
THE PETRONIAN SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

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Vol. 25, Nos. 1 & 2

April 1995

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ANNOUNCEMENT

With this issue the *PSN* marks its 25th anniversary. It has been an amazing 25 years for the study of Petronius and the other ancient novelists, and it has also been great fun chronicling the adventures of it all.

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Baldwin, B., "The Young Trimalchio," *Acta Classica* 36 (1993) 143-146. Back to *Sat.* 75.10-11. Following on the work of M.D. Reeve (*Phoenix* 39 [1985] 378-379) who reads *annos quattuordecim* as *annos quattuordecim natus*, T.W. Richardson (*Phoenix* 40 [1986] 201) who disagrees with Reeve, Bodel (*Phoenix* 43 [1989] 72-74) who modifies Reeve's interpretation, Pomeroy (*Phoenix* 46 [1992] 45-53) who expands the discussion but concludes by disagreeing with Reeve, Baldwin is inclined to agree with "Reeve's interpretation over the traditional one".

Billault, A., "The Rhetoric of a 'Divine Man': Apollonius of Tyana as Critic of Oratory and as Orator according to Philostratus," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 26.3 (1993) 227-235.

Billault, A., ed., *Lucien de Samosate*. Actes du Colloque International de Lyon... les 30 septembre - 1^{er} octobre 1993 (Paris: de Boccard, 1994). B.P. Reardon, "Lucien et la Fiction", pp. 9-12; G. Anderson, "Lucien Fabuliste: à la Recherche de Quelques Thèmes Populaires", pp. 13-17; S. Dubel, "Dialogue et Autoportrait: les Masques de Lucien," pp. 19-26; F. Jouan, "Mythe, Histoire et Philosophie dans les 'Dialogues des Morts'", pp. 27-35; M. Laplace, "L'Ailleurs, la Parole et l'Humain dans le *Songe* ou le *Coq* et *Lucius* ou l'Âne de Lucien", pp. 37-53; M. Debidour, "Lucien et les Trois Romains de l'Âne", pp. 55-63; J. Bompaire, "L' Atticisme de Lucien", pp. 65-75; M. Casevitz, "La Création Verbale chez Lucien: le *Lexiphanes*, *Lexiphanes* et Lucien", pp. 77-86; A. Michel, "Lucien et la Tradition Latine: Rhétorique et Philosophie", pp. 87-93; B. Schouler, "Lucien entre *Technè* et *Paideia*", pp. 95-108; L. Pernot, "Lucien et Dion de

Pruse", pp. 109-116; A. Billault, "Une 'Vie de Sophiste': le *Pseudologiste*", pp. 117-124; F. Frazier, "Deux Images des Banquets de Lettrés: le *Propos de Table* de Plutarque et le *Banquet* de Lucien", pp. 125-130; S. Follet, "Lucien et l'Athènes des Antonins", pp. 131-139; E. Oudot-Lutz, "La Représentation des Athéniens dans l'Oeuvre de Lucien", pp. 141-148; S. Said, "Lucien Ethnographe," pp. 149-170; M.-F. Baslez, "L'Auteur du *De Dea Syria* et les Réalités Religieuses de Hiéropolis", pp. 171-176; G. Husson, "Lucien Philosophe du Rire ou 'Pour ce que Rire est le Propre de l'Homme'", pp. 177-184; M. Trédé, "Comique et Mimésis dans l'Oeuvre de Lucien de Samosate", pp. 185-189; J. Schneider, "Les Scholies de Lucien et la Tradition Paroemiographique", pp. 191-204; Ch. Lauvergnot-Gagnière, "Une Traduction de Lucien Revoit le Jour", pp. 205-210; É. Bury, "Lucien Honnête Homme", pp. 211-218.

Boroughs, Rod, "Oscar Wilde's Translation of Petronius: the Story of a Literary Hoax," *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920* 38.1 (1995) 9-49. An exciting piece of detective work into the darker side of the publishing world. Of interest to students of both Petronius and Wilde. Borough's synopsis: "Wilde's" Petronius, the first unexpurgated English translation in over 150 years, was issued by the notorious Parisian pornographer Charles Carrington, with whom Wilde became acquainted during his years in exile. It is possible that Wilde discussed translating the *Satyricon* with the publisher but died before he could begin. The combination of several factors must have encouraged Carrington to hope that he would get away with his hoax: Wilde's homosexuality, his classical education, and his references to Petronius in his published works and letters. In addition, Petronius was very much in vogue amongst French decadent writers of the *fin-de-siècle*, and the *Satyricon* was regularly referred to in contemporary psychological studies of homosexuality. Carrington was eventually forced to retract his claim by Wilde's literary executor, Robert Ross. The real author was Alfred Allinson, who was one of Carrington's house-translators.

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sont-ils des Romans?," *Euphrosyne* 20 (1992) 149-164.

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Donato, G., "L' Umanità di Trimalchione (*Satyricon* 76-77)," *Orpheus* 15 (1994) 13-20.

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Elsner, J., "Seductions of Art: Encolpius and Eumolpus in a Neronian Picture Gallery," *PCPhS* 39 (1993) 30-47.

Faltenbacher, M., "Anmerkungen zur *Cena Trimalchionis* des Petron," *Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik* 40 (1994) 38-49. Der Verfasser will zeigen, daß es in der *Cena Trimalchionis* nicht um eine Neureichensatire geht, damit auch nicht um Sozialkritik. Er versteht die *Cena* als musikalische Posse nach dem Vorbild der *Atellana* und des *Mimus*. Die ironisch - distanzierten Kommentare des Ich-Erzählers sichern die fingierte epische Realität und täuschen nicht darüber hinweg, daß der Autor Trimalchio und seinen Kreis mit großer Sympathie betrachtet. Gerade deren unverstellte Primitivität und Banalität macht sie zu idealen Spielfiguren, in deren Reden und Handeln die Gesellschaft wie in einem Zerrspiegel erscheint. So entsteht ein *Theatrum mundi*, daß der Verfasser ohne moralische Entrüstung oder gar Belehrung an sich und dem Leser vorüberziehen läßt. (Holzberg)

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Holzberg, N., *The Ancient Novel: an Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1995) IX + 129 pp. Revised, up-dated version of the German edition, *Der antike Roman: eine Einführung* (Munich: Artemis, 1986). Together with T. Hägg's *The Novel in Antiquity*

(Oxford: Blackwell, 1983) this book represents the best available "introduction" to the study of the ancient novel. In addition to the "canonical" Greek and Latin novels Holzberg discusses the "fringe" works like Dares, Dictys, epistolary novels, the Alexander Romance, early Christian novel-like works, and utopian novels. There is an extensive bibliography and a useful index. Holzberg proves once again that good things come in small packages, *multum in parvo*. Scholars and students in search of the ancient novel will find much here of value.

Holzberg, N., ed., *Der griechische Briefroman: Gattungstypologie und Textanalyse* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994), XV + 200 pp. This volume contains 5 essays: N. Holzberg, "Der griechische Briefroman. Versuch einer Gattungstypologie," pp. 1-52; C. Arndt, "Antiker und neuzeitlicher Briefroman. Ein gattungstypologischer Vergleich," pp. 53-83; N.-C. Dührsen, "Die Briefe der Sieben Weisen bei Diogenes Laertios. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Rekonstruktion eines verlorenen griechischen Briefromans," pp. 84-115; S. Merkle, A. Beschorner, "Der Tyrann und der Dichter. Handlungssequenzen in den Phalaris-Briefen," pp. 116-168; A. Beschorner, "Griechische Briefbücher berühmter Männer. Eine Bibliographie," pp. 169-190. This bibliography is an important tool in all future study. Holzberg has done a great service here for the profession by bringing the study of the *Briefroman* into focus and uniting all of its parts into one book, treating the material at the highest scholarly level.

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Romanesque Antitragique et l'Art de l'Amour," *REG* 107 (1994) 440-479. A study of the nature of erotic narrative in Xenophon.

Lara, Carlos Hernandez, *Estudios sobre el Aticismo de Chariton de Afrodiasia* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1994) 238 pp. Some years ago we received an indication of the nature of Lara's work, when he spoke at the 1989 ICAN-II conference at Dartmouth: the Greek of Chariton is artistic, has a simple elegance, and shows enough appreciation of Atticistic prose to date it (against Papanikolaou) to the first century A.D. Then in *GIF* 42 (1990) 267-274 he commented at greater length and concluded that Chariton exhibits "artistic prose", that he "is conscious of the rhetorical precepts of the time and uses them", and that most of his "devices coincide not only with those used by Atticists but also with Diodorus of Sicily, Flavius Josephus and Plutarch". In this new book Lara lays out all the evidence for these conclusions.

Lipinski, E., "La Tharsis de l' Histoire d' Apollonius, Roi de Tyr," *Latomus* 53 (1994) 605-607. Tarsus of the *Historia* should be read Θάρσις and identified with Carthage, not with Tarsus of Cilicia.

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Müller, K., ed., *Petronius, Satyricon Reliquiae*, 4th edition, announced for 1994. To appear from Teubner.

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Panayotakis, C., *Theatrum Arbitri. Theatrical Elements in the Satyricon of Petronius* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) XXV + 225 pp.

Panayotakis, C., "A Sacred Ceremony in Honor of the Buttocks: Petronius, *Satyricon* 140.1-11," *CQ* 44 (1994) 458-467. "The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the anecdote of the matron Philomela was composed by Petronius as a narrative equivalent of a theatrical farce." And the best reading for *pigiciaca* is *pygesiac* *sacra*, "a sacred ceremony dedicated to the *πυγή*."

Panayotakis, C., "Quartilla's Histronics in Petronius, *Satyricon* 16.1-26.6," *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994) 319-336. Theatricality and role-playing within a sexual frame in the Quartilla episode.

Panayotakis, C., "Theatrical Elements in the Episode on Board Lichas' Ship (Petronius, *Satyricon* 99.5-115)," *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994) 596-624. "The ... analysis makes clear that the events which took place during the sea-trip on board Lichas' ship, were presented by the author of the novel as a whole sequence of theatre-themes..."

Pomeroy, A., "Trimalchio as *Deliciae*," *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 45-53. This is the fourth *Phoenix* article on *Sat.* 75.10-11 and the career of Trimalchio (see also J. Bodel, "Trimalchio and the Candelabrum," *CP* 84 [1989] 224-231), which began with M.D. Reeve, *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 378-379. See Baldwin above.

Pomeroy enlarges the discussion but disagrees with Reeve and reads *annos quattuordecim* = "for 14 years".

Roman Fiction. Films for the Humanities and Science, P.O. Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543. Order No. IV 370. Two 15-minute sound filmstrips, \$49.95. Blurb: "The characteristics of fiction and its earliest examples, including the Roman novel". Maximum of irrelevant show, minimum of content.

Ronnick, M., "Petronius 129.8 Reexamined," *Eranos* 92 (1994) 63-64. Read *si vis sanus esse, Gitona mihi da*.

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Schmeling, G., "Confessor Gloriosus: a Role of Encolpius in the *Satyricon*," *WJA* 20 (1994). The *Satyricon* read as the confession of an unreliable narrator.

Schmeling, G., "*Quid attinet veritatem per interpretem quaere?* *Interpretes* and the *Satyricon* of Petronius," in A.J. Boyle, ed., *Roman Literature and Ideology: Ramus Essays for J.P. Sullivan* (Bendigo: Aureal Publication, 1995). Reprint in book form of *Ramus* 23.1-2 (1994). An essay examining interpretation within the *Satyricon* and outside.

Stoneman, R., *Legends of Alexander the Great*, trans. and ed. by R. Stoneman (London: Dent, 1994) XLV + 112 pp. This work is a continuation of Stoneman's interest in the story of Alexander. Earlier he had written *the Greek Alexander Romance* (Penguin 1991), a translation of a Greek work on the life of Alexander, the original of which may have gone back to the third or second century B.C. This 1994 work contains six chapters and two appendices: 1. "Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India"; 2. "On the Wonders of the East [Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian]"; 3. "Excerpt from 'The Chronicle of George the Monk'"; 4. "Palladius, 'On the Life of the Brahmins'"; 5. "The Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus"; 6. "Alexander the Great's Journey to Paradise"; Appendix I, "Berlin Papyrus 13044: Alexander Interrogates the Gymnosophists"; Appendix II, "Early English Versions of the Legends".

Tanner, T., *Adultery in the Novel: Contract and Transgression* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1979). In a section entitled "Puns, Perversions, and Privations" (pp. 52-57) the *Satyricon* is analyzed to support the idea that "as the novelists began to scrutinize this self-created, self-stabilizing, self-mythologizing society, they discovered a series of discontinuities and instabilities that effectively gave the lie to the bourgeois's image of his own society." (from a bibliography of D. Konstan)

Walsh, P.G., *The Roman Novel: the Satyricon of Petronius and the Metamorphoses of Apuleius* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1995). Paperback re-issue of this classic 1970 Cambridge University Press production.

