

NIHIL SINE RATIONE FACIO:
A GENETTEAN READING OF PETRONIUS' *SATYRICA*

Thesis submitted to University College London
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND LATIN
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

ABSTRACT

My thesis is a narratological analysis of Petronius' *Satyrice*, particularly of the first section taking place in South Italy (Petron. 1–99), based on the methodology and terminology of Gérard Genette.

There are two main objectives for the present study, which are closely connected to each other. On the one hand, I wish to identify and analyse the narrative characteristics of the *Satyrice*, including a selection of its literary models and the ways in which they are imitated or transformed and embedded in a new narrative schema, as well as the impact, which those texts that are connected to it have on our interpretation of the work. My narratological investigation of transtextuality in the case of Petronius includes: the assessment of matters of onymity and pseudonymity, rhematic and thematic titles, and the real and implied author in the sections on para-, inter- and metatexts; features belonging to the categories of narrative voice, mood, and time in the section on the *narration* ('narrating') and the *récit* ('narrative'); the hypertextual relationships between the *Satyrice* and a selection of its potential models or sources in the section on the *histoire* ('story'); and the architext or genre of the *Satyrice*.

The aim of helping us understand better and appreciate the learnedness of the author Petronius and the complex piece of literary work that he has created is closely connected to our historical assessment of the date of composition of the *Satyrice*. It has implications that immediately concern our interpretation of the work and beyond. Moving the date of composition of the *Satyrice* to the second century affects our perception of the Neronian age and our understanding of the development of Imperial Latin literature, more generally.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION	2
ABSTRACT	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	8
1 INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 PETRONIUS ARBITER AND GÉRARD GENETTE	10
1.2 AIMS	12
1.3 (NARRATOLOGICAL) RESEARCH	14
1.4 STRUCTURE	20
1.5 CATEGORICAL PERIODISATION	30
2 PARATEXTS	32
2.1 INTRODUCTION	32
2.2 PERITEXTS	33
2.2.1 TITLE	33
2.2.1.1 IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION	33
2.2.1.2 AUTHORIAL TITLE	36
2.2.1.3 IN SCHOLARSHIP	38
2.2.2 NAME OF THE AUTHOR	39
2.2.2.1 IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION	39
2.2.2.2 ONYMIETY VERSUS PSEUDONYMIETY	40
2.3 EPITEXTS	43
2.3.1 PLINY THE ELDER AND PLUTARCH	44
2.3.2 TACITUS	47
2.4 CONCLUSION	55
3 INTER- AND METATEXTS	57
3.1 INTRODUCTION	57
3.2 INCONSISTENT USE OF THE AUTHOR'S NAME	58
3.2.1 TERENTIANUS MAURUS	58
3.2.2 MARIUS MERCATOR	60
3.2.3 FULGENTIUS	61
3.3 ARBITER	65
3.3.1 MARIUS VICTORINUS	65
3.3.2 JEROME	66
3.3.3 MACROBIUS	67
3.3.4 SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS	68
3.4 PETRONIUS	70
3.4.1 SERVIUS	70
3.4.2 IOANNES LYDUS	70
3.5 CONCLUSION	73
4 NARRATIVE AND NARRATING	74
4.1 INTRODUCTION	74
4.2 VOICE	75
4.2.1 TIME OF NARRATING AND NARRATIVE LEVELS	75
4.2.2 NARRATING INSTANCE OR NARRATOR	76

4.3 MOOD	78
4.3.1 FOCALISATION	78
4.3.2 NARRATIVE OF EVENTS VERSUS NARRATIVE OF WORDS	82
4.3.3 TEMPORAL DISTANCE	85
4.3.4 NARRATIVE DISTANCE	87
4.4 TIME	90
4.4.1 ORDER	90
4.4.2 DURATION	93
4.4.3 FREQUENCY	98
4.5 CONCLUSION	99
5 STORY	100
5.1 INTRODUCTION	100
5.1.1 FACT AND FICTION	100
5.1.2 APPROACH AND AIMS	103
5.1.3 STRUCTURE AND CONTENT	104
5.1.4 TYPES OF HYPERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS	105
5.1.5 FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS FOR POTENTIALLY HYPERTEXTUAL MOTIFS	109
5.2 PROTAGONISTS	113
5.2.1 ENCOLPIUS	115
5.2.2 ASCYLTUS	118
5.2.3 GITON	120
5.2.4 AGAMEMNON AND MENELAUS	121
5.2.5 TRIMALCHIO	122
5.2.5.1 NAME	122
5.2.5.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECT	124
5.2.5.3 POLITICAL ASPECT	127
5.2.5.4 PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT	134
5.2.6 EUMOLPUS	136
5.3 EPISODES IN SOUTHERN ITALY	141
5.3.1 AT THE SCHOOL OF RHETORIC (1–5)	142
5.3.2 REUNION WITH ASCYLTUS AND GITON (6–11)	151
5.3.3 AT THE MARKET (12–5)	156
5.3.4 QUARTILLA’S BROTHEL (16–26.6)	160
5.3.5 DINNER AT TRIMALCHIO’S (26.7–78)	169
5.3.5.1 INTRODUCTION	169
5.3.5.2 DEBASED HYPOTEXTS	171
5.3.5.2.1 SENECA	171
5.3.5.2.2 PLATO	173
5.3.5.2.3 HORACE	174
5.3.5.2.4 VERGIL	176
5.3.5.3 DEBASING HYPOTEXTS	179
5.3.5.3.1 MARTIAL (AND JUVENAL?)	179
5.3.5.3.2 FOLKLORE	181
5.3.5.4 NON-HYPERTEXTUAL MOTIFS	183
5.3.5.5 FOOD FOR THOUGHT	184
5.3.6 ENCOLPIUS IS JILTED AND ROBBED (79–82)	186
5.3.7 EUMOLPUS IN THE ART GALLERY (83–90)	195
5.3.8 RECONCILIATION WITH GITON (91–9)	203
5.4 CONCLUSION	212

6 ARCHITEXTS	217
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	217
6.2 MENIPPEA.....	221
6.2.1 FORM: PROSE WITH INTERSPERSED VERSES	222
6.2.2 CONTENT I: USE OF INTERSPERSED POETIC VERSES.....	222
6.2.3 CONTENT II: LITERARY PARODY/PASTICHE	223
6.2.4 CONTENT III: SUBJECT MATTER	225
6.3 MILESIA TALE	226
6.4 ROMANCE.....	227
6.5 GENRE IMPLICATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS.....	229
7 CONCLUSION	232
7.1 THE NARRATIVE TEXTURE.....	232
7.2 THE IMPLIED READER	233
7.3 THE DATE OF COMPOSITION	234
7.4 THE REAL AUTHOR AND THE REAL READER?.....	236
7.5 WIDER IMPLICATIONS	237
7.6 FINAL CONCLUSION, OR: A METAPOETIC AUTHORIAL COMMENT?	238
8 APPENDIX	239
8.1 GLOSSARY	239
8.2 PARA-, INTER-, AND METATEXTS.....	247
8.2.1 PLINY THE ELDER	247
8.2.2 PLUTARCH	247
8.2.3 TACITUS.....	248
8.2.4 TERENTIANUS MAURUS.....	250
8.2.5 MARIUS MERCATOR	250
8.2.6 FULGENTIUS	251
8.2.7 MARIUS VICTORINUS.....	253
8.2.8 MACROBIUS	254
8.2.9 SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.....	254
8.2.10 SERVIUS	255
8.2.11 IOANNES LYDUS	256
8.3 NARRATIVE AND NARRATING.....	257
8.3.1 TEMPORAL DISTANCE	257
8.3.2 NARRATIVE DISTANCE	259
BIBLIOGRAPHY	264

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PETRONIUS ARBITER AND GÉRARD GENETTE

Many renowned writers and an abundance of famous titles appear in the works of Gérard Genette. The list of big names in the history of both ancient and modern philology that he deals with ranges from Homer's *Iliad* over James Joyce's *Ulysses* to Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. He analyses, among other works, those from ancient Greece (Plato, Aristotle), France (Alexandre Dumas), England (Henry Fielding) and America (Ernest Hemingway), as well as from Russia (Lev Tolstoy), Italy (Giovanni Boccaccio), and Spain (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra). Some authors, such as Marcel Proust and Gustave Flaubert, come up more frequently than others (for instance Gaius Julius Caesar). Among the almost 'forgotten' classics – 'classics' to be understood both in its meaning of 'a work of art of recognized and established value' and as 'a work from Greek and Roman antiquity' – we can find Petronius' *Satyrica*. The *Satyrica* is indirectly present in Genette's discussion insofar as it is the hypotext for F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, dealt with briefly in the *Narrative Discourse* (1980, 245).¹ Moreover, Genette directly refers to the *Satyrica* once in passing (1997a, 148) along with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as two examples for the comic-realistic novel, and briefly talks about the poem the protagonist Eumolpus recites in the later episodes taking place in Croton (1997a, 98).

In this thesis I would like to make a case for a mutually beneficial and fruitful meeting, metaphorically speaking, of Gérard Genette and Petronius. The fact that Genette barely talks about the *Satyrica* is not due the inadequacy of his theory and methods in our case. Quite the contrary, their application to Petronius' work allows us on the one hand to understand and appreciate the literary complexity in play in the *Satyrica* better and on the other hand to devise a way to amplify and improve Genette's theory further. The sustainability of bringing Petronius and Genette together emerges if we turn our attention to some of the key achievements of their *œuvres*.

Genette's work is that of a literary theorist, who has had a great impact on the pre-existing field of narratology. It is generally recognised in scholarship that his

¹ Fitzgerald had submitted an earlier version of his novel to his editor as *Trimalchio*. On *Gatsby* and Petronius cf., among others, ENDRES (2011 with further references). For Genette's definition of 'hypotext' see section 8.1 s.v. *hypertextuality*.

typology stems from critical, meticulous scrutiny and is mirrored in his rigorously formulated classifications. His terminology to describe the specific functioning of narrating has characterised the field of literary studies with respect to narratology and beyond. His examination of the relation between the narrative text and those texts that stand in relation with it builds on that of Tzvetan Todorov (1968) and is broader and more systemic than those of Julia Kristeva (1967) and Roland Barthes (1966a, 1966b).² The influence that both structuralism and post-structuralism as well as semiotics and Russian formalism have exerted on his approach permits Genette to examine all forms of relationships that he calls ‘transtextual’.³

Even though in his works he deals primarily with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French and Russian works, such as those by Proust, Tolstoy, and others novelists, Genette’s occasional narratological analyses of the Homeric epics and the idealised romance prove that the application of both this modern method and its terminology for the purpose of investigating ancient narratives texts, too, leads to fruitful results.

Petronius’ work, the *Satyrical*, has long attracted scholarly attention. Together with Seneca, Lucan, and Persius, Petronius is commonly referred to as making up the Neronian tetrad in scholarship, as his *Satyrical* has had a major impact on our perception of Neronian literature and Neronian times more generally.⁴ On the other hand, almost no other ancient Latin piece of work has confronted us with as many challenges as the *Satyrical*. We are left with no more than a fragmentary text and some mere speculations about the overall plot.⁵ We do not even know how many books there were in the original. On the literary side the *Satyrical* stands out, among other aspects, for its linguistic peculiarities, as we find traces of the so-called Vulgar Latin,

² For my use of the adjective ‘narrative’ (narrative text, narrative complexity, narrative technique, etc.) in this thesis see section 8.1 s.v. *narrative*.

³ For Genette’s definition of ‘transtextuality’ see sections 1.4 below, 8.1 s.v. *transtextuality*.

⁴ Cf. LAIRD (2007, 160–1 with further references).

⁵ On the plot of the extant parts and an attempt at reconstructing the missing books of the *Satyrical* cf. BAGNANI (1956), SULLIVAN (1968b, 34–77), WALSH (1970, 73–5), MULROY (1970), VAN THIEL (1971, 25–65), SOVERINI (1976; 1978, 265–9), SCHMELING (1994–1995, 211–24; 1996a; 2011, XXII–V with further references), OBERMAYER (1997, 318–9), JENSSON (2004, 87–187), HABERMEHL (2006, 35–6), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 129–32), LABATE (2010). See also section 4.4.1.

I wish to stress that lists of scholars provided in this thesis are by no means complete; rather, the most influential or innovative contributions are singled out. There are several comprehensive bibliographies on past scholarship on Petronius: SCHMELING/STUCKEY (1977), SMITH (1985), VANNINI (2007). A thorough overview of editions, translations, and commentaries can be found in GIANOTTI (2013, 41–52).

and its low-life characters and their obscene promiscuous encounters. Moreover, Petronius' engagement with earlier texts, both Greek and Latin, is remarkable. For these and other reasons there can be no doubt that most of us would agree without hesitation to label Petronius' *Satyrice* "unique".

In order to ensure that the meeting between Gérard Genette and Petronius Arbiter will be as fruitful as possible, minor tweaks and modifications to the narratological model will be necessary. This is the case not least because we are transferring methods to the *Satyrice*, which Genette has not applied to Petronius, by organically adapting them for our case rather than mechanically forcing them on it. The possibility of successfully making these adaptations while staying faithful to Genette's narratological approach mirrors its openness and versatility as well as its suitability. By bringing in various additions from other literary theories that are of narratological value in our case, as they allow us to draw a more complete picture, I hope to show how Genette's approach can be applied, amplified and complemented further. These modifications do not contradict my initial claim that Genette's method is the best for our purposes, as they are not so much deviations from Genette's model as rather acts of suiting it to the material in question.

Not least because he deals primarily with the well-documented eras of the French and Russian novels, mostly from the 19th century, Genette's original model is for the most part dehistoricized. Since the date of publication of the works of Flaubert, Stendhal, Dostoevsky, and others are known, he does not (need to) raise historical questions. The relationship between any two texts that he examines leaves little doubt in terms of chronology; so does the assessment of what is the authorial paratext as opposed to what might be a non-authorial paratext. By contrast, as will emerge from my review below, the date of the *Satyrice* is not proven beyond doubt and the answers to various historical questions related to Petronius' work are ambiguous or unclear. Because some of these questions are of fundamental importance for a narratological enquiry of the *Satyrice*, it seems advisable to apply a historical shift to an otherwise purely narratological investigation.

1.2 AIMS

By bringing Genette and Petronius together for the present study I wish to pursue several aims. These aims pertain to two different aspects of classical philology. One

aspect belongs to the cultural-historical side of philology that sees literary texts as products that have been composed in and allow conclusions on their specific place and time of creation, and can be placed in a line of tradition. The other aspect can be labelled as literary criticism, as it focuses on the text itself, i.e. its specific literary characteristics or textual features of the work more generally. Because both of these aspects go hand in hand and are mutually illuminating, it is not possible to separate the objectives connected with them.

The main objective of the present study is to identify and analyse the narrative characteristics of the *Satyrice*, including a representative selection of its literary models and the ways in which they are imitated or transformed and embedded in a new narrative schema, as well as those texts that are connected to it, insofar as they have an impact on our reading of it. This is connected to the aim of helping us better understand and appreciate the learnedness of its author Petronius and the complex piece of literary work that he has created. Our historical assessments of the date of composition of the *Satyrice* and of those texts connected to it affect our literary interpretation of the work. For example, reading Tacitus' account of the Petronius at the Neronian court as a genuine epitext (section 2.3.2) facilitates our acceptance of some Trimalchionian characteristics as allusions to Nero (section 5.2.5) and using the inter- or metatext from Terentianus Maurus as our *terminus ante quem* (section 3.2.1) allows us to discard any third-century texts as potential hypotexts for the *Satyrice* (section 5).⁶ In turn, these analyses provide the material and evidence for the re-assessment of the date of composition of the *Satyrice* and its wider implications beyond those immediately concerning the work, such as our perception of the Neronian age more generally and our understanding of the development of Latin fictional literature. Since our narratological assessment is both based on the historical question of the date of composition and provides the material for its re-assessment, it might even challenge our construct of Neronian literature and the Neronian age. If the evidence points at a Flavian or, as I shall argue, even second-century date of composition of Petronius' work, the Neronian tetrad shrinks to a Neronian triad. Because the *Satyrice* has had a great impact on our perception of Neronian literature and the Neronian age, changing its assumed date of composition means we are called to adapt our definition of the characteristics of Neronian literature and times.

⁶ See section 1.4.

1.3 (NARRATOLOGICAL) RESEARCH

Several philological lines of enquiry have always predominated in the studies of the *Satyrica*. Scholarly attempts to fix the many corrupted parts of the text have culminated in several editions, such as those by Bücheler (¹1862), Friedländer (¹1891, ²1906), Ernout (¹1922), and Müller (¹1961).⁷ As for the text, I believe the one found in the most recent and authoritative Teubner edition of Müller (2003) to be the most satisfactory.⁸ Müller's proven expertise in the Petronian *Prosarhythmus*, his clear history of the manuscript tradition, and a complete updated *apparatus criticus* are merely some of the reasons for this assessment.⁹

Another approach that has been applied is reader-response criticism. Niall W. Slater in his *Reading Petronius* (1990b) aims to a high extent at reconstructing how the reader perceives the text rather than investigating the text that the author has created as such. Scholars who follow this approach simplify the complex narrative structure, which is justified for their purpose.

Narratological studies on the ancient 'novel' in general began to flourish in the twentieth century¹⁰ and peaked in a series of volumes entitled *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (2004; 2007; 2012) edited by Irene J. F. De Jong together with René Nünlist and Angus M. Bowie.¹¹ With respect to Latin literature, Roger Beck (1973;

⁷ On the manuscript tradition including the attempt to establish a stemma cf. above all VAN THIEL (1971, 1–24, 66–72), MÜLLER (2003, III–XXVIII), SCHMELING (2011, XVIII–XXI with further bibliographical references on XVIII–XIX). A full list of all manuscripts containing excerpts from the *Satyrica* can be found in SCHMELING/STUCKEY (1977, 39–44). Cf. JENSSON (2004, 3–14) for an excellent analysis of the textcritical tradition and problems.

⁸ Cf. SCHMELING's (1999b) review of MÜLLER's fourth edition from 1995.

⁹ On the other hand, Müller's 2003 edition essentially conforms to the 1965 bilingual one published in the Sammlung Tusculum and thus contains numerous readings that must now, as has been argued in many studies published in the meantime (cf. e.g. VANNINI 2007, 2010), be deemed obsolete because Müller (influenced by Fraenkel) too often athetized, postulated too many lacunae, and too frequently corrected what deviated from classical grammar and so seemed to be wrong. The more recent work is taken into account in HOLZBERG (2013).

¹⁰ Cf. most prominently HÄGG's (1971) *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances*.

¹¹ In this thesis I shall refer to the Greek 'novels' (Chariton, Achilles Tatius, Longus, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, as well as the fragmentary work *Metiochus and Parthenope*) as 'the idealised romance'. For Lollianus' *Phoenicica*, the fragments from the works we refer to as Iolaos, Daulis, and Tinouphis (edited and commented by STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995)), and Protagoras (ALPERS (1996)) I use the term 'comic-realistic romance'. On the date of the extant works cf. PERRY (1967, 96–148, 343–54) with the additions by BOWIE (2002), BOWIE/HARRISON (1993, 160), SETAIOLI (2013, 196 n. 48 with further references) for the date of the earliest extant idealised romance, i.e. Chariton. For our discussion it matters that Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Achilles Tatius are dated to the first or second centuries CE. Recently, HENDERSON (2010) has made a persuasive

1975; 1982) first brought narratology and Petronius together. His innovative approach with his separation of Encolpius the protagonist and Encolpius the narrator into two separate entities provided the foundation for several further contributions. Among others, Beck's influence is clearly visible in the doctoral thesis of his supervisee Gottskálk Jensson published in revised version in 2004. Also Gian Biagio Conte in his ground-breaking monograph *The Hidden Author* (1996) built on Beck's contribution by splitting Petronius the "hidden author" from Encolpius the "mythomaniac narrator".¹² Even though he refrains from naming his theory "narratological",¹³ his clear-cut distinction between narrator and the two instances he calls "hidden" and "real" or "actual" author follows in narratological footsteps – even if the terminology that some narratologists apply differs from Conte's. Later, Andrew Laird in the chapter on the *Satyrice* in his book *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power* (1999) investigated, among other matters, questions of fiction and fictionality, authority, and discourse. Further narratological analyses of the *Satyrice* include the works of Frederick M. Jones (1987), Gianna Petrone (1991), and Géraldine Puccini-Delbey (2006), to name just a few. Fröhlke (1977) has carried out a narratological analysis of the *Erzähltechnik* of the seventh episode (83–90), the episode aboard ship (100–15), the scene with Circe (127–8), and the final extant scene (141). Particularly valuable are the rather recent contributions by Max L. Goldman (2007; 2008b). He looks at Beck's distinction between the two Encolpii in even greater detail with respect to focalisation and knowledge. Narratological and non-narratological twenty-first-century contributions alike widely acknowledge the influence narratological methodology has exerted on the study of Petronius; a distinction between author and narrator is drawn throughout.

Studies that can be subsumed under the umbrella term of hypertextuality have long and in many places exhaustively spotted traces of other Greek and Roman authors in the *Satyrice*. Investigations of the dependence of Petronius on the works of Lucan

case that it is unlikely that (m)any idealised romances preceded those by Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus and that, thus, the idealised romance emerged no earlier than in the early second-sophistic period of around 60 CE.

On the date of the Iolaus fragment cf. PARSONS (1971, 53), STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 358–74, 480). Both date it to c. 150 CE. STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 316–8, 480) date the two groups of papyri containing fragments from Lollianus to 175 and 250 CE.

¹² The English book is a translation of the Italian entitled *L'autore nascosto*, which was published one year later.

¹³ Cf. CONTE (1996, 3: "Narratological studies have been valuable to us: let us thank them and move on").

and Seneca as well as Vergil, Plato, and Homer have predominated. Whereas authors of the Imperial Age up to the reign of Nero have received the overwhelming majority of attention, the investigation of possible allusions to late first- and second-century works such as Flavian epic or Antonine satire has generally fallen victim to the commonly-assumed Neronian date of composition of Petronius. Apart from the research undertaken by the French group of scholars around René Martin, François Ripoll, and Pierre Flobert, no more than a few isolated contributions – among these, most recently, Ulrike Roth’s reading of an allusion to Pliny the Younger in the *Cena Trimalchionis* (henceforth referred to as “*Cena*”) – have gone in this direction.¹⁴

On the other hand, Petronius’ work has commonly attracted the attention of historians. Scholars such as Theodor Mommsen (1878), John Bodel (1984), and Elio Lo Cascio (1992; 2007) have either tried to link the author with otherwise attested namesakes or, presupposing a Neronian date of composition of the *Satyrical*, attempted to extract *Realien* for the reign of late Julio-Claudian times. Based on the observation that Petronius’ work is perhaps the most “realistic” of ancient times and thus a socio-economic mirror of the author’s times, a great number of scholars have set out on a quest to recognize in Trimalchio and other protagonists contemporary social figures and date the *Satyrical* to the Neronian reign. Such a purely historical approach runs the risk of stripping the work of its status of a literary masterpiece and treats it as no more than a source for the investigation of socio-cultural and economic historical phenomena.

The application of a historical approach for the purpose of assessing the date of composition appears of both philological and historical value at first sight. However,

¹⁴ Additionally to the potential hypertextual links between the *Satyrical* and late-first and second-century authors that I shall discuss in section 5 cf. (*nota bene*: scholars that I underlined date the *Satyrical* to Neronian times): PEPE (1958, 293–4), SCHMELING (2015, 23), ROTH (2016) for Petronius the Younger Pliny; MARTIN (1975, 213–24; 1999, 12–3, 213–22) with RIPOLL’s (2002, 165–74; 2011, 450) responses for Silius; FLOBERT (2006, 436), RIPOLL (2002, 174–80), GÄRTNER (2009) for Statius; COLLIGNON (1892, 392–5), PAOLI (1937, 9, 12), MARTIN (2000, 146–7), SALANITRO (2007, 313–4) for Martial; COLLIGNON (1892, 395–7), MARMORALE (1948, 246–7), MARTIN (2000, 151–2; 2006, 151), NAPPA (2011) for Juvenal; MARMORALE (1948, 262–8) for Fronto; MARMORALE (1948, 268–74) for Marcus Aurelius. Cf. also YEH’s (2007, 567) conclusion, following his detailed metrical analysis of Eumolpus’ *Bellum Ciuile* (119–24, henceforth abbreviated as “*BC*”): “tout se passe comme s’il en [sc. the *BC*] reprenait la tendance archaïsante [de l’épopée historique latine], incarnée notamment par les *Punica* de Silius Italicus [...] Tout va dans le sens d’une datation flavienne, sous le règne de Domitien”.

it entails the risk of a circular argument.¹⁵ Not uncommonly, scholars setting out on such a dating quest have presupposed a Neronian date, which they in turn substantiated or confirmed by their analyses of supposedly “Neronian” factors that they traced in Petronius. Volker Ebersbach (1995, 200) investigated the problem of a pre-identification of the author, which would then lead to a circular argument. Moreover, if we start from the assumption that the *Satyrica* was written under a specific emperor – Nero, Domitian, Hadrian or any others –, we could create the risk of scanning the *Satyrica* for any proof of only this particular date.

In fact, the oldest and most controversial dispute in scholarship on Petronius concerns the date of composition of the *Satyrica*. Our answer to the *Questione Petroniana*¹⁶ bears a crucial impact on the present narratological enquiry: it influences the way in which we interpret the work and perceive Neronian literature and culture more generally.

More than 440 years have now passed since Joseph Justus Scaliger first ascribed the *Satyricon libri* to Petronius, the counsellor of taste of the emperor Nero (reigned: 54–68 CE). After Gaspar Schoppe (1607) had accused him of being homosexual, Scaliger replied under the pseudonym of Johannes Rutgers in his *Confutatio stultissimae Burdonum fabulae, auctore I. R. Batavo, iuris studioso* (1608) that he had been copying a manuscript of the *Satyrica* that Jacques Cujas had lent to him thirty-seven years earlier. A great number of scholars from the sixteenth century onwards followed Scaliger’s hypothesis by generally accepting the Neronian date of composition of the *Satyrica*.¹⁷

However, voices against this hypothesis were raised not long after it was first put forth. In fact, several scholars had already pursued late dates of composition prior to Scaliger’s dating attempt: Giglio Gregorio Giraldi (Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus or

¹⁵ On the risk of applying a purely historicising approach to the *Satyrica* cf. ŁOŚ (1995, 1013–4), VERBOVEN (2009, 138: “Using Petronius’s *Satyrica* as a historical source for the Roman economy requires close critical reading and a constant adjustment through, and comparison with, other sources. The novel is not situated in a fantasy world, but the scenery is as distorted as Petronius’s characters”).

¹⁶ MARMORALE’S (1948) monograph on the date of composition of the *Satyrica* is entitled *La Questione Petroniana*.

¹⁷ On the scholarly tradition of dating the *Satyrica* up to the mid-eighteenth century cf. BURMAN (1743, Vol. 2), in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century STUDER (1843). COLLIGNON (1892, 341–2) provides a brief list of defenders of the Neronian date from the sixteenth until the end of the nineteenth centuries.

Giraldus, 1545) favoured the reign of Julian (361–363 CE) and János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus, 1565) suggested that Petronius must have lived during the reign of Gallienus (253–268 CE). Adrien de Valois (Adrienus Valesius, 1666) followed him. Also Jean Bourdelot (1618) (dynasty of the Antonines of 138–180 CE) and Marinus Statilius (1666), who considered Constantine’s reign (306–337 CE), proposed late dates. Most of these early contributors strongly based their conclusions on the appearance of a certain otherwise-attested Petronius under the various emperors and rarely embarked on philological work. For example, Zsámboky dated the author of the *Satyrice* to the year 262 CE due to a Petronius Volusianus, who was consul in this year. A close reading of the *Satyrice* and the analyses of connecting links with the works of ancient authors from other decades or centuries were not yet on the rise. Niccolò Ignarra (1770) is to be singled out as one of the few scholars who attempted to extract contemporary or historical allusions from the work. He suggested a late second- or early third-century date in the eighteenth century (either Commodus, reigned: 180–192 CE, or Septimius Severus, reigned: 193–211 CE).

Pieter Burman (1743, Vol. 1, 6) pursued the hypothesis that the *Satyrice* was written sometime during or after the last years of Augustus’ reign (27 BCE–14 CE), but probably no later than the reign of Claudius (41–54 CE). Reading the work as a persiflage of one of the Julio-Claudian emperors, he was the first to propose an early date of composition.

Gottlieb Studer, who occasionally refers to Burman’s contribution, was the first among the philologists of the nineteenth century to attribute the *Satyrice* to Nero’s *arbiter elegantiae* (1843). Most prominently, Franz Ritter (later in 1843) and Theodor Mommsen (1878) followed him. Nonetheless, several scholars disagreed and suggested different dates: for example, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1828) advocated the reign of Severus Alexander (222–235 CE).

More importantly, scholarship on Petronius underwent an aggregate upswing with Franz Bücheler’s first major scholarly edition of the text in 1862. Albert Collignon’s voluminous monograph from 1892 laid one further foundation stone of an ample research activity on the *Satyrice*. In his *Étude sur Pétrone* Collignon investigates the nature of the *Satyrice* and its potential literary models, covering authors such as Vergil, Lucan, Martial, and Juvenal.

Gilbert Bagnani (1954a; 1954b), taking up earlier research as well as undertaking further analyses of both internal and external (social, juridical, economic) evidence,

concluded that Petronius must have been identical with Nero's *arbiter elegantiae*. Thus, the *Satyrica* must have been composed in the early sixties of the first century CE. Soon thereafter, Kenneth F. C. Rose (1961) moved the suggested date to the mid-sixties. Rose's monograph on the *Date and the Author of the Satyricon* of 1971 still represents the reference work for researchers in favour of the Neronian date; arguments for later dates, except those presented in Marmorale's (1948) monograph, have been widely neglected in his contribution. Moreover, he includes only the main contributions in his concise overview of the history of scholarship on the date. The scholars John Sullivan (1963; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1984, 169–72; 1985a; 1985b) and Patrick G. Walsh (1968; 1970; 1974; 1978), who promoted scholarship on Petronius by their ample contributions, followed him.

Several scholars of Petronius questioned the Neronian date of composition. Ugo Enrico Paoli (1936; 1937; 1938) suggested that the *Satyrica* was written in the third century CE based on juridical factors; Enzo Marmorale (1937) rejected this hypothesis in favour of the established Neronian date, following Ettore Paratore (1933). Ten years later Marmorale (1948) himself wrote in favour of a late date during the reigns of Commodus (177–192 CE) or Elagabalus (218–222 CE) dismissing his own earlier objections. A short time later, among other scholars, Amedeo Maiuri (1948), Ettore Paratore (1948), and Pierre Grimal (1951, picked up again in 1986, 403–9) concluded that the arguments Marmorale presented in favour of a late second- or third-century composition were not tenable. Nevertheless, Marmorale (1954, 161) clung to the late date and suggested the year 248 CE soon thereafter.

Due to the strong allusions to the emperor Tiberius (reigned: 14–37 CE), which he detected in the protagonist Trimalchio, Eugen Dobroiu (1969) followed up on the hypothesis that Petronius was contemporary with this first-century ruler. Giancarlo Giardina (1972) even pursued an Augustan date of composition. These scholars have almost entirely remained on their own so far in seeing Petronius contemporary to the emperors Augustus or Tiberius.

Finally, René Martin (1975; 1999, rejected by André Daviault 2001) came up with new arguments for post-Neronian dates at the end of the twentieth century and promoted a Flavian date of composition under the emperor Domitian (81–96 CE). Henryk Puzis (1966; 1967; 1972) had already pursued the hypothesis of a late first- or early-second century date. Emanuele Castorina (1971) suggested an even later date around the time of Juvenal.

The list of scholars who have expressed their favour for the Neronian date does not stop at the turn of the millennium. It is worth mentioning Edward Courtney (2001, 5–11), Peter Habermehl (2006, XI–XIII), Paolo Fedeli (2009, 15–6), Giovanni Garbugino (2010), Gareth Schmeling (2011, already in 1996a), and Gian Franco Gianotti (2013). In the introduction of his commentary on the episode aboard ship (100–115) Giulio Vannini (2010, 3) concludes that nowadays the *Satyricon* is almost unanimously (“quasi unanimamente”) attributed to Nero’s Petronius. Although this dating is not entirely proven (“non è provata oltre ogni dubbio”), it is the most reliable and plausible (“la più affidabile e accreditata”).

Andrew Laird in his article on *The true nature of the Satyricon* from 2007, Niklas Holzberg (2009, 106–9) in his review of Habermehl’s commentary, Jeffrey Henderson (2010), and Heinz Hofmann (2014, 98–100) questioned the commonly assumed Neronian date of composition. Based on what Genette would call hypertextual links with late first-century authors, François Ripoll (2002; 2006; 2011), Pierre Flobert (2003; 2006), and René Martin (2000; 2006; 2010; 2011) also proposed Flavian or early second-century dates during the Nerva-Antonine dynasty. Last but not least, Ulrike Roth (2016) recently challenged the *communis opinio* on the *Questione Petroniana* by investigating a sophisticated illusion in Petronius to Pliny’s *Letters*. As Peter Grossardt (2012, 351–2) had pointed out earlier, the date of composition of the *Satyricon* is more open than ever before.¹⁸

“Die Identifizierung unseres Autors und damit die Datierung der *Satyricon* scheinen, nachdem die Gleichsetzung mit dem von Tacitus (ann. 16,17–20) porträtierten Hofbeamten Neros lange Zeit als nahezu unumstößlich galt, heute wieder offener denn je”.

Surprisingly, the Neronian date of composition is taken for granted and mentioned only in passing in Tom Murgatroyd’s recent contribution in the *Companion to the Neronian Age* (2013).

1.4 STRUCTURE

The present study aims at investigating the narrative complexity of the *Satyricon* by applying the narratological methodology and terminology of Gérard Genette. In his book *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* Genette (1997a) discusses five types of transtextuality, which he defines as “all that sets the text in relationship,

¹⁸ In 1999 RENÉ MARTIN had already called the *Questione Petroniana* “un véritable casse-tête, digne d’une enquête policière” (6).

whether obvious or concealed, with other texts”¹⁹. Accordingly, this thesis will be modelled along Genette’s narratological categories. Sections two and six focus on one of the Genettean categories each (paratextuality and architextuality), sections four and five both deal primarily with the same category (hypertextuality), yet on two different sides of the coin (narrative/narrating, story), and section three, finally, with two categories (intertextuality and metatextuality). Key narratological terms from Genette are explained here. A full list of narratological terms used in this thesis can be found in the glossary.

In the interests of clarity, I have attempted an assignment of the different texts to the five sections of this thesis based on the following rationale, bearing in mind that we can assign various texts to more than one category. Thinking of the five Genettean types of transtextuality as clear-cut, isolated entities would mean undermining the literary complexity in play in the assessment of texts. “First of all, one must not view the five types of transtextuality as separate and absolute categories without any reciprocal contact and overlapping”, Genette (1997a, 7) stresses and goes on:

“their relationships to one another are numerous and often crucial [...] For example, generic architextuality is, historically, almost always constituted by way of imitation [...], hence by way of hypertextuality. The architextual appurtenance of a given work is frequently announced by way of paratextual clues. These in themselves often initiate a metatext (‘this book is a novel’), and the paratext, whether prefatory or other, contains many more forms of commentary”.

Section 2 is on paratexts. Paratexts are the components of a piece of work that appear together with or are added at a later stage alongside the narrative text. They stand in an obvious, close relationship to the text, but do not belong to the text itself. By contrast, hypotexts are a group of texts distinct from the paratexts, as the link between hypotexts and the narrative text itself is in many cases open to the reader’s interpretation. Moreover, the temporal relationship is reversed: while paratexts appear together with or later than the text, hypotexts come prior to it and re-appear within the (hyper)text in a modified form.

Paratexts are important for our analysis of the text, because they function as transmitters of additional pieces of information, which have an impact on our reading. For example, the addition “novel” on the cover of a modern book

¹⁹ GENETTE (1997a, 1).

characterises the text as a piece of literary fiction. The paratext has created a certain frame of expectations that will influence the reader's interpretation of the work even before he begins to read. The same holds true for the name of the author, which by its mere appearance might impact the reader's interpretation of the work.²⁰ Similarly, biographical details of an author or, if he or she is famous, the mere name suffice to generate a set of features that the reader anticipates meeting in the work. This functional aspect of paratexts can be (ab)used by both the real author and a later writer assuming the name of a well-known author to (mis)lead the reader into interpreting the work in a specific way.

Genettean methodology and traditional philology work hand in hand and are mutually illuminating. The latter provides the tools for plausibly explaining and excluding various versions of paratexts, setting them in relation to each other based on a reconstructed stemma, and thus establishing the title(s) of the work and the name of its author according to the manuscripts, as well as linking or dismissing historical Petronii in biographies transmitted separately with the author of the *Satyrica*. Meanwhile, narratology makes it possible for us to go further and dive into the analysis of the implications for our reading of the work: how do the title, the name of the author, and potentially paratextual biographies affect our reading of the *Satyrica*? Moreover, the results of the discussion of paratexts provide a trigger for us to investigate the implied author, which might potentially facilitate the identification of the real author. Thus, questions of potential pseudonymity, authorial versus later paratexts, and the implied author serve beyond a mere narratological aim in the form of illuminating the text and the way we interpret it. Eventually, they pave the way for the analysis of ancient intertexts in the following section, not least as they provide a specific group of key words (name of the work, author) that enable the identification of a text segment as an intertext to our work.

Section 3 will be dedicated to two Genettean categories. One of these is ancient intertextuality in the case of Petronius. In contrast to Julia Kristeva's (1967) poststructuralist understanding of an intertext as a mosaic of earlier texts that have been modified and assembled to create a new one, I define the term intertextuality in the narrow sense of Genette (1997a, 1–2) as “a relationship of copresence between

²⁰ Cf. JENSSON (2004, 23–5), PEIRANO (2013, esp. 252–6).

two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another". This presence can be either explicit or implicit and more or less obvious. I understand Genette's "actual presence" in a wider sense and include those authors who cite or paraphrase passages from an earlier author as well as those who explicitly refer to an earlier text, as in both instances the earlier text is present in the intertext.

For section 3 I will focus on intertexts to the *Satyrice* only. The chronological relationship is reversed in those instances, where Petronius reuses a motif from earlier texts (for example Homer, Cicero), and to some extent open to interpretation. These instances will be investigated in section 5 on hypertextuality. In the interests of clarity I have made the general choice of speaking of the texts in section 3 as intertexts (or metatexts, see below) and those in section 5 as hypotexts and the hypertext. This is to stress the different chronological relationships between the texts in the two groups: for the texts in section 3 it is clear that the *Satyrice* comes first, whereas in section 5 it is at least plausible, if not probable, that Petronius was later.²¹

Furthermore, I shall exclude the discussion of the implicit literal presence of the *Satyrice* in later intertexts (plagiarism) and its implicit non-literal counterpart (allusion). The fragmentary state of Petronius' work greatly complicates the identification of any text that borrows from the *Satyrice* without declaration.

What is left then for section 3 are the two explicit types of intertexts: the literal borrowing from the *Satyrice* (i.e. quotation) and the non-literal link (for which in section 3 I shall use the term 'reference') with Petronius' work by later writers.

It would be wrong to think of intertexts as clearly distinct from paratexts. It would even make sense to include the intertexts in the subgroup of epitexts, together with the biographical accounts of the author. In the interest of clarity, however, I have decided to deal with intertexts separately. This is mainly because all intertexts either quote from the *Satyrice* or refer clearly to Petronius' work, while the biographical accounts dealt with in the previous section cannot be proven to be genuine paratexts. For these and other reasons, their potential for our discussion differs from that of the doubtful paratexts.

The other category dealt with in section 3 is metatextuality. Genette (1997a, 4) states about metatextuality: "It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks with-

²¹ For a possible interpretation of the texts in section 5 as intertexts see below.

out necessarily citing it". He here speaks of a scholarly or scientific commentary.

The passages discussed in section 3 could be labelled intertexts or just as well metatexts. It is legitimate to think of the works of Terentianus Maurus, Servius, and other ancient grammarians as scientific commentaries on linguistic questions such as metre or earlier works like that of Vergil. If we wish to stress the scholarly nature of these texts, we might prefer to call them metatexts. My general choice of speaking of the texts in section 3 as intertexts rather than as metatexts is based on my understanding of a quotation or reference as metatextual if the author uses it primarily for scientific or scholarly reasons and as intertextual if he includes it for the most for aesthetic or artistic reasons. The choice of speaking of the texts in section 3 as intertexts rather than metatexts was made mainly for the purpose of paying tribute to the literary efforts that an ancient commentator, in the broad sense, pursued in the process of composing his work, while bearing in mind that in most cases we have intertexts just as much as metatexts.

The analysis of inter- and metatexts will lead to the establishment of a likely *terminus ante quem* for the date of composition of the *Satyrica* of the late second century and a tentative suggestion for a *terminus post quem* of the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE). In turn, these *termini* not only facilitate a historical identification of the real author, but also narrow down the range of potential hypotexts that will be looked at in section 5. In addition, the discussion of intertexts to Petronius allows us to tentatively reconstruct what might be the opening episode of the work taking place in Marseille, which will prove invaluable for the assessment of Encolpius as a protagonist and the way Petronius uses literary models on various levels (section 5.2.1).

In sections 4 and 5 the focus will be on hypertextuality, the fourth category in Genette's typology. Genette (1997a, 5) defines hypertextuality as "any relationship uniting a text B (I shall, of course, call it the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary".²² I shall confine myself to looking in detail at the first two thirds of the extant text of the *Satyrica* (1–99, the adventures in Southern Italy). Cross-references to the similar treatment of hypotexts elsewhere in the extant parts shall

²² Under the term 'hypotext' I shall subsume both orally transmitted and written texts. When I thus speak of folklore as a potential hypotext for Petronius (for example in section 5.3.5), I do so in my understanding of folkloric tales as orally transmitted 'texts'.

substantiate the transferability of my results to the last extant third (100–141, aboard ship and in Croton). The separation of matters of hypertextuality into two sections follows the distinction by Tzvetan Todorov (1968) of the two levels that are closely related to each other and taken together make up a narrative text, on which Genette's threefold division story (*histoire*), narrating (*narration*), and narrative (*récit*) is based. A sequence of signs, i.e. the text either orally narrated or written down, for which Todorov coins the term *discours*, represents a sequence of events, i.e. the story or *histoire*. We can investigate the content of the text on the one side [section 5] and the manner in which it is linguistically represented on the other [section 4].

Section 4 is dedicated to the *discours*, as defined by Tzvetan Todorov, which Gérard Genette splits into the act of narrating (*narration*) and its product, i.e. the narrator's text or narrative (*récit*). The author is present only insofar as he is the creator of the narrator. Hence, the author Petronius plays a secondary role. While matters of narrating are, for the most part, non-hypertextual in nature, but are rather constituted of universal features of narrating, the narrative is indirectly hypertextual, insofar as it represents the narrative shaping of the (hypertextual) motifs from the (hypertextual) story.

On the whole, the discussions of *récit* and *narration* serve two purposes, as they go to the very core of the conjunction between narratology and *Satyrica*. On the one hand, they establish a detailed frame within which the content of the narration including the sources from which this material has been taken (section 5) needs to be placed. On the other hand, a detailed narratological analysis of the text shows its (narrative) complexity and thus may provide insights into the date, genre, and structure of the text. It allows us to evaluate the narrator Encolpius – and the (meta)diegetic narrators (Nicerus, Trimalchio, Eumolpus) whom he creates – based on his narrative skills as well as the final narrative text that he produces. Encolpius, and by extension the author, will emerge as highly capable of deviating from a linear plot by using analepses and prolepses where appropriate, creating suspense and emphasising events by the means of summary and scene, and creating credibility through choices of discourse.

Section 5 is on the story of the *Satyrica*, which Gérard Genette, following Tzvetan Todorov, defines as the content, as opposed to the form (narrative and narrating).

Whereas both narrative and narrating pertain to the realm of the narrator and focus on how he moulds, metaphorically speaking, what the author has handed down to him, the story corresponds to the material that the author has invented or selected and assembled from earlier hypotexts.

As has already been touched upon above, the category of hypertextuality for section 5 is not without problems. The core issue arises from Genette's assignment of the allusion to the category of intertextuality rather than hypertextuality. He states (1997a, 1–2):

“Again, in still less explicit and less literal guise, it is the practice of allusion: that is, an enunciation whose full meaning presupposes the perception of a relationship between it and another text, to which it necessarily refers by some inflections that would otherwise remain unintelligible”.

In the same book he brings in the allusion, which pertains to the category of intertextuality, while talking about parody, a specific form of hypertextual relation between two texts (see sections 5.1, 8.1): “the most conspicuous and most effective form of allusion is the parodic distortion” (1997a, 36). In the conclusion (1997a, 397) he addresses the potential overlap between inter- and hypertextuality:

“I wish to stress only the limited but decisive point that contrary to the case of intertextuality [...] a simple understanding of the hypertext never necessitates resorting to the hypotext [...] In every hypertext there is an ambiguity that Riffaterre denies to intertextual reading [...] That ambiguity is precisely caused by the fact that a hypertext can be read both for itself and in its relation to its hypotext”.

Following this Genettean clarification we are perhaps best off interpreting inter- and hypertextuality as two opposite poles on the same spectrum. This allows us to see the allusion as a literary practice that is neither exclusively intertextual nor fully hypertextual, but can rather be found somewhere in the intermediary grey zones of this spectrum. Thus, when I speak of hypotexts in section 5, this choice was made to separate the analyses of these potentially earlier texts or models from those of the later texts in section 3, obviously bearing in mind that at least some texts in section 5 are hypotexts and intertexts at the same time.

In section 5 I seek to establish for which motifs in the *Satyrica* there are hypotexts and where there are none. I will investigate both those instances where ancient evidence suggests the presence of a hypotext and those where modern scholars have posited one, but which may not exist. In those instances, where the likely hypotexts have come down to us, I will analyse what Genette calls “[hypertextual] genres”, for

which I shall use the term ‘types of hypertextual relationships’²³ between the hypo- and hypertexts, and the effects Petronius achieves by re-using the motif in a specific way. The question whether motifs from the *Satyrica* are literary commonplaces or based on specific authors and/or genres or perhaps even a mixture of the two must be seen as a clear thread running through this section.²⁴ The allocation of various motifs to specific genres has been attempted with great caution and well bearing in mind that specific scenes and motifs most rarely belong to one single genre only. For example, the feature of ἀναγνώριστις is known to us from comedy, tragedy, and the idealised romance, but goes back to Homer’s *Odyssey*.

The analyses of the story of the *Satyrica* go to the very core of the conjunction between narratology and Petronius, as they illuminate the narrative complexity of the text and contribute to the *Questione Petroniana* alike. Depending on the date of Petronius’ hypotexts of which we are finding traces in our hypertext we are able to assess the date of composition of the *Satyrica* more precisely. On the other hand, the date of composition that we have in mind has a fundamental impact on which motifs from the text we read as hypertextual and which texts we might interpret as their hypotexts.

The advantage of using Genettean analyses of focalization is that they are of great help in distinguishing between the levels of author, narrator, and protagonists and, thus, allow us to investigate the narrative complexity in play. His narratological question of *Qui fait allusion?* proceeds to the core of the analysis of the *histoire* of the *Satyrica*. As I shall argue, hypotexts are alluded to on all levels in Petronius, i.e. by the protagonists, the narrator, and the author.²⁵ Therefore, for the analysis of the story great emphasis will be paid to the protagonists, their objectives and actions in contrast to authorial hypertextual allusions on a superior level. Sometimes, the

²³ GENETTE (1997a, 27).

²⁴ Cf. the excellent discussion of whether an allusion might be to a specific author or a general topos or even no allusion at all in HINDS (1998, 25–51). With HINDS (1998, 34) I define the ‘topos’ as “an intertextual [sc. hypertextual, in Genette’s terminology] gesture which, unlike the accidental confluence, is mobilized by the poet in full self-awareness. However, rather than demanding interpretation in relation to a specific model or models, like the allusion, the *topos* invokes its intertextual [sc. hypertextual] tradition as a collectivity, to which the individual contexts and connotations of individual prior instances are firmly subordinate”.

²⁵ Cf. COURTNEY (2001, 219–21). Of course, even in those instances where it is not the author, but rather the protagonists or the narrator, who directly allude to a specific hypotext or group of hypotext, he does so indirectly, since he is the creator of the narrator and indirectly of the protagonists and thus the controlling instance on the superior level.

(heroic) model a protagonist aims at emulating stands in sharp opposition to the (un-heroic) model that the author has allocated to him. For example, while Encolpius the protagonist wishes to behave like Achilles, Petronius the author makes of him a second Ariadne (section 5.3.6).

Section 5 on the whole, and 5.2 in particular, will benefit from a historicising shift, as pursued by Theodor Mommsen, for example in his *Römische Geschichte* (1854–1856), and applied to Petronius by Kenneth Rose (1971). More specifically, I will include historical phenomena and personages attested in non-literary, i.e. archaeological or epigraphic, sources in my discussion of otherwise purely literary hypotexts. This is to pay tribute to the observation that literature does not stand outside its socio-historical context of appearance. Thus, for section 5.2 the main issue about reading texts such as the *Naturalis Historia* and the *Epistulae* as hypotexts for the *Satyrica* is that Petronius might be referring to historical phenomena, as recorded in the two Plinii, rather than the literary products themselves. Therefore, the texts might function as non-hypertextual sources for us and perhaps even for Petronius, while they are not hypotexts in our case. In either case, non-hypertextual sources, be they literary, epigraphic, or archaeological in nature, allow us to draw a more complete picture and provide evidence that contributes to our dating question of the *Satyrica*. For example, the epigraphic record of a freedman like Trimalchio might not have functioned as a hypotext for the persona in Petronius; nonetheless, it links with the text in a way that might be conclusive for our understanding of when the work was written. In view of this, the further, historical material is indirectly of narratological value and, thus, well placed in an otherwise Genettean chapter on the story.

Architextuality (section 6) designates the categorical investigation of the characteristics of a literary piece of work such as text structure, plot patterns, motifs, and stylistic and linguistic features (types of discourse, metre, etc.) that are constituent for its assignment to a specific genre. The architext then is a combination of such characteristics inherent in a text.

Even though an author might imply a certain architext by choosing some specific features for his text, it is the reader, or in some cases the editor, i.e. its first reader, who makes a genre allocation based on these features. This allocation, in turn, entails a more or less guided or loose interpretation of the text for the reader. Similarly to

our observation on paratexts, unless we have an (explicit or implicit) authorial statement on the architext, the question of architextuality both has an impact on the reader's interpretation of the work and at the same time originates from it. There is also a certain level of circularity in the process of getting to any genre definition. Unless we analyse the features that a number of pieces of work have sufficiently in common to assign them to one group, we cannot speak of them as belonging to one genre. Only once we have set up the genre, we can speak of its architextual features.

The investigation of the genre of a literary texts matters, in the words of Genette (1982, 17):

“The distinctions between the genres, the notions of epic, tragic, heroic, comic, fictional, corresponded to certain broad categories of mental attitudes that predispose the reader's imagination in one way or another and make him want or expect particular types of situations and actions, of psychological, moral, and aesthetic values”.

Whereas in the previous section I will have investigated the hypertextual nature of some single motifs and structures of scenes and episodes, I shall here look at the whole picture. Based on and going beyond the results from my analyses of the story, narrative, and narrating, I aim at re-assessing the question of genre of the *Satyrica*.

When we assess the genre of the *Satyrica*, the use of Genettean analyses of focalization will be of great help in distinguishing between the levels of author, narrator, and protagonists and investigating which genres have been applied on which levels and what this means for our assessment of the architext of the *Satyrica*.

The results of the meeting of Gérard Genette and Petronius Arbiter and their overall implications for our assessment and interpretation of the *Satyrica* and beyond will be discussed in section 7. The analyses in sections 2–6 allow us to draw a more complete picture that both enables and facilitates the discussion of the implied and the real reader as well as the (real) author of the *Satyrica*. Since the date of composition has an impact on our perception of a piece of work, in section 7 I shall address the questions of how the revision of the date of the *Satyrica* might change our interpretation of the *Satyrica* and perhaps of the Neronian age more generally and which implications it has for our understanding of the development of Latin fictional literature.

1.5 CATEGORICAL PERIODISATION

When critically surveying secondary material on Petronius, we can note that scholars apply the term ‘Neronian’ for the *Satyricon* in various ways. Although it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss issues of periodisation such as ‘Julio-Claudian’, ‘Neronian’, or ‘Flavian’, preliminary awareness of the problems of such distinctions and their potential connotations beyond those as temporal markers must be raised.

Firstly, there is the tendency to label socio-economic, juridical, and political factors in various episodes ‘Neronian’, as we have evidence for their historical existence in Neronian times.²⁶ In these cases it remains often unclear whether the term is used in a temporal sense to make clear that the various phenomena appeared exclusively during Neronian times or in a qualitative sense to highlight the prominence of a phenomenon in Neronian times, that, however, continued to exist after Nero’s death or had emerged already prior to his accession to power.

Various phenomena appear during various reigns and do not disappear simultaneously with the death of an emperor. Moreover, emperors from different dynasties have followed similar ruling patterns. This is the case for the period of the Flavian principate (69–96 CE) when Titus, at the time of introducing a new series of coins, added Claudius and Galba to Vespasian’s existing role models.²⁷ As Boyle (2003, 6) aptly puts it:

“Indeed, given the overt similarities between Domitian’s reign and that of Nero, not unnoticed by the Roman historians, the Flavian dynasty could be seen from a distance as a replay of the Julio-Claudians in fast-forward mode”.

To draw a neat line between what may be defined as ‘Neronian’ in contrast to what must be interpreted as ‘Flavian’ disregards substantial driving forces of various periods. Rather, these periods may have had more in common than what actually distinguished them. It is much more appropriate to speak carefully of “continuity” rather than of “disrupt discontinuity”. As Boyle (2003, 3) appropriately highlights in the introductory remarks of his volume on Flavian Rome:

²⁶ Cf. for example ROSE (1971).

²⁷ Cf. BOYLE (2003, 11). On the question of how the Flavian emperor Vespasian modelled himself in part on the great Augustus and Claudius, but in some aspects also followed Nero cf., for example, BOYLE (2003, 5–8, 15), FRANKL (2014); on the continuities and discontinuities of Domitian’s reign cf. BOYLE (2003, esp. 13–7, 25).

“To push it further, the most inappropriate answer to the question, “What is ‘Flavian’ about ‘Flavian Rome’?”, would be to produce a list of defining attributes distinguishing the period 69–96 CE from all other ‘periods’. The cultural conditions and artistic conventions and practices of this time, like its politics and social structure, have much in common with conditions, conventions, practices and social structures earlier and later, but they are neither identical with them nor identically manifested. They are part of the evolving social and cultural reality of ancient Rome, and are different from, but also similar to, all other parts”.

These remarks follow on some of his earlier considerations in the same contribution (2003, 1):

“No contributor to this volume believes that at 69 CE everything in the imperial city and its dominions changed, nor that at 96 CE everything changed again. Roman culture was a more lethargic beast than that”.

Secondly, a similar labelling problem can be observed for the application of the term ‘Neronian’ to the *Satyrica* as a literary product on the whole or its various episodes, especially the *Cena*. Particularly over the last two and a half decades the term ‘Neronian’ has ceased to denote only or primarily the assumed time of composition of the work and has taken up a qualitative and sometimes pejorative connotation of aesthetic value. With Bartsch (1994), Rimell (2002), and others, the *Satyrica* has become a or even the “[typically] ‘Neronian’ work. Some of its features resemble those, which we have more or less simultaneously begun to think of as representative for the Neronian reign, and vice versa, which led to a circular argument.²⁸ Features such as superficiality, role-playing and theatricality, and excess and pleasure were highlighted for the Neronian reign, based on various biographical details found in Suetonius for the emperor Nero, and on the other hand stressed for the *Satyrica*, thus simplifying a literary piece of work that combines an abundance of peculiarities including and beyond those scholars have wished to label ‘Neronian’.

In the light of these methodological objections I will here use categorical terms such as ‘Julio-Claudian’, ‘Neronian’, ‘Flavian’, and others only as temporal indicators of a time frame ranging from a certain year X to year Y and not base them on characteristics that appear frequently in and thus seem typical or even representative for one era.

²⁸ Cf. LAIRD (2007, 160–1).

2 PARATEXTS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Depending on the source of transmission we can identify two groups of paratexts. The peritexts, i.e. the title and the name of the author, are transmitted together with the text in its manuscripts or referred to in external sources, while a second group of paratexts can be found only in sources outside the piece of work.²⁹ These so-called epitexts include biographical accounts of the author, for example in historical or encyclopaedic works.

Because they convey additional pieces of information that inform us about specific, for example linguistic or generic, features of the text or its thematic context, both groups of paratexts, although they do not belong to the narrative text, might influence our reading and interpretation of it. This is the case for both authorial and later paratexts, even though to a different degree of authority: a paratext by an editor or a scribe might not be as definitive as one by the author, because it is no more than the opinion of one person. The illocutionary force of paratexts is beneficial just as it involves risks, particularly if the degree of authority attributed to a paratext is unclear or the reader wrongly thinks of a non-authorial paratext as the original, i.e. by the author, and even more so if the available epitexts are potentially disingenuous.

In terms of paratextuality the *Satyrice* is an interesting case. There are several different versions of the same peritext, the title, of which none is undoubtedly authorial. The epitexts might refer to the author Petronius – and thus provide a biographical account – or to a historical namesake. The existence of these potentially disingenuous epitexts casts further doubts on whether the second peritext, i.e. the name of the author, might be a pseudonym perhaps assumed deliberately to set up the link of the *Satyrice* with the passages in Tacitus, Pliny, and Plutarch. The various options have a substantial impact on our assessment of Petronius' aims and intentions in composing the work, and thus influence the way in which we interpret individual episodes from the *Satyrice* and the work as a whole.

²⁹ I do not distinguish, as BALLESTER (1990) does, between the 'title' (*título*) and the 'denomination' (*denominación*) of a piece of work, as this would unnecessarily complicate my discussion. Thus, I use 'title' for both concepts.

2.2 PERITEXTS

The first group of paratexts is transmitted together with the work in its manuscripts. In the editions of Müller the manuscripts are referred to by the following sigla, here arranged alphabetically:³⁰

A = codex Parisinus lat. 7989 (everything except the *Cena*), written before 1423

B = codices Bernensis 357 and Leidensis Vossianus Q. 30, both ninth century

C = codex Vaticanus Urbinas 670, fifteenth century

d = codex Bong.IV.665 Bern, written by Petrus Danielis around 1564

D = codex Florentinus Laurentianus 47,31, fifteenth century

E = codex Messanensis, destroyed by fire in 1848

F = codex Leidensis Vossianus O. 81, fifteenth century

G = codex Guelferbytanus extravag. 299, fifteenth century

H = codex Parisinus lat. 7989 (*Cena* only), written before 1423

I = codex Indianensis Notre Dame 58

J = codex Florentinus Laurentianus 37,25, fifteenth century

K = codex Vaticanus lat. 1671, fifteenth century

l = codex Leidensis Scaligeranus 61, written after 1571

m = codex Vaticanus lat. 11428, written after 1565

P = codex Parisinus lat. 8049, twelfth century

*p*¹ = editio Pithoeana prior, Paris 1577

*p*² = editio Pithoeana altera, Paris 1587

Q = codex Vaticanus lat. 3403

r = codex Lambethanus 693, written before 1572

R = codex Parisinus lat. 6842 D, twelfth century

t = editio Tornaesiana, Lyon 1575

V = codex Vindobonensis 179 (Endlicheri 218), fifteenth century

W = codex Vindobonensis 3198 (Endlicheri 108), ca. 1440

L = consensus librorum *l, d, m, r, t, p*¹, *p*²

O = consensus librorum *B, R, P*

α = archetypus librorum *A, E, F, I, K*

ξ = archetypus librorum *C, D, G, J, Q, V, W*

2.2.1 TITLE

2.2.1.1 IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The title of Petronius' work is given in various versions in the *incipit* of the manu-

³⁰ I shall confine myself to listing only those manuscripts relevant for our analysis of the paratexts to Petronius of title and name of the author. A full list of all manuscripts containing excerpts from the *Satyrica* can be found in SCHMELING/STUCKEY (1977, 39–44). On the manuscript tradition including the attempt to establish a stemma see n. 7.

scripts containing sections of the *Satyricon*, and is thus present in written form. The spellings *Satyricon* and *Satiricon* in the manuscripts of the *L*-class and the two manuscripts *D* and *G* should be read as Greek genitive plural with *libri*, such as in Vergil's *Georgicon*, Manilius' *Astronomicon* or Lucan's *Iliacon*.³¹ They derive from the Greek adjective σατυρικός (“suing a satyr”, “like a satyr”) and refer to satyr-like obscene adventures.³² Varying titles can be found in the twelfth-century manuscripts *R* and *P*. These seem to suggest an association of the work with the genre of satire by favouring *Satirae*.³³ Depending on the version – *Satyricon/Satiricon* versus *Satirae* – we either have a thematic or rhematic title. Our choice of title matters not only insofar as it entails a fundamental interpretation of the work and its aim, but in the case of a rhematic title also because it would allow us to make predictions of how the work might have been perceived in Roman culture.

Preliminarily, it must be admitted that the idea that we could have a purely thematic title is no more than a mere illusion in our case.³⁴ It is more or less impossible to disassociate the thematic title *Satyricon* (or *Satyricon/Satiricon*) from the genre of satire (and thus the rhematic title *Satirae*), given that, on the one hand, Petronius' work not only uses the prosimetrum of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae* but also gives great prominence to traditional satiric themes such as the hyperluxurious and tasteless dinner (sc. fifth episode) and criticism of contemporary literary trends (sc. Eumolpus in the seventh episode and later in Croton), and on the other hand, the thematic title *Satyricon* almost certainly has to be taken as a play on *satura/satira* and in particular on the adjective *satiricus*. Thus, even the primarily thematic title is, at least to some extent, rhematic.

If we assume a (primarily) thematic title, the paratext will create the anticipation of a text about satyr-like adventures in both the contemporary and the modern reader alike. Upon beginning to read, this expectation will be fulfilled when we find Encolpius and his lover Giton, first accompanied by Ascyltus and later joined by Eumolpus, engaging in various sexual encounters with both men and women. While Giton disappears into the bedroom with the virgin girl Pannychis, Encolpius tries to get intimate with Quartilla, even though his manliness will let him down. Previously,

³¹ The different spellings *Satyricon* and *Satiricon* are likely due to spelling conventions. Thus, there might not be a big difference in meaning between the spellings with *-i-* and *-y-*.

³² Cf. *LSJ* s.v. σατυρικός 1. On the use of σατυρικός cf. PERRY (1925, 33; 1967, 192, 365 n. 14).

³³ Cf. ROSE (1971, 1).

³⁴ Cf. PETERSMANN (1985, 1688–9).

they participated in an orgy with women and men, including a *cinaedus*; later on we will hear about Encolpius' potentially sexual relationship with Tryphaena and a woman called Doris. While Encolpius will prove unable to perform on several occasions with the beautiful Circe, Eumolpus emerges as virile not only from his own tale at 85–7, which I shall henceforth call “the Pergamene Youth”, but also later with the servant Corax and Philomela's children. During the *Cena* the adventurers remain abstinent, yet partake in another satyr-like activity, as they wallow in wine and get drunk.³⁵

It is by creating the anticipation of a light-hearted plot that the titles *Satyricon/Satiricon* imply a specific interpretation of the protagonists' actions. The likely aim of the work is to amuse the reader by introducing them to the world of satyr-like figures, who spend a great deal of time engaging in sexual intimacy, or taking in large amounts of (food and) wine. Their actions are harmless and entertaining, just like those of satyrs.

The potential preference of the (primarily) rhematic title *Satirae* is based on the allocation of the work to the genre of satire, advocated most prominently by scholars such as Sullivan (1963; 1968b, esp. 115–57), Rose (1966), Sandy (1969, 293–303), Petersmann (1986, 410–20), and Adamietz (1987; 1995).³⁶ There can be no doubt that we are supposed to laugh about Encolpius' ignorance during the *Cena* or Eumolpus' spontaneous disguises and cunning role-plays, and certain elements and themes, such as the hyperluxurious and tasteless dinner (the *Cena*) and criticism of contemporary literary trends (Eumolpus), are without a doubt traditionally satirical. A generalising interpretation of actions and patterns of behaviour described throughout the whole *Satyricon* as polemical, however, remains doubtful, not least because it is to a large extent based on the reader's perception.³⁷ It is the recipient who, based on his expectations, may or may not trace evidence of Petronius' (moralising) attitude or critique.³⁸ Neither the object, nor the agent of satire can be objectively stated.

³⁵ See also section 3.3.4.

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of the genre of the *Satyricon* see section 6.

³⁷ Cf. BECK (1982, 206–10), SCHMELING (1996b, 111–2).

³⁸ Most prominently, it was the American triad HIGHET (1941), BACON (1958), ARROWSMITH (1966), who pursued a moralising reading of the *Satyricon*. Cf. also RÉVAY (1922). SULLIVAN (1963; 1967; 1968b, 106–11), WALSH (1968; 1970, esp. 80; 1974), SCHMELING (1969b; 1996b, 113: “there is nothing serious in the *Satyricon*. The treatment is comic / literary”), KNOCHE (1971, 74), ASTBURY (1977, 29–30), and STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 363–6) have all raised objections. See section 2.3.2.

Even though the narrator seems to distance himself from his former self,³⁹ it remains unclear whether the author actively condemns protagonists such as the *nouveau riche* freedman Trimalchio or the promiscuous couple Encolpius and Giton.⁴⁰ As Conte (1996) has persuasively shown, the author is “hidden”. In the words of Rankin (1970, 135): “There is little evidence to support this [sc. that Petronius despised and disliked people of Trimalchio’s type]. Petronius does not seem to have a marked or consistent sympathy with any of his characters”. Furthermore, as I hope to show in sections 5 and 6, only one group of elements to be found in the *Satyrice* is traditionally satirical, whereas others have been taken from a wide range of other genres including elegy, epic, and tragedy.

If we invert matters and assume for the moment that the title was *Satirae*, our interpretation of the protagonists’ behaviour would change from funny and laughable to contemptible. In this case, the paratext would tell us *a priori* that we were supposed to shake our heads at the wedding of Giton and Pannychis and despise Encolpius for wrongly assuming the heroic role of Odysseus when he meets Circe. It would then be possible to extend this pejorative view of the Petronian protagonists beyond the work itself by means of generalisation: it is not just Trimalchio who behaves out of place, but newly rich freedmen in general. We would perhaps also be called at taking straightforward attacks on contemporary rhetoric and epic, laments on the decline of philosophy and the arts, the decay of moral values, and so on, uttered by Eumolpus, Agamemnon, Trimalchio, and Encolpius, as serious critiques rather than instances of literary pastiche, where stereotypical motifs deprived of their polemic connotations are voiced by disreputable protagonists. As a consequence, we would end in a circular argument, whereby the title would lead into a satiric interpretation of the work, which would in turn substantiate our allocation of the work to the genre of satire. The strength of this self-fulfilling interpretation hinges on subjective readings of all episodes in the work in alignment with the assumption for a patron of interpretation contained in the title and certain elements alone.

2.2.1.2 AUTHORIAL TITLE

Based on the readings found in the manuscripts, we might feel inclined to suggest

³⁹ See section 4.3.2.

⁴⁰ Cf. FEDELI in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 39: “il suo punto di vista – per quanto difficile di determinare esso sia – non assume mai toni scopertamente moralistici, alla fedriana maniera”).

that the original title of Petronius' work was *Satyricon libri* or, in short, *Satyrice* or, perhaps less probably, *Satirae*. However, as Genette (1997b, 8, 73–4) highlights, “the sender of a paratextual message (like the sender of all other messages) is not necessarily its *de facto* producer”. This means that the title in the manuscripts might be the original (authorial) paratext, or a later paratext (by a scribe).⁴¹ Due to the lack of references by the author and almost complete silence about the title of the work in the extant ancient testimonies, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the title by which Petronius referred to his work deviates entirely from those found in the manuscripts.⁴² It goes without saying that, at least for antiquity, “the title was more a question of oral transmission, of knowledge of hearsay, or of scholarly competence”⁴³, and while some works had no title at all, others were referred to by various titles.⁴⁴ This is mirrored by the different titles (*Satyricon/Satiricon*, *Satirae*) found in the manuscripts and our entirely modern, differing choice of *Satyrice*. When searching for references to this paratextual element in ancient texts and thus identifying potential intertexts for Petronius' piece of work, we must bear in mind at all times the possibility of varying titles in the ancient context. It might be that an ancient grammarian referred to the work we know of as *Satyrice* by a title not yet linked to Petronius in scholarship.

Connected to this uncertainty about this authorial paratext, it is impossible to determine whether the title Petronius gave to his work was to be defined as a thematic or rhematic title. Therefore, it remains impossible to make safe predictions regarding whether Petronius intended to connect his work with the genre of satire or merely wanted to give the reader an advance warning about the satyr-like adventures.⁴⁵ Depending on whether the peritext *Satyrice* is by the author or by a scribe, its functional aspect varies, even if not fundamentally. In either case its illocutionary force aims at influencing the reader's perception and expectation of the work by giving an insight into the content or plot, or providing the intention or (a potential)

⁴¹ FIORETTI (2015) offers an excellent discussion of the transmission of ancient paratexts in manuscripts.

⁴² No ancient author except for Marius Victorinus (4.1, *GL* 6, p. 153) refers to Petronius' work by its title. See section 3.3.1.

⁴³ GENETTE (1997b, 64).

⁴⁴ Many ancient novels have possible dual titles (Xenophon of Ephesus, Apuleius, Heliodorus). On ancient titlature cf. HORSFALL (1981), BALLESTER (1990), FREDUILLE et al. (1997), SCHRÖDER (1999).

⁴⁵ Cf. KARDAUN (1993, 201–5), HABERMEHL (2006, XVI).

interpretation of the work. In either case, these can be deliberately misleading and more or less obvious. The major difference lies in the degree of authority a paratext will assume. It is very high in the case of the author's title and less so in the case of a later paratext, where we have no more than a scholarly or even just individual estimation of the genre or a possible interpretation of the work.⁴⁶

2.2.1.3 IN SCHOLARSHIP

In the Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods researchers used to refer to Petronius' work as *Satyricon*, *Satiricon*, *Saturae*, or *Satirae*. Over the last century, a steadily increasing number of scholars has given up on the rhematic titles (*Saturae*, *Satirae*) and chosen the textually transmitted thematic and literal titles *Satyricon* and, to a lesser extent, *Satiricon*. Particularly starting from the 1990s, a strong tendency has emerged to turn the prominently used genitive plural *Satyricon* into a nominative plural in line with the omission of the addition *libri*, resulting in the title *Satyrica*. This choice has been made in order to regularise its title with some of works belonging to the genre of the romance, for example Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. Over the last twenty years or so the title *Satyrica* has slowly emerged as the standard form, which today is commonly used in scholarly discourse in the Anglophone world and Germany. The titles *Satiricon* and *Satyricon* are still partly in use in French and Italian scholarship.

For our interpretation of the work and its aim, this means that the (primarily) rhematic title was discarded and preference was given to a (primarily) thematic title. The *Satyrica* is, at least according to our choice of what the first paratext should be, not a satire, but a text about the satyr-like adventures of Encolpius and his friends, even though, as stated above, even the thematic title *Satyrica* almost certainly has to be taken as a play on *satura/satira* and in particular on the adjective *satiricus*.

Nonetheless, we should always bear in mind that the manuscripts suggest, at least for the Middle Ages, that the same text was referred to by diverging titles or paratexts at the same time.

⁴⁶ Cf. GENETTE (1997b, 10–2, 76–77).

2.2.2 NAME OF THE AUTHOR

2.2.2.1 IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Similarly to the title, the name of the author is present in written form in the opening (*incipit*) of the manuscripts. The vast majority of manuscripts (namely MSS *B*, *d*, *r*, and *t*, the printed editions *p*¹ and *p*², as well as the reconstructed archetypes α , except for *A*, and ξ) agree on the author of the *Satyrice* and unanimously quote *Petronius Arbiter*. Differing names are *Petronius Arbiter Satyrus* (MS *A*), *C Petronius Arbiter Afranius Satyricus* (*l*), *Petronius Arbiter Satiricus* (*m*), *Petronius Arbiter* with *Petronii Arbitri affranii Satirici liber* in margin in the same hand (*P*), and *Petronius Satiricus* (*R*). *H* lacks an inscription. By contrast, none of the ancient external sources, or intertexts, that mention Petronius or the *Satyrice* show traces of the appellations *Satiricus*, *Satyricus*, *A[f]franius*, and *Satyrus*.

The additions *Satiricus*, *Satyricus*, *A[f]franius*, and *Satyrus* can be explained in various ways, either as assumed *cognomina*, informal descriptions of the author, or as genitive objects belonging to the following nouns *liber* or *fragmenta*. It is plausible that individual copyists are responsible for these additions, which subsequently entered the tradition. Therefore, it appears sustainable to treat them as later paratexts and not to classify them as parts of the actual name of the author of the *Satyrice*. If we decide to interpret them as informal descriptions of the author, they provide an insight into how some copyists perceived the work. These copyists speak of the author as Petronius, a writer of satyr-like adventures in the tradition of Afranius based on the similarity of the *Satyrice* to scenes and languages of the *togata*, whose main representative was Afranius (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.57), or because the *Satyrice*'s main motif is the *puerorum foedi amores* such as in many *togatae* by Afranius (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.100).⁴⁷ The observation that some copyists speak of him as “Petronius the satirist” because they traced a satiric, moralising tendency by the author in the work mirrors the connection with the title *Satirae* in the manuscripts *R* and *P*.

