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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfonsi, L., "Mella decussa," *GIF* 28 (1976) 112-117. Maintain the reading of tabernas in *Frag.* 27.11.

Beran, Z., "The Realm of Sensory Perception and its Significance in Petronius' *Satyricon*," *Ziva Antika* 23 (1973) 227-251. The article appeared just shortly after S. Lilja's "Odour Sensations in the Roman Novel," *Arctos* 7 (1972) 31-45. While Beran's use of the English language is superior by light years to my knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, I still cannot understand in many instances the points he is making. After running through the items related to sensory perception, Beran compares the various kinds of sensory perceptions to each other and speculates why Petronius writes as he does.

Blagoviestschenski, N.M., "wrote a paper on . . . the coincidence between the story of the *Matrona Ephesia* of Petronius and a popular narrative of the district of Perm," reported by J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge 1908) 385f. This reference is reported by Alex Scobie who notes that Perm "is situated in E. of central Russia, just to the W. of the Urals."

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Elia, O., "Una innovazione tecnica nella pittura ellenistico-romana," *Archaeologica. Scritti in onore di Aldo Neppi Modona*, ed. N. Caffarelli (Florence: Olschki, 1975) pp. 271-274. *Compendiaria* in Sat. 22 and Pliny NH 35.110 does not refer to a new style of painting but to a new procedure which allowed for fast duplication.

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Peter Lang, 1977). *Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XV, Klassische Philologie und Literatur*, Band 10. Pp. 153. This work was originally done in 1975 as a dissertation at Heidelberg. Dr. Fröhlke approaches the *Satyricon* as a so-called "new critic" would analyze a contemporary novel. To be reviewed later.

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Grimal, P., *La guerre civile de Pétrone dans ses rapports avec la Pharsale* (Collection d'Études Anciennes). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977). 307 pp. 75FF. To be reviewed later.

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Kiparsky, V., "Lat. mulier quae mulier und Verwandtes," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 66 (1965) 460-467. (Astbury)

D.M. Kratz, "Fictus lupus. The Werewolf in Christian Thought," *CF* 30 (1976) 57-79. Christian thinkers do not accept the possibility of a bestial side of man which can dominate the other side, but the pagan belief is so strong that Christians feel the need to explain werewolves as illusions.

Leeman, A.D.; "Petron und sein 'Wandrer's Nachtlied'. Bemerkungen zu einem Topos," *Wissen aus Erfahrung. Festschrift für Herman Meyer* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976) 315-321. On lecto compositus. Petronius and Goethe look back to Vergil 4.522-527.

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Martin, Janet M., "John of Salisbury and the Classics," *HSCP* 73 (1969) 319-321. Summary of her 1968 dissertation. (Astbury)

Merkelbach, R. and van Theil, H., *Lateinisches Leseheft zur Einführung in Paläographie und Textkritik* (Göttingen 1969) pp. 99-100. Two photographs of Paris. lat. 7989. (Astbury)

Miller, K. and Ehlers, W., *Petronius Satyrice. Schel-mengeschieden* (Munich: Heimeran, 1978). Second, improved, edition. Latin edition with German translation. Since

1961 the Petronius editions of Müller, aided later by Ehlers, have completely dominated studies of Petronius. All scholars working on the Satyricon must first come to grips with the textual work of these two gentlemen, before proceeding. The only real changes in this 1978 edition are the Nachträge on pages 485-495.

Müller, K. and Ehlers, W., editor and translator, Petronius Cena Trimalchionis/Gastmahl bei Trimalchio (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979). 144 pages + DM 5.80. Müller and Ehlers continue to work on the text of the Satyricon both in Latin and in the German translation, correcting, improving, and bring up to date. This handy little pocket edition of the Cena contains a 7 page introduction, text with translation, brief notes on the text and apparatus, and a selected bibliography. Basically, the text is the 1961 Müller text, as emended (and re-emended) in 1965 and 1978. There are, however, a few changes which incorporate recent suggestions or simplify previously involved apparatus materials.