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Wilson, N., trans., *Photius: the Bibliotheca* (London: Duckworth, 1994). Includes translations of some of the novel summaries. Reviewed by B. Baldwin, *EMC* 13 (1994) 373-391.

Wistrand, M., *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: the Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* Studia Graeca et Latina. Gothoburgensia LVI (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992) 133 pp. A few references to Petronius.

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"La Novela Griega y su Pervivencia: una Historia Interminable" del 22 al 24 de Febrero de 1995. Organizado por el Departamento de Filología Clásica de la Facultad de Filología de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 28040 Madrid: R. Pedrero, "La Novela antes de la Novela"; J.G. López, "Caracterización General de la Novela Griega"; C. Ruiz-Montero, "Caritón"; J. María Lucas, "Jenofonte de Efeso"; F. Cuartero, "Longo"; M. Brioso, "Aquiles Tacio"; E. Crespo, "Heliodoro"; H. Rodríguez Somolinos, "Los Fragmentos Novelescos Griegos"; A. Guzmán, "Los Relatos Fantásticos de Luciano"; C. Miralles, "Novela-Aretalogía-Hagiografía"; A. Bravo, "La Novela Bizantina"; M.V. Fernández-Savater, "Caracterización General de la Novela Latina"; M. José Muñoz, "Petronio"; J.C. Fernández Corte, "Apuleyo"; C. García Gual, "La Biografía Novelesca en Grecia"; Antonio Cruz Casado, "Influjo de la Novela Antigua en la Narrativa del Siglo de Oro Español". (Thanks to A. Cruz Casado)

Eighteenth Groningen Colloquium on the Novel, 28-29 April 1995, Rijksuniversiteit, Groningen, organized by Dr. Maaike Zimmerman. The speakers: E. Finkelpearl, "Charite, Dido and the Widow of Ephesus"; A. Kahane, "The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. A Speech Act Analysis"; A. Witte, "Dates and Calendar in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"; S. Panayotakis, "Old Age and Deception in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*"; J. Morgan, "The Secondary Characters in *Daphnis and Chloe*"; A. Billault, "La Nature dans *Daphnis et Chloé*"; G. Zanetto, "Textual Criticism of Longos and the *Lessico dei Romanzieri Greci*"; E. Bowie, "The

Inset Tales in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*"; M. Kardaun, "Jungian Reading of the *Cena Trimalchionis*"; R. van der Paardt, "The Market Scene in Petronius *Satyricon* 12-15"; L. Galli, "Meeting Again. Some Observations on Petronius *Satyricon* 100 and the Greek Novels"; C. Panayotakis, "Petronius, the Mime, and *Imitatio Vitae*: a Re-Consideration".

Information for the Groningen Colloquia on the Novel: Dr. M. Zimmerman-de Graaf, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Vakgroep Grieks en Latijn, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands. FAX (050) 637263. Email: ZIMMERMN@let.rug.nl. The 19th Groningen Colloquium is planned for 10-11 May 1996.

"Der antike Roman und seine Mittelalterliche Rezeption," Centro Stefano Fancini/ETH Zürich, Monte Verità, CH Ascona (Ti), 27.-31. März 1995, Organisatoren: Prof. Dr. B. Zimmermann (Düsseldorf), Prof. Dr. M. Picone (Zürich). Speakers are: B. Zimmermann, "Intertextualität im griechischen Roman"; R.L. Hunter, "Longus and Plato"; J. Tatum, "Herodotus and the Ancient Novel"; M. Weissenberger, "Der Götterapparat im Roman des Chariton"; M. Fusillo, "Il Romanzo Greco come Paraletteratura"; H. Hofmann, "Sprachhandlung und Kommunikationspotential: Diskursstrategien im *Goldenen Esel*"; E. Lefèvre, "Petron und die Milesische Novelle: *Der Ephebe von Pergamon* (85-87)"; N. Slater, "The Discourse of the Visual Arts in the Roman Novel"; G. Vogt-Spira, "Fortuna: narrative Funktionen des Zufalls im Roman des Apuleius"; D. Van Mal-Maeder, "Techniques Narratives dans le livre II des *Metamorphoses* d' Apulée"; B. Effe, "Die Einführung dargestellter Personen im griechischen Liebesroman: ein Beitrag zur narrativen Technik und zu ihrer Evolution"; G.P. Rosati, "Stutture e Meccanismi Narrativi nel Romanzo Latino: Rapporti con l'Epos e il Dramma"; E.V. Maltese, "Lettori e Letture del Romanzo Greco a Bisanzio"; R. Harder, "Die Funktion der Briefe in byzantinischen Roman des 12. Jahrhunderts"; A. Cizek, "Der Alexander-Roman im Mittelalter"; P. Godman, "The *Ruodlieb* and the Verse Romance in the Latin Middle Ages"; S. Pittaluga, "Temi Romanzeschi nella Commedia Latina Medievale"; M. Zink, "Roman d'Antiquité et Morale du Paganisme: *Apollonius de Tyr* et *Philomela*"; M. Picone, "Dal Romanzo alla Novella: il Caso del *Decameron*". (Thanks to H. Hofmann)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Society of Biblical Literature

Charles Hedrick reports that the members of the "Ancient Fiction and Early Christian/Jewish Narrative Group" focused its two sessions on Xenophon of Ephesus, 20-21 November 1994, in Chicago for the 1994 SBL Program. The gathering of the "Group" at the SBL meeting in Fall 1995 will deal with the *Life of Aesop*.

Dissertations in Classics — APA Newsletter

Chew, K., "Novel Techniques: Modes of Motivation in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus," UCLA, 1993-94.

Granwehr, M., "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. A Study of Structure," University of Iowa, 1993-94.

**Papers Given to the PETRONIAN SOCIETY MUNICH
SECTION in 1994**

- Feb. 23: Jan Bremmer (Groningen): "Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece."
 May 18: Stefan Trappen (Mainz): "Zur Tradition der menippeischen Satire in Deutschland und einem Grundproblem ihrer Erforschung."
 June 6: Richard Stoneman (London): "Alexander and the Philosophers."
 June 29: Richard Hunter (Cambridge): "Longos und Platon."
 July 27: John Morgan (Swansea): "The Secondary Characters in *Daphnis and Chloe*."

Publications: PS-MS 1994

Der griechische Briefroman: Gattungstypologie und Textanalyse, herausgegeben von N. Holzberg unter Mitarbeit von S. Merkle, Tübingen (Classica Monacensia, 8).

NACHLEBEN

More on the infamous "Reorganisation" quotation attributed to Petronius. R. Boroughs notes that the quotation appeared in the Letters to the Editor section of *The Times* in August 1985 (Vice Admiral Sir Anthony Troup replying to Admiral Le Bailly's letter). M.D. Reeve found the "Reorganisation" quotation in *The Times* of 15 June 1994 in a letter of Clive St. J. Thomas (no admiral he), to which Walter R. Chalmers replied (*The Times*, 21 June 1994) that it was not Petronian. R. Murray saw the "Reorganization" piece in *Reader's Digest* (Sept. 1994) 161. The "Reorganization" quotation has been discussed in the *PSN* 2.2 (Dec. 1971) 5; 11-12 (May 1981) 5; 12.2 (May 1982) 5; 18 (March 1988) 3; 19 (March 1989) 3; 24 (June 1994) 5.

R. Boroughs notes also other interesting references to Petronius. In the *The European* (Weekend May 11-13, 1990, p. 13) the Arts Diarist is listed as PETRONIUS. In *The Guardian* (17 May 1990), "Critics Choice Theatre", Michael Billington reports that at Brighton's Gardner Centre Moscow's Satyricon Theatre is presenting its version of *The Maids* by Jean Genet. In the *New Musical Express* (3 October 1992) there is a review of the musical group Meat Beat Manifesto's new LP *Satyricon*. In *The Guardian* (27 October 1990) Tom Sutcliffe reports on Bruno Maderna's 1973 opera the *Satyricon* at Drill Hall in London. In the *Corriere della Sera* (22 September 1990, p. 19) in an article entitled "Ne uccide più la dieta che la gola. Parole di Trimalchione" Cesare Marchi gives an excerpt from his volume *Quando Siamo a Tavola* in which he provides "impossible interviews" with famous gluttons. Interviewer: "Lei è il signor Trimalchione?" Trimalchio: "Sì, però non concedo interviste. A meno che lei me faccia poi leggere il testo." Interviewer: "Non ho nulla in contrario." Trimalchio: "Capirà, dopo quello che ha scritto di me Petronio Arbitro! Mi ha presentato come un *parvenu*, smanioso di ostentare le proprie ricchezze." etc.

Hammond, M., "A Book by Any Other Title," *Sunday Herald-Times* [Bloomington, IN] (15 January 1995) D7. "Who would buy a book entitled *Trimalchio in West Egg*? F. Scott Fitzgerald's publishers obviously did not think so and decided to publish his novel under a more alluring title: *The Great Gatsby*. (Thanks to W. Hansen)

Bruno Maderna, *SATYRICON* (1973), Opéra sur un livret polyglotte de Bruno Maderna d'après Pétrone, 1992 Salabert/Actuel (Editions Salabert, 22 rue Chauchat, 75009 Paris, Tel. 33-1-48245560, FAX 33-1-42471756). This opera is on CD. (Thanks to M. Fusillo)

Caesar Park Hotel Ipanema (Av. Viero Sinto 460, 22420 Ipanema, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), according to an hotel trade journal, contains an amenity entitled the "Petronius Bar and Restaurant". (Thanks to C. Murphy)

Lüscher, Philippe, *Satiricon 94*, a play staged in Genève at the Theatre Poétique de L' Orangerie in the Parc La Grange, 20 July — 31 August 1994: "Cette pièce est librement inspirée du *Satiricon* de Pétrone. Roman latin hautement cocasse et effrayant à la fois, où la décadence romaine n'est pas sans rappeler la nôtre. Spectacle inderdit aux moins de 14 ans. L'action de la pièce se déroule de nos jours dans un bordel. Eumolpe, le poète, devenu un écrivain porno, réunit deux de ses anciens élèves, qui se partagent un jeune homme appelé Giton." P. Lüscher published the script as *Satiricon 94 d'après Pétrone* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1994). [Thanks to Philippe Lüscher, Ewen Bowie, Steven Harrison, Heinz Barandum]

DISSERTATION SUMMARIES

Boroughs, R.J.C., *Eumolpus: Literary and Historical Approaches to Characterisation in Petronius* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1994).

This dissertation examines the characterisation of Petronius's Eumolpus from three angles. In Part I there is an attempt to trace a literary line of descent from the humorous portrayals of old men in the Old and New Comedy of Greece and Rome to Eumolpus. Other forms of comic literature are also examined for their possible influence on Petronian characterisation. The role played by Eumolpus in the narrative of the *Satyricon* is then examined against the background of the Greek love-romance, and it is suggested that he is in part a parody of certain idealised types that frequently appear in the works of Chariton, Xenophon, Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus. In Part II the focus is on Eumolpus's poet persona. Literary evidence is again adduced in the form of both traditional biographies of poets such as Homer, Archilochus and Euripides, and more comic evocations of obsessive versifiers. Historical evidence, however, is also exploited to determine the plausibility of Eumolpus's portrayal as an itinerant professional of the Neronian period. Part III looks forward to the literature of Golden Age Spain. Here it is argued that the *Satyricon* can very naturally be regarded as a picaresque novel, and an important factor in its assimilation to this supposedly modern literary form is the figure of the mad poet, who turns up in several of the most famous examples of the Spanish picaresque, and who appears to be a not-too-distant relation of Eumolpus. This leads us to ask whether similar cultural contexts produced similar literary creations, or whether the Spanish novelists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were to some degree indebted to Petronius. A number of likely Petronian allusions in the works of these authors are outlined in support of the thesis that the *Satyricon* exerted a direct influence on the rebirth of the picaresque genre.

Per la Ricostruzione del Testo di Petronio. Manoscritti, Collazioni, Edizioni al Tempo della Scoperta degli Excerpta Longa. Tesi di Laurea, Pisa 1992.

Ernesto Stagni

Il lavoro che qui presento, inedito ed assolutamente provvisorio, è il primo ed incompleto frutto di una più vasta ricerca sulla tradizione manoscritta diretta ed indiretta de *Satyricon*; ho enunciato sommariamente una parte del programma dei miei studi in un articolo pubblicato nel 1993 su *MD* e recensito nel numero del 1994 della *PSN*; allo stesso articolo, dunque, rinvio per un elenco dei miei progetti più immediati e dei temi che ho già affrontato al di fuori della tesi, oltre che per l'esposizione di alcuni risultati che ritengo di aver raggiunto nella mia dissertazione. Sugli obiettivi, sui principi e sui metodi del mio lavoro, che guideranno anche le mie prossime pubblicazioni, ragionerò diffusamente non in questo breve riassunto, che intende soltanto indicare una serie di punti concreti trattati dalla mia tesi, ma in una discussione, in stampa su *MD*, a proposito del recente libro di Wade Richardson, *Reading and Variant in Petronius*. A chiunque fosse interessato ad approfondire certi agromenti sono pronto a fornire informazioni aggiornate, che in molti casi potranno andare ben al di là di quanto si troverebbe nella dissertazione.