In line with this argument, we must be aware that *Arbiter* is not necessarily Petronius' *cognomen* either. It might well be that the author was referred to by his name Petronius and his role *arbiter* (“Petronius the judge/arbiter”). This role designation might subsequently have been attributed to the author as a *cognomen*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Cf. MARMORALE (1948, 51).

⁴⁸ Cf. STUDER (1843, 56), subsequently BAGNANI (1954a, 6–7), followed by BRUGNOLI (1961, 318–9), who argues that the appellation *Arbiter* was taken up by Petronius' descendants and turned into

Apart from these additions, *Satiricus* and others, one more peculiarity regarding the paratext author is particularly striking. A closer look at the manuscript *l* produced by Joseph Justus Scaliger reveals a potential *praenomen*, for he quotes *C* for *Gaius*. Surprisingly, this is the only reference to Petronius' *praenomen* in the manuscript tradition of the *Satyrice*. Although the mention of *Gaius* would largely facilitate the identification of the author of the *Satyrice* with an otherwise attested historical figure, doubts must be raised concerning the reliability of Scaliger as a source in this instance. Even though he may have used a copy that has been lost or disappeared after 1571, the lack of any *praenomen* even in the early manuscripts from the ninth to twelfth century and in all intertexts should make us hesitate. By contrast, there is one ancient author remembering a C. Petronius in detail, and Scaliger almost certainly read and knew this author's work:⁴⁹ Tacitus in his *Annals* reports the death of Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* whose name was C. Petronius. Even more tellingly, Scaliger suggested the identification of the author of the *Satyrice* with the Neronian member of court.⁵⁰ On these grounds, it appears likely that Scaliger connected the author of the *Satyrice* with Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* found in Tacitus and added the *praenomen* in his copy of the work. On the basis of this suggestion, Petronius' *praenomen* given in the manuscript *l* loses its validity. It merely remains a single scholar's assumption and a later, rather than an authorial, paratext.

2.2.2.2 ONYMITY VERSUS PSEUDONYMITY

Because the paratext "Petronius Arbiter" might allow us to link the author of the *Satyrice* with an otherwise attested historical figure, it is necessary to incorporate matters of onymity versus pseudonymity into our discussion. Provided that the name Petronius had not later been (wrongly) attached to this text following a reading of Tacitus (and/or other potential sources such as Suetonius), an interpretation that is at least possible, if not plausible, is this the author's real name, or solely a name he assumed for publication, i.e. his pseudonym? In the latter case we could enquire further whether the real author has chosen to attribute his work to an existing and possibly known author, or to an imaginary person, which he may or may not have provided

a *cognomen*, COURTNEY (2001, 7), SCHMELING (2011, XIII), VÖLKER/ROHMANN (2011, 661), STAR (2012, 1 n. 2). MARTIN (1999, 8), FLOBERT (2003, 110; 2006, 433), and BALDWIN (2004) have raised doubts, yet without persuasive arguments.

⁴⁹ Cf. ROSE (1971, 6–7).

⁵⁰ See section 1.3.

with some attributes.⁵¹ Furthermore, we might ask ourselves whether the ancient audience knew about its real as opposed to its assumed author, and at what times this knowledge was more or less widespread.

Thus, when we investigate the potentially biographical accounts of Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, and Tacitus below and attempt to connect their Petronii with the implied author of the *Satyrica*, we need to be hesitant to set up a further link with the real author. We must be conscious of the possibility that a second-century writer might have read these anecdotes and subsequently composed a work that deliberately shows features common with the life of Nero's *arbiter elegantiae*, which he attributed to Petronius Arbiter. Along the same lines, we cannot rule out that someone, who copied parts of the *Satyrica* either in antiquity or medieval times, (wrongly) attributed the work to a Petronius Arbiter whom he had read about elsewhere.⁵² Thus, in short, both the real author and a (later) reader could have been guilty of ascribing the *Satyrica* to a real or imaginary person named Petronius.

Laird (2007, 162) has linked the resemblance of name and points of contact with potential epitexts with the exercise of prosopopoeia. Other scholars who have occasionally argued for pseudonymity are Ratti (1978, esp. 36–46) and Martin (2000, 152–5; 2011, 436–7). Martin (2000, 152–5, and 2010; 2011, 437, respectively) assumes that Petronius Arbiter is a pseudonym taken up by the real author, who is identical with *Encolpius quidem lector* from Pliny (*Ep.* 8.1.2), or by a group of writers. The appearance of a number of pseudoepigrapha in the veins of Vergil (*Culex*), Ovid (*Nux*), and other writers in Imperial times shows that matters of pseudonymity are a relevant factor to be borne in mind when we assess ancient paratexts.

The assumption that Petronius Arbiter is a pseudonym has significant implications for our assessment of the real author, as in this case due to the lack of records it is impossible to find out who in fact wrote the *Satyrica*. Anyone, be he famous or unknown, provided that he was a skilled and highly learned writer, could have composed the *Satyrica* (and assumed the pseudonym Petronius Arbiter).

We can only speculate about the reasons why an author would have decided to

⁵¹ GENETTE (1997b, 47–9) here speaks of “imagining the author” versus omit to “supply the whole paratextual apparatus that ordinarily serves to substantiate (seriously or not) the existence of the imagined author”.

⁵² Cf. HOLZBERG (2006, 90–1).

produce his work under the name of Petronius Arbiter. Apart from matters of credibility, irrespective of the genre to which we assign the *Satyrica*,⁵³ the question of whether to promote the work openly under one's own name and take full responsibility for all its features and peculiarities or to assign it to a (perhaps famous) person bears crucial consequences for the afterlife of both author and work. For example, writing a poem under the name of Ovid rather than a not famous successor may secure that it will be read and passed on. On the other side, assigning an antiauthoritarian work under a tyrant to a deceased author rather than claiming authorship for it may be an attempt to save one's skin while still making his own opinion public.

The real author's choice of a certain pseudonym affects our reading, as he often pushes a certain interpretation of the work, particularly if the assumed author is a famous historical person who may or may not be a writer. For example, the author of the idealised romance entitled *Callirhoe* is believed to have assumed the pseudonym Chariton and introduces himself as "Chariton of Aphrodisias, secretary of the rhetor Athenagoras" in the work, probably to match the romantic content with his name ("man of graces"). Likewise, the choice of "Petronius" might remind us of the historical proconsul who was later taken up as counsellor at the Neronian court. This link might then drive the reader to interpret various internal factors as typically late Julio-Claudian on the one hand, and protagonists and actions from the work as funny, justifiable or despicable based on Neronian standards on the other. Furthermore, it might change the assumed aim of the work, as the reader imagines Nero and his court to be the potential primary audience. Since we as readers tend to reconstruct the author from his work and interpret the work in light of the background information available about the author, the wider implications of the specific peritext author shall be discussed in conjunction with the potential epitexts below.

In light of our thin layer of evidence it remains impossible to exclude either onymity or pseudonymity, and asking further hypothetical questions of what might or might not be the case only leads from one problem to another. We are left with the

⁵³ Cf. GENETTE (1997b, 41: "The author's name fulfils a contractual function whose importance varies greatly depending on genre: slight or nonexistent in fiction, it is much greater in all kinds of referential writing, where the credibility of the testimony, or of its transmission, rests largely on the identity of the witness or the person reporting it").

inability to find out whether Petronius Arbiter was the name of the author or merely a pseudonym he assumed or whether the work was attributed to a Petronius by a later reader. Equally, we cannot be sure that Arbiter was his original or later *cognomen* or simply a designation. Therefore, it must be borne in mind that we may fall into a trap if we set out to link the author of the *Satyrice* as given in the manuscript tradition, Petronius Arbiter, all too readily with an otherwise attested historical person. Nonetheless, this paratext, be it the author's real name or his pseudonym, will prove highly valuable because it makes any discussion of intertexts in section 3 possible. As will emerge, ancient authors, when referring to the *Satyrice*, almost exclusively use the (real or assumed) name of the author rather than the title of the work.

2.3 EPITEXTS

Three early sources have commonly been treated as anecdotes of the author Petronius.⁵⁴ Since they have been transmitted independently from the text, they are to be attributed to the group of epitexts. Pliny, Plutarch, and Tacitus refer only to a historical person by the name of Petronius and do not mention his activity as a writer nor quote any of his work and can thus not be unquestionably identified as paratexts to the *Satyrice*. Nonetheless, the discussion of their accounts will prove valuable for a number of reasons from both a narratological viewpoint and beyond. These three passages, if they are on the author of the *Satyrice*, allow us to complete the paratextual element author by providing Petronius' *praenomen*, and facilitate the discussion of the implied author of the *Satyrice*. Furthermore, if the reader has access to these separate texts and sets up a link with the work, the knowledge of these biographical accounts affects the interpretation of the *Satyrice*. Connected to the passage from Tacitus I shall here address the question of potential metapoetics in the case of Petronius.⁵⁵ This is because the poem found at 132.15, which has been adduced to argue in favour of linking the potentially paratextual anecdote in the *Annals* with the *Satyrice*, has also frequently been read as an authorial manifesto by Petronius.

Furthermore, the narratological discussions of these three potentially biographical accounts of the author are of use from a historical and cultural viewpoint and thus

⁵⁴ The Latin and Greek passages and their English translations can be found in sections 8.2.1–3.

⁵⁵ In GENETTE's classification we could speak of instances of metapoetics as specific cases of authorial, metaleptic (auto)metatexts, as here the author comments on his own text via one of his protagonists or the narrator.

illustrate that the Genettean analyses in this thesis go beyond investigating the literary value of Petronius' *Satyrice*. The biographical details in Pliny, Plutarch, and most importantly Tacitus, provided that they refer to the author of the *Satyrice*, allow us not only to draw a colourful picture of the real author but also to make assumptions about the Neronian period during which Petronius is said to have composed the work. Indeed, the texts we think of as composed during the reign of Nero, in particular the *Satyrice*, have strongly influenced our perception of this time.⁵⁶

2.3.1 PLINY THE ELDER AND PLUTARCH

Pliny's account in the *Naturalis Historia* (c. 77 CE) is the first mention in extant ancient sources of what might be the author of the *Satyrice* by the name of T Petronius (*HN* 37.20).⁵⁷ After having attracted the emperor Nero's hatred, which eventually caused his downfall and death, the consular T. Petronius broke an expensive myrrhine vessel. For the purpose of surpassing all his subordinates in wealth and luxury, Nero possessed an even more expensive cup.

While Pliny's anecdote closely resembles Nero breaking precious goblets at table at Suet. *Ner.* 47.1, Suetonius does not refer to a *consularis* Petronius in the *vita Neronis* at all. Neither does Dio Cassius at the end of the century.⁵⁸ By contrast, an account similar in tone can be found in Plutarch's essay *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*, published around 100 CE.⁵⁹ Here Plutarch sets out to discuss the manners and behaviours of flatterers, who work their way into the intimacy of important people in order to eventually exercise a controlling influence upon them. Within his judgement of extravagance Plutarch includes a negative reference to Nero's Titus Petronius (*Mor.* 60D–E = *Adulator* 19).

The intimate relationship with the emperor Nero, the *praenomen* Titus, and the *nomen gentile* Petronius strongly suggest that both Pliny and Plutarch refer to the same consular. Even more importantly, Plutarch, in contrast to Pliny, spells out the

⁵⁶ See sections 1.1, 1.5.

⁵⁷ Abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD). I have adopted the spelling *u* for both the close vowel /u/ and the semivowel /w/ in all ancient Latin texts, even if not applied by the author of the *OCT* edition that I quote.

⁵⁸ Cf. BALDWIN (2004, 3–4).

⁵⁹ On the date cf. JONES (1966, 72).

name Titus (Τίτος) instead of quoting its abbreviation T.⁶⁰ This lowers the likelihood of a scribal error in the case of Pliny. Moreover, Plutarch's account appears not to be based on Pliny, whom he never explicitly refers to, but rather on Cluvius, "one of the very few Roman writers of the Imperial Age whom he *does* mention"⁶¹. Pliny's contemporary Cluvius, in turn, must have had the correct *praenomen* of Petronius since he was at the Neronian court.⁶² On these grounds, Plutarch's testimony is independent from Pliny's, which confirms the correctness of the *praenomen* Titus found in both accounts.

While both Pliny and Plutarch state Petronius' *praenomen* (Titus), they omit to list the corresponding *cognomen*. However, as Rose (1971, 52) has persuasively shown on the basis of Pliny's irregular nomenclature, the author occasionally tends to omit the *cognomen* of *consulares*. The missing *cognomen* in his account of Titus Petronius must therefore not be hastily regarded as proof that the consular's name was composed of a *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* only.⁶³

Due to the matching *nomina gentilia* of the consular whom Pliny and Plutarch mention (Titus Petronius) and the author of the *Satyrica* as given in the manuscripts (Petronius Arbiter) a number of scholars have suggested interpreting these as congruent figures.⁶⁴ In order to accomplish the task of linking Pliny's and Plutarch's Petronius with the author of the *Satyrica*, researchers have attempted to extract internal literary evidence from the *Satyrica*. Their approach is based on the assumption that protagonists of the work reflect the author's own attitude, i.e. that Petronius' character traits can be traced, for example, in the wealthy *nouveau riche* Trimalchio. In fact, the freedman perfectly mirrors the consular's obsession with expensive goods that Pliny highlights. While Petronius smashes a highly expensive myrrhine vessel according to Pliny, the protagonist Trimalchio boasts possessing among other objects several exquisite *scyphos urnales* (52) and shows off a great deal of jewellery, of

⁶⁰ As McLEAN (2002, 49–51, 132–3) has made clear, abbreviations in Greek inscriptions occur only occasionally prior to the second century CE. There is no indication that this phenomenon is not mirrored also in Greek literature.

⁶¹ ROSE (1971, 49).

⁶² Cf. Suet. *Ner.* 21.1, Dio Cass. 63.14.3; SYME (1958a, 294).

⁶³ On the use of different versions of names in Rome cf. BALSDON (1979, 146–54).

⁶⁴ Cf. SYME (1958a, 387 n. 6), ROSE (1961, 822; 1966, 278–9; 1971, 9–20), SULLIVAN (1968a, 457 with n. 12; 1968b, 32; 1985a, 1666–7), WALSH (1970, 67–8), RÉMY (1989, 30), PRAG/REPATH (2009, 8).

which some pieces are of pure gold (32, 67.6–10).⁶⁵

In order to evaluate this link, we first need draw a distinction between the *de facto* producer of the text and the implied author. We should be hesitant to link the implied author with the real author. As the Genettean figure indicates, these are two distinct instances on two different levels:⁶⁶

[real author [implied author [narrator [narrative] narratee] implied reader] real reader]

An overhasty equation of the real author Petronius Arbiter with any of the characters from the *Satyrica* at any point fails to appreciate and thus undermines the multi-layered structure, which the author has chosen for the narration of his satyr-like adventures, by mingling separate instances from different levels.⁶⁷

Along similar lines, the literary persona of Catullus in *carmen* 16 objects that we cannot infer from the tone and content of his writings that he himself was effeminate.⁶⁸ Even though the poet undermines (t)his message by the ludic and ironic tone that emerges clearly from the first and last line of the poem addressed at his critics (*pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo*) in contrast to the content of the rest of the poem and “makes this distinction [sc. between Catullus the poet in his life outside of his poetry and Catullus as he appears within his poetry] in a poem, and, by this very gesture, removes the grounds of his argument”⁶⁹, his objection proves useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, Catullus makes clear that in the first century BCE there was already an awareness of the difference between what Genette calls an implied author based on the characteristics of a text and its real author, even though, as Clay (1998, 39) concludes, it was no more than “liminal”.⁷⁰ Thus, this distinction is not a modern narratological concept, even though the terminology is. Furthermore, it shows that people in antiquity attempted to align features of a text with the implied author and the real author. The awareness of a separation of the two instances, in turn, allows for a poet like Catullus in his sixteenth poem to address it in a ludic way.

⁶⁵ The text of the *Satyrica* is that of MÜLLER (2003). All translations of the *Satyrica* are taken from SULLIVAN (2011) unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁶ Cf. GENETTE (1988, 139, 145). VEYNE (1964, 303) speaks of the “I” (Encolpius the narrator) as Petronius’ “porte-parole” in the *Cena* and his “alibi” elsewhere.

⁶⁷ See section 4.2.1.

⁶⁸ Cf. also *Tr.* 2.348–60, where Ovid defends that while his books urged immorality his own life was pure, and *Mart.* 1.4.8 (*lasciua est nobis pagina, uita proba*), 11.15. On ancient theory of the literary persona cf. CLAY (1998), MAYER (2003).

⁶⁹ CLAY (1998, 33).

⁷⁰ MAYER (2003, 66–71) even argues that there was no such awareness in antiquity at all.

Transferring these results to Petronius and the *Satyrice*, we should assume that the author is aware of his image as the implied author as determined by the reader and may deliberately undermine the recipient's assumptions. The existence of these levels and distinctions, even though or perhaps because an understanding of them existed already in antiquity, does not rule out an author playing with and between them in a teasing way.

In view of these considerations, the historical question of whether or not Pliny's and Plutarch's Titus Petronius is identical with the author of the *Satyrice* can be answered only by determining the possible time frame of composition. On the basis of the evidence gathered thus far, it must remain open at this stage. Bearing in mind that the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* lists fifty-eight Petronii (lemmas 264–322) from the first three centuries CE, the identical *nomen gentile* alone does not suffice to sustainably speak of a paratextual account of the author. In fact, the anecdotes from Pliny and Plutarch are as likely to be two accounts of the author of *Satyrice* as is any other reference to any person named Petronius. Overall, the suggestion of a close relation, i.e. their status as epitexts, remains open not least because neither Plutarch nor Pliny mentions the *Satyrice* or any writings by Petronius.

2.3.2 TACITUS

In his *Annals* from around 115 CE Tacitus provides elaborate biographical background on Petronius, the governor of Bithynia and later consul, who was received among Nero's circle as *arbiter elegantiae* (*Ann.* 16.17–9). According to the historian, Petronius was convicted of involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy after having attracted Tigellinus' resentment and eventually was forced to commit suicide.

Tacitus' description of Petronius neatly matches Pliny's report of Titus Petronius, who has been previously identified with Plutarch's Titus Petronius. The possession of a highly expensive object recalls the lavish taste due to which the emperor employed him as his minister of elegance, and Petronius' governorship of Bithynia stands in line with the term *consularis* applied to T. Petronius in Pliny. If we accept the correction of the first name C. for Gaius at Tac. *Ann.* 16.18 to T. for Titus on the grounds of a scribal error, nothing stands in the way of identifying the Petronius

from Tacitus with the one in Pliny and Plutarch.⁷¹

While the identification of the Tacitean with Pliny's and Plutarch's Petronius and, thus, his *praenomen* Titus are widely accepted, the question of his *cognomen* has been vigorously debated. While some scholars construed the lack of a *cognomen* in the *Annals* as evidence for its non-existence,⁷² Rose (1971, 53–5) has persuasively shown that not much significance can be attached to Tacitus' use of *cognomina*. Even though he is surely “generally held to be reliable in terms of contemporary prosopography”⁷³, his choice of whether to apply or leave aside *cognomina* follows no apparent system. For these reasons, and because in the *Naturalis Historia* and the *Quomodo Adulator* the respective authors omit Petronius' *cognomen*, we can only speculate about the latter's full name – if he had one. *Arbiter* denoted the working role Nero attributed to him and was neither his *cognomen* nor an official title.⁷⁴ We are unable to confirm or dismiss the hypothesis that the role described in Tacitus' *Annals*, *arbiter (elegantiae)*, was subsequently turned into and attributed to Petronius as a *cognomen*. Since people might have referred to the counsellor Petronius as *Petronius arbiter* (“Petronius the minister (of elegance)”), the independent existence of a *cognomen* *Arbiter* proves little in our case.⁷⁵

One of the primary doubts about the identification of Petronius *Arbiter* with Tacitus' Petronius emerges from the lack of reference to the author's literary productions. It has been observed time and again that the historian does not mention the *Satyrica* or any other opus by Nero's *arbiter* apart from the “scurrilous document sent posthumously to Nero”⁷⁶.

Scholars have attempted to come up with various explanations for this omission.

⁷¹ Explained in detail by BRUGNOLI (1961, 326–31) and picked up by KOESTERMANN (1968, 367) in his commentary. Cf. also COURTNEY (2001, 6).

⁷² Cf. MARMORALE (1948, 60–1), BAGNANI (1954a, 5–6), COURTNEY (2001, 5–6).

⁷³ SYME (1958a, 379). Cf. also SCHMAL (2005, 104–15).

⁷⁴ Cf. MARMORALE (1948, 60–1), BAGNANI (1954a, 6), MARTIN (1999, 8; 2011, 434–5), RIPOLL (2011, 441). For further attestations of *arbiter* as “overseer, controller, ruler” cf. *OLD* s.v. *arbiter* 3. KAJANTO (1965, 96, 362) lists *Arbiter* with reference to Petronius *Arbiter* among the *nomina agentis* and states that the *cognomina* *Arbiter*, *Custos*, *Domnus*, *Viaticus*, and *Vindex* “denote temporary or general activities” (96).

⁷⁵ *Arbiter* is attested in only three inscriptions: *CIL* X.1 5490 (Aquinum), *CIL* VI.2 12282 (Rome), and *ILS* 2362 (Mainz). In addition, there are two more instances, where the names are preserved as *ARB*—: *CIL* VIII Supp. 3 22640.125 (Carthage) and IX 6080.4b (Firmi). As far as I can see, none of these inscriptions have been dated so far.

⁷⁶ SMITH (1975, 213). Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 84), MARTIN (1975, 204; 1999, 8–9), WOLFF (1999a, 345), COURTNEY (2001, 7), BALDWIN (2001, 3; 2004, 3–4), GARBUGINO (2010, 479), SCHMELING (2011, XIII).

Wolff (1999a, 345) has suggested that Tacitus did not even know Petronius as a writer, since the latter was not read in his milieu. Courtney (2001, 7) downplays the problem by calling the lack of mention of Petronius' works "not much of a problem". Along a similar line Slater (1990b, 10) and Schmeling (2011, XIII) have objected that a serious historian would not include a piece of work such as the light-hearted *Satyrica* in his *Annals*.⁷⁷ Indeed, prose fiction is notably omitted from Quintilian's survey of literary genres in his *Institutio Oratoria* 10, and Macrobius' comment at *Somn.* 1.2.8 suggests that Latin erotic stories may have been despised by serious intellectuals.⁷⁸

Another approach, which interprets the syntagm *ac dicta factaque* (Tac. *Ann.* 16.18) as passing reference to the *Satyrica*,⁷⁹ has been rightly dismissed by Soverini (1997, 205–6), followed by Radif (2002), as "troppo tipico". Tacitus uses it elsewhere, but not necessarily to denote people's writings.⁸⁰ Corbato (1980, 569–72), finally, argues that Petronius wrote the *Satyrica sibi et paucis* only.

Connected to this, the *codicilli* sent to Nero upon Petronius' suicide have sometimes been understood either as the *Satyrica* itself or an appendix to it. This includes the key assumption for breaking down the suggested hidden parallels between the emperor's affairs and the protagonists of the work.⁸¹ Bearing in mind that Tacitus' report suggests a rather spontaneous compilation of the *codicilli*, their identification with the *Satyrica* depreciates largely; or should we expect Petronius to have written an work of at least sixteen books in that short amount of time? The diminutive *codicilli*, as opposed to *codex*, makes this equation even more improbable.⁸² Regarding the interpretation of the "booklets" as an *appendix* to the *Satyrica*, it

⁷⁷ Already SYME (1958a, 336 with n. 5) attempted this explanation. GARBUGINO (2010, 479) suggests that Tacitus deliberately omitted Petronius' literary productions since they have no place in historical literature ("perché, come è provato da altri casi analoghi, ritiene che la letteratura non debba rientrare nella narrazione storica"). However, GARBUGINO omits to explicitly name the "altri casi analoghi".

⁷⁸ *Hoc totum fabularum genus [sc. Arbitri et Apuleii], quod solas aurium delicias proficitur, e sacrario suo in nutricum cunas sapientiae tractatus eliminat.*

Cf. HARRISON (2003, 143–4).

⁷⁹ Cf. SYME (1958a, 439), followed by GARBUGINO (2010, 479).

⁸⁰ Cf. *Ann.* 2.28.2, 3.65.1, *Hist.* 4.32.1. A similar expression is used at *Ann.* 1.72.2.

⁸¹ Cf. STUDER (1843, 56–63) – rejected by RITTER (1843) and KNOCHÉ (1971, 70), picked up again by SYME (1958a, 336) –, RANKIN (1965, 236 n. 8), GAGLIARDI (1993, 6), SOVERINI (1997, 215: "risulta indubbiamente interessante e suggestiva"), who dismisses it as there is no proof found in the *Satyrica* that could confirm the report of the "flagitia sessuali" (216), and GARBUGINO (2010, 479–80).

⁸² Cf. *OLD* s.v. *codicillus* 4 ("A supplement to a will or other posthumous instructions, codicil").

suffices to recall that the exegesis of Petronius' work as a *roman à clef*, as advocated, for example, by Kraffert (1888), has long been dismissed as lacking in substance.⁸³

Despite the lack of explicit mentions of the *Satyrice* in the *Annals*, scholars have attempted to prove that Tacitus subtly refers to it. The passage quoted most often for the purpose of linking Tacitus' account of Petronius with the *Satyrice* is Encolpius' poem at 132.15:

quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones
 damnatis nouae simplicitatis opus?
 sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,
 quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert.
 nam quis concubitus, Ueneris quis gaudia nescit?
 quis uetat in tepido membra calere toro?
 ipse pater ueri doctos Epicurus amare
 iussit et hoc uitam dixit habere τέλος

You Catos, why do you wear that
 frosty look?
 Why slate my new and unpretentious
 book?
 The language is refined, the smile not
 grave,
 My honest tongue recounts how men
 behave.
 For mating and love's pleasures all
 will vouch;
 Who vetoes love's hot passion on
 warm couch?
 Hear Epicurus, father of truth, pro-
 claim:
 "Wise men must love, for love is
 life's true aim!"
 (Translation: Walsh 1996)

Encolpius' poetic outburst has attracted the attention of scholars for obvious reasons. It has been argued that *nouae simplicitatis opus* in the second verse recalls Tacitus' *in speciem simplicitatis* (*Ann.* 16.18).⁸⁴ This interpretation, assessed by Sullivan (1968b, 31) as "highly disputable", presumes that Tacitus read as far as book 16 of the *Satyrice* and selected one word out of one of the many poems, which he then inserted into his account of Nero's Petronius.⁸⁵ It is problematic, both because the occurrence of only one similar key term in both Tacitus and the *Satyrice* does not suffice to sustainably justify any literary connection, and since we cannot be

⁸³ Cf. SULLIVAN (1985a, 1671), VON ALBRECHT (1997, 1214), MARTIN (1999, 33: "Le *Satyricon* n'est sûrement pas le roman 'à clef' que jadis on voulait y voir"), PRAG/REPATH (2009, 6). Tryphaena was linked with Iunia Silana (cf. VERDIÈRE 1956), Circe with Agrippina, Eumolpus with Seneca, and Trimalchio, unless he was identified with the emperor Nero, with Pallas. For traits of protagonists in the *Satyrice* that resemble historical persons cf. section 5.2.

⁸⁴ Cf. STUBBE (1933, esp. 150–4), BOGNER (1941), MAIURI (1948, 104), RANKIN (1968), and SOVERINI (1997, 201 n. 17) suggest that *simplicitas* in both texts acquires the same meaning, while BICKEL (1941) and COCCIA (1979) conclude the opposite. Nonetheless, this is no obstacle for COCCIA to assume that Tacitus alludes to the passage in Petronius.

⁸⁵ Cf. JENSSON (2004, 25–6)

sure whether *simplicitas* in Petronius' *Satyrice* carries programmatic connotation. Even if we are ready to accept a link between the two works, with the utmost caution, it remains disputable whether Tacitus alluded to Petronius or instead Petronius – or the author assuming this pseudonym – deliberately picked up a term from the historian's account of Nero's *arbiter elegantiae*.⁸⁶ The latter two possibilities shall be investigated further below, when I look into the links between the implied author of the *Satyrice* and the Neronian Petronius.

This poem has triggered scholarly dispute for one more reason. Not least because the poem is a justification of a piece of work (*opus*) suspected by some (*constricta fronte; damnatis*) because of its new simplicity (*nouae simplicitatis*), it appears tempting to read it as an authorial manifesto.⁸⁷ The key methodological problem arising from reading 132.15 as an authorial manifesto has been highlighted above: Petronius the real author is identical neither to the implied author Petronius, as we infer him from his text, nor to the narrator Encolpius. The context of the poem makes it sufficiently clear that here the protagonist Encolpius is speaking: “the word *opus* (132.15) does not necessarily stand for the work as a whole, but is more naturally taken in the immediate context as reference to a comic oration addressed by Encolpius to his penis (132.8f.)”, as Jensson (2004, 18), following Beck (1973, 51), has rightly observed. The protagonist, having failed to prove his manliness to the beautiful Circe, starts preaching to his penis, which he calls *contumacem* of, in fuming tones (132.9–11). Before long, he will start to feel embarrassed for having addressed a body part that people of high morality do not even pay attention to (*cum ea parte corporis uerba contulerim, quam ne ad cognitionem quidem admittere seuerioris notae homines solerent*, 132.12). These are the people Encolpius will address as *constricta [...] fronte Catones* (132.15 v. 1) in the poem in question a moment later.⁸⁸ Hence, viewed in its context, we have no more than a justification by the protagonist Encolpius for his outburst a moment earlier.

It remains impossible for the recipient to trace the author's own opinion in his

⁸⁶ Cf. LAIRD (2000, 161), HOLZBERG (2006, 90–1).

⁸⁷ Cf. for example SULLIVAN (1963, 85–6; 1968b, 98–100, 117, 158, 192, 210, 228, 233–4, 256).

⁸⁸ I strongly believe in a hypertextual link between the *constricta [...] fronte Catones* and Martial, who addresses the *seuerus Cato* in his *Epigrams* several times: *non intret Cato theatrum meum* (1 praef.), *cur in theatrum, Cato seuerus, venisti?* (ibid.), *tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones* (10.20.21), *triste supercilium durique seuera Catonis / frons et aratoris filia Fabricii* (11.2.1–2). Cf. COLLIGNON (1892, 394), MARTIN (2000, 146–7), SALANITRO (2007, 311), GARBUGINO (2010, 473).

characters' tales, because Petronius, in the words of Conte (1996), lies "hidden" somewhere behind his narrator. Already prior to Conte, Schmeling (1994–1995, 207; cf. also 1995, 157) had gotten to the heart of this when he stated: "While the opinions of Petronius may lurk from time to time beneath the observations of Encolpius, we cannot know when, or where, or even if ever".⁸⁹ Applying narratological methodology, I would thus like to clearly distance myself from any attempt to link statements or actions found in the *Satyrice* with the opinion of the real author.⁹⁰

A purely historical analysis of the *Annals* with focus on the attribution and dating question of the *Satyrice* leaves us with a *non liquet* conclusion at this point. The name in Tacitus' account (Petronius), which matches the paratextual element author as reconstructed based on the manuscript tradition, remains the only sustainable argument for speaking of the *Annals* as a paratextual account of the author Petronius. Based on the thin layer of evidence at hand and the number of possible interpretations for arguments brought forward in favour of and against them, it would be hazardous to easily accept or discard the accounts of Tacitus, Pliny, and Plutarch as references to a historical person named Petronius, who is identical to or different from the author of the *Satyrice*. By contrast, the application of narratology to the account of Tacitus allows us to go further. Even though it might not allow us to confirm *Ann.* 16.17–19 as a genuine paratext of the *Satyrice*, it proves useful for a num-

⁸⁹ Cf. similarly PLAZA (2000, 167–9), who observes that we can read passages such as 80.9 and 132.15 as metapoetic, assuming that Petronius may have left the possibility of double reading deliberately open. Thus, sometimes we may have mutually exclusive interpretations – the protagonist or narrator speaking versus the author expressing his own opinion –, which Petronius has facilitated on purpose. Some scholars have drawn a clear line between the opinions of the protagonist Eumolpus and the author Petronius – MARMORALE (1948, 59–60), PENNACINI in review of COCCIA's (1973) book (460–1: "in generale autore e personaggi non si identificano: discorsi, gesti, azioni dei personaggi trovano compimento, significato e funzione nella realtà fittizia che la struttura del racconto, pur nella sua dinamica, produce"), SOVERINI (1985, 1724, 1734–5), FEDELI in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 38–9), CROISILLE (2003, 51–2), SETAIOLI (2011, 168), SCHMELING (2011, 1) –, while for example LEFÈVRE (2004, 256) has not.

⁹⁰ The list of scholars, who have made this link in the opening episode, can be found in SOVERINI (1985, 1714–23). Another passage where scholars have attempted to establish this link is Encolpius' poem at 80.9. Cf. WALSH (1970, 93), SLATER (1990b, 89), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 191), CONNORS (1998, 13–4), SETAIOLI (2011, 151: "we just ignore the context for which lines were written completely").

Other scholars have interpreted expressions by protagonists as the author's attacks of certain types of people, such as the art critiques in general (cf. for example CROISILLE (2003, 53)), or certain authors, such as Lucan at Petron. 118, as suggested by WALSH (1968, 210) and many of the defenders of the Neronian date of composition of the *Satyrice*. In a similar vein, SCHUBERT (1998, 168–9) thinks of the author Petronius as a moralist and serious literary critic.

ber of other reasons, both from a narratological viewpoint and beyond.

Based on the characteristic features of the work, we as readers draw a specific picture of the author. This, in Genettean terminology, implied author shows some traits that are similar to those of the Neronian *arbiter elegantiae*, as we find him described in Tacitus.⁹¹ On the whole, the *Satyrical* is characterised by the same ludic inversion that characterises Petronius' life. In the work earlier texts from all sorts of genres, centuries, and authors are turned on their head leaving us with no more than pseudo-heroic adventurers who are chased from place to place by the angry Priapus instead of Neptune.⁹² Similarly, Nero's minister of taste sleeps in the daytime and indulges in amusements at night (*Ann.* 16.18) and finally sets up his death in a manner antithetical to that of the Stoic philosopher Seneca (*Ann.* 15.61–4):⁹³ Petronius' will is not a serious message to his friends he is leaving behind but rather an open attack on Nero's sexual excesses. Both the conventional tone and the atmosphere of dying are playful instead of deeply philosophical, and Seneca's multiple futile attempts to end his life are turned into a game of opening and closing the veins yet again. Occasionally, we are able to draw even finer links between the implied author and Tacitus' Petronius. For example, in the fragments of the work belonging to books 14 and 15 we find our adventurers around the Bay of Naples, just as Petronius is reported to have committed suicide in Campania (*Ann.* 16.19).⁹⁴

The mere existence of potential links between the implied author of the *Satyrical* and the historical Petronius from Tac. *Ann.* 16 does not necessarily mean that the real author, whose real name or pseudonym was Petronius, is identical with Nero's *arbiter elegantiae*, since elements in the text might be derived from Tacitus – and Suetonius (see section 5.2.5.3). Similarly, we cannot exclude the possibility that the name Petronius had later been attached to this text following a reading of Tacitus.

Additionally, it should not go unmentioned that the implied author of the *Satyrical* in some aspects seems to differ greatly from the *arbiter*. To name just one example,

⁹¹ Cf. SCHNUR (1955), WIGHT DUFF (1960, 140), SULLIVAN (1968b, 253), ROSE (1971, 38–46), FREDERICKS (1974, 99), LEEMAN (1978, 430), RUDICH (1993, 155), YEH (2007, 4), HAYES (2010, esp. 75–6), and aptly summarised by PRAG/REPATH (2009, 6: “It will doubtless be apparent that the description of Petronius's character provided by Tacitus would seem to fit the author of the *Satyrical* extremely well”).

⁹² See section 5. Cf. SCHMELING (1971a, 356: “Poseidon and Priapus were just barely members of the same hierarchy”).

⁹³ Cf. SYME (1958b, 538), RANKIN (1965, 244–5), CONNORS (1994, 229), LAIRD (2000, 153–6), HILL (2004, 238–9).

⁹⁴ Cf. PARATORE (1933, Vol. 1, 3).

we find an extensive, lavish dinner hosted by the *nouveau riche* freedman Trimalchio, where meals are swept off the table even though the guests barely had the chance to taste them, whereas Tacitus tells us that Petronius was not a glutton and a wastrel unlike many others (*habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium*, *Ann.* 16.18). In light of this and other discrepancies, some scholars have concluded that the implied author of the *Satyrica* is not as similar to Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* as has frequently been stated.⁹⁵

Due of the nature of the implied author it comes as no surprise that scholarly opinions on whether the implied author Petronius can be successfully connected with Petronius from the *Annals* in our case range from full acceptance through slight hesitation to complete refusal. The assessment of Rudich (1997, 195) of the attempted link as “impressionistic and arbitrary” needs to be applied to any general picture that is drawn of the implied author, simply because it is the reader of the work who individually or under the impact of others' opinions creates this person. Prior knowledge, be it based on accounted facts or mere speculations, influences the way we perceive various factors and traits and construct the image of the person we assume composed the work.

Because of the subjectivity at play in the construction of the implied author, he brings with him the danger of a circular argument that would lead to a potentially unjustified attribution of the *Satyrica* to the Petronius from Tacitus' *Annals* or any other biographical account of a historical Petronius.⁹⁶ Knowing that *communis opinio* identifies Nero's *arbiter* with the author of the *Satyrica*, one might be led into projecting character traits from the real author onto certain factors in the work. The identification of these as reminiscent of the minister of taste would, in turn, back up the pre-assumption that he wrote this piece of work.

A similar circular argument reads the *Satyrica* as a typically Neronian work, even

⁹⁵ SULLIVAN (1968b, 31) called this procedure “hardly convincing”. Cf. also RUDICH (1997, 195: “There are too many deficiencies in this entire argument to make it satisfactory. In methodological terms, it is impressionistic and arbitrary, relying on largely indemonstrable guesswork. It ignores intentional and persistent ambiguity serving as the novel's chief artistic principle. Finally, it fails to appreciate the author's virtuosity in individual characterization often achieved, in regard to personages, even on stylistic and linguistic levels”). MARMORALE (1948, 59–60), EBERSBACH (1995, 200), HOLZBERG (1995, 69), and LAIRD (2007, 161), too, have called for a careful approach.

⁹⁶ Cf. HOLZBERG (1995: 69: “a man who led the life of a courtier under Nero is the most likely candidate for the authorship of a work full of obscenities, and the work, in turn, having almost certainly been composed during Nero's reign, can only have been written by the pleasure-seeking Petronius described in Tacitus' *Annals*”).

though our impression of what “typically Neronian” actually means depends largely on the pieces of work we attribute to these times. The *Satyrica*, most importantly, has deeply affected our perception of the reign of the last Julio-Claudian emperor.⁹⁷

2.4 CONCLUSION

Paratexts function as transmitters of two sorts of additional pieces of information. Pre-defined paratexts have an impact on our reading of the work. By contrast, if we are called to decide about the paratext based on our reading, our choice of paratext both mirrors our preferred interpretation and passes it on to other readers.

In the case of Petronius different versions of the same peritext (*Satyricon/Satiricon/Satyrica* or *Satirae*) are available. Therefore, our choice of what might be or come closest to the authorial title mirrors our interpretation of the work. Depending on whether we wish to read the plot as moralising attack or light-hearted form of engagement, we stress one function or another by choosing a (primarily) rhematic or thematic title. The fact that different titles can be found in the various manuscripts tells us that scribes over the last thousand years or so might have interpreted the work in different ways, mirroring their preferred way of reading by their specific choice of peritext.

Excluding the various later, scribal additions that can be plausibly explained, the manuscripts agree on the second peritext: the name of the author is Petronius Arbiter. Bearing the possibility of pseudonymity in mind, we ought to speak rather carefully of the name of the author, who the real author or a later third party wants us to believe composed the work. The author of the *Satyrica* might be a certain Petronius and Arbiter might be his *cognomen*, or perhaps no more than a role designation, which might subsequently have been turned into and attributed to the author as a *cognomen*. The author of the *Satyrica* might be someone else, who merely assumes this name and attributes his work to an otherwise famous or unknown Petronius, and it might even be the case that a copyist or scribe later attached the name Petronius to this text following a reading of Tacitus. Based on the evidence available we have no way of knowing whether Petronius (Arbiter) is the author’s real name or merely a pseudonym of various kinds.

In light of the evidence discussed thus far we cannot find out whether the three

⁹⁷ See sections 1.1, 1.5.

epitexts (Pliny, Plutarch, Tacitus) are genuine paratexts to the *Satyrica* and whether the Neronian Petronius is the one to whom our real author, or a third party, aims to attribute the work, if Petronius Arbiter is a pseudonym. As soon as we accept these accounts as genuine epitexts, they start functioning as transmitters of additional pieces of information like their peritextual counterparts: they mirror our assessment of the date of composition as Neronian and might influence the way others read the *Satyrica*. For our reading this means that the work was written to, and most likely for the amusement of the Neronian court, or is supposed to be interpreted as such. The knowledge of the three epitexts discussed here might then lead us to read general allusions as specific allusions to Nero and perhaps interpret socio-economic factors in the *Satyrica* that are historically attested for the whole of the first century as contemporary mockery of the late Julio-Claudian times.⁹⁸ On the other hand, if we discard the links as artificial and arbitrary, we remove three epitexts, i.e. three transmitters of additional knowledge that might otherwise have an influence on our reading. As a result of this, the straitjacket of a Neronian interpretation no longer directs us: we are able to interpret the work for its literary sophistication more freely and not as a product of a “*fin-de-siècle* stance”⁹⁹.

The analysis of the implied author, who as a concept was not foreign to classical antiquity, allowed us to investigate the reasoning behind the link between the historical *arbiter elegantiae* and the author of the *Satyrica*. It would be wrong to deny that there are points of contact between the implied author and the historical Neronian Petronius, just as there are differences that render such a link less plausible. The mere existence of such links, no matter how persuasive they are, can be interpreted in various ways and does, thus, not prove the genuine authorship of the *Satyrica* of the Neronian Petronius from Tacitus. Any further, less ambiguous analysis of the implied author at this stage would be based to some extent on our preferred reading of the *Satyrica* and might depend on our readiness to accept the implications of discarding a link between the implied author and the historical Petronius of Tacitus, Pliny, and Plutarch.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ VESSEY (1991–1993, 149) has highlighted that our knowledge of Nero and his court as well as Tacitus’ account of the *arbiter elegantiae* Petronius influence our interpretation of the *Satyrica* to a large extent. See further sections 5, 7.

⁹⁹ The expression is taken from LAIRD (2007, 161), who uses it to describe the image of the Neronian age that scholarship of the last decades has drawn.

¹⁰⁰ See sections 5.2, 7.

3 INTER- AND METATEXTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Bücheler lists the accounts of grammarians, church fathers, and other writers, who quote lines from Petronius, of which most are not otherwise attested, in his edition from 1862 as *fr.* 1–25. Müller re-prints these – with the exceptions of *fr.* 17–8, which he labels as *ad Petronium falso relata* – in Bücheler’s non-chronological order in the appendix of his most recent Teubner edition from 2003.¹⁰¹ Together with these fragments, the *testimonia antiquissima* from Macrobius, Marius Mercator, and Ioannes Lydus make up the list of inter- and metatexts to the *Satyrica*. In the interests of clarity, I have decided to speak of the texts, which meet the criteria of both categories, as intertexts rather than as metatexts.¹⁰²

Some of these intertexts will be listed and discussed in thematic order here, grouped by the versions of the author’s name they quote, and within these three thematic brackets in chronological order.¹⁰³ Servius and Ioannes Lydus use “Petronius” only; Marius Victorinus, Jerome, Macrobius, and Sidonius Apollinaris speak of “Arbiter”. A third group consisting of Terentianus Maurus, Marius Mercator, and Fulgentius inconsistently use “Petronius”, “Arbiter”, and “Petronius Arbiter”. The section on Fulgentius will also include the cross-discussion of one intertext to Petronius Arbiter from Lactantius Placidus; among the many intertexts to Petronius in Fulgentius, one is identical with one in Lactantius. I will exclude from my discussion those intertexts that do not provide any additional insight into the text but merely reaffirm conclusions on the linguistic interest in Petronius drawn in other sections.¹⁰⁴ On similar grounds, I will not examine the intertexts from Isidore (*Etym.* 5.26.7) and S. Dionysius (*fr.* 16 Müller), which, even though they allow us to tenta-

¹⁰¹ *fr.* 18 is an intertext from the fifteenth-century dictionary by Ambrosius Calepinus dealing with an *alabastrum Cosmiani*. Since I am looking at intertexts from the first six centuries only, this shall be excluded from my discussion here. On the perfumer Cosmianus/Cosmus and MÜLLER’s assessment of (in)authenticity of *fr.* 17 see section 5.2. In section 3 I shall use the word ‘order’ in its non-technical, i.e. non-narratological, meaning denoting any form of succession or sequence.

¹⁰² See section 1.4.

¹⁰³ Unless quoted in full in the respective section, the Latin and Greek passages and their English translations can be found in sections 8.2.4–11. I have highlighted the name of the author of the *Satyrica* in the ancient testimonies for the sake of clarity.

¹⁰⁴ These include S. Dionysius (*fr.* 15 Müller), Diomedes (*Ars grammatica*, *GL* 1, p. 518), Pompeius (*Commentum Artis Donati*, *GL* 5, p. 167), Boëthius (*In Isagogen Porphyrii commentorum* 2.32, *CSEL* 48, p. 132), Priscian (*Institutiones Grammaticae* 8.16, *GL* 2, p. 381), an unnamed grammarian (*GL* 5, p. 578), and Pseudacro (*ad Horati epod.* 5.48).

tively reconstruct two lost episodes or scenes, are not relevant for our narratological evaluation of the extant *Satyrice*.

Analysing intertexts to the *Satyrice* allows us to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the date of composition of the *Satyrice* of the late second century and a tentative suggestion for a *terminus post quem* of the reign of Trajan. These *termini* are of great importance for our narratological enquiry primarily for two reasons: on the one hand they facilitate a historical identification of the real author and on the other hand they make it possible for us to exclude texts that are later than Terentianus Maurus' *De metris* as potential hypotexts and, thus, from my discussion in section 5. Moreover, the discussion of intertexts to Petronius allows us to tentatively reconstruct what might be the opening episode of the work, which takes place in Marseille. This will prove invaluable for the assessment of Encolpius as a protagonist and the way Petronius uses literary models on various levels.¹⁰⁵

3.2 INCONSISTENT USE OF THE AUTHOR'S NAME

3.2.1 TERTIANUS MAURUS

Terentianus Maurus quotes several lines from the *Satyrice* in two of the fragments from *De metris* from the late second century CE.¹⁰⁶ As a part of his discussion about the catalectic iambic dimeter, i.e. the anacreontic metre, he gives several examples of this metre. He attributes one of these *exempla* to an author named Arbiter, another one to Petronius. Since in the second passage he focuses purely on matters of metre, which are only marginally relevant for our analyses here, I shall confine myself to quoting the first intertext only:

Horatium uidemus
uersus tenoris huius
nusquam locasse iuges;
at Arbiter disertus
libris suis frequentat.
agnoscere haec potestis,
cantare quae solemus,
“Memphitides puellae
sacris deum paratae”,
“tinctus colore noctis
manu puer loquaci”.

The verse of Horace, as we see,
is of this metre wholly free.

But Arbiter, with eloquent pen,
employs it time and time again.
No doubt you readily recall
the chant familiar to us all:
“Maidens of Memphis, all arrayed
to attend the sacred gods' parade”;
“A boy as dusky as the night;
his hands depict the sacred rite”.

¹⁰⁵ See section 5, esp. 5.2.1.

¹⁰⁶ On the date of Terentianus Maurus cf. CASTORINA (1949, 27), SALLMANN (1997, 619), BECK (1998); *DNP* s.v. *Terentianus Maurus*.

In this fragment written in the anacreontic metre Terentianus Maurus shows his appreciation for the author Arbiter to whom he ascribes the chant by calling him eloquent (*disertus*).¹⁰⁷ This description foreshadows the grammarian’s esteem in his second fragment where he claims that Petronius’ verses suit the Muses (*Musis cum lyricum refert eundem / consonantia uerba cantitasse*). Unfortunately, he does not inform us about the reasons for this assessment.

Terentianus Maurus’ inconsistent use of the name of Petronius Arbiter can be sufficiently explained on the basis of the principle of *uariatio* and some metrical observations. Since he was not only a grammarian writing about the use of various metres but also applied diverse metres himself, it was impossible for him to use *Petronius Arbiter* which would fit neither into the anacreontic verse nor a hendecasyllable.¹⁰⁸

An identification of both Arbiter and Petronius in Terentianus Maurus with Petronius Arbiter, the author of the *Satyrica*, which is backed up by the intertext from Marius Victorinus discussed in section 3.3.1, means that we here have the first ancient intertext to Petronius’ work, which concurrently represents our *terminus ante quem*. The *Satyrica* must have been completed and in circulation at least some time before Terentianus Maurus wrote his *De metris*. The *argumentum e silentio* that the *Satyrica* cannot have been compiled long before since no source prior to Terentianus Maurus quotes any of its passages is tempting.¹⁰⁹ In light of this, Rose (1971, 5) is right when he observes: “A similar silence is observed over Velleius Paterculus and Phaedrus, both unquestionably of the first century A.D.”¹¹⁰. Yet, he omits one factor that is relevant for this discussion: Terentianus Maurus’ expressions strongly suggest that the *Satyrica* enjoyed high popularity in the grammarian’s times. The “chant familiar to us all” (*cantare quae solemus*), which “no doubt you readily recall”

¹⁰⁷ CIGNOLO (2002, 546) suggests that the epithet *disertus* must be interpreted as “*lepidus, urbanus*” rather than “*eloquens, facundus*” in connection with the genitive *elegantiae* in Tacitus’ account of *arbiter elegantiae*. However, this reading is widely based on the assumption that the Petronius in Tacitus is identical with Petronius Arbiter, the author of the *Satyrica*.

¹⁰⁸ The metre of hendecasyllable in *De metris* 2849–65 is not immediately apparent due to the molossus (- - -) in the first line of the printed paragraph.

¹⁰⁹ PAOLI (1937, 41–2) has pursued this train of thought.

¹¹⁰ ROSE’s addition, however, that “it is not surprising if a work of the nature of the *Satyricon* received no discussion from the serious-minded” appears premature and subjective.

On the date of Phaedrus cf. GÄRTNER (2015, esp. 55–6: “zweite Hälfte des 1. Jhs. [...] doch große Unsicherheit”).

(*agnoscere haec potestis*), implies that at least a part of Arbiter's piece of work was well known and widespread by the time Terentianus Maurus was composing his *De metris*.¹¹¹ Either the *Satyrica* was composed at any time in the first century, yet did not reach the height of its popularity until sometime at the end of the second century, or else we must assume that it was written not long before the grammarian wrote his *De Metris*. It appears highly unlikely that a work frequently chanted on the street would not be mentioned at all for almost one and a half centuries unless it had fallen into oblivion in the interim.

3.2.2 MARIUS MERCATOR

In his attack on the pagan emperor Julian (*Liber subnotationum in verba Iuliani*), which was probably written around 430 CE,¹¹² Marius Mercator refers to the work of Petronius Arbiter in a pejorative manner twice. The Christian apologist points to the works of Petronius Arbiter and Valerius Martialis only to accuse Julian of having surpassed even these authors, who embody the lust of humankind. Moreover, he blames Julian for using obscene language, or rather, as he classifies it, language reminiscent of mime (*mimica*), and lists the equally vulgar mimographers Philistion, Lentulus, and Marullus, with whom the emperor must be compared. Due to the reference to *mimica obscenitate* and the image of the theatre metaphorically used for obscene language¹¹³ Marius Mercator is the only ancient intertext where the *Satyrica* is said to show features characteristic of the mime, even though these might be purely linguistic. This connection foreshadows results from section 5, where the mime will emerge as a key authorial hypotext in various episodes from the analysis of certain mimic motifs and their specific application in the hypertext.

¹¹¹ The verb *solere* denotes a repeated, habitual action. Cf. *OLD* s.v. *soleo* 1. The verb *cantare* does not pose major problems if we translate it as 'to recite' (*OLD* s.v. *canto* 3) and interpret it as a reference to reciting (or singing) poems from the *Satyrica*, like the one Terentianus Maurus goes on to cite, or more widely as 'to speak constantly of' (*OLD* s.v. *canto* 4b).

¹¹² On the date of Marius Mercator cf. *DNP* s.v. *Marius Mercator* 2.23.

¹¹³ Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 113), PANAYOTAKIS (1994, 320; 1995, XXII).

Marius Mercator uses the ablative of means *more tuo* to denote Julian's habit of speaking *eleganter*. He takes up the same noun (*more*) again soon thereafter in a prominent position following the conjunction *et* and complements it by a relative clause (*quo theatrum Arbitri et Ualeriique detrusti*). The repetition of the ablative of means *more*, which occurs within one sentence, strongly suggests reading the two objects as identical in content. This, in turn, implies interpreting the relative clause including the metaphor *theatrum* as reference to obscene language.

BALDWIN (2003, 3; 2006, 36) has suggested linking *eleganter* here with the *arbiter elegantiae* from Tacitus.

Since Marius Mercator chooses to swap *Martialis et Petronii* in the first mention for *Arbitri Ualeriique* at the later instance, no hint about the temporal sequence of the two authors may be found in these two passages. Even though Petronius is connected with an author from the late first century, as Paratore (1933, Vol. 1, 8–9) has rightly observed, it appears hazardous to read too much into this. Rather, the essential link between the two authors is their diction and style.

3.2.3 FULGENTIUS

Writing around 500 CE, Fulgentius makes reference to Petronius Arbiter or solely Petronius multiple times. Of these, four are to be found in his *Mythologiae*, one in his *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*, and five in his *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*.¹¹⁴ Fulgentius' interest is largely based on Petronius' specific use of certain images, phrases, and vocabulary (*ferculum*, *ualgia*, *alucinare*, *manubies*, and *aumatium*). None of the cited passages or sentences has survived in its original context, even though similar phrases or fitting scenarios from the extant parts of the *Satyrica* can be adduced at times. Encolpius uses *manubies* (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 60), or rather *manubiae*, at 79.12; he also mentions a *ferculum* (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 42) several times throughout the *Cena* (35.1, 39.1, 66.3). Furthermore, Jensson (2004, 154) links Encolpius' trial (*iudicium*, 81.3) with Euscion, the Cerberus of courts (*Cerberus forensis erat causicus*, Fulg. *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*): "Not only does the barking of Euscion's accusatory rhetoric justify the comparison to the hellish dog, Encolpius also finds himself on the Campanian coast, in the area of Cumae, the Sybil, and lake Avernus, where the entrance to the underworld was supposedly located". Finally, Petronius', or rather Encolpius', amusing anecdote that he drank a cup of myrrh to excite his lust (*Myth.* 3.8) is explicitly linked with a passage from [*Satyrica*] book 14 in the interpolation by a later commentator, which was correctly deleted by Müller in his editions.¹¹⁵ On the whole, Fulgentius' quotes do not leave

¹¹⁴ On the date of Fulgentius cf. WHITBREAD (1971, 3–9); *DNP* s.v. *Fulgentius* 1. On the contrary, PENNISI (1963, 19–61) has argued in favour of a late fourth-century date.

¹¹⁵ On reading *Petronius* as *Encolpius* here cf. COURTNEY (2001, 44), JENSSON (2004, 100–1, 154 n. 349): "it is common for commentators and later writers to refer to the [...] narrator of personal recollections as if he were the same as the author".

The passage Fulgentius refers to may also be hinted at Petron. 8.4 (*adeo ubique omnes mihi videbantur satyrion bibisse*) or 20.5–8 (*Ascylltos iam deficiente fabularum contextu 'quid? ego' inquit 'non sum dignus qui bibam?' ancilla risu meo prodita complosit manus et 'apposui quidem **

any room for doubt that his Petronius Arbiter is identical with the author of the *Satyrica*.

On the other hand, Martin's (1999, 8) suggestion that Fulgentius is citing from Petronius' *Satyrica* and two of his other works can be dismissed. According to Martin, the works entitled *Albucia* and *Euscion* mentioned in two passages from Fulgentius (*Myth. 1, Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*, respectively) have not survived the centuries.¹¹⁶ Yet, Martin ignores the fact that Fulgentius mentions an attack against a protagonist named *Euscion* and not in his *Euscion*. The reference to Euscion is in the accusative case and not, as to be expected if Martin were right, in the *ablativus loci* answering the question "where?". Moreover, there is no indication to assume a scribal error in this passage either. Regarding the second reference, the mention of a further lascivious female character *à la* Quartilla, Circe, and Tryphaena named Albucia would fit nicely in the features of the extant *Satyrica*.

The majority of the passages where Fulgentius quotes from Petronius' work neither provide any further evidence for dating the *Satyrica* nor stand in contrast to the purely linguistic interest in the work observed for the two authors previously discussed. The second instance from *Myth. 1* is the exception to both of these general rules. Since the other quotations taken from Fulgentius appear to be genuine due to their content neatly fitting the extant *Satyrica*, there is little reason to doubt his reliability in this instance, unless Fulgentius' source was to be taken as unreliable in the first place.¹¹⁷

Denique huius rei non inmemor et Petronius ait: "Primus in orbe deos fecit timor" (*Myth. 1, p. 17, text: Helm 1970*)

adulescens, solus tantum medicamentum ebibisti?' 'itane est?' inquit Quartilla 'quicquid satyrii fuit, Encolpius ebibit?')

¹¹⁶ Also FLOBERT (2003, 113), who carefully mentions that *Albucia* and *Euscion* may equally be protagonists, and BALDWIN (2014, 433) have suggested this.

¹¹⁷ For the general (un)reliability of Fulgentius' use of sources and especially of material from the *Satyrica* cf. the detailed studies by TIMPANARO (1947, 199–207), who assumes quotations from Petronius are authentic, since some of them are known to us outside of Fulgentius, PENNISI (1963, 114–200, with a detailed summary and discussion of previous scholarly contributions on *Quellenkritik* and their conclusions at 101–113), who similarly argues highly in favour of Fulgentius' reliability, and CIAFFI's (1963) thorough study of the material from Petronius in and stylistic influence on Fulgentius (9–13 on the stylistic influence Petronius had on Fulgentius, 13–25 on the quotations of Petronius in Fulgentius, 44–94 on the citations of, among other writers, Vergil, Homer, Plautus, and Apuleius).

For the potential unreliability of Fulgentius' source here see below.

Finally, Petronius, too, bearing this in mind, said: “Fear first created gods in the world” (My translation)

The phrase *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor* (*Myth.* 1) attracts the reader’s initial attention due to its metre, as it reads like the first four feet of a dactylic hexameter, the standard metre in ancient epic. The line can be found elsewhere, an observation substantiated by Fulgentius’ statement that Petronius, too (*et Petronius*), used this phrase. It is the first part of a verse from a hexametric poem from the *Anthologia Latina* (AL 466 R. = fr. 28 Müller) and, even more tellingly, constitutes the opening feet of Stat. *Theb.* 3.661 (*primus in orbe deos fecit timor! et tibi tuto*). Lactantius Placidus, too, records this observation in his commentary on Statius’ *Thebaid* from the late fourth century: *negat deos ulla re alia celebrari nisi timore mortalium. ut Lucanus: ‘quae finxere timent’ et Petronius Arbitrator istum secutus: ‘primus in orbe deos fecit timor’.*¹¹⁸

Two possibilities are feasible if we wanted to diminish the significance of this citation in the commentary from late antiquity: either Lactantius wrongly ascribes the quotation to Petronius and Fulgentius copies him or both authors mistakenly attribute the line to the same author independently from each other. Whereas the second explanation can be excluded on the ground of high improbability, Pianezzola (1974, 236 with further references in n. 7), following Bücheler, Ernout, and Ciaffi, speaks out in favour of the first explanation yet without giving arguments.¹¹⁹ This, however, stands in contrast to the observation that Lactantius seems to be a reliable source elsewhere not least because he quotes a half verse from Lucan (1.486) that is attested in the manuscripts of the *Pharsalia*.

If Lactantius really is a reliable source, this means for us that the same wording (*Primus in orbe deos fecit timor*) appears in both Statius and Petronius Arbitrator. This can be interpreted in two reasonable ways:¹²⁰ either Petronius copies Statius (A) or

¹¹⁸ On the date of Lactantius Placidus cf. *DNP* s.v. *Lactantius Placidus*. The text has been taken from SWEENEY’S (1997) edition.

It appears implausible to read *istum* as a reference to Lucan (1.486), since the verse from the *Pharsalia* addresses the fear of the Romans from the approaching Caesarian troops and, thus, has nothing to do with the gods like the verse in Statius (and Petronius?). PIANEZZOLA (1974, 236–7) advocates the link between Petronius and Lucan, even though he admits that it is “estremamente debole”.

¹¹⁹ COURTNEY’S (1991, 50) interpretation of Lactantius Placidus being “certainly depending on Fulgentius” can be discarded based on the now commonly accepted (post-)dating of Fulgentius into the sixth century.

¹²⁰ On such general questions of hypertextuality see section 5.1.5.

vice versa (*B*). It can be excluded on the ground of high improbability that both authors are independent from one another: it is unlikely that Petronius and Statius use the same vocabulary and artistically arrange the words in the same order, i.e. as the hyperbaton *Primus [...] timor* framing the sentence. Furthermore, as Courtney (1991, 50) observes, there seems to be another close hypertextual link between the two authors, as we can find *pubescentibus annis* at Petr. 119.20 and Stat. *Theb.* 1.21.¹²¹ Due to the lack of primary records on the matters of literary models by any of the two authors it is impossible to exclude either *A* or *B* with certainty.¹²² Nonetheless, it appears more tenable to suggest that it was Petronius, who uses Statius, rather than vice versa, even though, admittedly, such an objection remains to some extent subjective. An almost complete verse taken from a parodic work like the *Satyrica* would seem like a foreign object in Statius. Once the erudite reader has rightly identified the hypotext of the verse, it would contrast with the *Thebaid*'s epic grandeur. By contrast, it would fit the playful atmosphere of the *Satyrica*.

If we then thus assume that the hypertextual relationship really points from the *Thebaid* to the *Satyrica*, based on the epic's time of composition of 80–92 CE¹²³ and take into consideration that parts of the epic poem were recited in Rome in public already during its composition,¹²⁴ the presumable *terminus post quem* for Petronius' work will lie in the reign of the emperor Titus (79–81 CE), or even more likely in that of Domitian (81–96 CE).

It has become evident that authors throughout antiquity equally use *Petronius*, *Arbiter*, and *Petronius Arbiter* to denote Petronius Arbiter, the author of the *Satyrica*. This holds true for the accounts of Terentianus Maurus, Marius Mercator, and Fulgentius, ranging from the late second century to the early sixth century, and will be substantiated further by the discussion of ancient intertexts that include a reference to *Arbiter* and *Petronius* in sections 3.3 and 3.4, respectively. As far as we can tell from the fragments (Terentianus Maurus, Fulgentius), the primary interest in the *Satyrica* was a linguistic one. However, since the majority of intertexts examined

¹²¹ COURTNEY (1991, 50) thinks that Statius imitated Petronius in both instances.

¹²² In fact, Statius only mentions Vergil as one of his predecessors in the epilogue of his *Thebaid*.

¹²³ Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.811 (*o mihi bisse nos multum uigilata per annos*). According to PARKES (2012, XV), Statius completed the *Thebaid* by early 93 CE. She follows up on COLEMAN's (1988, XVII) note that there is no reference to Domitian's defeat of the Sarmatae in January 93 CE in the epic.

¹²⁴ Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.161.

so far can be found in the works of grammarians, this is hardly surprising.

3.3 ARBITER

3.3.1 MARIUS VICTORINUS

Marius Victorinus twice quotes from Arbiter's work in the fourth century CE.¹²⁵ Both passages have been cited in widely identical form by Terentianus Maurus (*De metris*, 2489–96, *GL* 6, p. 399 and 2849–65, *GL* 6, p. 409) and attributed to Petronius Arbiter, who was previously identified with the author of the *Satyrica*.¹²⁶ In contrast to the other grammarians from late antiquity discussed here, Marius Victorinus goes beyond ascribing the stanzas to their author; additionally, he mentions the title of Arbiter's work, from which he has taken the chants. Thus, we here have the only ancient intertext that gives both paratexts:¹²⁷

metrum erit anacreontion, siquidem <Anacreon> eo frequentissime usus sit, sed et apud nos plerique, inter quos Arbiter satyricon ita,
triplici uides ut ortu
[...] (4.1, *GL* 6, p. 153)

The metre will be Anacreontic, so called because Anacreon used it so often, but so did several of our Latin poets, among them Arbiter in his *Satyricon*, who writes
“You see how Trivia,
[...] (Translation: Walsh 1996)

Since Marius Victorinus ascribes the same verses that Terentianus Maurus has attributed to Petronius to an author named Arbiter and even gives the title of his work *Satyricon*, the two quotations in the later grammarian substantiate our conclusions drawn on the account of the earlier. They back up the conclusion that *Arbiter* and *Petronius* were used to denote the same person as early as the second century and the hypothesis that Terentianus Maurus took the two quotations from the *Satyrica*, and, thus, represents the first ancient intertext to Petronius. This adds additional strength to the *terminus ante quem* for the work of the late second century. Moreover, Marius Victorinus' reference allows for the conclusion that at least one title, under which Petronius Arbiter's work was generally known and referred to, was *Satyricon* as

¹²⁵ On the date of Marius Victorinus cf. *DNP* s.v. *C. Marius Victorinus* 2.21.

¹²⁶ There is reason to assume that at least some of Marius Victorinus' quotations might not have been taken from Terentianus Maurus. While Terentianus Maurus gives *tinctus colore noctis / manu puer loquaci*, Marius Victorinus has *tinctus colore noctis, / Aegyptias choreas*.

¹²⁷ Contrary to ROSE's (1971, 4) suggestion, there is no indication that Ioannes Lydus was referring to the *Satyrica* in his use of σατυρικὸν νόμον.

early as the fourth century. In addition, there is no sustainable reason to doubt that this tradition persisted continuously until modern times, for the majority of the manuscripts from throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period state *Satyricon*.

Otherwise, Marius Victorinus' two intertexts build further on the impression of purely linguistic interest that commentators from late antiquity seem to have shown in the *Satyricon*.

3.3.2 JEROME

The Latin Christian priest and writer Saint Jerome (347–420 CE) quotes an incomplete verse, which he ascribes to *Arbiter*, in one of his *Letters* (*Ep.* 130.19, *CSEL* 56, p. 199):¹²⁸

cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos et peregrini muris olentes pelliculas, de quibus illud Arbitri est:

non bene olet qui bene semper olet,
quasi quasdam pestes et uenena pudicitiae uirgo deuitet

A virgin should avoid like the plague boys who have curled and wavy hair, and whose skins smell like musk-rats, for they are a pernicious threat to chastity. Arbiter is referring to them when he says:

the man who always gives off pleasant odours is malodorous.
(Translation: Walsh 1996)

Doubts about the authenticity of the attribution have been raised: Rose (1971, 5) rightly points to the similar line in Martial 2.12.4 (*Postume non bene olet qui bene semper olet*) and discusses briefly the possible explanations for this hypertextual adoption. We can sustainably discard both explanations by Müller in his edition, namely that either Jerome wrongly attributed the passage to Petronius or that it was found in Petronius and copied by Martial. The most convincing solution is that the sentence as such draws on a proverbial saying, of which both Petronius and Martial make use.¹²⁹ Additionally to those instances listed in Otto (Plaut. *Mostell.* 273, Mart. 6.55.5, Auson. *Epigr.* 125.2), similar phrasings can be found in Cicero, *Att.* 2.1.1 (*ut mulieres ideo bene olere, quia nihil olebant, videbantur*) and Seneca, *Ep.* 108.16 (*optimus odor in corpore est nullus*). It is reasonable to adopt this hypothesis not least because figures of speech are frequently found in the *Satyricon*, although they

¹²⁸ On the date of Jerome cf. *DNP* s.v. *Hieronymus*.

¹²⁹ Cf. WILLIAMS (2004, 65), SALANITRO (1998–1999; 2007, 312), already suggested by STUDER (1843, 68). Cf. OTTO s.vv. *olere, mulier* 5.

are not at all times easily identifiable.¹³⁰

It cannot be excluded that Petronius, apart from drawing on a proverbial saying, alludes to Martial by his choice of wording, or vice versa. However, even if the passage was used by Petronius and either copied by or originally found in Martial, the proverbial nature of the phrase suggests that both of them were familiar with it.

3.3.3 MACROBIUS

Macrobius' commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (*De re publica* VI), written in the early fifth century CE, is the only ancient intertext where (Petronius) Arbiter is linked with Apuleius.¹³¹ Macrobius connects these two authors because both of them describe fictional cases of lovers.¹³² The mention of these adventures alone strongly suggests an identification of Macrobius' Arbiter with the author of the *Satyrica*, whose main protagonists are a couple of lovers.¹³³

It must not be overlooked that Macrobius quantifies the extent of the authors' literary activity in terms of certain topics. Flobert (2003, 113) is right in pointing out the adverbial expressions *multum* ("often") and *non numquam* ("sometimes"). By these Macrobius not so much specifies how vast Petronius' and Apuleius' oeuvres were, as Marmorale (1948, 36) suggests, but he rather talks about the proportions of love adventures versus other topics to be found in the various authors' oeuvres. The commentator states that Arbiter frequently engaged in literary productions and Apuleius only occasionally.¹³⁴ Apart from his *Metamorphoses* and *Hermagoras*, of which the latter is lost, there is evidence that Apuleius was active as a scientist, orator, and philosopher (*De Mundo*, *De Platone et eius Dogmate*, *De Deo Socratis*, etc.).¹³⁵ The only work of Petronius we know of consists entirely of a fictional narration of the adventures of the two lovers Encolpius and Giton. This stands in line with Macrobius' statement that Apuleius, in contrast to Arbiter, only occasionally engages

¹³⁰ Cf. for example 37.10 (*quemvis [...] in rutae folium coniciet*) and the list in STUDER (1843, 84–5). Cf. also SALANITRO's (2007, 310–1) discussion on *ingeniosa gula est* (Petron. 119 v. 33, Mart. 13.62, 14.117). See further section 5.1.5.

¹³¹ On the date of Macrobius' works cf. CAMERON (1966); *DNP* s.v *Macrobius Theodosius* 1.

¹³² It is equally conceivable to translate the Latin *factis* (based on *fungo* "form, mould") as "fictitious". See section 5.1.1.

¹³³ There is no reason to doubt that Giton and Encolpius remain the main protagonists throughout the entire *Satyrica*. Encolpius, since he is the autodiegetic narrator, must have been present during all adventures.

¹³⁴ Cf. MARTIN (1999, 8).

¹³⁵ Cf. CONTE (1994, 553–70).

in fictional tales of lovers.

Other than this, no key facts about Petronius Arbiter or his *Satyrica* can be identified in the intertext from Macrobius. Similarly to the link with Martial in Marius Mercator, scholars ought to stand clear from overly stressing the potentially close chronological connection between Petronius and Apuleius merely based on Macrobius' account. There is no reason to believe that the commentator mentions these two authors because they lived in the same decade or even century.

Apart from Jerome, who quotes from the *Satyrica* to illustrate a (non-linguistic) point, Macrobius is the first ancient author who is not primarily interested in the *Satyrica* for linguistic or stylistic reasons. Rather, he is drawing our attention to the content of the work, which pleases the recipient's sense of hearing (*auditum mulcent*).

3.3.4 SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS

Sidonius Apollinaris' twenty-third *Carmen*, written in the second half of the fifth century CE,¹³⁶ presents a selection of Roman authors. His list includes Arbiter and the latter's connection with the god Priapus.

Some of the linking features of authors in this list are partially evident. For example, Seneca and Martial are connected because both of them were born in Spain. However, the overall system of construction remains unclear, and, as has long been noted, the Latin authors included in this enumeration are not given in chronological order.¹³⁷ Tacitus, for example, is listed prior to Ovid, Seneca, and Martial. Due to Sidonius' artistic catalogue, no secure indication about the temporal relationship between any two authors in the poem can be found.¹³⁸ On the contrary, it appears rather incidental that Arbiter is listed next to Tacitus, who lived in the late first and early second centuries.

The reader of this poem must not expect any completeness of anecdotal narrations or political implications. Sidonius' mention of Ovid's exile in Tomi (*notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum*, 23.159) alone stands out. Rather, Sidonius seems to be interested in providing the recipient with sufficient biographical details for an

¹³⁶ On the date of Sidonius Apollinaris cf. *DNP* s.v. *Sidonius Apollinaris*.

¹³⁷ Cf. BÜCHELER (1862, XI).

¹³⁸ PARATORE (1933, Vol. 1, 8–9) has attempted to link Sidonius Apollinaris' Petronius Arbiter with other named authors on the basis of their position in the *carmen*.

unambiguous identification of the intended Latin authors. In view of this, one must refrain from the invalid argument that the lack of reference to the emperor Nero and Petronius' forced suicide renders the identification with Tacitus' Petronius impossible, as Martin (1999, 9–10) suggested.

By contrast, it is safe to identify Sidonius' Arbiter with Petronius Arbiter not least because of the mention of Priapus (*sacri stipitis*, v. 155; *Hellespontiaco parem Priapo*; v. 157) and the *cognomen* Arbiter.¹³⁹ As has been shown, *Arbiter* was commonly used to refer to the author of the *Satyrica* in antiquity, and the god Priapus seems to play a major role in the plot of the work.¹⁴⁰

Matters are less obvious with the expression *Massiliensium per hortos*, which has sparked a vigorous dispute. Some scholars have persuasively argued that the expression may be linked to a lost episode of the *Satyrica*.¹⁴¹ The connection of Marseille with the plot of the *Satyrica* is further substantiated by an additional mention of Petronius in Servius' *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid*, which will be dealt with below.