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Sage, E.T., "Notes on the History of Certain MSS of Petronius," TAPA 44 (1913) LXVI-LXVII. (Astbury)

Sage, E.T., "An Unidentified Contributor to Petronian Criticism," TAPA 65 (1934) XXXII-XXXIII. (Astbury)

Scobie, A., "Some Folktales in Graeco-Roman and Far Eastern Sources," Philologus 121 (1977) 1-23. A look at the origin of the story of the Widow of Ephesus and other folktales.

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Sedgwick, W.B., "The History of a Proverb," CO 21 (1927) 207. On assem habeas assam valeas at 77.6. (Astbury)

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NOTICES

Notes of interest of papers read at the 110th annual meeting of the American Philological Association, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, 28-30 December 1978.

T. Wade Richardson, "The Sacred Geese of Priapus (Satyricon 136.4 f)."

Seminar on the Ancient Novel as Mysterientext. Participants: B. Reardon, J. Winkler, J. Morgan, D. Levin, H.J. Mason, G. Sandy. The theme of the seminar was critical evaluation of R. Merkelbach's book Roman und Mysterium in der Antike (1962). Background was provided by B.P. Reardon, who also acted as animateur. J. Winkler led off discussion with a paper on the Byzantine allegorical interpretation of the Aethiopica by "Philip the Philosopher," in which he also made reference to Strabo's observation in Book 1 of his Geography that Homer is both serious and entertaining, which is reminiscent of Merkelbach's view that Apuleius' Golden Ass contains Scherz und Ernst. Winkler was followed by J.R. Morgan, of England, who argued that not religion but religiosity is a feature of the Aethiopica, rather like the imposition of Christian elements in Stoker's Dracula. H. Mason also made use of a modern example, Mozart's Magic Flute, to demonstrate that religious elements within a work do not necessarily add up to an overall religious purpose. D. Levin, whose paper was presented in his absence by R. Beck, came closest to supporting the Merkelbach view, with specific reference to Daphnis and Chloe. G. Sandy's remarks on the fragments (the Iolaus-romance and the Phoenicia) were restricted by the limits of time. He maintained that the behaviour of the "initiates" in the Phoenicia was as readily explained by reference to their being cut-throat brigands as by supposing

that they were acting out a religious ceremony. In the concluding minutes of the session R. Beck added interesting comments on the Mithraic ideas expressed in Iamblichus' Babyloniaca. (Sandy)

OBIIT

Prof. Dr. jur. Dr. phil. Harry C. Schnur died on 21 February 1979, in Hong Kong. All Petronian scholars will remember him for his keen wit and warm heart.

NACHLEBEN

Wolfgang Hübner is preparing an edition of Wilhelm Heinse's German translation of the Satyricon.

Elliott M. Hill has edited the text of Thomas Jones' The Tragedy of Nero (published anonymously in 1642). This play contains many references to Petronius (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978). To be reviewed later.

Farnaby, Thomas. Dictionary of National Biography 6.1082. A patent dated 6 April 1632 granted Farnaby exclusive rights in all his books for twenty-one years (RYMER, Foedera, xix. 367), and on the back of the title-page of the 1633 edition of the 'Index Rhetoricus' penalties are threatened against any infringement of Farnaby's copyright. In both documents mention is made of editions by Farnaby of Petronius Arbiter's 'Satyricon' and Aristotle's 'Ethics', but neither is now known. (Astbury)

WORK IN PROGRESS

Sakellariou, A., "Some Petronian Passages and Modern Greek." An article on the similarity between certain passages in Petronius (43.8 olim oliorum, 38.1 lacte gallinae, 44.14 si nos coleos haberemus, etc.) and vulgar modern Greek expressions. To appear in the next number (1978) of Stasimos.

Richardson, T. Wade, "Some Shared Comic Features in Petronius and P.G. Wodehouse." To appear in Classical News and Views of the Classical Association of Canada.

Corbett, Philip, The Roman Jester: The Scurra and his Role in Popular Entertainment from the Time of Plautus to the Renaissance.

