle and Fanchère], 151 ff.); Petronius' mischievous allusions to Seneca's epistles and tragedies point to a rivalry between the upstart *arbiter elegantiae* and the superannuated tutor/advisor, ultimately for influence at court (173 ff.; cf. *TAPA* 100, 153 ff.). In this instance S. adduces evidence from the *Anthologia Latina* to substantiate the notion -- credible enough in itself -- that Seneca fought back (pp. 177-178). But even if epigrams 412 and 416 are from Seneca's pen their precise date and context remain elusive; further, *pectora nigra* (412.2) is too formulaic to support S.'s view that 'Seneca' is covertly alluding to T. Petronius Niger.

Déjà vu notwithstanding, *Literature and Politics* should not be mistaken for a mistitled *ausgewählten Schriften*: to S.'s credit the book is able to construct a coherent global view of Neronian literature that transcends the sum of its pre-published parts. Chapter I is largely responsible for its success, for there S. skillfully delineates the pressures which Nero's all-consuming interest in the *belles artes* exerted on the literary and political ambitions of his subjects, both courtiers and otherwise. Membership in his literary circle sometimes led to such rewards as high office and admission to his *consilium* (pp. 31 ff.), and of major figures only Persius and Calpurnius Siculus (the former by choice) remained on the periphery. When taken in this context, S.'s views of literature as a weapon in the ongoing struggle for influence at court -- between Petronius and his rivals, for example -- become all the more convincing. Seneca and Lucan are the focus of Chapter III, which also contains some fresh insights. S. illustrates the degeneration of their initial enthusiasm for Nero into disaffection culminating in disfavor (they were easy targets for Petronius) and destruction. His objective, which is well served, is to decry the notion of a monolithic Stoic opposition by contrasting Seneca's pragmatism with his nephew's more radical approach, exemplified by the *Pharsalia's* two-edged eulogy of Nero (1.33-66) and idealized portrayal of Cato and Republican *Libertas* (pp. 144 ff.). S. returns to the subject of the principate and its relationship to freedom and justice in his Epilogue, where he notes its interest to Flavian epic poets. But the real contribution of this chapter comes in his treatment of the literary and personal rivalry between Statius and Martial (pp. 192 ff.): both writers used flattery and propaganda to contend for traditional rewards of patronage, not for political clout of the sort to be had uniquely under Nero.

Chapter II on Persius deserves analysis in a little more detail. S. constructs the argument that neo-Callimacheanism was the dominant poetic mode in post-Augustan Rome, the cause of much of the mannerism and excess that characterizes Neronian poetry, the preferred style (in the broadest sense of that word) of the Emperor himself, and the target -- along with Nero, its leading proponent -- of much of Persius' venom in *Satire* 1 and elsewhere. There is much that is good here, though in places S. stretches the evidence beyond capacity. For example, this last interpretation hinges on the association of Persius' reference to a superficially learned poem called *Attis* (1.104-105) with Dio's remark (62.20) that Nero, at the Iuvenalia of 59, *ekitharōdēse* a composition entitled *Attis* or the *Bacchantes* (pp. 92, 102-104). It is true that Nero's choice for performance attests to the overall direction of his taste, which seems to have been decidedly Alexandrian (cf. Catullus 63; 64.253-266). However, Dio's verb does note indicate that Nero himself was the composer; as M. Griffin has noted (*Nero: The End of a Dynasty* [London and New Haven, 1984], 150, 275 n. 53), his interest is centered on the performer's singing voice, and it was for cithara-playing that the prize at this event was awarded. S.'s explanation of the origins of the tendency toward learned mannerism in post-Augustan poetry raises a larger issue. To characterize this tendency as Alexandrian or neo-Callimachean may be accurate to a degree, but its immediate origins lie closer to home in the rhetorical schools of the early Empire. Ovid had experimented with the fusion of Neoteric matter and declamatory manner in the *Metamorphoses*; from that point forward the time-honored process of producing obscurity in verse hardened into indiscriminate displays of rhetorical technique where ideas counted for less than the treatment to which they could be subjected and novelty of treatment became the overriding challenge (cf. G. Williams, *Change and Decline* [Berkeley and London, 1978], 193 ff.). S. neglects to factor these developments into his discussion of ingenious periphrases for time, "a notable Callimachean verse practice", in the *Apocolocyntosis* and relevant fragments of Julius Montanus (pp. 81-83). Callimachean precedents or not, in devoting nine elaborate lines of verse to a description of the date and time of Claudius' death Seneca is betraying his training in the declamation schools, where we know periphrases for time were of interest to rhetoricians and hangers-on including one Julius Montanus (cf. Elder Seneca, *Contr.* 7.1.27).

Finally, Chapter IV and Petronius. S. sets the stage with an overview of historical developments in the latter half of Nero's reign, then moves on to a summary sketch of Senecan tragedy in order to illustrate Seneca's "use of mythological characters and themes to reflect on and interpret present-day realities" (p. 156). He assigns the tragedies to the period after 62 when their author was in forced retirement and Petronius' stock with Nero was rising, first in the form of a suffect consulship and thereafter with membership in the Emperor's inner circle of friends and advisor at court. Thanks to his own and the late K.F.C. Rose's ground-breaking work in the '60's, few would care to disagree with his remark (p. 161) that the *Satyricon* cannot be adequately understood or appreciated if it is removed from that setting; the bulk of the chapter is dedicated to redevelopment of this position, particularly as it informs the details of Petronius' self-serving use of material from Seneca and Lucan. Although hard-core Petronians will look in vain for anything new in these pages, the cumulative effect of the book as a whole is to validate the course on which Petronian studies have been steered for the last two decades. I for one am satisfied that it is essentially the right course.

"The Satchicon."



Fortunata.