Other scholars have taken the opposite standpoint. Most prominently, Martin (1999, 9–10) has propagated the view that Sidonius refers to an Arbiter born in Marseille and rejected the idea of connecting any of the protagonists from his work with the French city. The poet, Martin argues, gives biographical information for other writers in his list; thus, we should expect him to do the same with Arbiter. Firstly, it should be noted with regard to this argument that Sidonius' mention of Ovid (*Naso*) as *tener* appears to be an allusion to the latter's elegies. This, in turn, invalidates Martin's conclusion that all references are to biographical information from the authors' lives. Secondly, as Daviault (2001, 333) points out, in the cases of Terence, Plautus, Varro, Sallust, and Tacitus no biographical information, for example about their region of origin, is given.

¹³⁹ The genitive object *sacri stipitis* refers to an ithyphallic statue of the god Priapus. Cf. BIRT (1925, 95–6), LOYEN (1960, 149 n. 12), JENSSON (2004, 100). CICHORIUS (1922, 439), on the contrary, suggests a hollow tree trunk that contained the statue of Priapus.

¹⁴⁰ Priapus is mentioned multiple times in the *Satyrica* (17.8, 21.7, 60.4, 104.1, 137.2, 139.4 v. 8). On Priapus and the *Satyrica* cf. KLEBS (1889), who was the first to suggest that the wrath of Priapus (*gravis ira Priapi*, 139.4 v. 8) was the primary trigger of the plot, followed by, for example, SULLIVAN (1968b, 42), WALSH (1970, 76). For a more careful approach cf. JENSSON (2004, 103–8).

¹⁴¹ This includes BÜCHELER (1862, *ad fr.* 4), MARMORALE (1948, 36), SULLIVAN (1968b, 41), BREMMER (1983, 307, 316), FLOBERT (2003, 113–4), JENSSON (2004, 96–103), SCHMELING (2011, XXIII).

3.4 PETRONIUS

3.4.1 SERVIUS

The first references to Petronius only are by the Vergilian commentator Servius in the late fourth or early fifth century.¹⁴² Of these two are from his *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid*, the third from his *Commentary on Donatus' Ars Grammatica*. The latter two passages (*ad Aen. 12.159* and *in Donat., GL 4, p. 432*) stem from Servius' interest in Petronius' use of language and, thus, fit in with the works of other grammarians from late antiquity. The third comment, i.e. on *auri sacra fames* (*Verg. Aen. 3.57*), allows an insight into a lost episode of the *Satyrica*, which will be relevant for our discussion of the posturing of Encolpius and Petronius' specific use of hypotexts in section 5 and is, furthermore, of cultural-religious interest.

The motif of the scapegoat (φαρμακός) that Servius explains using Massilia as an example links with several references to Encolpius in the *Satyrica*.¹⁴³ He calls himself *exul* at 81.3 and Lichas apostrophizes him as *pharmace*, the Greek word for scapegoat (*quid dicis tu latro? quae sola salamandra supercilia tua exussit? cui deo crinem vovisti? pharmace, responde!*, 107.15). Encolpius eventually admits that Lichas' accusation does have a real foundation (*nec quid in re manifestissima dicerem inveniebam*, 108.1).¹⁴⁴ On these grounds, there is no reason to doubt that both the verses in Sidonius' twenty-third poem and Servius' comment on *Aen. 3.57* allude to a lost part of the *Satyrica*, in which the Massiliot Encolpius was expelled from the city as a scapegoat.¹⁴⁵ By contrast, the attempts to extract biographical data about Petronius Arbiter from the intertexts of Sidonius Apollinaris and Servius must be dismissed as invalid.

3.4.2 IOANNES LYDUS

Even though the treatise on Roman magistracy (*De magistratibus populi romani*,

¹⁴² On the date of Servius cf. *DNP* s.v. *Servius 2*.

¹⁴³ A scholion ascribed to Lactantius (*ad Theb. 10.793–4*) records a similar Gallic custom described in almost identical terms: both Lactantius and Servius speak of a *Gallicus mos*, someone being feasted (*alendus/alebatur*) all year long (*anno integro/anno toto*) at public expense (*publicis sumptibus*) and on particularly pure foods (*purioribus cibis*); the scapegoat is finally led around the entire city (*per totam ciuitatem*) and eventually expelled from it.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. JENSSON (2004, 108–12).

¹⁴⁵ As JENSSON (2004, 87–8) has highlighted, the pattern of one or more main protagonists leaving their home appears frequently in the idealised romance. Cf. for example Ninos leaving his home at *fr. A.II*.

c. 550 CE)¹⁴⁶ by Ioannes Lydus is one of the latest intertexts to be discussed here, his account is one of, if not the most intriguing of all.

The authority of no other author discussed in section 3 has been as thoroughly and almost unanimously doubted as that of Ioannes Lydus.¹⁴⁷ However, scholars of Petronius have widely neglected the fact that the Byzantine writer at times explicitly refers to his sources.¹⁴⁸ As Marmorale (1948, 28–9) rightly observes, Ioannes Lydus mentions Persius as his source at *mag.* 1.19 (ὡς φησι Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος; with Pers. 1.20). This also holds true for his reference to Juvenal in the same paragraph (καὶ μάρτυς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Ἰουβενάλιος; with Juv. 4.110–1) and for the second mention of Persius at *mag.* 1.32 (ὡς Πέρσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος σατυρικὸς ἔφη; with Pers. 1.73–5). Since Ioannes Lydus provides enough in-depth knowledge about Roman satire and its Greek stylistic models in his discussion, to me it seems that there is hardly any reason to doubt that he is familiar with the remaining authors, in particular the satirists, whom he either lists or mentions in passing.

The passage quoted in full in section 8.2.11 includes several intriguing pieces of information relevant for the discussion of both intertexts and architexts to Petronius and the date of composition of the *Satyrica*. Ioannes Lydus' link of Petronius with satire foreshadows the connection of the *Satyrica* with this genre in the medieval manuscripts *R* and *P*, and the modern scholarly tradition of classifying the *Satyrica* as Menippean Satire.¹⁴⁹ The writer's interest in the work appears to be the most varied of all ancient commentators: he deals with stylistic and linguistic matters as well as content, all of these in respect to the question of genre features and their development through certain authors.

The most important key feature of this intertext is the chronological approach to which the author explicitly refers (μεθ' ὃν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι

¹⁴⁶ On the date of Ioannes Lydus cf. BANDY (1983, IX–XXVI).

¹⁴⁷ In his edition of 1862 BÜCHELER questions if Ioannes Lydus ever read any of the mentioned authors (*neque [...] satiras ipsas umquam inspexerat*, p. XI). SULLIVAN (1968b, 113) and ROSE (1971, 6) follow him. Similarly, COURTNEY (2001, 19) dismisses the intertext from Ioannes Lydus as “unimportant” since his “knowledge of things Roman is sometimes wider than it is deep”. Cf. BALDWIN (2003; 2006, 35–6 with further references).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. MARMORALE (1948, 28: “Donde il Buecheler abbia ricavato il suo convincimento non è detto”).

¹⁴⁹ See sections 2.2.1, 6.2. Henceforth I shall refer to the genre of Menippean Satire as “*Menippea*”.

σατυρικούς).¹⁵⁰ Starting from Lucilius (c. 180–103 BCE), who, according to Lydus, was the first to write comedies in heroic verse, all Latin authors are listed in the correct temporal sequence – provided that we exclude the Greek role models mentioned in passing. Turnus, a freedman writing at the courts of the emperors Titus and Domitian, follows Horace (65–8 BCE) and Persius (34–62 CE).¹⁵¹ The mentions of Juvenal (early second century CE) and Petronius round out the list.¹⁵² Indeed, Paratore (1933, Vol. 1, 8–9 n. 1) has noted that Ioannes Lydus mentions Petronius next to an author of the second century. Yet, he failed to detect the climax underlying the listing.

There are two potential reasons as to why Petronius is listed last. Since all Roman authors are given in the correct temporal sequence, we might feel inclined to believe that Petronius came after Juvenal. This conclusion, in turn, would strengthen the presumption that the *Satyrice* were compiled after the reign of the emperor Titus (79–81 CE) and move the *terminus post quem* to Trajan’s rule in the early second century.

Another, less obvious explanation why Ioannes Lydus lists Petronius last is because his prosimetric work is different from the hexametric satire of the other authors. Unfortunately, Ioannes Lydus omits Varro and Menippus,¹⁵³ their positions in the list would illustrate whether Petronius was put last due to stylistic or chronological reasons. A similar separation between verse and prosimetric satire can be found in Quintilian, who lists Varro after the verse satirists (*Inst.* 10.1.93–5). Perhaps surprisingly, one looks in vain for a mention of the *Satyrice* in the *Institutio Oratoria*. Either it did not seem worth the writer mentioning, discussing, or even recommending this piece of work for various reasons, or else we might here have another reason to suspect that it did not yet exist at the end of the first century.

¹⁵⁰ The listing of authors in a temporal sequence does not require him to have read the authors beforehand and is thus not entirely affected by the preliminary questions of reliability discussed above.

¹⁵¹ On the identity of Turnus cf. BALDWIN (1979; 2006, 36: “According to Juvenal’s scholiasts, Turnus was a freedman whose licensed satire earned him influence (some kind of Arbiter?) at the courts of Titus and Domitian”). Martial (7.96.8, 11.10.1) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 9.266–7) also mention him.

¹⁵² Although we have no clear indication for the time of composition of Juvenal’s *Satires*, they are likely to have been written during Trajan’s and Hadrian’s reigns, i.e. first half of the second century. COURTNEY (2013, 1–2) suggests the *terminus post quem* of publication of 100 CE for the first book and dates the fifth and last book to c. 130 CE.

¹⁵³ On the reception of Varro in late antiquity cf. MARSHALL (2013, esp. ch. 3).

3.5 CONCLUSION

A narratological enquiry has allowed us to identify and assemble those sections from ancient authors from the first six centuries CE where there is explicit reference to the work of Petronius Arbiter, known to us as *Satyrica*. A narratological-philological analysis of these intertexts has proved useful for a number of reasons. From a historical perspective, the quotes from the *Satyrica* by Terentianus Maurus provide a *terminus ante quem* for the time of composition and suggest that the work was highly popular at the end of the second century. From a hypertextual link of Petronius with Statius found in Fulgentius and Lactantius Placidus, as well as a potentially chronological sequence of authors in Ioannes Lydus, one might feel inclined to suggest a *terminus post quem* of Trajan's reign. By contrast, the hypertextual link with Martial (Jerome) is likely based on a proverbial expression. Links of the *Satyrica* with Apuleius (Macrobius), Martial (Marius Mercator), and others (Sidonius Apollinaris) are based on shared linguistic or generic features or similar content. The fact that even ancient authors set up such links justifies the comparative, hypertextual reading of the *Satyrica* with Martial and other writers undertaken in section 5.

Authors in antiquity from the late second century onwards refer to the author of the *Satyrica* using either his *cognomen* or *nomen gentile*/appellation of role only, or citing both. In only one instance (Marius Victorinus) is there mention of the title of the work as *Satyricon*. Petronius' *praenomen* is not mentioned in any ancient intertext or paratext where the connection is certain. As Marmorale (1948, 52) concludes, this seemed not to be necessary to the commentators' minds, since *nomen gentile* or *cognomen* would suffice to unambiguously denote the author. This, in turn, allows the assumption that no other writer with the names of Petronius or Arbiter existed throughout antiquity, as Rose (1971, 4) suspected. Nonetheless, it does not cast any light on the question of onymity versus pseudonymity, discussed in section 2.2.2.

Not least because the majority of intertexts can be found in the works of grammarians, they show great interest in the *Satyrica* primarily for linguistic reasons. These include matters of metre, grammar, and vocabulary. Occasionally, the focus is on genre or content (Macrobius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Ioannes Lydus). Analyses of the work's hypertextual nature or narrative complexity are absent from those ancient intertexts from the first six centuries CE that we can safely identify as intertexts to the *Satyrica*.

4 NARRATIVE AND NARRATING

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In line with Genettean methodology and terminology, this section is dedicated to the narrator Encolpius, the shape of his narrative (*récit*) and his techniques of narrating (*narration*). The author is present here only insofar as he is the creator of the narrator. Hence, for the present section the author Petronius plays a secondary role.

I shall look into matters of voice, mood, and time and identify, among other features, the various narrative levels, characteristics of the narrator, and narrative techniques used to create anachrony and anisochrony.¹⁵⁴ My analyses shall go beyond stating narrative phenomena, such as where the narrator Encolpius presents verbal patterns in reported, transposed, or narrated speech, and whether he narrates events in a historic present rather than a perfect or imperfect tense, by addressing the potential purpose of such choices and their impact on the reader. The Genettean classifications of voice, mood, and time, and their subclassifications, were adopted in the interest of clarity. It should be noted, however, that matters sometimes overlap and various phenomena pertaining primarily to one (sub)category often stand in a direct relationship to others. For example, the distinction of a narrative of events with a telling or overt narrator and a narrative of words with a showing or covert narrator is linked to matters of narrative and temporal distance, the latter of which go hand in hand with those of duration, of which some again recurrently accompany specific phenomena of frequency.¹⁵⁵

On the whole, the discussions of *récit* and *narration* serve two purposes, as they go to the very core of the conjunction between narratology and *Satyrical*. On the one hand, they establish a detailed frame within which the content of the narration including the sources from which this material has been taken (section 5) needs to be placed. On the other hand, a detailed narratological analysis of the text shows its narrative complexity and thus may provide insights into the date, genre, and structure of the text.

¹⁵⁴ In section 4 I use the term ‘mood’ as defined in section 8.1 s.v. *mood* 1.

¹⁵⁵ In her excellent analysis PERI (2007, esp. 7–29) rightly highlights that reported speech (or direct discourse) is the most mimetic form of discourse and contributes largely to a vivid narrative of words.

4.2 VOICE

4.2.1 TIME OF NARRATING AND NARRATIVE LEVELS

Since the vast part preceding our extant episodes is lost, including the opening, we are unable to identify the narrative level of the narrator Encolpius as extradiegetic, (intra)diegetic or, if it was embedded in another narrative, metadiegetic. In order to avoid having to repeat this uncertainty, I shall for my discussion assume that the narrative level of the narrator Encolpius is extradiegetic. Hence, the narrative level of the protagonist Encolpius is (intra)diegetic, and that of Eumolpus as a protagonist in his own narrative metadiegetic.

The extant *Satyrice* are narrated by the autodiegetic narrator Encolpius, as he is both the narrating I and the narrated I.¹⁵⁶ This becomes apparent from his use of the personal pronoun in the first-person singular and from frequently recurring first-person predicates throughout the *Satyrice*.¹⁵⁷ Since Encolpius in his narration uses the past tense, we are able to identify the diegetic narrative as subsequent, i.e. as an analepsis.¹⁵⁸ The fact that we have a subsequent diegetic narrative means that the *Satyrice* is made up of at least two narrative levels separated by a certain time span. Since neither the opening nor the ending have come down to us, we can only speculate whether we may have a partial or complete analepsis. In other words, it remains unclear whether or not the diegetic narrative reaches up to and thus joins the first narrative at some stage in the *Satyrice*. The catalyst for the diegetic narrative and its relationship with the extradiegetic narrative remain unclear.

Encolpius' choice of acting as an autodiegetic narrator has two implications for how his addressee, and subsequently Petronius' reader, might perceive the narrated events. On the one hand, since the narrator's knowledge is restricted to his own experiences, this choice entails a restriction of reliability.¹⁵⁹ Encolpius might claim that the dog at 72.7–10 is alive, but since we see the world through the eyes of his former self, we cannot know whether it might not just have been a painted dog come alive in the protagonist's imagination. On the other hand, the choice of acting as an

¹⁵⁶ GENETTE (1980, 198) speaks of “oneness of person of the narrator and the hero” in this instance. LAIRD (1999, 214–5) here speaks of an “‘interested’ first-person character-narrator”.

¹⁵⁷ For example *non est passus Agamemnon me diutius declamare in porticu* (3.1); *non notavi mihi Ascyli fugam* (6.1).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. GENETTE (1980, 220: “The use of a past tense is enough to make a narrative subsequent”).

¹⁵⁹ See section 4.3.1.

autodiegetic narrator serves the purpose of creating credibility, since he becomes tangible as a human being for the addressee, with whom the latter can identify. Because he narrates the adventures that he himself experienced in the past, the addressee might naturally feel more inclined to believe that they must be true. This can be observed, for example, in the case of Julius Caesar's work on the Gallic War, where the author acts as an autodiegetic narrator and eyewitness of the events that occurred.

Encolpius' addressee remains obscure. What can be stated with certainty is that, irrespective of whether Encolpius addresses a specific, real or imagined, person or a "highly generic audience", his occasional use of second-person finite verbs aims at "establishing a community between himself and his projected audience"¹⁶⁰. Any attempt at reconstructing the addressee would rely on a number of subjective assessments of the narrated actions.¹⁶¹

4.2.2 NARRATING INSTANCE OR NARRATOR

Because Encolpius is an autodiegetic narrator and, thus, also the main protagonist of the adventures, which he sets out to narrate at a later stage, we are able to reconstruct some of his characteristics despite the lack of self-referential statements.¹⁶² Apart from his name Encolpius and his gender, we also know about his (bi)sexual orientation and his potentially Massilian origin.¹⁶³ A difference in age and experience separates the narrating I and the narrated I, even though it remains impossible to determine from the extant parts of the *Satyrice* how much time has elapsed between the protagonist Encolpius dining at Trimalchio's and meeting Eumolpus, and the narrator Encolpius relating these events to his addressee.¹⁶⁴ We only know that these events occurred sometime in the nearer or remote past, when

¹⁶⁰ JENSSON (2004, 78). Cf. *putares* (7.4, 22.5, 23.5, 36.6, 127.5, 136.13), *crederes* (31.7, 83.2). Whereas for us any addressee is fictional, as they exist only in Encolpius' world, the narrator might be speaking to a real person that is physically present in his world or to one he imagines and is thus fictional even for him.

¹⁶¹ See section 4.3.2. On the basis of various sections from the text, JENSSON (2004, 78–83) has attempted to reconstruct the "ideal [internal] audience".

¹⁶² For characteristics of Encolpius the protagonist see section 5.2.1.

¹⁶³ Cf. further JENSSON (2004, 236–44).

¹⁶⁴ Cf. BECK (1973, 43: "they are also two very *different* characters"; 1975, 271, 280–1), JONES (1987, 810: "The lack of unity is due to an older wiser Encolpius recalling his younger days and indicating by such shifts of tone and by careful arrangement of the narrative how and where his perspective at the time was naive or limited"), SCHMELING (1994–1995, 208–9).

the protagonist Encolpius was still a *iuuenis* (107.5, 130.1, 140.5).

In his ground-breaking reading of the *Satyrica*, Conte (1996) has suggested interpreting the narrator Encolpius as “mythomaniac”.¹⁶⁵ There can be no doubt that this tendency applies to the vast majority of Petronian protagonists, arguably most of all to Encolpius. For example, he appears obsessed with Odysseus and frequently sets his actions in line with those of the Greek hero, eventually assuming the Odyssean epithet *Polyaenus* (Hom. *Il.* 9.673, 10.544, 11.430, *Od.* 12.184) at one of the later episodes in Croton (127.7, 129.3, 130.1). Giton describes the fight among the lovers (*fratres*) reminiscent of the myth of Eteocles and Polynices as Theban battle (79.12–80.8) and hides under the bed just like Odysseus hid under the ram (97.4; see also the scene of discovery at 98.5). Moreover, he interprets the ship-owner Lichas as Cyclops (101.5). Ascyltus, who is ready to lay claim violently to his companion, explicitly assumes the role of Tarquinius and interprets Giton as his Lucretia (9.5), and Eumolpus calls the ship-owner and captain Lichas their Hannibal (101.4) in his conversation with Encolpius and Giton. Trimalchio, finally, is obsessed with myths (48, 52, 59).

Because we only have the text that was created by the narrator, three interpretations appear plausible. Either, in line with Conte’s argument, Encolpius the narrator is “mythomaniac” and imposes his tendency onto the entire cast, or one of the constituent characteristics of the *Satyrica* is its cast of “mythomaniac” protagonists; a mixture between the two extremes, envisaging a “mythomaniac” cast and narrator is equally conceivable. Since there is no controlling voice superior to the narrator that could disclose the latter’s manipulative tendency, we can only find out from his own *récit* or the act of narrating itself (the *narration*) to which of the two interpretations preference should be given. Due to the fragmentary transmission of the text, there is only one passage that has come down to us that might allow us to speculate.

Upon hearing the name Giton and realising that his rival Ascyltus has returned in order to claim the boy back, Encolpius orders his lover to climb under the bed and cling to the mattress, just like Odysseus once did under the ram: *imperavi Gitoni ut raptim grabatum subiret annecteretque pedes et manus institis, quibus sponda culcitam ferebat, ac sic ut olim Ulixes †pro† arieti adhaesisset, extentus infra*

¹⁶⁵ BECK (1973, 42–47), JONES (1991, esp. 117), and SCHMELING (1994–1995, esp. 207; 1999a, 34) have argued along similar lines for an Encolpius, who is obsessed with literature and literary models.

grabatum scrutantium eluderet manus (97.4).¹⁶⁶ We here have an indirect command following *imperavi* reporting the order of Encolpius the protagonist. Within this indirect command, we can find a pluperfect subjunctive by attraction (*adhaesisset*) in the comparative clause introduced by *ut*; in this sub-oblique clause, the interpretation of Giton as Odysseus/Ulixes is attempted. Hence, this clause shows that it is Encolpius the protagonist back at the time, and not the narrator at the time of narrating, who is interpreting the scene in “mythomaniac” terms with Giton as Odysseus. Whether the narrator now, too, is “mythomaniac” remains impossible to find out.

4.3 MOOD

4.3.1 FOCALISATION

As Genette (1988, 77) has highlighted, “only the hero at that moment in the story deserves *stricto sensu* the term ‘focalization’; for the hero-become-narrator, we are dealing with extradiegetic information, which only the identity of person between hero and narrator justifies us, *by extension*, in calling ‘focalization’”. In other words, the fictional world set out is perceived through the eyes of the narrated I in the first place. The narrating Encolpius merely relies on and recalls what his previous self was observing. The only reason why we can speak of ‘focalization’ in his instance as well, even if just “by extension”, is because the narrator coincides with the protagonist, now grown older.

The type of focalisation assumed throughout the *Satyrica* is internal fixed at almost all times: “the focus coincides with a character, who then becomes the fictive [sc. fictional, in my use of the term, see section 5.1.1] ‘subject’ of all the perceptions, including those that concern himself as object. The narrative in that case can tell us everything this character perceives and everything he thinks”¹⁶⁷. This applies both to those passages where Encolpius acts as a mostly passive observer and where he is actively involved in the plot, i.e. in the *Cena* and elsewhere, respectively. Encolpius himself once draws attention to the fact that he cannot know about other protago-

¹⁶⁶ See section 5.3.8.

¹⁶⁷ GENETTE (1988, 74; cf. also 1980, 189).

Cf. *cum* [sc. Psyche] *dixisset nescio quid* (25.1, where Psyche whispers something into Quartilla’s ear) and Fortunata whispering into Trimalchio’s ear (52.10). Since Encolpius cannot hear this, he is unable to narrate what it was. One instance, where Encolpius can give us no more than his (personal) interpretation of events, is 73.3, where Trimalchio sits down in the bath as if he was tired (*ut lassatus*). Examples of expressions of thinking related to the protagonist (i.e. our point of focalisation) are listed in n. 180 and those to the narrator in n. 177.

nists' intentions.¹⁶⁸ Nonetheless, he omits explicitly stating from where he takes his knowledge.¹⁶⁹ We are left to assume that the narrator decides to leave out several instances of both occurred events and uttered speeches that could elucidate how he is able to know about trains of thoughts beyond those of his former self. Moreover, at times it appears plausible that he bases his judgements on protagonists' obvious patterns of behaviour without explicitly stating so.¹⁷⁰

The narrator skilfully uses the type of internal fixed focalisation to create suspense. When he introduces the protagonist Trimalchio at 27.1–5, he deliberately sticks to protagonist-restricted knowledge.¹⁷¹ Here he first describes the appearance of the *senex calvus* and the games he was playing in detail, yet only moments later he has the appearing Menelaus reveal that this is the host of the dinner that they are about to attend. Thus, the listener experiences the same momentum of surprise that his former self and his companions Giton and Ascyltus did. If he had decided to provide narrator-restricted knowledge, which I shall henceforth refer to by the term 'ex eventu knowledge', the entrance of Menelaus would not have achieved the same effect.

Similar observations can be made of the introduction of Fortunata, who is at first referred to as *mulier illa* (37.1) before the protagonists are informed that she is Trimalchio's wife, Habinnas (65.3–5), and Eumolpus (83.7, 90.1).¹⁷² Along the same lines, the narrator at the opening of the episode with Quartilla strictly reports from the point of view of his former self. He speaks of a *mulier [...] operto capite* (16.3) and not of the *Quartillae ancilla*, as at this point in the plot the woman is still unknown to his former self. It is only during the following discourse that she will reveal her identity. The reader is left in the dark as to who the *mulier* is, just like Encolpius, Ascyltus, and Giton are *pallidi* (16.2). On the other hand, the freedmen who get a

¹⁶⁸ Cf. for example *ut apparebat* (6.1, on why the *turba* came into the *porticus*); *plura uolebat* [sc. Lichas] *proferre, credo* (110.1).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. for example 54.1, where Encolpius reports the freedmen's trains of thought after the falling acrobat hit Trimalchio.

¹⁷⁰ Encolpius seems to conclude that the *cociones* want to make profit (*qui uolebant pallium lucri facere*, 15.2) through their way of acting.

¹⁷¹ Cf. GOLDMAN (2007, 9–10).

¹⁷² Cf. further 116.2. COURTNEY (2001, 135) is wrong when he states: "Encolpius at first sight identifies him [sc. Eumolpus] as one of the brand of literary men who cannot obtain patronage. How could he know this? As actor at this moment he cannot; this is Encolpius the narrator reading back from the knowledge which he is about to acquire in 84.2–3". As the narrator states, Eumolpus' profession was obvious from the very beginning (*cultu non proinde speciosus, ut facile appareret* [...]). Thus, we are not dealing with *ex eventu* knowledge here.

chance to speak in Trimalchio's absence are introduced directly by their names (for example *Seleucus*, 42.1), as they are of minor importance for the plot of the *Cena*. Protagonist-restricted knowledge also enables the listener to feel amused about Encolpius' incorrect interpretation of events at Trimalchio's dinner.¹⁷³

The passing of time between the events experienced by Encolpius the protagonist and their narration allows for the possibility of enrichment with other perspectives and reflections. On these grounds, it comes as no surprise that the narrator occasionally provides us with *ex eventu* knowledge. These instances, where the narrator gives information that the protagonist, who is the focus of the narrative, cannot have, mark breaks of focalisation labelled *metalepses* by Genette (1980, 195). The narrator here leaves the extradiegetic level and invades the diegetic level of the protagonist. Thus, the narrator describes Quartilla's tears as calculated at 17.2 (*ad ostentationem doloris paratas*), even though this will become apparent to the protagonist only at 18.7. He also tells us about two Syrians entering the house at 22, but omits explaining in tedious detail how he could know about the events occurring while he was sleeping. Similarly, when in the eighth extant episode, after dinner had been served (92.1), Eumolpus banged at the door, strictly speaking, at the time when the narrated event happened, Encolpius the protagonist could speculate, yet not know with certainty that it was Eumolpus who was at the *ostium* – unless Encolpius the protagonist recognised Eumolpus by his voice and Encolpius the narrator omits informing us that Eumolpus uttered at least a few words. Only at 92.3 (*ut solum hospitem uidi*) Encolpius the protagonist found out that it was Eumolpus. The narrator narrating the events in retrospect knows about it and breaks the internal fixed focalisation by informing us.¹⁷⁴

The narrator Encolpius can choose what and when he wants to tell, depending on whether it is relevant for the narrative. For example, he never explicitly tells us that Eumolpus hires a servant and introduces the new protagonist only in passing. At 103.1 he will have Eumolpus explain that his servant is a *tonsor*, as this is now relevant for the plot: for the trick to work, Encolpius, Giton, and Eumolpus need a barber to shave their heads and eyebrows. We can label these instances where the narrator

¹⁷³ Cf. for example the boar (*aper pilleatus*, 41), which returned from the previous dinner as a "freedboar". BECK (1975, 277–8) lists no less than thirteen incidents where Encolpius' assessment during the *Cena* turns out to be wrong.

¹⁷⁴ COURTNEY (2001, 38) list further instances where the narrator provides us with *ex eventu* knowledge.

omits providing specific pieces of information or events, which he sometimes supplies at a later stage, paralipses.¹⁷⁵

Metalepses and paralipses often go hand in hand. This is the case not least because both of them serve to tell “the story in the most economical way without giving false importance to insignificant details [...] or allowing a rapid character sketch”¹⁷⁶. Only rarely does the narrator Encolpius use metalepses independently from paralipses. In most cases this is to temporarily emerge above the narrative and create a humorous effect by commenting on it (*nec adhuc sciebamus nos in medio [lautitiarum], quod aiunt, cliuo laborare*, 47.8).

This choice of fixed internal focalisation entails a restriction of reliability. This is particularly relevant in the case of a historicising approach whose aim it is to date the *Satyrice* based on the internal appearance of what might be *Realien*. Since we exclusively perceive the world of the *Satyrice* through a single protagonist, we must treat the settings and actions narrated cautiously as regards whether they actually happened in the way they are described. The point of focalisation is particularly relevant in the case of Petronius, as the protagonist Encolpius, with whom our focus coincides, constantly manipulates his environment by casting himself into various roles; in Schmeling’s words (1999a, 34): “I doubt that Encolpius knows at all times what is real”.¹⁷⁷

Our analysis of the *Cena* is hampered additionally by the fact that Encolpius’ assessments of events and matters pertaining to Trimalchio are frequently proven wrong. For example, he needs to ask his partner for help several times in order to decode the host’s tricks. This incapacity renders his account even more unreliable. Furthermore, the narrator reports more than once that he was drunk during the dinner (64.2, 72.7, 79.2).

Furthermore, we should bear in mind that we have the narrator’s text at all times.¹⁷⁸ As Jensson (2004, 34) rightly observes, “[t]he central speaker identity of Encolpius is the basis of the *Satyrice*’s thematic and formal unity”. Characteristics –

¹⁷⁵ Strictly speaking, in the instance of the *tonsor* the narrator leaves out the servant’s profession at first because the protagonist at that point did not know about it. Thus, the omission is not so much a paralipsis as rather the result of the internal fixed focalisation.

¹⁷⁶ The quote has been taken from GOLDMAN’s (2007, 19) assessment of paralipsis only.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. also CONTE (1996), LABATE (2013, esp. 207–17).

¹⁷⁸ On the distinction between the narrator’s text and the protagonist’s text cf. GENETTE (1988, 62).

thematic, grammatical, lexical or stylistic in nature – may suggest interpreting various passages as the actual protagonist’s text. However, we do not know about the extent to which the narrator intentionally manipulates his material, in addition to him being an unintentionally unreliable narrator in the first place. Even though the type of *sermo* changes throughout the *Satyrica*, for example in the freedmen’s speeches, it is by no means certain that the protagonists uttered what the narrator claims.¹⁷⁹ We should not expect Encolpius to reproduce “absolutely the vocal quality of every one of his characters”¹⁸⁰. On the contrary, at times he even admits not recalling details and draws attention to his potentially misleading memory (*sexcenta huiusmodi fuerunt, quae iam exciderunt memoriae meae*, 56.10) or reports speeches in words and tone only similar to the original (*uox eiusmodi*, 100.3). The fact that he once explicitly announces reporting the following discourse verbatim (127.5) might suggest that this principle of literal reproduction has not been strictly applied at all times elsewhere. Moreover, as Beck (1973, 42–7) rightly stresses, Encolpius at no point claims to be recounting the past events in the way they occurred. The external recipient is left in the dark as to the extent to which the narrator sacrifices realism for entertainment. “Nevertheless, however much we may distrust him, we cannot but be dependent on him: it is his own (fallible) memory that we rely upon, and through his eyes that we are being invited to view the world”¹⁸¹.

4.3.2 NARRATIVE OF EVENTS VERSUS NARRATIVE OF WORDS

There are several factors that determine where Encolpius’ narrative is more one of events or of words. Like most narratives, the *Satyrica* is a hybrid of both forms.

This section focuses on the various ways in which the occasionally obvious, i.e. explicitly marked, presence of the narrator creates a narrative of events. The temporal relation of the narrator to the events, which is either remote in the case of a narrative of events, or close in the case of a narrative of words, and the prominent presence of dialogue, which speaks in favour of a narrative of words, shall be looked into below in sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4. The analysis of the speed of the narration, finally, which determines the degree of detail (greater speed means less detail means

¹⁷⁹ This limitation applies to all types of speeches (namely reported, transposed, or narrated).

¹⁸⁰ GENETTE (1988, 51; cf also 57; 1980, 171–3). Cf. also LAIRD (1999, 215: “Even so, the assumption that most first-person narrators are like human individuals with ordinary human attributes might give us some cause to worry about their ability to ‘recollect’ accurately”).

¹⁸¹ MORGAN (2007a, 446). Cf. also RIMELL (2007, 114–5).

narrative of events, lower speed means more detail means narrative of words), follows in section 4.4.2.

The core difference between the two forms of narratives lies in their impression on the reader. While the narrative of words flows more freely and allows for the reader to be immersed in it as a witness, the narrative of events is more distant. In the latter case the reader rather feels like they are being told about certain events.

For most of the narration Encolpius remains a covert narrator, as he only occasionally rises to the surface of his narrative. This can occur in various ways.

At several instances the narrator's voice is grammatically marked by the use of the present tense. Here he either states his own opinion or refers to actions that can still be encountered in his present day and as such lie both within and beyond the diegetic world of the protagonists.¹⁸² For example, he feels embarrassed to report the custom of perfuming the guest's feet (*pudet referre quae secuntur*, 70.8) and compares the Aethiopian entering with those in the amphitheatre (*quales solunt esse <eorum> qui harenam in amphitheatro spargunt*, 34.4). It is possible to label some of these passages with verbs in the present tense metanarrative, for Encolpius here explicitly draws attention to the process of remembering and narrating events, and metalepses, since the narrator here enters the diegetic level of the protagonist.¹⁸³ Since in phrases in the present tense Encolpius becomes tangible as the narrating instance, he allows the addressee to identify with him and thus establishes a basis of trust. On these grounds, these expressions serve the purpose of creating credibility and convincing the listener.¹⁸⁴

By contrast, the narrator uses the past tense to highlight that he is describing the feelings or expectations of his past self. In order to stress that his previous assessments have proven wrong in light of the turn of events, he uses explicit expressions

¹⁸² *solent* (34.4, 59.3, 83.7); *spargunt* (34.4); *aiunt* (47.8); *credo* (52.10, 68.4, 110.1, 113.8); *est* (65.1, 113.8, 126.14); *offendit* (65.1); *pudet* (70.8); *secuntur* (70.8); *oportet* (82.6); *habet* (82.6); *appellant* (83.2); *possit* (126.14); *puto* (136.4); *existimo* (136.7). Cf. also the future tenses in *dixero* (126.14) and *erit* (126.14), as well as the defective verb *memini* (30.3).

¹⁸³ *si bene memini* (30.3); *mattae, quarum etiam recordatio me, si qua est dicenti fides, offendit* (65.1); *pudet referre quae secuntur* (70.8); *nam quicquid dixero* (126.14). One instance for a metanarrative phrase in a past tense can be found at *quae iam exciderunt memoriae meae* (56.10).

¹⁸⁴ *si qua est fides (dicenti)* can be found frequently in declamatory oration. Cf. JENSSON (2004, 45 n. 107), HABERMEHL (2006, 13) with reference to Seneca and Ps-Quintilian.

of thinking and believing.¹⁸⁵ For example, Encolpius the protagonist believes to have seen through Trimalchio's *Corinthus* joke (*expectabam, ut pro reliqua insolentia diceret sibi uasa Corinθο afferri*, 50.3), when in fact he is wrong (50.4). Thus, here and elsewhere Encolpius makes clear that his present understanding of events (as the narrator) is more advanced than it was back in the day (as the protagonist) and distances himself, at least to some extent, from the persona of his previous self.¹⁸⁶ Beck's (1975) conclusion that the pejorative feeling Encolpius expresses in the *Cena* may generally help distinguish the narrator's notion from the protagonist's has been rightly rejected by Jones (1987). This distinction overly simplifies Encolpius' assessment throughout the *Satyrica* as a whole, and the fact that his role changes during the *Satyrica* from being actively involved to passively observing during the *Cena*.¹⁸⁷

The narrator occasionally applies an ironic undertone in his description of events to distance himself from his previous self. For example, we find Encolpius gullibly asking a random vegetable seller for the location of his lodging; the narrator classifies this question as *urbanitate tam stulta* (7.1). Later he will be subjectively misinterpreting paintings in a picture gallery, or, as the narrator puts it, fighting with winds (83.7). Ironic distance might also be noticeable when Encolpius naively celebrates his triumph over Ascyltus (*sine causa gratulor mihi*, 79.9).¹⁸⁸

In contrast to the extradiegetic narrator Encolpius, the intradiegetic narrator Niceros emerges as an overt narrator.¹⁸⁹ In his metadiegetic narrative that fills less than two Teubner pages he addresses the audience three times (*noueratis*, 61.6; *<scitis>*, 61.9; *nolite me iocari putare*, 62.6) and assures his listeners that he is telling the truth in several metanarrative comments.¹⁹⁰ Additionally, he uses personal pronouns, some of which are even in the nominative case, in almost every sen-

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 7.2, 15.8, 32.3, 33.7, 47.9, 50.3, 65.4, 69.8, 80.1, 80.6, 136.12.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. BECK (1973, 58–9; 1975, 273). Cf. *tarde, immo iam sero intellexi* (7.4); *nec adhuc sciebamur nos in medio [lautitiarum], quod aiunt, cliuo laborare* (47.8); *sine causa gratulor mihi* (79.9).

¹⁸⁷ Cf. LAIRD (1999, 217: “The Encolpius recounting the *Cena* might be called a ‘transparent narrator’ and the Encolpius recounting the other episodes an ‘agent narrator’”).

¹⁸⁸ JENSSON (2004, 50 n. 120) lists a number of passages where we might be able to trace the narrator's ironic tendency in his way of referring to freedmen at the dinner.

¹⁸⁹ Since Nicero and Trimalchio are also the heroes of their own narratives, they are autodiegetic narrators. The same holds true for Eumolpus and the Pergamene Youth. Cf. FEDELI in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 30–5) for an excellent discussion of the diegetic addressees.

¹⁹⁰ *nolite me iocari putare; ut mentiar, nullius patrimonium tanti facio* (62.6); *uiderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent* (62.14); *ego si mentior, genios uestros iratos habeam* (62.14).

tence.¹⁹¹ These stress that it was Nicerus himself who experienced the werewolf event. Based on these linguistic features, one cannot help but notice that the freedman might be trying too hard to create credibility, yet by doing so breaks the narrative flow.¹⁹² As he himself states prior to narrating, he is scared that the *scholastici* might laugh at him (*timeo istos scholasticos, ne me [de]rideant*, 61.4).

The intradiegetic narrator Trimalchio appears less tense, not least because he remains a covert narrator throughout – we find one metanarrative statement (*plane non mentiar*, 63.6). He will emerge openly as the narrator only at the end of his metadiegetic narrative, when he addresses his audience directly by offering his interpretation of the events: *rogo uos, oportet credatis [...]* (63.9).

The poet Eumolpus remains most covert of all (intradiegetic) narrators in the *Satyrical*. Only one metanarrative statement (*quid diutius moror?*, 112.2) and three interpretative comments interrupt two otherwise smoothly flowing metadiegetic narratives.¹⁹³ For the Widow of Ephesus he even chooses to act as a heterodiegetic narrator, thus standing outside or above the narrative.

4.3.3 TEMPORAL DISTANCE

Closely connected to the question of duration [section 4.4.2] is the temporal aspect of the narrated events. More specifically, the narrator uses various tenses at different points.

It is interesting to note that, excluding verb forms that might be either present or past tense (for example *inquit*), for no obvious reason we can find almost no verbs in the historic present towards the beginning of the extant *Satyrical* (three for the second episode, two for the second episode, only one for the market episode),¹⁹⁴ whereas they appear very frequently in the final episode in South Italy (more than 40 times) and aboard Lichas' ship (almost 60 times).¹⁹⁵ A closer look reveals that, for example for the episode aboard Lichas' ship the historic present tense is used very regularly

¹⁹¹ For example *nactus ego occasionem persuadeo hospitem nostrum ut mecum ad quintum miliarium ueniat* (62.2). Cf. 61.8, 62.2, 62.3, 62.4, 62.5, 62.10, 62.11, 62.13, 62.14. *Ego* can be found at 61.7, 62.2, 62.4, 62.8, 62.9.

¹⁹² Cf. BLÄNSDORF (1990, 204–6).

¹⁹³ *nihil est tam arduum quod non improbitas extorqueat* (87.3); *nemo inuitus audit, cum cogitur aut cibum sumere aut uiuere* (111.3); *ceterum scitis quid plerumque soleat temptare humanam satietatem* (112.1).

¹⁹⁴ We can safely exclude the opening episode from our discussion, since we here have no verbs other than those of saying introducing reported speech.

¹⁹⁵ See section 8.3.1.

after Lichas and Tryphaena catch Encolpius and Giton, particularly in scenes of uncertain outcome and high tension (starting at 108 until the peace treaty is signed at 109.4) as well as the description of the storm and its aftermath (114–5).

It appears particularly intriguing that the narrator at no point uses the historic present tense throughout an entire scene.¹⁹⁶ We can even find both past and the present tenses in quick succession.¹⁹⁷ It seems that Encolpius wants to stress single actions only rather than entire passages.

Even more surprisingly, beyond Petronius we do not find clauses in the present and perfect tenses linked by *et* or enclitic *-que* prior to Apuleius and Tertullian.¹⁹⁸ If we here have a particularly Petronian peculiarity that was picked up again by Apuleius, we do not learn more about the date of the *Satyrice* other than that it pre-dates the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁹⁹ In this case, however, we must ask ourselves why this stylistic feature seems to have disappeared fully for an entire century, as far as we can tell from the extant texts. If the chronological sequence is reversed and Petronius here follows Apuleius, we can narrow down the date of Petronius to the second half of the second century; our *termini ante* and *post quem* would be the date of Apuleius and the intertext from Terentianus Maurus. A third possibility lies in interpreting Apuleius and Petronius as picking up a specific stylistic feature independently from each other. Bearing in mind that we can find it at the end of the century also in Tertullian, we might feel inclined to locate it, and the *Satyrice* together with it, in the later second century. It goes without saying that our assessment of this linguistic question is considerably complicated by the seemingly poor textual transmission of prose writings from the late first and early second century. In fact, we have only seven prose writers from Nero to Apuleius: the two Plinies, Tacitus, Suetonius, Fronto, Quintilian, and Gellius.

The use of present or perfect tenses in Petronius is not necessarily linked to the action described, as we find both *uideo* (91.7) and *uidi* (9.1) used for an almost identi-

¹⁹⁶ At 64.1 we find only present tenses until the lacuna in the text. Otherwise the longest sections narrated in a historic present tense are those featuring Eumolpus and others at the adventurers' lodging (94.8–13, 95.1–8). A mix of present and past tenses can be found also in the narratives by the metadiegetic narrators Niceros (62.2–5) and Trimalchio (63.6–8), whereas Eumolpus uses past tenses for his description of past tenses throughout with only two exceptions (*exponit*, 112.6; *iubet*, 112.8).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. 28.6, 55.1–2, 82.1–4, 95, 98.1–2, 136.1–4.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. HSz §171, p. 307. In the *Satyrice* we find them for example at 11.1, 28.1, 40.1, 41.8, 80.8, 97.1, 103.6, 110.2, 132.4, 136.1, 140.13.

¹⁹⁹ On Petronius and Apuleius see section 5.1.3.

cal line describing Encolpius' recognition of Giton. Because Encolpius' use of the historic present tense follows no obvious pattern and thus appears widely incomprehensible, we can only speculate about the narrator's intentions. There can be no doubt that narrating events in the present rather than a perfect tense creates a more vivid effect, yet beyond that we can only guess. For some reason not known to me Encolpius decides to stick exclusively to past tenses for the climax of the market episode, yet uses a historic present tense at the very end for the resolution (*in deuersorium praecipites abimus*, 15.8). The same can be observed for the scene with the soldier (82.1–4).

One piece of evidence that might cast light on the dating question shall only be touched upon here, as it pertains to the topic of temporal distance in a linguistic rather than Genettean narratological sense: the use, or, rather, lack of archaisms. In his studies of the language of the *Satyrica*, Petersmann (1977, 1985) has identified merely a very small number of archaism. As emerges from his linguistic analysis of the extant text, Petronius does not seem particularly fond of the language of early Latin authors, even though the influence of comedy and the mime, such as the works of Plautus, is undeniable and emerges clearly from the re-use of both specific motifs and plot patterns.²⁰⁰ Given the centrality of archaism in Latin writing after about 140 CE, as persuasively demonstrated by Marache (1957), it is hard to see the *Satyrica* being later than this date.

4.3.4 NARRATIVE DISTANCE

More than 60% of the extant *Satyrica* consist of (reported, transposed, and narrated) speech.²⁰¹ Not even one tenth of these 60% is either transposed or narrated speech. The ratio in Encolpius' narrative between reported and narrated or transposed speech on the one hand and discourse and non-verbal action on the other hand varies from episode to episode.

Due to the lack of explicit metanarrative references the reason for this imbalance is difficult to determine with certainty. The predominance of (mainly reported) speech over non-verbal lines might aim at creating a more vivid and authentic narrative and

²⁰⁰ See for example section 5.3.3.

²⁰¹ See section 8.3.2.

is perhaps based on the narrator's unspoken claim of reliability.²⁰² By dedicating large parts of his narrative to the allegedly literal reproduction of the protagonists' speeches Encolpius may be aiming at achieving a higher degree of credibility and objectivity, even though other factors eventually determine his unreliability as a narrator overall.²⁰³

In the extant *Satyrica* we have no references as to how faithful the narrator's text is to the original protagonists' discourses, be they in reported, transposed, or narrated speech. As Thucydides states, it is in all cases difficult to remember speeches word for word (1.22.1). Therefore, he carries on to explain, his habit has been one of making the speakers say what in his opinion the various occasions demanded of them, whilst adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said. Encolpius in the *Satyrica* might have applied a similar dogma, though on the basis of the extant text we will not find out.

It appears legitimate to observe that the mode of narration with reported protagonists' speech playing a predominant role is a narrator's choice. At several points it emerges from the phrasing and content that Encolpius does not mechanically report every discourse. Rather, he chooses which parts to narrate, either in reported, transposed, or narrated speech, and which to leave out. For example, he leaves out lines by Ascyltus at the market episode, prior to 12.4; this becomes apparent from the narrator's statement that the protagonist suddenly fell silent (*conticuit*) even though no speech is reported prior to the moment of silence. Another example of a passage where the discourse itself is implied is 52.6: here Trimalchio lets one of his slaves go after having been asked by Encolpius and his companions (*exoratur*). The request itself is not reported in full, yet it becomes clear from Trimalchio's reaction (*missionem dedit puero*).²⁰⁴ By contrast, the opening declamation and the verbal confrontation aboard Lichas' ship appear to be reported in full. The narrator also chooses to recount the freedmen's gossip in reported speech, as he seemed to be

²⁰² Cf. PERI'S (2007) excellent discussion of Encolpius' use of reported, transposed and narrated speech in the *Satyrica*.

²⁰³ Cf. JURADO (2005, 127: "El cambio de focalizador y la elección del discurso directo para expresar sus palabras tienden a promover un 'efecto de realidad', de exterioridad y objetividad, un signo aparente de autenticidad de lo que se dice").

²⁰⁴ Further passages where discourse is left out from the narrative include 16.2, 22.4, 41.8, 48.5, 59.1, 59.3, 71.4–5, 80.6–8.

enjoying listening to it back in the day.²⁰⁵

It comes as no surprise that the opening episode at school, a declamational exchange, and the episode aboard ship, a vivid discussion that Encolpius calls a *declamatio*, consist of large sections in reported speech. Here, it is not so much the non-verbal actions that constitute the story but the content of the verbal dispute. By contrast, the market episode focuses to a greater extent on non-verbal action. Hence, the narrator reports deliberations and exclamations only occasionally and for the purpose of making the action clear. Furthermore, one can observe that in those episodes with only few or no non-verbal parts at all, i.e. episodes that consist almost entirely of dialogue, such as those at school and in the picture gallery, Encolpius sticks for the most part to reported speech. By contrast, in episodes with a mixture of dialogue and actions, such as the reconciliation with Giton and the journey to Croton, the amount of narrated and transposed speech is relatively high.

Encolpius' choices of discourse also highlight protagonists' characters or roles. In the second case they depend to a great extent on the nature of the scene the protagonists find themselves in. The poet-character Eumolpus will utter far more than double the number of lines spoken by any other protagonist, i.e. as much as Encolpius and Trimalchio together. Overall, the majority of episodes where Eumolpus appears as one of the main protagonists display a higher percentage of spoken passages (83–90, 100–14, 115–24, 140–1) than those episodes from which he is partly or fully absent. The same holds true for Trimalchio, the tyrannical dinner host.²⁰⁶ As far as we can tell from the narrator's text, whenever the host is present during the *Cena*, he is more or less the only one to speak. The rhetor Agamemnon is silent at almost all times throughout the dinner and speaks only when addressed directly by Trimalchio, so does Habinnas. In fact, Agamemnon is surprisingly quiet beyond the opening episode, where he finds himself in his own *métier*, declaiming in a *porticus*. The fellow freedmen including Dama, Seleucus, and Phileros speak extensively, yet only in Trimalchio's absence.

²⁰⁵ As GOLDMAN (2008a, 58) has excellently observed, Encolpius even uses the verb *uibrare* for the freedmen's discourses, which carries positive connotations elsewhere: Cicero uses it for Demosthenes (*Orat.* 70.234) and Hortensius (*Brut.* 326) and Quintilian for Archilochus, whom he recommends (*Inst.* 10.1.60).

²⁰⁶ Cf. *ab hoc ferculo Trimalchio ad lasanum surrexit. nos libertatem sine tyranno nacti coepimus inuitare* (41.9).

4.4 TIME

4.4.1 ORDER

For most parts of the narrative, the narrator maintains the natural temporal sequence of events. Occasional permutations in the form of partial prolepses and analepses break the smoothly flowing *ordo naturalis*, turning it into an *ordo artificialis*.²⁰⁷

In this section, I shall first investigate those instances of anachronisms, which are either in reported speech, and thus attributed to protagonists, or likely based on statements uttered by protagonists yet left out of the narrator's text. These are linked to the plot structure and aim at either creating repetitive moments, where protagonists are being chased by their divinely-influenced fate time and again, or serve the purpose of providing further biographical background information about protagonists.

A second group of anachronisms is to be attributed directly to the narrator. These are destined to enrich the narrative texture by breaking up what would otherwise be a linear, flat way of setting out events in the exact chronological order in which they occurred. These serve various purposes and shall be analysed at the end of this section.

In the *Satyrice* prolepses are rare and can be found exclusively in protagonists' contributions in reported speech. One instance of a pure (heterodiegetic) prolepsis is Trimalchio's exposition of his planned burial monument (71.5–12).

Also mixed cases of anachronies, i.e. analepses within prolepses or prolepses within analepses, appear only occasionally. We have two (internal) homodiegetic proleptic analepses, as the protagonists look back to times when they were being informed about the future: Quartilla's dream (17.7) comes true when she carries out her orgiastic remedy and Tryphaena's vision at Baiae (104.1–2) is fulfilled when Encolpius and Giton board Lichas' ship. In both cases Priapus is named as the driving force. By including these announcements, the narrator creates the impression that the protagonists are haunted by the god and cannot not elude their fate.

By contrast, analepses appear more frequently. In terms of reach, they can be

²⁰⁷ As far as we can tell despite the fragmentary state of transmission, most forms of anachrony in the *Satyrice* are partial. The exception to this rule is the analepsis at 81, which is complete.

classified into two groups.

The first group of analepses appear to refer to earlier scenes or episodes. Firstly, in view of the references by a variety of protagonists we are able to grasp pieces of a previous episode that introduced Encolpius and Giton as close friends of the ship-owner Lichas and Tryphaena (107.1, 5, 10–1). However, an unspecified crime on the part of Encolpius and Giton, which is mentioned at several points during the narrative (106.2–4, 107.6, 11, 113.3–8), forced the two *iuuenes* to escape from their former companions (100.3–101.7, esp. 101.6). Secondly, it becomes evident that the episode at the market recalls an earlier scene or episode when Ascyltus states that the treasure has just returned (*rediisse*) to the adventurers (13.2).²⁰⁸ Previously, Encolpius mentioned that the farmer was somehow familiar to him (*rusticus quidam familiaris*, 12.3; *plane is ipse erat*, 12.5), and Ascyltus, too, appeared to recognise the man (12.4).²⁰⁹ Eventually, the farmer’s wife openly claims to have caught the thieves (14.5). Thirdly, both Ascyltus and Encolpius mention further past *scelera* at various points, including the latter’s flight from the arena (9.8–10.2, 81.3), the disturbance of a holy rite at the crypt and the discovery of a horrible secret related to Quartilla (16.3–4, 17.6–7, 20.1, 21.3), and others (81.3, 130.1–3, 139.3).²¹⁰ In addition, Encolpius refers to an event of poisoning that, according to his assessment, may have been the cause of his impotence (128.2, 138.7) and a former lover called Doris (126.18).

The fact that Encolpius does not recount any of these past events fully may be interpreted as a sign that the reader should be familiar with them from earlier parts of the work. The lack of detail suggests that Encolpius aims at avoiding the extensive repetitive telling of what he had already narrated at an earlier stage. The impression that the heroes are chased by their past in the manner of a grudge, which is created by including these analeptic references, appears likely to have created a comic and entertaining effect. If this assumption holds true and these references are to earlier, now lost scenes and episodes, they can be classified as repeating analepses.²¹¹

The second group of analepses are called completing as they “comprise the

²⁰⁸ Cf. BREITENSTEIN (2009, 153–4).

²⁰⁹ 12.5 is a rare instance for an analeptic relative clause by the narrator.

²¹⁰ For attempts of reconstructing (these) earlier scenes see n. 5.

²¹¹ By contrast, if Encolpius alluded to stories that were different from the main storyline or that lied outside the temporal field of the diegetic narrative, they would be internal heterodiegetic or external, respectively.

retrospective sections that fill in, after the event, an earlier gap in the narrative²¹². These fulfil a different purpose to the analepses from the first group. Due to the restriction imposed by the internal focalisation, Encolpius cannot know what happened to his companions in his absence. Since the reader only perceives the world through Encolpius' eyes, he is equally unable to know. Both groups can be summarised as internal homodiegetic analepses.

In order to inform the reader in greater detail about what happened to Giton and Ascyltus during Encolpius' absence, Petronius needs to have Encolpius ask his lovers directly or have them relate the events that occurred. Thus, Encolpius' inquiry about what happened after Ascyltus had taken Giton away from him (133.1–3) is an internal analepsis, as it refers back to the time shortly after the adventurers fled from the *Cena*. So are the brief explanations by Ascyltus of how he ended up in the brothel (8.2) and by Giton of what Ascyltus did to him in there (9.4–5). The same reasoning justifies the internal analepses of Giton having marked the columns at an earlier stage (79.4), Eumolpus' adventures in the bath (92.6–11), and Giton's brief comment about his attempted suicide in Ascyltus' sleeping place (94.11).

The brief biographies by the priestess Quartilla (25.4–6), the freedman Hermeros (57.4–11) and the dinner host Trimalchio (75.10–77.1) are likely to be listed as some of the few external analepses, as they reach back further than the remotest point of the diegetic narrative.²¹³ The protagonists Quartilla, Hermeros, and Trimalchio appear to be older than the juvenile Encolpius. Therefore, their life stories reach back further than the events the narrator sets out. These external analepses provide concise biographies for the purpose of colouring otherwise rather flat, stereotypical characters, turning them into rounded individuals of flesh and blood.

By contrast, it is in the nature of the freedmen's gossip, such as Echion's account of Glyco (45.7–9), to focus on novelties. Since these accounts deal with events that are different from that of the main storyline, the analepses included in the freedmen's speeches are internal heterodiegetic.

A second group of anachronisms concerns the narrator's choice of reporting

²¹² GENETTE (1980, 51).

²¹³ I feel inclined, even if with caution, to include the background information on Giton's and Ascyltus' previous professions and youthful misdeeds, which the narrator provides at 81.4–5, in this list of external analepses. It seems like Encolpius is here alluding to things that happened in the remote past and thus lie outside the temporal field of the diegetic narrative.

chronological events in a non-linear manner. Such analepses appear rarely and serve primarily the purpose of telling the story in a most economical way, whilst not distracting the listener from the core action. For example, Encolpius mentions that the *cociones* had approached only when they become relevant for the action (14.7). Had he introduced them earlier, he would have distracted his addressee from the flow of events happening around the adventurers, the farmer and his wife. Such analepses by the narrator can provide a further insight into the present events. If the cause for a present action lies in the past, the recent event is recounted in the form of an analeptic subclause. For example, in the Quartilla episode Giton cannot hold back his laughter because the virgin girl had been kissing him extensively (20.8).²¹⁴ Finally, analepses by the narrator are used as means of clarification²¹⁵ or to highlight specific moments. Thus, at 26.1 the analeptic verbs in the pluperfect tense emphasise that things went quickly:²¹⁶ whilst Encolpius was getting up, Psyche had veiled the bride's head, the *embasicoetas* picked up the wedding torches, and the drunken women had formed a long applauding train and decorated the chamber.

We have only two instances of proleptic statements by the narrator: *pudet referre quae secuntur* (70.8) and *nam quicquid dixero, minus erit* (126.14).

Overall, however, the narrative is surprisingly linear. The wide majority of events are set out in a chronological, step-by-step manner.

4.4.2 DURATION

The narrator can adjust the narrative speed in several ways. Broadly speaking, one can distinguish between summary/speed-up and scene.²¹⁷ The ellipse, either implicit or explicit, and the descriptive pause stand on the two sides of the spectrum. Any difference between the narrative time of the narrative and the story is summarised by the term anisochrony.

In the case of Petronius it is particularly difficult to detect implicit ellipses.²¹⁸ We are frequently left with the inability to judge with any certainty whether the narrator leaves out an event in the narration or whether the relevant scene has not come down

²¹⁴ Cf. also 79.4.

²¹⁵ The reference that the Syrians had come to the house for the purpose of stealing clarifies who the demonstrative pronoun *ille* (22.5) refers to. Cf. also 54.4, 70.12, 74.5, 90.1.

²¹⁶ Cf. also 26.7, 34.1–2.

²¹⁷ Following GENETTE I excluded the stretch/slow-down. See section 8.1 s.v. *Stretch/Slow-Down*.

²¹⁸ See also the discussion of paralipses connected to metalepses in section 4.3.1.

to us. Numerous lacunae in the text, particularly in the episodes with Quartilla and later in Croton, suggest that the textual transmission is poor. Thus, for example the mention of the third day (26.7) and its connection with the previous wedding scene of Giton and Pannychis remain unclear. Nonetheless, it appears plausible that Encolpius occasionally leaves out events that are either irrelevant for the stream of events or rather obvious. After all, a narrative that is too pedantic and overly full of obvious details and logical steps would bore the listener. For example, at the same wedding scene we hear about the preparations moving into the bedroom (26.2) and find them already in bed a moment later (26.4). The implicit ellipsis is highlighted by the use of *itaque* at the beginning of the sentence.²¹⁹ On the other hand, there are no explicit ellipses in the extant *Satyrice*.

The narrative speed varies widely throughout the work and depends to a large extent on the content of the various scenes. It differs mainly in scenes that contain a large number of verbal passages from those consisting primarily of non-verbal patterns of action, in part because Encolpius' narrative re-iteration takes up the same amount of time as the actual speeches. Thus, we have equality of time between narrative and story (scene) in sections consisting exclusively of discourse. Encolpius' masterly narrating skills shall be analysed based on a selection of episodes and scenes from the *Satyrice*. We will find episodes of scene (the first episode and the *Cena*) in contrast to events of summary with shorter interspersed sections of deliberation and discussion at the market (12–15) and back in the lodging (90–99). The narrator uses accelerations and decelerations both to create suspense and guide the attention of his addressee – provided that the first narrative originally contained one.

The plot of the opening episode at the school of rhetoric (1–5) consists of the declamations against the oratorical practice of the time uttered by the protagonist Encolpius and the rhetor Agamemnon, which are both in reported speech. Provided that the narrator does not omit parts of the speeches, but rather reports them in full, we have equality of time between narrative and story (scene).²²⁰ There is a sustaina-

²¹⁹ Another implicit ellipsis with *itaque* can be found at 28.1.

²²⁰ Since we only have the narrator's text, we have no choice but to cautiously trust him.

The episode aboard ship is narrated in a fashion similar to the opening debate with Agamemnon. A closer look reveals that Encolpius even explicitly interprets the fight with Tryphaena and Lichas as a *declamatio* (107.12). Since the focus here is not on what is being done but rather what is said and

ble reason for this assumption, since Encolpius explicitly states that Agamemnon did not allow him to carry on with declaiming (3.1) and provides the rhetor's further comments in reported speech. Moreover, he does not explicitly refer to any omission. By providing these speeches (in full), the dispute's content gains in importance.

The speed increases at the beginning of §6 and marks the forthcoming transition into another episode, including a change of protagonists. By contrast to the opening episode related in reported speech, the verbal quarrel between Agamemnon and the group of students who had appeared in the portico is given in summary (6.1–2). This need not be narrated in full, as it is not so much its content that is relevant for the progress of the plot, but rather the fact that the event took place: because the students start debating and ridiculing Agamemnon, Encolpius manages to flee and take up his search for Ascylltus.

Similarly, Encolpius' struggle to find his lodging is narrated in a summary, as it only leads to the important scene of reunion with the two lovers Ascylltus and Giton. Several verbal comments shortly interrupting the quest are reported as part of Encolpius' encounter with the elderly lady. These serve two purposes: they not only provide the explanation as to why Encolpius ends up in a brothel but also provoke laughter at the expense of the protagonists. As emerges from the action narrated in this paragraph (§7) and from the analepsis at 8.2–4, both Encolpius and Ascylltus were gullibly tricked. In general, two observations on the narrative technique applied in this episode stand out in particular: the speed generally increases in those scenes leading to a reunion (6–7.5, 9.1) and decreases when Encolpius talks about the time he spent with Ascylltus and Giton (8, 9.2–10.7).²²¹ Thus, the narrator not only accentuates the central role of the lovers for the entire work, but furthermore allows the listener to relive their moments of intimate happiness in greater detail. Even though Giton and Encolpius are separated time and again, a touching scene of reconciliation is never far away.

Encolpius' narrating skills emerge once again when he reports the events that happened at the market (12–5). Here suspicion is created by accelerated narrating, lead-

deliberated, large sections consist entirely or widely of reported speech (for example 100–5). The few non-verbal actions appear unexpectedly and are set out in a summarised manner.

²²¹ The exception to this rule is §11, where Encolpius' sexual encounter is interrupted by Ascylltus' sudden appearance, highlighted further by the use of the *cum inversum* (11.2), and the latter's outrageous behaviour, which is mirrored not least by the highly accelerated narrative speed. On the use of the *cum inversum* in the *Cena* cf. PERROCHAT (1940, 287–8).

ing to the farmer's surprising recognition of the thieves, and is linguistically highlighted by the use of *nec diu* [...] *ac* [...] *inuicem* [...] *ac subito* [...] *ac* (12.3–5).²²² Furthermore, the greater speed mirrors the vicissitudes of unexpected events following the identification. This general tendency stands in sharp contrast to brief interspersed sections, where a range of details are given and the companions' deliberations are reported. These verbal contributions not only allow an insight into the protagonists' rationale and thus make it possible for the listener to follow their actions better, but also create suspense. The listener is forced to wait patiently to hear what happens next.

When reading the episode of the dinner at Trimalchio's (26.7–78), a sharp alternation in speed is noticeable. When he relates the scene of their first encounter with the host (27), Encolpius provides ample details ranging from the freedman's appearance to his servants and the games he is playing. Due to this abundance of descriptive elements at times throughout the *Cena* the narrative comes close to a descriptive pause, particularly when viewed in contrast to the earlier episodes such as at the market. Surprisingly, even when the narrator reports a sequence of actions (28.1–5), he embellishes his account with a wealth of descriptive elements.²²³ Whereas various previous episodes appeared like rapid successions of events narrated in accelerated speed, Encolpius here seems too greatly impressed by the host's lavishness to sacrifice a single detail for the sake of achieving any such narrative outcome.²²⁴ Moreover, we should not neglect the fact that his role has changed from an active participant to a passive observer: whilst he largely contributed to the progress of the earlier sections of the plot as one of the main protagonists, he now sits at the dinner table and engages in either listening to freedmen's contributions or looking at Trimalchio's stagings. This change also explains why large parts of the dinner episode consist of reported speech, yet Encolpius himself in no other episode in the narrative remains as silent as during the *Cena*.²²⁵ By contrast, Trimalchio, who ap-

²²² PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 20–1) observes that “the plot moves so fast that the audience can easily miss the thin line of narrative-continuity”.

²²³ Only very occasionally does Encolpius use summary during the *Cena*, most prominently when dishes are changed. Cf. 68.1.

²²⁴ Cf. CONTE (1996, 183). Already before the beginning of the dinner, Encolpius expresses his admiration (*sequimur nos admiratione iam saturi*, 28.6).

²²⁵ Cf. LAIRD (1999, 228) and the detailed list in the section 8.3.2: <5 lines in narrated or transposed speech and <10 lines in reported speech by Encolpius, <2 by Ascyltus, and <5 by Agamemnon, in contrast to over 400 lines overall for Trimalchio and several hundred by his fellow freedmen.

pears as a protagonist during the *Cena* only, makes up the second-highest number of reported lines of the entire extant *Satyrice*. The impact of this change in Encolpius' role becomes clear when he and his comrades decide not to follow Trimalchio and his fellow freedmen into the bath. Once the paths of the protagonists split, and Encolpius resumes his role as active protagonist, the narrative accelerates again (72.7–73.3). Upon narrating how they re-joined the host in the bath, equality of time between narrative and story is restored.

This special narrative feature of the *Cena* eventually fades out towards the end of the episode. The crowing of the cock and Trimalchio's immediate reactions to it are narrated in a highly summarised manner. This highlights the threat imposed by the signal, as interpreted by the superstitious host (74.2), and also foreshadows the impending end of the dinner. In fact, the only other section from Trimalchio's dinner that is narrated in an equally accelerated manner is its ending, where firefighters enter the building and our main protagonists escape (78.5–8).

Encolpius' skilful narrating style, which mirrors the content set out, becomes most apparent in the episode ranging from the reunion with Giton to the boarding of Lichas' ship. In this episode he gives ultimate proof of his mastery of summary and scene for the purpose of creating suspense. Various events are related in a more or less summarised way. This choice is made presumably either because the plot here includes fights (90.1–2, 95.1–7), a flight (94.7), or highly emotional moments (Encolpius' reunion with Giton at 91.1–7). These sections contrast with paragraphs rich in detail or purely consisting of reported speech (94.1–6, 95.8–96.7). Here we have equality of time between narrative and story. Thus, the meticulous description of Giton's game of hide-and-seek in the manner of Odysseus (97.4–98.3) seems to delay the narrative climax and creates suspense, as the listener is waiting eagerly to find out whether Encolpius and Giton will get away with their trick. From a narrative point of view, the introduction of the sailor here, just like that of the *seruus Agamemnonis* earlier (26.8), serve to speed up the narrative in a moment of slow-down.²²⁶ In fact, the events between the entrance of the *nauta* and the boarding of the ship are either narrated in an accelerated manner or left out completely.

²²⁶ Cf. PATIMO (2005, 544).

4.4.3 FREQUENCY

The last aspect to be analysed in this section on the *narration* is the question of narrative frequency. Events that happened once can be narrated once (singulative narrating) or several times (repeating narrating); on the other hand, events that happened several times might be related only once (iterative narrating). Where events are narrated in a repeating manner at various stages of the *récit*, matters of frequency are linked with those of order.

For the purpose of not rendering matters over-complicated, I sacrifice the distinction of verbal and non-verbal passages in this section on frequency and focus on the content only. Strictly speaking, if an event is first set out by the narrator and at a later stage alluded to by a protagonist, whose discourse the narrator reports, it is only by extension legitimate to speak of repeating narrating. In this case, Encolpius directly narrates the event in the first instance only, while in the other instance he is responsible for reporting a speech about the event. Thus, in the second instance, his narrating is only indirectly repetitive.

The vast majority of events in the *Satyrica* are narrated in a singulative manner. Encolpius only occasionally abandons this tendency by re-iterating events. Strictly speaking, only one passage to be listed as an instance of repeating narrating has come down to us: Encolpius re-narrates that Circe, in their intimate moment, bears him down to the ground (127.8, 10). Otherwise he does not re-provide a full narrative account of a scene. However, if we include in our definition of repeating narrating those instances where events are first laid out in detail and briefly mentioned or clearly alluded to elsewhere, matters change. In this case, both groups of repeating anachronisms discussed above are to be listed as such instances. Generally speaking, not least because sections of repeating narrating are often linked to repeating anachronisms, they emphasise the action and create the impression that their past, their fate, and the god Priapus chase the protagonists.

Iterative narrating occurs more frequently than its repeating counterpart.²²⁷ Whenever several similar or identical actions occur one after the other, Encolpius tends to narrate them only once. Thus, they appear as a collective of similar acts or patterns

²²⁷ If we want to classify them further, all instances of iterative narrating in the *Satyrica* ought to be labelled 'internal' or 'synthesizing', since "the iterative syllepsis extends not over a wider period of time but over the period of time of the scene itself" (GENETTE (1980, 118–9)).

of behaviour rather than as individual instances. Some scenes depict real or imagined extended kissing, intimacy or movements as parts of a sexual encounter (26.5, 81.6, 140.10); others inform the reader about strong waves of emotion such as anger or desperation.²²⁸ Occasionally, events are presented as a part of a more complex process or ritual.²²⁹ For some instances the choice of iterative narrating particularly stresses the dramatic impact or seriousness of the event.²³⁰ This effect is achieved also by the use of the adverbial expressions *semel iterumque* (34.9, 94.12, 115.12, 135.2, 140.10) or *frequenter* (81.2). In most instances in the *Satyrice*, iterative narrating is accompanied by speed-up.²³¹ Because several actions are laid out only once, the narrative time is reduced in respect to the story time.

4.5 CONCLUSION

A narratological analysis has allowed us to evaluate both narrative and narrating. The autodiegetic narrator Encolpius emerges as highly capable of deviating from a linear plot by using analepses and prolepses where fitting, creating suspense and emphasising events by the means of summary and scene, as well as credibility through choices of discourse. The *Satyrice* lacks neither embedded narratives and metadiegetic narrators nor instances of iterative and repeating narrating.

On the basis of my analysis of the narrative complexity of the *Satyrice* I am inclined to believe that the work is closer to the later idealised romances, namely Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Heliodorus, than to Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus.²³² However, further comparative analyses of the narrative and the narrating of the *Satyrice* with Apuleius and the Greek romances would be necessary to substantiate such a claim and use the results of this section, particularly Petronius' handling of time, for the purpose of dating the work to the first or second centuries.

²²⁸ Cf. Encolpius' soliloquy (81.2), his beating of his own chest out of desperation upon the discovery of Lichas' corpse (115.12), triple attempt of violence (132.8 vv. 1–2), and pressing of his head again the pillow (139.1).

²²⁹ Cf. Trimalchio's ball-game (27.2), the *iatraliptae* fighting and spilling wine (28.3), games in Trimalchio's bath (73.4), Encolpius spitting three times as part of Oenothea's ritual (131.5).

²³⁰ Cf. Encolpius wandering around for a long time (6.4), the *familia* calling for Fortunata four times (67.3), Giton sneezing three times, which allows Ascyltus to detect him under the bed (94.4), Lichas hit by storm several times, which ultimately causes his death (114.6), Corax being too lazy to carry the heavy load and putting it down (117.11).

²³¹ Cf. for example 82.2.

²³² MORGAN has concluded that both Longus and Heliodorus display "a new level of sophistication" (2007b, 482) and "a sea-change in complexity [...] compared to the other novels [sc. Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus]" (2007c, 504).

5 STORY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This section is on the “the signified or narrative content”²³³ of the *Satyrice*, i.e. the material that the author has either invented or selected from earlier hypotexts or ‘historical reality’²³⁴ and imitated or transformed.²³⁵ The line between imitation and transformation on the one hand and invention on the other has been drawn tentatively. Even in those cases where we might be able to detect a hypotext or a historically-attested, extradiegetic model, the possibility that Petronius has created or invented scenes or even entire episodes that are thus independent from any other text and historical reality cannot be ruled out.

Therefore, in this section, I shall investigate primarily both those instances where ancient evidence suggests the presence of a hypotext or a non-hypertextual, i.e. extradiegetic or historical, source, and those where modern scholars have posited one, which nevertheless may not exist. However, in order to understand why the combination of a narratological and a historical approach is necessary to draw a full picture, we must first explore the theoretical concepts of ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’.

5.1.1 FACT AND FICTION

I use the terms ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ as opposite categories denoting all elements that are real and not real, respectively.²³⁶ That Nero died in 68 CE is a fact, as we have historical evidence for it. By contrast, all elements in the extant *Satyrice* are fictional, as they exist, *stricto sensu*, only in the narrative by the extradiegetic narrator

²³³ GENETTE (1980, 27).

²³⁴ Under the term ‘historical reality’ I subsume all events in the extradiegetic world (i.e. of the author) that happened in the past or are occurring at the time of composition. In order to find out about historical reality, we are called to rely on historical literary, archaeological, or epigraphic sources.