Il primo capitolo (*L'Editio Princeps dei Longa (1575): Tornesio ed i suoi Codici*) ricostruisce la storia e le caratteristiche del Dalecampiano e la vicenda dell'uso del Cuiaciano nella Tornesiana, anticipando, nella sua parte iniziale, il mio articolo su *MD*: in più mi occupo del problema delle varianti che Tornesio attribuì ad un v.c. nella prima metà del *Satyricon* (per la quale non disponeva ancora del Cuiaciano) e delle didascalie del tipo *desunt multa* in 1. Nel seguito fornisco notizie, spesso nuove, sulle biblioteche della famiglia de Tournes, di Dalechamps e di Claude Dupuy, limitandomi a suggerire ipotesi sulla sorte del Dalecampiano e del suo antgrafo; indago inoltre sulle citazioni petroniane in scritti di Dupuy sicuramente anteriori alla pubblicazione dei *longa*, su alcune congetture di Latini, Passerat e Scaligero e (come altrove nella tesi) su certe aporie nel confronto fra lo stemma comunemente accettato ed i dati che si desumono da indicazioni di Pithou o altri. Dopo un cenno sulle annotazioni cinquecentesche in margine al florilegio thuanico concludo il capitolo discutendo le citazioni nei *Semestria* di Pierre du Faur (uno di quei giuristi francesi che conobbero i *longa* prima del 1575: oltre ai ben noti Cujas e Pithou, si dovrà ricordare Brisson, che nel 1564 usa un codice identificabile forse con il Memmiano o il Benedettino e che negli stessi anni ospita a Parigi Pierre Daniel; a sua volta - notizia finora stranamente sfuggita agli studiosi di Petronio - Daniel fin dal 1567 si dichiara pronto a pubblicare presso Plantin un'edizione dei *longa*).

Il secondo capitolo (*Un Nuovo Testimone per il 'Bellum Civile': le Note di kr*) dimostra che un manoscritto finora trascurato (Leid. Voss. Misc. 1, fasc. 6) contiene annotazioni di mano di Henri de Mesmes, in parte congetture ed in parte varianti tratte da un codice dei *longa* (verosimilmente il perduto Memmiano da lui posseduto): la prova più convincente si ricava dal raffronto con gli appunti più tardi dello stesso de Mesmes in Par. BN lat. 8820 (in appendice al capitolo trascrivo il testo di entrambi gli esemplari). Boldast usò lo stesso manoscritto (nel quale non compare il nome dell'autore), ma pubblicò quelle note attribuendole a Colladon: è il primo di una lunga serie di esempi, discussi in questo e nel successivo capitolo, che attestano quanto sia incerta la paternità e la datazione di gran parte delle

osservazioni umanistiche confluite nel commento *variorum* a cura di Burman; questo dipende dalle edizioni di Goldast (1610) e di Lotichio (1629), che spesso si contraddicono e forniscono attribuzioni discordanti: non a caso tre raccolte figurano anonime in Goldast; ma se l'identificazione proposta da Lotichio per uno dei tre autori (Alfonso Delbene) rimane sospetta (particolarmente interessanti i rapporti di queste *Castigationes* con Pierre Daniel e con lo stesso *kr*), non si era invece ancora dimostrato che è corretta l'attribuzione ad Henri de Mesmes delle *Coniecturae* (la cui estensione coincide, secondo me non casualmente, con il contenuto del codice m), particolarmente preziose per la lunghezza delle citazioni testuali nei lemmi e nelle varianti: si tratta di un altro testimone sia pur frammentario del ramo Benedettino-Memmiano. Le altre note di cui mi occupo brevemente nel seguito (dopo aver soltanto accennato, anche alla luce di testimonianze da tempo discusse, ad alcuni dilemmi sulla datazione del Memmiano e sulla sua posizione stemmatica di cui tratterò più ampiamente in prossimi lavori) sono quelle comunemente attribuite a Iunius, P. e F. Pithou, Patisson, Bongars. Soltanto cenni sommari, destinati ad essere sviluppati nei miei prossimi lavori, si troveranno ad es. sui problemi suscitati dalla silloge di P. Daniel o dalle varianti marginali del codice r (che a mio avviso in gran parte sono semplicemente copiate da identiche annotazioni del Memmiano; sullo stesso codice di de Mesmes, a mio avviso, doveva essere stata registrata una collazione dai primi fogli di un Cuiaciano, probabilmente lo stesso usato da Tornesio, Scaligero e Pithou, di cui restano tracce in d ed in r, e su cui ho raggiunto conclusioni diverse da quelle di Richardson).

Del caso più interessante di controversa attribuzione di note umanistiche mi occupo nel terzo capitolo (*Le Note Attribuite a François Daniel*), alla fine del quale dimostro che il vero autore non è quello indicato da Goldast ed accettato da Müller e neanche quel Claude Dupuy proposto da Lotichio (terzo testimone da sfruttare con estrema prudenza ma ingiustamente ignorato da Richardson), ma Pierre Pithou (mi baso i particolare sullo stringente confronto di una nota a 97.1 con un passo degli *Adversaria subseciva*, ed anche sui paralleli con le note di t siglate "Pith."; in altri punti della tesi mi occupo anche delle due annotazioni tratte da un "v.c. Pith.", una delle quali trova riscontro in un passo, sfuggito agli studiosi moderni, del commento di Pithou all' *Collatio legum Mosaycarum et Romanarum*). In tutto il capitolo insisto sulla necessità di valorizzare i lemmi, oltre alle numerose e spesso felici congetture ed alle varianti, tratte in parte dal Cuiaciano (si spiega fra l'altro finalmente la notizia, fornita da Scaligero, di un primo prestito che Cujas avrebbe concesso a Pithou diciotto anni prima di quello documentato dalle aggiunte alla *varietas lectionum* nella seconda pithoeana; di tale circostanza occorrerà tener conto più attentamente in sede stemmatica). Appunto dai lemmi riaffiorano alcune lezioni dei codici medievali, proprie di almeno un ramo, se non dell'intera tradizione L, completamente oscurate nei nostri testimoni da restituzioni umanistiche (spesso dalle congetture dello stesso "F. Daniel", alias Pithou, sfruttate, direttamente o indirettamente, da pt, dai discendenti del Memmiano e verosimilmente anche da l di Scaligero, ossia da tutti gli esemplari manoscritti ed a stampa di L). Per questo mi è stato indispensabile soffermarmi sui complicatissimi problemi della costituzione del testo delle note, lemmi compresi, e sul significato non di rado ambiguo di sigle generiche come "vet." o "unus ex veteribus", prima ancora di tentare di stabilire la fonte da cui i lemmi stessi dipendono (in ultima analisi, nei brani esclusivamente L, dovrebbero risalire al Cuiaciano, meno probabilmente al Benedettino); è verosimile che

il testo di riferimento usato da Pithou fosse non direttamente un codice medievale, ma un apografo da lui stesso preparato, forse contaminato o "conflato", del tipo di I, e corredato di varianti, apposte originariamente in margine, o separatamente su fogli da cui Pithou in persona o altri (magari per l'appunto Daniel o Dupuy) avrebbero costruito una silloge con una propria autonoma tradizione (e forse con un archetipo già contraddistinto da errori); di una simile trascrizione è forse possibile individuare qualche traccia in due note di un esemplare parigino degli *Adversaria* di Pithou postillato dallo stesso autore e nella paginazione dell'apografo di Rogers. La stessa appendice di r potrebbe a mio avviso rappresentare un primo stadio nella trasmissione delle note, che Pithou o altri hanno forse ampliato i seguito con aggiunte e rimaneggiamenti (di estremo interesse due voci che sembrano presupporre l'uso di lessici medievali glossati con estratti da Petronio, del tipo di Bern. 276 o Lond. Harl. 2735; una simile ipotesi è pienamente giustificata anche per tre delle note anonime attribuite da Lotichio a Bongars, che almeno in parte potrebbero raccogliere osservazioni pithoeane); che r contenga materiale elaborato da Pithou è dimostrato dal testo introduttivo a Petronio vergato sul primo foglio, che nessuno studioso ha mai pensato di analizzare: si tratta di brani che coincidono praticamente alla perfezione con parti della prefazione e delle annotazioni di p¹, ma che non possono dipendere dal testo a stampa e che anzi quasi certamente lo precedono di quasi un decennio, e che fra l'altro contengono un estratto da Macrobio con varianti attestate soltanto in un codice di Pithou; il mio sospetto, corroborato da testimonianze conosciute da tempo, è che già nel Memmiano (o in margine ad esso) fossero ampiamente sfruttate le ricerche e le collazioni di Pithou, e che non si trattasse di un semplice discendente del Benedettino incontaminato. Nel corso dell'indagine (come nel resto della tesi, soprattutto nell'ultimo capitolo) affronto in dettaglio anche alcuni problemi testuali o di ricostruzione dell'archetipo (ad es. sull'originaria forma dei nomi di Encolpio, Gitone ed Ascilto nei manoscritti o sulla natura di certi guasti, come a 4,5 *schedium Lucillianae humilitatis*, 7,3 *inter titulos* o 96,4 *iniuriaque - commendabam*, che potranno rivelarsi utili ad un esame delle differenze fra Benedettino e Cuiaciano e dei problemi della conflazione fra *brevia* ed antenati dei *longa* postulata da van Thiel) ed accenno alla sorte di alcuni esemplari perduti sui quali ho condotto approfonditi studi, presupposti ma non inclusi, per motivi di spazio, nella mia dissertazione, e di cui varrà comunque la pena di cercare altre notizie: in particolare 1) il codice pithoeano descritto in un catalogo della famiglia Rosanbo e di cui da tempo e finora invano sto tentando di seguire le tracce, già individuate anche da Richardson (non sarà inutile occuparsi pure di alcuni esemplari a stampa annotati da Pithou e ricordati nel Settecento dal suo biografo Boivin) e 2) la copia di t posseduta da Dousa, sfruttata da Palmerius ed usata ancora da Burman, in cui fu registrata una ricca collazione dal Memmiano (ho dimostrato che alcune varianti tralasciate da Burman sono riprodotte nell'edizione di Adrianide, con la sigla "c.M. (Dousae)", che si riferisce per l'appunto al Memmiano e non, come si sarebbe indotti a sospettare, all'apografo di Rogers certamente consultato da Dousa). Aggiungo inoltre che non mi risulta che sia ancora stato identificato uno dei due esemplari del *Satyricon* posseduti da Bourdelot: dovremo supporre che un altro testimone si sia perduto non prima del Seicento? Dal momento che di quasi nessuna delle raccolte di note di cui mi sono occupato si conserva, a quanto si sa oggi, l'originale, sarà anche opportuno consultare i manoscritti preparatori dell'edizione di Goldast, recentemente restituiti dall'URSS alla biblioteca di Brema; sarà compito importante dei

miei prossimi studi chiarire l'attendibilità di altre notizie fornite dallo stesso Goldast (ad es. quella sul codice di Berna iam *Pithoeis quoque visus et callatus*, appartenente allora a Bongars: informazione che, stranamente dimenticata, integra e conferma in modo forse decisivo i risultati delle indagini di Richardson sullo smembramento di B e sull'identificazione fra B l'*Austissiodurensis*).

In calce alla tesi ho aggiunto un capitolo di *Apunti per un Nuovo Apparato del Bellum Civile* in cui applico a concreti problemi testuali i risultati delle sezioni precedenti ed anticipo il tipo di ricerca che svolgerò nei prossimi lavori (ad es. il riesame puntuale dei modi e dei limiti della conflazione all'origine di L, o i rapporti fra P, il codice del duca di Berry che con P potrebbe identificarsi e le citazioni da un codice affine a P ma certamente distinto che si trovano in lettere di Jean de Montreuil, vissuto per l'appunto nell'ambiente del duca di Berry); ho affrontato nel contempo nuove questioni: ad es. estensione e natura dei guasti del Cuiaciano, argomento sul quale concordo in larga misura con Richardson; mi pare però che si possano muovere passi in avanti accertando in primo luogo che gli stessi problemi non si riscontrino nel ramo Benedettino (si deve cioè dimostrare che esistono errori comuni agli altri testimoni L laddove il Cuiaciano era sicuramente lacunoso), studiano il testo dei *Catalecta* di Scaligero (non è stato notato che t, come altrove, ne dipende alla lettera) e del suo codice I - informazioni interessanti si traggono perfino dall'interpunzione proposta al v. 57 - e confrontando le ben note indicazioni di Tornesio con gli strani e finora trascurati asterischi di L, che non corrispondono effettivamente a lacune e che sono documentati in lr, ma anche nella collazione dal Memmiano e nelle note di de Mesmes; non mi sembra casuale la coincidenza di molti di questi asterischi con punti in cui il Cuiaciano doveva presentare non solo lacune ma anche trasposizioni; ancora molto incerto resta il mio giudizio sulla circostanza che alcuni guasti si incontrino dopo versi come 26 e 78, 104, 208 (tutti multipli di 26).