The scurra (scurro, scurrus) is variously described in late Imperial glossaries as irrisor, gelotopoiος, vaniloquus, parasitus and leccator (= ganeus). Some, following the grammarian Festus, favour a derivation from sequi, cf. assecla = 'satellite', 'toady'. In Imperial times the Praetorian Guardsmen were nicknamed scurrae i.e. "Townies" because they were on City garrison duties. This is a true meaning, for the scurra in Republican and Imperial times is a City wit (urbanus). As such he is an amateur, a Young Man About Town. But the scurra as a professional jester is habitually referred to as mimicus, and it seems likely that the word is derived from the Greek root skir- as in skirtan, skirtos and = Latin saltator.

Skirtoi are attendants of Dionysus (see L+S, s.v.) and are thus equivalent to the Greek satyroi, the goat-men chorus of satyr drama, so that scurrae may be originally the Roman equivalent of satyroi and have become the saltatores of mime, specializing in iocularia. The form scurra is possibly Etruscan, coming into Latin in the early days of drama at Rome with other borrowings, like histrio. However, the professional scurra is chiefly known throughout his long history as a ioculator and so the combination saltator/ioculator best describes him in his capacity as a mime player, whether as member of a troupe or alone as a one-man performance.

Indeed, it is chiefly in the latter aspect, as an individual performer, professional or semi-professional, or as an amateur, a witty man about town and a scandal-monger that we glimpse the *scurra* through the ages. His wit and his malice, his *iocularia*, result in his being eventually referred to more frequently as *ioculator* and hence, in the vernacular of France, as *jongleur* when he acquires literary status and a wide ranging repertory, embracing the mimetic art in both narrative and dramatic forms, often a combination of the two.

The work is in seven chapters. A brief synopsis of the contents is as follows: Introduction - suggested derivation of the word *scurra* and definition of his role (as sketched above). Chap. I - The Professional Jester in Plautus - four categories of parasite in Plautus' plays of which the professional jester parasite is one (the *parasitus ridiculus*). Chap. II - The *Scurra* in Plautus - not a character of *fabula palliata* - the *urbani assidui cives*, Young Men About Town, arrogant, garrulous, deceitful and slanderous - in conflict with the *parasiti ridiculi* - the cynic garb of the latter. Chap. III - The *Iuventus* of Livy VII.2 and the *Scurrae* of Cicero and Horace - the role of the Young Men in the development of the Theatre at Rome - they are on occasion amateur *scurrae* and possible performers in the *exodia* of Atellan farce, their perquisite - Cicero mentions certain notorious *scurrae* of his day, e.g. P. Clodius and Sex. Naevius - Horace presents us with professional and semi-professional *scurrae* like Maenius and Samentus. Chap. IV.1 Three Traditions of Popular Humour at Rome - the *Scurrile*, the *Cynic* and the *Satyric* - the link between the cult of *scurrilia* and of *satyrica* at Rome - their mutual *dicacitas* - the *fauni fatui* - the soldiers' choruses at triumphs illustrate the combination. 2. Two Menippean (Cynic) Satires of the 1st century A.D. - the narrative mime genre - the *Ludus de Morte Claudii* (cynic *satura* with *scurrile* humour) and Petronius' *Satyricon* (cynic *satura* with *satyric* humour). Chap. V - The *Scurra* Pagan and Christian - the *scurra's* presence in the late Imperial entourage - the military context - ecclesiastical councils and monastic legislation - Jerome, Cassian, the Rule of St. Benedict and the Rule of the Master - *acedia* and the vagrant monk and cleric - their association with *mimi scurraeque*. Chap. VI - The Medieval *Jongleur's* Repertory - the *scurra/ioculator* as *raconteur* in various genres - the Aesopian fable - the medieval Latin *comedia* - the *fabliau* - the satiric *Carmina Burana* - *facetiae* - the English "Merry Tale". Chap. VII - The *Scurra* Supreme - an excursus on Martial and his Elizabethan Imitators in the Epigram genre. Index Locorum. Bibliography. General Index. The whole about 240 pp. typescript quarto double-spaced.

Chapter IV then may be of interest to Petronian scholars.