²³⁵ I use the terms ‘imitation’ and ‘transformation’ and the respective verbs as narratological, Genettean *termini technici*. See section 8.1 s.vv. *imitation, transformation*.

²³⁶ I will not touch upon many vigorously debated aspects concerning the theory of fact and fiction here. I have decided to present a theoretical discussion, which, albeit simplified, is fully satisfactory for our discussion of the nature of the story of the *Satyrice* and the literary complexity of the narrative texture. It has been influenced, above all, by the theory of GENETTE, BARTHES’ (1968) concept of the *effet du réel*, and COHN’S (1999) *The Distinction of Fiction*. I have engaged with the theories of these scholars, as they line up neatly with the structuralist-narratological approach in this thesis and cover those aspects pertaining to the field of fact and fiction that are relevant for this section.

Encolpius, and the author of the *Satyrice* by extension.²³⁷ They are real only as viewed from the protagonists' perspective in their diegetic world. This holds true for the protagonist Encolpius and any spatio-temporal references alike, and even for personages that resemble historically-attested people. Objects and actions as well as thoughts and words are "wholly constituted by the discourse that claims to describe them"²³⁸.

The story elements can have different sorts of origin. They are factual if they are based on historical reality, and fictitious if they were crafted in and by the author's imagination.²³⁹ The factual group of elements in particular is therefore "understood to have a second-order relation to the real world, via the mimetic logic of fictional representation"²⁴⁰. While the models for these elements are real, as they exist in historical reality, their appearance in the narrative is merely a fictional, factual *simulacrum*. In the words of Genette (1993, 26):

"the text of fiction does not lead to any extratextual [or extradiegetic] reality; everything it borrows (and it is constantly borrowing) from reality [...] is transformed into an element of fiction".

In these instances the text is denoting a fictional X while it is depicting a real Y.²⁴¹

In the case of literature generally, the degree of imitation or transformation versus invention and creation may vary widely. Both fully factual and fully fictitious works are no more than products of a theoretical *Gedankenexperiment*. Even the most fictitious fairy-tales with stereotypical anonymous characters and made-up settings imitate protagonists and speech acts with their illocutionary forces detectable in historical reality, even if only on an abstract or stereotypical level. Similarly, even authors of otherwise fully factual pieces of work, which are deliberately set in a specific past time with protagonists clearly modelled after otherwise attested people in name, appearance and deeds, will enrich their plots with a variable amount of fictitious details.

Connected to the discussion of factual versus fictitious events is the distinction

²³⁷ Cf. *OED* s.v. *fictional* ("Of, pertaining to, or of the nature of fiction").

²³⁸ GENETTE (1988, 135–6).

²³⁹ Cf. *OED* s.v. *fictitious* 3 ("Feigned, assumed or invented, not real").

²⁴⁰ WALSH (2007, 13).

²⁴¹ In the extant *Satyrice* we have no instances of metalepses in bottom-up form (fictional, diegetic protagonists intruding the extradiegetic level). For metalepses in top-down form (the extradiegetic narrator intruding the diegetic narrative) see section 4.3.1.

between fantastic versus realistic, denoting to which degree the narrative of fictional events resembles historical reality.²⁴² Scholars of the twentieth century frequently refer to the *Satyrice*'s relation to fact and fiction by labelling it "realistic".²⁴³

The great difficulty with identifying the degree of historical reality in a literary piece of work in general, and the *Satyrice* in particular, and thus labelling it fantastic or realistic, arises from the fact that an author has access to historical reality both directly and indirectly, i.e. via the fictional story worlds created by other authors that are based on historical reality to a variable degree. With the composition of every literary piece of work via the process of imitation and transformation of historical reality and mixture with fictitious elements comes the creation of a new fictional story world that enriches and amplifies what I shall label 'literary reality'.²⁴⁴ Since literary reality came into being via the complex, multi-phased process of (re-) creation, (re-) imitation, and (re-)transformation, it is based and thus dependent on both historical reality and imagination. At the same time it exists separately from them, insofar as an author can transform a fictional story world from literary reality without consciously using motifs from historical reality or making them up in his own imagination. The key issue arising from this process is that, with every step of creation of a new fictional story world, the images taken directly or indirectly from historical reality fuse (further) with fictitious aspects. Thus, the factual aspect of fictional images becomes gradually more blurred and difficult to recognise and isolate.

As I shall argue in sections 5.2 and 5.3, we can find a literary hypotext for almost all motifs in the *Satyrice*. In order to label the *Satyrice* either fantastic or realistic, it would be necessary to find out whether its hypotexts are factual or fictitious in the first place or again based on literary reality and thus themselves hypertextual. However, not least due to our sometimes thin layer of evidence, this task remains in many places impossible. Therefore, I shall limit myself here to stating that I am reluctant to label the *Satyrice* either fantastic or realistic.

²⁴² GENETTE (1988, 81: "a novel may be simultaneously fantastic and situated in 'real' history"). Cf. also LAIRD (1993, 174).

²⁴³ Cf. ABBOTT (1899, 440; 1911) and most prominently AUERBACH (1953, 30). HORSFALL (1989, 75) assumes that the action is fully based on a real-life setting, PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 194) thinks of realism to some extent but calls for a high level of caution, BODEL (1999, 42) stresses rightly: "Within this broadly realistic outline Petronius interlaces plausible and implausible details so artfully that it is sometimes difficult to tell where verisimilitude ends and parody begins". He is followed by CHRISTESEN/TORLONE (2002, 167).

²⁴⁴ Under 'literary reality' I understand all fictional story worlds that exist, and that the author has access to, in literary history.

5.1.2 APPROACH AND AIMS

There are two main reasons why the combination of a narratological and a historical approach is sustainable for our discussion of the story of the *Satyrica*. Factual elements provide a *terminus post quem*, since they are *per definitionem* based on historical reality. This holds true for both directly and indirectly factual story elements, i.e. those motifs immediately modelled after historical reality and those taken from literary reality, since literary reality is also, to a variable degree, (indirectly) factual. Thus, since the hypotext might have been factual in the first place, even if we were able to single out and separate directly and indirectly factual motifs in the *Satyrica*, it would be neither possible nor feasible to separate literary hypotexts from historical, non-hypertextual sources.

In the case of ancient literature matters are even more complicated than that. This is because we are not or not always able to find out whether an element is actually hypertextual or non-hypertextual in the first place, i.e. whether an author has drawn on a literary motif or protagonist that he has encountered in an earlier text or on a historical event or personage. In the case of Petronius, for example, we have epigraphic records for wealthy freedmen and first- and second-century authors who comment on this socio-economic phenomenon.²⁴⁵ Petronius might have drawn on an earlier author, who comments on this phenomenon, or modelled it directly after historical reality; in either case, the motif in Petronius would be factual. Thus, we are called to investigate both potential literary hypotexts and non-hypertextual sources, as both might have functioned as models for specific motifs in the *Satyrica*.

The analyses of both potential hypotexts and non-hypertextual sources equally have a bearing on the dating question of the *Satyrica* and illuminate the narrative texture of the work. If we can prove that Petronius has drawn directly on historical reality, the time frame for which the respective historical phenomena or personages are attested elsewhere is our *terminus post quem* for the time of composition of the *Satyrica*. The same holds true for any hypertextual, indirectly factual motifs. Moreover, in these cases, the dates of composition of the hypotexts contribute further to our assessment of the *terminus post quem*. In turn, the date of composition that we have in mind has a fundamental impact on which motifs from the text we read as

²⁴⁵ See section 5.2.5.

hypertextual and which texts we might interpret as their hypotexts.

5.1.3 STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

In the interests of clarity, I have split section 5 into three subchapters followed by a conclusion. The in-depth contextual assessment of the main protagonists in section 5.2 is not only vital for both their comparison with historical material and the hypertextual analysis of their literary models in the same section, but it also allows for a more focused analysis of the plot in section 5.3. It is in the nature of the analysed material that more historical evidence will be discussed in section 5.2 than in section 5.3.

Since it would be impossible to look into all the material in an adequately deep manner, both subsections 5.2 and 5.3 are selective in nature. In subsection 5.2, I will primarily discuss those pieces of information and motifs whose understanding is crucial for our further analyses – for example the constellation of protagonists and their main roles in the *Satyrice*, their social background, professions, and any specific tendencies or peculiarities –, or might provide any further insight into the date of the work, such as epigraphic attestations for the name Encolpius. In section 5.3 I will deal with a selection of scenes, where Petronius' wide-ranging hypertextual use of genres, authors, and eras and the different hypertextual relationships in play emerge most clearly.²⁴⁶ The discussion of these selected scenes is thus representative for a comprehensive investigation of the hypertextual nature of the *Satyrice* on the whole. Moreover, in both subsections I shall investigate a number of motifs that have been used in scholarship to date the *Satyrice*.

I have generally excluded all authors commonly dated after 150 CE from my discussion of the story of the first eight episodes of the extant *Satyrice*. This includes Apuleius²⁴⁷, Aulus Gellius, and Philostratus. In view of the linguistic evidence briefly touched upon in the previous section, it is unlikely that the *Satyrice* was writ-

²⁴⁶ Even though some links remain highly hypothetical and he does not always address the specific type of hypertextual relationship and the effect(s) created by the specific use of a certain hypotext, perhaps no modern scholarly contribution, apart from SCHMELING's (2011) monumental commentary, surpasses the sheer amount of hypertextual parallels that COLLIGNON (1892) has gathered in his voluminous contribution.

²⁴⁷ Together with the *Metamorphoses* I have excluded Greek versions of the ass story (the *Metamorphoseis* by an author we refer to as Loukios of Patrae, the text transmitted as the work of Lucian *Asinus*, which is now seen by TILG (2014, 130) on plausible grounds as genuinely Lucian's, and the fragments of another ass narrative from the papyrus LXX 4762 from Oxyrhynchus discussed by MAY (2012)).

ten after 140 CE, which allows us to remove these authors from the list of potential hypotexts.²⁴⁸ By contrast, I have included potentially hypertextual links with texts of uncertain date that might have been in circulation at the time when the *Satyrica* was produced, such as those by Lucian (with the exception of the *Asinus*; see n. 247).

For both subsections 5.2 and 5.3, the degree of detail from the *Satyrica* varies depending on the nature of the scenes and the specific pieces of information that we can extract from them. I will go into greater detail where this is beneficial for the analysis of the protagonists, which will in turn allow for a smoother discussion of the plot, for our understanding of Petronius' use of hypotexts, or for our assessment of the date of composition. I will also provide a higher degree of detail where this enables us to draw links to potential hypotexts or non-hypertextual historical sources.

5.1.4 TYPES OF HYPERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

In those instances where the likely or potential hypotexts have come down to us, I will analyse what Genette calls (hypertextual) “genres”, for which I shall use the term “types of hypertextual relationships”²⁴⁹, and the effects Petronius achieves by re-using the motif in a specific way.²⁵⁰ Depending on whether the relation between the hypertext and the hypotext is one of imitation (of a generic model) or transformation (of a specific text), and whether the mood is playful, satirical, or serious, Genette distinguishes the following six types:²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Above all, CIAFFI (1960) and WALSH (1970; 1978) have investigated some of the links between Petronius and Apuleius, yet under the assumption that the *Satyrica* is the hypotext for the hypertext of Apuleius. Cf. also Appendix III in COLLIGNON (1892, 388–90), PARATORE (1933, Vol. 1, 90–4), HENDERSON (2010, 494 n. 32). PISANO (2010), too, looks into the ties between the two authors, but does not address the question of date of either of them. As far as I can see, MARMORALE (1948, 247–62) is the only modern scholar on Petronius to have advocated a chronologically reversed link between Petronius and Apuleius.

²⁴⁹ GENETTE (1997a, 27).

²⁵⁰ GENETTE's chart is, *mutatis mutandis*, to some extent also applicable to the investigation of non-hypertextual sources. For example, we can analyse whether Trimalchio's house is the imitation of a group of houses, such as those of freedmen or freeborn, or the transformation of a specific house, and whether the style (ostentatious, modest, etc.) or the subject (residence, mausoleum, etc.) have been altered.

²⁵¹ In section 5 I use the term ‘mood’ as defined in section 8.1 s.v. *mood* 2. The chart has been taken from GENETTE (1997a, 28). Both relations, all three moods, and the six types are defined in section 8.1.

<i>relation</i> \ <i>mood</i>	<i>playful</i>	<i>satirical</i>	<i>serious</i>
<i>transformation</i>	Parody	Travesty	Transposition
<i>imitation</i>	Pastiche	Caricature	Forgery

As is the case with other categories and classifications, the six types, too, are not clear-cut. Genette (1997a, 6) stresses regarding the two relations:

“Imitation, too, is no doubt a transformation, but one that involves a more complex process: it requires, to put it in a roughshod manner, a previously constituted model of generic competence [...] drawn from that singular performance [...], one that is capable of generating an indefinite number of mimetic performances. This model, then, introduces between the imitated text and the imitative one a supplementary stage and a mediation that are not to be found in the simple or direct type of transformation. In order to transform a text, a simple and mechanical gesture might suffice [...] But in order to imitate a text, it is inevitably necessary to acquire at least a partial mastery of it, a mastery of that specific quality which one has chosen to imitate”.

Furthermore, if we wished to pay tribute to the complexity of literary works, intermediate stages of mood ought to be added: ‘ironic’ between playful and satirical, ‘polemical’ between satirical and serious, as well as ‘humorous’ between playful and serious.

I have chosen to focus on the main categories, since it is difficult enough to assign the various scenes and their hypertextual motifs from the *Satyrice* to one of these six. Moreover, adding six further, intermediary types could result in losing sight of the main objective for this section, i.e. detecting the potential hypotexts for the purpose of casting light on the narrative texture of the work and the re-assessment of its date.

Since Genette’s chart of six types of hypertextual relationships is directly connected with or based on our assessment of matters of hypertextuality and paratextuality, it strengthens my earlier claim that the various categories of transtextuality are interwoven and at times overlap. On the one hand, the distinction between the two relations, namely imitation and transformation, is to a large extent based on our assessment of whether motifs from the *Satyrice* are literary or generic commonplaces, which have been imitated, or based on specific texts, which have been transformed.²⁵² On the other hand, the distinction between the playful and satirical moods, mainly on the side of imitation, has a crucial bearing on our assessment of whether the rhematic title *satirae* might be admitted as a legitimate paratext (section 2.2.1) and influences our assessment of the overall genre of the *Satyrice*

²⁵² See n. 23.

(section 6). Whereas the distinction between parody and travesty depends on the assessment of whether the style or subject of the hypotext have been transformed and does thus not pose major problems, pastiche and caricature, according to Genette, differ only insofar as the one is a playful imitation, while the other is an imitation in the satirical mood. This is rather problematic, not least because Genette omits stressing that the interpretation of a motif as satirical rather than playful is to a large extent based on the subjective assessment of the reader.²⁵³ These potential issues are of fundamental importance, as they go to the core of the Genettean chart of six hypertextual relationships. Therefore, I shall illustrate them on the basis of an example.

The final scene of the seventh episode, which leads to the expulsion of Eumolpus and Encolpius from the baths and their flight to the nearby coast, includes the second longest poem of the extant *Satyrical* (Petron. 89): a contribution in 65 iambic trimeters about the taking of Ilion, the *Troiae Halosis* (henceforth abbreviated as “*TH*”). It would take several hundred pages to summarise and evaluate the linguistic and aesthetic links that have prompted scholars to read Eumolpus’ poem as an attack, critique, or mockery of either extant or lost Latin pieces of work (Vergil’s *Aeneid*, Nero’s *Halosis Ilii* [Suet. *Ner.* 38], Lucan’s *Iliacum* [Stat. *Silv.* 2.7], Senecan tragedy in general and *Ag.* 406–578 in particular, the fragmentary *Iliou persis*) or more generally pre-Vergilian or Neronian epic and amateur poets, who believe themselves able to treat such elevated topics.²⁵⁴ What interests us at this point is how the Genettean type of hypertextual relationships changes with the change of the assumed model.

If we think of a specific text (the *Aeneid*, *Halosis Ilii*, *Iliacum*, *Agamemnon*, *Troades*, etc.) as the hypotext for the *TH*, the hypertextual relationship is one of transformation (parody, travesty, transposition). By contrast, if we assume that Eumolpus mimics an author (Seneca), type of text, or genre (tragedy) in general, the relation can only be one of imitation (pastiche, caricature, forgery). This is because, according to Genette, an author can *transform* a specific text only, but *imitate* a

²⁵³ Nevertheless, GENETTE (1997a, 89) acknowledges: “The specifically textual distinction between pastiche and caricature thus remains very risky or subjective”.

²⁵⁴ Cf. the summary in SOVERINI (1985, 1760–2), as well as, after him, PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 121), CONNORS (1998, 84–99), COURTNEY (2001, 141–3), RIMELL (2002, 66–76), VENTURA (2003), HABERMEHL (2006, 149–207, with further references on p. 160), YEH (2007, 428–70), SCHMELING (2011, 369–76).

genre, type of text, or author in general.

The topic of the poem itself is the same as in all assumed specific texts, i.e. the taking of Troy. However, the setting of the poem on the whole is different, because it is the doubtful poet-protagonist Eumolpus and not the renowned writer Vergil or the tragedian Seneca who composes or recites it.²⁵⁵ Therefore, in no case is the mood serious.

The majority of candidates that have been suggested have not come down to us. Of those remaining, only the tragedies have been written in the same metre as the poem here. As far as the assumed hypotexts have been preserved, we can tell that the style of the hypertext comes rather close to that of Senecan tragedy in general, even though Eumolpus' attempt to compose a poem in Senecan style is rather unsuccessful.²⁵⁶ I do not wish to deny that the *TH* and *Aen. 2* share common features;²⁵⁷ however, I think that these points of contact can be plausibly explained if we assume that Seneca, who used Vergil as a hypotext for his Trojan tragedies in first place, is the hypotext for the *TH*.²⁵⁸

To me, it seems like Eumolpus wants to be a second Seneca, as he mimics Senecan technique and language. However, his poetry, no matter how hard he tries, is not of the same quality as Seneca's. He aims at imitating the great tragedies in general, yet fails. The relation is therefore one of imitation, as we have a generic rather than a specific model. The mood is playful and not satirical (and surely not serious), since the author does not seem to aim at criticising Seneca, neither does he disparagingly despise Eumolpus. Rather, Petronius draws our attention to and ridicules a protagonist who would sacrifice his life for poetry, yet does not manage to achieve the glory that he is longing for.²⁵⁹ In Genette's words (1997a, 85): "the

²⁵⁵ On the protagonist Eumolpus see section 5.2.6.

²⁵⁶ Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 187–8), WALSH (1968, 210), SOVERINI (1985, 1762–3), LEFÈVRE (2004, 254–5). COURTNEY (2001, 141–2) explains in a technical voice that Eumolpus is unable to handle the refinements of Senecan verse-technique. Already several years before him WALSH (1970, 47) and CONNORS (1998, 87–93, esp. 93: "The obsessive display within the *Troiae Halosis* of repetition, likeness, and imperfect re-enactment signifies [...] Eumolpus' lack of literary control") have argued along the same lines. CONNORS further offers an attractive metapoetic interpretation: based on a great number of repetitions of words as well as of verbs with the prefix *re-* she has suggested reading the poem as a repetition, even if she thinks of Vergil rather than Seneca. Cf. also CERVELLERA (1975).

²⁵⁷ On similarities and differences between the two works cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 154–5).

²⁵⁸ A lot has been written on Seneca's (re-)use of Vergilian material; cf. for example LEFÈVRE (2004, with further references in nn. 32–4).

²⁵⁹ See section 5.2.6.

victim a priori could just as well – and perhaps even *better* – be the imitator himself, in that he would behave in a mechanical manner”.²⁶⁰ On these grounds, I feel inclined to advocate a relationship of playful imitation, i.e. a pastiche.²⁶¹

5.1.5 FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS FOR POTENTIALLY HYPERTEXTUAL MOTIFS

Above all, it is in the nature of a hypertext that it “can be read for itself without becoming perceptibly ‘agrammatical’; it is invested with a meaning that is autonomous and thus in some manner sufficient”²⁶². In contrast to an intertext, that cannot be read and understood without the earlier text that it quotes or refers to, a hypertext can stand on its own. Whether we accept a potential hypertextual relationship as such is to some extent always up to the reader’s subjective assessment.²⁶³

If we trace or persuasively argue in favour of a sort of hypertextual relationship between two texts, the question of which text is the hypertext and which one the hypotext remains open to discussion, unless both texts can be clearly dated.²⁶⁴ Literary commonplaces and proverbial expressions must not be overlooked as potential explanations for the re-appearance of similar phrasings and motifs. For example, the dream of a treasure of gold (128.6) has at times been wrongly linked with Caesellius Bassus’ dream in 65 CE as reported in Tac. *Ann.* 16.1, while it is no more than a literary commonplace.²⁶⁵ Based on premature conclusions one might also link expressions such as *in rutae folium* (37.10, 58.33), *uitrea fracta* (10.1), or *sophos!*

²⁶⁰ Similarly CONTE (1996, 89–90).

²⁶¹ Briefly commenting on the longest poem of the *Satyrical*, i.e. Eumolpus’ *BC* (119–24), GENETTE (1997a, 98) observes that the mood is playful rather than satirical, even though he admits that this is “difficult to assess”.

²⁶² GENETTE (1997a, 397). He goes on to state that a hypertext because it is ambiguous, as it can be read on its own and against its hypotext, “thus always stands to *gain* by having its hypertextual status perceived” (398).

²⁶³ On such matters cf. HINDS (1998). Cf. LAIRD (1999, 251: “Identification of an intertext [sc. hypotext, in Genettean terminology], no matter how palpable, demonstrable, and well attested it may be, is in the end a matter of belief (dependent on the range of texts available to us) and not knowledge”).

²⁶⁴ Cf. MARTIN (2000, 145), VOUT (2009, 112: “Spotting an allusion can lead in several directions at once, adding rather than cutting a swathe through alternative meanings. Some routes will get us further than others, but all have the potential, even in disappointment, to expose the narrative’s mechanisms”).

²⁶⁵ Cf. WALSH (1970, 246–7), MARTIN (1999, 187–9), VÖLKER/ROHMANN (2011, 672), against CRUM (1952, 200) and others.

(40.1) with passages in Martial ignoring their likely proverbial nature.²⁶⁶ Similarly, two authors might comment on the same social environment independently from one another or rely on one common source, which may or may not have come down to us. Garrido-Hory (2007) has shown that forms of servile resistance, for example a slave escaping from his master (318–20), appear equally in Martial and Juvenal (and Petronius). The appearance of these phenomena, however, is not so much based on the hypertextual use of one author by another, as rather on the fact that various authors commented on the social environment they lived in.

When analysing the potential models that the author might have used for the creation of his protagonists and events and trying to date the work, we must bear in mind at all times that our literary hypotexts and non-hypertextual sources do not record every Roman and non-Roman citizen, freedman, and slave, who was part of the Empire, and have not always come down to us. Hence, not being able to trace a Petronian protagonist elsewhere does not exclude the existence of his or her literary model or real-life counterpart. Additionally, the majority of our Petronian characters are described only marginally and thus not sufficiently to allow any identification. For example, the reference to a character called Scaurus (mentioned by Trimalchio at 77.5) may refer to a wide range of people from various centuries.²⁶⁷ Similarly, the name of Trimalchio's cutting slave Carpus is common and the fact that one of Nero's slaves was called Carpus may be a mere coincidence.²⁶⁸ Even if we are ready to accept a possible allusion to Nero's slave, this does not exclude a post-Neronian date of composition.

If we are able to trace historical personages in Petronius, which we can unambiguously assign to one decade or another, this provides us only with a *terminus post*

²⁶⁶ 11.31.17 for *rutae folium*, 1.41.4–5 for *uitrea fracta*, 1.49.37, 66.4, etc. for *sophos*. Cf. HOFMANN (1986), SALANITRO (2007, 313), against COLLIGNON (1892, 392), PAOLI (1937, 9, 19). See also section 3.3.2.

²⁶⁷ Cf. ROSE (1971, 23–4), MARTIN (1999, 149), SCHMELING (2011, 325). Their summaries show that scholars have tried to link the Scaurus in Petronius with various historical people of this name. The same holds true for the magistrate Laenas (29.9), who could be one of several politicians from the *familia* of the *Popillii* from the first four centuries BCE or the *gens Octavia*: for example Marcus Popillius Laenas, *cos.* 349 BCE, as reported in Livy 7.12.1; Gaius Octavius Laenas was known as the curator of the aqueducts in Rome under Tiberius and Caligula (Frontin. *Aq.* 102), and Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus was consul in 131 CE under Hadrian.

²⁶⁸ Cf. GRIMAL (1941, 19–20), MARMORALE (1948, 72–3 with the testimonies listed there), CRUM (1952, 162). It is clearly due to the linguistic pun that Trimalchio has chosen to name his slave Carpus. Whether or not Petronius has additionally had a historical person with this name in mind remains open.

quem for the time of composition. Not least because we cannot exclude the possibility of Petronius using texts such as those by Suetonius as sources and deliberately (and perhaps misleadingly?) inserting references to historical personages from earlier times, we should be hesitant to equate the time of composition with the time of narration.²⁶⁹ In line with the question of onymity versus pseudonymity touched upon in section 2 on paratexts, we should be aware that the insertion of specific hypertextual motifs might imply certain interpretations and be manipulated. Depending on the sources we can find, traces of Petronius might lead us into placing the work in a different time setting and perhaps reading it as a critique of or even attack on certain authors or historical personae more generally.

Moreover, we need to bear in mind that the concept of what we call a ‘historical novel’ was not foreign to antiquity. All five extant Greek romances are set in times that predate our assumed dates of composition by several centuries.²⁷⁰ For example, Chariton’s romance written perhaps in the first century CE is set in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

Any dating attempt that is based on the hypertextual link(s) between the *Satyrica* and a literary hypotext or historical source must be undertaken with utmost caution and only after having taken into consideration all factors in play, in order to avoid premature conclusions. This shall be best illustrated on perhaps the two most famous examples. No links with other ancient authors have been (wrongly) used in Petronian scholarship for the purpose of dating the *Satyrica* more frequently than those with the works of Seneca and Lucan.

As I shall discuss at various points in section 5, allusions to the work of Seneca throughout the *Satyrica* seem numerous, even though not all are equally convincing. The basically undisputable presence of a hypertextual relationship between Petronius and Seneca, in conjunction with the assumption that our Petronius is Nero’s *arbiter elegantiae* known to us from Tacitus, has long tricked scholars into believing that the allusions to the works of Seneca in the *Satyrica* are traces of a literary feud at the emperor’s court. The hypertextual presence of Seneca in Petronius, however, does not limit the possible time of composition of the *Satyrica* to Neronian times; it merely provides us with a *terminus post quem*. This is because, generally speaking,

²⁶⁹ Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 22).

²⁷⁰ Cf. for example HÄGG (1987), STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 4).

for allusions in general and ridicule in particular to be effective, the target needs to be known, but not necessarily still alive – otherwise, how could we sufficiently explain the explicit references to Cicero and Vergil as well as the implicit parodies of Homer and Plato in the *Satyrica*, undoubtedly all long dead by the 60s CE? Additionally, Seneca was famous throughout the second century and even at the beginning of the third, as a well-known line in Tertullian (*Seneca saepe noster*, *De anim.* 20.1) shows. Even more tellingly, the Stoic philosopher is the only Roman author to whom Aulus Gellius dedicates an entire chapter in his *Noctes Atticae* (12).²⁷¹

Likewise, we can conceive of a parody of Lucan's *Pharsalia* even after the author's death, since he was still widely read in Martial's times (14.194); moreover, his poem was extant even though the poet may have been dead.²⁷² Additionally, we should not forget that Lucan does not appear to be the target of Petronius' parody in any extant part outside of the *BC*, which, furthermore, takes up no more than a small part of the beginning of the sixteenth book. The fact that the *BC* is not just the longest preserved poem of the *Satyrica* but also the longest continuous parody of one particular author and work, except for Homer and Vergil, misleadingly suggests that this poem must have played a key role in the original *Satyrica*. As a matter of fact, due to the poor textual transmission of the *Satyrica*, we are unable to tell with any certainty whatsoever whether this specific instance of parody was of key importance for the overall work or merely one example out of many. It might be no more than the product of coincidence that the *BC* has come down to us in full: it is quite possible that a medieval scribe and reader of the *Satyrica* was interested in Lucan or epic poetry in general, or perhaps even Eumolpus' poems in particular (after all, his *TH*, too, seems to be fully preserved), and through his own interest copied certain sections more fully.

On these grounds, I cannot but disagree with the group of scholars around Sullivan (1968a; 1968b, 26–7, 158–60), who have argued that the presence of motifs from Seneca and Lucan in the *Satyrica* make sense only if we think of a contemporary Neronian work. The only sustainable conclusion we might draw is that their works must have been in circulation already in order for Petronius to be able to allude to them.

²⁷¹ Cf. also Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.125.

²⁷² Scholars nowadays widely agree that Eumolpus' *BC* is a parody of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

5.2 PROTAGONISTS

For most of the personages who are not physically present in the *Satyrice* but only referred to by other protagonists, we find historical namesakes attested in other non-mythological literary, epigraphic or archaeological sources. Irrespective of whether these sources functioned as hypotexts for the Petronian protagonists, they are of historical value for our re-assessment of the date. At 64.4, Plocamus, referring back to his youth, remembers an actor called Apelles, and Trimalchio at the bath babbles songs by Menecrates, as the fellow guests reveal to Encolpius (73.3). Suetonius mentions both personages, the tragic actor Apelles under Caligula (*Calig.* 33.2, see also Dio Cass. 59.5.2, Philo *Leg.* 203) and the singer Menecrates under Nero (*Ner.* 30.5, see also Lucian's *Nero* and Dio Cass. 63.1.1). It remains impossible to prove, however, if Apelles and Menecrates, as referred to by Suetonius under Caligula and Nero, carried on in the following reigns.²⁷³ Moreover, as Courtney (2001, 8) aptly indicates, “performers often assumed the names of famous predecessors (for example, we know a plurality of pantomimes called Paris)”.²⁷⁴ The appearance of these historical namesakes from the mid-first century, therefore, cannot necessarily be adduced as an argument in favour of a Neronian time of narration or even date of composition of the *Satyrice*.

A second example includes *fr.* 18 (Ernout), which is omitted by Müller in his edition due to doubtful authenticity. Here a Cosmian perfume is mentioned. A perfumer named Cosmus is attested for the end of the first century in both Martial and Juvenal.²⁷⁵ Even though, as summarised by Rose (1971, 23), several doubts, on the significance of this observation for the date of the *Satyrice* have been raised, one factor has gone unmentioned. In one of Martial's epigrams, the Cosmian perfume is

²⁷³ MARMORALE (1948, 71–2) assumes that Apelles is among those entertainers not listed by name in Suet. *Vesp.* 19.

²⁷⁴ Cf. also Petraites (52.3, 71.6), Trimalchio's favourite gladiator, and his fellow fighter Hermeros (52.3), both of whom are archaeologically attested in the first century CE. Cf. WALTERS (1914, #787), *CIL* 4.538 for Hermeros; VILLE (1964), ANGELONE (1989) for Petraites; BALDWIN, in his response (1994, 19) to ROWELL (1958), highlights the (non-)significance of this passage for the dating question.

Trimalchio at 52.9 mocks a certain actor named Syrus or of Syrian origin (perhaps the mimographer Publilius Syrus?). There are no ancient testimonies that suggest that Syrus himself acted on stage. One excellent example for this hasty misconception is KASTER's (2011) Loeb translation of *cum mimos componeret* (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.7.7) as “When he was composing and performing mimes”.

²⁷⁵ Mart. 1.87.2, 3.55.1, 9.26.2, 11.8.9, 11.18.9, 11.50.6, 12.65.4, 14.59.2, 14.110.1, 14.146, Juv. 8.86.

mentioned (*Cosmianis ampullis*, 3.82.26) in connection with the freedman Zoilus, who not only bears Trimalchionian traits but also is addressed as *Malchio* towards the end (3.82.32). A hypertextual link between the *Cena* and Mart. 3.82 can hardly be refuted, even though its chronological direction remains open to dispute.²⁷⁶

Most protagonists physically present in the *Satyrica* bear speaking names.²⁷⁷ Apart from the main protagonists, the “indefatigable” Ascyllus and his companion Giton (“neighbour”), we also have Corax (“raven”), Oenothea (“wine-goddess”), and Quartilla (“fourth”).²⁷⁸ Other protagonists have mythological names, such as the beautiful Circe, the ship-owner Lichas, the rhetor Agamemnon and his *antescholanus* Menelaus, and the freedman Ganymedes, or assume mythological names in certain instances, such as Encolpius who turns into Polyaeus at Croton. The speaking name Tryphaena (“woman living a luxurious and dissolute life”) is borne also by a Ptolemaic princess and epigraphically attested.²⁷⁹ Pannychis and Eumolpus also have speaking names, which are shared by historical personages.²⁸⁰ Since the sources for the names of these protagonists are either myths or the language itself, it is impossible to link these protagonists, with any one specific hypotext, provided that there is one, merely on the base of their names. It is therefore not possible to clearly define the types of hypertextual relationships in these cases.

The fact that the author Petronius has deliberately chosen speaking or mythological names for his main protagonists might have an impact on our assessment of Ascyllus and others and, by extension, our interpretation of the work. The author’s choice of names might imply that these protagonists incorporate a certain character trait.²⁸¹ It may also suggest that the entire character as depicted in the work is a literary creation, which is mirrored by the fictivity of the names, or that Petronius deliberately wanted to avoid any identification with historical models. By contrast, the

²⁷⁶ See section 5.3, particularly 5.3.5.

²⁷⁷ Only most freedmen during the *Cena* do not bear speaking names. On (speaking) names in the *Satyrica* apart from Trimalchio cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 227–8), SCHMELING (1969a), PRIULI (1975), WOHLBERG (1975), BALDWIN (1975–1976; 1976a), KERSHAW (1981), BARCHIESI (1984), LABATE (1986), PETRONE (1988, 66–70), RODRÍGUEZ MORALES (1989), CONTE (1996, 38–9 with further references in n. 1), GOLDMAN (2008a).

²⁷⁸ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 597). Encolpius and Trimalchio will be examined separately below.

²⁷⁹ *CIL* 6.5035, 5343. Cf. BALDWIN (1976a, 53–4).

²⁸⁰ Eumolpus is a mythological Thracian king; on Pannychis’ name and historically-attested people cf. PRIULI (1975, 51), SCHMELING (2011, 75). See also section 5.3.4.

²⁸¹ See section 5.2.2. Cf. Donat. *ad Adelph.: nomina personarum, in comoediis dumtaxat, habere debent rationem et etymologiam.*

occasional references to historical counterparts create a realistic flair. These might stand in line with a similar tendency that we can observe for the idealised romance. All five extant works are set in times that predate our assumed dates of composition by several centuries.²⁸²

5.2.1 ENCOLPIUS

The main protagonist of the *Satyrica* and its narrator is Encolpius. His speaking name (“Mr. Incrotch”²⁸³) is attested in Pliny the Younger (*Encolpius quidem lector*, *Ep.* 8.1.2), and a similar name is found twice in Martial (*Encolpus*, 1.31.2, 5.48.2). Unfortunately, in none of these cases do we find out anything about the protagonists other than their name, which might have strengthened the likelihood of a hypertextual link between Petronius and Pliny or Martial.

The name Encolpius is attested in various inscriptions.²⁸⁴ Strikingly, as Solin (2003b, 193–6) has highlighted, the inscriptions that can be dated with certainty range from the Flavian times until the first half of the fourth century, and even those which cannot be safely dated are highly unlikely to be from pre-Flavian times. In other words, there is no epigraphic evidence for the name Encolpius in Julio-Claudian times and, if we exclude Petronius, whose date we aim to investigate, no literary source until Martial. Nonetheless, despite the amount of Flavian and post-Flavian inscriptions, the dating argument from the non-occurrence of names in pre-Flavian epigraphy is rather thin, especially given that many Petronian names, including Encolpius, are speaking names and fictional. Thus, whether names are attested is a matter of chance not expectation.

Our Encolpius appears to be *ingenuus* and *honestus* (107.5, 108.3, 117.12; potentially also 113.11).²⁸⁵ Two references to servitude suggest that he somehow finds himself in a specific dependency relationship, potentially sexual in nature, envisaging him as a catamite, with a master who may or may not be Eumolpus: Giton mentions that his companion deserves *seruiles poenas* (139.3); shortly after, a slave appears and announces that the master is enraged because Encolpius has stayed away from his duties for days (139.5). All of these references may be linked to the

²⁸² Cf. for example HÄGG (1987), STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 4).

²⁸³ JENSSON (2004, 82).

²⁸⁴ Cf. SOLIN (2003b, 193–5).

²⁸⁵ Cf. the discussion in RICHLIN (2009, 86–9).

mimic roles of the master and his slaves that Eumolpus, Giton and Encolpius assume at 117.4–10 (esp. 117.6: *seruiliter*) and recall the farcical flavour of several episodes in South Italy.²⁸⁶

According to Agamemnon's assessment, Encolpius is a talented orator, since his speech does not reflect ordinary taste, and, to the former's surprise, he loves good sense (3.1). Encolpius' erudition is further mentioned by Ascyltus (*et tu litteras scis et ego*, 10.5). The protagonists' assessment of Encolpius stands in contrast to his naïveté and ignorance.²⁸⁷ For example, after having been desperately wandering around in vain, he approaches an elderly woman selling vegetables asking her about his lodging. Even more tellingly, he gullibly trusts her (*diuinam ego putabam*, 7.2) and follows her into a brothel without hesitation. At a later stage, after having entered Trimalchio's house, to the amusement of his comrades, he mistakes a wall-painting of a dog for a real dog and almost breaks his legs leaping back (29.1–2).²⁸⁸

One of Encolpius' main characteristics is his tendency to assume roles.²⁸⁹ Whether this is because of the downsides of education at school, as suggested by Wooten (1976, 70–1) and argued by Conte (1996), cannot be proven, not least since it remains unclear whether Encolpius is a student or he merely assumes this role in his dispute with the rhetor Agamemnon. We should be reluctant to think of Encolpius as a real student, only because the first episode of the extant *Satyrice* presents him declaiming with Agamemnon at school. At a later stage we find out that Ascyltus and Encolpius, and potentially also Giton, know how to behave like students in order to get invited for free meals. At 10.6, where Encolpius states that they had arranged a dinner *tamquam scholastici*, the noun *scholasticus* remains open to interpretation.²⁹⁰ Elsewhere it either means students (6.1, *OLD* s.v. *scholasticus* 2a) or erudite people in general (61.4, also in Quint. *Inst.* 12.11.16; *OLD* s.v. *scholasticus* 2b). If we translate *tamquam* with “as if”,²⁹¹ Encolpius' statement means that he is merely assuming the role of a student.

²⁸⁶ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 157–90).

²⁸⁷ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS' (2015) excellent recent discussion. Encolpius' impracticality surely recalls that usually attached to the σχολαστικός (the absent-minded professor type) in the Greek fourth-century joke-book *Philogelos*.

²⁸⁸ Cf. the list of selected further examples in RIMELL (2007, 113–4).

²⁸⁹ See the discussion in section 5.3.

²⁹⁰ Cf. DAVIAULT (1982, 166–7).

²⁹¹ Cf. Ascyltus behaving like a potential buyer at the market (*tamquam emptor*, 12.6).

Irrespective of whether we wish to interpret Encolpius as a real student or merely as acting in the role of a *scholasticus*, the suggestion of reading the protagonist's tendency of role-playing in the *Satyrica* as an authorial mockery of the declamatory practice is certainly attractive, since one of its main elements is to put oneself in a specific role. As authors of the late first and second century, i.e. during the period of the Second Sophistic, frequently criticise, settings and roles, which students are called to imagine themselves in, are often far removed from everyday life.²⁹² It is only natural then that the roles assumed by Encolpius and his companions are often no less out of touch with the reality of the situation they are finding themselves in.

I agree with Jensson (2004, 93–4) that Encolpius' ultimate role model for his tendency of assuming roles is Odysseus, who plays various parts in the *Odyssey*.²⁹³ Encolpius mimics Odysseus from episodes where the Greek hero is acting in *propria persona*. The heroic model becomes apparent at various stages: Encolpius assumes an Odyssean epithet at Croton upon meeting a protagonist named Circe and, in his imagination, will interpret his journey where he is chased by Priapus in line with Odysseus' adventures, which have been prolonged by Poseidon. He will even go as far as to frequently accuse volatile Fortuna of interfering with his plans (24.1, 81.1, 91.4, 99.2, 113.9, 115.12, 134.5), very much in line with her Greek counterpart Τύχη, which we find both in Homer and the idealised romance.²⁹⁴

By having his main protagonist emulate the Homeric Odysseus, on a superior level the work that Petronius creates comes close to both a parody and a mock-epic pastiche. Thus, the *Satyrica* is a perfect example for what Genette (1997a, 150–3) calls an 'antiromance', in our case of Homer's *Odyssey*:

“a weak-minded hero who is unable to distinguish between fiction and reality takes the universe of fiction to be real (and present), assumes that he is one of its characters, and ‘interprets’ the world around him from that perspective” (150).²⁹⁵

Because the specific role model of Odysseus prompts Encolpius to assume roles,

²⁹² See section 5.3.1.

²⁹³ “For Athena, Odysseus assumes the role of a Cretan exile who has a family at home (*Od.* 13.256–86); for Eumaeus, he is a grateful beggar who originates again from Crete and is the son of a rich man and a concubine (*Od.* 14.199–359); for Antinous, his background is more condensed but similar, but the account of how he got to Ithaca has changed completely (*Od.* 17.415–44); for Penelope, he is Aethon brother of Idomeneus, friend of Odysseus (*Od.* 19.165–360); and finally to his father Laertius, he is Eperitus from Alybas (*Od.* 24.303–14)” (JENSSON (2004, 94 n. 204)).

²⁹⁴ On the concurrence of *fortuna* in the *Satyrica* cf. RIMELL (2002, 206 = appendix II).

²⁹⁵ On Encolpius' inability to interpret his environment correctly see also sections 4.2.2, 4.3.1.

the protagonist acts sometimes as the mythical hero Achilles, then as the Vergilian Aeneas, or as an art critic, depending on the situation in which he finds himself. The various instances of analogy are purely “metadiegetic, entirely situated in the mind and the speech of the hero (who perceives it [sc. the analogy] not only as an analogy but as an identity), denounced (and received) as illusory by both author and public”²⁹⁶. These are at times contrasted with analogies or hypertextual relationships set up directly by the author himself, which are thus “real, unconscious, and purely diegetic”²⁹⁷. The hypotext of Homer’s *Odyssey* allows Petronius to use various generic or general topoi, which he imitates, or specific hypotexts, which he transforms, on an authorial level.

Petronius’ hypertextual types of relationships in Encolpius’ choices of models vary from scene to scene and almost in all cases create a form of discrepancy that oscillates between playful imitation and transformation and between. Since the models that Petronius has Encolpius take up are at no time adequate or fitting, the mood is never serious. The common feature of all those scenes where Encolpius plays a role is that he fails to live up to it. For example, since he was kicked out of Marseille as a scapegoat and now wanders around in the Roman Empire rather than having been forced to flee from his burning hometown, the glorious Troy, Encolpius is nothing like a (Greek Homeric or Vergilian) hero. Moreover, he appears naive and gullible rather than a cunning trickster.

5.2.2 ASCYLTUS

Ascyltus is one of the main protagonists of the episodes in Southern Italy. It is safe to assume that he undertook several adventures together with Encolpius in earlier, now lost episodes, too. This becomes apparent from Encolpius’ later statement that he was a *paulo ante carissimum sibi* [sc. *Ascylo*] *commilitonem fortunaequae etiam similitudine parem* (80.8), which seems not to refer to any of the extant episodes, and from the fact that the narrator does not formally introduce Ascyltus to the reader at 6.1. The name Ascyltus is attested in one inscription, which dates from the first half of the second century CE.²⁹⁸ This inscription stands in line with Flavian and post-

²⁹⁶ GENETTE (1997a, 150–1).

²⁹⁷ GENETTE (1997a, 150).

²⁹⁸ Cf. SCHMELING (1969a, 8), PRIULI (1975, 57–8), SOLIN (2003a, 614; 2003b, 196–7), who assumes that the inscription goes back to Petronius, rather than vice versa.

Flavian inscriptions for the name Encolpius discussed above.

In the extant *Satyrical* Ascyllus makes his appearance in the second episode. While debating with Agamemnon, Encolpius notices that his companion has disappeared and decides to follow him soon thereafter (6.1–2). Here and elsewhere we find out that he, as his (speaking) name suggests, is “(sexually?) tireless” (ἄσκυλτος):²⁹⁹ Encolpius accuses him of having assumed the (female) passive role in intercourse and offered paid services; Ascyllus’ strength is mentioned at various points and his alleged virility is highlighted by Eumolpus after seeing him naked in the baths.³⁰⁰ Out of the several references to very manly men outside the *Satyrical*, two passages from Martial might be particularly interesting. In Mart. 11.51, just like at Petron. 92.9, we have a man with an enormous penis and the context is once again the baths. Similarly, a certain Maro is praised for his phallus in 9.33 (*audieris in quo, Flacce, balneo plausum, / Maronis illic esse mentulam scito*).³⁰¹ Thus, here we might have two more hypertextual links between Petronius and Martial.

According to his own judgement, Ascyllus is erudite, just like Encolpius (*et tu litteras scis et ego*, 10.5), whose partner he used to be (*iste frater seu comes*, 9.4; *cuius eadem ratione in uiridario frater fui*, 9.10).³⁰² By contrast, he now appears to be more of a burden to him (*custos molestus*, 10.7; *Ascyllus, omnis iniuriae inventor*, 79.9).

In order to fully grasp the literary models at play, it is necessary to have a look at the other main protagonist of the adventures, who makes his first appearance in the extant parts at 9.1.

²⁹⁹ On the name Ascyllus cf. SOLIN (2003b, 197).

³⁰⁰ Cf. *muliebris patientiae scortum, cuius ne spiritus <quidem> purus est* (9.6), with 81.4; ADAMS (1982, 189), OBERMAYER (1998, 227), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 127).

Cf. Ascyllus: *ualentior* (8.4); narrator: *sublatis fortius manibus* (9.7); Eumolpus: *habebat enim inguinum pondus tam grande, ut ipsum hominem laciniam fascini crederes. o iuuenem laboriosum: puto illum pridie incipere, postero die finire* (92.9). Cf. also *fer, opem, Priape, parti / cuius tu, pater, ipse par uideris* (*Priapea* 37.8–9). On the motif of highly virile men cf. COURTNEY (2001, 145), HABERMEHL (2006, 233–4), SCHMELING (2011, 381–2).

³⁰¹ Cf. HOLZBERG (2009, 107–8), HENDERSON (2010, 493).

³⁰² The term *frater* can denote a relative (‘brother’), be used as a “flattering or mildly polite address for men not too distant in age and/or rank from the speaker” (DICKY (2002, 327)) or specifically address a male sexual partner. Cf. BREITENSTEIN (2009, 122–3 with further references); *OLD* s.v. *frater* 1a, 3a, b. In the *Satyrical* *frater* is usually used to denote a sort of intimate relationship between two men.

5.2.3 GITON

Giton has been Encolpius' partner for a long time, as we find out later (*frater*, 9.1, 11.2, 24.6; *uetustissimam consuetudinem*, 80.6).³⁰³ His name, “neighbour” (Γείτων), is not attested in any inscription or literary text other than the *Satyrica*, except for Auson. *Epigr.* 106, where we find a Polygiton. Giton's youth and beauty attract a great number of followers, who do not hold themselves back from expressing their desires.³⁰⁴ This is likely to have been the case with Ascylltus, too, who seizes the opportunity to escape from Encolpius in order to track down Giton and approach him. The latter, in turn, seems not to have known Ascylltus before.³⁰⁵

Thus, we have a bisexual couple of two young men, Encolpius and Giton, whose relationship is threatened time and again by a number of people who, attracted by either of the two, aim at seducing them. First Ascylltus and later Eumolpus join the two lovers forming a kind of triangular relationship, even though it remains unclear how intimately the intruders engage with the other two. Both partners, Giton and Encolpius, engage in sexual encounters with men and women. At several points, our lovers' own decision-making triggers their separation, and heart-warming reunion scenes follow.

In view of this, the main protagonists of the *Satyrica* should be read as a pastiche of the stereotypical couple from the idealised romance.³⁰⁶ The faithful heterosexual couple, whose eternal love prevents them from cheating on each other no matter how hopelessly far apart the two appear to be, has been replaced by two adventurous bisexual youngsters.³⁰⁷ Monogamy seems to be as alien a concept to them as

³⁰³ Cf. *consuetudo* as “erotic or sexual relationship” cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 20–1); *OLD* s.v. *consuetudo* 5a, b.

³⁰⁴ Cf. for example Eumolpus at 94.1–2. At 97.2 we find out that Giton is 16 years old with curly hair (*crispus*) and pretty (*mollis, formosus*). On *mollis* at 97.2 cf. 23.3 v. 4, *Priapea* 64.1, Mart. 5.41.2, 9.47.6, 12.75.4.

³⁰⁵ Giton speaks of Ascylltus as *iste frater seu comes* (9.4), since he does not know about the exact relationship between the latter and Encolpius, and Encolpius later calls him a *frater non suus* [sc. *Ascylli*] (79.9).

³⁰⁶ Cf., among others, HEINZE (1899, 495–7), WALSH (1970, 8–9), JENSSON (2004, 87–96), SETIOLI (2010), MURGATROYD (2013, 241–2); contrarily, SULLIVAN (1968b, 94–7), HENDERSON (2010, 483–7).

³⁰⁷ As MURGATROYD (2013, 241–2) has persuasively shown, protagonists in the idealised romance, if they give up chastity, act with the best interest of their lovers in mind. This holds true for example for Daphnis accepting sexual tutoring from Lycaina, which will “ultimately allow Daphnis and Chloe to go beyond their previously unsatisfactory attempts at love-making”.

The homoerotic turn in the *Satyrica* might hint at a close hypertextual relationship of Petronius with Martial's *Epigrams* and Juvenal's *Satires* 2 and 9.

infidelity once was to Penelope. Whereas strokes of destiny split the ideal couple apart, no such force seems to be necessary to have Giton decide to leave Encolpius for the rival Ascyltus. The *Satyrিকা* seems not to work towards the union of the couple as its ultimate climax, as Encolpius and Giton get back together and split up time and again.

Panayotakis (1995, 112 n. 5) is right when he states, “Giton represents also the heroine of the Greek romance, who, besides her beloved, has so many admirers that intrigues and attempts to steal her are the common consequences of her beauty”. However, as can be seen from the scenes with Lichas, Tryphaena, and Circe, Encolpius has no fewer followers. In contrast to the Greek heroine, Giton will not stick to his beloved. Rather, he will engage with Pannychis and others and abandon Encolpius for his rival Ascyltus.

Speaking on an abstract level, the main difference between the *Satyrিকা* and the idealised romance is that “Petronius gives up the idealized, pseudo-historical setting of the conventional Greek novel of love and adventure and puts his characters into a wholly realistic environment”³⁰⁸. Similarly, the protagonists, using the terminology of E. M. Forster (1927), are round characters, and their actions are sometimes faulty, sometimes irrational, but always probable. To an ancient reader, who was familiar with the ideal couples of Chariton and other authors of the idealised romance, Encolpius and Giton must have come as a surprise, as they break with the recipient’s expectations. This created a striking and at the same time entertaining effect, as the reader would be keen to read on and find out what other unexpected adventures await the “heroes”.

5.2.4 AGAMEMNON AND MENELAUS

The rhetor Agamemnon interrupts Encolpius’ declamatory Asianic attack on declamations in Asianic style (*non est passus Agamemnon me diutius declamare in porticu*, 3.1). His name reminds us of the mythical Greek hero with the same name praised in Homer and the Greek lyric poets, and so does the name of Menelaus, who is later named his assistant (*antescholanus*, 28.1, 81.1). Furthermore, both names are,

³⁰⁸ PETERSMANN (1999, 105).

even if only thinly, epigraphically attested.³⁰⁹

Courtney's (2001, 54) proposal of reading Agamemnon and Menelaus as freedmen "who have been given these names by a whimsical former owner (Roman slave-owners were quite fond of such paired names as Amphion and Zethus etc.)" remains hypothetical. No evidence can be found in the *Satyrica* that either of the two used to be slaves. Moreover, as Courtney (2001, 54 n. 1) himself rightly adds, "Agamemnon and Menelaus are not actually attested as such a pair". Breitenstein (2009, 54) has suggested the most reasonable interpretation for Petronius' choice of the name Agamemnon: she points at a protagonist with the same name in Varro (*Men.* 570A Astbury):³¹⁰ as far we can see from the fragments, in the *Virgula divina* Varro appears to satirise a pedantic declaimer named Agamemnon.³¹¹

5.2.5 TRIMALCHIO

5.2.5.1 NAME

The main protagonist and host of the dinner is a freedman called Trimalchio. His full name appears in two different versions throughout the *Cena*: while he is most frequently addressed by his *praenomen* Gaius only (50.1, 53.3, 67.1, 74.7, 75.2), an inscription close to the entrance door of his dining room displays his full name of Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio (30.1–2).

The root of his *cognomen* is probably Semitic with *tri-malekh* being translated as "Thrice King".³¹² The name Malchio frequently appears in inscriptions;³¹³ despite Trimalchio's provenance from Asia Minor (75.10), however, it commonly denotes Syrian slaves.³¹⁴ Even more surprisingly, a similar name (Malchio) is also attested in one literary source, Mart. 3.82.32, here again denoting a freedman. The conformity in name, social rank, and behaviour between Malchio in Mart. 3.82 and Trimalchio in the *Cena* is too striking to be dismissed as pure coincidence.³¹⁵ Contrarily to the conclusions that scholars have previously drawn, I argue that we cannot necessarily

³⁰⁹ *CIL* 6.10395 for a certain C. Iulius Agamemno, *CIL* 6.23724, 33497, 34958, and others for Menelaus. Cf. PRIULI (1975, 55 with n. 189), SOLIN (1990, 26–7), according to whom the name Menelaus is attested 7 times.

³¹⁰ This link between the Agamemnon in Petronius and in Varro had already been established by LANCETTI (1863, 49) and later recalled by PRIULI (1975, 55 n. 189).

³¹¹ On Agamemnon as a hypocritical parasite see section 5.3.1.

³¹² Cf. SOLIN (1983, 677–8), SCHMELING (2011, 84 with further references).

³¹³ Cf. for example *ILS* 6376, 7426, 7885, 8465. SOLIN (1983, 677–8) provides a full list.

³¹⁴ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 84). A Syrian named Malchio appears also in Luc. *Hist. conscr.* 28.

³¹⁵ Links are discussed in greater detail in section 5.3.5.

exclude with certainty that Martial rather than Petronius is the hypertext here.

A different version of Trimalchio's name is found on his planned burial monument: here, the *agnomen* Maecenatianus is added (71.12). It was common for a freedman to take up the *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* of the person he was freed by upon manumission, and to eventually add his former master's name with the suffix of *-ianus*, sometimes *-anus* or *-inus*, in the form of a so-called *agnomen* or second *cognomen*.³¹⁶ Since the name is not mentioned at 30 or in the story told at 75–6, we can exclude that Trimalchio was Maecenas' slave. Rather, we can conclude that Trimalchio wants to make us believe that his former master's name was Maecenas.

While scholars unanimously agree that the Maecenas to whom the name Maecenatianus alludes is the fictional counterpart of the first-century literary patron, the reason for Trimalchio's connection with him has been vigorously debated. Veyne (1962, 1620) speaks of an arbitrary decision; Priuli (1975, 56) thinks that the host is merely trying to conceal his servile origins, when in fact he is highlighting them by adding a freedmen's trait, i.e. an *agnomen*; Smith (1975, 198) rightly claims that the *agnomen* gives "an impression of immense wealth and patronage of the arts, and perhaps also a hint of effeminacy"; Rodríguez Neila (1986–1987, 116), finally, states: "Hay en ello una inconfundible evocación ecuestre, por cuanto Mecenas, el amigo de Augusto, es aludido aquí como prototipo de *equus Romanus* y paradigma no sólo del triunfo económico, sino también social".³¹⁷

Naming his protagonist a former slave or admirer of Maecenas might bear additional connotations on the authorial level.³¹⁸ It has been argued that we should read Trimalchio as what Genette would label a parody of Seneca's Maecenas, whose pejorative assessment is known most prominently from *Ep.* 19, 114.³¹⁹ Trimalchio resembles Maecenas in his way of dressing (Petron. 32.2–4 with *Ep.* 114.6), and both

³¹⁶ Cf. VEYNE (1961, 218), WEAVER (1972, 90), SMITH (1975, 198), SCHMELING (2011, 301).

³¹⁷ On the contrary, GRIMAL's (1942, 162–3) interpretation of Trimalchio's name as an allusion to the emperor Caligula seems to be far-fetched. The mere coincidence of first name Gaius, which was one of the most frequent Roman *praenomina*, and the *nomen gentile* of Pompeius that recalls Caligula's enemy do not suggest this explanation. On Gaius as a prominent Roman *praenomen* cf. BALSDON (1979, 146).

³¹⁸ MARTIN (1999, 189–91) reads the *agnomen* rather as "follower of Maecenas", just as Ciceronianus means "Admirateur de Cicéron".

³¹⁹ SULLIVAN (1968b, 135–7), MARTIN (1999, 189–91), and BYRNE (2006, esp. 98–102; 2007) have suggested a connection between Seneca and Petronius in this case. In contrast, SETAIOLI (2011, 120–1) argues that "it is hardly possible to find anything in common between the crass ignorance of Petronius' freedman and Maecenas' refined culture".

have two eunuchs (Petron. 27.3 with *Ep.* 114.6). Furthermore, both seem to be averse to philosophy and philosophers (Petron. 56.7, 71.12 with Dio Cass. 52.36.4) and keen on poetry, literature, and arts (Petron. 34.10, 39.4, 48.7, 55, 58.2–5). Since Seneca’s presentation and judgement of Maecenas are clearly pejorative, it appears unlikely that Trimalchio rather than Petronius has aimed for this connection. Whether we are supposed to condemn Trimalchio in the manner in which Seneca speaks of Maecenas shall not concern us here. By contrast, it appears legitimate to smile or even laugh at a wealthy freedman, who behaves in the inappropriate way of the famous literary patron. Not only does he seem unaware of Seneca’s judgement of Maecenas, but he also bypasses the fact that he is emulating a model from a completely different social status.

5.2.5.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECT

Trimalchio’s financial rise started when he, as slave boy, was manumitted by his patron and subsequently inherited from him.³²⁰ Only thanks to this financial foundation was he able to enter the economic business circle,³²¹ accumulating money by dealings in agriculture and banking and stabilising his capital by investing it in land and properties.³²²

As D’Arms (2003, 96–7, 102, 295) has pointed out, the social figure of the newly rich freedman is commonly attested both archaeologically and epigraphically especially in Campanian cities like Pompeii and Puteoli of the Claudian era of the first century CE.³²³ With the accession of the Flavian emperor Vespasian traces of this phenomenon in inscriptions become rare, yet do not vanish fully.³²⁴

Most importantly, the social peculiarity of the rich freedman is mirrored frequently

³²⁰ On Trimalchio’s early times as slave cf. VEYNE’S (1961, 214–23) excellent analyses.

³²¹ PEPE (1957a, 296) stresses the importance of Trimalchio’s inheritance as basis for the freedman’s further career.

³²² ROSTOVITZ (1957, 58) assumes that Trimalchio’s “main occupation was first commerce and only in a second stage agriculture and banking, and possibly he was typical in being a freedman type to have the opportunity of making the nouveau riche as vulgar as possible”, and is generally followed by VEYNE (1961, 231–40) and FINLEY (1973, 50–1), whereas D’ARMS (1981, 100–1), followed by LO CASCIO (1992; 2007, 10), assumes that all of Trimalchio’s enterprises were conducted at the same time and in combination.

³²³ Cf. also MAIURI (1948, 108), ROSTOVITZ (1957, 58), SCHNUR (1959, 790–1), ROSE (1971, 31), MACMULLEN (1974, 49–50), VON ALBRECHT (1997, 1213–4), as well as Tac. *Ann.* 3.55.5.

³²⁴ Cf. ROSTOVITZ (1957, 150–1), D’ARMS (2003, 295). ŁOŚ (1995, 1033–9) discusses the steady disappearance of freedmen in the second century from both literary and epigraphic sources and its possible reasons.

in extant literature from Horace to Juvenal,³²⁵ with Trimalchio being “merely the most fully developed example of a common literary stereotype”³²⁶. This proves Rose (1971, 31) wrong, who suggests that “their [sc. the freedmen’s] existence did not call for censorious comment, and they do not appear then [sc. in the second century CE] as objects of satire”.³²⁷ On the contrary, mocking a wealthy freedman seems to provoke laughter even after their high prominence in Southern Italy might have vanished in early Flavian times. Moreover, the appearance of the newly rich *libertus* in Seneca, Pliny, and Tacitus proves that we are dealing with more than a satirical stereotype, as the passages from Horace, Martial, and Juvenal might suggest at first sight. For our assessment of Trimalchio this means that we can neither exclude any of the texts where a newly rich freedman appears as potential hypotexts, provided that Petronius was using any of them additionally to applying a stereotype, nor narrow down the date of composition of the *Satyrica* based on historical non-hypertextual evidence.

One of the characteristics of the freedman Trimalchio is not to miss a chance to display his wealth and boast of his achievements. Seemingly in passing he mentions his success story (76–77.4)³²⁸ and future plans, as well as his projects and the properties that he aims to acquire. For example, he explains that he intends to add Sicily to his existing estates in order to ensure that he can travel to Africa without leaving his own territory (48.2–3, 77.3).³²⁹

As has been rightly made clear in scholarship, these ambitions are highly exaggerated.³³⁰ This also holds true for Trimalchio’s attempt at highlighting the

³²⁵ Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 4.5–6, 11–16, Sen. *Ep.* 27, 86.7, Mart. 2.29, 5.13.6, 5.13.9–10, 5.70, 7.64, 9.73, 10.27, Tac. *Ann.* 13.26–7, Plin. *Ep.* 7.29, 8.6, Suet. *Gram et rhet.* 23, Juv. 1, 4.

³²⁶ MOURITSEN (2011, 115, cf. also 112–4, 241). As ŁOŚ (1995, 1026) has rightly stressed, it is highly questionable to base what we know about freedmen on literary sources, as these may draw an overly simplified picture and are most often written or funded by aristocrats.

³²⁷ Cf. similarly VON ALBRECHT (1997, 1213).

³²⁸ Cf. the wall-paintings at 29 and his planned funeral monument at 71.

³²⁹ The dimensions of Trimalchio’s estates are explained in similar terms also by one of his fellow freedmen (37–38.6). However, it remains questionable whether or not the latter’s account is based on the host’s own boasts, and does on these grounds bear equally little weight as Trimalchio’s version at a later point during the *Cena*.

The freedman’s *Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet, quantum milui uolant, nummorum nummos* is remarkably similar to that of Juv. 9.54–5 (*dic, passer, cui tot montis, tot praedia seruas / Apula, tot miluos intra tua pascua lassas?*). Cf. COLLIGNON (1892, 395), MARTIN (2000, 151).

³³⁰ Cf. VEYNE (1961, 236), FINLEY (1973, 113), KLOFT (1990, 425–6), BODEL (2003, 272–3), VERBOVEN (2009, 135–7), SCHMELING (2011, 205, 324), against ROSTOVITZ (1957, 321:

productivity of his estates. A closer look reveals that his claim of having everything that he needs produced or grown on his own estates (38.1–4) is nothing but an unrealistic fantasy conceived in order to impress his audience.³³¹ Paoli (1937, 30) has rightly pointed to Trimalchio’s claim that limes were growing on his estates, which would exclude a date of narration prior to the third century – Pliny (*HN* 12.16) mentions that limes only grows in Persia, while Palladius (*Agric.* 4.10.11–18) in the fourth century states the opposite. However, Paoli has not considered that Trimalchio’s claim must not necessarily be reliable, since the host aims at astonishing his listeners. Since limes do not grow in Italy, it is even more impressive that Trimalchio claims that they do so on his properties. In these circumstances, the freedman’s remark does not exclude a time of narration prior to the third century.

Along these lines, Trimalchio’s stress on the value of his properties as such, estimated at between 42 and 45 million HS by Duncan-Jones (1974, 242–3), follows similar patterns and goals, and is equally inconsistent with the size of his household, as the freedman described it elsewhere (47.12, 53.2, 53.4).³³² The interpretation that he tries to imitate the Roman Empire as a whole, as pursued by Rudich (1997, 246–7), cannot be completely dismissed. The scholar’s claim that this would suit the Neronian regime particularly well, however, is arbitrary.

The core of Trimalchio’s presentations reminds us of a number of literary sources, which might have functioned as hypotexts. His claims and plans mirror ambitions of acquiring properties and expanding estates of the first two centuries CE.³³³ Pliny the Elder (*HN* 18.35) mentions that six men possessed the whole of Africa until Nero removed them, and Seneca repeatedly complains about men like Trimalchio (*Ep.* 89.20, 90.39, 114.26). Pliny the Younger certifies that *ipsa pulchritudo iungendi* (*Ep.* 3.19.2) was a phenomenon still common in the early second century. The interpretation of Trimalchio’s claim of expansion as a hidden allusion to the emperor Augustus who suggested Rome should not expand further is hazardous.³³⁴

Moreover, Bodel’s (2003, 272–4) excellent observations have made it clear that

“Petronius’ Trimalchio was true to type in dreaming of adding to his possessions in Italy and Sicily large tracts of land of Africa”).

³³¹ Cf. SCHNUR (1959, 793), SMITH (1975, 84), KLOFT (1994, 124–5).

³³² Cf. DUNCAN-JONES (1974, 240).

³³³ Cf. ROSTOVITZ (1957, 321), GARNSEY (1981, 359: “Freedmen in Rome and Italy [...] were also owners of property, both rural and urban, on a considerable scale”), SCHMELING (2011, 447).

³³⁴ Cf. WOLFF (1999b, 21). The parallel reading for Augustus can be found in Tac. *Ann.* 1.11.4, Dio Cass. 56.33.1.

Trimalchio's claims are modelled along conventional lines prescribed in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.63–4) and Tacitus' *Annals* (12.53) and *Dialogus* (8.2). This emerges not least when Eumolpus, in his assumed role of a landlord (88.8, 117.8), uses the same verbal patterns.³³⁵

5.2.5.3 POLITICAL ASPECT

The host displays features and patterns of behaviour reminiscent of some of the great Roman emperors. While some scholars have wished to read aspects of specific emperors into Trimalchio, in fact, I shall argue, we might rather want to interpret him as an amalgam of different emperors.

This “political” aspect is perhaps the most suitable for analysing how a (preconceived) date of composition affects our interpretation of motifs and, generally speaking, how subjective the nature of allusions and hypertextuality is. What we accept as a deliberate allusion by either the protagonist or the author to one emperor or the other depends to some extent on when we think the *Satyrica* was written.³³⁶ If we think of the *Satyrica* as written by Petronius Arbiter at and for the amusement of the Neronian court, this makes allusions to Domitian in the protagonist Trimalchio impossible. Moreover, this date of composition might drive us into interpreting a general allusion that would equally suit Tiberius, Claudius, and Caligula as a specific allusion to a trait of the emperor Nero, be it as a hidden critique of the emperor or for the purpose of entertainment. In turn, this interpretation might be used as an argument in favour of a Neronian date, ending in a circular argument.

Rather, we must bear in mind that traits of any specific emperor in the protagonist Trimalchio, if we can plausibly trace any, provide us only with a persuasive *terminus post quem* for the date of composition. Any *terminus ante quem* that we infer from the identified allusion(s) depends on the reception of the specific emperor outside the *Satyrica* and remains no more than tentative. For example, a Claudian trait excludes a Tiberian date of composition, but is possible equally in Neronian and Flavian times and even in the second century. Allusions to the emperor Claudius must not necessarily be aimed at a late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian audience. The interest in and

³³⁵ Cf. also BROWNING (1949, 13–4), DUNCAN-JONES (1974, 214–5).

³³⁶ Preliminarily, we must note the impossibility to prove whether is it the protagonist Trimalchio himself who might be deliberately mimicking Claudius and others, or the author Petronius, who has his protagonist do so without him noticing.

engagement with the history of the first dynasty Roman emperors from the first century CE did not cease with the ascension to the throne of Nerva in 96 CE, as the works of Tacitus, Suetonius' *Vitae*, and Lucian's *Nero* – and perhaps even Ps-Seneca –³³⁷ at the beginning of the second century show. The emperor Claudius, for instance, is the target of the biographer's ridicule countless times in the *Vita divi Claudii*.

In some cases we might have a specific allusion to one emperor that the contemporary reader might have understood as such. Since on the basis of fragments we are hardly able to assess the time of narration or the date of composition, to us this specific allusion might either go entirely unnoticed or remain no more than a general allusion that suits a number of emperors. This is the case for Trimalchio's, or the emperor's, style of dining.³³⁸ Both the biographer Suetonius and Dio Cassius include sections in their treatments of the emperors of how these rulers ate and drank, as well as the performances they included in their lavish meals.³³⁹ This is further stressed by Pliny the Younger who deals with Trajan's *convivia* in his *Panegyric*.

One factor closely connected to the way of dining is the aspect of theatricality that scholars have rightly traced in the *Cena* and instinctively connected with the *artifex Nero*.³⁴⁰ If we read the *Historia Augusta*, we can find the same sort of behaviour attested for Hadrian (26.4): *in convivio tragoedias comoedias, Atellanas, sambucas, lectores, poetas pro re semper exhibuit* ("Over dinner he stages tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces, sambuca-players, readers, poets, just as suited the occasion"). The custom of following *comoedi* during dinner is also attested in Pliny (*Ep.* 1.15.2,

³³⁷ It is beyond the scope of this contribution to re-iterate the ongoing discussion of the date and authorship of the *Apocolocyntosis* and the *Octavia*. Suffice it to say there is good reason to doubt the authenticity of both works and date them into the late first or even second centuries. Cf., most recently, HOLZBERG (2016), SCHWAZER (2017).

³³⁸ On this paragraph cf. JONES (1991, 193), GODDARD (1994, 68: "Lavish banquets operated as vehicles for the display of the emperor's virtues, opportunities for the emperor to reveal to his subjects how he exemplified the necessary qualities of the good ruler").

³³⁹ Cf. for example Augustus exhibiting performers (*acroamata*) and pantomimes (*histriones*) (Suet. *Aug.* 74) and Caligula including performances of severe cruelty (Suet. *Calig.* 32.1).

³⁴⁰ Cf. SLATER (1994). A lot has been written about Nero being obsessed with theatre and performance; COURTNEY (2001, 219) provides a concise and clear overview with reference to various passages in both Suetonius and Dio Cassius. On Trimalchio as a stage director cf. RUDICH (1997, 240), HOLZBERG (2005); on theatricality in the *Cena* cf. SANDY (1974), ROSATI (1983), JONES (1991), BARTSCH (1994, esp. 197–8), CALLARI (1995), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 52–109), GIANOTTI (2009), AUGIER-GRIMAUD (2011), CIOCĂRLIE (2011). Pliny's addressee Julius Genitor complains about dinner parties filled with mimic performances (*Ep.* 9.17); Pliny's claim that he does not find this sort of entertainment novel and amusing (9.17.2) suggests that it was widespread.

3.19), and music is also present at Trajan's dinners (Plin. *Ep.* 6.31.13–4).

There are several lines that might remind us of one specific emperor or another. Besides the possible allusion to Julius Caesar at 32.1, there are several further instances where Trimalchio seems to be alluding to or even imitating Roman emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Following up on his claim that he would prefer glass over Corinthian bronze as the first does not smell, if he could only lay his hands on an unbreakable version of it, Trimalchio sets out to narrate the *fama crebrior diu quam certior* of the *uitrea infrangilis* (51). The story is likely either of folkloric origin or else the hypotext is Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36.195), who reports the fabrication of the unbreakable glass and the killing of the inventor as occurred under Tiberius.³⁴¹ Besides mentioning the invention of the unbreakable glass as such, both Pliny and Trimalchio pause for a moment to focus on the possible outcome of this new material as foreseen by the emperor and the subsequent steps undertaken by the ruler in order to prevent the devaluation from happening. Trimalchio embellishes the narration further by going into detail of the *faber* introducing his invention and proving its infrangibility. Eventually, both authors refer to the outcome: the emperor gets rid of the artisan.

Several passages have been interpreted as displaying a certain affinity with the emperor Claudius. At the beginning of the dinner Trimalchio, shortly after Menelaus has introduced him to his dinner guests, urinates in front of them (27.5–6). During the dinner he complains that his stomach has been worrying him for several days and advises his companions to relieve themselves if they feel the need to (47.2–6).³⁴² The consequences of keeping it in, he goes on with reference to what the doctors have told him, are that the intestinal winds may reach the brain and then cause liquids through the entire body. His guests, in turn, welcome the host's generosity and accept gladly (47.7).

Suetonius reports a similar case for Claudius (*Claud.* 32):³⁴³ *dicitur etiam meditatus edictum quo ueniam daret flatum crepitumque uentris in conuiuio emit-*

³⁴¹ A similar account can be found also in Dio Cass. 57.21.5–7, who attests it for the year 23 CE, and Isid. *Etym.* 16.6. By contrast, Suetonius does not refer to it. DOBROIU (1969) discusses further potential allusions to the emperor Tiberius.

³⁴² On *sua re causa facere* as “to relieve oneself” cf. 66.2 (*cum mea re causa facio*), Plaut. *Capt.* 296 (*tua ex re feceris*); SCHMELING (2011, 199).