REVIEWS

Wade Richardson, *Reading and Variant in Petronius: Studies in the French Humanists and their Manuscript Sources* (Phoenix Supplementary Volume 32, University of Toronto Press 1993; pp. xxiv, 16 plates, 188)

by M.D. Reeve, Pembroke College, Cambridge

When Sambucus published his edition of Petronius in 1565, Cujas and Turnebus had already cited passages unknown to him, and new sections of text appeared in the edition of 1575 printed by Tornaesius (t) and those of 1577 and 1587 prepared by Pithoeus (p¹ and p²). Various later editors up to Burman drew on papers left by scholars of Pithoeus's generation. In his edition of 1862 Buecheler pulled out from the ruck a manuscript written by Scaliger (1), and Ullman found two incomplete manuscripts, one written by Pierre Daniel (d), which he dismissed in 1930 as "selections from Petronius", and one owned by Muretus (m), to which he alerted E.T. Sage's group. Konrad Müller in his edition of 1961 not only announced the discovery of a text and notes acquired before 1572 by Daniel Rogers (r) but also gave a crisp and shrewd evaluation of the extant witnesses. His apparatus, however, is not as full as Buecheler's, and anyone who came across another manuscript written in the 1560s or 1570s and wanted to place it in the tradition would probably have to collate rmd from scratch.

In 1972 Wade Richardson finished a thesis at Harvard on interpolations in Petronius, and he has since published three articles on the tradition: one general, one on a 15th-century manuscript of the pre-1575 text, and one on the history of the oldest manuscript (B). In the new book he gives a chapter each to m, t, p¹p², d, and r, but none to l, inserts after the chapter on p¹p² one on the quotations reported by Rouse and me from Bern 276, and after the chapter on d one on the notes ascribed in Goldast's edition of 1610 to Pierre Daniel's brother François; and concludes with a "lightly adapted" version of his short article on B, which could have gone into his chapter on p¹p². There is no general conclusion. Plates illustrate B, Daniel's glossary from Fleury (B.L. Harl. 2735), P, Bern 276, d in full, m, the hand of Muretus, r, the hand of Rogers, and l; and a short appendix gives biographical sketches of the principal 16th-century scholars discussed or mentioned.

With four of the eight chapters I have no quarrel of much importance, but little progress is made in them. The chapter on t disposes of Pellegrino's views on the meaning of "Pith." and on what Cujas's manuscript omitted in the *Bellum civile*. Pellegrino deceived me on the latter point when I summarized the tradition in 1983; I apologize to Richardson for alleging that he had ignored Pellegrino, whom he reviewed in *PSN* 6.1 (June 1975), and I thank him for letting me off so lightly (n. 62). In the chapter on p¹p² he argues for what I bluntly stated, that Pithoeus's Autissiodurensis and Bituricus were B and P; his plate of B (cf. n. 73) neatly answers the objection that B omits 16.3 *sacrum*, present in the Autissiodurensis. Much of the chapter on Bern 276 he devotes to establishing its identity with Daniel's "glossarium S. Dionysii", which I accepted in 1983 (after seeing Müller's reference to Harl. 2735 and finding there the mention of *Querolus* that Daniel picked up), and his explanation of why Daniel attributes *opertum* to it at 11.2 (p. 81) does Daniel no credit; but he may well be right that the annotator's quotations from just "Petronius", with no title, came from another glossary or set of excerpts and therefore do not show that a fuller text was still available in the 13th century (pp. 76, 79). In the chapter on B he reports a happy discovery made among the printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale and infers that B was not dismembered until Daniel's estate passed to his heirs; but in another place he mixes up the two parts of B (n. 42, where he also seems to have mistaken Lotichius's "exemplar manuscriptum" of the *Coniecturae* for a manuscript of Petronius).

In the chapter on the notes that Goldast ascribes to François Daniel but Lotichius on the alleged authority of Bongars to Claude Dupuy he rightly argues (p. 104) that Rogers's version of the notes should be used as a check on Goldast's (though he contradicts himself on whether Rogers omitted things deliberately: n. 151, p. 101) and that in 1570 (Lotichius's date, which he considers reasonable) the lemmata must be an independent witness in passages not yet printed (p. 111); but it seems to have escaped him that many of the conjectures recur among those ascribed in t to Pithoeus (p. 26). These correspondences will doubtless play a part in the demonstration promised by E. Stagni, *Materiali e Discussioni* 30 (1993) 206 n. 4, that Pithoeus was the author of the notes.

The chapters on m, d, and r, include some novelties. The most important is his observation that the note before the text in r, "Haec duo prima folia collata sunt cum fragmento veteris libri qui Cuiacii fuerat", must be connected with the note "Non plura habebat exemplaria" (*sic*), which occurs on 15.4 *frontis*, precisely where d breaks off (pp. 85-6, 128-9). He also assigns to Rogers the notes in r rather than the text (n. 135) and rightly says that the

scribe cannot then have provided variants after Rogers returned from Paris (p. 120). Certainly his plates makes it hard to sustain the ascription of the main text to Rogers. In various ways, however, the three chapters are unsatisfactory:

(a) Müller derived rmd from the Memmianus consulted in the 1560s by Turnebus and Lambinus, which in turn he derived through an anonymous intermediary, β, from Pithoeus's Benedictinus; from β he also derived the Dalecampianus used in t, and straight from the Benedictinus he derived p¹. Richardson gives two reasons for deriving the Dalecampianus as well as rmd from the Memmianus: a tentative one that I do not understand (p. 20), and the false one that Müller postulated β on the strength of differences between t and rmd that should rather be put down to incompetence in t (p. 16, n. 30, n. 152). He postulated it because in passages absent from the pre-1575 text rmd and the Memmianus (in practice rm after 15.4, where d stops, with only sporadic attestation of the Memmianus before and after m stops at 80.9) share significant errors absent from t where t used the Dalecampianus (pp. xxvi-xxvii; cf. Richardson, n. 138).

(b) Richardson gives a full transcript of d and argues that it is free of contamination. Müller pointed out that it has 1.3 *ego* and 4.2 *quoque suas*, omitted by r and the Memmianus. Richardson blames "independent editing by the source for the Memmianus" (n. 132), but that source was a collation, one used by Bosch and Burman.

(c) Richardson also consider r virtually free of contamination either from the Cuiacianus or from the *Florilegium Gallicum*. Again, Müller pointed out that it has 12.3 *diligentius*, omitted by t as well as dm (p. xxvi). Richardson replies that this and 13.4 *domino*, absent from dmt¹, could have been variants in the fragment of Cujas's *vetus liber* (p. 127). Where then did they reach it from? If from something other than the Memmianus, *domino* can only have come from the Cuiacianus, whether directly or ultimately. If from the Memmianus, whether directly or ultimately, then the Memmianus carried variants and there is little hope of determining the stemma. Richardson's section on r and florilegia (pp. 129-30) answers a charge never brought by Müller (p. xxiii "in marginibus"), that the *Florilegium Gallicum* influenced the text of r.

(d) Richardson derives the fragment of Cujas's *vetus liber* from the Memmianus, which he puts in the 16th century (p. 128, n. 30, p. 25); yet he nowhere discusses the term *vetus liber*. He also writes as though the note before the text in r had *quod*, not *qui* (pp. 128-9), and he never considers the possibility that it was copied from the exemplar, which could account for the inappropriate *duo* (n. 189).

(e) When he contests the eccentric view of Sage's group that t used m, he gives a list of "unique tm readings" (p. 20), only to disclose later that they are mostly (entirely ?) in r (p. 21). I am also baffled by his clumsily expressed conclusion that "m... plays a role in testing Müller's stemma especially on the role and interpretation of tm agreements and differences" (p. 23).

(f) For want of other possibilities among known manuscripts, he suggests that Pithoeus obtained three variants in p¹ "informally" from the Cuiacianus and had not yet seen it (pp. 127-8). Elsewhere, however, he speaks of "the evidence", nowhere cited, that he had seen it "in 1569, when he borrowed it from Cujas" (n. 64); the evidence must be what Ullman, *CP* 25 (1930) 142, cited from Scaliger.

Two lists of variants are inadequately labelled (pp. 61-2, 92-5), and he twice fails to distinguish a correction from the text, in l at 13.4 (p. 17, where m is cited for both readings) and in r at 79.8.5

(p. 123; cf. p. 127). Without anywhere giving much evidence, he wavers on whether Scaliger used *t* in the compilation of 1 (n. 34, n. 56, p. 62, n. 165), and he surely need not have suggested that Scaliger made an earlier copy of the Cuiacianus (n. 14, n. 89).

I turn to broader matters. He makes one brief comment on whether the 16th century or the 12th did more to combine different bodies of material (p. 16), and beyond reporting from a list drawn up by Pithoeus (Lanvellec Rosanbo 233) the contents of a manuscript that included Petronius (n. 182) he says next to nothing (n. 121) about the nature of what he takes to have been the two medieval sources of new material exploited by Pithoeus's generation, the Benedictinus and the Cuiacianus. He has not clarified or improved the text of any passage, and I cannot see how his findings will simplify the apparatus. His observations on the procedures and capacities of the scholars concerned are judicious, but he does not cite in the text enough primary evidence to tell a story and enable the reader to watch them at work. Incidentally, vernacular forms of names are all very well, but Turnebus was no more Turnèbe than Diodorus Siculus was what Winkler in *Auctor & Actor* calls him, Diodoros Sikulos.

The most disappointing feature of the book, however, is its lack of enterprise and its concentration on a narrow range of almost entirely familiar material. A striking contrast can be seen in the work of the young scholar at Pisa whose article in *Materiali e Discussioni* I cited above. He there shows that the Dalecampianus was a copy that Jean Regnaud secured for Dalechamps from Claude Dupuy; publishes new evidence on the printing of *t*; and remarks on the surprising fact that *t* does not advertise its novelty. Fortunately for Petronian studies, he promises further revelations.

Agapitos, Panagiotis A., and Smith, Ole, L.,
The Study of Medieval Greek Romance: A Reassessment of Recent Work. (Opuscula Graecolatina, 33) Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1992. Paper, Pp. 137, \$42.

by Barry Baldwin

There has been an avalanche of books and articles on this topic in recent years, by no means all of it on display in the present offering. A level-headed survey would have been welcome. What we get here, though, is a full-length, monotonic hatchet-job on a single author and his book (albeit other quarry are stalked from time to time in the notes), namely *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge, 1989) by Roderick Beaton, NOT Beaton as in the publisher's concomitant blurb which also describes the authors as editors—one would think they could at least get the victim's name and function of their own authors right!

I have myself written a substantial review of Beaton's book for *Byzantine Studies* where (thanks to that journal's sempiternal slowness) it still languishes after a quadrennium. My higher opinion of Beaton is shared by G. Kehagioglou in *Hellenika* 41 (1990) 158-171, whose praises the authors (hereafter, AS) try briefly to rebut, with desperate stress on a silly but trivial mistake Kehagioglou made about Evelyn Waugh's sex (p. 113, n. 267). Beaton has his faults: what author does not? But his book is very much better than this pair of would-be assassins make it out to be, and most assuredly does not deserve such a captious and mean-spirited assault.

Poor Beaton is lambasted with equal ferocity (AS have no sense of proportion) for just about everything, not only his ideas (fair game) but his translations of the Greek text, his plot summaries,

his ways of referring to other scholars, even his printer's errors of Greek accentuation. I doubt that AS are motivated by purely scholarly concern. S seems aggrieved that Beaton (p. 233, n. 2) cites only one of his own various publications, and that with no great approval, whilst A who has produced a good deal of related work since Beaton is clearly staking out his own territorial claim.

In a brief Foreword, AS announce their hostile intentions. A Preface then takes Beaton to task for his basic approach to both Byzantine and Western Medieval Studies, along with a denunciation of his style of Greek transliteration (ignoring Beaton's own two-page explanation of this) and (p. 11, n. 6) the faulty Greek accents. Since the only example they give of this relatively venial sin is remarkably trivial, a degree of *Schadenfreude* is licit when observing (e.g.) their own errors of French accentuation (pp. 14, 59, n. 142). Likewise with their inability to spell "Wolfgang" (p. 131) and frequent declension into fractured English, e.g., "classical" for classics" (p. 10, n. 5), "any unity" (p. 29, n. 53), "devaluated" (p. 38), "a closer reading" (p. 50, where the comparative is meaningless), "in way of" (p. 51), "clichées" (pp. 73, 75). Talk about pot calling the kettle!