If the narrative cynic *satura* (Menippean) was, as its contents show, a kind of narrative mime, it is likely that dramatic mime was closely linked at Rome with dramatic *satura*. Livy VII.2 implies that the latter was composed of episodic sketches, out of which *fabula* with plot was developed by Andronicus (*ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere*). Mime with plot would certainly be among the earliest developments from episodic *satura*, so that the *scurra mimicus* may have originally belonged to dramatic *satura*, often as a one-man performer. Narrative *satura* derived from the vagrant cynic philosopher's anecdote. Dramatic *satura* was presumably also, in its early stages at Rome, a street entertainment; thus the *scurra's* mimetic skills would be as much in evidence on the pavement as on the boards; he would be as much a *circulator* as a *saltator*, a *ioculator* in both capacities. Hence the epithet *vagus* which characterizes him no less than his other attributes *mimicus* and *urbanus*.

REVIEWS

Marina Pacchieni, La novella "milesia" in Petronio, Editore Milella, Lecce (1978), pp. 62. L. 3000

by J. P. Sullivan

Ms. Pacchieni announces in the Introduction that she will confine herself to a formal linguistic and stylistic analysis of the two so-called "Milesian" tales in Petronius, the Per-

gamene Boy and the Matron of Ephesus, characterizing the stories in the *Cena* as "folklore." She briefly, and brusquely, summarizes previous discussions of the topic, by Arrow-smith, Walsh et al. and finds them wanting in various ways. So what has Pacchieni to offer to put the reader right? She presents a text of the two stories, preceded by separate introductions, two detailed commentaries on them, and brief analyses of the *clausulae*. She surmises that the Pergamene Boy is based on a "canovaccio," on an earlier, shorter, and less pretentious Greek model, which Petronius has fashioned into a little masterpiece with his careful blend of refined language and *sermo familiaris*. The verbose commentary consists mainly of citations to establish this thesis, interlarded with linguistic guesses (e.g. that Celtic, Spanish and African writers of Latin may have preferred *basiare* as a word to *osculari*). No credence has been given to, nor advantage taken of the Fraenkel-Mueller theory of interpolations in Petronius' text; indeed the latter's 1961 edition of the *Satyricon* is not even cited in the meager bibliography. So *huic dormienti* is allowed to stand at 86.4; *scillet id quod erat* at 111.8; *videlicet conditorii* at 112.10, and so on. A forgivable textual conservatism perhaps, but these are passages that ought to be discussed by any author whose whole emphasis is on style and language. Another complaint the reader would have is that the mechanical analysis of Petronius' *clausulae* in these tales is not connected with either the rest of Petronius' text or with the commentary itself. We know Petronius wrote artistic prose, but there are not many sentences in literary Latin which cannot be given some sort of metrical analysis; so what is the use of trotting out sentences which can be analyzed into trochaics and choriambics, spondaics and cretics in long and unusable lists? What, for example, is one to make of "*basio inhaesi = clausula eroica (?)*" Pacchieni's book, whose insights might have been better incorporated in an article, has some merits, most notably in its collections of illustrative references to earlier authors. Her arrogance in the introduction is unfortunately not justified by what the book offers the Petronian scholar, but she does avoid the fashionable Italian heresy of denying Petronius his honorable place in Neronian literature.

Analecta Dublinensia. Three Medieval Latin Texts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin. Edited by Marvin L. Colker (The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 82. Cambridge, Mass. 1975). Pp. 257.

Review by Raymond Astbury

It is only the third of the texts in Colker's collection which is of Petronian interest. Trinity College Dublin MS 602 (E.4.26) was written in England in the early thirteenth century and contains, inter al., a collection of stories and sketches composed probably in the twelfth century. To this collection Colker gives the title 'Petronius Redivivus' because of the marked erotic, not to say obscene, content of some of the stories, because of the intermingling of prose and verse in some of the items, and particularly because of the frequent echoes of Petronius. Not all of the passages adduced by Colker to show familiarity with Petronius are entirely convincing but even after the most sceptical examination enough remains to show that the anonymous author of this collection was familiar with all that is now extant of the *Satyricon*. Some examples will make this clear.