³⁴³ Cf. FOCARDI (1999, 156). By contrast, SMITH (1975, 127) has concluded that “Trimalchio's remarks here have too readily been taken to be a parody of the behaviour attributed to Claudius”.

tendi, cum periclitatum quendam prae pudore ex continentia repperisset. The two passages from the *Satyrica* and the *Life of Claudius* display obvious similarities: in both instances the setting is a banquet, both “edicts” deal with the question of holding intestinal winds in and deal with the possible consequences by reporting a case of someone who did.

Whereas a link between Claudius’ *edictum de flatu* and Trimalchio’s recommendation to relieve oneself even if at dinner seems plausible, other links with the Julio-Claudian emperor in the persona of Trimalchio that scholars have attempted to establish appear unconvincing.³⁴⁴

Rose (1971, 82–6) has undertaken the tedious task of listing all potential allusions to the emperor Nero in the person of Trimalchio that scholars of Petronius from previous centuries have assembled. According to his assessment (1971, 77), “many of these are impossible, some are improbable”.³⁴⁵ His table includes more than ninety passages from the *Satyrica*, where a more or less likely parallel from Nero’s life can be adduced. The literary works consulted include foremost Pliny’s *HN*, Tacitus’ *Ann.*, Suetonius’ *Ner.*, as well as Dio Cassius; in only few instances Seneca’s works (*Apoc.*, *QNat.*, *Ep.*) may be relevant.

It comes as no surprise that more than two thirds of the allusions listed are from the *Cena*, with the majority of those outside of 26.7–78 appearing highly unlikely and far-fetched. The task of tracing Nero’s features in the protagonist Trimalchio used to seem particularly appealing in scholarship on Petronius until late in the twentieth century, as Rose (1971, 77–9, 82) stresses. A great number of researchers have interpreted the *Satyrica* as *roman à clef* with Trimalchio representing Nero, and

³⁴⁴ ROSE’s (1971, 23) poisoner Locusta at 35.4 is not only found in a textually corrupt passage, but also fails to make sense of the succeeding adjective *marina* – should we think of a maritime killer? Rather, the word in question is part of Trimalchio’s staged zodiac dish and his claim of having put a lobster (*locusta marina*) under Capricorn, just as he put a goose under Aquarius.

Cf. also Hermeros’ *et ego regis filius* (57.4), which ROSE (1971, 26), following LATTE (1932, 266) and MOMIGLIANO (1944, 100), with Plin. *Ep.* 8.6.10, Tac. *Ann.* 12.53, has interpreted as a reference to Pallas. By contrast, I would like to think of a proverbial expression, following HOWELL (1984, 36), who substantiates this hypothesis further by quoting Cic. *Amic.* 70 (*ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignoracionem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inuenti, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt*).

In order to avoid repetition, links between the emperor Claudius in the *Apocolocyntosis* and Trimalchio in the *Satyrica* are discussed in greater detail in section 6.2.

³⁴⁵ In the introduction to his list, ROSE (1971, 82) stresses once again that some are “virtually impossible”, others “improbable or doubtful”. The list of most famous scholars includes names such as DE SALAS, BURMAN, WAGENSEIL, and RÉVAY.

thus have attempted to meticulously link as many of the freedman's characteristics with the emperor's traits as possible.³⁴⁶ Only few allusions to Nero in protagonists other than the dinner host as well as only sporadic allusions to emperors prior to the last Julio-Claudian ruler have been detected so far, mainly because of this particular angle scholarly research used to undertake. Similarly, since the Neronian date of the *Satyrice* has been widely accepted, researchers, with only a few exceptions, have not attempted to analyse possible similarities between Trimalchio and later emperors such as Galba, Vespasian or Domitian.³⁴⁷

It does not appear sustainable to copy the extensive list provided by Rose (1971), mainly because only a very limited number of additional allusions could be added, if any at all. It would be equally inexpedient to discuss all of these one by one. Thus, I shall go through some of the most persuasive instances from Rose's list only. By analysing the necessary implications for these allusions to make sense and the strikingly thin resemblances to Nero's life, the uncertainty of these equations will be highlighted.³⁴⁸ What all of these items from Rose's list have in common is that they all include a few details that allow us to link them with Nero, provided that we want to. However, unless we think of the *Satyrice* as Neronian, there is little to no reason to interpret most of these passages as specific allusions to the emperor, as these instances of resemblance can be plausibly explained in a number of different ways.³⁴⁹ As I shall highlight, even those allusions that Schmeling (2011) emphasises in his commentary can hardly stand up to close scrutiny.

Firstly, scholars have emphasised the fact that a part of Trimalchio's entourage resembles that of the emperor Nero: his *praecedentibus phaleratis cursoribus quattuor* (28.4) find a functional equivalent in Nero's *armillata phalerataque Mazacum turba atque cursorum* (Suet. *Ner.* 30.3), even though in Trimalchio's case

³⁴⁶ See section 2.3.2.

³⁴⁷ I shall here confine myself to drawing attention to the potentially fruitful and still widely outstanding scholarly investigation of ties between Trimalchio and Flavian and post-Flavian emperors. Cf. MARTIN (1975, 200), DAVIAULT (2001, 336–8). In the words of VOUT (2009, 111): “One wonders how many parallels between Trimalchio and Domitian or Trimalchio and Commodus one would find, if the consensus were that the *Satyrice* were Flavian or Antonine?”.

³⁴⁸ SMITH (1975, 57, 60–1, 69–70, 147) has raised frequent doubts about these identifications of Trimalchionian traits with features of the emperor Nero.

³⁴⁹ In contrast to most defenders of the Neronian date of the *Satyrice*, WALSH (1970, 128–32) has argued that the “presence of the emperor Nero” (128) in Trimalchio is not meant as an attack or parody of the emperor, but rather “to strengthen the impression of Trimalchio in the role of posturing *princeps*” (ibid.).

the number has been cut down to four compared to the *turba* that the emperor hired. Putting the entire equation into context, further differences between the two squads should not be overlooked: not only is there no counterpart to the *chiramaxio*, in which Trimalchio's favourite is being carried, in what we learn from Suetonius about Nero, but also Nero was surrounded by a vast number of additional vehicles and animals, as the preceding clause reveals (*numquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatis mulionibus*). As a whole, the differences in scale and matter outweigh the rather thin partial common feature. As with the other examples discussed here, if we think of the *Satyrica* as a Neronian piece of work, the few common details between Petronius and Suetonius' *Life of Nero* might be enough for both the ancient and the modern reader to establish a link between Trimalchio and the last Julio-Claudian emperor.

Secondly, Trimalchio's cupboard at 29.8 contains the *Lares argentei*, a marble statue of Venus and a pretty golden box, in which the first shaving of Trimalchio's beard is said to be kept. Of particular relevance for our discussion here is the gold casket mentioned last. In contrast to the vast majority of scholars who only highlight the parallel reading for Nero at Suet. *Ner.* 12.4, Dio Cass. 61.19.1, Courtney's (2001, 78–9) great merit lies in cautiously going through the pros and cons: it may be “almost imperial ostentation to use gold for the casket, as Nero did”, however we should not expect him to be the exception, as the case of the emperor Domitian proves.³⁵⁰ It even appears rather unlikely that these two figures should be the only two examples of displaying lavishness and wealth by using a golden *pyxis*.

Thirdly, Trimalchio's bracelet (*dextrum nudavit lacertum armilla aurea cultum et eboreo circulo lamina splendente connexo*, 32.4) has been interpreted as a subtle allusion to the emperor's lavish jewel (*quas [sc. serpentis exuias] tamen aureae armillae ex uoluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gestavit aliquamdiu* (Suet. *Ner.* 6.4). In this instance the single feature which both characters, the protagonist Trimalchio and the emperor Nero, have in common is the possession of a precious bracelet that they wear on their right arm – bypassing the fact that the two jewels greatly differ at second sight, with the material gold being the only shared attribute. This custom cannot possibly be called a Neronian peculiarity.

Fourthly, the acrobat who falls on Trimalchio's arm (54) not only reminds us of a

³⁵⁰ Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.90–1 with the explicit reference to the *pyxis* with the shaved lock of the emperor's favourite in the preface of the book.

histrion acting as Icarus in the *Life of Nero* (*Icarus primo statim conatu iuxta cubiculum eius decidit ipsumque cruore respersit*, Suet. *Ner.* 12.2), but also of a similar incident during the *Cena Nasidieni* (Hor. *Sat.* 2.8).³⁵¹ It goes without saying that “acrobatic performances both on the stage and in private theatricals may well have been full of mishaps like this”, as Smith (1975, 147) rightly suggests.

Another event closely connected to the Neronian reign is the Great Fire at Rome (19 July 64 CE). Baldwin (1976b) has found traces of this event in the pseudo-*acta* read to Trimalchio at 53.2, while Rudich (1997, 240) interprets the end of the *Cena* as a possible allusion. Finally, Champlin (2003, 197) states that there “is even an unmistakable reference to the fire in Petronius’ contemporary novel, the *Satyricon*”, leaving it unspecified which of the two passages from Petronius he has in mind. The fact that any fire in the *Satyricon* may possibly be linked with any historically-attested fire emerges from the diverging interpretations pursued.³⁵² In view of these, it should be added that neither Rudich nor Champlin add arguments following up on their suggestion, and Baldwin’s remain speculative or vague.

The discussion of the perhaps most persuasive allusion to Nero, at least at first sight, has been left until last. At 60.1 Encolpius gapes in astonishment (*consternatus*), as the ceiling of Trimalchio’s house seems to be moving (*nam repente lacunaria sonare coeperunt totumque triclinium intremuit*). From Suet. *Ner.* 31.2 we learn about a similar feature of Nero’s *domus aurea*. A similar allusion, however not linked to the emperor Nero, can be found in Seneca’s polemic invective at the decline of Roman society caused by wealth and luxury matters: at *Ep.* 90.15 he extensively complains about contemporary technology and lists amongst the seemingly most commonly spread features of lavish houses the moving ceilings. In view of the philosopher’s extended appeal the speciality of Nero’s *domus aurea* that is relevant for our discussion here turns out not to be unique at all.

More than a hundred years ago Fisch (1898, 24ff.) undertook an unsuccessful attempt to link Trimalchio with the emperor Galba. The discussion of one allusion that he claims to have traced in the dinner host will suffice to reveal that his unpersuasive

³⁵¹ See section 5.3.5.

³⁵² Cf. BALDWIN (1976b, 35: “Fires, of course, were hardly infrequent in Rome, and were not restricted to the reigns of the ‘bad’ emperors. For example, Aulus Gellius reports one from the Antonine period”).

argument is no more than a subjective *Gedankenexperiment*.

We learn from Suetonius (*Galb.* 2) that Galba claimed to be the descendant of Pasiphaë and Minos. Moreover, his mother Mummia Achaia was the grand-granddaughter of L. Mummius who levelled Corinth.³⁵³ Fisch suggests that Petronius alludes to both of these lines of ancestry in several passages in the *Cena*: the dinner host mixes up the myth of Pasiphaë and the bull with the ones of Niobe and the Trojan Horse, ending up with having Niobe locked into the wooden gift (52.2).³⁵⁴ Moreover, the freedman claims to be the only one to possess genuine Corinthian bronze, since he owns a slave named Corinth (50). Both passages would bear more or less conclusive weight if they were unique in their kind. However, Trimalchio mixes up myths several times during the *Cena* and indulges in word plays *à la* Corinthus.³⁵⁵ In view of this, both the mention of Corinth and the underlying myth of Pasiphaë turn out to be no more than random examples.

5.2.5.4 PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT

Trimalchio clearly shows and explicitly states his aversion to philosophers (*iam etiam philosophos de negotio deiciebat*, 56.7; *nec umquam philosophum audiuit*, 71.12). By contrast, towards the end of the dinner, he frames his attempt to display his generosity by freeing his entire cast of slaves in his last will with a seemingly philosophical announcement:

“Amici,” inquit, “et serui homines sunt et aequae unum lactem biberunt, etiam si illos malus fatus oppresserit. tamen me saluo cito aquam liberam gustabunt. ad summam, omnes illos in testamento meo manu mitto [...]” (71.1)

‘My dear people,’ he said, ‘slaves are human beings too. They drink the same milk as anybody else, even though luck’s been agin ’em. Still, if nothing happens to me, they’ll have their taste of freedom soon. In fact, I’m setting them all free in my will [...]’

His statement gains in wit if we draw a link to a similar expression from the Stoic philosopher Seneca that immediately comes to mind: ‘*Serui sunt.*’. *Immo homines.* ‘*Serui sunt.*’ *Immo contubernales.* ‘*Serui sunt.*’ *Immo humiles amici.* ‘*Serui sunt.*’

³⁵³ FISCH (1898, 24–5).

³⁵⁴ The introductory passage adduced by Fisch can be neglected, as it is based on Bücheler’s textcritical emendation (*capidem quam reliquit patronus <meo> Mummius*) discarded in Müller’s edition.

³⁵⁵ Apart from Niobe and the Trojan Horse (52.2) we can also find Cassandra slaughtering her children (52.1), an awkward version of Odysseus and Polyphemus (48.7), and an intriguingly unique account of the Trojan War (59.3–5). Some examples of Trimalchio’s word plays can be found at 36.5–8 (*Carpe!*), 40.3–41.5 (the freedbore), 41.6–8 (*Liber esto*).

Immo conserui, si cogitaueris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunae (Ep. 47.1). If we believe Trimalchio in his claim that he has never listened to a philosopher, and read the passages from Seneca as the hypotext, the joke at 71.1 appears to be that Seneca, who deliberately filled entire books with Stoic doctrine, comes up with statements not dissimilar to those that Trimalchio utters, despite disliking philosophy as a whole. Because a specific hypotext has been transformed and the style has been imitated, but the subject has been changed, we here have a parody of Seneca's *Epistle* 71. By contrast, if we assume that Petronius here mocks philosophical material more generally, we have a pastiche.³⁵⁶

Völker/Rohmann (2011, 673–4) have investigated the number of features that Trimalchio and Seneca share:

“For example: both Seneca and Trimalchio love money and are troubled by financial loss [76.3–7; *Vit.* 17.1]; they display sorrow for the deaths of dear ones [72.1; *Vit.* 17.1]; they are concerned about their reputation [78.2; *Vit.* 17.1] and affected by slander [74.10; *Vit.* 17.1]; their estates by far exceed human wants [38.1–3; *Vit.* 17.2]; both give lavish dinner parties [the *Cena* as a whole; *Vit.* 17.2], displaying elegant furniture and old wine [34.7; *Vit.* 17.2]; they possess large quantities of gold [37.7; *Vit.* 17.2]; they consider trees as useful only in so far as they cast shadows [71.7; *Vit.* 17.2]; the spouses show off earrings of extraordinary value [67.9–10; *Vit.* 17.2]; the attendants of both require sumptuous dresses [30.11 ; *Vit.* 17.2]; they delight in table services that are overly refined and felt to be unnatural [36.8, 37.8, 67.2; *Vit.* 17.2]; each of them owes [sic] more than he knows of, with regard both to overseas estates [37.6, 37.8, 48.2–3 ; *Vit.* 17.2] and to slaves [37.9; *Vit.* 17.2]. [...]

Besides their provincial origin and interests in literature, Seneca and Trimalchio further have in common that both delight in kissing boys [74.8; *Vit.* 27.5, Dio Cass. 61.10.3–5] [...] and while Seneca was said to have been relegated as a consequence of his affair with Julia, spouse and sister of Caligula [*Vit.* 21.1, Tac. *Ann.* 13.42, Dio Cass. 60.8.5, 61.10.1], Trimalchio was “relegated” to farm labour after his affair with his master's wife [69.3]. Finally, just as Trimalchio had pleased his master for a period of 14 years [75.11], Seneca retired from serving Nero “in the 14th year” [Tac. *Ann.* 14.53]”.

None of these features are exclusive to Seneca, and whether we wish to accept or discard these parallels is to some extent as open to subjective assessment as our

³⁵⁶ Cf. BALDWIN (1981, 136–7: “The idea that slavery was an unnatural institution had a pedigree extending all the way back to the sophists. By the first century A.D., it was commonplace; the elder Seneca [*Controv.* 7.6.18] registers it as one of the themes of Albucius Silus, and the sadistic *matrona* of Juvenal's Sixth Satire ridicules it as threadbare and ubiquitous [6.222; cf. also *Sat.* 8.177–8 (*aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus, non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.*)]. Nor was there anything un-Roman or revolutionary about slaves and masters dining together: it had been the custom of no less than the elder Cato! [Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 3.2]”).

interpretation of some Trimalchionian traits as resembling the emperor.³⁵⁷ Most importantly, as highlighted above, neither case allows reliable, precise conclusions on the date of composition. Even if we wish to think of a ridicule of Seneca in the person of Trimalchio, this does not limit the possible time of composition to Neronian times.

5.2.6 EUMOLPUS

Shortly after Encolpius' burst into moving laments at 83, a new central protagonist, who will soon replace Ascylltus and remain with us until the end of the extant *Satyrice*, appears.³⁵⁸ The poet Eumolpus,³⁵⁹ "good singer", is first introduced as a *senex caluus* (83.7); only at 90.1 will we learn his name.³⁶⁰ He is the namesake of the famous priest of Demeter at Eleusis and founder of the Eleusinian mysteries.³⁶¹ An authorial joke might lie in the choice of naming a poet-protagonist (*poeta*, or in other words: *uates*) soon to be called wiser (*prudentiorem*, 88.1) after the famous founder of mysteries.³⁶²

Encolpius' description of Eumolpus, particularly the expression *exercitati uultus et qui uideretur nescioquid magnum promittere* (83.7) is likely an allusion – either authorial or by the narrator – to similar phrasings in Persius and Seneca, all of which are references to literary associates.³⁶³ This emerges from the explicit revelation of

³⁵⁷ The uncertainty of the Stoic interpretation is highlighted by the fact that other scholars have read Trimalchio as an Epicurean or Pythagorean. Cf. RAITH (1963), PIANO (1976), HOLZBERG (2005, 38–9), LAUDANI (2009).

³⁵⁸ At a later point, Encolpius will voice his concerns that Eumolpus will replace Ascylltus as the immediate follower of Giton (92.4). On the differences and similarities between Ascylltus and Eumolpus cf. FRÖHLKE (1977, 101–3).

³⁵⁹ Eumolpus calls himself a poet (83.8); so do Encolpius (perhaps at 90.1 †*poetam uocaret*†, indirectly at 93.3, in ID at 115.5) and Bargates (96.6). We should understand *poeta* as both "poet" (OLD s.v. *poeta* 1a) and "playwright" (1b). This explains why Eumolpus recites poems and stages a mime.

³⁶⁰ At 27.1 Trimalchio, too, is introduced as *senex caluus*. Apart from Nero and Domitian, also Caligula and Galba are referred to as bald (Suet. *Calig.* 50.1, *Galb.* 21.1). Cf. DAVIAULT (2001, 338).

³⁶¹ Cf. ELSNER (1993, 35), SCHMELING (2011, 354), LIPPMAN (2013, 242).

³⁶² LIPPMAN (2013, 242) reads Eumolpus' religious terminology in the seventh episode and its location of the picture gallery in a temple (*extraque templum profugit*, 90.1) as further hints at the potential wordplay of the Latin word *uates* (priest, poet) and suggests interpreting Eumolpus as a "failed priest-substitute" (246).

³⁶³ *scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber, / grande aliquid quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet* (Pers. 1.13–4); *Aut ego te non noui aut Aetna tibi saliuam mouet; iam cupis grande aliquid et par prioribus scribere* (Sen. *Ep.* 79.7); *Sunt qui sensus praecidant et hoc gratiam sperent, si sententia pependerit et audienti suspicionem sui fecerit; sunt qui illos detineant et porrigant; sunt*

Eumolpus' profession by the narrator a moment later (*cultu non proinde speciosus, ut facile appareret eum <ex> hac nota litteratorum esse, quos odisse diuites solent*, 83.7). That the profession of the poet is linked to poverty is also confirmed in the poet's own contribution to the discussion (esp. 83.8–10, 84.4) and can be seen from the shabby dress Eumolpus wears (83.9). The author's choice of making Eumolpus poor and dressed badly recalls the proverbial motif of the impoverished poet found elsewhere.³⁶⁴

On the contrary, it would be misleading to read Eumolpus as a Cynic philosopher, since he, as La Penna (1990, 10) rightly observes, did not find a patron but would in fact not mind having one. The Cynic philosopher, by contrast, willingly rejects any possible opportunity of assuming one. Similarly, there is no need to interpret 88.1–3 as an allusion to Senecan philosophical works, as suggested by Sullivan (1968a, 206).³⁶⁵ There can be no doubt that what Eumolpus has to say about the good old days comes close to passages of similar content by the Stoic.³⁶⁶ However, as the further references in Habermehl (2006, 89–90) show, passages similar in content, phrasing, and tone to that of Eumolpus can be found frequently from Cicero to Horace, Martial, Pliny, Juvenal, and others. Therefore, I am reluctant to think of a parody with Senecan prose as the specific hypotext rather than imagining a stereotypical literary motif applied here.

Eumolpus' first poem, at 83.10, constitutes the proem of his corpus of poetic outbursts to follow and is essential for our understanding of Eumolpus as a protagonist.³⁶⁷ The literary form is that of a priamel that praises literature as *sola* [...] *facundia* (v. 5).³⁶⁸ The motifs in the poem seem to be literary topoi and can be found elsewhere in a number of sources including Horace (*Carm.* 1.1, *Sat.* 1.1.4–14, *Epist.* 1.1.77–93), Tibullus (1.1.1–5), Martial (3.38), and Juvenal (1.69–78). Due to a lack

qui non usque ad uitium accedant (necesse est enim hoc facere aliquid grande temptanti) sed qui ipsum uitium ament (Sen. *Ep.* 114.11). VOGT-SPIRA (2002, 208) reads the (self-)description of Eumolpus as a parody of several Horatian passages (Petron. 83.8 with *Sat.* 1.4.39–44).

³⁶⁴ Cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 295–7, Mart. 3.38.9–10, 6.82.9–12, 10.76.6–9, 11.3.5–6, Juv. 7, esp. 1–7; HABERMEHL (2006, 84), SMITH (2009, 93), SCHMELING (2011, 355).

³⁶⁵ Cf. rightly FRÖHLKE (1977, 61–9).

³⁶⁶ We can find the motif of *pecuniae cupiditas*, most eminently, in Sen. *Ep.* 115.10–7, *QNat.* 7.31–2.

³⁶⁷ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 356), SETAIOLI (2011, 163).

³⁶⁸ Cf. *DNP* s.v. *Priamel* (“ihnen ist formal gemeinsam, dass von einer Reihe von Beispielen, die auch summarisch verkürzt sein kann, die abschließende Aussage [...] sich als höchste, kontrastierende, oder auch als spezifische [...] Steigerung abhebt”). RACE (1982, 148–9) rightly calls Eumolpus' poem a priamel, even though he does not have much to say about it. Cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 163–8).

of close verbal parallels, any specific link with any of these authors appears almost impossible to prove or exclude, with the sole exception of Juvenal where both content and phrasing in 7.145 (*rara in tenui facundia panno*) come too close to v. 5 in Eumolpus' priamel (*sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis*) to be a product of pure coincidence.

Regarding our interpretation of the protagonist, Schmeling (2011, 356) has revolted against a scholarly tradition of seeing in Eumolpus a "shallow and hypocritical poseur"³⁶⁹ in line with other protagonists such as Agamemnon:

"In fact he [sc. Eumolpus] is one of those compulsive poets who never betrays his calling, though it will provide no profit [...] Were he merely a hypocrite, he would long ago have ceased such thankless activities, assuming he had any aptitude for anything else. He stays with poetry as the only religion and salvation which he acknowledges, but such behaviour is viewed by all those around him as madness".³⁷⁰

If we want to understand the poet protagonist, we need to appreciate that for him the world is the audience receiving his work, the stage where the plots are set, and the material providing the content all at the same time.³⁷¹ In his view, he is both the one writing and being written about. He is a storyteller (85–7; 111–2), a stage director (127), and a poet (89; 119–24) on the one hand and the protagonist in his own plots on the other (85–7; 127). However, Eumolpus does not primarily stage a mime or recite a poem because he aims for profit; rather these are eruptions of his inherent poetic tendency, which Encolpius calls an illness (*morbis*, 90.3).³⁷² Even in the face of death on Lichas' ship we will find him sticking firmly to poetry. Also the fact that Eumolpus recites a poem about luxurious food over a meal that may most likely not be lavish at all (93.2) shows that any setting is sufficiently fitting to awaken Eumolpus' muse, even if she seems then to choose her own paths.³⁷³ We have in Eumolpus an example for a poet of such dedication and determination that he would

³⁶⁹ WALSH (1970, 96); cf. also SULLIVAN (1968b, 95). SMITH still advocated this opinion in 2009 (91–2). Out of all protagonists from the *Satyrica* other than Trimalchio, Eumolpus has been the one (wrongfully) evaluated in negative terms most harshly, hastily, and holistically.

³⁷⁰ Further scholars, including LA PENNA (1990, 12) and SETAIOLI (2011, 163–8, esp. 166), have argued along these lines. Most crucially, LABATE (1995a, 167) has highlighted the various diverse traits Eumolpus combines and has called for caution when assessing who might perhaps be the most complex figure of the extant *Satyrica*.

³⁷¹ Cf. in similar terms SOMMARIVA (1984, 30–1).

³⁷² No doubt he is "a first-class trickster with a theatrical imagination, for he is often inspired by farcical motifs to take advantage of whatever situation presents itself", as PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 120) has stated; however, the main motive for his tricks is not monetary greed.

³⁷³ On the poem at 93.2 cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 113–32).

never give up his profession no matter how financially unrewarding it is (Juv. 7.48–52).

It is in this framework of the poet passionate about his profession beyond words that we must interpret Eumolpus' lament about the decline of the arts (88). Whereas the rhetor Agamemnon previously complained about the decline of rhetoric when, in fact, he was worried about his benefits, the artist Eumolpus is genuinely concerned.³⁷⁴ It is not without reason that Petronius has Eumolpus here (88) use terms similar to those of Agamemnon (5).³⁷⁵ The recipient is encouraged to remember the rhetor's hypocritical complaints in opposition to the poet's sincere deep sighs.

For our evaluation of Eumolpus' remarks, then, it does not so much matter whether he got all the biographical details of the scientists, painters, and sculptors right, but rather that he is able to list the true masters of their crafts.³⁷⁶ In fact, we must be careful not to underestimate his knowledge *a priori*. The best example to illustrate that we should not hastily condemn Eumolpus as an ignorant poseur is 88.4. Here Eumolpus claims that Chrysippus used the black hellebore as a mean of purgative cure of the body and mind three times. Scholars have neither failed to highlight that the hellebore is a “remedy popular in antiquity for insanity, melancholia, and

³⁷⁴ It is far-fetched to assume with LOPORCARO (1984, 255–6) that Eumolpus approached Encolpius as he was hoping to have found a potential patron in him.

³⁷⁵ Cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 26 n. 69).

³⁷⁶ WALSH (1970, 96) interprets Eumolpus as ignorant. MANUWALD (2007, 258) interprets Eumolpus' “Diskrepanzen eher Zeichen einer bewussten Missinterpretation als von Eumolpus fehlender Zuverlässigkeit als ‘Kunsthistoriker’”.

Colum. *Rust.* 1 *praef.* 32 lists Democritus and Pythagoras as head scientists and Eudoxus and Meton as key astrologers and meteorologists; Eumolpus mentions Democritus, Eudoxus and Chrysippus. Democritus (88.3) is most famous as an atomist, but he also wrote a botanic book on seeds and plants (Diog. Laert. 9.47, Plin. *NH* 24.156). Eudoxus (88.4) died at the age of 53, which does not necessarily stand in contrast to Eumolpus' *consenuit* if we read the verb as “to spend one's whole life, grow old (in an occupation or condition)” (*OLD* s.v. *consenesco* 2), the implication being that the astrologer spent his entire life and thus grew weak on a high mountain devoted to the observation and investigation of celestial matters— we should not forget that Eumolpus' claim is that these men dedicated their lives to arts and science, whereas the following generations ceased from doing so. Similarly, Eumolpus does not necessarily say that the sculptor Lysippus (88.5) died in poverty, if we read the statement as “Lysippus was so obsessed with and focused on finishing the statue he was working on to perfection that he starved to death”. Likewise, it remains unclear whether he worked on one single statue all his life or was working on one at the time when he died. Finally, Eumolpus surely is wrong if he means that Myron did not find a *heres* at all (88.5, cf. Plin. *HN* 34.59, 79); if we read this line as “no one after Myron's death was equally as skilled”, his statement remains subjective and is open to discussion.

epilepsy³⁷⁷, nor to refer to the appearance of this therapy as a literary motif in comedy and satire.³⁷⁸ It has also been suggested that the poet mixes up two philosophers and thinks about Carneades the Academic (Plin. *HN* 25.52, Gell. *NA* 17.15.1; Val. Max. 8.7 *ext.* 5 mentions that Carneades used the black hellebore when he was about to hold a debate with Chrysippus). What has, however, not been firmly stressed, is that we find the story told by Eumolpus in several sources, but only from the second century onwards.³⁷⁹ Are we supposed to read this as a further component in favour of post-dating the *Satyrical* or merely as a joke at the expense of Eumolpus who gets the details wrong?

Eumolpus' tendency to recite all the time come what may is a thorn in the flesh of Encolpius. In the eyes of the protagonist, Eumolpus is one of those poets who recite their work unsolicited in the forum, the baths, and elsewhere. To Encolpius, it seems impossible to get away from poets; it is he who condemns Eumolpus' behaviour. His assessment is similar to that expressed in several passages in Horace, Martial, and Juvenal.³⁸⁰ Since the character of the (obsessed) poet appears commonly in first- and second-century Latin literature, mainly satire, there is good reason to suggest that Petronius here has used a literary topos and thus creates a pastiche.

Generally speaking, the way in which protagonists in the *Satyrical* react to Eumolpus as a (metadiegetic) narrator is benevolent – Encolpius feels stimulated (*erectus*, 88.1) by the Pergamene Youth and the brawlers on Lichas' ship appear amused by the tale about the Widow of Ephesus (113.1–2) –, whereas they disapprove of his poetic recitations.³⁸¹ As far as we can tell from the fragmentary episode in Croton, his mimic performance is credible. It should be mentioned that Encolpius does not react in a negative way to Eumolpus' first poem; in fact, he does not comment about it at all. It is only after the bath-goers throw out the poet and Encolpius with him under a hail of stones that the latter starts disapproving of all further poetic

³⁷⁷ SCHMELING (2011, 366).

³⁷⁸ Cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 134–5).

³⁷⁹ Cf. Luc. *Ver. hist.* 2.18, *Vit. auct.* 23, *Hermot.* 86, Tert. *De anim.* 6.8, Fulg. *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*, p. 85 Helm.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.73–8, Empedocles at Hor. *Ars P.* 466–76, Mart. 3.44–5, 3.50, Juv. 1.1–14, 3.9, as well as Petron. 90.3 (*saepius poetice quam humane locutus*). On the hypertextual links between Petron. 118 and Hor. *Ars P.* cf. CARMIGNANI'S (2013a) recent detailed discussion.

³⁸¹ Note the ironic statement by the narrator in *ille, qui plausum* [sc. *lapides in Eumolpum recitantem miserunt*] *ingenii sui nouerat* (90.1). The exception to this rule of thumb may be Bargates, who greatly appreciates Eumolpus as a poet (96.6).

recitations.

There are several reasons for the divergence in response to Eumolpus' contributions in prose and verse: whereas in the two cases at the bath (90.1, 92.6) it is the fact that the contributions in verse are out of place that causes animosity,³⁸² 90.5 confirms that the (poor) quality of the products is, at times, equally decisive.³⁸³ By contrast, storytelling skills emerge for example in the Pergamene Youth from the ring composition and the mirrored structure, which highlight the funny unexpected twist further.³⁸⁴ Thus, there is good reason to follow *communis opinio*: "Eumolpus is a great storyteller, but at best only a mediocre poet"³⁸⁵. Whether or not we are supposed to read the mediocre poet Eumolpus as a mockery of authors such as Lucan and Seneca, who failed to live up to their great Greek and Roman models, remains to be seen.

5.3 EPISODES IN SOUTHERN ITALY

The adventures in Southern Italy stretch over 8 extant episodes. All eight episodes are of varying length and show specific hypertextual features that are characteristic of the particular episodes to a greater or lesser extent. I have selected some of those motifs and scenes from each episode that illustrate the specific hypertextual features best and, thus, illustrate the complex narrative texture of the work. Petronius' treatment of hypertexts and non-hypertextual sources in the specific motifs and scenes that I shall investigate in this section is representative for the *Satyrice* as a whole. My observations are thus, *mutatis mutandis*, transferrable to those motifs and scenes in the first eight extant episodes that I have decided to leave out or touch upon only as well as the episodes aboard ship (100–15) and in Croton (116–41).

With regard to sources, we shall encounter both scenes with implied and explicit

³⁸² Cf. MANUWALD (2007, 256–7).

³⁸³ At 90.5 the setting is a *theatrum*; thus, we can rightly assume that the audience expects recitations.

³⁸⁴ On Eumolpus as an excellent storyteller cf. GEORGE (1966, 346–8), BECK (1979, 245–51), DIMUNDO in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 42–5), DIMUNDO (2005, 132–7). See also sections 4.2.2, 4.3.3.

³⁸⁵ SCHMELING (2011, 376). Cf. also LABATE (1995a, 167). BECK (1979, 246–53) argues that this gap is caused by the fact that "in his poetry, by contrast, Eumolpus speaks of things far removed from his personal experience and from a point far removed from his personal outlook on life [...] Where the images in his stories are clear, precise and vivid, those in his poems are often turgid and opaque. For he is trying to conjure up pictures of which he himself has no imaginative grasp, for example the floundering and over-elaborate description in the *BC* of the alternate thawing and freezing of the Alpine passes" (252–3).

mythical models (including Aeneas, Tarquin, Lucretia, Odysseus) as well as those with implied and explicit specific hypotexts (including those by Cicero, Vergil, and Homer). We will also find grand genres (epic, tragedy) and low genres (mime, comedy), sometimes fused together, sometimes in sharp opposition.

In terms of hypertextual relationships we will encounter both imitated and transformed sources and hypotexts, and the mood appears to be ludic at all times. The Genettean distinction between parody and pastiche shall accompany the assessment of whether Petronius has used motifs that are widespread across texts, authors, genres, or eras or specific hypertextual or non-hypertextual sources. Whereas both cases will demonstrate the rich hypertextual nature of the work, those hypertextual motifs that can be assigned to a particular author additionally help with the dating question.

I shall further investigate some ways in which great texts or models have been “distorted” or even “degraded”, to use two words that Genette, too, applies in his discussion of matters of hypertextuality (1997a). Neither of the terms nor their cognates are to be understood evaluative; they solely describe specific forms of textual operations, namely the application of great models to low-life, unheroic, or inauthentic protagonists, such as freedmen, flatterers, and parasites, change of style, for example by means of application of Vulgar Latin, and fusion with folkloric motifs or low(er) genres. The terms ‘great’ and ‘low’ texts or genres are derived from their status in the hierarchy of genres, which goes back to Aristotle’s discussion in the *Poetics*, but have nothing to do with their quality.

Finally, I shall address the phenomenon of hypertextual ambiguity, i.e. the fact that a hypertext can be read against the background of its hypotext and without it. Connected to this, I shall investigate the effects, that Petronius creates by using hypertextual motifs in a specific way.

5.3.1 AT THE SCHOOL OF RHETORIC (1–5)

The opening episode of the extant *Satyrice* is perhaps the most hypertextual of all – and not without reason. At first glance, the story might seem clear and rather straightforward: we find a teacher of rhetoric and his pupil at school, as they engage in a serious, extensive debate on the reasons for the decline of oratory and a reflec-

tion of the contemporary situation.³⁸⁶ A closer look, however, reveals that various details and factors in play, as elsewhere in the *Satyrica*, do not turn out to be what they appeared to be. Because Agamemnon and Encolpius make full use of their alleged learnedness by reusing various rhetorical handbooks and sources, their discourses are, for the most part, ensembles of stock motifs, commonplaces, and paraphrased statements deprived of their context and actual meaning. The two protagonists do not comment on or bemoan their contemporary situation. Rather, they select rhetorical statements and images, which they artificially glue together in a collage whose individual pieces are clearly visible at closer inspection.

Because Petronius puts various rhetorical motifs and statements in the mouths of two inauthentic protagonists, the mood in the opening episode is playful rather than serious or satirical. The author's targets are not the hypotexts or their authors. He instead ridicules the two diegetic protagonists, who, upon finding themselves at school, play roles, which are suitable for the particular situation.³⁸⁷ They inappropriately and inadequately use rhetorical pieces of work as sources and mix them with oratorical topoi.

In terms of hypertextual relationships, it should be pointed out that the hypotexts are for the most part generic, and thus imitated; occasionally, we might be able to link motifs with specific hypotexts that have been transformed. To be more specific, the reasons for the decline of rhetoric overall, as the graphics by Häussler (1975, 315) make clear, are much more closely related to their presentation in Quintilian and Tacitus than in Cicero (i.e. *Tusc.* 2.5) and Velleius Paterculus (1.17.6–7). Thus, they rather hint at a later date of composition of the *Satyrica*. The amount of common features, similar expressions, and recurring motifs shared by the *Satyrica* and Tacitus' *Dialogus* has led scholars to the conclusion that the link between the two authors is undeniable.³⁸⁸ In fact, both Encolpius and Agamemnon at times use the same accusations as Messala at *Dial.* 25–35. Notwithstanding, it would go too far

³⁸⁶ For interpretations of the episode overall cf. CIZEK (1975a, 1975b), KISSEL (1978), SOVERINI (1985, 1728–30); for an apt discussion of *Realien* cf. KENNEDY (1978, 171–2).

³⁸⁷ Cf. SCHMELING (2001, 51: “Neither Encolpius nor Agamemnon presents a case for education in which he believes”), RIMELL (2002, 22: “the object of the game here is not sincerity, but skill in role play and in seduction”).

³⁸⁸ COLLIGNON (1892, 98) speaks of “rapports sensibles et assez fréquents” and concludes that “les ressemblances paraissent assez directes pour que l’on soit tenté de croire qu’il y a chez l’un des auteurs une réminiscence de l’autre”. Cf. also SOVERINI (1985, 1709). An overview of those passages from the two authors that can be linked convincingly to varying degrees can be found in COLLIGNON (1892, 95–8) with some further additions in PARATORE (1933, Vol. 2, 2–5).

and undermine Petronius' erudition and craftsmanship to cut down the number of potential hypotexts to one and to speak of a single source for any episode of the *Satyrice*. In order to do justice to Petronius' work, we must not over-simplify matters.

For the correct interpretation of the protagonist Agamemnon and his behaviour, particularly later during the *Cena*, it is crucial to note that apart from the wide range of rhetorical sources Petronius also alludes to one non-rhetorical hypotext in the opening episode: Agamemnon resembles the parasite or *fictus adulator* from comedy, that can also be found frequently in Martial (for example in 2.27).

Overall, the opening episode turns out to be a playful imitation of various authors and stereotypes that transcend any specific text, i.e. a pastiche, potentially with interspersed moments of parody. This shall be illustrated by selected motifs from both Encolpius' and Agamemnon's declamations.

Encolpius' speech opens with a declaimer, who acts the role of a *uir fortis*, whose virtuous behaviour entailed physical punishment (1.1). He announces that a sort of fury or madness appears to be haunting declaimers and exemplifies this by several lines reported in direct discourse.³⁸⁹ Most importantly, his utterance might be one of the few motifs in the opening episode where a specific hypotext has been transformed (i.e. a parody): the first part of the utterance ("*haec uulnera pro libertate publica excepi, hunc oculum pro uobis impendi*", 1.1) reminds us, due to a partial literal reproduction, of the opening of Sen. *Controv.* 9.4.1 (*Haec uulnera quae in ore uidetis meo postea feci quam dimissus sum*).³⁹⁰

For the rest of the passage, Encolpius' debate is full of rhetorical clichés that transcend any individual source. The fact that (t)his pastiche involves many sources,

³⁸⁹ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 3), against COSCI (1978), who reads *furiarum* as synonymous with *insania* with reference to corrupt style. Cf. Sen. *Controv.* 9.2.26–8 (the rhetorician Miltiades, as reported in Livy, against orators who search for old vulgar words thinking that obscurity in a speech makes it austere), esp. *genus furoris* (27), *generis insaniam* (28).

The content of Encolpius' complaint reminds us of C. Fimbria, a contemporary of M. Crassus, who shouted in rage and was thus considered a madman (Cic. *Brut.* 233), and Vibius Gallus (Sen. *Controv.* 2.1.25–6). It also stands in contrast to Cicero's claim that an orator must speak quietly and sincerely (*accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, actio liberalis totumque dicendi placidum et sanum genus*, *Brut.* 276; cf. also *Orat.* 99).

³⁹⁰ However, we cannot be sure that the phrasing is unique to Sen. *Controv.* 9 and not just a recurring element from a stock declamatory scenario. In the latter case we would be dealing again with a pastiche of rhetorical practice rather than a parody of Sen. *Controv.* 9.

with Encolpius mixing and matching motifs from various pieces of work and fusing them together with literary stereotypes, makes it difficult to speak of specific hypotexts. For example, Encolpius criticises that young orators find themselves unable to utter a single word once they make it to the forum (1.2), an objection familiar to us from both Seneca the Elder and Quintilian.³⁹¹ Similarly, his examples of topics that are declaimed at school (pirates in chains, tyrants who order for fathers to be beheaded by their own sons, and oracles asking for virginal sacrifices, 1.3) can be found also in Seneca, Tacitus, and others.³⁹² Even the explicit critique that (absurd) school exercises are useless for the declamatory practice in real life (1.2–3) is present in Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 9 *praef.* 4) and Tacitus (*Dial.* 29, 31). Earlier, Encolpius had already used an expression popular in rhetorical and philosophical treatises, as his *rerum tumore* (1.2) recalls several passages from Cicero (*Att.* 14.5.2), Seneca (*Ben.* 2.11.6, *Ep.* 108.7), Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.10.7, 9.4.140, 12.10.73).³⁹³ His use of generic motifs also becomes apparent from several expressions such as the *umbraticus doctor* (2.3), which recalls the stock motif of the school of rhetoric as a musty gloomy place,³⁹⁴ and the comparison of *oratio* with a woman.³⁹⁵ From his non-technical use of *grandis oratio* (2.6), as can be seen from his addition of the adjective *pudica*, it is possible to ascertain that Encolpius may not have done his homework properly.³⁹⁶

One passage is particularly interesting for our discussion, as it allows us to assess Encolpius' posturing as artificial and his knowledge as shallow. The section

³⁹¹ On the huge difference that the setting (school versus forum or senate) makes cf. Sen. *Controv.* 3 *praef.* 13, 9 *praef.* 5, 9 *praef.* 2 (*cum uentum est in forum [...] aut deficiunt aut labant*). Cf. also Quint. *Inst.* 10.5.18 (the famous professor Porcius Latro had the court moved from the forum to a basilica, since he could only plead within a roof and four walls); the same tale of Porcius Latro is already reported in Sen. *Controv.* 9 *praef.* 3.

³⁹² On the motif of the pirates (in chains) cf. Sen. *Controv.* 1.2.8 (*piratas [...] praeferentes ante se uinacula et catenas*), 1.6, 1.7, 3.3, 7.1, 7.4. Tyrants appear in Tac. *Dial.* 35, Sen. *Controv.* 3.6, 4.7, 5.8, 7.6, 9.4.1, Juv. 7.151. The cutting-off of hands can be found in Sen. *Controv.* 1.7.1, 9.4.2, 10.4.3, the killing of one's father in Sen. *Controv.* 7.2.9. Finally, the sacrifice of virgins and odd oracles appear in Quint. *Inst.* 2.10.4–5, Quint. *Decl. min.* 323, 326, 329, 384, Tac. *Dial.* 35, Calp. *Decl.* 19.44.

³⁹³ Cf. further MIRALLES MALODONADO (2011, 270).

³⁹⁴ Cic. *De Orat.* 1.34, 1.157, *Orat.* 64, Sen. *Controv.* 3 *praef.* 13, 9 *praef.* 5, Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.18, 10.5.17, Plin. *Ep.* 9.2.3, Juv. 7.127–8.

³⁹⁵ Cic. *Orat.* 64, *Brut.* 330, Dion. Hal. *Vett. cens. praef.* 1, Tac. *Dial.* 21.

³⁹⁶ MIRALLES MALODONADO (2011, 270–1), against CODONER (1990, 62–6), wrongly claims: “Il giovane Encolpius dimostra una conoscenza profonda del linguaggio tecnico della retorica come pure delle cause della corruzione dell’eloquenza” (270).

containing the debate on the despicable Asianist tendency versus the glorified Atticist (esp. 2.3–9), also dealt with in detail in Cicero (*Brut.* 51, 286–7, 325) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.16–26), has posed two major problems, which have been responded to differently in scholarly literature.

Firstly, when Encolpius speaks of *Pindarus nouemque lyrici* (2.4), does he think of “Pindar and the Lyric Nine” or should we interpret *et* with Breitenstein (2009, 43) as generalising in the meaning of “Pindar and the others who made up the Lyric Nine”? Unfortunately, the text will not take us any further. Surely, however, our answer has a major impact on the image of Encolpius that we have in mind: did our declaimer just show himself unfamiliar with Greek literary history by thinking of the Lyric Ten?

The other issue arising from this passage is the time specification for when the Asianic tendency arose: Encolpius claims that only “recently” (*nuper*, 2.7) the Asianic style found its way into Athens.³⁹⁷ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the decline of rhetoric in Athens took place at the end of the 4th century BCE. If we link Encolpius’ statement of a recent migration with Dionysius’ date, we are prompted to conclude that the narrated time of the *Satyrica* is the end of the fourth century BCE. Due to several references to Latin authors such as Cicero and Vergil (3.2, 68.5) elsewhere in Petronius, however, this is certainly impossible.

While “recently” is used in an elastic manner in Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there is no contextual justification for such use of the adverb in this sense in Petronius.³⁹⁸ Therefore, this solution appears hardly plausible.

The adverb *nuper* at 2.7 does not pose any major issues if we interpret Encolpius here as quoting an ancient (Greek) source, potentially from the Hellenistic period, literally.³⁹⁹ We could even go as far as to say that he assumes the role of this source

³⁹⁷ I agree with SINCLAIR (1984) and BREITENSTEIN (2009, 47), against ALFONSI (1948, 50 n. 2) and KISSEL (1978, 314–5), that *Athenas ex Asia* refers to the two styles and not generally to “das künstliche Aufputzen der Rede mit rhetorischen Kunstmitteln” (Kissel).

³⁹⁸ BREITENSTEIN (2009, 47) rightly highlights that *nuper* can be used to denote events that occurred decades or even centuries ago (Cic. *Div.* 1.86: *neque ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper inuenta est*; *Nat. D.* 2.126: *nuper id est paucis ante saeculis*). Similarly, the Augustan writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that Asianist oratory arrived “yesterday or the day before yesterday” (*Vett. cens. praef.* 1), being fully aware that this happened several centuries ago. Rather, “the statement is evaluative, intended to characterize Asianist oratory as an interloper, a Johnny-Come-Lately; this is underlined by the antithesis with the ‘ancient’ Attic style” (COURTNEY (2001, 56)).

³⁹⁹ Cf. COLLIGNON (1892, 84), SAGE (1915, 50–1), MALITS/FUHRER (2002, 82 n. 5).

here. This becomes apparent from the line of the Greek examples that he quotes earlier (Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes) and the lack of contemporary Roman or later Greek authors. Thus, here Encolpius is not speaking about his own times anymore, when he gives the temporal reference *nuper*, but picking up what an earlier source had stated. As Panayotakis (1995, 4) aptly states, “the content of the conversation itself is no more than a fruitless repetition of a dispute which belongs to the past and has no real strength at Petronius’ time”.⁴⁰⁰ We cannot but smile at Encolpius, who tries to impress Agamemnon by repeating what he learnt from an ancient source, having failed, however, to transport it to his own times first. Hence, he lays his tendency of copying and pasting what he read or heard elsewhere wide open.

Overall, at 1–2 Petronius skilfully creates an entertaining effect by putting rhetorical motifs in the mouth of a calculating role-player. Whereas Cicero, Seneca the Elder, Quintilian, Tacitus, and others deal with real-life situations, Encolpius merely mimics handbook sources. By adapting his apparent opinion to his environment and adjusting the content of his oral contributions to the addressee, he here plays a role, as he will turn out to do elsewhere in the *Satyrice*. When he addresses the rhetor Agamemnon, he assumes the role of a critically thinking young *scholasticus*, but, as we shall find out later, only with the intention of securing a free meal (10.1–3). He is not really concerned about the decay of oratory; he merely says what he thinks suits the situation best – in other words, he is a perfectly inauthentic protagonist. Thus, in his discourse he calls for the return to the times when Greek style was at its peak and complains about Asianism, yet barely uses the praiseworthy Atticist style himself.⁴⁰¹ His discourse is full of seemingly deep rhetorical considerations about practices he criticises and is overall presented as an attack on the contemporary declamatory practice, when, in fact, what he produces is a declamation itself.⁴⁰²

Whether we are supposed to laugh at Encolpius, however, remains open and de-

⁴⁰⁰ I am inclined to add “Encolpius’ and” before “Petronius’ time” in PANAYOTAKIS’ quote, as the word *nuper* here is far removed from both the time setting of the *Satyrice* and the times of the author Petronius.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. HELDMANN (1982, 244). BREITENSTEIN (2009, 34) has drawn our attention to 1.3, which is, with 64 words, the longest clause in the extant *Satyrice*. This stands in line with Encolpius’ pompous use of figures of speech, such as metaphors, in 1–2. Cf. also FEDELI (2007).

⁴⁰² Cf. *non est passus Agamemnon me diutius declamare* (3.1). Cf. SOVERINI (1985, 1729), BAIER (2007, 144), COTROZZI (2008, 29–30).

depends on our assessment of whether he is aware of the inconsistency between what he presents and how he presents it. As Rimell (2002, 18, cf. also 2007, 122) has aptly highlighted:

“we are trapped not least because we cannot tell whether Encolpius’ speech is meant to be self-mocking, whether its clumsiness cynically or unconsciously enacts the inadequacies of those it purports to attack, whether Encolpius is voicing his own opinions or is simply following a formula dictated to him by a teacher, who may or may not be Agamemnon”.

The rhetor Agamemnon interrupts Encolpius’ declamatory Asianic attack on declamations in Asianic style (3.1). However, his reaction to Encolpius’ attack is not what we may have expected. After Encolpius just blamed Agamemnon for the decline of the oratorical practice, the rhetor does not attempt to refute the accusation. On the contrary, he even praises Encolpius for his eloquence and his appreciation of the *bona mens* (3.1).

Most importantly, Agamemnon’s discourse shares one specific peculiarity with that of his opponent: both protagonists use a number of textbook explanations and stock motifs. For example, the rhetor’s claim that the parents are to blame for the decline of oratorical practices (4.1) is attested in a number of sources elsewhere: it can be found in Persius (1.79–82, 3.44–47), Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.2.6–8, 10.5.21), and Tacitus (*Dial.* 28–9). Suetonius (*Gram. et rhet.* 9) even records that Horace’s teacher L. Orbilius Pupillus wrote an entire book on the abundant ambitions and impatience of parents as well as their negative impact on the teachers. Similarly, Cicero (*De or.* 1.95) and Quintilian (10.1.12–21) express advice in a fashion similar to that proposed by Agamemnon (4.3).

Among the many moments of pastiche, we can find one clear instance of parody in Agamemnon’s counter-declamation. At 3.2 he quotes from Cicero.⁴⁰³ Even though the contexts of the quotes in the hypo- and hypertexts do not clash – both Petronius and Cicero acknowledge that teachers will be left alone in their lecture rooms if they deliver unappealing lectures –, the hypotext is debased because it is put in the mouth of the inauthentic rhetor Agamemnon. The quote is particularly interesting for two further reasons: it is not only one of the few quotes in the extant *Satyrical* – even though in the case of Agamemnon the tense has been changed from perfect to present

⁴⁰³ Read *nam, nisi dixerint quae adulenscentuli probent, ut ait Cicero, “soli in scholis relinquuntur”* with *Cael.* 41 (*illud unum directum iter ad laudem cum labore qui probauerunt, prope soli iam in scholis sunt relict.*).

and the particle *iam* has been added –,⁴⁰⁴ but also one of the few instances where a protagonist explicitly names the hypotext of a borrowed phrase or verse.⁴⁰⁵

This parody of Cicero is embedded in the teacher's dogma of saying what the audience wants to hear (*nihil prius meditantur quam id quod putant gratissimum auditoribus fore*, 3.3). This claim is known to us from two passages in Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 9.6.12) and his son (*Ep.* 77.5), respectively, and appears to be a stock motif in comedy, here linked to the character of the parasite.⁴⁰⁶ It is crucial that we interpret Agamemnon's dogma as a pastiche that unites two different groups of hypotexts: the educational and philosophical works on the level of the protagonist are debased by their fusion with the comic model on the authorial level. Agamemnon wishes to appear as a concerned teacher in line with the two Senecas, but Petronius makes of him a comic parasite, who asks for water and drinks wine.

Agamemnon's intention is to lament that his fellows cannot but behave like opportunists under the present circumstances. It is funny that his statement applies perfectly to Encolpius, whose *bona mens* Agamemnon had just congratulated and who thus seems to have succeeded in deceiving the teacher by acting in the role of the sophisticated student, when in fact all he might be aiming at is a free meal.⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, we shall later find out that Agamemnon himself applies this dogma, and not just in the classroom. During the *Cena* he will act *sicut ficti adultores cum cenas diuitum captant*.⁴⁰⁸ At 3–5 Agamemnon surely wishes to activate the educational origin of the motif only, yet Petronius makes sure that we spot the comic

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. also 39.3 (*sic notus Ulixes?*) with Verg. *Aen.* 2.44 – see section 5.3.5 –, 111.12 (*id [...]* *sepultos?*) with *Aen.* 4.34, 112.2 (*placitone [...]* *aruus?*) with *Aen.* 4.38–9, and 118.4 (*Odi profanum uolgus et arceo*) with Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.1.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. also 68.4 (*interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat*) with Verg. *Aen.* 5.1; see section 5.3.5. Trimalchio claims his poem at 55.6 is from Publilius; cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 113–32, esp. 123–5). No poet later than Vergil and Horace is mentioned by name in the extant *Satyrical*. Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 23).

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 251–3; PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 4 with n. 12). The character of the meal-snatcher also appears at several points in Martial (2.18, 5.44, 5.47, 9.14, 9.19) and Lucian's *De Parasito*.

⁴⁰⁷ At 10.6 Ascylltus reminds Encolpius that they managed that to get invited to a free meal as students or pretending that they were students (*tamquam scholastici*).

⁴⁰⁸ At 52.7 Encolpius will inform us about Agamemnon's skill of saying what others want to hear for the purpose of being invited (back) for a free meal.

Poking fun at schoolmasters is known to us from Martial (they are mentioned for example at 5.84.2, 8.3.15, 9.29.7, 10.62, 12.57.4–5 and are the central figures in 9.68, 10.62) even though he does so for reasons different from those in Petronius. Martial laments predominantly their habit of shouting and the early start of the lessons, and observes the boys' and girls' feelings of hatred for their *magistri*.

origin, at least in retrospect, too. The rhetor complains about the meal-snatching flatterers with raised forefinger, when in fact he himself will turn out to be one.

This inconsistency of a *fictus adulator* between words and acts emerges even more clearly in the poem that rounds off Agamemnon's reply to Encolpius, and thus links neatly with its preceding prose section.⁴⁰⁹ Since Agamemnon is serious in the educational program presented in his poem, as Setaioli (2011, 23–4) has persuasively argued, the effect is intensified further. The rhetor's incapacity to live up to his own dogma has been aptly described by Panayotakis (1995, 8–9):

“The solution to the educational problem, according to Agamemnon, lies in a programme of life where severity (4.3; 5.1.1) and frugality (5.1.3) dominate, precisely the two things which Agamemnon does not practise. In his following improvisational *carmen* (5.1), he unveils his own tactics in the person of those he accuses: he is a frequent *cliens* at Trimalchio's dinners (*Agamemnon mihi carissime*) (48.7) and an expert in knowing how to get an invitation (48.5; 52.7) / *cliensque cenas impotentium captet* (5.1.5). He prefers to underestimate the quality of his own intellect by praising Trimalchio's intellectual pretensions (48.7) and accepting all his peculiar whims (47.7) [...] (5.1.6–7). Finally, he applauds Trimalchio's tasteless histrionics and spectacular effects (40.1) [...] (5.1.7–8)”⁴¹⁰

In terms of its hypertextual relationships, the first eight lines in choriambes are a pastiche of a number of sources.⁴¹¹ The reading list in hexameters divided into Greek and Latin authors (vv. 9–22) might be a parody of a similar section in Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.46–50 for Greek authors, 10.1.85–131 for the Latin counterpart), though from a preserved abstract of a lost work by Dionysius of Halicarnassus we can see that the effort to create a canon of writers existed as early as Augustan times.⁴¹² Furthermore, parodic bits and pieces of Ps-Longinus, Persius, and Tacitus seem to have been interspersed.⁴¹³ By contrast, hypotextual allusions to Lucilius are nowhere

⁴⁰⁹ As SETAIOLI (2011, 24–5) has convincingly demonstrated, the poem is linked with the prose text preceding it in its content and dogma. Already COLLIGNON (1892, 230) and SCHÖNBERGER (1929) had established this connection. Excellent analyses of the poems can be found in NELSON (1956), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 69–90), SETAIOLI (2011, 15–49), SCHMELING (2011, 15–21).

⁴¹⁰ Cf. already SOVERINI (1985, 1709).

⁴¹¹ Cf. Cic. *Cael.* 46, Sen. *Controv.* 1 *praef.* 7–9, Quint. *Inst.* 1.11.2–3, 12.1.8, 11.18, Tac. *Dial.* 29.

⁴¹² Cf. Dion. Hal. *De imit. fr.* 6, pp. 202–14, Vol. 2 Usener/Radermacher, SETAIOLI (2011, 31–2).

⁴¹³ Read v. 20 (*grandiaque indomiti Ciceronis uerba minentur*) with Pers. 3.45–6 (*grandia si nollem morituri uerba Catonis / discere non sano multum laudanda magistro*); cf. VERDIÈRE (1971), FLORES (1982, 75–6). COURTNEY (2001, 59) has suggested reading the metrical division into choriambes followed by hexameters as an allusion to Persius' book of *Satires*. The claim of not reading orators only, as the poem the poem makes clear, is expressed also in Tac. *Dial.* 30. As SETAIOLI (2011, 40–1 with n. 169) has persuasively shown, the link between Agamemnon's poem

to be found in this poem perhaps apart from the use of the word *schedium*.⁴¹⁴

The opening section of the extant parts of the *Satyrica* is neither an extensive debate on the reasons for the decline of oratory or a serious reflection of the contemporary situation.⁴¹⁵ Rather Petronius presents us a pastiche debate with occasional instances of parody, where two inauthentic protagonists, who play suitable roles for the situation, recycle and pile up phrasings taken from various rhetorical sources and oratorical stock motifs. In the event that by the end of this episode we have failed to decode the joke, Petronius has *iuuenes* appear at the beginning of the next episode (6.1–2), who laugh at Agamemnon’s *sententiae* and *ordo*.⁴¹⁶ The fact that even students spot the failure of the senior speaks for itself.

5.3.2 REUNION WITH ASCYLTUS AND GITON (6–11)

For our hypertextual analysis of the story of the second episode I am interested in particular in three scenes. Of the first scene, when Encolpius meets the elderly lady (6.1–7.4), Petronius makes a pastiche *par excellence*: the protagonist fails to understand that he is in the middle of a comic scene and decides to interpret the setting as epic. The second scene, Giton’s report of what had happened to him at the brothel (9.3–5), is a parody of Livy’s account of Tarquin and Lucretia and perhaps also of a passage in Ovid’s *Fasti* about the same personages. The third scene, Ascyltus’ report of how he ended up in the brothel (8.1–4), allows me to look into a narrative feature that can be found time and again in the extant *Satyrica*, which I shall label ‘intrahypertextual’: Petronius transforms an earlier scene, which is to a variable degree based on other hypotexts, by re-using similar story patterns and changing spe-

and the anonymous treatise *On the Sublime* is almost undeniable. Read vv. 21–2 (*flumine largo / plenus*) with *Subl.* 118.3 (*ingenti flumine litterarum inundata*), 118.6 (*plenus litteris*).

⁴¹⁴ I agree with the number of scholars who have interpreted Agamemnon’s poem referred to as *schedium Lucilinae humilitatis, quod sentio et ipse carmine effingam* (4.5) as a response to Encolpius’ (lost) poem and not as a reworking of Lucilian material. Cf. COLLIGNON (1892, 228), CIAFFI (1955, 24–5 with n. 20), BARNES (1971, 27–8), COSCI (1978, 202–3), COURTNEY (2001, 59), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 67), SETAIOLI (2011, 16–21). On *schedium* in the fragments of Lucilius cf. the further references in SETAIOLI (2011, 16 n. 1).

⁴¹⁵ Cf. SOVERINI (1985, 1713). For example, the fading of the *mos antiquus*, mentioned at Tac. *Dial.* 28–9, is not invoked as one of the reasons for the decay.

⁴¹⁶ On the importance of *ordo* and *sententiae* cf. Quint. *Inst.* 8.5, 12.10.60.

cific details.⁴¹⁷ Thus, one hypertextual scene from the *Satyrica* becomes the hypotext for another (later) hypertextual scene in the same work.⁴¹⁸

Upon realising that Ascyltus has left, Encolpius, too, sets out for his lodging.⁴¹⁹ The ambiguity that the narrator creates by the choice of wording, *stabulum* (6.3) being the common term for a lodging and at the same time a specific term for a brothel,⁴²⁰ will be revealed to the reader only in retrospect. The same holds true for *holus* (6.4): besides its primary denotation as “vegetables” the word also has a sexual connotation (“phallus”).⁴²¹ The old lady, thus, appears to be selling vegetables at first glance, yet assumes the role of a *lena* arranging paid sexual services at a closer look.⁴²² These hidden sexual connotations at the onset of the scene are crucial, as they prepare for the comic pastiche as which the scene will emerge at its climax.

Encolpius, unable to find the way back to his place, asks for the aid of the elderly lady and gullibly assumes that she would guide him to the place where he is staying (7.1). Upon hearing that she can help him out of his miserable situation, he cannot but interpret her as *diuinam* (7.2), styling himself as a mythical hero. He may see in the elderly lady perhaps Athena guiding him as a second Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 7.13–77) or Venus leading Aeneas to Carthage (Verg. *Aen.* 1.314ff.), the Sybil on Aeneas’

⁴¹⁷ Because it is a phenomenon on a second level, in a Genettean vein we might call it ‘metahypertextuality’. See 8.1 s.vv. *metatextuality, narrative*.

⁴¹⁸ See also the discussion of analepses (section 4.4.1).

Surprisingly few scholars have drawn particular attention to the recurring feature of self-referentiality and -allusion in the *Satyrica*. Cf. for example DIMUNDO (1987), RIMELL (2002), PANAYOTAKIS (2009, 61–2; 2015, 37). This feature is to some extent connected to the narrative architecture of the *Satyrica*, which has been discussed by, among others, CIAFFI (1955), HUBBARD (1986), BODEL (1999, 45), HOLZBERG (2005, *passim*), as well as in all major commentaries on the *Satyrica*.

⁴¹⁹ The transition between the two episodes is perhaps supposed to recall the end of a mime. Cf. *mimi ergo iam exitus non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non inuenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein scabilla concrepant, aulaeum tollitur* (Cic. *Caec.* 65).

⁴²⁰ Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.69; *OLD* s.v. *stabulum* 2b. At 7.4 the unambiguous term *fornix* is used to ensure this double meaning of *stabulum* would become apparent. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.30–1, *Epist.* 1.14.21.

⁴²¹ Cf. BREITENSTEIN (2009, 100–1 with further references). The sexual connotation of *holus* is not listed in the *OLD*. The same ambiguity characterises the expression *prolato peculio* (8.3) in Ascyltus’ account of what happened to him at the brothel after a customer had approached him. As SOVERINI (1978, 263–4) has rightly observed, it remains open to interpretation whether the customer hands over money or displays his private parts. As with the narrator’s *stabulum* and *holus* it remains unclear to what extent Ascyltus is aware of the ambiguity of the expression used.

⁴²² Elderly women appear at several stages in the *Satyrica* (6.4, 7.2, 4, 79.6, 95.8, 131.2, 133.4, 135.1, 136, 138.2–3, 140.1). They all display the stereotypical negative features (for example drunkenness) of the *anus* or *vetula* known from Plautus, Horace, Ovid, Martial. Cf. RICHLIN (1992, 109–16). On the use of couplers cf. Plaut. *Men.* 338–43, Suet. *Calig.* 41.1; HERTER (1960, 88), STUMPP (1998, 235), MCGINN (2004, 37).

path to the underworld (Verg. *Aen.* 6.124ff.) or Ariadne showing Theseus the way out of the labyrinth.⁴²³ His perception differs widely from reality. Irrespective of which model the protagonist has in mind, he is unable to follow in the footsteps of it. He is neither Odysseus nor Aeneas or Theseus, and the brothel does not resemble the heroic greatness of Carthage or Troy in any way. The clearly ironic undertone, with which the narrator relates these events (*delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta*, 7.1), highlights Encolpius' ridiculous posturing and his gullible question.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, the reader recognises the *anicula* or helper as a literary type known not only from epic but also most famously from mime and comedy and the setting of the brothel that Encolpius will be tricked into as familiar from the *fabula Atellana*.⁴²⁵ Thus, the scene emerges as an epic-comic pastiche: the grandiose model (epic) is debased by its application to or fusion with a low genre (comedy). Encolpius, however, fails to decode the setting correctly. To him, the scene is reminiscent of epic only.

This scene is funny because the pastiche of the epic model works on two levels. Whereas elsewhere the moment of debasement occurs only via the application of the heroic model to our non-heroic protagonists, here the counterpart (Athena, Venus, the Sybil) and the setting (Carthage, Troy, Rome) have been replaced by low-life elements, too. Encolpius fails to recognise that the elderly lady can be of both comic and epic origin.

At a later stage Encolpius is reunited with Giton, who tells his partner what had happened during his absence: Ascyllus surprised Giton in his lodging and, upon meeting opposition to his sexual desire, drew his sword claiming that if Giton was Lucretia, he had just found his Tarquin.⁴²⁶

We here have one of the few instances of explicitly marked mythico-historical

⁴²³ Cf. WALSH (1970, 87), FEDELI (1981a, 169–70; 1981b, 110), SLATER (1990b, 33), PLAZA (2000, 60–1), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 102). Since all of these myths are widespread, it is impossible to find out whether Encolpius has any specific literary model in mind.

⁴²⁴ Cf. HALVONIK (2005, 321): “The pairing of the adjective *stulta* with the noun *urbanitate* is an oxymoron because that which is sophisticated is generally neither foolish nor inept. The narrator thus draws immediate attention to an ironic application of *urbanitas* by which he does not allow the term *urbanitas* to have its conventional positive connotation of refinement”.

⁴²⁵ On brothels and prostitutes in the *fabula Atellana* cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 12 with n. 46).

⁴²⁶ Once again, the choice of wording, *gladium* (9.5), implies a source for (erotic) *double entendre*. Cf. ADAMS (1982, 21–2, 219), SCHMELING (1994–1995, 212–3; 2011, 28).

models in the extant *Satyrica*:⁴²⁷ Ascyltus assumes the role of Tarquin and forces that of Lucretia onto Giton. The hypotext for this scene is most likely Livy's account of Tarquin and Lucretia, as emerges from the expression *gladium strinxit* (9.5), which is likely a literary allusion to Livy's *stricto gladio* (1.58.1) from the story of Tarquin and Lucretia. Parallels between the two scenes in Livy and Petronius are numerous and have long been analysed in detail: in both cases the absence of the legitimate lover is abused and the victims are threatened with weapons; afterwards the abused partners sit on the bed crying and are questioned by their returning partners (*quaesiui* at 9.3 with *quaerentique uiro* at Livy 1.58.7).⁴²⁸ We might have one further specific hypotext, as "Encolpius' enquiry whether Giton had prepared a meal may also recall Lucretia's preparation of one for Tarquin in Ovid, *Fasti* 2.789–90"⁴²⁹.

Since we have a playful transformation of either one or two hypotexts (Livy, Ovid), the scene is a parody. We have a protagonist, who, upon finding himself in a setting that to him is similar to those that he remembers from certain myths, assumes a heroic role. This role, as well as the one that he forces onto Giton, however, does not fit his character. Ascyltus is no mythical king and "Giton is no chaste *matrona* straight out of mythic history"⁴³⁰; while Lucretia opts for suicide as the only bearable solution, Giton will soon abandon his lover in order to go with the violator (79–80).

Upon unexpectedly running into Ascyltus, Encolpius instinctively assumes that the same *anicula* has tricked his companion and later rival. Ascyltus then starts narrating his own story (8.2–4), which resembles Encolpius' closely: both were wandering around and tricked into the same brothel by a seemingly trustworthy (elderly) person.⁴³¹

I deal with the third scene last, even though it goes back to the beginning of the adventure at the brothel and thus comes earlier from a chronological point of view than the second scene. This choice has been made because the relation between the hypertext and its hypotext here is not generally hypertextual, but intrahypertextual: a

⁴²⁷ For further instances of explicitly marked mythico-heroic models cf. also 97–8 (section 5.3.8) and 101.4, for an episode full of implicit mythico-heroic models 79–82 (section 5.3.6).

⁴²⁸ Cf. BREITENSTEIN (2009, 124–6), CARMIGNANI (2013b, 16–18, 23–33).

⁴²⁹ COURTNEY (2001, 63). Cf. the excellent analysis in CARMIGNANI (2013b, 18–33).

⁴³⁰ RICHLIN (1992, 287).

⁴³¹ The parallels between the two accounts have long been noticed and analysed in detail. Cf. CAPRETTINI (1976, 205–7), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 14 n. 50), LEFÈVRE (2007, 156–8), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 93, 110–3).

(potentially hypertextual) scene in the *Satyrica* serves as the hypotext for a later scene in the same work. Thus, for the first time in the extant *Satyrica* we here have a case where a specific story pattern reappears in a similar or even identical form. We will meet the same feature of repetitiveness more often in Petronius.⁴³² It comes as no surprise that that repetition is one of the essential comic devices and comes up in many jokes. The impression that the heroes are chased by their past in the manner of a grudge, which is created by including these recurring story patterns and mirroring events, appears likely to have created an entertaining effect.

The same repetitiveness of story patterns can be observed once more in the second episode. At 9.4–10.5 we find Ascyltus approaching Giton, who later tells his companion about the attempted rape, followed by Encolpius' raging response and the suggestion of splitting their belongings. Similarly, at 11 we will have Encolpius going to bed with Giton, who is then caught in the act by Ascyltus.⁴³³ The later scene is rounded off by *uerba* (and *uerbera*) and Ascyltus' menace *sic diuidere cum fratre nolito* (11.4). As has long been analysed in detail, on a macrostructure the scene ranging from Giton's and Ascyltus' moment of intercourse to the former's decision of splitting up with his lover (79.9–80.8), too, represents a repetition of the earlier scene in the second episode, but with mirrored parties.⁴³⁴ In contrary to the later scene, at 10.4–11.4 it is Ascyltus, who first draws the short straw, then later upon returning to the lodging catches the other two in the act. Due to a lacuna in the text it remains unclear how the earlier scene ends.

On the whole, the second episode subverts a stock scene from the idealised romance, and is thus a pastiche: the two lovers united in love and faith are disconnected from each other and, eventually, after coming close to being re-united several times, manage to get together. In Petronius, by contrast, our (three) lovers experience

⁴³² Cf. for example the customer, who approaches Ascyltus at the brothel, links with the Roman knight, who approaches Ascyltus later at the baths. Eumolpus tells this story to Encolpius at 92.7–11. There might be a hypertextual link between the *equus Romanus ut aiebant infamis* and the *non obscurus nec male notus equus* at Mart. 5.13.2. The setting of the bath seems to play to the cliché of a meeting point for voyeurs and a promiscuous location for seductors, who aim at picking up guys; cf. Sen. *QNat.* 1.16.3, Mart. 1.23, 96.11–3, 7.34.10, 9.33, 11.63, 75, Juv. 6.374–6, 11.156–7. In contrast to the earlier scene at the brothel, Ascyltus here seems to go with the customer. This may explain where the money at 97.3 comes from.

⁴³³ Cf. BREITENSTEIN (2009, 119).

⁴³⁴ Cf. GOGA (1999, 816), HABERMEHL (2006, 15), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 119–20), SCHMELING (2011, 334).

this event of a seemingly happy ending time and again, yet only to split up just as often. In their case no cruel Fortuna is needed to cause their break-up. Love seems to be an empty concept, as 10.6 clearly shows: Ascyltus agrees to Encolpius' proposal that he had better find a new *frater*, yet suggests maintaining the status quo for one more day in order not to miss out on the scheduled free dinner.⁴³⁵

5.3.3 AT THE MARKET (12–5)

After another lacuna in the text we meet our adventurers Ascyltus and Encolpius arriving at the market later in the evening, where they are looking to sell a stolen cloak (*raptum latrocinio pallium*, 12.2) of considerable value.⁴³⁶ Whether or not Giton is with them remains unclear, as is he not directly addressed by name at any point during the episode and, if present, does not utter a single word.

The third extant episode is a comic pastiche. This is not immediately obvious since none of the surviving comic scenes takes place at the market or in the evening or even at night-time, and we know the persona of the farmer only from Pomponius' *fabula Atellana* entitled *Rusticus*.⁴³⁷ However, several factors contribute to our assessment of this episode as a pastiche of the *fabula palliata*. In fact, Petronius has employed, or rather imitated, more comic devices in the market episode than in any other extant episode, excluding the first episode at Croton, where the protagonists explicitly stage a mime.