It is the same with bigger issues. Beaton is supposed not to be *au fait* with the secondary literature, especially on the Western side. But AS can be just as lacunose, being unaware of (e.g.) J.M. Pizarro, *A Rhetoric of the Scene: Dramatic Narrative in the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1989). They are forever sniping at Beaton for high-handed judgements and inconsistencies, but do exactly the same. Thus, we are never told why the new text of the *Poulologos* by Isabella Tsavari (Athens, 1987) is "highly questionable" (p. 10, n. 4). Yet this slur does not restrain AS from commending her caution when it suits their attack (p. 93, n. 233) on other scholars. Also, since AS never spare the smallest slip in others, one smiles at their own frailties, e.g. their misdating of N.G Wilson's edition of St. Basil on Greek literature (AS p. 19, n. 27, NOT p. 20 as in their own index!).

AS (p. 14) deride Beaton for "haphazard reference" to Hans Robert Jauss. Would that he had altogether ignored an author who grinds out such stuff as "whether an altered aesthetic wilfully reaches back to reappropriate the past," rubbish fit for Pseuds Corner in *Private Eye*. Of course, Jauss was bound to be congenial to AS who themselves generate such abominations as (p. 18, n. 20) "valorizes is culturally." You would never guess from AS that Beaton has an *in extenso* quotation from Jauss (pp. 10-11), two of his titles in the bibliography, and seven entries in his index (three more than AS!).

Beaton is vilipended for citing Genette's views from the 1980 English edition rather than an earlier French one of 1972. He is similarly castigated for alleged reliance on English versions of non-anglophone originals, and for taking over second-hand material without acknowledgement; cf. p. 50 for the meanest such accusation—AS offer no proof of the charge. But what about their own plain listing (pp. 41, n. 87, 121) of Alexandre Leupin's *Barbarolexis: Medieval Writing and Sexuality* as an original work of 1989, when it is in fact a translation (by K.M. Cooper), actually out in January, 1990?

Even the innocuous phrase "some mention" attracts censure from AS (p. 13). This is a lead-in to their attack on Beaton for his handling of Jauss and company also to their subsequent (p. 74) invocation of Foucault. But happily this particular bandwagon has moved on (Beaton deserved praise for ignoring him in 1989). On Foucault and Nietzsche (invoked by AS), see now J. Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (New York, 1993), with M. Lilla's review-article in *TLS*, March 26, 1993, pp. 3-4.

We are then given twelve chapters, each reflecting Beaton's own numbering and titles. All live down to the nit-picking rancidity already exposed. Were there the space, one could hoist AS with as many of their own petards as they attempts to do with Beaton. For easy instance, they (p. 30, n. 60) ridicule Beaton's translation of a verse from *Digenis Akritas* without saying why, or how they would render it, or that Beaton's interpretation is shared by Lynda Garland in an article they themselves (p. 61, n. 148) cite. In view of their persistent criticisms of Beaton's understanding of the Greek, it should be said that his competence as translator of modern Greek fiction is lauded by J. Harvey, *TLS*, December 27, 1991, p. 17.

AS reach their nadir of unfairness in (p. 72) excoriating Beaton for having honest doubts over a linguistic conundrum, sneering that "Beaton's indecisive pro and contra does his judgement no credit." It has come to something if genuine incertitude over a theory is a scholarly sin. And this is particularly rich coming from AS who constantly take Beaton and others to task for rushing in to write on topics for which AS say the time is not yet ripe. This is the closing salvo (pp. 112-113) of their diatribe. You would never guess that Beaton himself (p. xi) fully acknowledges this very point and anticipates AS with his reasoned justification. In any case, their counsel of perfection is also one of despair. If we were to wait until everything is known about a subject (and whenever is that the case?), before attempting a general synthesis, nothing would ever get done. Nor, to judge from their own registers of actual and intended publications, are AS notably prone to taking their own advice.

AS have much to say about the manuscript traditions and their multifarious problems that any future toiler in this tangled vineyard will need to take into account. They are also right to raise objections to Beaton on some major matters of history, e.g. the actual impact of the Manzikert *débâcle* on the Byzantines themselves. Typically, though, whilst insisting (p. 15) that the shock value reposed in the enemy capture of the emperor, AS do not acknowledge that Beaton himself (p. 7) makes something of the same point.

As my own review of Beaton will disclose, the handling of linguistic details is one of his weaker sides, and AS are justified in fastening upon this. But again, they prefer to sneer than to improve. I agree with their objection (p. 81) to Beaton's connection of an image in *Belthandros* with a verse in Eugenianos. Why don't they bolster their view AND help the reader by noting that the key phrase $\omega\ \pi\theta\rho\ \delta\rho\sigma\iota\zeta\omicron\nu$ had appeared long ago in the Christmas Hymn of Romanos the Melode?

AS do not always see the wood for the trees. For notable instance, Beaton (pp. 71-72) points to some similarities of detail between the *Satyricon* of Petronius and Theodore Prodromos' *Rhodanthe and Dosicles*. The same connection has been independently made by M. Marcovich, a *parergon* from his Teubner edition (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1992), too recent for AS. The notion raises large implications for Byzantine awareness of such Latin authors. Beaton himself does not attempt an answer, but AS do not even see the question.

The bibliography in AS is substantial but far from complete. There is much in Beaton that they do not have. Readers content with succinct notices of the pertinent Byzantine authors and texts can now apply to those in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991). Fresh items of relevant importance include C. Barber on Byzantine gardens and sexuality (cf. also J. Goody, *The Culture of Flowers*, Cambridge, 1993) and J. Strauss on the *Erotokritikos* in *BMGS* 16 (1992), also (ed.) D. Holton, *Literature and Society in*

Renaissance Crete (Cambridge, 1991).

The index is exiguous and woefully inaccurate. For flagrant example, AS (p. 39, n. 79) vituperate Beaton concerning how far back the wheel of fortune motif goes—Pat Sajak and Vanna White, take note! They rightly adduce Sophocles and Plutarch, but their index omits these references along with the motif itself. Likewise, the one favourable reference to Tsavari (p. 93) is unindexed, and there is little compensation to be had from the false reference to her for p. 102. This same mistake invalidates the entry for the *Poulologos*. Had I the space, and the temperament of AS, I could make a tidy pile of similar paralipomena.

As already acknowledged, this *libellus* comports some solid information. With its scattergun approach, it could hardly do otherwise. Anyone who enjoys a hundred pages of sustained abuse will find AS congenial company. Reasonable people may consider that, shorn of its atrabiliousness, the thing could have been well reduced to a review-article, with corresponding salvation of trees.

Thomas Paulsen, *Inszenierung des Schicksals: Tragödie und Komödie im Roman des Heliodor*. (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, Band 10.) Pp. 290; 2 appendices. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1992. Paper, DM46.50.

By J.L. Hilton

The significance of the theatre metaphors in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros has frequently been noted in the critical literature.¹ However, there has been no full-length treatment of this aspect of Heliodoros' novel and P.'s excellent study provides a much-needed, comprehensive examination of an issue of central importance for our understanding of this complex and elusive author.

In his introduction P. gives a short but useful survey of the directions which research on the ancient novel in general and Heliodoros in particular has taken to date. This brief sketch emphasises the pre-eminent position which modern scholarship on the ancient Greek novel has awarded to the work of Heliodoros. P. favours the fourth rather than the second century date for Heliodoros and notes, without comment, the current critical view that the religious and philosophical ideology of the novel is secondary to the author's development of the plot. However, Winkler's subtle attempt to explain inconsistencies in the narrative of the novel is firmly rejected in favour of the view of Hefti that Heliodoros was more interested in the overall artistic effect of his story than with strict consistency in detail.² Winkler's overall interpretation of the novel is also found wanting, on the basis of van der Paardt's argument that it is similar to his interpretation of Apuleius and Petronius and that the odds against three so different authors having shared the same approach are unacceptably high.³ P. is likewise less favourable to the idea that the *Aithiopika* follows the pattern of a folktale than to studies of the "point of view" from which the narrative proceeds and Bartsch's investigation of the author's use of descriptions.⁴ P.'s own interest lies in Heliodoros' use of the genres of tragedy and comedy to portray his characters and plot.

P. gives rather rule-of-thumb statistics of the frequency with which Heliodoros uses theatre vocabulary (once every five page of the Budé edition) to prove that Heliodoros uses these words more often than the other novelists and that none of the other novels are prose dramas to the same extent as the *Aithiopika*. Chariton

(4.4.2, 5.8.2) and Achilles Tatius (1.3.3, 1.8.3, 1.9.1, 1.10.7, for example) do have some interesting uses of the word *δράμα* (particularly Achilles Tatius 1.8.3: τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δράματα) and Chariton's novel does resemble a drama in its structure, the use of a *deus ex machina* to resolve the plot, and recognition scenes. Despite this, P. holds that Heliodoros differs in making fate the director of the action of the *Aithiopika*. Achilles Tatius mentions the influence of fortune in his story but he does not make her a power which stages the tragedy in his romance, so much as the force which sets the drama in train (1.3.2). It is unfortunate that P. does not explore this distinction more fully, since it is vital to his case. There is certainly a difference in terminology which points to an overall contrast in the outlook and temperament of the respective authors (Heliodoros uses the terms ἡ Εἰμαμένη and ὁ δαίμων whereas Achilles Tatius talks of ἡ Τύχη). Indeed P.'s argument that the novel is nothing more or less than a prose drama does not really do justice to the complexity of the literary texture of the work.⁵ Nevertheless, his exposition of Heliodoros' use of the vocabulary of the theatre, including discussion of unusual expressions such as λαμπάδιον δράματος (conveniently brought together in Appendix 2, pp. 279-80), is thorough and exact.

The remainder of the book consists of a detailed exposition of the dramatic characterisation of the protagonists in the novel. P. convincingly shows that Heliodoros surpasses the conventional characterisation of his heroine by emphasising her quasi-divine stature and intelligence and, in the case of both the hero and the heroine, by making allusive comparisons with the epic substratum (Theagenes is compared with Achilles and Charikleia with Odysseus). However, Heliodoros also adds a tragic dimension to their characterisation by means of vocabulary, metaphor and literary allusion in scenes of lamentation, seduction, recognition and sudden reversal of fortune. P. rejects the argument that the happy ending of the novel gives the story the feeling of a comedy on the rather specious grounds that the *Helen* of Euripides provides a precedent for a tragedy with a clever heroine and a happy ending. P. further points out that Heliodoros does not exploit the possibility of a "comedy of errors", although comic interludes do occur (2.3.3; 2.8.1). Certainly, P. nowhere discusses the possibility that a character could be simultaneously tragic and comic, although tragicomedy (τὸ σπουδογέλοιον) and irony are certainly present in the novel. The omission of any discussion of the status of tragedy and comedy as formal genres is all the more surprising in the light of the fact that the ancient novel has been described as a kind of dustbin of literary genres.

Whereas P. devotes only forty pages to a discussion of the characterisation of Charikleia and Theagenes, fifty are set aside for Kalasiris and a full sixty for Knemon.⁶ The change from tragic hero to cowardly buffoon in the case of Knemon in particular requires explanation. P. argues that it is Knemon who portrays himself as a tragic figure, while the author shows him to be comic. Knemon also plays the part of the loyal friend, the romantic hero, and acts as the proxy of the reader of the narrative. P. shows that Knemon, like Nausikles, is in the end mercenary and selfish. As such he stands in sharp contrast to the protagonists, Theagenes and Charikleia.

As in the case of Knemon, Kalasiris appears in his own narrative as a tragic figure but Heliodoros later reveals his comic side. He is tragic because of his unhappy encounter with the courtesan Rhodopis (thus linking Kalasiris with the Hippolytos theme in the main plot) and also because of the feud between his sons (who bring to mind the sons of Oidipous, Eteokles and Polyneikes). Yet he also recalls the caricature of Sokrates in

Aristophanes' *Clouds* and the clever slave of New Comedy. P. perceptively points out that the dénouement of the story of Kalasiris provides a paradigm for the resolution of the novel as a whole. Thyamis is on the point of killing his brother, Petosiris, when Kalasiris arrive on the scene accompanied by Charikleia (7.7.1). The theatrical revelation of Charikleia stuns everyone (τὸ ... σύμπαν ... σκηνογραφικῆς ἐπληροῦτο θαυματουργίας 7.7.7) and the tragedy is resolved into comedy (εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ τὸ τέλος κατέστρεψε 7.8.1). In much the same way, the final recognition of Charikleia by Persinna and Hydaspes brings the novel to a happy conclusion. The character of Kalasiris is complex: there are traces of Odysseus, Apollonios of Tyana and the generic figure of the wise but unscrupulous Egyptian priest in his make-up.

The final chapter of the book is devoted to the minor characters. These are placed in six categories: heroes of their own tragedy (e.g. Charikles), figures which are tragic because of the context in which they appear (e.g. Arsake), figures who play a part in the tragedy of the hero and heroine but who are not tragic themselves (e.g. Persinna), figures which resemble characters in New Comedy (e.g. Thisbe), and neutral figures (e.g. Kybele). This categorisation is rather over-schematic, particularly in the case of Persinna.