74: . . . *postquam rimam suaviter in pariete diduxerat, alternatim rime curiosos applicuit ocellos, . . .*; cf. Petron. 26, 4: . . . *per rimam improbe diductam applicuerat oculum curiosum . . .*

57: . . . *uelut nichil acidius suis sonare posset in auribus . . .*; cf. Petron. 68, 5: *nullus sonus unquam acidior percussit aures meas.*

98: . . . *nec principis contemplari faciem curat nec amplexus. Immo, protinus inflexis ad inguina sua luminibus, officiosissimis ad commissuram temptat ea mouere manibus;* cf. Petron. 105, 9: . . . *nec manus nec faciem meam considerauit, sed continuo ad inguina mea luminibus deflexis mouit officiosam manum . . .*

77: *Quedam solis sordibus feruescit, nec unquam libidinis impellitur ad rabiem luxuriaue calescit nisi uel squalentes*

seruos uel cinctos alcius stratores inspexerit. Venerias harena quam plures ad araturas impellit. Hec mulioni puluere perfuso molliter succumbit; cf. Petron. 126, 5-6: quaedam enim feminae sordibus calent, nec libidinem concitant, nisi aut seruos uiderint aut stratores altius cinctos. harena aliquas accendit aut perfusus puluere mulio aut histrio scaenae ostentatione traductus.

I take this opportunity to add a couple of instances which Colker has missed:

35: Cibus igitur cum seruiante socii in nauis uiciatis utriusque refecti, . . . Colker cites Petron. 111, 10: refecta potione et cibo, but not the more apposite 115, 6: . . . cibisque naufragio corruptis utcumque curati . . .

98: Statimque uel ea parte frugi uir, . . . The use of frugi in a sexual context was suggested by Petron. 140, 5: Emolpus, qui tam frugi erat ut illi etiam ego puer uiderer, . . .

The importance of Colker's discovery for Petronian studies is that it makes a significant addition to the evidence for knowledge of Petronius in the Middle Ages; it is even more important if it can be regarded as certain that the author was familiar with the Cena. The evidence is scanty but in my view the parallel cited above from section 57 (which recurs in section 120) is quite conclusive. In that case, as Colker says (p. 184 n. 22), 'some claims for John of Salisbury will have to be modified'.

Petersmann, Hubert, Petrone Urbane Prosa: Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Text (Syntax). Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 323 (Vienna 1977). Pp. 319. N.p.

Review by

J. P. Sullivan

Petersmann in his Habilitationschrift sets out to examine all of the language and style of the Satyricon, not just the well-trodden ground of the Cena. His aims (expressed in the foreword) are to undercut mistaken conjectures, to illuminate the language of the Satyricon through linguistic parallels from Romance languages as well as Greek, and to prove that Petronius is a useful witness for the so-called "Vulgar Latin" of the early Empire and for the history of the Latin language. In general, the analysis is conventional and basically descriptive, useful in that Petersmann brings to bear on this particular text not only the standard philological reference works such as Walde-Hofmann, Kühner-Stegmann, and Meyer-Lübke, and much of the periodical literature on Petronius, but also useful studies of the romance languages.

The fundamental, and not unreasonable, premiss is that there is a close relationship between Petronius' prose and colloquial speech, and not just in the speech of Trimalchio's circle of freedmen. Given also the defective text that has come down to us, for all the labours of Bücheler, Müller, and others, Petersmann hopes that his study will provide a more scientific basis for the formerly haphazard conjectures introduced into editions of Petronius; hence his section on the text tradition (pp. 29-36). He disagrees both with those who believe there is a sharp distinction between the educated and the uneducated colloquial speech (sermo urbanus and sermo vulgaris) in the work and with those who believe there is little or no distinction, both views having, of course, implications for the emendation of the text. Petersmann believes rather that there is a spectrum of colloquial speech within the work, the shadings dependent on the contextual motivations of the speech in question (sprachpsychologische Momente). In practice, the author reveals himself as a fairly conservative critic of the text (see p. 39). He is less than exhaustive on the question of imitation and parody: for example, he refers to the relationship between Petronius and Seneca only with regard to the Apocolocyntosis (p. 26) and he does not probe deeply into the literary and artistic considerations that might determine various aspects of Petronius' style.