The main comic macro-structural feature is familiar to the reader already from the previous episode. As in the scene of reunion (6–11), for the market episode, too, the author has arranged the various actions in a seemingly parallel manner, with various details emerging as asymmetrical only upon closer examination.⁴³⁸ The opening of the scene at 12.1 introduces Encolpius and Ascyltus as the two sellers of a cloak, which stands in contrast to the later revelation of the item as a stolen good (14.6).

⁴³⁵ I strongly disagree with COURTNEY (2001, 64), who thinks that *frater* at 10.6 “probably means not much more than ‘roommate’”.

⁴³⁶ The time setting of the evening in combination with the location of the forum does not bode well and foreshadows the unexpected twists to come. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.111–4, Juv. 6.588.

⁴³⁷ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 21 n. 7), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 163). BREITENSTEIN (2009, 167) goes too far when she speaks of a “literarisch vorgeprägter Typus” based on the evidence of one title and then goes on to state “dass der Bauer bereits in den *Atellanae* zum klassischen Personal gehörte”.

⁴³⁸ Cf. ARAGOSTI (1979, 106–7), VAN DER PAARDT (1996, 67), who speaks of a “‘mirroring scene’, in which all movements seem to be repeated”, BREITENSTEIN (2009, 158–9).

The couple of *rusticus* and *muliercula*, who approach and examine the merchandise, by contrast, turn out to be its legitimate owners. Similarly, Ascyltus gives the *tunica*, which the farmer offers for sale, a close inspection and recognises it as his own.⁴³⁹ Both parties at first show interest in the objects, which are legitimately theirs, as potential buyers and later attempt to claim them back. The buyer of the other party's item becoming the seller and vice versa as well as the symmetrical arrangement of actions make it plausible to interpret the market episode on a whole as modelled after, and thus as a pastiche of, the *comoedia duplex*.⁴⁴⁰

Another asymmetrical detail is the value of the two objects. Both the reader of the story and its main protagonists know these are not worth the same, even though, contrarily to what the group of *cociones* (14.7),⁴⁴¹ the *rusticus* and the *muliercula* assume, the seemingly filthy tunic (*scissam et sordidam [...] tunicam*) is of much greater value than the *pallium* (*sed nullo genere par erat causa [nostra]*, 14.7) due to its hidden treasure. As Breitenstein (2009, 198) following Focardi (1986, 60 n. 11) has rightly observed, the term *spolia* (14.6) for the tunic must make the *rusticus* laugh, since it is only from the perspective of the main protagonists, who know about its secret, that the item is truly precious. To the farmer it must remain doubtful why the cloth would be a treasure.

The objects themselves are comic items. The hidden treasure seems to be a comic stock motif,⁴⁴² and both the *pallium* and the tunic appear in several of Plautus' plays.⁴⁴³ It might even be the case that we have an authorial linguistic pun: the cen-

⁴³⁹ There is no sustainable reason to doubt with BREITENSTEIN (2009, 178) that Encolpius and Ascyltus are the genuine owners of the tunic. Ascyltus speak of it as *nostrum* at 14.1; cf. also *rem nostram* at 13.3. The narrator denotes it *praeda* at 13.4, since he sees it as an object he wants to strip off the farmer.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 28–9), LEFÈVRE (2005, 147 = 2007, 165). For a detailed discussion of theatrical elements in the market episode cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 23–31).

⁴⁴¹ I do not see any sustainable reason to doubt that the *cociones* (14.7) and the *aduocati nocturni* (15.2) are one and the same group of people. In the second instance, Encolpius uses the term *aduocati* since they just recently started acting in a juridical manner (15.2). I interpret *nocturnus* with FOCARDI (1986, 68–72, here 69) as “poco raccomandabili, fuori legge, sospettabili di affari loschi, perché sta ormai annottando nel foro e per antica legge, fino dalle XII tavole, il tramonto segna la fine di tutte le oneste attività foresi (*sol occasus suprema tempestas esto: tab. 1, 6–9*)”. Cf. also PATIMO (2002a).

⁴⁴² Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 25), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 157) with reference to several fragments from Naevius' *Tunicularia* and Lanuvinus' *Thesaurus*, as well as Plautus' *Aulularia*. In the latter we further find the motif of the stolen thief or tricked cheater. On the *Thesaurus* cf. GARTON (1972, 73–92).

⁴⁴³ Plaut. *Rud.* 549–50, *Aul.* 628–60 (esp. 647). Cf. also *tunica proprior pallio est* (Plaut. *Trin.* 1154); *saepe est etiam sub palliolo sordido sapientia* (*Caecus* cited at Cic. *Tusc.* 3.56).

tral object, i.e. the cloak (*pallium*), links with the main literary source (the *palliata*).⁴⁴⁴

Another comic persona can be found within the group of *cociones*, who arrive, intervene unexpectedly, and argue in a juridical manner just like *aduocati*.⁴⁴⁵ Petronius provides us with a clue about the mimic provenance and, thus, juridical untrustworthiness of their leader: the character's baldness allows us to identify him as a character from the mime.⁴⁴⁶

Finally, the act of pretending that creates a gap between appearance and reality can also be interpreted as a comic story-pattern.⁴⁴⁷ Encolpius and Ascyltus pretend to be sellers (*tamquam emptor*, 12.6), but turn out to be thieves. Upon realising that they have their lost treasure in front of them, they give up the role of the seller and Encolpius turns into a jurist. This emerges from his suggestion of claiming back the tunic according to civil law (13.4) and the legal manner in which the following events are explained.⁴⁴⁸ Along the same lines, the *cociones* pretend to be ruling impartially, but are revealed by Encolpius to be after the cloak themselves.⁴⁴⁹ Just like in comedy, in the market episode all participants are aware of the fact that they are acting in a role that they assume for a specific purpose.

Viewed in context, Ascyltus' poem (14.2) perfectly exemplifies Petronius' way of

⁴⁴⁴ It is worthwhile noting Apuleius, too, has a Plautus-influenced market-scene in *Met.* 1.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. *flagitabant uti apud se utraque deponerentur ac postero die iudex querellam inspiceret* (15.2), *in controuersiam esse* (15.3), *quaeri* (15.3, 5), *in utraque partis* (15.3), *latrocinii suspicio* (15.3), *sequestri* (15.4).

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 29), SCHMELING (2011, 42–3).

⁴⁴⁷ For example, in Plautus' play of the same name Pseudolus pretends to be Syrus, a slave of Ballio, to deceive Harpax.

⁴⁴⁸ I am uncertain whether we should with BREITENSTEIN (2009, 179) understand *ius ciuile* here as a *terminus technicus*, or, as suggested by BAGNANI (1964, 229–30) and others, as general reference to the Roman law. Encolpius has a limited, yet existent, idea of legal procedures and terminology. Cf. for example *iure rem nostram uindicamus* (13.3 with *in iure uindicabantur*, Gai. *Inst.* 4.16), *iniecit [...] manus* (14.5), *uindica<ri uide>bant* (14.7). Cf. DEBRAY (1919, 62–6). On legal terminology in the market-scene cf. ARAGOSTI (1979), FOCARDI (1986), GREWE (1993, 40–4), VAN DER PAARDT (1996; 2001), PATIMO (2001; 2002a), BREITENSTEIN (2009, *passim*).

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. *uolebant pallium lucri facere* (15.2), *praedones* (15.5). The hypocrisy of the *cociones* also emerges from the fact that they sequester the precious cloak, but let Encolpius and Ascyltus leave with the tunic. SCHEIDWEILER (1925, 200) doubts that the *cociones* are even entitled to bring the case before a judge: “denn der Prozess, mit dem sie drohen, konnte nur eine *causa privata* sein, und eine solche ist, wenn beide Parteien sie nicht wollen, unmöglich. Also ist alles nur Bluff”. Cf. also DEBRAY (1919, 67–9), FOCARDI (1986, 63–5).

exposing his protagonists.⁴⁵⁰ Upon spotting the foul play by the farmer, the *muliercula*, and the group of *cociones*, the adventurers are enraged about the ubiquity of money and the corruption of justice. Just as in our episode, in the poem, too, the market is turned into a courtroom and the courtroom into a market; *iudicia* are up for sale like goods at the market. Role-playing is a widespread practice in a setting where, for the purpose of making profit, any means appear to be justified. Ascyllus in his poem uses terminology connected to selling and the market to speak about laws and court.⁴⁵¹ However, by putting the poem about the venality of holders of legal power in the mouth of a protagonist, who tries to sell a stolen good and suggests buying back his own property, it is Ascyllus, and not so much the corrupt minor protagonists, whom Petronius makes look ridiculous.⁴⁵²

Expressions similar to those in the poem can be found in late first- and early second-century authors, particularly in Martial and Tacitus, even though the moralising tendency of lamenting human corruption is a literary topos across various genres.⁴⁵³ Based on the fact that the motif is widespread and with the metre thus being our only feature that would hint at a specific literary model, provided that Petronius had one, it does not make sense to link the poem with one specific genre or hypotext.⁴⁵⁴

Even though the comic influence of Plautus and the mime is pivotal, we must not overlook that we also find several motifs that might have been borrowed from hypotexts belonging to other genres.

The episode provides us with two instances of ἀναγνώρισις known to us not only from comedy, but also from tragedy and the idealised romance. The feature itself

⁴⁵⁰ I follow MÜLLER and others that it is Ascyllus and not the narrator, who utters the poem. Cf. the discussion in SETAIOLI (2011, 51–2). On the position of the poem at 14.2 cf. SOMMARIVA (1997), BREITENSTEIN (2009, 181).

⁴⁵¹ *pecunia* (v. 1), *nummis* (v. 4), *uendere* (v. 4), *merces* (v. 5), *empta* (v. 6).

⁴⁵² Cf. VAN DER PAARDT (1996, 68).

⁴⁵³ Cf. *uendere uerba* (v. 4) with Mart. 5.16.6, Tac. *Ann.* 11.5.2. A similar critique can also be found elsewhere in the *Satyrica* (88.8, 119 vv. 39–42, 137.9). On the motifs of corrupted justice and omnipresence of money cf. Alc. *fr.* 360 Voigt, Publ. *Syr. Sent.* 458, Lucil. 1128 Krenkel, Varro *Men.* 497–9 Astbury, Hor. *Epist.* 1.6.37, *Carm.* 3.24.35–50, *Sat.* 2.2.8–9, Ov. *Am.* 1.10.37–40, 3.8.55–6, Prop. 3.13.46–50, Sen. *Ep.* 115.10–12. Mart. 1.59.2, 2.13, Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.4, Juv. 14.218–9.

⁴⁵⁴ PARATORE (1933, Vol. 2, 43) has suggested Greek elegy, ARAGOSTI (1979, 108 n. 21), followed by PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 24), advocates mime or satire, CAHEN (1925, 45–6) and WALSH (1970, 88) link the poem with an upcoming tendency of using the elegiac couplets for moralising statements.

goes back to Homer's *Odyssey*. In contrast to the great models, in the case of Petronius it is not a Greek hero or a chaste heroine that is recognised but rather a number of thieves and fraudsters, or, more precisely, their stolen goods, as the tip of the tunic (*laciniam*, 12.6) and the cloak serve as means of identification.

Another motif that Petronius might have borrowed from the idealised romance is the mention of *fortuna*. According to Encolpius it is due to her favour that they managed to happen upon their lost tunic (*o lusum fortunae mirabilem*, 13.1).⁴⁵⁵ By contrast, elsewhere in the *Satyrical* (82.6, 100.3, 101.1, 102.1, 114.8, 125.2) she appears as a moody and fickle driving force.⁴⁵⁶ In the idealised romance we find her Greek equivalent, Τύχη, together with Eros, in charge of the plot. It should be highlighted with Aragosti (1979, 103) that the mention of *fortuna* can also be linked with New Comedy and the *Palliata*, where Tyche is a crucial driving force that favours recognition scenes and complications.⁴⁵⁷ This link appears plausible not least as it would strengthen the comic colouring of the episode noted above.

Finally, we find a pastiche of an erotic topos (amorous love conquests come too easy) applied to the recovery of the tunic at the concluding poem of this episode (15.9).⁴⁵⁸ Whereas Callimachus, Philodemus, Horace, and Ovid use the motif speaking about a human being, in Petronius our adventurers even go as far as to emphasise the importance of the recovered treasure by personifying it.

By contrast, there is no sustainable reason to interpret the episode on the whole as a Milesian Tale, since, as Lefèvre (1997b, 5–6) has stressed, all extant examples of the latter are of erotic content. Thus, they stand in contrast to the non-sexual content of the market episode.

5.3.4 QUARTILLA'S BROTHEL (16–26.6)

Without doubt the fourth episode is the most lacunose of an already fragmentarily preserved work. Not only does the sequence of the fragments as we have it remain questionable, but the position of the entire episode between the adventures at the market and the *Cena* is uncertain. This is the case not least because there seems to be

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. *fortuna me a turpissima suspicione dimiserat* (13.4), *casus adiuvit* (15.7).

⁴⁵⁶ On the concurrence of *fortuna* in the *Satyrical* cf. RIMELL (2002, 206 = appendix II).

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. for example Plaut. *Pseud.* 679–94.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. CITTI (1996), SETAIOLI (2011, 61–5).

no good reason to connect 16–26.6 with 12–5.⁴⁵⁹

In terms of hypertextuality, the episode falls into two parts. The introduction of Quartilla and her revelation of the sin committed by our adventurers is an epic parody of Aeneas' meeting with the Sybil in Vergil's *Aeneid*. It leads to the orgiastic event culminating in the wedding of Giton and Pannychis in the second part, which is a pastiche of a religious, ritual festival ordinarily associated with Venus, Ceres, and the Dea Dia generally, and perhaps a parody of a passage from Ovid's *Fasti* about the *festā Bacchi* (1.393–440) and Prop. 4.8 more specifically.

In both parts the grandiose, venerable, or sacred models have been debased by their application to dubious low-life protagonists and their association with the lower god Priapus, respectively, at times by means of enrichment and fusion with (perverted) erotic and elegiac, comic, or satirical motifs. Quartilla is introduced like a prophetess, but, in contrast to the Sybil, her main concern turns out to be her unsatisfied sexual desire rather than the future of Rome. The offence of the god and Quartilla's epic behaviour with religious flavouring are a mere mask she seems to have put on to disguise her actual motives. In the same vein, as is to be expected from an event in honour of the god Priapus, the *peruigilium* here is an extended promiscuous get-together with excessive drinking, which involves underage participants, a protagonist lacking potency, and a *cinaedus*, who even assumes the active role in the sexual act.

Our episode opens with the adventurers, whose dinner at their lodging is interrupted by some *audaci strepitu*. They barely manage to ask who is causing the noise when the door opens seemingly of its own accord giving way to a veiled woman, who is followed by the priestess Quartilla.⁴⁶⁰ Encolpius' interpretation that the bolt has fallen off *sua sponte* completely ignores the preceding event of the woman violently slamming against the *ostium*, an event he can only speculate about since he is inside the room. Rather, his view of the event must be read in line with his "mythomaniac" tendency displayed elsewhere. The motif of the door opening by

⁴⁵⁹ I agree with LEFÈVRE (2007, 164–5) that there is no good reason to connect the third and fourth episodes, and, thus, follow JACOBS and MÜLLER, who delete the phrase *illa scilicet [...] rustico steterat* (16.3) as a scribal interpolation to connect Psyche with the farmer's wife in the earlier episode (12.3, 14.5). Cf. COSCI in ARAGOSTI/COSCI/COTROZZI (1988, 48–9), SCHMELING (2011, 46–7); differently LABATE (2010, 48–59).

⁴⁶⁰ I am rather hesitant to identify the veiled maid (16.3) with the *ancilla Psyche* (20.2). This is not only because there are several women who are involved in this episode (cf. 19.4).

supernatural agency is all too familiar to the ancient reader, who can be expected to be prepared for the epiphany of some sort of deity or prophetess, from a number of literary texts.⁴⁶¹ In the eyes of Encolpius, the entering Quartilla is a second Sybil, who announces her prophecy after the doors open, while he is a second Aeneas.⁴⁶² An epic reading of the present episode is substantiated further by the fact that Quartilla's maid introduces her mistress with the words *ecce ipsa uenit* (16.4). This recalls Aeneas who meets the Sybil and her utterance at Verg. *Aen.* 6.46 (*deus, ecce, deus*).⁴⁶³

This reading of the opening of the scene as the pastiche of an epiphany of a superhuman being is substantiated further by the clear religious tone of Quartilla's words and her epic behaviour, which follow shortly after. For example, when speaking of the region as full of *praesentibus numinibus* (17.5) Quartilla uses an "awful religious expression"⁴⁶⁴ even though the content is anything but pious: there are so many gods and god-like forces in this area that one is more likely to run into a superhuman being than a mortal.⁴⁶⁵ Her close relation to religion is also highlighted by her involvement in some sort of *sacra* (16.3, 17.4, 17.8), which only at the very climax of her opening speech she will reveal to be connected to Priapus.

Quartilla's revelation as such, too, stands in line with that of the Sybil, insofar as both are, allegedly, linked to and inspired by a god. The priestess claims to have shown up at Encolpius' lodging to expiate the offence of Encolpius and his companions of disturbing the sacred rites (16.3, 17.4, 8, 18.3). The offence makes perfect sense in its religious context as presented by Quartilla, as other sources show.⁴⁶⁶ However, "the *scelus* is in fact not inexpiable, but the post and the pretence

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.81–2, Ov. *Met.* 3.699–700, Suet. *Iul.* 81.3, *Ner.* 46.2, *Vesp.* 23.4.

⁴⁶² PETRONE (1998, 95) also reads the reactions by Encolpius and his companions as epic: "pallidi, silenziosi, paralizzati come chi è colpito da un fulmine, e da un improvviso spavento, raggelati dalla paura".

⁴⁶³ At the same time *ecce*, being standard for character-entrance in drama, can be read as the first of several theatrical elements present in this episode that allow us to read parts of it, if not the whole of it, as a staged play.

⁴⁶⁴ SCHMELING (2011, 49). Cf. *OLD* s.v. *praesens* 3.

⁴⁶⁵ I do not see how this statement could be sustainably read as a "pregnant meaning", as carefully suggested by SCHMELING (2011, 49): "since the time of Julius Caesar the heavenly host had increased by five, and if the deified emperors or emperors with title Augustus already number five (plus wives?) an area might be said to be *plena numinibus*".

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Callim. *Hymn* 5.78 (Teiresias who sees Athena while bathing), Cic. *Har. resp.* 8. Whether *prudentialiam* (printed by MÜLLER) or *prouidentialiam* (MSS *rtip*), the expression must be read in a religious light. Moreover, I follow WALSH (1970, 90) and SCHMELING (2011, 50) in reading the offence by Encolpius as a potential allusion to Ov. *Tr.* 2.104–5 (*cur imprudenti cognita culpa*

of the priestess demand lofty rhetoric⁴⁶⁷: the further course of events shows that the woman uses this reason merely as a pretext to satisfy her sexual needs.⁴⁶⁸ Likewise, her gestures are somewhat exaggerated and out of place, unless they are interpreted as carried out by a priestess seeking sexual entertainment from a youthful sinner.⁴⁶⁹ Above all, it remains questionable why Priapus would punish Quartilla, who performed the rites, and not Encolpius and his companions, who wrongfully observed them.

It is in the light of Quartilla's unsatisfied human needs that we need to read her alleged attacks of tertian fever (*tertiana* [sc. *febris*]), i.e. malaria (17.7, 18.3, 19.2). Sexual intercourse seems to have been a recognised cure for fever in antiquity. In fact, she uses the term *remedium* twice (17.8, 19.2).⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, it appears fitting for a priestess of Priapus to demand this sort of expiation. In line with what has been observed above, there is reason to doubt that she actually had a dream, where Priapus ordered her to seek out for this kind of remedy (*medicinam somnio petii iussaque sum uos perquirere*, 17.7), and that she suffers from tertian fever.⁴⁷¹ Rather, Quartilla cunningly masks her desires under the guise of well-known ritual commonplaces: “the manner in which the god prescribes the cure (rather than instantly healing) conforms with ordinary practice: this was very much the way in which contemporary inscriptions at an Asclepeion would describe the god's intervention”⁴⁷². In other words, Quartilla, who feels the strong need to satisfy her sexual appetite, fully makes up the actual involvement of Priapus in the punishment and demand for expiation in

mihi? / inscius Actaeon uidit sine ueste Dianam). Another potential hypotext, which has not been adduced so far, is Prop. 4.9.24–6 (*lucus ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus, / femineae loca clausa deae fontesque piandos, / impune et nullis sacra resecta uiris*).

⁴⁶⁷ SCHMELING (2011, 50). Read *admitti* (19.2) with Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.9 (*et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus*) and Verg. *Aen.* 6.258–9 (*‘procul, o procul este, profani,’ / conclamat uates, ‘totoque absistite luco’*).

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. [*ancilla*:] *miratur* [sc. Quartilla] *quis deus iuuenes tam urbanos in suam regionem detulerit* (16.4). SCHMELING's (2011, 50) wording that Quartilla uses the offence as a “pretext of educational purposes of the cult of Priapus” appears inexplicable to me. Similarly, I find it far-fetched to read the scene as a parody of an ancient erotic handbook (*ibid.*).

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. her somewhat distorted gestures of a supplicant at 17.9 with KLEINKNECHT (1967, 189), SCHMELING (2011, 53), as well as her elegiac crying (17.1, 18.1) with Ov. *Ars am.* 2.711–2, *Am.* 3.14.32, *Fast.* 2.795.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Ach. Tat. 5.26.2, where Melite asks Clitophon to cure her from fever by getting intimate with her, 6.1.1, where Clitophon states that he healed her, Plin. *HN* 28.44, 83–4, Mart. 6.31, 11.71; DEROUX (2001). On *tertiana* cf., besides Plin. *HN* 28.83–4, also Celsus *Med.* 3.3.2.

⁴⁷¹ In the cases of Longus 3.17 and Heliod. 7.11 women are trying to seduce men by made-up dreams. Cf. also Lichas at 104.1 (*uidebatur mihi secundum quietem Priapus dicere*).

⁴⁷² KRAGELUND (1989, 446). Cf. also RANKIN (1969, 107).

this episode. “And since she wishes to keep up a guise of respectability, she claims that a god [...] ordered her to do what she is doing and to lessen her problems by the *monstrata subtilitate*”⁴⁷³.

Encolpius, Ascyltus, and Giton agree to cooperate with Quartilla without hesitation. Her swift change in attitude, from bursting into tears to pure determination, underlines that her initial moves were artificial and deliberately exaggerated to make sure that she would achieve her goals. The ironic description of her tears by the narrator as *ad ostentationem doloris paratas* (17.2) as well as his further comment *ut ergo tam ambitiosus detonuit imber* highlight this observation. On a superior level there might be an authorial allusion to the motif of faked tears used in moralistic and satirical literature as well as elegy to denote female hypocrisy.⁴⁷⁴ At the same time we can just as well read Quartilla’s reaction in line with the Sybil, whose frenzy ceases after having spoken, at Verg. *Aen.* 6.102 (*ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt*). Both Quartilla and the Sybil have revealed the will of the god, or at least they claim so. It goes without saying that the two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it appears advisable to combine the several interpretations into one and read Quartilla’s behaviour as unmasked as pseudo-epic by the narrator and further hinted at by the author.

In the first part of the Quartilla episode, Petronius has created an epic parody in several steps. Firstly, the lower god Priapus and his priestess Quartilla have replaced the Sybil and Apollo. The offence by our adventurers, too, is linked with Priapus, rather than angry Juno and tormenting Neptune. Finally, Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltus have replaced Aeneas and his comrades. Even though the participants involved are clearly out of place in an epic scene, they mimic epic behaviour in gesture and tone, thus creating an even greater gap between appropriate and assumed behaviour. The final step will be the actual expiation of an offence that Quartilla uses as a mere pretext to satisfy her sexual desire, in form of a perverted pseudo-ritual.

⁴⁷³ SCHMELING (2011, 52). He also rightly observes the euphemism *monstrata subtilitate lenire* for *coitus*. Cf. also PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 36). GAERTNER (2007, 75; cf. also 2003) phrases it excellently: “Quartilla beachtet zwar formal die Konventionen (einschließlich der sprachlichen Tabus), spielt und kokettiert aber gleichzeitig mit ihnen. Dies belegen auch die anderen oben aufgeführten Tabuumschreibungen, denn die gewählte, andeutende Sprache Quartillas steht stets in einem klaren Gegensatz zu ihren lasziven Vorschlägen und Handlungen und führt so permanent vor Augen, dass Quartillas Prüderie [...] bloß aufgesetzt und ihr Schamgefühl unecht ist”.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. for example Mart. 1.33.2, Juv. 6.273–5, Publilius *Sent.* 488.

Thus, even though the religious pastiche of the *peruigilium* belongs to the second part of the episode, it links neatly with the first part, as it stands in a causal relationship with it.

The promise by our adventurers not to divulge the sacred customs that they observed (18.3, repeated at 21.3) introduces the second part of the episode. The promise seems to be an insufficient solution to the priestess, who soon decides to take the lead. To her the adequate method of expiation is an extended promiscuous get-together, which she euphemistically labels a *peruigilium* (21.7).⁴⁷⁵ Contrarily to what we have here, however, a *peruigilium* was ordinarily associated with Venus, Ceres, and the Dea Dia, not with Priapus.

Encolpius' reaction to Quartilla's claim is one of surprise, and the way it is described confronts us with an intellectual joke: the narrator, when he states that Encolpius is *frigidior hieme Gallica* (19.3), may allude to his former self being frozen with fear before the enemy, while in the light of the following events a second meaning is that of "impotent, sexually frigid".⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, we can read the reaction as a form of epic shiver before a divine force in line with Encolpius' interpretation of Quartilla as a prophetess above and at the same time as a form of comic *stupor*.⁴⁷⁷

The orgiastic event stretches over the most fragmentary parts of the *Satyrica* (18.7–21.7) and becomes clearer after 22.1. In the fragments there is mention of an extended cast including three *mulierculae* (19.4), the *ancilla* Psyche, a *cinaedus* (21.2), and several *palaestritae* (21.4), as well as various items such as ribbons (20.4), a potion (*satyrium*, 20.7, 21.1), and plenty of wine (21.6).⁴⁷⁸ As far as we can tell, the second part of the episode with Quartilla seems to have been modelled after a passage from Ovid's *Fasti* about the *festa Bacchi* (1.393–440) and Prop. 4.8 –

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. OLD s.v. *peruigilium* 2 ("an all-night religious festival"). Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 64). On religious ritual elements present in the *peruigilium*, particularly at 20.2–4, cf. COTROZZI in ARAGOSTI/COSCI/COTROZZI (1988, 78–9).

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Petron. 20.2, 132.8 v. 5, Ov. *Am.* 2.1.5, 2.7.9; OLD s.v. *frigidus* 6b, 7. Scholars generally assume a hypertextual link between Encolpius' impotence and Ov. *Am.* 3.7; cf. DIMUNDO (2007), HALLETT (2012), HALLETT/HINDERMANN (2014, 306–9). The motif of male impotence appears also in Tib. 1.5.39–42, *Priapea* 83, and most frequently in Martial (for example in 3.75). On impotence in the *Satyrica* cf. also OBERMAYER (2003), CROGLIANO (2003).

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. for example Verg. *Aen.* 2.774, 3.48, 4.279–80, Ter. *An.* 256–7, *Ad.* 612; COTROZZI in ARAGOSTI/COSCI/COTROZZI (1988, 73).

⁴⁷⁸ OBERMAYER (1998, 323) claims that the *peruigilium* lasts for three days, even though there is no indication in the text that would substantiate this.

particularly the scene where thieves enter and devastate the room (22.3–5).⁴⁷⁹ Again, some details are strikingly unusual. For example, as Obermayer (1998, 201–3) has rightly observed, some roles have been changed: in the *Satyrice* the *cinaedus* assumes the active part and takes control, while Encolpius and Ascyltus are helpless, and, thus, appear passive.

This *cinaedus* is missing from the passages in Ovid and Propertius, but can be found in two other fragmentarily preserved texts that show close affinity to the *Satyrice*. On the one hand, we find an effeminate man who utters sotadeans in a “mock mystery ceremony”⁴⁸⁰ in the Iolaus fragment (P. Oxy. 3010), just like his Latin counterpart does at 23.3.⁴⁸¹ On the other hand, the face of the *cinaedus* painted white (*inter rugas malarum tantum erat cretae*, 23.5) reads as an antithesis to Ascyltus’ face painted black (*fuligo*, 22.1 with Juv. 2.93–5) and displays the same combination of black and white faces as in Lollianus (*Phoenicica fr.* B1v).⁴⁸² Furthermore, the setting, i.e. a promiscuous get-together, is the same, and the *cingulum* that the *cinaedus* wears remind us of the one worn by the sacrificing priest (*Phoenicica fr.* B1r).⁴⁸³

The climax of Quartilla’s *peruigilium* is the arranged wedding of Giton and Pannychis including her deflowering, which Encolpius is forced to watch through a key-hole along with Quartilla (25–26.6). As is the case with most protagonists in the *Satyrice*, the name Pannychis might have been chosen for a specific reason. In this case we have plenty of choice: “There was a historical Pannychis, concubine of Herod the Great (Josephus *BJ* 1.511); a comedy entitled *Pannychis*; an attendant of Aphrodite; one of the characters in Lucian *Dial. meret.* 9”⁴⁸⁴. Moreover, according to Priuli (1975, 51) there are at least twenty-four epigraphic attestations of the name in Rome. Most importantly, however, we know of a sacred all-night festival, given to Priapus, which is called *ἱερὰ παννυχίς* (*Anth. Pal.* 5.200.3–4), even though we do not know a lot about it. Given the clear sexual content of the “wedding”, which might be

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. the excellent analyses by SCHMELING (2011, 65–6) for Ov. *Fast.*, HALLETT (2003, 337–41), HALLETT/HINDERMANN (2014, 300–5) for Prop. 4.8.

⁴⁸⁰ SCHMELING (2011, 69).

⁴⁸¹ Cf. PARSONS (1971, 65), ASTBURY (1977), BETTINI (1982, 85–92), STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 358–62), COURTNEY (2001, 22–3), SCHMELING (2011, 68–9), SETAIOLI (2011, 75–81). See also section 6.

⁴⁸² It is noteworthy that in Juvenal, the man mentioned immediately after drinks from a *uitreo* [...] *priapo* (2.95), which due to its erotic connotation adds another link to the episode in Petronius.

⁴⁸³ Cf. SANDY (1979, 374).

⁴⁸⁴ SCHMELING (2011, 75).

easily linked with Priapus, it is safe to say that what we have in the *Satyrice* is a protagonist named Pannychis at a festival called παννυχίς.

Regarding the *nuptiae* themselves, little needs to be added to the excellent analyses by Panayotakis (1995, 49) and Schmeling (2011, 78–9). If we compare the scene with that of a real wedding, based on the details provided by Blümner (1911, 355–8) and Treggiari (1991, 161–71), we soon realise that a number of features has been distorted or perverted: I shall limit myself to highlighting that an *embasicoetas* and drunk women (26.2) celebrate the marriage of a sixteen-year-old boy and an allegedly (*uidebatur*, 25.2) seven-year-old girl, who were introduced to each other moments ago.⁴⁸⁵ Whether or not we are supposed to read the light-hearted wedding scene as a mockery of Nero’s serious *nuptiae* as a bride to Pythagoras (Tac. *Ann.* 15.37.9) or as a bridegroom to Sporus or Doryphorus (Suet. *Ner.* 28–9) depends to some extent on the dating of the work and, even if we dated Petronius to Neronian times, remains open to subjective interpretation.

The end of the scene, and of the episode as a whole, as we have it, is marked by the application of the otherwise elegiac motif of the *amator exclusus*.⁴⁸⁶ Of the seven variable ingredients Copley (1956) has identified in his general study of the motif, in the case of 26.3–5 #7 (lover’s vigilance at the locked door) is explicitly stated, while #2 (repulse at the door), #3 (lover’s lament), #4 (drunkenness), and #5 (garland left at the door) can be inferred.⁴⁸⁷ However, Petronius does not generically apply these features. Rather, he has disfigured several details almost beyond recognition: we have two *amatores exclusi*, of which one has deliberately locked herself out, and two *inclusi*, as well as a key-hole that allows those who are outside to observe the action that is taking place inside. Finally, at least two out of the four *amatores* are bisexual, and none of them are averse to promiscuity.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 79: “The marriage ritual at first glance seems almost traditional, but when we remember the context and the individuals involved, the travesty is paramount”). In GENETTE’S terminology, we are here rather in the realms of a pastiche: imitation of a general marriage setting with modified participants.

We here perhaps have an allusion to Aristoph. *Thesm.* 480, where Mnesilochus in disguise pretends to have lost his virginity at the age of seven. According to Juvenal (14.25–30) the minimum age to get married is 12. On the topic of deflowering in the ancient romance cf. SCHMELING (2011, 74–5 with further references).

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. SCHMELING (1971a, 338–9).

⁴⁸⁷ (#2) Encolpius being pushed out of the room by Quartilla is perhaps left out in an implicit narrative ellipsis; (#3) earlier Encolpius voiced his concerns (25.2–3); (#4) Falernian wine has been drunk en masse (*inundamur*, 21.6); (#5) the scenery has been decorated nicely (26.1). (#1) the lover passing through the streets and (#6) verses written at the doorway are missing.

From a non-hypertextual viewpoint, in the second part of the Quartilla episode Petronius has created a religious pastiche of a ritual by creating a *peruigilium* for the lower god Priapus that culminates in the pastiche of a wedding ceremony. From a hypertextual viewpoint, he has created a parody by applying the potential hypotexts (Ov. *Fast.* 1.393–440, Prop. 4.8) to low-life protagonists, fusing them with comic or parodic hypotexts, or distorting them in various other ways.

In the fourth episode of the extant *Satyrিকা* overall, on the level of the protagonists, mainly Quartilla and Encolpius, we have a religious scene with epic flavour. Sacred rites have been disrupted, the god has announced a cure, and a ritual is performed under the lead of the priestess-turned-prophetess. The narrator Encolpius has recognised Quartilla's epic posturing as artificial only sometime after the occurrence of the events and before the time of his narration and highlights this by a number of ironic comments. The author Petronius has added further details that assist the recipient in interpreting the present scene as a perverted form of religious rites and sacred cults. The widely sublime content of the episode is set in sharp contrast to a number of overwhelming inferior factors, including the appearance of a *cinaedus*, who even assumes an active role, protagonists, who are unable to perform satisfactorily, the seemingly normal deflowering of a young virgin girl, and the overall connection with the god Priapus rather than Asclepius or the like.

Moreover, a great number of theatrical elements allow us to read parts of the episode, if not the whole of it, as a staged play. Such factors include the appearance of the maid, a stock character in both comedy and tragedy, shrill laughter (18.4, 7, 19.1, 20.6–8, 24.5, 25.1), clapping of hands, and cracking joints (17.3, 18.7, 20.6, 23.2, 24.2), as well as maid's exclamation *ecce* to indicate Quartilla's entrance, which is standard for character-entrance in drama.⁴⁸⁸

However, two restrictions need to be applied. Firstly, even though it cannot be negated that theatrical elements appear in this episode, they should not be stressed too firmly. For example, the division of the maid's speech into self-introduction, reason for appearance, announcement of the entrance of a new character, and with-

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. *nam etiam complodere manus scaenicum est* (Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.123); *ut appellant scaenici, morae [...] infringere articulis* (Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.158); PRESTON (1915, 268), BETTINI (1982, 88–9), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 37–42), SCHMELING (2011, 47, 54–5, 68).

drawal is rather obvious, as it is her narrative function to prepare Encolpius and the others for Quartilla's arrival. It is therefore not necessary to connect this with the maid's speech in Plautine prologues.

Secondly, if we want to read the episode as a whole as a mime, it would be wrong to assume that it is Quartilla, and not the author Petronius directly, who is staging the play. As has been analysed above, she aims at disguising her actual desire under the pretext of performing sacred rites in order to appease an offended god, which she announces in a manner reminiscent, both in tone and in setting, of great epic models. If she was to stage a mime, this would blow up her own carefully constructed façade. Rather, it is the author Petronius, who turns the already existing parody or pastiche that emerges from the contrast between sublime content with distorted details and inferior context, into even more obvious ones by adding theatrical elements. While Quartilla thinks she is able to keep up her religious posturing, Petronius makes sure that the reader will see below the surface.

5.3.5 DINNER AT TRIMALCHIO'S (26.7–78)

5.3.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since modern scholarship has turned its attention to Petronius, the *Cena* has been the best-investigated episode. This is not just because it is the only more or less fully preserved episode, but also due to the fact that the setting is non-elite. “[T]he *Cena* inverts the usual cultural perspective”⁴⁸⁹ by focusing on the opinions and values of freedmen, their obsession with eating and drinking abundantly and unrestrained pleasure. In the words of Perkins (2005, 147):

“This emphasis on bodily materiality undoubtedly plays a part in the text's inversion of elite values, for Graeco-Roman hierarchy was erected upon and maintained through a sustained privileging of the mind/soul/spirit and a rejection of the material”.

The inversion, that makes of the *Cena* a pastiche of Graeco-Roman cultural norms, is based on the central role of ex-slaves, who not only host and attend the dinner, but also dominate it. In this setting, those who are expected to speak, i.e. the *scholastici*, remain silent for the most part, while those who are not formally educated speak freely. Agamemnon gets a chance to speak only once (48.5), after Trimalchio expresses his wish to hear about the topic of the rhetor's declamation.⁴⁹⁰ Even in this

⁴⁸⁹ PERKINS (2005, 146).

⁴⁹⁰ GIANOTTI (2009, 88) aptly calls the *Cena* a “*mundus inversus*”.

case Trimalchio interrupts him quickly. Echion at 46.1 mocks Agamemnon’s silence upon assuming that the *scholastici* laugh about the freedmen’s discussions (*pauperorum uerba derides*). Likewise, it is in light of the hierarchy turned upside-down that we need to read Hermeros’ lengthy attack on Ascyllus and Giton (57–8). We can also notice the inversion from the fact that the *scholastici* flatter the dinner host primarily because they hope to get invited back for another free meal (52.7). The socially higher-standing are no more than opportunist parasites in this upside-down world.⁴⁹¹

For our hypertextual analysis of the story of *Satyrica*, the episode of the *Cena* is particularly interesting for two reasons. Firstly, on a macrolevel the hypertext here reads like a group of several great hypotexts that have been combined into one episode (section 5.3.5.2). For this episode, Petronius has transformed and joined together most prominently Vergil’s *Aeneid*, Plato’s *Symposium*, and Horace’s *Cena Nasidieni* (*Sat.* 2.8). Moreover, a number of scenes recall passages from Seneca’s philosophical treatises.⁴⁹² Not least because of the length of the episode, it is reasonable to structure the discussion of this hypertextual material around the various authors that Petronius might have used rather than the narrative or chronological sequence of events in the *Satyrica*.

This combination of Seneca, Vergil, Horace, and Plato, however, alone would not result in a non-elite setting that inverts elite values like that of the *Cena*. This observation leads us to the second intriguing hypertextual factor (section 5.3.5.3), I shall call these hypotexts “debasement”, in contrast to Plato and others, which have been “debased”. What makes of this episode a pastiche of Graeco-Roman cultural norms and a parody of several combined (great) hypotexts is the application of one further hypotext: Martial’s *Epigrams* in general and his dinner at Zoilus’ (3.82) in particular, and the combination with folkloric motifs in two specific scenes. To our previous means of distorting, or even downgrading, great hypotexts – namely, the replacement of great models with low-life or inauthentic protagonists, and the fusion with low genres such as comedy and mime – we may, then, add this technique of

⁴⁹¹ Cf. JENSSON (2004, 49).

⁴⁹² Other hypotexts that have been suggested include Theophrastus’ *Characters* and Homer’s *Iliad*; cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 238–9), WALSH (1970, 133–5), GLOCK (2004), GROSSARDT (2009), YPSILANTI (2010). On a potential hypertextual connection between the *Satyrica* and the *Apocolocyntosis* cf. BAGNANI (1954a, 80–2), ALTAMURA (1959, 48–54), PASCHALIS (2009). Finally, HOLMES (2008) has argued for a parody of Plato’s *Phaedo*.

combining a (great) hypotext with recognisable motifs from folklore. A fourth method of distortion, which I have excluded from my investigation, is the choice of Vulgar Latin, which has been thoroughly discussed in many scholarly contributions.⁴⁹³ The lines between these four narrative techniques of imitating or transforming (great) models are not clear-cut and overlap to some extent.

To the discussion of the specific hypertextual features of the *Cena* I shall add one further section (5.3.5.4) that focuses on those allegedly non-hypertextual, historical motifs that have been used to date the *Satyrice* that I did not cover in section 5.2.5, namely customs and crazes. I have arranged the discussion of these motifs based on the narrative sequence in which the narrator mentions them. For this segment I am interested in the cumulative results of all the details investigated.

5.3.5.2 DEBASED HYPOTEXTS

5.3.5.2.1 SENECA

Together with the hypertextual relationship between Petronius and Lucan, the links between Petronius and Seneca have long been one of the favourite topics in scholarship on the *Satyrice*. This is mainly because, starting with Sullivan (1968a; 1968b) and Rose (1971), the allegedly strong presence of Senecan material in Petronius has recurrently been used as a piece of evidence for a “Neronian feud” at the emperor’s court and, by consequence, as confirmation for the correctness for the Neronian date of the *Satyrice*. I shall return to this “Neronian feud” in section 7.

Of the abundance of links between the *Cena*, mainly in the protagonist of Trimalchio, and Seneca’s prose writings that scholars have furnished, only a few are sufficiently close and specific enough to Seneca to merit further discussion.⁴⁹⁴ Apart from the potential connection between Trimalchio and Seneca’s Maecenas and the interpretation of allegedly non-philosophical Trimalchian utterances and traits that resemble material from Seneca’s writings that I investigated in section 5.2.5, there

⁴⁹³ For example, for elements of *Volkssprache* in Niceros’ narrative cf. BLÄNSDORF (1990, esp. 201–6), SALANITRO (1998, 161, 166).

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. for example SULLIVAN (1968a; 1968b, *passim*; 1985a, 1682–5 = 1986b, 173–7), ROSE (1971, 69–74, esp. 73–4), AMAT (1992). In fact, already COLLIGNON (1892, 291–303) demonstrated persuasively that many traces of an allegedly Stoic doctrine in the *Satyrice* are commonplaces – ROSE (1971, 69–74) acknowledges this at several points in his discussion. Cf. for example the moralistic condemnation of an excessive level of luxury, which appears frequently in ancient philosophical and non-philosophical texts alike. FRÖHLKE (1977, 61–9) has come to a similar conclusion in his discussion of Petron. 88.

are two more instances where a link between Petronius and the *Epistulae Morales* appears more or less plausible.

Firstly, the freedman Trimalchio resembles Calvisius Sabinus, a man who had both the inheritance and the character of a freedman, in both his incredible wealth and his treatment of myths (*Ep.* 27.5–8).⁴⁹⁵ While Trimalchio claims to possess a cup that shows how Cassandra kills her children and another one with Daedalus shutting Niobe in the Trojan Horse (52.1–2) and later presents a distorted version of the Trojan myth (59.4–7), Calvisius, Seneca claims, at one point forgot the name of Ulysses, and at another that of Achilles or Priam (*Ep.* 27.5).

Secondly, Trimalchio's mock funeral towards the end of the *Cena* resembles those of Pacuvius (reign of Tiberius) and Turannius (reign of Caligula) in Seneca both in terms of the general theme and a number of specific details:

‘putate uos’ ait ‘ad parentalia mea inuitatos esse’. ibat res ad summam nauseam, cum Trimalchio ebrietate turpissima grauissimum nouum acroama, cornicines, in triclinium iussit adduci, fultusque ceruicalibus multis extendit se supra torum extremum et ‘fingite me’ inquit ‘mortuum esse. dicite aliquid belli’ (78.4–5)

“I want you to think you’ve been invited to my wake.” The thing was becoming absolutely sickening, when Trimalchio, showing the effects of his disgusting drunkenness, had a fresh entertainment brought into the dining-room, some cornet players. Propped up on a lot of cushions, he stretched out along the edge of the couch and said: “Pretend I’m dead and say something nice”.

Pacuvius [...] cum uino et illis funebribus epulis sibi parentauerat, sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena, ut inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur: βεβίωται, βεβίωται (*Ep.* 12.8)

Pacuvius [...] used to hold funeral ceremonies for himself, with wine and the ritual meal. After dinner he would have himself carried to bed as his catamites clapped their hands and chanted in Greek, to the accompaniment of instruments, “Life is done! Life is done!” (Translation: Graver/Long 2015)

S. Turannius [...] componi se in lecto et uelut exanimem a circumstante familia plangi iussit. Lugebat domus otium domini (*Brev.* 20.3)

S. Turannius [...] ordered himself to be laid out on his bed and to be mourned by the assembled household as if he were dead. The whole house bemoaned the leisure of its old master (Translation: Basore 1932)

In all three cases we must bear in mind the possibility that we might be dealing

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. BAGNANI (1954b, 87), SULLIVAN (1968b, 129–32), SCHMELING (2002, 160). By contrast, BALDWIN (1981, 136–7) rejects any link arguing that the motif in Petronius is not specifically Senecan.

with wide-spread anecdotes. Even though some specific details from the *Cena* appear to recall others in the *Epistulae Morales*, none of the three passages show any obvious linguistic links. Apart from the verb *iubere*, which we can hardly be surprised to find in the accounts of a *pater familias* and a tyrannical dinner host, there are no close verbal resemblances. Even if we accept all three instances as Petronian allusions to Seneca, I do not see how we could sustainably speak of a strong Senecan presence in the *Satyrice* that would hint at a literary feud between the two authors.

5.3.5.2.2 PLATO

Plato's *Symposium* and the *Cena* share a number of features at first sight.⁴⁹⁶ For every main protagonist in the *Cena* we can find an equivalent in the Platonic hypotext:

“Each group has its nostalgic defender of religious tradition (Phaedrus, *Symp.* 178a–180b; Ganymede, Petr. 44); each has its cynical advocate of moral indifference (the sophist Pausanias, *Symp.* 180c–185c; the pleader Phileros, whose name explicitly recalls the topic of discussion at Agathon's table, Petr. 43); and each has its pedantic purveyor of pseudo-scientific medical wisdom (the doctor Eryximachus, *Symp.* 185e–188e; Seleucus, Petr. 42).⁴⁹⁷

Furthermore, Aristodemus, who has been invited to the dinner at Agathon's by Socrates, has been replaced by Encolpius, who has been invited to the dinner at Trimalchio's by Agamemnon.⁴⁹⁸ The duo Agamemnon and Trimalchio, in turn, is a parody of Socrates and Agathon: Agamemnon's discussion with Trimalchio (48.4–7) is the reversal of Socrates' interrogation of Agathon (*Symp.* 199c–201c).⁴⁹⁹ The glorious Platonic philosopher is in Petronius no more than an opportunist and hypocrite.

Further structural links emerge towards the end of the *Cena*. Habinnas' late arrival (65.3–5) mirrors that of Alcibiades in Plato (212d–e):

“Where Alcibiades had leaned on a flute-girl, Habinnas is supported by his formidable and vulgar wife Scintilla; Alcibiades was garlanded with ivy and violets, whereas Habinnas' head is dripping with unsavoury oils; Alcibiades' first words were to apologise for his drunken state, Habinnas' to shout for more wine (a motif which comes only

⁴⁹⁶ My discussion of the hypertextual links between the *Cena* and the *Symposium* is based on the analyses of CAMERON (1969), DUPONT (1977, 77–9), BESSONE (1993), CUCCHIARELLI (1996), BODEL (1999, 39–40), MORGAN (2009, 38–9).

⁴⁹⁷ BODEL (1999, 40).

⁴⁹⁸ Both are dinner guests and later narrators of the events. Read further 26.8–10 with Pl. *Symp.* 174a.

⁴⁹⁹ For further links between Socrates and Agamemnon cf. BESSONE (1993, 73–7, esp. 76 n. 34).

later in the Alcibiades scene–213e); Alcibiades gracefully asked whether he might come in, whereas Habinnas walks straight to the best seat. Where Alcibiades was modest, Habinnas is overbearing”.⁵⁰⁰

Eventually, not long after Habinnas’ and Alcibiades’ arrivals the dinners of Trimalchio and Agathon will come to an end, as firemen (78.7) and revellers (*Symp.* 223b), respectively, enter.

A closer look, however, reveals that almost all details have been altered and transformed. Low-life or dubious protagonists, flatterers and parasites, pseudo-philosophical monologues and great emphasis on food, money, spectacles, and death serve as means of distortion and degradation of the Platonic model in Petronius. The question of a potential literary providence of this parodic aspect, i.e. the low-life setting and inversion of elite values, shall not concern us for the moment. I shall return to this below (section 5.3.5.3).

For Plato the dinner setting serves primarily as a reason as to why his philosophizing guests have come together. Indeed, the *Symposium* is not about food and entertainment, but rather about the philosophical dialogue among the dinner guests about the nature of love. By contrast, in the *Cena* the dialogue has been reduced to a monologue from Trimalchio, who occasionally addresses one guest or another. Even the freedmen’s speeches in his absence (41.10–46.8) read more like five individual monologues than a discussion. In Petronius the main topics are death, money, and food. The insignificance of dialogue is due to the fact that Trimalchio’s dinner really is about food and spectacle. Not surprisingly, in a meal that serves primarily as an opportunity for the host to boast and show off, where he himself makes clear that he has an aversion to philosophers (56.7, 71.12), we can find no more than pseudo-philosophical platitudes. Whereas in Plato the guests hold back from drinking excessively (*Symp.* 176), drinking appears as one of the key elements of Trimalchio’s dinner.

5.3.5.2.3 HORACE

Both structural and verbal links allow us to interpret Horace’s Dinner at

⁵⁰⁰ CAMERON (1969, 368; further structural similarities are discussed on 368–9). Cf. also CUCCHIARELLI (1996, with further reference on 737 n. 1).

Nasidienus' (*Sat.* 2.8) as one of the hypotexts for Petronius' *Cena*.⁵⁰¹ Bodel (1994, 39) has discussed these:

“Like Nasidienus, Trimalchio is a social upstart whose culinary extravagances, designed to impress, elicit only scorn from a more sophisticated narrator. Both hosts dominate the conversation with banal commentary on food served (Hor. 2.8.44–53, Petr. 39); both favour surprise dishes (Hor. 2.8.26–30, Petr. 33.4–8, 69.8–70.3) and offer a variety of fine wines (Hor. 2.8.16f., Petr. 34.6–8, 48.1); both suffer an unexpected mishap in the staging of their gastronomical spectacles (Hor. 2.8.54–58, the collapse of an awning; Petr. 53.11–55, the fall of an acrobat); both leave the table temporarily, to the relief of their guests (Hor. 2.8.76–78, Petr. 41.9); both dissolve into tears (Hor. 2.8.58f., Petr. 72.1). The excess of both cause their guests, at first, to suppress laughter (Hor. 2.8.63f., Petr. 47.7), then to lose appetite (Hor. 2.8.92f., Petr. 69.7), and finally flee the scene (Hor. 2.8.93–95, Petr. 78.8). In the *Satyrica* the rhetorician Agamemnon fills the role of Maecenas, the cultivated guest at Nasidienus' table; Encolpius and his companion Ascyltus play Vibidius and Servilius Balatro, the uninvited ‘shadows’ (*umbrae* [Hor. 2.8.22])”.

Little needs to be added to Bodel's list: there are verbal links between the dish of *garum piperatum currebat super pisces, qui quasi in euripo natabant* (36.3) and *squillas inter murena natantis* (2.8.42), *garo de sucis piscis Hiberi* (2.8.46), *pipere albo* (8.2.49), and both Nasidienus and Trimalchio are called *beati* (2.8.1; *tanta est animi beatitudo*, 38.5). Moreover, the passage of the slaves collecting leftovers at 34.3 recalls a passage of similar content in Horace (2.8.10–3).

However, the *Cena* is not a straightforward copy of Hor. *Sat.* 2.8. Rather, Petronius emulates and goes beyond his model. The main protagonist and dinner host is now a freedman, so are the majority of his guests. Not least due to the length of the episode, Trimalchio serves more food and provides more spectacles than his Horatian counterpart. Moreover, as Panayotakis (2009, 51) has rightly observed, “the motifs of death, superstition, and morbidity are not as clearly pronounced in Horace's poem as they are in Petronius's narrative”. These and other folkloric motifs that I shall discuss in more detail in section 5.3.5.3.2 accompany the introduction of freedmen and the non-elite setting.

Even though in this case the hypotext does not belong to a grand genre such as epic or tragedy, nor is as serious as a philosophical treatise, Petronius still manages to debase it. He creates a parody of Horace *Sat.* 2.8 by replacing the host Nasidienus

⁵⁰¹ Links between the two dinners have been analysed by, among others, RÉVAY (1922), SULLIVAN (1968b, 126–8), WALSH (1970, 38–40) RODRIGUEZ (1981), COCCIA (1993), BODEL (1994, 39), PANAYOTAKIS (2009, 50–1).

with a newly rich freedman and his guests with *liberti*, by means of inserting and stressing folkloric motifs such as death and superstition,⁵⁰² and by choosing a ludic rather than satirical or aggressive tone. Furthermore, in the *Cena*, in contrast to Hor. *Sat.* 2.8, the uneducated parvenus, including the host Trimalchio, triumph over the *scholastici*.⁵⁰³

5.3.5.2.4 VERGIL

There are a number of allusions to Aeneas' κατάβασις throughout the *Cena*. The presence of these suggests that we should read Encolpius' visit as a re-run of Aeneas' descent into the underworld from Verg. *Aen.* 6.⁵⁰⁴ However, in contrast to the *Aeneid*, the descent into the under- or, perhaps, otherworld in Petronius is not connected to any divine reasoning, as it only serves for Trimalchio to boast and show off and for Encolpius, Agamemnon, Ascyllus, and Giton to indulge in a free meal. As elsewhere in the hypertext, here, too, not much is left of the heroic, grandiose nature of the epic model, even though our adventurers are as much out of place in the company of freedmen as is Aeneas in the realm of the souls of the dead. We might well expect any reader who spotted the hypertextual link to laugh at the transformation that Aeneas has undergone.

At first, a Cerberus-like dog welcomes the protagonists at the entrance of Trimalchio's house (29.1–2). To the other protagonists' amusement Encolpius tumbles back and almost breaks his legs. *collecto spiritu*, he carries on scrutinizing the further wall-paintings depicting Trimalchio's biography from his early years as a slave until his arrival in Rome (29.3–6). The scene of the visitors admiring the host's biography takes us back to *Aen.* 6.9–36, where Aeneas and his companions, having arrived at the temple of Apollo, gaze at the temple gates.⁵⁰⁵ Just as in the *Aeneid* the depiction of the Minoan labyrinth on the gates anticipates Aeneas' descent into the maze of the underworld,⁵⁰⁶ so Trimalchio's wall-paintings anticipate the κατάβασις

⁵⁰² On folkloric motifs in the freedmen's discourses cf. SALANITRO (1989) and section 5.3.5.3.2.

⁵⁰³ Cf. CONTE (1996, 123–31).

⁵⁰⁴ With the sole exception of COURTNEY (1987), who links the motif of the κατάβασις with the *Menippea*, scholars unanimously agree that *Aen.* 6 is one of the parodied hypotexts in the *Cena*. Cf. for example VOGT-SPIRA (2002, 198).

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. COURTNEY (1987, 408–9), BODEL (1994, 238–9), CHANDLER (2005, 331–2), HOLZBERG (2005, 37).

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. FITZGERALD (1984, 53–4).

of the protagonists in the *Satyrica*.

At 72.5 our adventurers decide not to follow the group of freedmen into the bath. As they reach the door under Giton's guidance, a chained, barking dog unexpectedly welcomes them. Ascyltus is terrified of the creature and ends up falling into the swimming pool. Encolpius, trying to save him, finds himself in the same situation shortly after. The *atriensis* turns up and saves the two adventurers, while Giton calms the dog down. We might notice that a number of further Vergilian parallels are at play here.⁵⁰⁷ The *atriensis* who helps Encolpius and Ascyltus is to be identified with Vergil's Charon, and his comment (72.10) recalls the Sybil's statement about leaving the underworld and Aeneas' burdensome ascent into the real world (*Aen.* 6.125–9). In fact, both Encolpius and Aeneas emerge by an exit different from the one they entered through. We are then supposed to read the *piscina*, which the *atriensis* is close to, as the Vergilian Acheron; both are referred to as *gurgēs* (72.7; *Aen.* 6.296). The doorman pulls the adventurers out of the *gurgēs*, as Charon ships souls over Acheron. Furthermore, both the dog in Petronius and Cerberus prevent egress.⁵⁰⁸ Finally, the moment when Giton quietens the dog by throwing food at him recalls the calming of Cerberus at *Aen.* 6.417–23.

Upon hearing the message of the *atriensis* that they cannot leave by the same door through which they entered, Encolpius will cry out: *quid faciamus homines miserimi et noui generis labyrintho inclusi [...]*? (73.1). The motif of the labyrinth was already previously activated when Trimalchio explained that he named his chef after Daedalus due to his ability to create dishes from different ingredients (70.2). The name Daedalus recalls the designer of the doors of the Apollo temple at Cumae (*Aen.* 6.9–36) and the Minoan labyrinth.⁵⁰⁹

Subsequently, Trimalchio and his guests move to the baths. Whereas the break feels like torture to the protagonist Encolpius (73.2–3), the freedman guests take pleasure in various games (73.4–5). As Newton (1982, 317–8) rightly observes, these *ludi* remind us of those that Aeneas observes when he approaches the Elysian Fields (*Aen.* 6.642–59), even though the singing choruses in the *Aeneid* have been turned

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. for example NEWTON (1982, 316–7), COURTNEY (1987, 408–9; 2001, 117), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 106), RIMELL (2002, 24 n. 20; 2007, 129–30).

⁵⁰⁸ This is not explicitly mentioned in Vergil, who might well be taking the recipient's knowledge of this for granted, but in a number of earlier and later authors, including Hesiod (*Theog.* 770–3), Tibullus (1.3.71–2), Seneca (*HF* 782–3), Statius (*Theb.* 4.486–7). Cf. LEARY (2000, 313–4).

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. BODEL (1994, 238).

into screaming ones in the *Satyrica* and the souls that move their *membra* in the grass are now freedmen who try to bend in odd positions.

Furthermore, we can find two literal reuses of Vergilian material in the *Cena*. Since in neither of the cases do the protagonists who are quoting from the *Aeneid*, Trimalchio and Habinnas' slave, seem to be hiding that they are using a classical author, we are dealing with quotes rather than instances of plagiarism. These quotes are two of the very few instances in the *Satyrica* where the hypertext is, at the same time, an intertext, in Genette's use of the terms.

At 39.3 Trimalchio advises his guests not to underestimate his quality as a host by hastily assuming that he would not be serving any more food. To substantiate his claim that one is supposed to be learned even when dining (*oportet etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse*), he quotes Laocoön's warning that the Trojans should not gullibly fall for Odysseus' trickery (*sic notus Ulixes?*, *Aen.* 2.44). Reading the hypertext here against the background of its hypotext creates a humorous effect: in our case Trimalchio is both Laocoön warning about the Greeks and the treacherous Odysseus at the same time, and the impending danger of death by bringing the wooden horse into Troy has become another course of lavish food that is about to be carried into the dining room.

Towards the end of the *Cena* the slave at Habinnas' feet sings, or rather yells, *Aen.* 5.1 (*interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat*, 68.4). The narrator protests that he never heard a more gruelling sound and finds the *errans barbaria*, the alternating volume, and the mixture of Vergil with verses from the *Atellana* offensive. His protest, however, stands in sharp contrast to Habinnas' proud claim that the slave was not formally educated. Habinnas claims to have left the slave with street musicians. In our literary assessment of matters of hypertextuality this scene stands out: even though it is only one out of many scenes where a grandiose, in this case epic, model is combined with a low model, in this case comedy, it is most often Encolpius who is at least partly responsible for the clash. 68.4 is the only instance where the readers do not need to make an effort to spot the collision between two models, because Encolpius has already explicitly done so for them.

5.3.5.3 DEBASING HYPOTEXTS

5.3.5.3.1 MARTIAL (AND JUVENAL?)

There is one hypotext in particular that might have inspired Petronius to introduce freedmen and parasites as protagonists of his dinner episode. In section 5.2 I already touched upon a dinner narrative that comes too close to the *Cena* episode to be completely independent from it. It is now time both to discuss these links, namely between Zoilus', aka Malchio's (Mart. 3.82.32), dinner in Mart. 3.82 and Trimalchio's in Petronius that Colton (1982), Fusi (2008, 282–92), and others have spotted, and also to highlight a number of further motifs that appear both in the *Cena* and Martial's *Epigrams* other than 3.82. These links, then, of which some have already been observed by Collignon (1892, 391–5) and Martin (2000, 146–7), make the already unlikely interpretation that Petronius' and Martial's works are independent from one another practically untenable.

For our dating question there is one factor that we must draw our attention to: while Martial frequently mentions both his sources and earlier and contemporary authors (among others Homer, Sappho, Callimachus, Cicero, Catullus, Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, Silius, and even Pliny the Younger), there is no reference to the author Petronius or the *Satyrica* in all of Martial.⁵¹⁰ As discussed previously, however, it must be borne in mind that prose fiction, especially erotic stories, might not have enjoyed much prestige among serious intellectuals. It is perhaps for this reason that Martial might have been reluctant to explicitly list Petronius among his sources.

Martial attacks, ridicules, and targets a person named Zoilus time and again in his work (for example 2.16, 19, 3.29, 4.77, 5.79, 6.91, 11.12, 30, 12.54). The latter makes his most prominent appearance in 3.82, where he hosts a dinner. The similarities between the dinner host in Martial and Trimalchio in name (Malchio vs. Trimalchio), social rank (both are freedmen), and behaviour are too striking to be dismissed as a product of pure coincidence: for example, one thinks of their specific position on the couch (Mart. 3.82.5–7; Petron. 32.1, 78.5) and the fact that neither of them sits on the place reserved for the host,⁵¹¹ the toothpicks (Mart. 3.82.8–9; Petron. 33.1), the Opimian wine (Mart. 3.82.24–5; Petron. 34.6) and their drunkenness (Mart. 3.82.29; Petron. 52.8, 73.3, 78.5), the clicking of their fingers as a sign for the

⁵¹⁰ Cf. HENDERSON (2010, 493).

⁵¹¹ Cf. FUSI (2008, 284).

eunuch to appear as they need to urinate (Mart. 3.82.15–17; Petron. 27.5)⁵¹² and the fact that they do not interrupt their activity, drinking and playing, respectively, while urinating, and the prominence of the colour green (Mart. 3.82.5, 11; Trimalchio's favourite colour apart from red: Petron. 27.2, 28.8, 64.6, 67.4), that are some of the most obvious common patterns between the two passages.⁵¹³ The most obvious link, of course, can be found in Mart. 3.82.32, where the speaker is infuriated by the arrogance of the host, whom he calls Malchio.

In Martial we can also find a number of other motifs, which we also encounter in Petronius. I shall here discuss only three of the most significant links between the two authors.

Trimalchio's cook Daedalus is so skilled that he can make lavish dishes out of a pig, a fish out of sow's belly, a pigeon out of bacon, a turtledove out of ham, and a chicken out of pork (70.1–2). His precursor might be Caecilius, the Atreus of pumpkins (*Atreus Caecilius cucurbitarum*, Mart. 11.31.1).⁵¹⁴ Caecilius, after having cut the pumpkin into a thousand pieces, serves it in the hors d'œuvre, again in the first and second courses, and will finally make savouries out of it. Among other things, his pumpkins imitate mushrooms and sausages. Whereas both Caecilius and Daedalus manage to create meals that resemble some sort of food but consist of others, only Daedalus has brought his profession to perfection, since he can allegedly create any dish out of any sort of food.

Secondly, Trimalchio's explanation that he prefers glass over bronze since it does not smell (50.7) might take us back to Martial: at 5.59.11 he makes a joke of the belief that a connoisseur could identify Corinthian bronze by its smell.

Finally, it is significant that the word *paropsis* (or *parapsis*) for "a dish serving vegetables, fruits, etc." (*OLD* s.v. *paropsis*) does not appear in any Latin text outside of Petronius (34.2, 50.6) until the end of the first century (Mart. 11.27.5, 31.18).⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² Cf. also 6.89.1–2, 14.119.

⁵¹³ Other links between Zoilus and Trimalchio, such as their superstition (Mart. 2.16; for Trimalchio see section 5.3.5.4) and lavish litter (Mart. 2.81; Petron. 28.4), can be observed outside of 3.82, even though these are less compelling, as the motifs are not specific to the two freedmen. Further links and verbal echoes between Trimalchio in the *Satyrica* and Zoilus in 3.82 are discussed in COLTON (1982).

⁵¹⁴ Cf. SALANITRO (2007, 313).

⁵¹⁵ Cf. also Juv. 3.142, Suet. *Galb.* 12.3; PAOLI (1937, 27–8).

Whereas hypertextual links between Horace and Martial on the one hand and Petronius on the other are most obvious and hardly deniable, hypertextual links between the *Cena* and Juvenal's Dinner at Virro's (*Sat.* 5) remain hypothetical and sporadic. Apart from the appearance of the carver (*Sat.* 5.120–1; Petron. 36.5) and Virro's appellation as "king" (*rex*, *Sat.* 5.14, 130, 137, 161) that reminds us of Trimalchio, "Three times king", there seems to be no sustainable reason to connect the two texts. In fact, the two dinners are fundamentally different: while Virro tortures his guests with food of inferior quality,⁵¹⁶ Trimalchio stuffs his guests with lavish meals *ad nauseam*. The facts that both meals are extraordinary and serve the purpose of boasting the hosts' wealth seem not to be exclusive to Juvenal and Petronius, as the evidence from the dinners in Horace and Martial indicate. Furthermore, there are no specific linguistic or thematic overlaps in the served meals.

5.3.5.3.2 FOLKLORE

Apart from the strong presence of the motifs of death and superstition in the *Cena* generally, there are two specific scenes where the application of folkloric motifs is particularly obvious: Niceros' werewolf narrative (61–2) and Trimalchio's myth of the Sybil in the bottle (48.8).

The motif of the man who turns into a wolf is more widespread and perhaps even older than the Latin language itself.⁵¹⁷ Apart from the subject itself, a man's transformation into a wolf, there are a number of folkloric details in Niceros' metadiegetic werewolf narrative: the soldier's strength (*fortis tamquam Orcus*, 62.2) implies that he has a connection with the other world; at the time between midnight and the first cock-crow (62.3) the border between the world and the other world ceases to exist; the location of the graveyard (62.4), i.e. near the other world, also hints at a connection with the other world; stripping off and urinating, i.e. drawing a magic circle, around his clothes (62.5–6) enable the soldier's transformation into a wolf; urinating around his clothes also makes them turn into stone, which is necessary, since he can return to his state of man only if takes his clothes back; and finally the wound (*collum eius traiecit*, 62.11), which stops the magic power.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ So does the host at Plin. *Ep.* 2.6.2–3.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. THOMPSON's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* s.v. D103 and BUXTON (1988). According to Pompon. 2.1.14, werewolves exist among the Neuri in South-West Russia.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. SCHUSTER (1930, 149–78), BORGHINI (1982, esp. 168–9), PÀROLI (1986), ADAMIK (1993, 153–4), D'AUTILIA (2003).

There can be no doubt that both the uneducated and the sophisticated reader will have recognized the folkloric nature of Niceros' story. Yet, what we were promised in the first place was not a folktale but rather Vergilian epic: the freedman opens his narrative with the dactylic *haec ubi dicta dedit* (61.5), a phrase found commonly in the *Aeneid* (2.790, 6.628, 7.323, 471, 8.541, 10.633, 12.81, 441).⁵¹⁹ Indeed, Niceros' werewolf narrative reads somewhat like a folkloric version of Aeneas in the underworld.⁵²⁰ The setting of the graveyard reminds us of the underworld, and the phrase *gladium tamen strinxi et †matauitatau† umbras cecidi* (62.9) recalls *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum / Aeneas strictamque aciem uenientibus offert* (*Aen.* 6.290–1) and the *tenuis sine copore uitas* (6.292) that Aeneas tries to fight (*et frustra ferro diuerberet umbras*, 6.294). Furthermore, the name of Niceros' beloved, Melissa, recalls Dido's appellative Elissa (*Aen.* 4.335, 610).⁵²¹

There is good reason to doubt that Niceros, or the uneducated reader of the *Satyrica*, would notice that he presents to us an folkloric epic parody with himself as “una grottesca caricatura dell'Enea virgiliano”⁵²². Surely, to the erudite reader, by contrast, this intellectually amusing account must have been all the funnier.

A similar fusion of folktale and epic makes the charm of Trimalchio's version of the myth of the Sybil.⁵²³

nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis uidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent: Σίβυλλα, τί θέλεις; respondebat illa: ἀποθανεῖν θέλω. (48.8)

In fact, I actually saw with my own eyes the Sybil at Cumae dangling in a bottle, and when the children asked her in Greek: “What do you want, Sybil?” she used to answer: “I want to die.”

At *Met.* 14.146–53, Ovid narrates the myth of the Sybil, who, after having been granted a wish by Apollo, asks for eternal life, yet forgets to add that the god stop the aging process as well. As a consequence, the prophetess is granted eternal life, but grows older and shrinks progressively.

Many years have passed since the mythical past and by the time Trimalchio claims

⁵¹⁹ Cf. SMITH (175, 170), SLATER (1990b, 74), SALANITRO (1998, 157), DIMUNDO in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 83), DIMUNDO (2005, 137).

⁵²⁰ Cf. PLAZA (2001, 83), HOLZBERG (2005, 41–2).

⁵²¹ Cf. DIMUNDO in FEDELI/DIMUNDO (1988, 84), VOGT-SPIRA (2002, 199), DIMUNDO (2005, 137).

⁵²² DIMUNDO (2005, 137).

⁵²³ Cf. SCHWAZER (2015).

to have visited her, the Sybil has almost fully disappeared. In Petronius she is no longer the venerable propheticess from Vergil, and instead of answering questions about the visitors' future she is now mocked by *pueri*, who ask about her own future.⁵²⁴ One of the most decisive differences between the Ovidian and even Vergilian versions on the one hand and Trimalchio's account on the other is the location where the Sybil is to be found. She no longer stays in a cave, but rather in a bottle. The motif of shrinking to the size of actually fitting, and eventually ending up, in some form of container is a widespread folkloric motif.⁵²⁵ The fusion of the myth of the Sybil with folktale is found also outside the *Satyrical*. In the third-century *Liber Memorialis*, (8.16), Ampelius reports a similar version, where the Sybil is said to be enclosed in an iron cage (*sed et Herculis aedes antiqua; ibi columna pendet cauea ferrea rotunda in qua conclusa Sibylla dicitur*).

5.3.5.4 NON-HYPertextual MOTIFS

Several customs and crazes, of which we find traces during the dinner, are recorded elsewhere in literary texts and historical sources. I shall here only discuss those customs and crazes that have been used in scholarship to the date the *Satyrical*.

Firstly, Trimalchio is reported to keep a mottled magpie (28.9) at the front door, which greets the entering guests. The trend of keeping a talking bird is attested for Agrippina in Pliny (*HN* 10.120), who calls the *pica uaria* a novelty.⁵²⁶ There are no extant sources about the continuation of this craze after Martial (14.76). Of course, this and other reported crazes may have continued to be followed, but might not have been mentioned any longer in literary sources due to their decreasing novelty.

Secondly, Trimalchio's superstitious gestures (30.6, 32.3, 74.1–5, 76.10–77.2) are otherwise reported in literary sources that date from the first century BC (Vitruvius) to the late first century CE (Pliny the Elder).⁵²⁷

Thirdly, Juvenal (5.120–4, 11.136–44) mentions the fashion of carving to music

⁵²⁴ The question by the *pueri* (τί θέλεις;) recalls Apollo's question in Ovid ("elige" ait, "uirgo Cumaea, quid optes", *Met.* 14.135). Cf. SCHWAZER (2015, 412).

⁵²⁵ Cf. THOMPSON's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* s.v. D2177.1–3, N339.17; SCHWAZER (2015, 413–4 with further references).

⁵²⁶ *HN* 10.78, 118–20. At 10.141 Pliny mentions the price of 6,000 HS for a speaking bird. Cf. also *Pers. Prol.* 8–9; MARMORALE (1948, 87–8), ROSE (1971, 28), SCHMELING (2011, 94).

⁵²⁷ On superstition in the *Satyrical* cf. GRONDONA (1980), PETERSMANN (1995), OLSHAUSEN (2007, 24), SCHMELING (2015).

that can be found also in the *Cena* (36.5–8). Earlier Seneca (*Ep.* 47, esp. 47.6) empathized with servants who are forced to perform various lavish and uncommon tasks.

Finally, Encolpius the narrator describes the practice of having the guests' feet perfumed and toenails cut as an unfamiliar custom (*inauditus mos*, 70.8). A number of scholars have pointed out that, according to Pliny (*HN* 13.22), Otho introduced this practice to Nero's court.⁵²⁸ That Encolpius has not heard of this custom so far does not necessarily mean that the future emperor Otho only shortly prior to the narrated time introduced the custom to Nero and it is thus still unfamiliar to the crowd. Rather, it shows that this custom is unknown to Encolpius, which does not mean much. The unreliability of Encolpius with regard to novelties generally is highlighted by the fact that he also calls the two eunuchs *res nouas* (27.3), even though they are attested already for Maecenas (*Sen. Ep.* 114.6).

On the basis of the evidence I do not see how we could sustainably speak of Neronian customs and crazes. The sources for historically-attested phenomena date either partly to Neronian, partly to non-Neronian times or even to different centuries, as do the customs and crazes which they report. Thus, the appearance of certain customs and crazes in the *Cena* hardly contributes positively to our dating question. If Petronius draws on historical, perhaps contemporary phenomena, those of which we find traces in the extant parts of the work are widespread over too long a time period to cast light on the date of composition of the *Satyrice*.