Taken as a whole, P.'s book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the *Aithiopika* and his subtle observations deserve careful study. His book has been produced with meticulous accuracy, though the addition of an index would make its contents more easily accessible.

Notes

1. E. Marino, "Il Teatro nel Romanzo: Eliodoro e il Codice Spettacolare," *MD* 25 (1990) 203-218; S. Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Princeton 1989) 109-143; W. Bühler, "Das Element des Visuellen in der Eingangsszene von Heliodors *Aithiopika*," *WS* 10 (1976) 177-185; W. Arnott, "ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος," *Hermes* 93 (1965) 253-255; J. Walden, "Stage-terms in Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*," *HSCP* 5 (1894) 1-43.
2. J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *YCS* 27 (1982) 93-158, esp. p. 93. V. Hefti, *Zur Erzählungstechnik in Heliodors Aethiopica*, Vienna 1950 (Diss. Basel 1940) 77: "Künstlerische Wirkung scheint ihm hier wichtiger gewesen zu sein als eine streng folgerichtige Fabel".
3. Rudi van der Paardt, "Playing the Game", *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* 1 (1988) 103-112.
4. S. Bartsch [1]; B. Effe, "Entstehung und Funktion 'personaler' Erzählweisen in der Erzählliteratur der Antike," *Poetica* 7 (1975) 135-157.
5. "Achilles Tatios vollzieht den Schritt von der Tyche, die mit ihren Opfern spielt, zu einer Schicksalsmacht, die eine Tragödie inszeniert, nicht. Die Welt des Theaters findet in die Klagen seiner Helden keinen Eingang, während Heliodor einen neuen Weg beschreitet." (p. 31).
6. This is in all probability due to the influential studies of J.R. Morgan, "The Story of Knemon in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *JHS* 109 (1989) 99-113, and J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *YCS* 27 (1982) 93-158.

James N. O'Sullivan, *Xenophon of Ephesus: His Compositional Technique and the Birth of the Novel*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, Band 44 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1995) X + 215 pp. DM 140.

by Gerald N. Sandy

O'Sullivan states his findings and conclusions clearly in the preface of this detailed and technical study of the least accomplished of the fully extant ancient Greek novelists. Xenophon's use of formulae, which other scholars have noticed but not explained adequately, derives from his position at the chronological forefront of the writing of Greek extended prose fiction and therefore at the nearest remove from the compositional methods used in oral story-telling.

The kernel of the book lies in chapters 3 and 4: "Xenophon's Compositional Technique" and "Interpretation." The preceding chapters offer a critical survey of the often naive pronouncements that have been made on such issues as the date of the work and its putative epitomization. O'Sullivan here also draws on his familiarity with Homer gained as a professional Homeric lexicographer and his knowledge of Irish Gaelic to extrapolate a definition of literary formula from the practices of Homeric epic and Irish prose tales. Chapter 5 returns to the issue of epitomization and also takes issue with Merkelbach's "Helios-redaktionstheorie." The final chapter deals with the relationship of Xenophon's and Chariton's novels to each other.

Having defined literary formulae, O'Sullivan in chapter 3 sets out in parallel columns thematically linked passages that conform to the definition. He uses a system of underscoring to highlight the thematic and lexical formulae that are shared in the parallel passages and that occur elsewhere in the narrative. The detailed evidence set out in this chapter makes a strong case for concluding that the many formulae cannot be explained away as "a matter of coincidence of word and phrase corresponding to coincidence of subject-matter in an author of strangely limited vocabulary" (p. 40).

Chapter 4 aims to explain the distinctive formulaic features of the *Ephesiaca* on the analogy of Homeric epic and Irish prose tales. O'Sullivan recognizes that Homeric epic presents special problems. There is approximately nine times as much of it as there is of Xenophon and it must conform to the formal restraints of verse. O'Sullivan therefore makes allowances for what he cleverly labels prosaic licence and attempts to circumvent the problem of greater formulaic density in the poet by restricting himself to recurrent scenes and themes in Homer and the Irish prose tales that are analogous to their counterparts in Xenophon. O'Sullivan concludes the comparison:

We have, then, a whole range of features of the language and composition of the *Ephesiaca* that all conspire strongly to the common conclusion that it derives from a tradition of oral story-telling (p. 95).

This derivation from oral tradition explains, O'Sullivan argues in the concluding pages of chapter 4, how the ancient Greek novel managed to overcome the prejudice of literary convention against the use of prose for purposes other than conveying factual information and why ancient literary critics seem scarcely to have taken account of the novel.

O'Sullivan's minute analysis of Xenophon's novel continues in the two concluding chapters to bear more fruit than one might suppose possible from the seemingly limited perspective of formulae. He deploys them against Bürger's persistent theory of

epitomization and Merkelbach's less prevalent Heliosredaktions-theorie. O'Sullivan adds to his formulaic analysis the bonus of a chart setting out the distribution of "illicit" hiatus in order, in the words of M. Reeve, to rescue Xenophon from the clutches of the epitomator. It shows that illicit hiatus is distributed uniformly throughout the seventy-one pages of the Teubner edition and that there is no quantitative difference between its use in portions of the narrative supposed by Bürger to be the work of the epitomator and in the rest of the text.

In the concluding chapter O'Sullivan argues that Chariton's imperfect use of the formulae that he found in Xenophon establishes Chariton as the later of the two writers and "the first truly literary novelist" (p. 166).

O'Sullivan has written an important book that in spite of the seemingly arid topic is a joy to read.

NOTES

PETRONIUS IN THE CINEMA

By Rod Boroughs

What is probably the most obscure cinematic reference to Petronius can be found in Peter Ustinov's second film as writer/director, *Vice-Versa* (U.K., 1947), a version of F. Anstey's Victorian comic fantasy in which a magic stone enables a father and son to change places (London: Smith, Elder, 1882; Harmondsworth: Puffin, 1981). Roughly two-thirds into the film, Mr. Bultitude, in the body of his son Dick, enters a classroom to receive a flogging from Dr. Grimstone, the fierce headmaster of Crichton House. As he walks, quaking with fear, towards the front of the class, it is possible to glimpse, written on the blackboard behind the headmaster, Eumolpus's reflection on his life of adventure (99.1): *Ego sic semper et ubique vixi, ut ultimam quamque lucem tamquam non redituram consumerem*. The quotation does not feature in Anstey's novel, and it may be that it is nothing more than a randomly-chosen piece of set-decoration, though it is hardly the most obvious bit of schoolboy Latin. But it is tempting to suppose that Ustinov deliberately selected it as an ironic comment on the pompous and starchy elder Bultitude, to whom spontaneity and a devil-may-care attitude to life are anathema. Moreover, so terrified of his impending punishment is he that he gives the impression of a condemned man going to the gallows rather than a schoolboy about to receive a caning (the preceding scene also plays like the build-up to an execution). It probably doesn't pay to subtextualise too much, however—the fact is you need to be pretty nimble on the pause-button of the v.c.r to read it.

QUO VADIS, ARBITER?

by Barry Baldwin

It's almost a hundred years (ninety-eight, to be exact) since the Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz published *Quo Vadis?*, the only one of his many novels not based on Polish history. Its theme, along with its speedy translation into English and French, gave it a wide circulation, and was the prime if not the only factor in his being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1905. Sienkiewicz, who was born in 1846 and had studied philology at

Warsaw University, died in 1916, not before the first movie version of his Roman epic, made in Italy in 1912, had been a huge success in New York.

Nowadays, of course, when we think of *Quo Vadis?*, we think of the MGM big screen technicolour spectacular of 1951. The nominal hero and heroine were Robert Taylor (hardly less wooden than Victor Mature) as Marcus Vinicius and the insipid Deborah Kerr as the tedious Christian virgin Lygia—Doris Day in vaguely classical garb. The film belonged to Peter Ustinov as Nero and Leo Genn as this Newsletter's hero, Petronius. Ustinov reprised his role in another film that has become strangely obscure—I have never met anyone else who admits to having seen it—in spite of its catchy title, *Nero's Weekend*, a wonderfully slimy Seneca by Ernest Thesiger, and a young Brigitte Bardot as Poppaea, a role some may feel she was born to play, though Patricia Laffan was splendid in it in *Quo Vadis?*

This film also engendered a gorgeous comic spin-off in the form of a large advertisement for Munsingwear rayon boxer shorts. To my taste, boxer shorts are the most abominable garment ever invented, drawing attention as they do to the wearer's knees: no one in the history of the world has ever had nice knees. This advertisement shows a fellow wearing the thing while (what else?) fiddling, under the legend Make Like Nero in QUO VADIS shorts. This instruction is backed up by the following text: "Speed up the process by showing your 'empress' this page. A minute after she sees it, she'll chariot off to buy you Munsingwear's exclusive QUO VADIS shorts. The gay designs are plucked right out of the dazzling motion picture of spectacular Roman days. Poor toga clad Nero never knew the smart comfort of these full-cut rayon boxer shorts. They're in the happiest patterns you ever saw. If she doesn't come through, get 'em yourself."

Thanks to the new (London, 1994) *Reflections of Nero*, edited by Jas Elsner and Jamie Masters, you can see a full-page reproduction of this classic ad. Remembering Suetonius' account of Nero's weakness for slopping around in dinner gown and slippers, we could easily believe that he would have liked these boxer monstrosities. I refuse, however, to envisage Petronius in the things.

The film of which we speak is now over forty years old. Despite its resurrections (often at Easter) on late night television and after-life on the shelves of video stores, I rarely encounter a student these days who has seen it. And I don't remember ever having one who has read the novel, not even the one and only Polish student ever to come my way in a Roman civilisation class. So, a few words about how Sienkiewicz portrayed Petronius might be of interest, especially in view of Philip Corbett's claim (*Petronius*, New York 1970, 137) that "Nowhere is the Pole in debt to the *Satyricon*, and we are at liberty to wonder if in fact he had read the work, for surely in that case he would have found much detail, at least in the *Cena*, with which to adorn his recital and to increase its verisimilitude."

I should mention that I have no Polish, and my reading of the novel is via C.J. Hogarth's translation for the Everyman series, published in London in 1941, with introduction by the leading Polish specialist of that time, Monica M. Gardner, soon to be killed in an enemy bombing. Rather ironically, it is Gardner's introduction that perpetuates an historical booboo to which Hollywood epics are so often linked, viz. having Nero throw Christians to the lions in the Colosseum. Sienkiewicz himself did not make this mistake: observing that it was the Flavians who would later build what Len Deighton so nicely dubbed "Rome's rotten tooth", he has Nero martyr the Christians in a new wooden

amphitheater hastily run up for the purpose after the fire.

There are some oddities in the story. Whether they should be charged to author or translator, I cannot say. For easy instance, we are told on the same page (309) that Petronius' house was destroyed in the fire and that it was spared. Even more unnervingly, though the infant child of Nero and Poppaea is, correctly, a girl on most of its appearances, there is one occasion (68) on which it mysteriously become a "him".

The novel begins, it can be deduced, in the year 63. In the early pages, we hear of the punishment of Fabricius Veiento for his satirical *Codicilli*—Petronius being here among the targets—and Poppaea has just given birth to the ephemeral baby girl. It essentially ends with the Arbiter's stylish suicide, though the rest of Nero's reign and his equally melodramatic demise are hastily covered in a short final chapter. Suetonius and Tacitus are naturally exploited for the depiction of Nero and the history of these years in general. Sometime (above all Nero's fall and death), the narrative is not much more than extended verbatim paraphrase, though in another sex change Epaphroditus becomes Epaphrodite while Nero is said to have strangled Octavia with his own hands—in the film, he does this to Poppaea, the novel merely saying that the latter "fell victim to one of his frenzies". Knowledge of these sources, combined with his own historical imagination and literary skills (evident throughout the translation), enables Sienkiewicz to create or recreate a number of many historical characters with verve and humour—the three Vs, Vatinius, Vestinus, and Vitellius, are drolly done—also poignancy, as in the cases of Acte, Aulus Plautius, and Pomponia Graecina. There are also some effectively imagined moments in, e.g., the goings-on of that shadowy vamp, Calvia Crispinilla.

But what about Petronius, then? He comes in with a quiet bang on the very first page, waking at noon after a late night at Nero's, discussing with the emperor, Lucan, and Seneca the question whether woman is possessed of a soul. Tut tut? He is, we are told, in failing health—trouble with his kidneys is later specified—but later in the story can strong-arm his brawny nephew, Marcus Vinicius, despite these frailties and the latter's army training, youth, and "marble frame". Later on, in a Dirtius Harrius moment, Petronius has no trouble whipping out a rapier (sic) and "planting it to the hilt" in the breast of a drunken gladiator whom he encountered causing trouble on a dark Roman street.