The meat of the book is a standard syntactical analysis of case and sentence usage, etc., from which I single out some of the more interesting points. Petersmann notes correctly

how colloquial speech veers between pleonasm and abbreviation (p. 39) and examines the omissions of subject, object, and predicate verbs such as the parts of esse (pp. 39 ff.), contrasting this with the pleonastic uses of such pronouns as ego and ille, and such verbs as inquit (pp. 45 ff.). His conservatism shows itself plainly in the meagre discussion of id est (p. 52 f.); the fact that the expression is very common in later Latin with 130 examples on the Peregrinatio Aetheriae does not necessarily justify the strange occurrences in Petronius, since it could also mean that the locution was highly familiar to a late interpolator. The same unexamined acceptance is extended to scilicet and videlicet (pp. 236 ff.).

The same general point, incidentally, can be made about ungrammatical vulgarisms, e.g. the use of the accusative with maledicere. This may be due to a scribe unconsciously conforming to the practice of his time or to Petronius' imitating a vulgarism for his own special purposes. Petersmann seems instinctively to defend the text without much discussion, which is not to say that his decision is not right in a particular case, but that ratio et res ipsa often take second place to the MS tradition and later parallels.

The positive aspect of the book is the many parallels Petersmann can adduce which may be used to defend Petronius' dating, on linguistic grounds, to the first century A.D. He adequately proves his point that the style of Petronius' narrative, except for certain rhetorical, parodic, or poetic passages, is consonant with the Umgangssprache of the period.

The wealth of examples he provides will be a boon to any future commentator or emendator, although he shirks in the main the well-known cruces and loci obscuri.

On the negative side, far too many pages, for a specialized study, are taken up with mechanical repetition of the known and the obvious (e.g. on the textual tradition, pp. 29-36) and far too much deference is paid, in the text and notes, to the authors of useless contributions with whom Petersmann himself rightly disagrees. Yet curiously the bibliography is by no means exhaustive. At least one standard work is neither cited nor disputed on the question of parody and imitation (p. 26). His discussion of Sat. 73.5 (p. 141, n. 98) is vitiated by his overlooking CQ 20 (1970) 188 ff. Some relevant articles by K.F.C. Rose on textual matters are omitted and T. Wade Richardson's dissertation on the interpolations in Petronius (Harvard 1972) makes a belated appearance in the Addenda et Corrigenda.

For all that this is a useful and serious, if overly padded, book.

NOTES

INVIDIA in Petronius: A Note
by J. P. Sullivan

The meaning and translation of invidia in the Satyricon have been a problem for English and other translators of Petronius, because the word itself has so many meanings and connotations beyond the schoolboy's "envy"; I suspect that most of the translators (including myself) were unfamiliar with Ingrid Oelstierna's Invidia, Invidiosus, and Invidiam Pacere: A Semantic Investigation. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 10 (Uppsala-Leipzig 1949). Invidia occurs in five various forms and contexts in the Satyricon; the complete list being: (1) alligo artissimis complexibus puerum fruorque votis usque ad invidiam felicibus (11.1); (2) contra nos perturbati, ne uideremur nihil agere, et ipsi scissam et sordidam tenere coepimus tunicam atque eadem invidia proclamare nostra esse spolia quae illi possiderent (14.6); (3) sed nullo genere par erat causa [nostra], et cociones, qui ad clamorem confluerant, nostram [scilicet de more] ridebant invidiam, quod pro illa parte vindicabant pretiosissimam vestem, pro hac pannuciam ne centonibus quidem bonis dignam (14.7); (4) 'scio te' inquam 'Ascyte, ad occidendum me uenisse . . . funde sanguinem, quem tu sub praetextu quaestionis petisti.' Amolitur Ascytos invidiam et se uero nihil aliud quam fugitivum suum dixit quaerere, nec mortem concupisse supplicis (97.9-10); (5) comprehendi Emolpi genua et 'miserere' inquam 'morientium, [id est] pro consortio studiorum comoda

manum; mors venit, quae nobis, si per te licet, potest esse pro munere. inundatus hac Eumolpus invidia iurat per deos deasque se neque scire quid acciderit nec ullum dolum malum consilio adhibuisse . . . (101.2-3); (6) 'nam quod invidiam facis nobis ingenuos honestosque clamando, vide ne deteriorem facias confidentia causam' (107.10).