5.3.5.5 FOOD FOR THOUGHT

With regard to the parodic nature of this episode I shall end my discussion of the story of the *Cena* with a few words of caution for any reader attempting to interpret this episode.

The setting of our main protagonist, who finds himself as a parasite in a world with an inverted hierarchy, allows for different, to some extent subjective, interpretations of the episode. For our interpretation of the *Cena* it is crucial to bear in mind that, as elsewhere, here, too, we perceive the world through the eyes of Encolpius. In

⁵²⁸ Cf. ROSE (1971, 24), SMITH (1975, 193–4), COURTNEY (2001, 8), SCHMELING (2011, 288). It remains unclear from Pliny's account in which year Otho introduced this custom, as Nero posted him to Lusitania in Spain in 58 CE and he eventually returned after Nero's death (*Tac. Ann.* 13.46). This, however, does not preclude the possibility that Otho visited Nero in Rome at some point in the meantime.

contrast to the other episodes, however, our (internal) focalisation is suddenly that of a protagonist who now belongs to the non-elite, since values and the social structural patterns have been turned upside down. In the later scenes at Croton, Circe might think that Encolpius is a slave (126.5), yet the reader will know better: Encolpius is merely assuming the servile role that Eumolpus has assigned to him in his mimic performance (117.4–11). By contrast, at Trimalchio's Encolpius really is socially lower-standing, because he is not a (former) slave. For us readers, this means that if Trimalchio behaves inappropriately according to the norms of the Roman elite, he might be acting appropriately in the setting of the *Cena*. Applying elite norms to and expecting elite values from protagonists that appear in an episode that takes place in a non-elite setting in the first place bears the risk of potentially assessing anything that Trimalchio and his fellow *liberti* do as improper.

It is crucial to bear this socially inverted setting and the narrative matters of focalisation in mind at all times, when we wish to assess both protagonists and their actions during the *Cena*. Is the joke really on the freedmen, who in their own upside-down world behave (perhaps deliberately?) “inappropriately”, insofar as they indulge in excess consuming more food than their bodies manage to digest only to show off their wealth?⁵²⁹ Or is Petronius here mocking the intruders who fail to live up to what the Roman elite would expect from people in their position, i.e. those who remain silent even though we would expect them to speak, who applaud the spectacles in the hope of getting as many free meals as possible, who, finally, lie at table gaping unable to decipher Trimalchio's tricks despite their learnedness?⁵³⁰

Our answer might depend on our assessment of the potential reader of the *Satyrica*. We might expect a wealthy freedman to laugh at Agamemnon rather than Trimalchio, whereas a Roman knight might rather feel inclined to despise Hermeros. If we wish to believe that the reader was a member of the Roman elite and assume *a priori* that the joke is on (the) freedmen, we cannot but ask ourselves why Encolpius is not any more hostile towards the *liberti* at the dinner than he is towards other

⁵²⁹ Cf. for example WALSH's (1970, 111–28) ample discussion of the “vulgarity and buffoonery” (124) displayed by Trimalchio and his fellow freedmen in the *Cena*, which he interprets as main ingredients of their “satirical portrayal” (ibid.) by the author Petronius. SULLIVAN (1968b) has argued in a similar vein.

⁵³⁰ Cf. RIMELL (2007, 123–4; cf. also 2002, 46–8) in her discussion of Trimalchio's distorted myth versions: “Yet we shouldn't be too quick to laugh down Trimalchio's buffoonish ‘confusions’ [...] Equally, we might read Trimalchio's ‘mistakes’ as a provocative gag, an attempt to take his role as deceptive and manipulative ‘author’ of the *Cena* to an extreme”.

protagonists.⁵³¹ After all, from a social point of view, he is no more foreign to Trimalchio's world than Nero and his court would have been. In fact, Encolpius seems to be genuinely fascinated by the lavish meals, which he describes in detail, at first; his mood swings only after he is forced to carry on eating against his will even though he can take in no more. As Goldman (2008a, 58) has rightly observed, the narrator even uses the verb *uibrare* for the freedmen's discourses, which carries positive connotations elsewhere.⁵³²

As elsewhere in this thesis, I do not wish to provide clear answers on how to read scenes from the *Satyrical*, but rather to offer and explore the various interpretations that appear sustainable in view of the various narrative factors in play. Even though it has been almost unanimously advocated in scholarship on Petronius that the author is here ridiculing those who have most commonly been labelled "unlearned" and "pretentious",⁵³³ I hope to have shown that this is no more than one out of several possible interpretations, particularly if we look at various narrative factors from different angles.

5.3.6 ENCOLPIUS IS JILTED AND ROBBED (79–82)

Despite its brevity the sixth episode displays the highest density of heroic models assumed by the protagonists. At no other point in the plot does Encolpius swing from one model to another so readily, appearing to envisage himself as an Achilles when he was a Theseus a moment ago, only to become Aeneas in an instant.⁵³⁴ Because we are here dealing with widespread myths, it is in most cases impossible to identify which text or texts have served as the hypotext(s).

Besides investigating the potential hypotexts for epic or tragic gestures and postures and the ways in which these have been distorted and/or debased, I shall draw attention to a number of passages where the hypotexts appear to belong to genres

⁵³¹ Cf. for example the narrator's assessment of Giton's laughter as *indecenter* (58.1).

⁵³² Cicero uses *uibrare* for Demosthenes (*Orat.* 70.234) and Hortensius (*Brut.* 326), Quintilian for Archilochus whom he recommends (*Inst.* 10.1.60).

It is quite possible, of course, that Encolpius is being ironic here in his use of *uibrare*. See section 4.3.2 and the reference to JENSSON's (2004, 50 n. 120) list of a number of passages where we might be able to trace the narrator's ironic tendency in his way of referring to freedmen at the dinner.

⁵³³ Cf. otherwise RIMELL (2002, 46–7).

⁵³⁴ Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 110), who speaks of "one of the most remarkable examples of this theatrical role-playing, in which one can note the rapid alternation of literary *personae*". Cf. also MAZZILLI's (2006) excellent analyses of the extremely rich hypertextual texture of this episode and the rapid manner in which Petronius moves from one hypotext to the other.

other than epic and tragedy. We can roughly divide them into three groups. Because one of the two core scenes of this episode is the fight of Encolpius and Ascyltus over their lover Giton, we can observe that Petronius has applied a number of erotic and elegiac motifs in this episode. Secondly, we can identify several intrahypertextual motifs. Finally, reading Ascyltus' "rape" of Giton at night as a parody of Pliny the Younger's account of Larcius Macedo might hint at a second-century date of composition of the *Satyrica*.

The episode opens with our adventurers escaping from Trimalchio's place in search of their lodging. The hassle of laboriously walking through streets that are in a bad condition at night not only reminds us of similar passages in Juvenal (3.269–88) and Martial (8.75.1–4) but it also takes us back to the opening of the second extant episode (in daytime).⁵³⁵ However, one detail has changed: whereas previously both Encolpius and Ascyltus ended up in a brothel due to their inability to find the place on their own, this time Giton is with them. Resembling the considerate Ariadne (Catull. 64. 112–5, he previously marked the way back home (79.4)).⁵³⁶ Reading Giton as a second Ariadne is particularly interesting since, as we shall soon find out, the boy even surpasses his mythical model. Whereas both Giton and Ariadne are prudent, Giton, in contrast to Ariadne, is also cunning, rather than naive. He will be the one to abandon his Theseus.

Upon returning to the lodging, our adventurers find themselves locked out. Petronius activates our genre expectations by the application of the *amator exclusus* motif. Not least because the scene takes us back to earlier scenes of attempted lovemaking at the adventurers' lodging, we are able to recognise the potentially elegiac notion, even though we here have a slightly distorted form – three *amatores exclusi* waiting outside an empty room.⁵³⁷ We assume that our adventurers would be left with no choice but to wait in vain and that therefore no romantic love scene of

⁵³⁵ Cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 1). CURRIE (1993, here 92) reads the opening as "a contrast between the calmness of night (with Latin *nox erat* or *nox erat, et* as a very common introduction) and the restless worry of lovers, soldiers or others" and lists, among others, Dido at Verg. *Aen.* 4.522 and Medea at Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.744–824 as examples. I am uncertain as to the extent to which we are able to label the setting in Petronius idyllic or "calm".

⁵³⁶ Cf. Mazzilli (2006, 61–2), MAKOWSKI (2012, 226).

⁵³⁷ I here carefully speak of a "potentially elegiac notion", as the *exclusus amator* is found also in drama. Since the phrase itself comes from Lucretius (4.1177), who died before Propertius' first book was published, the motif is probably rather widespread and not simply elegiac.

reunion inside the chamber was possible,⁵³⁸ when Petronius unexpectedly has Trimalchio's *tabellarius* appear and break the door (79.6). Not only does this move reverse the potentially elegiac generic model that Petronius has just set up, as now an encounter is indeed on the cards, but it also takes us back to the end of the *Cena* and is thus intrahypertextual. As Habermehl (2006, 5–6), following Fedeli (1981b, 108), has rightly stressed, in both cases someone appearing unexpectedly rescues our adventurers by violently breaking the door.⁵³⁹

The encounter between Giton and Encolpius that happens inside the chamber thereafter is recorded in a poem in Phalaecean hendecasyllables (79.8), which, not least because of its content, can be located within the elegiac tradition.⁵⁴⁰ Most tellingly, at first glance we meet several motifs found at 79.8 also in Prop. 2.15: in both cases there is mention of the night and bed (vv. 1–2, Prop. 2.15.1–2), united lovers (v. 2, Prop. 2.14.4, 25), and the apotheosis of the gratified lover (vv. 4–5, Prop. 2.15.39–40). More critical scrutiny, however, reveals that these motives are widespread in erotic and elegiac poetry in general and, thus, not limited to Propertius. For example, elegiac poets commonly use *torus* (v. 2).⁵⁴¹ Therefore, the scene reads as a pastiche of erotic or elegiac literature in general rather than a specific parody of Prop. 2.15.

Finally, the inevitable happens: according to the narrator Ascyllus takes Giton away from Encolpius during the night.⁵⁴² We here might have a literal allusion, perhaps by the narrator, to the story of Larcus Macedo, as reported by Pliny the Younger: Giton pretending not to hear or feel Ascyllus' assault reminds us of the parvenu Macedo, who, after having been beaten up brutally by his slaves, is either dead or acting as if he were. The phrase *siue non sentiente siue dissimulante* (79.9) recalls Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.2 (*Ille siue quia non sentiebat, siue quia se non sentire*

⁵³⁸ The motif of the *amator exclusus* here, spotted by HABERMEHL (2006, 5), is missing from SCHMELING's (1971) list of its recurrences in the *Satyrica*. See section 5.3.4.

⁵³⁹ By contrast, the similarities with 72.10 (the *atriensis* rescuing Encolpius and Giton after they plunged into the swimming pool) are less convincing, since the latter passage lacks the common feature of the door.

⁵⁴⁰ On the ironic discrepancy between the poem and its following prose section cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 133–4).

⁵⁴¹ Cf. Tib. 1.2.58, Prop. 1.3.12, Ovid *Ars am.* 2.712, Mart. 8.77.6. We also find it at 132.15 v. 6, 134.9, 139.1. Cf. SETAIOLI (2011, 134–6) for further examples.

⁵⁴² We should not forget that this is Encolpius' view of the events, who is sleeping at the time when this happens. We cannot exclude the possibility that Giton moves freely and of his own accord to Ascyllus' bed.

simulabat, immobilis et extentus fidem peractae mortis impleuit). By alluding to the scene in Pliny, the narrator aims at whitewashing Giton. Both Macedo and Giton, in order not to take (further) damage, pretend not to notice what is happening to them. The ironic discrepancy between the two scenes, and thus parody of Pliny, emerges from the improbability that Ascylltus could take the boy away from his rival and move him to his own bed without waking him up. While Macedo's life is in danger, Giton's is only in the eyes of Encolpius. Since Giton will soon opt for the intruder and against his partner, the extent of discomfort he is going through remains questionable. His rationale, revealed at 91.8, will show that he is no less calculating than the boy of Pergamon, who gives in to the temptation only in the hope of being rewarded for it (85–7).

Starting with Encolpius' awakening alone in bed, the myth of Theseus and Ariadne unfolds differently from what we have in the literary sources: in the *Satyrica* we have Theseus (Encolpius) waking up and finding himself, to his great surprise, abandoned by his Ariadne (Giton). There is the possibility to read Encolpius' *pertractaui gaudio despoliatum torum* (79.10), with Marino (1996, 156) and Courtney (2001, 128), with Ariadne's reported awakening in *Ov. Her.* 10.7–14, 51–4. However, since we are dealing with a widespread myth and because there seem to be no specific linguistic overlaps except the noun *torus*, which is common in elegiac texts, I am hesitant to speak of a parody of the specific hypotext from Ovid.

Encolpius jumps up and catches Giton with Ascylltus in the act (79.9). Filled with *furor* he goes on to contemplate stabbing his rival. A number of epic and tragic hypotexts come into question for a pattern of behaviour that might be no more than the stereotypical move, and thus pastiche, of a mythical hero whose honour has been violated.⁵⁴³ The iambic trimeter of Encolpius' expression *somnumque morti iungerem* might be a meta-theatrical, authorial hint at the fact that the protagonist is (still) “acting” in the role of Theseus, or indicate that the potential hypotext is tragic.

⁵⁴³ Cf. *Ov. Met.* 6.242–7 (Phaedimus and Tantalus speared by an arrow), *Sen. Ag.* 199–201 (killing of two men with a sword at once), *Phoen.* 475–6 (Jocasta in between Eteocles und Polyneices), *Ps-Sen. Oct.* 121–2 (Octavia and her brother being stabbed together). The epic overtone may already be present at *solutus mero* (79.9), which reminds Panayotakis (1995, 111) of Verg. *Aen.* 2.265, as Encolpius resembles Troy “buried in sleep and wine” before the invasion of the Greeks (*inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam*).

The scene unfolds with both rivals arming for the fight for the prey, i.e. Giton.⁵⁴⁴ Even though there is no reason to doubt that Ascyltus draws a real sword (*at ille gladium parricidalis manu strinxit*, 80.1), it is highly likely that Petronius here creates one more instance that is open to *double entendre*. In both other passages where there is talk of Ascyltus' sword (9.5, 91.8) we can read the weapon as an erotic metaphor. For 80.1 this would mean that both Ascyltus and Encolpius, who is still impotent at this stage of the plot, show off their virility, and Giton opts for the rival. This reading is particularly intriguing if we bear in mind that Giton will later state that he decided to go with the “stronger” of the two (*cum duos armatos uiderem, ad fortiorem confugi*, 91.8).

In order to prevent an awful end, Giton steps in and with the gesture of a supplicant (*genua cum fletu*, 80.3)⁵⁴⁵ asks the two adversaries not to trigger a Theban battle (*petebatque suppliciter ne Thebanum par humilis taberna spectaret neque sanguine mutuo pollueremus familiaritatis clarissimae sacra*). It must be established from the outset that the line is reported in indirect discourse, as Schmeling (1994–1995, 213) has emphasised. This should make us alert and nourish doubts on whether Giton actually phrased his plea in the way in which the narrator reports it. This distinction is of relevance insofar as we have no evidence elsewhere as to call Giton “mythomaniac”. At 9.5 (Tarquin and Lucretia) Giton reports Ascyltus' mythical role-playing in direct discourse and elsewhere he follows heroic roles on Encolpius' request (97.4).

The *Thebanum par* (80.3), as has long been noted, is an allusion to the Theban brothers Eteocles and Polynices known to us most famously from tragedy and Statius' epic.⁵⁴⁶ In our case the specific hypotext seems to be Sen. *Phoen.*, where Jocasta jumps in between the two brothers to prevent the fight (443–77, esp. 443: *in me arma et ignes uertite: in me omnis ruat*, 454–7).⁵⁴⁷ Jocasta's move and utterance in the Senecan tragic scene resemble those of Giton closely and are part of the real

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. *manubias* (79.12), *praeda* (80.1), *ad proeliandum* (80.2), *praemio* (80.8), *sarcinulas* (81.1); *intorto circa brachium pallio* (80.2) with Caes. *BCiv.* 1.75.3, Livy 25.16.21, Vell. Pat. 2.3.1, Tac. *Hist.* 5.22.2; HERTER (1975, 452–4), HABERMEHL (2006, 17).

⁵⁴⁵ The gesture can also be found at 17.9 and is known to us from Hom. *Il.* 20.463–5, 24.477–9, *Od.* 6.310–1, Livy 25.7.1, Verg. *Aen.* 3.607, Sen. *Controv.* 9.4.1.

⁵⁴⁶ Aesch. *Sept.*, Eur. *Phoen.*, Sen. *Phoen.*, Stat. *Theb.* We also find it in the idealised romance (Heliod. 6.15.4, 7.4.4–7.8.1). Cf. FLOBERT (2006, 436).

⁵⁴⁷ Hecuba at Eur. *Hec.* 382–443, esp. 382–8, 563–5, Livy's Sabine women (1.13.1–4), Nisus at Verg. *Aen.* 9.427–30, Eurylaos' mother at 493–4, and Lucan's Cato (2.306–319) act in a similar manner. Cf. LA PENNA (1994), SCHMELING (2011, 337), MAKOWSKI (2012, 227).

Thebanum par.

The author creates an intellectual parody by means of two specific features. On the one hand, we here have a semantic play with the two meanings of *frater*: Eteocles and Polynices are brothers, Encolpius and Ascyltus former lovers. Moreover, if we read Giton as Jocasta, we have an Oedipal scene of two men desiring their mother. On the other hand, in the words of Schmeling (2011, 336):

“The humour of the scene stems in part from a stylistically sophisticated narrative (polished, rhythmic sentences full of literary allusions) used to describe disreputable (not strong enough to be evil) characters who are subject to wide mood swings of excitement, despair, suffering, and laughter – all in a few lines”.

The tragic hypotext is distorted, or indeed debased, further by the change of location: we are not on a tragic stage or in a heroic battle in mythical Greece, but in a *humilis taberna* (80.3).

Encolpius' incapacity of interpreting his environment through realistic lenses emerges from his idealistic perception of his relationship with Giton as *pignus* (80.6), which is inspired by elegiac language.⁵⁴⁸ Yet, Giton will not decide like the elegiac lover Encolpius expects him to. Rather, he will resemble the epic heroine Medea at Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.627–31: both Giton and Medea unexpectedly (3.630) decide against the familiar (Encolpius and Medea's family, respectively) in favour of the foreign (Ascyltus, Jason). Shared linguistic and structural patterns leave no doubt that Apollonius functioned as the hypotext for Petronius for this passage.⁵⁴⁹ Thus, we are again dealing with a parody.

A poem on false friendship rounds off the scene.⁵⁵⁰ Even though the motif of friends leaving as *fortuna* disappears is attested frequently from Pind. *Isthm.* 2.11 up to Plin. *Ep.* 9.9.1 and is a common motif in all genres across tragedy, comedy, oratory, epistolography, poetry, and historiography,⁵⁵¹ I agree with Labate (1995b, 173–4), followed by Sommariva (2003, 286–91) and others, that the hypotexts for the poem come from Ovid's poetry.⁵⁵² At several points the Augustan poet either

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Prop. 3.20.17, 4.11.73, Ov. *Ars am.* 2.248, *Her.* 11.113.

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. LABATE (1995b, 167–8), HABERMEHL (2006, 22).

⁵⁵⁰ On the question of whether the two poems at 80.9 should be connected cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 24–6), SCHMELING (2011, 338), SETAIOLI (2011, 141–6); for their narrative context CONTE (1996, 82), SOMMARIVA (2003).

⁵⁵¹ Cf. the further references in HABERMEHL (2006, 26), SCHMELING (2011, 339).

⁵⁵² Furthermore, as SLATER (1990a) has drawn attention to, *uultum seruat is amici* (v. 3) echoes *risum teneatis, amici* (Hor. *Ars P.* 5).

remembers calculating friends or warns against false friends (*Tr.* 1.5.25–30, 8.15–6, 9.5–6, *Pont.* 2.3.7–28, 3.2, esp. vv. 7–24, 43, 100). Most tellingly, Ovid also warns against false friends, who take away one’s lover (*Ars am.* 1.739–54, esp. 740: *nomen amicitia est, nomen inane fides*). If we read the allusion to Ovid on the levels of the protagonist or the narrator, Encolpius, too, has figured out Ascylltus’ intentions. This is substantiated by the second half of the poem (or the second poem, depending on whether we read 80.9 as one or two poems): Ascylltus, having achieved his goal of conquering Giton, no longer keeps up the role he was playing.

For our hypertextual discussion of the first part of the sixth episode it is important to observe that the scene is particularly funny only if we are able to recognize its hypertextual nature. The amusing and intellectually appealing aspect of the scene emerges from the fact that on the one hand Encolpius unjustifiably mimics heroic gestures and styles himself as a mythical hero, and on the other hand Giton, rather than behaving like the elegiac lover Encolpius expects him to be, appears to have learnt from the myth of Ariadne and thus evades her lamentable fate. He will behave like Apollonios’ Medea. In contrast to the scenes from the eighth extant episode that I shall examine in section 5.3.8, the first half of the sixth episode is thus funny mainly for the knowledgeable reader – the same phenomenon can be observed for the second half of the episode that I shall discuss below. Therefore, in this case the ambiguity that is caused by the fact that a hypertext can be read both independently from and against the background of its hypotext(s) is significant.

The second part of the sixth episode opens with Encolpius’ soliloquy at the sea-shore (*locum secretum et proximum litori*, 81.1). The choice of location in view of the specific circumstances – Encolpius’ rival has stripped him of his beloved one and harmed his feelings and perhaps also his “heroic” honour – allows us to identify Achilles, who prays to his mother Thetis after Agamemnon’s removal of Briseis (Hom. *Il.* 1.348–51), as Encolpius’ model.⁵⁵³ The protagonist’s intention of appearing like a hero emerges also from his outcry *me non ruina terra potuit haurire?* (81.3), which is known to us from a number of epic texts and tragedies.⁵⁵⁴

The general theme of the lament and the location, however, are not enough for

⁵⁵³ Cf. WALSH (1970, 36–7), PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 115), CONTE (1996, 1–2), HABERMEHL (2006, 32).

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.182, 6.281–2, Eur. *Suppl.* 829, Verg. *Aen.* 4.24–5, 10.675–6, 12.883–4, Sen. *Phae.* 1238–9, *Oed.* 868–70.

Encolpius to establish himself as a second Achilles for the reader. At least one other mythical model who laments her fate at the seashore comes to mind: after having been abandoned by Theseus, Ariadne finds herself on the shore of Dia (Catull. 64.124–201, *Ov. Her.* 10). In fact, Encolpius' situation is closer to that of Ariadne than to Achilles', not least because the latter laments his fate to his mother who then replies to her son, while Ariadne's soliloquy, like that of Encolpius, will remain unanswered. Encolpius might wish to be a second Achilles, but Petronius makes him look rather like a second Ariadne.

A closer look at the individual components of Encolpius' soliloquy reveals further models on the authorial level. Of these, the most striking hypotext is Medea's letter in Ovid's *Heroides*. Just like Medea, Encolpius, too, reveals to us his list of sins and mentions his misery in exile (Petron. 81.3; *Her.* 12.109–16), the lover's betrayal (Petron. 81.5; *Her.* 12.159–74), and ponders about revenge (Petron. 81.6; *Her.* 12.175–82).⁵⁵⁵ It will emerge at the end of the episode why it is particularly relevant that two of the main mythical models that the author appears to be insinuating by his arrangement are Medea and Ariadne.

The content can also be linked with the idealised romance, where, upon finding themselves in a state of despair, the protagonists often recall past misfortunes.⁵⁵⁶ Funnily enough, in our case it is the lover himself who caused this type of misfortune to his partner.

There are two elements at play here that lead to the debasement of the great hypotexts and thus to the creation of a pastiche of the myth of Ariadne and perhaps the idealised romance and a parody of Medea's letter in Ovid's *Heroides*. As elsewhere, the models have been degraded by their application to our dubious, surely unheroic protagonists, in this case to Encolpius. Furthermore, Encolpius' soliloquy not only links with the hypotext and sources just listed, but it reminds us also of the comic soliloquy, such as Palaestra's at Plaut. *Rud.* 185–219.⁵⁵⁷ Petronius has here created a pastiche and parody in one *par excellence*, as the grandiose model is debased by its

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. MARINO (1996, 158–161), HABERMEHL (2006, 32–3). MAZZILLI (2006) also thinks of Euripides' *Medea* and Catull. 64 as hypotexts and interprets Encolpius' *proclamabam* (81.2) as a metanarrative term for theatrical roleplay that takes us back to Medea's appearance on stage at Eur. *Med.* 214.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Char. 3.6.6, 4.4.9, 5.5.2, Ach. Tat. 5.18.4, Heliod. 2.4.1–2, 5.6, 6.7.3–4; HÄGG (1971, 245–87, esp. 262, 273, 283), CONTE (1996, 11), COURTNEY (2001, 132), HABERMEHL (2006, 34–5).

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. LAIRD (1999, 223–4).

fusion with a low genre (comedy) and its application to an unfit protagonist.⁵⁵⁸ Encolpius might try to imitate a mythical scene, but the author makes us think of a comic soliloquy.

Spurred to revenge by his own words, Encolpius pulls himself together. Yet, before he can set out in quest of the betrayer and his rival, assuming the role of an epic hero whose honour has been violated, our main protagonist decides to have a meal (*largioribus cibis excito uires*, 82.1). It has not gone unobserved that he here fails to live up to the great Homeric model of Achilles that he attempted to assume not long ago: after Patroclus' death Achilles decides to return to the battle and ignores Odysseus' suggestion that he should have a meal beforehand. Achilles states that he would eat only once he avenged the death of his friend (Hom *Il.* 19.155–354).

Upon exiting, Encolpius then seems to assume a new role: the Vergilian Aeneas. We see our “hero” gird himself with his sword⁵⁵⁹ and rage through the *porticus*, just like the mythical hero did through the colonnades of burning Troy.⁵⁶⁰ Reading *caedem et sanguinem cogito* (82.2) in conjunction with the location of the *porticus* with *Aen.* 2, Vergil's epic emerges as Encolpius' hypotext. And in fact, Encolpius is taking his heroic role seriously: he even makes a threatening gesture known to us from tragedy and epic.⁵⁶¹ Unfortunately for Encolpius, Petronius has decided to stick closely to the hypotext, as he has someone interrupt the hero's plans. Again, the epic hypotext is degraded and the parody of the *Aeneid* is taken further: while Encolpius is not Aeneas, a soldier has replaced Venus (*Aen.* 2.589–621).⁵⁶² It is no longer a goddess who interferes with the hero's plans, but a mortal.

As if this unexpected twist was not already sufficient to ridicule Encolpius, Petronius decides to go even further. The soldier spots that his *commilito* is no real

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. the scene with the *anus* in the second episode (section 5.3.2).

⁵⁵⁹ Read *gladio latus cingor* (82.1), in which the prosaic *gladius* instead of *ensis* or *ferrum* stands in sharp contrast to the epic notion, against the background of Aeneas' frantic behaviour at Verg. *Aen.* 2.314–7, 575–88, 594–5, 671–2, 745.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. CONTE (1996, 3).

⁵⁶¹ Read *frequentiusque manum ad capulum, quem deuoueram, refero* (82.2) with similar gestures in Homer, Sophocles, Seneca, and Statius. Cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 48) for specific references.

⁵⁶² Venus and the soldier each begin with questions (Petron. 82.3; *Aen.* 2.594–8) and eventually thwart the heroes' plans; cf. ZEITLIN (1971b, 59 n. 1), PASCHALIS (2011, 81–2). The questions about the *legio* and the *centuria* show that the *miles*, in contrast to Encolpius, is allowed to bear arms. As SCHMELING (2011, 347) emphasises: “There is a *lex Iulia* (Augustan) which prohibits people from possessing weapons other than those needed for defence, and there are laws banning individuals (or their slaves) from making or bearing arms: Digest. 48.6.1, 11; 48.6.3.1; Synesius *Ep.* 107”. Juv. 16.7–9 comments that no civilian will dare stand up against a soldier.

soldier – instead of the appropriate army boots (*caligae*) Encolpius wears *phaecasiae*, shoes connected to effeminacy –⁵⁶³ and deprives Encolpius of his arms. Eventually, Petronius alludes to the epic text once again in the closing stages of the sixth episode, as the protagonist’s return home resembles that of Aeneas (*Aen.* 2.632–6).⁵⁶⁴

On the whole, I could not summarise the hypertextual use of the *Aeneid* in the present scene more aptly than PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 117): “Petronius’ humiliating version presents an effeminate Aeneas deprived of his grandeur and his weapon, beaten by a thief to whom he feels grateful”.

The revelation of Encolpius’ *phaecasiae* rounds off a scene where Petronius has interspersed hidden allusions to the protagonist’s effeminacy, a feature the latter reproaches his rival Ascyltus for. Encolpius’ speech recalls the laments of the heroines Ariadne and Medea and makes us smile if we read it in line with the protagonist’s claim that he is not a man unless he avenges himself (81.6). As Laird (1999, 224) has excellently observed, “there is a strong irony in the words *non aut vir ego* [...] It is conceivable that the juxtaposition of *vir* and *ego* effect a pun on *virago*”. The choice of shoes will indeed show that Encolpius, who tries hard to be a second Achilles or Aeneas here, or Odysseus elsewhere, is not a suitable candidate for any such heroic (male) model.

5.3.7 EUMOLPUS IN THE ART GALLERY (83–90)

The seventh episode of the extant *Satyrical* is interesting for a number of reasons. A new protagonist is introduced, who will soon recite the second longest poem of the work, the *TH*, and narrate one of the longest metadiegetic narratives, the Pergamene Youth. Furthermore, since the majority of potential hypotexts for the events taking place at the picture gallery date to the second century CE, the hypertextual analysis of this episode is pivotal for our assessment of the date of composition of the *Satyrical*. Finally, on a structural level the seventh episode, particularly Encolpius’ artificial posing as an art-critic and Eumolpus’ laments on the decline of the arts, links with both earlier and later episodes, such as the opening declamation with Agamemnon and the journey to Croton. Thus, our discussion of these links

⁵⁶³ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *phaecasiū*; BLÜMNER (1911, 226–7). Fortunata wears *phaecasiae inauratae* (67.4).

⁵⁶⁴ For a reading of the scene of Encolpius and the soldier as an epic pastiche generally or parody of the *Aeneid* more specifically cf. DAMIANI (1999).

strengthens the observation of intrahypertextual correlations observed in the second episode (section 5.3.2) and provides further insight into the complex narrative texture of the work.

Some time after having been jilted and robbed Encolpius ends up in the art gallery, where he admires a number of paintings (83.1–6). This opening scene of the episode at the art gallery connects with subsequent episodes on a structural level, as the references to Zeuxis and Apelles anticipate later locations. Upon hearing the name Apelles, the ancient reader must have thought of his most celebrated portrait of Alexander in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (*HN* 35.92), the place where Eumolpus' second narrative takes place (111–2). The name of Zeuxis recalls the painting of Helen commissioned by the city of Croton (*Cic. Inv. rhet.* 2.1–3, *Val. Max.* 3.7 *ext.* 3), the second extant location of the extant *Satyrice* (116–41). Due to the fragmentary state of the work it remains impossible to find out whether the same structural link is set up for the mention of Protogenes, even though this appears highly probable.

Likewise, the present scene recalls the opening scene with Agamemnon (1–5), where Encolpius acts as a critic of rhetoric. In our present episode the setting of the art gallery alone suffices to trigger the protagonist's tendency to assume the role of an art critic, just like earlier the setting of the school of rhetoric and the appearance of the rhetor seem to have triggered Encolpius' role-play as a student.

Encolpius' role at the gallery emerges if we draw our attention to several passages in Cicero (*Brut.* 70), Pliny (*HN* 35–6 in general, 35.64–6 on Zeuxis, 35.84–97 on Apelles, 35.101–6 on Protogenes), Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* 10.5.27–8), Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.3–6), Lucian (*Zeux.* 3–7), and others, who make comments about Zeuxis, Protogenes, and Apelles that come close to those of Encolpius.⁵⁶⁵ For example, Pliny, *HN* 35.101–3, reports that Protogenes, when he found himself unable to capture the foam around the mouth of Ialysos' hunting dog, rubbed off the paint with a sponge.

Encolpius' comments are full of rhetorical clichés, which transcend any individual source. The fact that this pastiche of art-historical passages involves many sources makes it difficult to speak of specific hypotexts. Moreover, since we can find ac-

⁵⁶⁵ Dion. Hal. (*Thuc.* 4) even limits himself to naming Zeuxis, Protogenes, and Apelles only.

counts similar to those of Encolpius in sources ranging from the first century BCE to the second century CE and beyond, it is implausible that Encolpius “apparently reflects the common (handbook?) opinion of his time”⁵⁶⁶. Rather, he is mixing and matching and quoting from various sources and fusing them with stock phrases and motifs.⁵⁶⁷

Apart from the closeness of Encolpius’ observations to those found in Pliny and others, Petronius provides us with further hints to make sure that we, as recipients, are able to unmask the protagonist’s posturing as artificial role-play. I agree with Slater (1987, 20) and Eigler (2007, 94–5), against Pollitt (1966, 148), that there is good reason to question the authenticity of the artwork. It is doubtful that a provincial town in Southern Italy could have an art gallery with such famous paintings, which, furthermore, have survived several centuries seemingly without damage.⁵⁶⁸ By contrast, Encolpius seems not to doubt the authenticity of the work. Moreover, as Manuwald (2007) has highlighted, we should not forget to include the narrator’s comment *cum uentis litigo* (83.7) in our analyses.⁵⁶⁹ Looking back, the narrator cannot but smile ironically at the behaviour of his former self.

As if this were not already enough, at a later stage in the same episode we will find Encolpius interrogating Eumolpus about the rather unknown themes and ages of some paintings, even though he acted like an art critic himself at the beginning of the scene. Furthermore, he calls Eumolpus *prudentiorem* (88.1), even though he will have met him only minutes ago. No matter whether we read the adjective as a judgement by the narrator, who knows about the upcoming action, or as another instance of a gullible assessment of an unknown person by the protagonist,⁵⁷⁰ it lays the

⁵⁶⁶ SCHMELING (2011, 350). Cf. also ELSNER (1993, 31–2).

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. EIGLER (2007, 95–6).

⁵⁶⁸ All three painters named by Encolpius lived in the fifth or fourth century BCE. Cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 62–5 with further references).

⁵⁶⁹ I agree with MANUWALD (2007, 256 n. 10), following COURTNEY (2001, 134), when she states: “In dieser Floskel [sc. *cum uentis litigo*] liegt nicht die bei Otto (Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer. Gesammelt und erklärt von A. Otto, Leipzig [ND Hildesheim 1962]) als ‘ventus 2’ (pp. 364–365) beschriebene Bedeutung ‘in den Wind sprechen, Winde verwehen Worte’ (so Conte 1996, 21 mit Anm. 23), sondern die unter ‘aer 3’ (p. 6) eingeordnete ‘wider die Winde streiten, Lufthiebe schlagen, d.h. gegen einen nicht vorhandenen Gegner kämpfen”.

⁵⁷⁰ I strongly tend to think that we should read *prudentiorem* as a remark by the protagonist in line with his hasty earlier assessment of the *anus* at 7.2. Cf. BECK (1983, 247: “what we have here is merely another instance of the young Encolpius’ impressionability when he first meets someone new (Habinnas, Quartilla, Circe, Oenothea”), CONTE (1996, 39–41).

artificiality of Encolpius' posing open: looking back we can see that he was able to identify, or rather that he claimed to be able to identify, only the most common themes.⁵⁷¹

If we take a closer look at Encolpius' description of the paintings and read them in line with his verbal outcry, we will see that he does not even meet the demands made of an art critic. Rather, he is guilty of subjectively interpreting rather than objectively reporting the themes of the paintings and unjustifiably casting himself into mythical roles yet again.⁵⁷² The masterpieces that appear to have caught most of his attention are those with certain mythological themes where immortal beings fall in love with humans.⁵⁷³ Encolpius sees his Giton as a second Ganymede, who was abducted by Zeus (Ascylltus), and as a pretty Hylas standing up to the water nymphs that have fallen in love with him and try to draw him into the water. This reading of Giton as Ganymede is particularly interesting, as Eumolpus, upon seeing Giton, will call the boy *Ganymedes* (92.3).⁵⁷⁴

Encolpius not only misinterprets the mythical setting as a sort of intact world in opposition to his own miserable situation, but also whitewashes his lover: in contrast to his idealised interpretation, Giton left willingly. In the words of Panayotakis (1995, 119–20):

“Encolpius, is, as usual, melodramatic and over-acting, making hackneyed comments about the power and the influence of the particular works of art on his own feelings (83.1, 83.2). Under no circumstances should he be regarded as an expert art-critic any more than as an intellectual *scholasticus* in the opening scene of the surviving novel”.

The centrepiece of the seventh extant episode is Eumolpus' metadiegetic narrative,

⁵⁷¹ Cf. further BAIER (2010, 195–7).

⁵⁷² Cf. ELSNER (1993, 32–3), EIGLER (2007, 96–7), BAIER (2010, 197), SCHMELING (2011, 351–3). As CONTE (1996, 15) aptly puts it: “the narrator claims he has been seized by the vivid reality of the likenesses (should this be likenesses?) [...] but the realistic objectivity which he claims is only a cloak behind which he projects himself subjectively into emotions that make him lose his sense of the situation”.

⁵⁷³ It is misleading to stress the “element of homosexual love” in the paintings, as ELSNER (1993, 32–3) and SCHMELING (2011, 351–2) do. From two examples, the *Naiada* (83.3) and the *Nympha praedata* (83.5), we can clearly see that the decisive factor for attracting Encolpius' attention is the appearance of humans who are loved and/or chased by non-humans. It does not matter whether their affairs were homosexual or homoerotic or heterosexual.

⁵⁷⁴ The comparison of a beautiful young boy with Ganymede can be found frequently for example in the *Anth. Pal.* (12.65, 68, 70, 133, 7, 94), Martial (2.43.13–4, 9.22.11–2, 9.36, 10.98, 11.22.2), and might be no more than an almost idiomatic expression. Similar beatitudes are known from epic (Hom. *Od.* 6.153–5, Verg. *Aen.* 1.605–6, Ov. *Met.* 4.320–4) and the idealised romance (Xen. *Ephes.* 1.2.7).

the Pergamene Youth. It is not only crucial for our analysis of Eumolpus as a metadiegetic narrator, but also particularly interesting for Petronius' treatment of hypotexts. Just like in the *Cena*, here, too, we find a parody of Plato's *Symposium*. In this case, however, it is not the application of Plato to the non-elite setting of freedmen with their obsession with food and death that serves as a means of degradation and distortion, but rather the fusion of the *Symposium* with the low genre of the Milesian Tale.⁵⁷⁵

On the whole, the story of the boy of Pergamon, who is seduced by his philosopher-teacher, is a reversal of the story of Alcibiades and Socrates told in Plato's *Symposium* (217a–219d).⁵⁷⁶ In the Greek hypotext we find the young Alcibiades, who attempts to seduce his chaste tutor, Socrates. Socrates, despite his tendency to fall in love with handsome men (216d2–4), turns out to be the master of self-control (216d5–9), and the boy remains without success in his quest. By contrast, in the *Satyrice* we have two protagonists, who, upon finding themselves in a setting similar to that of Socrates and Alcibiades in Plato, act in a manner all too different from that of the philosopher in the hypotext.

In the first half of the Pergamene Youth the ἐραστής makes no effort to hide his non-Platonic desire from his ἐρώμενος, once he is alone with him. Eumolpus, unlike what is expected from his position as a tutor and unlike Socrates, does not aim at “arriving at truth and virtue through homosocial interaction”; instead it “provides easy access to young flesh”⁵⁷⁷. He is not only keen on enjoying intimate moments with his tutee but also pretends to possess Socratic σωφροσύνη to achieve his goal. Whereas Socrates was the object of Alcibiades' desire in Plato, Eumolpus acts the role of Alcibiades and not that of the tutor model of Socrates in the first half of the metadiegetic narrative. Alcibiades courts Socrates first in the gymnasium (217b9–c4), then in the dining room (217c8–d8), and finally in Socrates' bed (218b9–219d2).

⁵⁷⁵ On the Pergamene Youth as an example of a Milesian Tale see section 6.3. BENZ (2001, 92–8) has persuasively argued that the mime, too, has exerted influence on Eumolpus' narrative.

⁵⁷⁶ My hypertextual analyses on Petronius and Plato in the Pergamene Youth are based primarily on the discussions by DIMUNDO (1982–1983; 1983; 1986; 2005), SOMMARIVA (1984), MCGLATHERY (1998, 209–12).

Further contributions on the Pergamene Youth are listed in HABERMEHL (2006, 94). To HABERMEHL's list add SANDY (1970), BECK (1979), HARRISON (1998), LEÃO (2003), ROSSETTI (2006), PISANO (2010), SCHMELING (2011, 359–65).

⁵⁷⁷ MCGLATHERY (1998, 210). Cf. SCHMELING (2001, 54: “The reputation of sexual connections between philosophers/teachers and students is well known (Martial 9.27.11; Juvenal 10.224) and should have alerted the youth's parents”).

Similarly, Eumolpus tries first in the *gymnasium*, then the *triclinium*, then the *lectus*. “In each scene the wooer dines with the beloved long into the night and then makes his first erotic advances when the two are alone in the darkness and the beloved is falling asleep”⁵⁷⁸. Both Alcibiades and Eumolpus initially appear to be successful, the latter on a rather physical level.

In the second half of the Pergamene Youth the boy aggressively, and to both the reader and Eumolpus surprisingly, assumes the role of Alcibiades. It is now he who takes things in hand. The Platonic model is reversed yet again, as Eumolpus aka Socrates does not refuse to engage in sexual intercourse (219c), but gives in to the boy’s threats. In the words of McGlathery (1998, 212):

“When Eumolpus finally does refuse the boy his favors, he does so not out of wisdom and self-control, as Socrates does (219d5), but only on account of a physical exhaustion that makes it painful for him to continue [...] physical considerations replace moral and philosophical ones as the motives for this final rebuff”⁵⁷⁹.

Even though a lacuna immediately precedes the Pergamene Youth, there is good reason to assume that Encolpius informed Eumolpus about the earlier events with Giton and Ascyllus (79–80), as a reaction to which the poet narrates his story. Both the boy of Pergamon and Giton pretend not to notice the “rape”. Eumolpus uses *sentire* three times to talk about the boy’s calculating pretence to be sleeping, while he was approaching him (*ita ut ille non sentiat*, 85.5; *si [...] ille non senserit*, 86.1; *si ille non senserit*, 86.4), and Giton, too, was asleep or pretended to be, when Ascyllus assaulted him (*siue non sentiente iniuriam siue dissimulante*, 79.9).⁵⁸⁰

Reading Eumolpus’ story as a reaction to Encolpius’ and interpreting Giton as the equivalent to the boy of Pergamon, and, by extension, as Alcibiades, is particularly appealing in the later turn of events. In a fragment of the later episodes in Croton Giton will explicitly compare himself to Alcibiades and Encolpius to Socrates, with reference to the very seduction scene from the *Symposium* that serves as the hypotext for the Pergamene Youth.⁵⁸¹

The final scene of the seventh episode, which leads to the expulsion of Eumolpus

⁵⁷⁸ MCGLATHERY (1998, 211).

⁵⁷⁹ MCGLATHERY (1998, 212).

⁵⁸⁰ At 133.1–2 Giton will claim that Ascyllus did not rape him.

⁵⁸¹ Read *non tam intactus Alcibiades in praeceptoris sui lectulo iacuit* (128.7) with *Symp.* 219c8–d2 (οὐδὲν περιττότερον καταδεδαρθηκῶς ἀνέστην μετὰ Σωκράτους, ἢ εἰ μετὰ πατρὸς καθηῦδον ἢ ἀδελφοῦ πρεσβυτέρου).

and Encolpius from the baths and their flight to the nearby coast, includes the poet's second longest poem: a composition in 65 iambic trimeters about the taking of Ilion. Eumolpus presents the *TH* as a spontaneous description of the painting with similar content that Encolpius appears to be admiring (89.1). As Tilg (2002, 220) has argued, the distinctive wit of the scene emerges from the content of the poem in conjunction with further events: Eumolpus is forced to quit his recitation and flee from the baths just as he gets to the stage of the myth where Aeneas is about to flee from burning Troy. The poet does not get the chance to recount the mythic flight, but is forced to enact it himself.

In the introduction to this section (5.1) I have argued that we should read the *TH* as a pastiche of Senecan tragedy, aimed at ridiculing the poet Eumolpus, who, albeit absolutely dedicated, fails to compose poems of the quality of those of the great writers he aims at emulating. If we shift our attention away from the poem itself to its narrative context, we can observe that further hypotexts are in play. Reading Senecan tragedy as the exclusive hypotext for the scene would mean merely focusing on one side of the coin. Even though it enables us to understand a number of linguistic parallels in the poem itself and to find out about Eumolpus' hypotext for the *TH*, it does not explain the reason why Eumolpus recites the poem. In other words, the authorial hypotext for the structural arrangement of the scene would remain unclear. This is not least since Seneca does not present his tragedies as descriptions of paintings. The arrangement of Eumolpus describing a painting in poetic terms, at least as he claims to be doing so, is owed to a second line of tradition that Petronius has fused in here: the second sophistic.

It has been rightly observed that “the poem in fact makes little pretence to be describing a picture, even if we think of a composite picture with a series of scenes [...] The whole poem is narrative and temporally arranged, not static and descriptive [...] Moreover no picture could show sounds like those described in 24f.”⁵⁸². Rather, it seems to be staged in a contest where virtuous words are set in competition against visual depictions. This tendency to emphasise the power of words reminds us of the second sophistic. This link stands in line with the motif of the location of the *pinacotheca* (83.1), which is familiar to us from a number of potential hypotexts dated to the second century. We find arrangements and settings similar to the *TH* in a

⁵⁸² COURTNEY (2001, 141). Cf. also FRÖHLKE (1977, 98), SLATER (1987, 172; 1990b, 95–7; 2009, 25; 2012, 248), ELSNER (1993, 40–1), CONNORS (1998, 88), HABERMEHL (2006, 153–4).

number of works, including Lucian's *Heracles*, *Zeuxis*, *De domo*, and, most prominently, Philostratus' *Imagines* (esp. 1 *praef.* 4–5).⁵⁸³

Luc. *Am.* 8 comes particularly close to the episode in the *Satyrical* as a whole. In both works we have a protagonist strolling around near the seashore before he ends up in a picture gallery, where he admires some specific paintings and attempts to recall the heroic motifs depicted, before other people, who offer to explain the works to him, join. The similar structure from Lucian is taken further at 91, where Encolpius leaves the picture gallery and goes back to his lodging, when he meets an old acquaintance, who sees him from a distance and is overjoyed and delighted. Encolpius takes Giton back to his place and invites him for dinner. Just like the acquaintances in Lucian, Giton will stay for a few more days, in exchange for entertainment, even if the form of entertainment here may be of a different kind.

On a macrostructural level two more genres might have exerted great influence. The element of the ἔκφρασις is well known from Greek and Roman epic and can be found in several passages in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁸⁴ Most importantly, we have two representations of the heroes' pasts: at 1.453–63 Aeneas contemplates the sack of Troy, which is depicted on the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage, and at 6.14–41 we find Daedalus' journey from Crete depicted on the walls in Cumae.⁵⁸⁵ By contrast, in the *Satyrical* the heroic Aeneas has been swapped for the unheroic Encolpius. Moreover, the paintings in Petronius show situations very different from Encolpius' past in both protagonists and outcome. It is only in his unjustifiable and subjective interpretation that these paintings mirror his past. Finally, while Aeneas encounters

⁵⁸³ Cf. the detailed discussion in FRÖHLKE (1997, 71–85).

⁵⁸⁴ SCHISSEL VON FLESCHENBERG (1913, 83) identifies four characteristic features of an ἔκφρασις in general: localisation, description, interpreter, and an “aus der Bildbetrachtung abgezogene allgemeine Sentenz, welche zugleich dem Hauptteile des jeweiligen Werkes als führende Idee zugrundeliegt”.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. ZEITLIN (1971b, 60–1), CONTE (1996, 17), HABERMEHL (2006, 61), EIGLER (2007, 97), BAIER (2010, 198–200), PASCHALIS (2011, 83), LIPPMAN (2013, 246: “Just as Carthage was a possible home for Aeneas and the Trojans, but one that was just not meant to be and ultimately one that will be the cause of a great deal more suffering and wandering, so too Petronius' temple episode here offers a false rest for the protagonist. Eumolpus, like Dido, suggests a solution, but will only provide an impetus for far worse troubles and wanderings”). Read Encolpius' *ergo amor etiam deos tangit* with *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* (Verg. *Aen.* 1.462).

LAIRD (1999, 225–7) has argued that Petronius here continues the parody of Catull. 64 (Theseus – Ariadne – Bacchus) and reads Eumolpus' impromptu appearance as the parody of the arrival of Bacchus (64.251–2): an impoverished old man has replaced the youthful god.

the depictions upon divine intervention, Encolpius appears to have coincidentally ended up in the art gallery.

The episodes in two idealised romances and in Petronius are constructed equally: protagonist A gazes at the paintings, which arouse emotions; then protagonist B enters; B stands next to A and speaks to him.⁵⁸⁶ In Achilles Tatius the narrator looks at a painting of Zeus abducting Europa in the shape of a bull under Eros' guidance, and Longus opens his work with the narrator admiring a painting that depicts the adventures of Daphnis and Chloë. In both cases another protagonist takes the setting as an opportunity to narrate some adventures. The major difference between the idealised romances and the *Satyrica* is that in both Longus and Achilles Tatius the event at the art gallery represents the first narrative and includes the reason why the adventures, i.e. the metadiegetic narrative, will be set out. In Petronius, on the other hand, it allows for the new central protagonist to function only temporarily as a metadiegetic narrator: that is, when he relates the Milesian Tale of the Pergamene Youth. Depending on whether we assume that Petronius is using a common story pattern from the idealised romance in general or one work in particular, the hypertextual relationship is either that of a parody or a pastiche.

5.3.8 RECONCILIATION WITH GITON (91–9)

I devote the last section of the analysis of the story of the *Satyrica* to the ambiguity that is caused by the fact that a hypertext can be read both independently from and against the background of its hypotext(s).⁵⁸⁷ I shall investigate the potential hypotexts for three specific scenes from the eighth episode, of which scenes two and three fall into two parts each, that are similar in content and structure, and the hypertextual relationships in play, as well as the two possible, i.e. hypertextual and non-hypertextual, readings. The main aim, besides providing further insight into the complex hypertextual narrative texture, is to highlight that the work is appealing and amusing for a knowledgeable and an uneducated readership alike. This observation is crucial for my further discussion of the implied and real reader in section 7.

The first scene (91.1–9) takes us back to the baths, where Encolpius runs into

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. FUSILLO (1989, 83–90), BARTSCH (1989, 43 n. 6), HABERMEHL (2006, 60), SCHMELING (2011, 353).

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. GENETTE (1997a, 397). See section 1.4.

Giton.⁵⁸⁸ In a scene with moving words his former companion begs for forgiveness at any cost. In tears he implores Encolpius to show mercy and take him away from the *latroni cruento* (91.2), i.e. Ascyllus. Giton claims that even if death at the hands of his former lover is the only way to achieve forgiveness he is willing to make this sacrifice.⁵⁸⁹

On the one hand, we can perceive the events through the eyes of the protagonist Encolpius, who interprets Giton's words and deeds as authentic and genuine, and take everything that is being said and done at face value. Thus, we have here a scene of reunion with his deeply loving partner Giton, who, upon realising that he made a huge mistake by earlier opting for the lascivious bandit Ascyllus instead of his whole-hearted partner, deeply regrets his choice and is willing to undo the damage that he caused at any cost. The tears, then, express Giton's sincere emotions and concerns, as does the free decision over life or death that he grants to Encolpius. Such behaviour is naturally grist to the mill for Encolpius, who whitewashes Giton elsewhere, in order to fully purify him and further vilify Ascyllus (*egreditur superbus cum praemio Ascylltos*, 80.8).

If we read the scene as an authorial pastiche of the idealised romance, we may come to different conclusions. This emerges from the following hypertextual and structural observations.

Firstly, Giton's plea *eripe me latroni cruento* reminds us of a similar appeal in Heliod. (2.10.3), where, in a tablet that she wrote for Knemon, Thisbe reveals that a bandit has been keeping her incarcerated on an island for ten days and begs Knemon to save her.⁵⁹⁰ In the case of Giton such an accusation cannot be brought into accord with the real turn of events. If we read the swords at 80.5–8 in a metaphorical way, on a literal level no real weapons have been involved at all and

⁵⁸⁸ Encolpius, when he finds Giton with *linteis et strigilibus* (91.1), leaves Eumolpus behind at the bath (91.3), which means he must have been at the baths himself. Cf. also Giton's action of *seruire* (91.1) with 30.8 and Ov. *Ars am.* 3.639.

⁵⁸⁹ The scene reminds us of 9.1–5: Encolpius sees Giton standing around and takes him back home, where the young boy defames Ascyllus.

⁵⁹⁰ Heliodorus most likely postdates our *terminus ante quem* for the *Satyrica* and can thus not have functioned as its hypotext. However, this is not a problem if we bear in mind the possibility that Heliodorus may be drawing on a repertoire of motifs that, by the second and third centuries CE, was long established for the idealised romance. Cf. for example HEINZE (1899). However, it remains impossible to find out how far back this tradition reaches. As HENDERSON (2010, esp. 490) and TILG (2010, 1ff.) have persuasively shown, it is unlikely that (m)any idealised romances preceded those of Chariton and Xenophon.

Giton's choice to go with Ascyllus rather than Encolpius was without compulsion.⁵⁹¹ He resembles the faithful heroine of the idealised romance only in the eyes of Encolpius.

Secondly, the motif of the *solacium mortis* is well known to the reader from a number of sources. The hypotext(s) may come either from epic⁵⁹² or again the idealised romance, as it might be suggested on the basis of Heliod. 2.10.4. In the *Satyrica*, however, the motif is out of place: there is good reason to assume that Giton is absolutely sure that Encolpius would never do him any harm on purpose. After all, it was Encolpius who walked over to him when he saw him standing at the baths carrying out servile duties, which he would most likely not have done if he had been holding a grudge against him. Of the honourable gesture of the *solacium mortis* nothing but empty words have remained.

Thirdly, on an intrahypertextual level Giton's increased flow of tears (91.4–5) reminds us of the same artificial gesture by Quartilla (17.2) and on a hypertextual level of the elegiac motif of the lover's false tears as well as Seneca who explains the methods that actors adopt to imitate modesty (*Ep.* 11.7).⁵⁹³ Giton is well aware of the techniques that he needs to apply to appeal to Encolpius: honourable or heroic gestures mixed with seemingly genuine emotional outbursts.⁵⁹⁴ Since his companion undoubtedly believes in the loving bond that unites the two, he would never doubt Giton's behaviour or even go as far as to label it artificial.⁵⁹⁵

From a hypertextual point of view, Petronius has created a scene that allows for different readings and is thus ambiguous. We can, with Encolpius, ignore one group of potential hypotexts, i.e. Seneca and elegy, and believe Giton's allegedly genuine actions to resemble those of epic heroes or Greek heroines. It is significant that this reading does not require any knowledge of epic or the idealised romance: even if we were not able to recognise these two groups of potential hypotexts, we would nevertheless interpret Giton's actions as those of a caring, deeply regretful lover. The particularly interesting nuance emerges from the fact that Encolpius also deliberately ignores what is perhaps the most important hypotext: the earlier episodes from the

⁵⁹¹ Note the possible source of *double entendre* at 91.8 with the discussion of 80 in section 5.3.6.

⁵⁹² Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.829–30, 11.688–9, Ov. *Met.* 5.191–2, 12.80–1.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Tib. 1.4.71–2, 1.9.37–8, Prop. 1.12.15–6, Ov. *Ars am.* 1.659–60, mocked at Juv. 6.270–7.

⁵⁹⁴ The fact that Giton is able to decide on the spot what is best to do emerges clearly from 94.4. Here he leaves the room in order to avoid a violent clash between Encolpius and Eumolpus.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. for example *exosculatus pectus sapientia plenum* (91.9), *Giton autem non oblitus misericordiae suae* (96.2), *Giton longe blandior quam ego* (98.7).

Satyrice itself. By contrast, an external recipient cannot possibly ignore the intrahypertextual links. Having read the earlier episodes, the reader of the *Satyrice* cannot but necessarily remember Giton's cunning nature and recall that the boy left willingly. Thus, the interpretation of Giton's plea as genuine remains open to Encolpius only. The knowledgeable reader will further recognise the potential hypotexts from elegy and Seneca. To them, the scene will be even more aesthetically appealing and funny, as they will recognise the models that Encolpius fails to decode and deliberately ignores and those he (unjustifiably) wishes to see applied. To them, the gap between reality and (Encolpius') imagination that is caused by the hypertextual ambiguity will emerge fully.

The second scene takes place at the lodging. Encolpius, Giton, and Eumolpus, who has meanwhile returned from the baths, are involved. When the text resumes after a lacuna, we find Eumolpus overwhelming Giton with compliments yet again (94.1). This time, however, Encolpius does not remain passive. After all, he remembers Eumolpus' behaviour with the boy of Pergamon, as can be seen from his use of *uota* referring to Eumolpus' wish to get intimate with Giton (94.5), which recalls the poet's get-together with the boy of Pergamon described as *uota* earlier (86.5). Giton's initiative of leaving the room in order to avoid a clash does not have the desired effect, and Encolpius carries on preaching to Eumolpus. After a verbal outburst of rage, everything goes downhill quickly: the *senex* hastily flees the room and locks Encolpius in. The latter, left behind as an *amator inclusus*⁵⁹⁶ with no choice but to accept that his rival will hunt his desired boy, takes the somewhat hasty decision of ending his life. In seemingly no time everything is set up for his suicide attempt, which a few moments later Eumolpus and Giton will interrupt.

The motif of suicide out of the pain of love appears several times in Hellenistic (Theoc. 3.9.25–7, Ps-Theoc. 23) and Augustan literature, mainly in elegy,⁵⁹⁷ and reaches its peak with countless (unsuccessful) attempts both by the heroine and the

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. SCHMELING (1968, 51–4; 1971, 335–6). We can find the motif of the *amator inclusus* applied also in the Matron of Ephesus, where it is the *miles*, who is locked in together with the *matrona* (112.3).

⁵⁹⁷ This form of suicide is considered by the speaker at Tib. 2.6.19–20 and executed at Prop. 2.8.17–24, Ov. *Rem. am.* 17–9, 591–606, *Met.* 4.105–63, 14.716–38.

hero in the idealised romance.⁵⁹⁸ There can be no doubt that the scene in Petronius is heavily indebted to and thus a pastiche of this stereotypical motif from the idealised romance with elegiac colour. On the other hand, despite some structural and linguistic parallels that the scene shows to Myrrha's attempted suicide at Ov. *Met.* 10.382–8, I am hesitant to call the scene from Ovid a specific hypotext for Petronius. Neither the arrangement nor the language that is applied is specific and unique to Ovid. After all, a protagonist is limited in the ways he attempts suicide by hanging, as is the author in the words he can use to describe it.

As was the case in the first scene that I examined in this section, hypertextual ambiguity is at play here, too. Encolpius' attempted suicide is funny to both the sophisticated and uneducated readers. To both groups, the protagonist's decision to hang himself will hardly appear comprehensible, as it is exaggerated, unrealistic, and "inconsistent with his ready pursuit of sexual satisfaction elsewhere and his omnivorous approach to satiating his own appetites generally"⁵⁹⁹. It remains doubtful if anyone would make such a premature decision of terminating his life instead of considering all possible alternatives and potential solutions, just because he is locked up in a room while his rival will chase down his lover.⁶⁰⁰ Most of all, we cannot but ask ourselves the question why Encolpius would not try to break the door and run after Eumolpus and Giton. Moreover, the flow of actions is set up in such a rapid manner that suspense is barely evoked at all.

To the knowledgeable reader, it will emerge clearly that the form of suicide – death by hanging (*suspendium*) – is one that does not suit a male protagonist, as it was generally associated with heroines in antiquity.⁶⁰¹ The list of women who hang themselves includes Jocasta (Hom. *Od.* 11.277–9, Soph. *OT* 1263–4), Antigone (Soph. *Ant.* 1220–2), Phaedra (Eur. *Hipp.* 802), Leda (Eur. *Hel.* 136), Kleite (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1063–5), Kleoboia (Alexander Aetolus *fr.* 3.33–4 Powell), Byblis (Parth. *fr.* 646 *Suppl. Hell.*), Amata (Verg. *Aen.* 12.601–3), and Phyllis (Ov. *Rem.*

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. for example Xen. *Ephes.* 2.7.1, 3.5–8, 5.8.8–9, Ach. *Tat.* 3.16.3–17.7, Heliod. 2.1.2–2.2.1, 2.4.1–2.5.1, and most prominently Chariton (1.5.2, 1.6.1–2, 3.3.1, 3.5.6, 5.10.6–10, 6.2.8, 6.2.11, 7.1.5). Of these, Char. 5.10.6–10 might be particularly interesting, as Chaereas' motivation resembles that of Encolpius. Cf. SETAIOLI (2010, 23–4), HENDERSON (2010, 485–6).

⁵⁹⁹ HILL (2004, 243). He goes on to rightly observe: "As with the other characters of the *Satyricon*, then, Encolpius is propelled towards self-killing with a frequency and ease out of all proportion to his real motivations and the actual demands of the situation he faces".

⁶⁰⁰ HILL (2004, 241–2) speaks of "undermotivated" suicide attempts.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. LORAUX (1988, 9–19), HABERMEHL (2006, 259).

am. 591–606).⁶⁰² On the other hand, there are only a few examples of men who hang themselves, all of which are found either in Hellenistic or Imperial Roman literature.⁶⁰³ Unexecuted male suicide attempts can be found also at Theoc. 3.9, where the speaker tells Amaryllis that she would drive him so far as to commit suicide, and at Mart. 1.115.6, where a man thinks about hanging himself. Furthermore, we should not omit highlighting that Helen at Eur. *Hel.* 299–300 discards suicide by hanging as disgraceful. Encolpius seems not to know or remember that the *suspendium* does not suit a male hero, even though he appears to be well aware of a number of heroic male gestures elsewhere.

Soon the protagonist's choice of hanging himself will appear even less understandable, when we find out that Giton, allegedly having found himself in a similar situation, considered terminating his life with a sword or a suicidal leap into the depths (94.10–1). Suicide by sword is well known as an honourable and heroic (male) form of death from epic, while the suicidal leap into the depths seems to have been associated with lovers and reminds us, most famously, of Sappho.⁶⁰⁴ I agree with Habermehl (2006, 263) that the lover's claim to have already previously sought suicide takes us back to the scenes of "historischer Heroinnen, die ihren Männern mit stoischer Gefasstheit in den Tod folgen oder sogar vorausgehen",⁶⁰⁵ even though Giton's proposed forms of suicide rather suit the male hero or lover than the heroine. The fact that, in contrast to the real suicides of historical figures, there is no reason to doubt that Giton's claim is anything but artificial and made-up, not least because he freely left for and with Ascyltus, adds a further layer to the authorial pastiche of heroic, honourable suicides. Once again Giton proves an expert in finding the right words to provoke a certain reaction from Encolpius.

The second part of this pastiche of a suicide scene from either epic or the idealised romance opens with Giton's fake attempt to cut his jugular open (94.12–5).⁶⁰⁶ The part where the boy snatches Corax' blunt razor blade and falls to the ground seemingly lifeless is divided into two parts featuring two totally opposite reactions.

⁶⁰² Cf. also Sen. *Controv.* 10.3.

⁶⁰³ Cf. Ps.-Theoc. 23, esp. 49–53, Ov. *Rem. am.* 17–8, *Met.* 14.733–8, Sen. *Controv.* 8.3, Sen. *Ep.* 4.4.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. LORAUX (1988, 13–4), HABERMEHL (2006, 263–4 with further references).

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Deianeira at Soph. *Trach.* 719–20. In Eur. *Hel.* Helen promises to kill herself with the same sword, if Menelaus dies.

⁶⁰⁶ For cutting open the neck vein as form of suicide cf. Sen. *Vit.* 19.1, Suet. *Calig.* 23.3.

Encolpius again panics and upon grabbing the blade attempts suicide. His model might have been Nisus, who collapses over Euryalus' corpse (Verg. *Aen.* 9.444–5),⁶⁰⁷ the hero or heroine from the idealised romance (for example Heliod. 2.4.4), or generally a wife, who follows her husband into death. The observation that the *rudis nouacula retusa* (94.14) appears in the idealised romance, too,⁶⁰⁸ might indicate that this is again the hypotext. This would also stand in line with the same model for the first suicide attempt.

On the other hand, neither the barber nor Eumolpus interrupts the lovers, as both know about the eventual outcome. There is good reason to assume that Giton, too, knows that the blade is blunt and fakes his seemingly heroic suicide, in order to appeal to Encolpius' dramatic vein. This interpretation supports Slater's (1990b, 103) hypothesis that Eumolpus and Giton stage the scene. The two might have anticipated Encolpius' attempted suicide and discussed a way to prevent it, while the latter was setting up the bed and the rope.

This second suicide attempt can again be read against the background of its potential hypotexts and without them. Irrespective of whether or not we are able to detect and understand the hypertextual joke that I shall discuss in more detail in a moment, the scene is somewhat surreal. Encolpius' reaction is again under-motivated and hasty and appears even more absurd if we imagine Eumolpus and the barber not making any effort or move to hold the protagonist back from terminating his life. Moreover, the narrator provides a hint for the low-life influence that the farcical role-play has exerted on this scene, as he labels it a *mimica mors* (94.15) and states that a *fabula inter amantes luditur* (95.1).⁶⁰⁹

To the knowledgeable reader, these comments provide the confirmation that the scene is a low-life imitation, or pastiche, of an honourable death scene with epic colouring, taken most likely from the idealised romance. A blunt weapon, a fake suicide attempt by a calculating protagonist, and the move of a “wife” to follow her husband into death are the main ingredients for this pastiche.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. PASCHALIS (2011, 90–2). The motif can be found in a slightly altered form numerous times in Ovid (for example Pyramus und Thisbe, *Met.* 4.147–66; Lycabas und Athis, 5.59–73) and epic (Stat. *Theb.* 2.629–43; Sil. *Pun.* 9.401–10, 17.470–1).

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Ach. Tat. 3.15.2–5 with the resolution at 3.17.4–18.1, and 3.20.6–7. In the latter scene we have a heroine who is supposed to be sacrificed but eventually survives because the blade is blunt.

⁶⁰⁹ Since the latter comment immediately follows the former, it appears reasonable to interpret the adjective *mimica* as “mime-like” in line with *fabula* and *luditur*, and not as “fake”. Cf. *OLD* s.vv. *fabula* 6, *ludo* 6a, b, *mimicus* 1a.

For our narratological analyses here we may safely leave out Eumolpus' fight with the *deuersitor* and his conversation with Bargates (95–96) and jump to the appearance of Ascylltus and the *praeco cum seruo publico* (97.1).⁶¹⁰ Upon hearing the name Giton and realising that his rival Ascylltus has returned in order to claim the boy back, Encolpius orders his lover to climb under the bed and cling to the mattress, just like Odysseus once did under the ram (97.4–6). In order to appear credible and distract Ascylltus' attention from the bed under which Giton is hiding, Encolpius puts on the seemingly heroic mask of a doomed suppliant (*ad genua procubui*, 97.9) and even goes so far as to imitate a sacrificial animal, which willingly presents its neck.⁶¹¹ While Ascylltus falls for the trap, the reader might rightly identify Encolpius' gestures as artificial role-playing. This interpretation is obvious not least because we can find the same gesture of a suppliant in comedy (Plaut. *Curc.* 630), but also since we know of the protagonist's real intentions. A structural link will also allow us to connect Encolpius' behaviour here with that of Giton at 80.4.

The main hypotext for this scene is the *Odyssey* (9.419–60), and the scene is a Homeric parody.⁶¹² As Rimell (2002, 111) has presented in detail, the Homeric roles are here all mixed up: just like Odysseus, Encolpius narrates his story in retrospect. However, in the present scene he appears more like another hungry Cyclops trying to secure his prey. Moreover, he instructs his lover Giton to behave like the Greek hero instead of being a second Odysseus himself. Eumolpus and Ascylltus, too, wish to devour Giton as their prey. Thus, we here have three Polyphemi (Ascylltus, later Eumolpus, and Encolpius), of which one also shares common features with Odysseus at the same time. This inversion and confusion of Homeric roles and their application to dubious protagonists is one of the two main ingredients that make of the scene a parody of the *Odyssey*.

The second factor that turns the scene into a Homeric parody is the fusion of the epic hypotext with an inferior genre. The grandiose text is debased by its combina-

⁶¹⁰ ROWELL (1957) provides an excellent analysis of 95–6, above all of the protagonists involved. Ascylltus' procedure at 97 is most likely not a juridical parody or even allusion to it, irrespective of whether we place Petronius in the first or second centuries. The link to the juridical practice is too weak and seems rather coincidental. Cf. GAMAUF (2007).

⁶¹¹ Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.83, *Pont.* 4.4.31.

⁶¹² The similar scene in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 179–96, where Philokleon clinging to a donkey tries to escape from a house seems to parody the same scene from Homer. Cf. PANAYOTAKIS (1995, 123), HABERMEHL (2006, 292).

tion with the low-life adultery mime.⁶¹³ As to how the roles from the adultery mime are distributed, scholars disagree: Panayotakis (1995, 133–4) speaks of Encolpius as the *callida nupta*, Giton as the *cultus adulter*, and Ascyltus as the *stupidus uir*, while Habermehl (2006, 294) thinks of Encolpius as the cunning husband, Giton as the wife, and Ascyltus as the cuckold. A full interpretation of this scene needs to pay tribute to the complex situation, where more than one role is allocated to each protagonist at the same time. As far as we can see, Giton originally was Encolpius' partner; at a later stage he left Encolpius for Ascyltus and now returned to him. This creates a threefold structure whereby both Encolpius and Ascyltus are betrayed and betraying at the same time. Likewise, Encolpius may be *callidus* here, yet he gullibly trusts in the words and deeds of Giton elsewhere. The same holds true for Ascyltus, who is *stupidus* here, since he does not see through the game, yet elsewhere smart enough to leave the decision to Giton, well knowing that the boy would opt for him rather than for Encolpius.

As with all hypertextual scenes, it is theoretically possible to read this scene, too, on either a hypertextual level against the background of the specific hypotexts or on its own. In practice, however, this is hard to imagine, because we have a clearly marked reference to one of the two main models, rather than an implicit allusion. Since Encolpius explicitly orders Giton to behave like Odysseus, the hypertext here almost moves into the realm of an intertext that cannot be understood without the text it quotes or paraphrases.

Shortly after Ascyltus, the *praeco*, and the *seruus publicus* leave, Eumolpus comes back, and the scene starts anew: the rival claims Giton back, Encolpius again assumes the role of a suppliant (*genua amplector, ne morientes uellet occidere*, 98.3) and comes up with an emergency plan to distract the predator's attention from the bed: this time he lies, saying that Giton has escaped. And indeed, his rival seems to endorse the lie (*iam credenti*, 98.4). This time, however, the outcome will be different: Giton sneezes three times, the bed trembles, and Eumolpus finds his Odysseus (98.5, cf. 97.4) under the mattress.⁶¹⁴ I disagree with Connors (1998, 37)

⁶¹³ Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.497–514. On the adultery mime in Greek and Roman antiquity cf. for example FANTHAM (1989), BENZ (2001, 61–3, with further references in nn. 88–9).

⁶¹⁴ The motif of the trembling bed is known from elegy (Catull. 6.10–1, Ov. *Am.* 3.14.26, mocked at Juv. 6.21–2), even though the reason for the trembling there is different.

that Giton fails, because he is acting the wrong role – it is usually Encolpius who acts the role of Odysseus. As I have argued elsewhere (particularly in section 5.3.6), Petronius frequently alters models and may change them without issue from one moment to the next. Therefore, it is not a problem that here Giton instead of Encolpius acts as a second Odysseus. Moreover, Connors’ interpretation does not explain why the adventurers get away with Giton playing the wrong role in the first part of the scene, i.e. with Ascyltus and the *praeco*.

For obvious reasons the *senex* feels betrayed and verbally vents his anger. Eventually, it is only due to Giton’s charms and his masterful ability to find the right words at the right time that Eumolpus calms down.⁶¹⁵ His act of reconciliation reminds us of that of the Sabine women (Livy 1.13.3), not least because he addresses Eumolpus as his *pater* (98.8). The motifs that he uses in his message are clearly heroic, if not epic.⁶¹⁶ By contrast, Encolpius chooses a different tone. Besides activating the elegiac motif that lovers are not in charge of their emotions, particularly if jealousy is involved,⁶¹⁷ appealing to Eumolpus’ own feelings for Giton, he chooses to speak to the *poeta* in a poetic vein. Apart from the dactylic rhythm of a number of words in his direct discourse at 99.3, we find the poetic conjunction *ast* and a simile (*leuis pruina dilabitur. similiter in pectoribus ira considit*).⁶¹⁸ The “ironic or inappropriate comparison of snow (cold) with anger (hot), and the sibilation”⁶¹⁹ reveals that Encolpius is not a poet; rather, he is guilty of unjustifiably assuming the role of a *poeta*.

5.4 CONCLUSION

A narratological enquiry of the hypertextual nature of the *Satyrical*, embroidered with the analyses of historical, non-hypertextual sources has allowed us to investigate the story of Petronius and trace evidence that contributes to our re-evaluation of date of composition of the work.