Despite his health problems, Petronius is more than once described as looking like a god. His hazel eyes may have helped him not only achieve this look but also his success with women (a kind of Roman Henry Miller, in fact). He starts off with a raver with the distinctive (outside of Sophocles) name of Chrysothemis, a dark-haired beauty, his possession of whom earned him the "envy of all Rome". However, it is not too long (though long enough for her to acquire some crowsfeet) before he trades her in for one of his own slave girls, earlier introduced as madly in love with her master. Indeed, when we first see her, she is passionately kissing his statue. This young lady is a gorgeous creature from Cos, with the even more distinctive name of Eunice (how many girls are there with this name in ancient literature and life? D.C. Swanson, e.g., lists none in his *The Names in Roman Verse*). Eunice will eventually join her master in his dinner table suicide—all in the same vein, I suppose.

We also hear that when in Heraclea, Petronius "used to know a maiden from Colchis for whom I would willingly exchange every divorced woman in Rome, not excepting even Poppaea." However, his more serious past, governing Bithynia ("at once both firm and just") and the consulate, is also briefly, brought in

by way of contrast: "He always recalled that period with gratification, since it has proved what he would and could have become had the fancy seized him to exert himself.

For most of the novel, Petronius is the cynical hedonist holding his own at court through his verbal dexterity, connoisseurship of poetry and the other arts, and "refined debauchery". His other side is brought out in his efforts to help his nephew first win the lovely Lygia, then to save them and the other Christians from being made scapegoats for the fire.

The bookish side of Petronius is given frequent and various play. Apart from the poetry seminars with Nero, we see him making the rounds of Rome's bookshops: "I do not wish to upset my library. The word has it that both Musonius and Seneca have just published something fresh. Also, I am hunting for a Persius, as well as for an edition of the *Eclogues* of Virgil which I do not happen to possess."

When it comes to his own writing, things become even more intriguing. Early in the story, Petronius takes Vinicius to the bookshop of Aviranus where he buys him a book:

"Here is a present for you," he said.

"I thank you," replied Vinicius, looking at the title. "The *Satyricon*? A new work, then? And by whom?"

"By myself."

Vinicius seems well up on Roman literature for a young soldier just back from Corbulo's Parthian campaigns and for one who later declares an aversion from books. Petronius hastens to ask him not to disclose the authorship of this *Satyricon*, since he does not wish to succumb to the same fate that befell Veiento and an unexplained writer named Rufinus. Since this dangerous work is on sale at the bookshops, we must presumably suppose it is anonymously published. Vinicius then questions the interlarding of the book's prose with verse, since Petronius has previously claimed never to have written poetry. He gets this answer:

"When reading the work, turn your attention to the feast of Trimalchion (sic). As for verses, I became disgusted with them on the day that Nero wrote an epic."

So, here we have a date for our *Satyricon*, early 63! Corbett (137) claims that Trimalchio is only mentioned once more in the entire novel. Wrong, and Corbett altogether misses the most eyebrow-raising detail. Towards the end (311), Petronius reflects upon the vulgarity of Nero's court: "Not even ten Arbiters of Fashion could transform those Trimalchios into men fit to be seen." But it is the other mention that staggers. Although the *Satyricon* is in the bookshops of Rome by p. 17, with Trimalchio's feast the highlight, we get to p. 85 and find that Petronius "passed into his library, seated himself at a table of red marble, and set to work upon his "Banquet of Trimalchio (sic)," Hmmm!

As mentioned earlier, Corbett maintains that there is no sign of the *Satyricon* in the novel and questions whether Sienkiewicz had even read it. But such details as "oils with which boys of marvellous beauty never ceased to moisten the feet of the company" (56) and the young slaves who bid the guests enter Petronius' own dining room "right foot foremost, as the custom was" (438) are undeniably straight from the *Cena*, while it is hard to resist the conclusion that the late and drunken arrival of fat Vitellius at Nero's banquet is modelled on that of Habinnas at Trimalchio's.

Any Petronian who hasn't read the novel or seen the film should. Special note to Canadians: The Arbiter is played by Leo Genn (otherwise known for his role in *The Wooden Horse*), who is one of their own. I must end with their ends. The novel follows Suetonius' *exitus* scene very closely in all details. In the film,

however, we get a delightful twist. Instead of a freedman, it is Acte who is brought in to help Nero screw up the courage to kill himself. As he prevaricates, Acte rallies him with the rebuke, "You have lived like a monster, now die like an emperor." To which Nero/Ustinov retorts, "I didn't want to be a monster; the gods willed it."

And some people still say that Hollywood always spoils the originals!

SAMUEL JOHNSON AND PETRONIUS

by Barry Baldwin

A few remarks, at the editor's suggestion, resuming and developing some items from my "Petronian Jottings" in a previous [23 (1993) 10-12] issue of this *Newsletter*. Although discrete and (I trust) of some interest and utility, they should be taken as mere prolegomenon to what needs must take a longer span of time and diligence: conning Johnson's writings for conscious or unconscious echoes and reminiscences of Petronius.¹ I shall be doing this anyway as part of the reading for a book on Johnson and classical culture; but if this note helps or inspires Petronian colleagues to do the same and anticipate me on any details, so much the better.

No text or translation of Petronius features either in Reade's² list of books owned by the undergraduate Johnson at Oxford or Greene's³ inventory of what was in his library at the time of his death. He had no Apuleius either, though was not averse from Roman satire as such, owning several editions of Juvenal and Persius as well as (of course) Horace.⁴

His undergraduate holdings did, however, include John Barclay's *Satyricon Euphormionis* (1603-1607), a Menippean medley of Latin prose and verse, pastiching Petronius and Apuleius, brought out in London at the beginning of the reign of James I. It was a popular work, much reprinted. Corbett,⁵ who dubs it "the closest imitation of Petronius which history affords," thinks Barclay had access to then unpublished manuscripts in the possession of his contemporary, Pierre Pithou.

There is no sign in Boswell or elsewhere that Johnson read Petronius during his short stay at Oxford, nor does the Arbiter appear in the list of approved Roman authors in his Edial school syllabus. It is worth noting here that as far as I can tell (they are certainly not in his index), neither Petronius nor the *Satyricon* appear in J.W. Binns' magisterial *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990). By contrast, in an anonymous and untitled list of textbooks drawn up in the late twelfth century, we find this pearl of wisdom: *Martialis totus et Petronius multa continent in se utilia sed multa auditu indigna*.⁶

Petronius is never exploited for a motto in any of Johnson's essays in the *Adventure*, *Idler*, or *Rambler*. Nor, unless subsumed among the unspecified ancient authors marked out for a volume of translations to be called *Classical Miscellanies*, is he in the vast repertory of unrealised projects compiled by Boswell (*Life* IV, 381-83). Perhaps most strikingly, the name of Petronius never comes up in the whole of Boswell's *Life* in the standard Hill-Powell Oxford (1934-64) edition that incorporated Boswell's own account of his Scottish jaunt with Johnson along with the latter's Welsh travelogue.

Subject matter may have been a consideration, but on whose part, Boswell's or Johnson's? For easy instance, Aristophanes is

not in the index to the *Life*, and quotations from Juvenal avoid the second, sixth, and ninth satires. Yet Johnson owned and read both poets. When it came to the often dubious content of Suetonius, he is said by Arthur Sherbo, the Yale editor of his Shakespeare commentaries, to have had a special penchant for the life of Caligula. It is not always remembered that Boswell's portrait of Johnson is a somewhat sanitised one. He has nothing to compare with the story in another contemporary⁷ that, when asked about what he thought life's greatest pleasure was Johnson replied, "fucking".

In the well-known compliment turned by Pope (*Essay on Criticism*, 667-68).

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,

The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.

Were he alive today, Pope might have thought twice about the epithet "gay". There were some very different views at large in the eighteenth century. As remarked at somewhat greater length in my previous essay, Joseph Warton called Petronius "this dissolute and effeminate writer," while the poet Cowper lambasted him as "gray beard corrupter of our list'ning youth," thereby admitting that Petronius had his contemporary fans. Writing of an alleged outbreak of sapphic and sodomitical fashions at the French court, Mrs. Thrale exclaimed (*Thraliana* 740) that such things were "fit for the pens of Petronius only, or Juvenal to record and satirise." One might imagine Johnson voicing such sentiments, but we don't have to assume that he is being merely parroted here. Mrs. Thrale has a lively mind of her own, she does not mention Johnson in this passage, and it occurs in a context some years after his death.

In her only other allusion to Petronius (*Thraliana* 25), agreement is expressed with the allegedly unusual view of the Widow of Ephesus put forward by the late Dr. Arthur Collier: "She acted in a manner perfectly agreeable to the simple dictates of nature, unguided by reason and unrestrained by religion."⁸

The Account of Addison (39, ed. Hill II, 93) in Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* adduces "an *Arbiter elegantiarum*" as a complimentary paradigm, whilst Pope (343, ed. Hill III, 236) is praised for his *curiosa felicitas*, a famous tag (see Hill's concomitant note for its appearance in, e.g., Dryden, Gibbon, Pope, and Warton) that recurs in English dress in Johnson's eulogy of the "curious felicity" of the poet Edmund Smith (4, ed. Hill I, 2).

Such a commonplace in itself proves no direct acquaintance with Petronius. A remark in the preface (p. 63 in Sherbo's 1968 Yale edition) to his Shakespeare commentaries, however, seems to presume that his readers could recognise an echo of the *Satyricon*. Johnson wrote: "It was observed of the ancient schools of declamation, that the more diligently they were frequented, the more was the student disqualified for the world, because he found nothing there which he should ever meet in any other place." Sherbo plausibly sees this as a conscious echo of the (as we have it) opening of the *Satyricon*. He also spotted the three unattributed lines quoted by Johnson in his note on *Timon of Athens* IV. 3. 437 as belonging to *Anth. Lat.* 694 Reise, widely though not universally credited to Petronius (fr. 45 in Bücheler, 22 in the Loeb; cf. E. Courtney, *The Poems of Petronius*, Atlanta, 1991, 69). As to how these lines also serve to confirm a Petronian (assuming it is his poem) debt to Ovid, recently postulated by H. MacL. Currie, see my note in *Eranos* 90 (1992), 63.

Among the drafts and rough notes of and for his verse play *Irene*, Johnson has an entry (Oxford edition, rev. 1973, 383) that reads Petronius -- *candidus esse Deus*." This snippet closes the

first couplet of the poem cited above in Johnson's commentary on *Timon*.

In a letter (no. 979 in R.W. Chapman's Oxford edition of 1952) written on July 21, 1784, to Richard Brocklesby, Johnson signs off with the phrase *abite curae*. Chapman in his note remarks that "my classical friends have found nothing closer than Tibullus 3.6.6, *ite procul durum curae genus*."⁹ It may be worth subjoining *valete curae* from the verses in *Satyr.* 79.8.

This Johnsonian valediction provides a good cue to stop, so stop I shall.

Notes

1. It is not only Johnson who may be approached in this way. See, e.g., my "A Latin Poem of Fielding," forthcoming in *Notes & Queries*, where Petronian influence is detected; cf. also "A Classical Source for Reynolds on the Relativity of Beauty," *N & Q* 239 (1994) 207-08.
2. A.L. Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings* (London, 1928; repr. New York, 1968) V, 213-29.
3. D. Greene, *Samuel Johnson's Library: An Annotated Guide* (Victoria, 1975).
4. See now (eds.) C. Martindale & D. Hopkins, *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writing from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1992).
5. P. Corbett, *Petronius* (New York, 1970) 128-31; cf. P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge, 1970).
6. For a full treatment and text of this piece, the ms. of which is in the library of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, see C.H. Haskins, "A List of Text-books from the Close of the Twelfth Century," *HSCP* 20 (1909) 75-94, esp. 91. Haskins believes it to be the work of Alexander Neckham.
7. Namely the Rev. Thomas Campbell, *Dr. Campbell's Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, ed. J.L. Clifford (Cambridge, 1947) 58; cf. D. Greene, "A Secret Far Dearer to Him than His Life: Johnson's Vile Melancholy Reconsidered," *The Age of Johnson* 4 (1991) 1-40, esp. 7 with concomitant n. 14.
8. For further use of the Widow of Ephesus in the eighteenth century, cf. B.H. Davis, *Thomas Percy: A Scholar Cleric in the Age of Johnson* (Philadelphia, 1989) 74, 94.
9. This letter can be found at IV, 353 in the new (Oxford, 1992-94) edition of B. Redford, where the Tibullan influence is also accepted; Petronius is not in Redford's index at all.

NOT A WRAY OF SUNSHINE

by Barry Baldwin

One of the most critical pastings Petronius ever took was the following one administered by the antiquarian Daniel Wray (1701-1783) in a letter written from Queen's College, Cambridge, October 7, 1742, printed from George Hardinge's memoir of Wray in John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1817; repr. New York, 1966) I, 92-3:

"I took up lately Petronius; and the further I went with him, the more do I wonder how critics (I do not mean the literal, the word-catchers, but those *majorum gentium* who talk of spirit, of taste, and of sense) came to allow him so high a rank in their order. His observations relative to the art are by no means uncommon; and they are seldom accurately deduced, or clearly expressed, Indeed,

they are but few, and come in - one can scarce tell how.