Of these examples Ms. Odelstierna cites only (2), which she would interpret as "indignation" as against Segebade's and Lamatzsch's "convicium", and (6) which she would interpret as "revilement". It is incidentally another indication of the difficulty of this slippery word that for (3) Fraenkel suggested, and Mueller accepted (in both his 1961 and 1965 editions), the substitution of insaniam for invidiam.

How did the translators tackle the problem? Here is a selective table of their solutions (where the problem is really fudged or the word emended I have left a blank)¹ [OVER.]

What is clear from these examples is that invidia, in its different uses in the Satyricon, has given translators trouble. Sometimes they have eschewed any attempt to translate it and they have simply inserted in its place any notion that seemed not inappropriate to the context (the use of apostrophe in the French translations is the most glaring example of this). Of course it has to be said in their defense that the standard dictionaries are of little help. But with the help of Ms. Odelstierna's lucid discussion and very full collection of examples, we can perhaps suggest better translations that bring out the individual meanings fully.

(1) is straightforward: "literally, gratify my desires blessed to the point of envy," i.e. some or anyone would envy me. (2) and (3) have each the same meaning and the repetition is, I believe, deliberate, which makes the emendation insaniam unnecessary. In these the meaning derived from the common sense of "bad feelings," "ill-will," or "resentment," the feeling aroused in a subordinate person, permanently or momentarily at a disadvantage, when injured by someone in a superior position.³ Cf. e.g. Consolatio ad Liviam 189-190: obscurus (sc. deos) delubra tenent; pudet ora colentum/aspicere invidiae, quam meruere, metu, where the meaning clearly is "the ill-will (or indignation) they have merited." Invidia can mean "bad feelings," "indignation," "resentment" or "bitterness," whether felt or expressed, cf. Ma. 1.12.9; 7.47.7; 9.86.9; Stat. Silv. 3.5.40; 5.3.64; 5.5.77. Although this is not always determinable by the context, in Petronius' case, as we shall see, it is easy enough then for invidia, in the sense of "indignation," to develop the connotation of "reproach," "blame," "assucation," or even "guilt": cf. Sen. Dial. 6.17.7, post has leges propositas, si liberos tollis, omni deos invidia liberas -- "you free the gods from all blame."

If we now examine (2) and (3) of the Petronian passages we can now see that the correct meaning is "indignation." The woman, seeing her cloak, has cried "Thieves," putting Encolpius and his friends publicly at a disadvantage. So, instead of letting the charge go unanswered, they grab their old tunic and cry that it is theirs in the same indignant (and accusing) voice. It is this apparently absurd "indignation" which they have felt or feigned that the street traders mock in (3).

There seems in this use to be an overtone of "accusation" and this is confirmed by (4) and (5), as well as by other

passages cited by Odelstierna. In (4) Encolpius pretends to believe that Ascyrtos has come to kill him under the pretext of searching for Giton and he resentfully challenges him to do his worst. "Indignation" would not suffice as a translation here, since Ascyrtos "brushes off"⁴ what Encolpius is accusing him of. Encolpius harbors resentment which issues in an "accusation" or "reproach." Perhaps "resentful or indignant accusation" would convey the flavor of invidia in this context, as it would in (5), where, similarly, Encolpius, believing that Eumolpus has entrapped them aboard Lichas' ship, again offers himself up to death.

Parallel passages for this felt or uttered indignation are Tac. Ann. 3.67 (ausis ad Caesarem codicillis, quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat (resentment or remonstrance); Tac. Ann. 11.34 (Vibidiam depellere nequivit. quin multa cum invidia flagraret, ne indefensa coniunx exitio daretur), where Odelstierna would translate "indignation." Cf. also Stat. Theb. 6.43; Tac. Hist. 1.82; Tac. Ann. 15.19; 11.34; Suet. Claud. 38; where "bitterness" or "indignation" would be appropriate.

Finally, we come to (6), where the meaning is different from the above instances. Here Eumolpus is accused by Lichas of trying to arouse resentment or ill-will against himself, and perhaps Tryphaena, by speaking of the culprits as free-born and honest. This meaning is standard, but not invariable, in the phrase invidiam facere,⁵ cf. Cic. Fam. 11.1.6; Liv. 38.43; Quint. Inst. 4.2.69; Quint. Decl. 279. Odelstierna (p. 76) prefers to interpret it simply as "revilement," but the quasi-judicial context, a kangaroo court, as it were, supports the more common meaning. Eumolpus hopes to get the other passengers and crew on his side.

All of these meanings are of course interconnected; the problem for translators was, as Odelstierna pointed out (op. cit. pp. 16 ff.), even though she overstated her case, that most commentators had generally adopted Valla's interpretation of its use beyond the basic sense of envy, as in our first Petronian passage, viz.: Invidia autem praeter illam significationem notam est vel dicto vel facto in alterum malivolentiae conciliatio.⁶

NOTES

¹For the full titles of these translations, see Schmeling-Stuckey s.v.

²For the full titles, see Schmeling-Stuckey s.v.

³See Odelstierna, pp. 19 ff. and the quotations there.

⁴Amoliri means to clear away obstacles, refuse etc.; then to get rid of, remove persons (cf. Sat. 10.7); and to repel in accusation or danger, etc. "Brush off" and "brush aside" fortuitously retain the basic image. Cf. the same use with invidia and linked with criminal charges in Tac. Hist. 3.75 (invidiam crimenque agnovisse et a partibus Vitelli amolitus videbatur).

⁵Cf. E. Wistrand, Eranos 44 (1946) 355, who translates invidia here as "Erregung von Entrüstung," but, in Odelstierna's and my own view, wrongly sees this meaning as the basis of invidia's other connotations, see Odelstierna, pp. 9 ff.

⁶De Romani sermonis elegantia 1.23.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Burnaby (1694) Kelly (1874)	spitefully spitefully	the weaker side claim	his old grudge odious imputation	--- odious implication	envy invidious dimming in our ears
Firebaugh (1922) Mitchell (1922)	spite indignation	spiteful claim claim	suspicion charge	implication flood of passion	prejudice put us in the wrong
Dinnage (1953)	venom	claim	malicious in- tention	menacing outburst	slander us
Arrowsmith (1959)	---	---	grudge	tragic appeal	attempt to embarrass us
Lindsay (1960)	indignation	fuss	imputation	burst of passion	put us in the wrong
Sullivan (1965)	just as indignantly	spite	malice	bitterness	odium
Heseltine Warmington (1969)	bitterness	---	resentment	attack	try to prejudice us
For comparison, here are some non-English translations ² :					
Fischer (1962)	(1) Eifer	(3) Erbitterung	(4) Feindselige Absicht	(5) Mißtrauen	(6) ins Unrecht setzen
Ehlers (1965)	Verleumderisch	---	Verleumdung	Verleumdung	in ein schlechtes Licht setzen
Schnur (1968)	mit gleicher stimmstärke	unseres komischen Verlangens	zugeschriebene Absicht	diese Beschuldigung	mir noch etwas vormachen willst
de Guerle (1861)	---	prétentions réciproques	un pareil soupçon	violente apostrophe	pour nous intimider
Rat (1934)	à l'envie	préention	la haine contre moi	apostrophe	nous rendre odieux
Ernout (1958)	animés d'une même ardeur jalouse	étrange préention	la haine que je lui prête	apostrophe injurieuse	l'odieux
Cesareo-Terzaghi	astio	---	venir sospettato d'una tale perfidia	invettiva	impressione
Marzullo-Bonaria (1962)	pervicaci	testardaggine	insinuazione	intimazione	in mala vista
Leenan (1966)	misbaar	drukte	beschuldiging	uitbarsting	in een kwaad daglicht...te stellen
Cizek (1967)	tipam la fel și ne vâlcăream	pretenția	Invinierea se ura	izbucnire a noastră de nebulie	---