The book is a novel, formed upon low and grossly debauched characters, which, for aught I know, may be well enough marked out and preserved. The distance of time, and the difference of manners, throw obscurity over such writings; and the text is often corrupt, as well as mutilated. But I cannot and will not suppose that it could, even to a Roman of his day, have more of entertainment than we allow to the *Polite Conversation* of Swift. They are pictures of objects which deserve no attention. I say nothing to the obscenity, as it certainly was in more general fashion at Rome, than as yet it is with us. In a little time, perhaps, we shall be ancients in this particular: our leaders at Paris are so already.

I should mention the verses, which I think are admired. There is now and then a good line, but they are most unequal in the same copy; some are bombast, other quite insipid. You, who are so covetous of your time, will abuse me for throwing away mine. But the author's reputation tempted me page after page. Hope whispered the good that was to come at last. In truth, I have been too much in motion, and my thoughts continue to vibrate. I endeavour to fix them, but hitherto in vain; so *his me consolor*. I amuse, if I cannot content my self."

If the indexes may be trusted (frequent perusal suggests that they can), this is the only discussion of Petronius contained in the nine brobdingnagian volumes that make up Nichols' collection. We notice that Wray never illustrates his complaints with an example, unlike (say) his thumping of the style of the elder Pliny ("turgid, hard, and more affected in his manner than his nephew") where a passage from the preface to the *Natural History* is adduced for discussion. Wray had nothing against satire as such, Roman or contemporary. He himself composed satirical verses in English, and frequently quotes those of Horace. In the case of Petronius, he is at least honest enough to concede that his dislike is a minority opinion, that textual corruption causes problems not of the Arbiter's making, that the "obscenity" should be judged by Roman standards rather than English, and that the author of the *Satyricon* was at least capable of an occasional good verse while confirming that the poems of Petronius were to the taste of his (Wray's) times.

The reference to Parisian depravity in such a context is something of motif in the eighteenth century, albeit French women rather than men tend to be the target. Horace Walpole, for easy instance, in his letters (e.g. 6. 125, 351) complains of their indecency of language and behaviour. More precisely to the point is Hester Thrale-Piozzi who twice (*Thraliana* 740, 949) accuses the Queen of France and other leading Gallic ladies of rampant Lesbianism, observing in the first of these passages that "one hears of things now fit for the pens of Petronius only, or Juvenal to record and satirise." [*Thraliana. The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi), 1776-1809*, 2 vols., ed. K. Balderston, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 740.]

DRUNK 'N DOG: PETRONIUS 72.9

by Barry Baldwin

Michael Hendry's notion¹ that Encolpius and company are too drunk to distinguish a painted watchdog from a real one is more of an hallucination that the one he ascribes to the narrator. The fact that the porter intervened and *canem placavit* is decisive, on any sane reading of the text. An unruffled Hendry claims that the porter "is not necessarily an objection, since we only have

Encolpius' version of the events, and his might have been quite different." On this kind of reckoning, anyone could read anything into anything, regardless of what a text actually says. For easy instance, we could use the same procedure to mess around with 95.8 where an old woman sets a huge chained dog on to Eumolpus and where drunks are again involved.

Hendry supports his fancy by adding thus: "Indeed, the picture of Encolpius and his companions bouncing their morsels of food off a wall-painting, under the impression that it is snapping them up, is one I find irresistible." This also takes no account of the actual words of Petronius. It was only Giton who threw bread at the barking (*latranti*—on Hendry's reckoning, Encolpius is hearing things as well as seeing them), and he had done this *iam dudum ratione acutissima*. Giton, who had led the other two from the dining room to the exit door is certainly not drunk.

More to the present point, is Encolpius? This is perhaps a more interesting question than (to adapt that famous canine moment in Sherlock Holmes) the curious incident of the dog in the night. Encolpius calls himself *ebrius*, but only two sentences earlier both he and Ascyltos were perfectly rational when making their plans to escape the bathing and find the door and slip out of the house. Hendry says "it would be easy enough to count up the references to drinking in the intervening pages," but doesn't actually pursue a point which is more significant than he realises. Back at 64.2, Encolpius was experiencing giddiness and double vision, a commonplace in ancient as in modern merriment; cf. Smith's collection of parallels in his commentary, the most apposite being perhaps Seneca's graphic discussion of intoxication in *Epist.* 83.21. This Encolpian dizziness, eye-catchingly in our present context, is soon postluded by the scene (64. 7-10) with the all-too-real (I assume Hendry would not call this one an hallucination as well?) watchdog Scylax, huge and on a chain, the same description as that of the painted dog at 29.1 and the old woman's hound at 95.8. But these symptoms of Encolpius do not suggest a condition so sodden as to induce the fantasy foisted on him by Hendry. And from 64.2 to the present passage, though a lot of food is brought in, there is not one reference to more drinking on Encolpius' part, and he is conspicuous during this period for observing drunkenness in others (Fortunata, Habinnas, Scintilla, and the two quarrelling slaves) rather than in himself.

Jahn was sufficiently bothered by *ebrius* in 72.7 to change it to *exterritus*. Like Hendry, I dismiss that, though probably not for the same reason. It is true that, when Encolpius and company do presently join their host in the bath, they move on to the second dining room *ebrietate discussa*. Just how, we are not told. In the preceding sentences, it was the other guests who were behaving in a drunken way. Over the short stretch from here to the *Cena's* end, though the guests are what the British satirical magazine *Private Eye* likes to call "tired and emotional", only Trimalchio is further described as drunk, and rotten drunk at that—*ebrietate turpissima*. Encolpius and Ascyltos are a bit tipsy as they wander the streets after escaping from Trimalchio's, but this condition is subsidiary (*accedebat huc ebrietas*, 79.2) to their other problems of darkness, silence, and ignorance of the neighbourhood. And, as in the incident with the dog, they are again saved by the cleverness of Giton.

The word *ebrius* does not always mean intoxicated. It can have the sense of "swimming in" or "soaked by", especially in Martial (e.g. 10.38, 13.82, 14.154)². In our present sentence, accepting with Hendry and others that the words *qui etiam pictum timueram canem* should be deleted as an interpolation, we are left with Ascyltos falling into the water and Encolpius following him

straight in. *Ebrius* here, then, may well mean not drunk but that Encolpius was soaked by Ascyltos tumbling into what was not just a *piscinam* but a *gurgitem*.

Back to the dog(s). As Hendry has to concede, there is the commonsense alternative view that the painted dog at 29.1 is simply a Beware Of The Dog notice. We have the familiar evidence³ from Pompeii of *Cave Canem* signs and real dogs co-existing with painted ones. Since the *Cena* is set in Greek southern Italy, this evidence is pertinent. It is worth subjoining that Varro called one of his Menippean satires *Cave Canem*. I myself, like many people in North America, have a Beware Of The Dog sign on my garden gate and a real dog behind the gate. Hendry seems not to consider Smith's observation that this dog business is another manifestation of Trimalchio's topsy-turvy world: his watchdog harasses people already in the house but does not challenge those approaching from the outside. In this alone, he does not meet the requirements of Columella (7.3) for the perfect canine custodian: *villae custos eligendus est amplissimi corporis, vasti latratus canorique, ut prius auditu maleficum deinde etiam conspectu terreat, et tamen nonnunquam ne visus quidem horribili fremitu suo fuget insidiantem*. Regarding size, the painted dog (29.1), Scylax (64.2), and the old woman's (95.8) are all described as huge: Pliny (*NH* 7.20; cf. 6.205) says that Indian dogs were the biggest known to him. At least Trimalchio is not like the boorish host in Theophrastus (*Char.* 4.10) who answers the door to visitors himself, calls his dog, grasps it by the muzzle, and announces that "this animal guards the estate and the house." Still, he is proud of his watchdog Scylax,⁴ giving him the grandiose description (very similar to Theophrastus') *praesidium domus familiaeque*. As Smith and others have pointed out, this is the only example of *-que* in freedman speech in the *Cena*. Smith is probably right in detecting a parody of high-flown style, conceivably of *vasti latratus canorique* in the Columella passage above. There is no lack of canine life in Trimalchio's household, what with Scylax, Margarita the puppy, and the Spartan hunting dogs who invade the dining room (40.2); he also plans to have Fortunata leading a puppy among his funeral decorations. But from his name and description, Scylax is obviously a guard dog. He is well trained, curling up in front of a table when kicked by the *ostiarius* who brought him in, and also treated by Trimalchio to a bit of white bread; he only savaged Margarita after the puppy was goaded to attack him.

Hendry considers but rightly rejects another explanation whereby Trimalchio has arranged, as one of his many practical jokes, to substitute Scylax for the painted dog during dinner, to give the departing guests a scare. But since the porter tells Encolpius and company that guests are never allowed to leave by the way they came in, this would make no sense.

More to the point, Hendry observes, "if the dog in 72. 7-9 is Scylax, we might expect Encolpius to notice, unless all vicious dogs look the same to him." Fair enough. Yet Encolpius could recognise a Spartan hunting dog without having to ask a fellow-guest. And do we have to assume that it is Scylax? In a house so full of four-legged friends, there could well be more than one watchdog. Translations (e.g. Ehlers in Müller, Heseltine-Warmington in the Loeb, Sullivan in the Penguin) all say "the dog", but as so often the lack of articles in Latin creates ambiguity: it could be taken to mean "a dog".

As to where Scylax was in 29.1 and (on his theory) here, Hendry waxes eloquent over three footnotes (3-5), too long to reproduce. In so far as this may matter, he had perhaps been trained along the lines of watchdogs in Cato, *De Agr.* 124: *canes*

interdiu clausos esse oportet, ut noctu acriores et vigilantiores sint.

All in all, Hendry's piece falls into the category of what Kingsley Amis' Lucky Jim (speaking of academic articles) called "throwing pseudo-light on to non-problems." The dog in 72. 7-9 is real, whether he be Scylax or not. Petronius' text is quite clear on this, and despite the yammering of deconstructionists, intertextualists *et hoc genus omne*, what we see is what we get.

Notes

1. "Trimalchio's Canis Catenarius: A Simple Solution?," *PSN* 24 (1994) 23-4. I wryly subjoin that in the bibliographical survey of M.S. Smith, *ANRW* II. 32.3 (Berlin & New York, 1985) 1624-65, no single item directly concerns this passage, nor did Smith in his own commentary (Oxford, 1975) detect any problem with the dogs.
2. In reverse, such words as *madefactus* and *madidus* can mean drunk, while in British slang (I can't speak of American) a "soak" is a toper and "soused" connotes intoxication.
3. Assembled by P. Veyne, "Cave Canem," *MEFR* 75 (1963) 59-66, not discussing the present issue.
4. For the name, cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 107, *Hylax in limine latrat; skyli* is the regular word for dog in modern Greek.

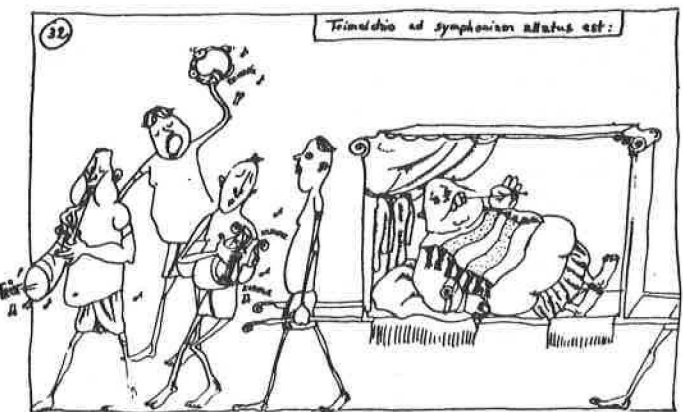


"WE TRAINED HARD....BUT IT SEEMED THAT EVERY TIME WE WERE BEGINNING TO FORM UP IN TEAMS WE WOULD BE REORGANISED. I WAS TO LEARN LATER IN LIFE THAT WE TEND TO MEET ANY NEW SITUATION BY REORGANISING AND A WONDERFUL METHOD IT CAN BE FOR CREATING THE ILLUSION OF PROGRESS WHILE PRODUCING CONFUSION INEFFICIENCY AND DEMORALISATION." Extract from the writings of the Roman, Petronius Arbitror, Governor of Bithynia, who committed suicide in A.D.66.



Few Romans were as tony as
The elegant Petronius.
None who dressed snappier
Appeared on the Via Appia.

(E. Clarihew Bentley, *The Complete Clarihews* [Oxford 1983²]. his illustration by Victor Reinganum [p. 99], whose obituary appeared in *The Independent* [30 January 1995], was originally published in *More Biography* [London 1929].) (Thanks to Rod Boroughs)



(*Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, editionem paravit R. Spann, libellos pictographicos W. Baier. In aedibus Lehrmittel E. Bozorgmehri, Panoramast. 23, D-8036 Herrsching.)