⁶¹⁵ Despite the lacunae before and after 99.1, we find out indirectly at 99.2 that Eumolpus forgives Giton (*rogo quaesoque ut mecum quoque redeat in gratiam*) and directly at 99.4 that he does not hold a grudge against Encolpius either (*‘ut scias’ inquit Eumolpus ‘uerum esse quod dicis, ecce etiam osculo iram finio.*)

⁶¹⁶ For *inimicus ignis* cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.347, Verg. *G.* 4.330, *Aen.* 8.375, Ov. *Met.* 8.461; for *utinam hauriret* cf. Encolpius’ outcry at 81.2.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. for example Catull. 15.14–5, Prop. 1.1.7, Ov. *Rem. am.* 119, Tib. 1.6.73; CASTON (2012).

⁶¹⁸ Cf. HABERMEHL (2006, 315).

⁶¹⁹ SCHMELING (2011, 396).

The references to potentially Neronian singers, actors, and gladiators, even though they appear conclusive at first sight, do not stand up firmly to closer scrutiny, as it was a common practice in antiquity for professionals from certain professions to assume the name of their teachers or predecessors. Even if we wanted to use these references for historical purposes, they allow us to determine the (diegetic) time of narration, which provides a *terminus post quem* and is to be distinguished from the actual process of writing the work by the author Petronius.⁶²⁰

For aspects of the depiction of the main protagonists Encolpius, Ascyltus, Agamemnon (and Menelaus), and Trimalchio we find literary parallels in the works of Martial, Pliny the Younger, Varro, and others, who might have functioned as hypotexts. Our main difficulty with using hypertextual considerations for the purpose of dating the *Satyrice* lies in the partial subjectivity of potential allusions and, in the cases of late first- or second-century authors, the uncertainty about the chronological relationship of which of two texts is the hypotext and which the hypertext. Even though we might be able to find traces of Martial, Juvenal, and other authors of the late first and early second century in the *Satyrice*, we cannot always conclude whether Petronius is alluding to them or vice versa, provided that we accept an allusion as such in the first place.

The impact of the date of composition that we assume for the *Satyrice* on our interpretation of which passages we read as allusions to certain authors and texts, and vice versa, was highlighted based on the political reading of Trimalchio as a re-issue of Claudius, Nero, and other emperors, as described in Suetonius and elsewhere, and his philosophical aspect as an allusion to the Stoic Seneca. Via the hypertextual and historical observations on the socio-economic aspect of the protagonist Trimalchio I hope to have illustrated that factors that appear in but are by no means exclusive to Neronian times have been wrongly adduced in favour of a Neronian date of composition. What might be literary stereotypes or socio-historical phenomena across various decades or even centuries have, in scholarship on Petronius, often been reduced to their prominent appearance during the rule of the last Julio-Claudian emperor.⁶²¹ This stands in line with Debray's (1919, 14) conclusion that no juridical factors in the *Satyrice* exclusively point at a Neronian time of composition:

⁶²⁰ Cf. SULLIVAN (1968b, 22).

⁶²¹ Cf. GALSTERER (1983, 492: "Das Problem ist nur, dass er [sc. Trimalchio] eben eine Romanfigur ist, nicht Photographie einer Wirklichkeit").

“Nous avons déjà remarqué que rien, dans le côté juridique de l’œuvre, ne permettait d’assigner à sa composition des dates plus précises, et surtout, car c’est là ce qui serait le plus intéressant, de reporter plus haut dans le passé la dernière de ces dates”.

From our analyses of the plot we can conclude that the central protagonist Encolpius appears to be imitating the Homeric Odysseus, from whom he differs for a number of reasons. While he might wish to read his own adventures in line with the Greek hero, neither does a supreme god chase him nor was he compelled to escape from burning Troy. Rather, he was expelled from the city of Marseille as a scapegoat, and impotence, which he reads as a form of punishment by the god Priapus (*ira Priapi*, 139.2), haunts him. Even though he might like to think of himself as a second Odysseus when he assumes various roles in different scenes and applies heroic gestures, he fails to live up to the great standards of his model.

The indirectly authorial hypotexts, i.e. those in play on the level of the protagonists, mainly Encolpius, are frequently taken from epic, tragedy, elegy, and oratory though it remains in most instances difficult to single out one specific hypotext rather than detecting commonplaces, which can be found across several authors from various centuries. Above all, Encolpius imitates great mythical heroes as found in Homer, Vergil, and both Greek and Roman tragedies, and interprets his relationship with Giton in line with those from Roman elegiac poetry or the idealised romance.

By contrast, the hypotexts that have been applied directly by the author are most commonly farcical or comic. Petronius allows Encolpius to use the *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, and other texts as hypotexts in un-heroic settings like the *taberna* or the lodging and sometimes unmasks the protagonist’s unsuccessful attempts of assuming great roles by aligning them to both protagonists and scenes from Plautus and others. Throughout the *Satyricon* we can find a humorous gap between heroic roles and settings and unheroic protagonists and places.⁶²² The Petronian protagonists would like to be epic heroes, but they rather turn out to be unheroic, comic figures. As Conte (1996, *passim*) rightly highlights, the author is also responsible for creating scenes that show some similarity with great (hypo)texts. In turn, the protagonists then link the scenes they find themselves in with these (hypo)texts interpreting their roles generally in literary and/or specifically in mythical terms.

Our Genettean analyses of focalization have been of great help for the distinction

⁶²² Cf. CONTE (1996, 150).

between the levels of author, narrator, and protagonists and, thus, allowed us to investigate the narrative complexity in play most thoroughly. Our narratological enquiry has allowed us to go beyond the general assessment of matters of hypertextuality and to investigate the discrepancy between hypotexts used on the level of the protagonists in contrast to those applied directly by the author as well as the effects that Petronius achieves by creating this gap.

Two types of hypertextual relationships can be found frequently in the extant *Satyrlica*. On the whole, the work can be read as an anti-romance suverting the Homeric *Odyssey*. As grandiose models are applied to or fused with low-life protagonists, scenes, or genres, the mood is playful throughout.⁶²³ Thus, several episodes appear as pastiches, occasionally with interspersed parodic motifs or scenes more generally.⁶²⁴ Only rarely does Petronius seem to have created a parody on a macrostructural level. This is not least because it is, as Genette rightly highlights, rather difficult to closely model an entire episode after one or more specific hypotexts. Moreover, it goes without saying that the distinction between generic models and specific hypotexts and, immediately connected to it, between parody and pastiche is based only on those texts that have been preserved. We cannot exclude with certainty that in some of those instances where I have argued for a generic pastiche in fact we might have a parody of a specific text. Since this hypotext, however, might not have come down to us, this remains impossible to investigate further.

By contrast, the mood at no time seems to be serious or satirical,⁶²⁵ just as there are no traces of a moralising tendency by the author. Whereas Petronius certainly exposes and mocks his protagonists, there is no reason to assume that he also attacks the authors of the hypotexts that he directly or indirectly, i.e. via his protagonists or

⁶²³ I thus agree with the similar conclusions drawn by a number of scholars for the episodes aboard ship and in Croton. Cf. for example FEDELI (1987; 1988a; 1988b), MAZZILLI (2000; 2001), CUGUSI (2001), PANAYOTAKIS (2006), PATIMO (2002b; 2006; 2007a; 2007b, esp.: 354: “È evidente, tuttavia, che Petronio procede alla degradazione dell’eroe omerico con i mezzi e le risorse della tradizione comico-drammatica”), VANNINI (2010).

⁶²⁴ Generally speaking, every parody contains an element of pastiche, i.e. some form of low-life influence with which a specific, great model has been fused.

⁶²⁵ The episode with Circe that I merely touched upon here is a pseudo-travesty only, since Polyaeus and Circe in the *Satyrlica* are not the same protagonists as their namesakes in Homer.

If the *Satyrlica* were based on a translation of a Greek work or an actual translation itself, and either the original Greek work or its Latin translation had come down to us, we could assess whether Petronius’ work as a whole might be a product of transposition. In this case the mood would be serious. Scholars, who have argued in favour of a Greek model, include JENSSON (2002; 2004), LAIRD (2007, 151–2). Cf. further the list in PARSONS (1971, 66 nn. 61–2).

the narrator, alludes to.

In order not to exceed the framework of this thesis and in the interests of clarity, I have limited myself to analysing selected scenes and motifs only, which are representative of Petronius' literary technique in the *Satyrical* generally. The author has used a number of literary genres, authors, and texts, which he mingles together at times; elsewhere he turns them upside-down, sometimes openly, otherwise subtly. Besides generic influence, including that of the idealised romance, oratory, tragedy, and epic, we have been able to detect some specific hypotexts. For example, Plato's *Symposium* functioned as the hypotext for both the *Cena* and the Pergamene Youth.

For our re-assessment of the date of composition, the parody of Senecan tragedy in the sixth episode and its pastiche in the seventh episode as well as the parody of Lucan in Eumolpus' *BC* that I could not touch upon here in greater detail are particularly relevant, as they confirm that *Satyrical* was written with certainty no earlier than 60 CE. Moreover, I have drawn attention to a number of scenes and motifs with potential hypotexts from the late first or second centuries, such as Martial, Pliny the Younger, Juvenal, and Lucian. The list of more or less likely parallels between Petronius and (other) late-first and second-century authors, albeit not extensive, adds further strength to the suggestion from section 3 that the likely *terminus post quem* is indeed the reign of the emperor Trajan.

The *Satyrical* itself has emerged from my discussion as one of its own most important hypotexts. Frequently, later episodes mirror earlier ones. Time and again the author activates the readers' expectations by re-using similar scenes or terms, yet only in order to disappoint them by changing the flow of events and their outcomes.

Finally, I have investigated the hypertextual ambiguity that is caused by the fact that the hypertext can be read against the background of and independently from its hypotext. The knowledgeable readers have an advantage over the uneducated, if they are able to identify both the common patterns between hyper- and hypotext and the way in which the author distorts or blurs them. To them, the *Satyrical* will emerge in its full literary complexity. In the case of Petronius it is particularly interesting to note that the work, however, is amusing to both knowledgeable and uneducated readers, though for different reasons. While it will to some also be aesthetically appealing, as they are able to recognize the hypertextual relationships in play, the events of the story as such, such as Encolpius' ignorance and his misfortunes, are entertaining, too, even if read on their own.

6 ARCHITEXTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Architextuality designates the categorical investigation of the characteristics of a literary piece of work, both in terms of form – in the case of Latin and Greek literature above all metre – and content, such as text structure, plot patterns, and motifs, that are constituent for its assignment to a specific genre. The architext then is a combination of such characteristics inherent in a text.

Unless an author implies a certain architext by choosing a rhematic title (for example *Satirae*), applying some specific textual features, such as the dactylic hexameter for epic, or using statements as to the genre,⁶²⁶ it is the reader, or in some cases the editor, i.e. the text's first reader, who makes an architextual allocation based on the features they encounter in the piece of work. In turn, this genre allocation, be it by the author or a reader, entails a more or less guided interpretation of the text for the reader. Similarly to our observation on paratexts, unless we have authorial statements or rather unambiguous hints on the architext, the question of architextuality both has an impact on the reader's interpretation of the work and at the same time originates from it.⁶²⁷

There is also a certain level of circularity in the process of getting to any genre definition. Unless we analyse the features that a number of pieces of work have in common to assign them to one group, we cannot speak of them as belonging to one genre. Only once we have set up the genre can we speak of the architextual features of the texts belonging to this genre.

The investigation of the genre of a literary text matters because, in the words of Genette (1982, 17):

“The distinctions between the genres, the notions of epic, tragic, heroic, comic, fictional, corresponded to certain broad categories of mental attitudes that predispose the reader's imagination in one way or another and make him want or expect particular types of situations and actions, of psychological, moral, and aesthetic values”.

⁶²⁶ For an explicit statement as to genre cf. Juvenal's explanation of why he decided to write satires; for implicit statements cf. for example Horace with *quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres* (*Carm.* 1.1.35) and Vergil on Theocritus with *Syracosio versu* (*Ecl.* 6.1), Hesiod with *Ascraeum carmen* (*G.* 2.176), Homer with *arma virumque* (*Aen.* 1.1).

⁶²⁷ Cf. SCHMELING (1995, 152).

The question of architextuality also matters because it allows us to investigate in which tradition the author puts himself and his work and how a specific genre changes with him. It is in the light of the architext, then, that we can best evaluate a number of narrative features with regard to their novelty or conventionality.

The question of the genre of the *Satyrica* has sparked a vigorous debate, and a number of candidates have been suggested, most prominently the idealised and comic-realistic romances, (Menippean) satire, the Milesian Tale, and the mime.⁶²⁸ All monographs and commentaries on Petronius, and on the (Latin) “novel” more generally, as well as a great number of articles and contributions to conference proceedings, include a section that discusses the genre of the *Satyrica*. However, no agreement on the architext of the *Satyrica* has been reached in scholarship as of today.

This dispute originates from a number of problems. Firstly, there is hardly any consensus on how to categorize works of ancient prose fiction in general⁶²⁹ and, as I shall discuss below, little agreement on the definition of genres such as the *Menippea* and, to use an anachronistic term, the novel. Neither from the *Menippea* nor from the comic-realistic romance have more than a number of fragments come down to us, and the textual transmission of the *Satyrica* is not particularly satisfying either. Additionally, in the cases of the idealised romance and the comic-realistic romance we are facing uncertainties over the date of the works. My conclusion that no specific genre might be indicated in the title of Petronius’ work nourishes the scholarly disagreement further.⁶³⁰ In short, it is difficult to assign the *Satyrica* to a genre whose architextual characteristics we do not know with certainty or whose development we cannot date with precision. Finally, the observation that the primary markers of genre often occur in prefaces or beginnings is of little help with the question of the architext of the *Satyrica* either, as the opening of the work has not survived.

⁶²⁸ A brief overview can be found in SCHMELING (1971b). On the question of the genre of the *Satyrica* in general cf. VANNINI (2007, 70–2, 182–215).

⁶²⁹ Cf. SELDEN (1994), HOLZBERG (1996), CHRISTESEN/TORLONE (2002, 165: “There is in fact no extant terminology which satisfactorily describes Petronius’ work, and we should not let our interpretations of this text be guided, either implicitly or explicitly, by classificatory labels”), FARRELL (2003, 391–2), GIANOTTI (2013, 22–3).

⁶³⁰ However, as I have argued in section 2.2.1, discarding a rhematic title for the work that we now commonly refer to as the *Satyrica* is to some extent based on our assessment of its architext in the first place.

If we attempt to determine the architext of the *Satyrice*, we need to be aware of a few potential problems. We must neither forcefully squeeze the work into a certain genre, whose constituent architextual features it does not fully share, nor adapt, alter, or amplify our definition of a specific genre to make it fit the *Satyrice*. Furthermore, we must not mistake some of parts of the work for the whole or wrongly judge its architext from its skeleton or flesh only. In fact, as scholars have long noted and I shall discuss in greater detail below, various narrative features of the *Satyrice* suggest different genres. We must not forget, then, that parody and pastiche are genre-neutral.⁶³¹ It is in view of this that I have decided to label “types of hypertextual relationships” what Genette calls “genres”. As I investigated in section 5, we have scenes and episodes with parody or pastiche of nearly all ancient genres from tragedy and epic to the idealised romance and elegy. Whatever genre Petronius is writing, he has absorbed a great many other genres. In the assessment of Christesen/Torlone (2002, 135):

“The *Satyricon* resists simple generic characterization; Petronius’ use of linguistic and thematic elements drawn from a dozen or more genres makes it very difficult indeed to assign this work to any of the canonical Greco-Roman literary categories”.⁶³²

Whereas in the previous sections I investigated the Petronian paratexts, of which mostly the first peritext, i.e. the title, will be relevant for my discussion here, and the hypertextual nature of some single motifs, scenes, and the first eight episodes of the extant work more generally, I shall here look at the whole picture. Extrapolating from the results from my hypertextual analyses I aim to re-assess the question of genre of the *Satyrice*. This chapter, thus, knits together the two strands of paratextuality and hypertextuality from sections 2 and 5.

I will look into three out of the five genres commonly advocated – the *Menippea*, Milesian Tale, and romance, whether comic-realistic or (pastiche of) idealised – and present both arguments in favour of the allocation of the *Satyrice* to these genres and some problems connected to it.⁶³³ The assessment of the architext of Petronius, I

⁶³¹ Cf. SLATER (1990b, 18: “Parody is a style rather than a genre, parasitic upon other literary or cultural forms”).

⁶³² Cf. also ZEITLIN (1971a, esp. 635).

⁶³³ On the assignment of the *Satyrice* to the genre of satire see section 2.2.1.

Apart from the satire, I shall also exclude the genre of the mime from my discussion. As I have argued in section 5, the influence by the mime on the *Satyrice* in general is obvious and undeniable. Cf. contrarily, yet hardly persuasively, JENSSON (2004, 40–2). Furthermore, I have nothing more to add to the comprehensive study of the *Satyrice* as a mime by PANAYOTAKIS (1995), who builds

shall argue, resembles piecing together a puzzle: it is necessary to evaluate the single puzzle pieces first; only once all the pieces have been put together, can we see the final picture.

When we attempt to assess the genre of the *Satyrica*, the use of Genettean terminology and methodology will again be advantageous. My discussion of the genre of the *Satyrica* benefits from Genette's approach indirectly, as it is to some extent based on the (Genettean) discussion of the para- and hypertextual material in the previous sections, and directly, since our analyses of focalization will again be of great help in distinguishing between the levels of author, narrator, and protagonists, here with view of the overall architext rather than selective forms of hypertextual use. As I argued in section 5, Encolpius and other protagonists assume behavioural patterns that belong to different genres, such as epic, tragedy, and elegy. These genres on the level of the protagonists sometimes clash with the genres that the author has directly assigned to the various scenes on a superior level.⁶³⁴ For example, the author un-masks the pseudo-epic (anti)hero Encolpius as a comic figure in the first scene of the second episode. Genres assumed on all levels cover a wider range.⁶³⁵ Yet, this does not mean that there can be no one overall architext for the *Satyrica*.⁶³⁶

The solution to our problem lies in the application of the distinction by Harrison (2007) of 'guest' genres that have been incorporated into a 'host' genre. For example, despite the fact that we have elegiac scenes in the *Aeneid*, we do not find it problematic to read the work on the whole as an epic text. Applied to the *Satyrica*, this means that the existence of various 'guest' genres on any level does not prevent us from having a 'host' genre overall.

A second distinction that is sometimes drawn in scholarship on genre and the application of which will be of great advantage for our discussion here is between the

foremost on the works of REICH (1903) and ROSENBLÜTH (1909), other than a few critical words of caution: I do not think that all episodes can be read as mimic performances equally well (cf. for example episodes 1–2), not least because the feature of role-playing alone is no sufficient evidence for this interpretation. Cf. MALITS/FUHRER (2002, 83). Moreover, as BENZ (2001) has persuasively argued, the mime seems to have drawn, among others, from the Milesian Tale, and vice versa.

⁶³⁴ On these grounds, I agree with the similar conclusions drawn by SULLIVAN (1968b), ZEITLIN (1971a), CONTE (1996), PLAZA (2000), and SCHMELING (2011), who state that the clash between 'low' and 'high' factors is one of the recurring features and thus characteristics of the *Satyrica*.

⁶³⁵ Cf. SCHMELING (2011, 50: "for each episode in the *S[atyrica]* seems to have its own genre").

⁶³⁶ Cf. PERRY (1967, 209: "In short, Petronius has just about everything; but his *Satyricon* as a whole cannot be explained in terms of any one of the forms just mentioned, nor any combination of them").

‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ – or obligatory and facultative, albeit characteristic – elements of a certain genre. In other words: which features must be included in a piece of work in order for it to be assigned to a certain genre, and which features, even though they might recur frequently in a certain genre and are thus more or less characteristic of it, are optional?⁶³⁷ In conjunction with the ‘primary’ elements, the ‘secondary’ elements help us assess the genre of a text, but, strictly speaking, only the ‘primary’ elements bear conclusive weight.

6.2 *MENIPPEA*

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries a number of scholars have investigated the features of the genre of the *Menippea*.⁶³⁸ A survey of the works of Courtney (1962), Kirk (1980), Bakhtin (1984), Riikonen (1987), Relihan (1993), and Weinbrot (2005) shows that there is as much disagreement as there is agreement on the essential, i.e. ‘primary’, features of the *Menippea*. Indeed, the impression that we get from the scholarly discussion of its architext is best summarised with reference to Bakhtin (1984, 113), who describes it as extraordinarily flexible and as changeable as Proteus.⁶³⁹

In fact, in contrast to modern scholarship, Quintilian does not even think of the *Menippea* as its own genre, but rather as a special type of satire. At *Inst.* 10.1.95 he records the special type of (prosimetric) satire for Terentius Varro, without reference to Menippus and without using the term *satura Menippea: alterum illud etiam prius saturaе genus, sed non sola carminum varietate mixtum, condidit Terentius Varro*.

In the following, I shall discuss those features that scholars have most frequently claimed are constituent for the *Menippea* – except for a potential authorial moralising tendency and the (serio-comic) tone of the work(s) –⁶⁴⁰ and draw attention to the

⁶³⁷ Cf. for example JOHNSON (1982, 90–1).

⁶³⁸ A critical overview can be found in RIMELL (2005, 164–9).

⁶³⁹ Cf. CONTE (1996, 143–6) for a similar assessment.

⁶⁴⁰ As I discussed in section 2, we cannot find a moralising tendency by the author Petronius in the *Satyrica*. Indeed, in recent years scholars have deviated increasingly from such an interpretation of the *Satyrica*. The purpose/tone of Varro’s *Saturae* and the *Apocolocyntosis* are two (vigorously contested) cases on their own. All I dare to say here is that Petronius and the Iolaus fragment share the feature of a ludic tone. Cf. ASTBURY (1977, 29–30), CONTE (1996, 148), HENDERSON (2010, 488).

reasons why it might be problematic to speak of the *Satyrica* as a *Menippea*.⁶⁴¹ In my discussion I shall refer to several groups of works alike: namely those that have been commonly assigned to this genre (Varro, the *Apocolocyntosis*, Lucian), the *Satyrica*, and works of ancient prose fiction from other genres (Milesian Tales and the idealised and comic-realistic romances). The aim of this discussion is to show, on the one hand, that none of the features of the *Menippea* are specific to this genre and, on the other hand, that the *Satyrica* and those works we refer to as belonging to this genre in fact do not have as much in common as scholars have wished to observe.

6.2.1 FORM: PROSE WITH INTERSPERSED VERSES

Scholars generally agree that the prosimetric form is one of the primary features of the *Menippea*, as we can find it in Varro, the *Apocolocyntosis*, and Lucian. Petronius, too, applies a variety of metres, including hexametric verses, sotadeans, and elegiac couplets, at various points in his narrative. However, as far as we can tell from the Iolaus fragment and from Lollianus, the same form might have been a (perhaps primary?) feature not only of the *Menippea*, but also of the comic-realistic romance. Finally, from Chariton, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius we can tell that the form of the prose narrative with interspersed verses seems to have been a secondary feature of the idealised romance.⁶⁴² On these grounds, the form alone, namely prose with interspersed prosimetric verses, is not sufficient evidence for an assignment of the *Satyrica* to the genre of the *Menippea*.⁶⁴³

6.2.2 CONTENT I: USE OF INTERSPERSED POETIC VERSES

In Petronius and the Iolaus fragment we can find verse quotations and the authors' own poetic contributions in verse. Both groups of interspersed verses have been applied for the purpose of commenting on the action and to debase the (great) hypotext(s) by means of putting the words of Euripides, Vergil, and others in the mouths of doubtful protagonists such as Encolpius and Iolaus.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. COURTNEY (1962), SULLIVAN (1968b), WALSH (1970). On the attribution of the *Satyrica* to the genre of the *Menippea* cf. FERREIRA (2008).

⁶⁴² I am hesitant to speak of a primary feature here, as there are no interspersed verses in Xenophon of Ephesus and Longus, even though both authors allude to Homer at several points.

⁶⁴³ Cf. CONTE (1996, 167: "Rather, the mixture of prose and verse is simply a *formal element without a canonical literary function*, and accordingly it does not function in itself as a mark of genre.").

The specific application of interspersed verses in the idealised romance differs from that in Petronius.⁶⁴⁴ In Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus most verse quotations, mainly from Euripides and Homer, are clearly marked as such and introduced by speaking protagonists in support of specific claims. In Chariton, verse quotations are applied organically to the narrative and do not alter the original meaning.

We can find interspersed verses, both in forms of quotations and original poetic contributions, such as those in Petronius, also in Varro and the *Apocolocyntosis*, whereas, as far as I can see, we cannot find any of Lucian's own poetic contributions in his work. While in the case of Varro the fragmentary textual transmission does not allow us to assess the specific features of verse and prose alternation in detail, those in Seneca are different from the ones in the *Satyrica*. In the assessment of Laird (1999, 230):

“Petronius’ verses can either amplify words already spoken, or else they can give an intimation of what is to happen next. This sort of function is rather different from the way in which Seneca’s narrative in the *Apocolocyntosis* uses verse: there it often seems to signal an additional voice or mode, with which the prose narrator is in a kind of dialogue (2.1–6)”.⁶⁴⁵

As emerges from this overview, the specific application of interspersed verses in Petronius comes closest to that in the Iolaus fragment, i.e. the comic-realistic romance, and not the *Apocolocyntosis*, to which we commonly refer as *Menippea*.

6.2.3 CONTENT II: LITERARY PARODY/PASTICHE

As I discussed in section 5, there is hardly any author or genre that Petronius does not allude to.⁶⁴⁶ We found, for example, epic scenes that have been fused with comedy and tragic slapstick. In the episodes in Croton (116–41) that I only touched upon we can even find a prominent satirical motif, i.e. the legacy-hunters, just as the *Cena* reads as a parody of Horace’s *Satire* 2.8.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. FUSILLO (1990), BARTOŇKOVÁ (1996, 258–9), BARCHIESI (1999, 136–8), ROBIANO (2000), SETAIOLI (2013, 188–92, 196–7).

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. also LAIRD (1999, 234–5), differently FREDERICKS (1974, 105). CONTE (1996, 152–4), in a similar vein, argues that “[t]he Menippean cites poetry only to infect it, to desacralize it, only to indicate how absurd it is to speak in poetry” and reads this as the basis of a “common type of metaliterary joke that thematizes the double nature of prosimetric composition”; by contrast, Petronius’ “narrative text runs on placidly from prose into poetry, to resume in turn its prosaic flow”.

⁶⁴⁶ On literary parody/pastiche in the *Menippea* cf. COURTNEY (1962, 87–92), EDEN (1984, 14).

One group of texts that Petronius subverts recurrently is the idealised romance. On an abstract level the idealised romance and the *Satyrica* display a great amount of similarities both in terms of protagonists and plot structure: “a wandering hero, an angry deity, sea-storms and shipwrecks, threats of suicide, motifs like *Scheintod* and love at first sight, forensic proceedings, rhetorical outbursts, pathetic monologues, interpolated tales”⁶⁴⁷. Closer scrutiny has revealed that Petronius has left no stone unturned. The common motifs and actions from the romance have been altered, subverted, or turned upside down rather than imitated. The idealised plot exists no more than as the hypotext against which we are supposed to read the hypertext.

However, several fragmentarily preserved comic-realistic romances show that the *Menippea* is not the only genre that characteristically employs the various techniques of hypertextual distortion, be it parody or pastiche. For example, the fragments of the *Phoenicica* attributed to a certain Lollianus first edited by Albert Henrichs in 1972 display an inappropriate heroine as well as a man telling the story of his first sexual experience. Both the heroine, Persis, and the man behave differently from what a reader would expect from an idealised couple found in the idealised romance, with matters such as chastity and virginity nowhere to be seen.⁶⁴⁸ Moreover, the motif of cannibalism is no less foreign to the *Phoenicica* than to the *Satyrica* (140–1). In the Iolaus fragment, too, we find literary pastiche.⁶⁴⁹ Thus, the feature of literary parody/pastiche allows us to assign the *Satyrica* not only to the genre of the *Menippea*, but also to the comic-realistic romance.

Furthermore, a closer look reveals that the strategies to debase grandiose texts taken on by the *Menippea* and Petronius are different, as Conte (1996, 149–50) has persuasively argued:

“Petronius does not degrade the sublime texts that are cited or parodied from time to time, and above all he does not directly debase divine, mythological or heroic roles. Rather, he brings down to earth an ordinary humanity which had sought to scale heights to which it had no right”. (150)

⁶⁴⁷ SCHMELING (2011, XXXII). Cf. also HEINZE (1899), PETERSMANN (1986, 390–1), RELIHAN (1993, 94), BARCHIESI (1999, 126). See section 5, esp. 5.2.3.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. SANDY (1979), BARCHIESI (1999, 127–8).

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. PARSONS (1971, esp. 65–6), SANDY (1994, 141).

6.2.4 CONTENT III: SUBJECT MATTER

As Astbury (1977, 24–8) has argued, verbal links between Petronius on the one hand and the *Apocolocyntosis* and Varro on the other are thin, and it is not necessary to assign the *Satyrica* to the same genre as Seneca and Varro to explain the appearance of some recurring motifs, such as the role of philosophy and the discussion of the decline of literature and the arts.⁶⁵⁰ Moralizing comments by the protagonists could just as well be linked with Seneca’s philosophical writings, the *Epistulae* and the *Dialogi*, or hexametric satirists, such as Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. This holds true also for a number of parallels that Paschalis (2009) has presented in favour of a link between Petronius and the *Apocolocyntosis*, such as the de-/ascent to the underworld or heaven.⁶⁵¹

In fact, if we turn our attention away from Paschalis’ argument, to which I shall return in a moment, and look at Eden’s (1984, 13–6) list of specific motifs that appear in several of those works we think of as *Menippeae*, one cannot but notice that indeed one might struggle to label any element ‘primary’. For example, in the fragments of Varro we have no ascent to heaven, no council of the gods, and no descent to the underworld, whereas we have all three motifs in the *Apocolocyntosis* and again in Lucian (*Icar. 22, deor. conc.*).

Therefore, returning to the discussion of the example from Paschalis, even if we accept the linking of the appearance of the (metaphorical) descent to the underworld in the *Satyrica* with the literal descent in the *Apocolocyntosis* (or perhaps Lucian?), this would really point to a hypertextual link between the two authors, and only perhaps, in addition, also to an architextual feature of the *Menippea* that we can find in Petronius. Indeed, even if we accept Paschalis’ (2009, 106–7) more persuasive parallels between the *Satyrica* and the *Apocolocyntosis*, such as Claudius’ obsession with Homer, who quotes *Od. 9.39* in heaven, and Encolpius’ posturing as a Homeric

⁶⁵⁰ In both Varro and Petronius we have Greek words both in the original and in translation as well as colloquialisms. Cf. EDEN (1984, 14). In contrast to Varro and the comic-realistic romance, perhaps surprisingly, we have no vulgarisms in Petronius. Jokes are inoffensive and sexual puns are rather subtle and often metaphorical.

⁶⁵¹ The majority of the further allusions to the *Apocolocyntosis* that FOCARDI (1999, 150–65) claims to have traced in the *Satyrica*, both with reference to philosophy and erudition or the gods, remain vague and unconvincing. For example, it is not sustainable to link Claudius’ unintelligible way of speaking (Sen. *Apocol. 5.2, 7.4*) with Trimalchio’s garbling of the *cantica* by Menecrates (73.4). Trimalchio is babbling because he is drunk, whereas Claudius’ trait is persistent. Likewise, the further physical features that FOCARDI adduces (151), such as the emperor’s limp and the freedman’s bald head, share no obvious common features.

hero, this might mean no more than that Petronius is using the *Apocolocyntosis* as a hypotext. In fact, not even if we could establish a link between the *Satyrical* and a motif that we could safely assess as ‘primarily’ an element of the *Menippea* only, would this mean that the *Satyrical* belongs to this genre. This is because Petronius might be writing a pastiche of a ‘primary’ architextual element in general or a parody of its specific application in one author. As I have argued in section 5, there are plenty of instances of pastiche, or, in other words, motifs where the architext, for example epic, is the likely hypotext for a hypertextual motif in the *Satyrical*.

6.3 MILESIAN TALE

The Milesian Tale, sometimes also referred to as ‘Milesian fiction’, is a short erotic story associated with the Greek author Aristeides of Miletus, whose work *Sisenna* translated into Latin in the first century BCE.⁶⁵² The *Milesiaka* of Aristeides, of which no more than a handful of fragments have come down to us, may have been a long series of stories connected by a frame narrative, more or less what we get in parts of Petronius and Apuleius.

Harrison (1998) has aptly summarised the key features of the genre of the Milesian Tale, both in terms of form and content. Like some novels, the Milesian Tale has the structure of a first-person narrative and is associated with particular cities, while some of the content of the story (or stories) is obscene. Additionally, several actors narrate stories to the homodiegetic narrator. “[T]he general evidence on the content of the Milesian Tales is clear and consistent. These were plainly pornographic and sensationalist stories with an amusing twist in the tail”⁶⁵³.

Scholars generally agree that the two metadiegetic narrations of Eumolpus, the Pergamene Youth (85–7) and the tale of the widow of Ephesus (111–2) read like Milesian Tales.⁶⁵⁴ In the case of the Pergamene Youth we have a tale of sexual content narrated by a meta-homodiegetic narrator, situated explicitly in the city of Pergamon, with an unexpected turn of events in the second half of the plot.

A number of features speak in favour of an allocation of the *Satyrical* as a whole to the genre of the Milesian Tales. The work fits the criterion of the first-person

⁶⁵² Cf. most recently JENSSON (2004, esp. 255–301).

⁶⁵³ HARRISON (1998, 61).

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. for example WALSH (1970, 10–8), CONTE (1996, 105–7), LEFÈVRE (1997a; 1997b), HARRISON (1998, 67), COURTNEY (2001, 136–9), BENZ (2001, 89, with further references in nn. 192–3), HABERMEHL (2006, 92–126).

narrative,⁶⁵⁵ and the later episodes are clearly linked with the city of Croton, which is characterised by its negative features such as greed and lack of interest in literary and cultural activities (116). A number of episodes are predominantly obscene, even though the sexual element is absent from the opening episode with Agamemnon and the *Cena*. We have three metadiegetic narrators (Nicerus, Trimalchio, and twice Eumolpus), who narrate stories to our autodiegetic narrator Encolpius. Moreover, several episodes end “with an amusing twist in the tail”, in the words of Harrison.

The *Satyrিকা* differs from the Milesian Tales mainly in its alternation of verse and prose, which cannot be found anywhere in the works we refer to as belonging to this genre, except in one dubious and isolated fragment of Sisenna,⁶⁵⁶ and in its length. The *Satyrিকা*, which originally consisted of at least 16 books, is significantly longer than all Milesian Tales we know of.

6.4 ROMANCE

Most commonly, the *Satyrিকা* has been allocated to the modern genre of the novel.⁶⁵⁷ Even though the architext of the modern novel emerged no earlier than with the publication of Cervantes’ work in the early 17th century and the English term ‘novel’ first came into being in the early 18th century, its ancient predecessors take us back to Classical antiquity.⁶⁵⁸ There is good reason to assume that an ancient equivalent of the modern genre of the novel existed already in the first century CE and perhaps even earlier, even though we do not know by which term ancient literary critics might have referred to this group of narratives. The main problem we face with (defining) this genre arises from its indeterminacy and openness, which is, as discussed by Bahktin (1981) one of its key features. As emerges for example from the list of motifs that we can find in the *Satyrিকা* and the comic-realistic romance below, the latter can adopt a multiplicity of forms.

⁶⁵⁵ JENSSON (2004) has argued that we should interpret the feature of first-person [i.e. homo- or autodiegetic] narrative (he calls it the “personal recollection narrative” (203)) rather than the prosimetric combination of prose with interspersed verses as the form of the *Satyrিকা* that serves as “the identifying generic feature” (204).

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. PARSONS (1971, 64), SETAIOLI (2013, 189).

⁶⁵⁷ On the attribution of the *Satyrিকা* to the genre of the novel cf. SCHMELING (1996b; 2011, XXX–XXXVIII).

⁶⁵⁸ On the continuity between ancient and modern novels cf. DOODY (1997).

As regards the ancient romance, based on a group of factors, including milieu and setting, protagonists, and style, we can distinguish between two groups: the idealised and the comic-realistic romances.⁶⁵⁹

When we set out to extract the architextual characteristics of the idealised romance based on the content of the texts we assign to this group, we may get a definition that comes more or less close to that of Tilg (2010, 1–2):

“at its heart we find a boy-girl romance, private interests, and the noble sentiments of its protagonists; in terms of plot, typical characteristics are the falling in love of the young couple, their ensuing separation, their respective adventures, and their final reunion in a happy ending. Moreover, it comes with the idea of the novel that the story is told as an extended piece of prose fiction which constitutes a work of its own (and not just a part of another narrative)”

It makes little sense to merely re-iterate what has been discussed in scholarship in great detail numerous times and what clearly emerged once more from my hypertextual analysis in section 5: in terms of content, the *Satyrica* displays similarities with the idealised romance *e negativo*, i.e. generally in its inverted form of a pastiche and perhaps occasionally even as a parody of specific texts.

What has not been stressed in scholarship equally as firmly is the importance that a second group of romances seems to have exerted on the *Satyrica*. Perhaps even more important than the idealised romances are the comic-realistic ones. Due to their poor textual transmission, the perhaps most detailed sustainable definition of this group of texts we can reach is that of Stephens/Winkler (1995, 7):

“stories that deal with criminal low-life and cult groups, often in an amusing or slightly scandalous fashion [...] magicians, prison breaks, grisly rites, religious scandal, and sacrilege are the staples of this entertainment”

Besides general common features of the *Satyrica* and the comic-realistic romance, such as doubtful heroes, literary pastiche, and the low-life setting, we can find other specific recurring motifs in this group of texts and Petronius. In the fragments of both Lollianus and the *Satyrica* there is mention of a virgin being deflowered, some form of ritual murder, and the cooking and/or eating of human flesh, as well as an extended orgy at nighttime. With Iolaos Petronius shares the mixing together of “conventionally incompatible items – mystical and vulgar, noble and obscene, verse and prose”⁶⁶⁰, noticeable in the Quartilla episode and the scene with the *gallus*,

⁶⁵⁹ See section 1.3 n. 11.

⁶⁶⁰ STEPHENS/WINKLER (1995, 358).

respectively. We meet a great level of rhetorical polish, such as that of the first episode from Petronius, again in Daulis, and the socially marginal protagonists from Tinouphis (executioners, magicians, prophets) are not much different from those in Petronius' Croton. Finally, in both Protogonas and Petronius we find, amongst a number of other parallels, homoerotic encounters and an impotent man. Also the form of both the *Satyrica* and the comic-realistic romance, namely the alternation of prose and verse quotations and original poetic contributions, allows us to link Petronius and this genre.

On the basis of the abundance of evidence we are called to accept that, on the one hand, the *Satyrica* is a pastiche of the idealised romance – and perhaps occasionally even parody of one or more of its authors, for example Chariton and/or Achilles Tatius –, and that, on the other hand, Petronius follows the comic-realistic romance. There are some astonishing parallels between Petronius and either group that make it necessarily to list them both as (hyper- or architextual) predecessors of the *Satyrica*.

This, in turn, means that we are forced to presuppose the existence of the Greek romance at the time of Petronius. We are then left to choose whether we might wish to pre-date the Greek romance in either or both forms, idealised and comic-realistic, to the first half of the first century or post-date the *Satyrica* at least to early Flavian times.⁶⁶¹

The *Satyrica* differs from the romance mainly in its set-up of narrative levels. As discussed in section 6.3 with reference to the results from section 4, the metadiegetic interspersed narratives take us back to the Milesian Tale rather than the romance. Moreover, the comic-realistic romance in particular has a lot in common with the Milesian Tale, for example the often erotic content.⁶⁶²

6.5 GENRE IMPLICATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Unfortunately, at the end of my discussion on the architext of the *Satyrica*, which, albeit succinct, covered the most commonly promoted genre candidates and both arguments in their favour and potential problems arising from the respective genre allocations, we are left with no more than certainty of our uncertainty. My discussion

⁶⁶¹ Cf. HENDERSON (2010, 490).

⁶⁶² Indeed, JENSSON (2004, 270–1) thinks of the comic-realistic romances as further examples of the genre of the Milesian Tale. Cf. also MAY (2009, 79, 81).

could no doubt be expanded further; other genre candidates could be included and more authors of the various genres could be dealt with here, in order to achieve an even longer and more detailed list of pros and cons in favour of or against the various genre allocations. However, nothing would really change and my conclusion would remain untouched: even though it might appear provocative to say so, I dare conclude that, on the basis of the little evidence available, the genre of the *Satyrice* is what the (modern) reader might interpret it to be. What has come down to us from the works of prose fiction, both with and without interspersed verse sections, is not sufficient to make a clear-cut sustainable allocation of the *Satyrice* to one genre or another. This is the case primarily for two reasons.

As regards the potential architexts, these are not sufficiently preserved to allow clear definitions. Even if they were, it would be wrong to think of them as isolated, clear-cut entities that do not allow interaction, transgression, and overlap. For instance, as rightly stressed by May (2009, 81), it might be wrong to think of the romance and the Milesian Tale as neat and nicely distinct genres: “[g]enres at this time seem to have been rather more fluid and experimental than usually anticipated”.

As regards the *Satyrice*, the extant work of Petronius displays such a variety of features that we cannot say for sure which architext might be its host genre and which one(s) its guest genre(s). We could observe that in the extant parts of the *Satyrice* we meet features of such a great variety of genres, which in some cases are neither clearly ‘primary’ nor obviously ‘secondary’ elements of the respective genres.⁶⁶³ This makes it possible to link the work with various architexts with reference to their similarities and explain differences on the basis of the influence that guest genres might have exerted, or argue for the application of ‘primary’ elements from one genre and a number of ‘secondary’ elements from a variety of other genres. For example, one might feel inclined to stress the low-life setting of the work as a ‘primary’ element of the comic-realistic romance and thus advocate the assignment of the *Satyrice* to this (host) genre and finally explain various features such as the mimic nature of specific scenes as the influence that various guest genres have exerted. One could also argue that the (host) genre is that of the Milesian Tale and

⁶⁶³ Since in many cases the features are not unique to one genre or another, I am hesitant to speak with STUBBE (1933, 1) and PLAZA (2000, 11) of what KROLL (1924) calls a ‘crossing of genres’ (*Kreuzung der Gattungen*). This term presupposes clear-cut, unambiguously assignable elements that are typical for only one genre, be it the *Menippea*, the Milesian Tale, or any other. Cf. FARRELL (2003, esp. 393–5).

the prosimetric form can be linked with the influence of the *Menippea*. Various other combinations of host and guest genres are conceivable and perhaps no less persuasive than the two examples I just mentioned. If only we had the entire *Satyrica*, we could find out whether Petronius might have deliberately left the door open to different interpretations; as far as we can tell from the fragments, surely, even the ancient reader must have struggled to allocate this work to one genre or the other.

I would like to end this section on the architext of Petronius by providing some food for thought, rather than definite answers, as indeed in our case there might not be any such. Rimell (2005) raises the fundamental question of how useful the category of the *Menippea* is for critics of Petronius and how it influences the way in which we read the text (166). Slater (2009, 23; cf. also 1990b, 51–4), too, raises doubts when he calls the *Menippea* “an unfortunately shadowy genre that does little to explain the *Satyrica*’s particular appeal”. These concerns should not be limited to the allocation of the *Satyrica* to the genre of the *Menippea*. As stressed above, indeterminacy and generic openness is one of the key features of the novel, as argued by Bakhtin (1981).

Rather than investigating exclusively what the genre of Petronius’ work might be, we should ask ourselves how a specific architextual allocation – be it the *Menippea*, satire, Milesian Tale, romance, mime, etc. – influences our interpretation of the work. Do we appreciate the complexity of the narrative texture, including the great number of instances of parody and pastiche of different authors in various manners, more if we read the *Satyrica* as a *Menippea* rather than as a mime? Is there a risk of attaching too much importance to the sexual or erotic aspect by speaking of a Milesian Tale rather than a romance? No matter which genre allocation we might wish to argue in favour of, all of them have an impact on the reader’s expectations from the work and provide an insight into our scholarly, yet at the same time to some extent subjective, interpretation of the *Satyrica*.

The genre of the *Satyrica* being indeterminate then might be an opportunity for us rather than a case of misfortune. If we let go the urge to necessarily and perhaps compulsively assign the *Satyrica* to one single genre, we might be able to appreciate its multi-facetedness and rich narrative texture even more. Rather than assessing its artistic and aesthetic value in comparison with other pieces of work, we might, and perhaps should, then look at the *Satyrica* as the certainly unique, outstanding product of Petronius’ mastery and skills that speaks for itself.

7 CONCLUSION

It is now timely and appropriate to take stock and look at the results of my Genettean reading of Petronius' *Satyrice*, as well as its overall implications for our assessment and interpretation of the work and beyond, such as our perception of the Neronian age more generally and our understanding of the development of Latin fictional literature.

I have argued that a meeting, metaphorically speaking, of Gérard Genette and Petronius (Arbiter) is mutually beneficial and fruitful. Genette's terminology to describe the specific functioning of narrating with its rigorously formulated classifications (for example the autodiegetic narrator, narrative of words, parody and pastiche, etc.), which has been both adopted and adapted for our purposes, allowed us to analyse the characteristics of the text itself we refer it as *Satyrice* (its narrative levels, its narrating instance/narrator, etc.), the impact of its transtextual elements (para-, inter-, meta-, and hypotexts, as well as the architext) on our reading of the work, and, connected to this, its date of composition. In turn, the possibility of successfully making adaptations to Genette's approach by applying a historical shift to an otherwise purely narratological investigation and bringing in influences from other literary theories, for example for my discussion of 'fact and fiction', while staying faithful to Genette, mirrors its openness, versatility, and suitability. This is the case not least since the works of, among others, Russian formalists and both structuralists and post-structuralists, such as Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes, and Tzvetan Todorov, had influenced Genette's theory and methodology in the first place.

7.1 THE NARRATIVE TEXTURE

There is no need to re-iterate in all its details, facets, and aspects what from my analyses has emerged most clearly: the narrative texture of the *Satyrice* is extremely rich. We have come across a wide range of techniques of narrating, with masterly use of narrative mood (internal focalisation, metalepses and paralepses, etc.) and time (iterative, singulative, and repeating narrating, various forms of anachronism, etc.) by the narrator Encolpius, and his creator, the author Petronius, by extension, different narrative levels and layers (from that of the extradiegetic narrator to his diegetic protagonists and their metadiegetic narratives) and the characteristic features of each

of these, and a multitude of more or less likely hypotexts from a great deal of different authors, genres, and eras, which have either been quoted, paraphrased, or simply alluded to, and imitated or transformed, at times more openly, otherwise subtly, but in all cases in an entertaining, amusing, and equally intellectually challenging manner. Petronius' literary technique is never one-sided or obvious, and his use and specific application of hypotexts in the hypertext changes with every model. If we wish to pay tribute to the literary masterpiece that Petronius has crafted in all its facets, at no point in the narrative will we be allowed to rest, just like our (anti-)hero Encolpius wanders around seemingly indefatigably happening into one adventure after another.

Thus, now being more aware of the complexity of the narrative texture, every additional (re-)reading of the *Satyrica*, no matter how fragmentarily preserved the text unfortunately is, will lead most likely to an even greater appreciation of the work, as we will pay (even) more attention to various techniques of story-telling and their impacts on the narrative flow and our reading experience, as well as potential hypotexts and their specific application in the hypertext, to name just a few factors.

7.2 THE IMPLIED READER

I have touched upon the implied reader of the *Satyrica* at various points in my analyses. I have repeatedly observed how intellectually demanding the *Satyrica* is, perhaps even challenging to a degree that even the most erudite ancient reader might have failed to spot and decode all instances where hypertextual ambiguity is in play. The narrative then, to the surface of which glimpses or traces of distorted hypotexts rise only occasionally, is no doubt so deep that we might not even discover its actual depth no matter how far we immerse ourselves into it. If we set out to dive all the way to its bottom, we run the risk of drowning in the process. This depth speaks in favour of a highly erudite implied reader.

But there is more. To talk of a highly erudite implied reader only would mean neglecting one of those key features that make the specific charm of the *Satyrica*. As Morgan (2009, 44–5) excellently puts it:

“Encolpius and Giton are funny because they contravene and subvert the conventional cultural and social norms and values of the Greco-Roman world [...] To a Roman reader they and their antics would have seemed intrinsically amusing, without the need to invoke any external literary reference.”

In order to find the *Satyrica* entertaining and take delight in reading the work, one

does not necessarily need to perceive the literary origin of the various motifs, scenes, and episodes more generally and detect how varied Petronius' use of hypotexts is. The story is funny for the erudite and the uneducated readers alike.⁶⁶⁴ In view of these conclusions, we should think of various (sub)groups of implied readers in the case of Petronius that cover a wider range from highly literate to unschooled rather than just one homogenous group of intellectual members of the Roman elite.

7.3 THE DATE OF COMPOSITION

Rather than (re-)explaining in intricate detail why on the basis of the evidence gathered in my discussion of paratextuality (authorial and later or more or less authoritative peritexts, potential pseudonymity, etc.), inter- and metatextuality (primarily the references to and quotations from Petronius in Fulgentius, Lactantius Placidus, and Ioannes Lydus), and hypertextuality (the likely presence of the hypotexts of Martial, Juvenal, and other authors of the late first and second centuries CE, as well as the absence of archaism that makes a date after 140 CE unlikely) I have argued for a second-century date of composition of the *Satyrice* during the reigns of Trajan or, more likely, Hadrian, it is now time to ask ourselves how this revision affects our narratological, transtextual interpretation and reading of the work.

For our reading of the actual text, the change in date means that, since Petronius is no longer to be identified with Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* and his work postdates the death of Nero in 68 CE, neither the implied nor the real reader of the work could have been the Neronian court in general or the emperor in particular, and the work cannot have been written for their entertainment, as advocated by almost all scholars who have argued in favour of a Neronian date.⁶⁶⁵ We can then give up the already doubtful interpretation of allusions to Seneca's and Lucan's *œuvres* in the *Satyrice* as forms of attack or critique of these two authors by Petronius that would hint at a literary feud between the three among Nero's court.

In terms of paratextuality, the change of date means that the accounts in Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, and Tacitus discussed in section 2.3 are no longer to be listed as

⁶⁶⁴ This assessment stands in line with the similar conclusions on the implied reader of Chariton drawn by BOWIE (1996, 96) and HÄGG (1994, 54).

⁶⁶⁵ Cf., most prominently, RITTER (1843, esp. 567), SULLIVAN (1968b, 83–4; 1985a, 1686; 1985b, 161–78), ROSE (1966), RUDICH (1993, 155–6; 1997, 249–50), SCHMELING (1996, 480); contrarily WALSH (1970, 69–72, 139: “I conclude that Nero could hardly have been present at the recitation of the *Cena*.”).

epitexts to the *Satyrice*. These should then no longer influence our construct of the implied author, which both originates from our reading of the *Satyrice* itself and has an impact on our interpretation of it.

In terms of inter- and metatextuality, thinking of the *Satyrice* as a text from the second century means we no longer need to come up with artificial, unpersuasive explanations for the lack of references to the *Satyrice* in the accounts of the historian Tacitus and the biographer Suetonius, but are indeed given the opportunity to interpret links with the two second-century authors in the *Satyrice* as hypertextual allusions by Petronius. It is, then, no longer surprising that Quintilian does not even mention the work, and that Martial never lists Petronius as one of his sources or predecessors. Finally, we no longer need to argue that all intertexts that cannot be reconciled with a Neronian date are either inauthentic (*fr.* 17 Müller) or their various authors had little insight into the texts they talk about (Fulgentius, Lactantius Placidus, Ioannes Lydus).

The change of our assumed date of composition also has implications for our assessment of matters of temporal distance that I discussed in section 4.3.3, namely the mix of present and past tenses for the description of past actions that we can find in no other Latin text outside the *Satyrice* until the mid-second century in Apuleius. In this case we no longer need to explain why the mix of present and past tenses in sentences connected with *et* or *-que* seems to have disappeared after Petronius for almost one century and then re-appears in the second half of the second century in two authors (Apuleius and Tertullian). If we assume that the *Satyrice* was written in the reign of Hadrian, this leaves us with a gap of only around 30 years or less.

Finally, the change of our assumed date of composition positively influences matters of hypertextuality for a number of reasons. It significantly facilitates our reading of many scenes in the *Satyrice* as instances of pastiche of the idealised romance, either indirectly, i.e. via the imitation of the realistic romance, or directly, and even allows us to interpret certain scenes as instances of parody of specific authors, for example Achilles Tatius.⁶⁶⁶ Similarly, it allows us to link various motifs, scenes, or even entire episodes (see section 5.3.7) with passages of similar content or phrasing or recurring motifs in other authors from the late first and second centuries. In most of these instances we would otherwise have to admit that, as far as we could tell on

⁶⁶⁶ Cf., for example, the scene of the failed suicide attempt with the dull razor blade discussed in section 5.3.8.

the basis of the surviving material, the scenes in Petronius were non-hypertextual, which would stand in sharp contrast to our recurring observation that Petronius seems to have had a literary or historical source for every motif in the *Satyrica*.⁶⁶⁷

7.4 THE REAL AUTHOR AND THE REAL READER?

I have added a question mark in the heading of this subsection to highlight that the reader of this thesis will walk away with no more than two *non liquet* conclusions and a number of options as regards who the real author and the real reader of the *Satyrica* might have been. I have explored these options and their implications for our reading and interpretation of the work in more detail in various sections of the main body, and shall therefore limit myself to briefly summarising them here.

Someone, who might or might not have been the real author of the *Satyrica*, either deliberately ensured that the work would be received and passed on under the *nomen gentile* of the author Petronius and his *cognomen* Arbiter – or this “Petronius” might not have had a *cognomen* and “Arbiter” designated no more than his working role – or is unintentionally responsible for this allocation. The complexity of this sentence mirrors that it is almost impossible to find out who the real author actually was. Petronius might have been the author’s real name (onymity) or a pseudonym, and in the case of a pseudonym we can ask further whether the real author alluded to a well-known person, who we might or might not know about today, or a fictitious one. It would also be wrong to think that no one but the author himself could trick the readers of the work into thinking that someone else, by the name of Petronius (Arbiter), had composed the work. For example, an ancient grammar, a medieval scribe, or a Renaissance scholar might be to blame for the allocation.

Not much needs to be said about a figure as disputable as the real reader, other than re-stating the obvious: if the *Satyrica* is indeed from the second century, we can exclude with absolute certainty that Nero and his court were the implied or real addressees or audience. Furthermore, Bowie’s (1996) attempt to determine with more certainty who the real reader of the idealised romance might have been shows that the task of reconstructing the real readership of a piece of work, if we have barely any implicit or explicit statements in contemporary or later authors, is not just

⁶⁶⁷ Cf., for example, the scene of Ascyltus and the Roman knight at the bath discussed in section 5.2.2.

a great challenge, but perhaps an endeavour doomed to failure.⁶⁶⁸ All that we find out on the basis of our intertexts to Petronius is that at the end of the second century people on the street chanted songs taken from the *Satyrica*, which was enjoying great popularity at that time, and that late-antique authors read the work for various reasons, mostly because of linguistic peculiarities or its language that was seen as inappropriate in the eyes of some church fathers.

7.5 WIDER IMPLICATIONS

If we give up the commonly held opinion that our Petronius is to be identified with Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* from Tacitus' *Annals*, and accept that the *Satyrica* was written sometime in the second century, during the reigns of Trajan or Hadrian, this affects our philological and cultural understanding of Neronian literature and times more generally. Because the *Satyrica* has had a great impact on our perception of Neronian literature and the Neronian age, changing the assumed date of composition of Petronius' work means we are called to adapt our definition of the characteristics of Neronian literature and times. The Neronian tetrad shrinks to a Neronian triad. This might, ideally, render our perception of the Neronian age more sober, as indeed it remains to be seen to what extent we are still inclined to think of Neronian literature and times the way the way we do now, when of its major components only the works of Persius, Lucan, and Seneca remain. I doubt that our image of the Neronian age remains characterised by artificiality, theatrical role-play, and deception, to name just three factors, to the extent it is now under the impact of Petronius' *Satyrica*, once we remove from its list one of its Big Four.

Changing the assumed date of composition of the *Satyrica* to the first half of the second century also calls for a revision of the understanding of one specific aspect in the development of Latin literature, namely that of (prose) fiction. While the assumed date of the first Greek romance takes us to the mid-first century CE, the earliest surviving Latin work of extended (prose) fiction would follow around 60 to 80 years later – obviously bearing in mind that other works might not have survived.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. in particular BOWIE'S (1996, 87–92, with further reference in n. 1) preliminary considerations and caveats.

⁶⁶⁹ WALSH (1970, 2–3) discusses some potential reasons why it might have taken Latin fictional literature so long to emerge.

7.6 FINAL CONCLUSION, OR: A METAPOETIC AUTHORIAL COMMENT?

With my present study I hope to have persuasively illustrated that narratology in general, and Genette in particular, can be fruitfully applied for the analysis of the narrative texture of Petronius' *Satyrice* and the discussion of its assumed date of composition, well bearing in mind, as Sullivan (1968b, 254) excellently puts it: "An evaluation of Petronius that will convince everyone is perhaps impossible".

I have argued that there is good reason to revise the *communis opinio* on when Petronius wrote the *Satyrice* and give up the assumed Neronian date, moving it to the first half of the second century CE instead.

Irrespective of whether one is ready and open to accept that a revision of the commonly held opinion on the date of composition of the *Satyrice* is overdue and necessary, or wishes to downplay the significance of the cumulative weight of my results, we should take my narratological, Genettean reading of Petronius in this thesis as an opportunity to stop treating the work primarily as a (confused, disordered, irrational) child of its (confused, disordered, irrational Neronian) time⁶⁷⁰ and instead appreciate it to a greater extent for what it actually is: an original, unique literary masterpiece that calls for admiration and fascination and upsets anyone who wishes to hastily and prematurely draw superficial conclusions. If, in view of this, we then wish to interpret any comment in the *Satyrice* as a metapoetic comment by the author, it should not be Encolpius' defensive justification at 132.15, but rather Trimalchio's proud announcement at 39.14:

nihil sine ratione facio.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. for example ZEITLIN (1971a), RIMELL (2002).

8 APPENDIX

8.1 GLOSSARY

The following are those (mostly narratological) terms that have been applied in the present thesis and their Genettean definitions. The numbers in brackets indicate the years of publication of the English translations for Genette's books, from which the definitions have been taken, and the respective page numbers. Where Genette does not provide explicit, clear definitions, but his understanding of the respective term emerges from his discussion, I have included definitions by other scholars based on Genette's analysis or attempted my own. Unless otherwise indicated, terms that also have a meaning beyond Genette (for example 'mood', 'imitation', 'story') are used in this thesis in Genette's sense only.

Anachrony: "all forms of discordance between the two temporal orders of story and narrative" (1980, 40); speaking of anachrony Genette uses the term 'first narrative' to designate "the temporal level of narrative with respect to which anachrony is defined as such" (1980, 48)

Anachrony's extent: "the anachrony itself can cover a duration of story that is more or less long" (1980, 48)

Anachrony's reach: "an anachrony can reach into the past or the future, either more or less far from the 'present' moment (that is, from the moment in the story when the narrative was interrupted to make room for the anachrony)" (1980, 48)

Analepsis: "any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment" (1980, 40)

In terms of reach analepses can be split further "into two classes, **external** and **internal**, depending on whether the point to which they reach is located outside or inside the temporal field of the first narrative" (1980, 61).

Of these, internal analepses can be classified further into:

heterodiegetic: "dealing with a story line (and thus with a diegetic content) different from the content (or contents of the first narrative)" (1980, 50)

homodiegetic: "deal with the same line of action as the first narrative" (1980, 51)

Internal homodiegetic analepses can be classified further into:

completing: “comprise[s] the retrospective sections that fill in, after the event, an earlier gap in the narrative” (1980, 51)

repeating: “the narrative openly, sometimes explicitly, retraces its own path. Of course, these recalling analepses can rarely reach very large textual dimensions; rather, they are the narrative’s allusions to its own past” (1980, 54)

In terms of extent analepses can be classified further into:

partial: “ends on an ellipsis without rejoining the first narrative” (1980, 62)

complete: “joins the first narrative without any gap between the two sections of the story” (1980, 62)

Anisochrony: opposite of **isochrony**

Architextuality: “the entire set of general or transcendent categories – types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres – from which emerges each singular text” (1997a, 1)

Caricature: “an imitation [of a hypotext] in a satiric mode [= mood] whose primary function is derision” (1997a, 85)

Descriptive pause: “some section of narrative discourse corresponds to a nonexistent diegetic duration” (1980, 93–4)

Discours: *récit + narration*

Duration: “connections between the variable duration of the[se] events or story sections and the pseudo-duration (in fact, length of text) of their telling in the narrative – connections, thus, of speed” (1980, 35)

Ellipse (= temporal ellipsis): “a nonexistent section of narrative corresponds to some duration of story” (1980, 93); see paralipsis

Ellipses can be either **definite** (the duration is indicated) or **indefinite** (the duration is not indicated) (1980, 106),

and **explicit** (“arise either from an indication (definite or not) of the lapse of time they elide [...]; or else from elision pure and simple [...] plus, when the narrative starts up again, an indication of the time elapsed” (1980, 106)) or **implicit** (“whose very presence is not announced in the text and which the reader can infer only from some chronological lacuna or gap in the narrative continuity” (1980, 108)).

Epitext: a paratextual element “located outside the book” (1997b, 5)

Focalisation: a replacement or perhaps “reformulation” (1988, 65) of the terms ‘perspective’ and ‘point of view’; we may define it as “a selection or restriction of narrative information in relation to the experience and knowledge of the narrator, the characters or other, more hypothetical entities in the storyworld”⁶⁷¹

We can classify further into:

nonfocalized or zero focalisation: “corresponds to what English-language criticism calls narrative with omniscient narrator [...] which Todorov symbolizes by the formula Narrator > Character (where the narrator knows more than the character, or more exactly says more than any of the characters knows)” (1980, 188–9)

internal: “Narrator = Character (the narrator says only what a given character knows)” (1980, 189)

fixed: everything passes through our single focus of narration (1980, 189)

variable: the focal character changes (1980, 189)

multiple: “the same event may be evoked several times according to the point of view of several [...] characters” (1980, 190)

external: “Narrator < Character (the narrator says less than the character knows); this is the ‘objective’ or ‘behaviorist’ narrative” (1980, 189)

Frequency: “relations between the repetitive capacities of the story and those in the narrative” (1980, 35)

We can classify further into:

singulative: “narrating once what happened once” (1980, 114)

repeating: “narrating n times what happened once” (1980, 115)

iterative: “narrating one time (or rather: at one time) what happened n times” (1980, 116)

Genre: I use the term genre, as defined by Gian Biagio Conte in the OCD (s.v. *genre*), as “a grouping of texts related within the system of literature by their sharing recognizably functionalized features of form and content”. For what Genette calls ‘genres’ in his book *Palimpsestes* (1997a) (parody, pastiche, travesty, caricature, forgery, transposition) I use the term ‘types of hypertextual relationships’ (1997a, 27).

⁶⁷¹ This definition by Burkhard Niederhoff in the *Living Handbook of Narratology* (LHN) is based on the *Handbook of Narratology* (2009).

Hypertextuality: “any relationship uniting a text B (I shall, of course, call it the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary” (1997a, 5)

Imitation: “indirect transformation” (1997a, 7): pastiche, caricature, forgery; on the distinction between the two relations (imitation and transformation) cf. 1997a, 81–5

Implied author: “the author as I infer him from his text, it is the image that that text suggests to me of its author” (1988, 141)

Implied reader: “a reader who does not yet exist at the moment the author is addressing him, and who may never exist [...] the idea, in the real author’s head, of a possible reader” (1988, 149)

Intertextuality: “a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another. In its most explicit and literal form, it is the traditional practice of quoting (with quotation marks, with or without specific references). In another less explicit and canonical form, it is the practice of plagiarism [...], which is an undeclared but still literal borrowing. Again, in still less explicit and less literal guise, it is the practice of allusion: that is, an enunciation whose full meaning presupposes the perception of a relationship between it and another text, to which it necessarily refers by some inflections that would otherwise remain unintelligible” (1997a, 1–2)

Isochrony: “a narrative with unchanging speed, without accelerations or slowdowns, where the relationship duration-of-story/length-of-narrative would remain always steady” (1980, 88)

Metalepsis: “any intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe (or by diegetic characters into a metadiegetic universe, etc.), or the inverse” (1980, 235)

Metatextuality: “the relationship most often labeled ‘commentary’. It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it” (1997a, 4)

Mood: 1) “one can tell more or less what one tells, and can tell it according to one point of view or another; and this capacity, and the modalities of its use, are precisely what our category of narrative mood aims at” (1980, 162)

- 2) the intent or function of the hypertext: playful (parody, pastiche), satirical (travesty, caricature), and serious (transposition, forgery) (1997a, 28)

Narrating (= *Narration*): “the act of narrating taken in itself” (1980, 26)

Narrative: The term narrative carries three notions. For #3 Genette coins the term *narration* (see narrating), which he separates from that of the *récit* (#1). Together with the *narration*, the *récit* forms what Todorov calls the *discours*.

- 1) (= ***Récit***) “the narrative statement, the oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events” (1980, 25)

- 2) “the succession of events, real or fictitious, that are the subjects of this discourse, and to their several relations of linking, opposition, repetition, etc. [...] ‘analysis of narrative’ in this sense means the study of a totality of actions and situations taken in themselves, without regard to the medium, linguistic or other, through which knowledge of that totality comes to us” (1980, 25)

- 3) see **narrating**

We can distinguish between three levels of narrative:

extradiegetic: the level at which a narrator exists who is not part of the story being told

(intra)diegetic: level of the characters and their actions

metadiegetic: a part of a diegesis that is embedded in another diegesis, i.e. a story within a story

In this thesis I use the adjective ‘narrative’ (narrative text, narrative complexity, narrative technique, etc.) as defined by the OED in the meaning of ‘in the form of or concerned with narration’ and the noun ‘narrative’ exclusively as the English translation of Genette’s term *récit*, which, taken together with the act of narrating (*narration*), forms what Todorov calls the *discours*.

Narrator: storyteller

In terms of his relation to the story the narrator is **homodiegetic** (“present as a character in the story he tells”; if the homodiegetic narrator tells his or her own story we have an **autodiegetic** narrator) or **heterodiegetic** (“absent from the story he tells” (1980, 244–5)),

and in terms of narrative level either **extradiegetic** (“is included (as narrator) in no diegesis but is on an exactly equal footing with the extradiegetic (real) public”)

or **intradiegetic** (“a character in a narrative that is not her [or his] own” (1988, 84)).

A **metadiegetic** narrator is a storyteller created by the intradiegetic narrator.

I use the terms **covert narrator** and **overt narrator** coined by Seymour Benjamin Chatman (1978) to describe what Genette calls “the quantity of narrative information (a more developed or more detailed narrative) and the absence (or minimal presence) of the informer – in other words, of the narrator” (1980, 166). In narratological terms we could also speak of a narrative of events (with a telling, overt, explicit narrator) and a narrative of words (with a showing, covert, implicit narrator). This distinction between telling and showing (or διήγησις and μίμησις) goes back to Plato, *Rep.* 3.392d–4b.

Onymity: “the author ‘signs’ [...] with his legal name” (1997b, 39)

Order: “connections between the temporal order [sc. sequence] of succession of the events in the story and the pseudo-temporal order [sc. sequence] of their arrangement in the narrative” (1980, 35)

Paralipsis/paralepsis: “the narrative [...] sidesteps a given element” (1980, 52); “the omission of some important action or thought of the focal hero, which neither the hero nor the narrator can be ignorant of but which the narrator chooses to conceal from the reader” (1980, 196)

Paratextuality: “the generally less explicit and more distant relationship that binds the text properly speaking, taken within the totality of the literary work [...]: a title, a subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations; blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic” (1997a, 3)

Parody: the hypertext “modifies [sc. transforms] the subject [of the hypotext] without altering the style, and that is done in two possible ways: either by preserving the noble text in order to apply it, as literally as possible, to a vulgar subject, real and topical (...); or by creating by means of a stylistic imitation a new noble text to be applied to a vulgar subject” (1997a, 22); Genette here speaks of “semantic transformation” (1997a, 27), and the mood is playful

Pastiche: “an imitation [of a hypotext] in playful mode [= mood] whose primary function is pure entertainment” (1997a, 85); “the pastiche, whose function is to

imitate the letter, prides itself upon paying it the least possible literal allegiance. It can never condescend to direct quotations or borrowings” (1997a, 78)

“Ideally, it would consist of taking a text written in familiar style in order to translate it into a ‘foreign’ style [...] In actual fact, that is generally not the case: the author of a pastiche most often has at his disposal a simple scenario – in other words, a ‘subject,’ invented or not – which he rewrites directly in the style of his model” (1997a, 81).

Peritext: a paratextual element “around the text and either within the same volume or at a most respectful (or more prudent) distance” (1997b, 4)

Playful (= ludic) [vs. satirical]: the hypertext “aims at a sort of pure amusement or pleasing exercise with no aggressive or mocking intention; I shall label it the ludic mode of the hypertext” (1997a, 27): parody and pastiche [vs. travesty and caricature]

Prolepsis: “any narrative maneuver that consists of narrating or evoking in advance an event that will take place later” (1983, 40)

In terms of reach prolepses can be defined further into **internal** and **external** (for definitions of the following terms see **analepsis**, with the modification that for the prolepsis “[t]he limit of the temporal field of the first narrative is clearly marked by the last nonproleptic scene” (1980, 68)).

Internal prolepses can be classified further into **heterodiegetic** and **homodiegetic**, and homodiegetic again into **completing** and **repeating**.

In terms of extent, prolepses can be classified further into **partial** and **complete**.

Pseudonymity: “he [sc. the author] signs with a false name, borrowed or invented” (1997b, 39)

Real author: the actual, authentic producer of a piece of work

Real reader: the actual, authentic recipient of a piece of work

Rhematic title: “a genre designation” (1997b, 86)

Satirical: see **playful**

Scene: “the equality of time between narrative and story” (1980, 94)

Apart from its specific narratological meaning (for example: “The narrator uses summary and scene for the purpose of creating suspense.”), in this thesis I use ‘scene’ also as a synonym for a part of an episode (for example: “The second episode consists of several scenes.”).

Speech: the narrator can reproduce a character’s speech in three different ways:

narratized or **narrated**: “most distant and generally [...] the most reduced” (1980, 171); for example: “Encolpius informed Ascyltus of his decision to marry Giton.”

transposed: “a little more mimetic than narrated speech, and in principle capable of exhaustiveness, this form never gives the reader any guarantee [...] of literal fidelity to the words” (1980, 171); for example: “Encolpius told Ascyltus that he absolutely had to marry Giton.”

reported: “the most ‘mimetic’ form” (1980, 172); for example: “Encolpius said to Ascyltus: it is absolutely necessary that I marry Giton.”

Speed: “the relationship between a temporal dimension and a spatial dimension (so many meters per second, so many seconds per meter): the speed of a narrative will be defined by the relationship between a duration (that of a story, measured in seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, and years) and a length (that of the text, measured in lines and in pages)” (1980, 87–8)

Story (= *Histoire*): “the signified or narrative content” (1980, 27)

[**Stretch/Slow-Down**: “scenes, the reading of which often seems to take longer, much longer, than the diegetic time that such scenes are supposed to be covering” (1980, 95)

Genette (1980, 95) calls the stretch or slow-down “undoubtedly feasible as a literary experiment”, yet “we are not dealing there with a canonical form, or even a form really actualized in literary tradition”.]

Summary: “the narration in a few paragraphs or a few pages of several days, months, or years of existence, without details of action or speed” (1980, 95–6)

In order to avoid confusion, I use the term ‘speed-up’ for Genette’s ‘summary’, and in turn ‘summary’ in its non-technical, i.e. non-narratological, meaning of résumé.

Thematic title: “bear[s] on the ‘subject matter’ of the text” (1997b, 81)

Transformation: “simple transformation” (1997a, 7): parody, travesty, transposition; on the distinction between the two relations (imitation and transformation) cf. 1997a, 81–5

Transposition: “serious transformations [of the hypotext]” (1997a, 3)

Transtextuality: “all that sets the text in relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts” (1997a, 1)

Travesty: the hypertext “modifies [sc. transforms] the style [of the hypotext] without modifying the subject” (1997a, 22; cf. also 1997a, 58); Genette here speaks of “stylistic transformation” (1997a, 27), and the mood is satirical

8.2 PARA-, INTER-, AND METATEXTS

Unless quoted in full in the respective sections, the Latin and Greek inter- and metatexts to the *Satyrice* and the potential epitexts discussed in sections 2.3 and 3, respectively, and their English translations can be found here. The texts are arranged in the sequence in which they are analysed: the potentially paratextual accounts in 8.2.1–3 are followed by the inter- and metatexts, grouped by the writers who inconsistently refer to the author of the *Satyrice* as *Petronius*, *Arbiter*, and *Petronius Arbiter* (8.1.4–6), use *Arbiter* only (8.1.7–9) or *Petronius* only (8.1.10–11). I have highlighted the name of the author of the *Satyrice* in the ancient testimonies for the sake of clarity.

8.2.1 Pliny the Elder

T. Petronius consularis moriturus invidia Neronis, ut mensam eius exheredaret, trullam myrrhinam HS CCC emptam fregit. Sed Nero, ut par erat principem, uicit omnes HS |x| capidem unam parando. Memoranda res tanti imperatorem patremque patriae bibisse! (*HN* 37.20, text: DE SAINT-DENIS 1972)

When the ex-consul Titus Petronius was facing death, he broke, to spite Nero, a myrrhine dipper that had cost him 300,000 sesterces, thereby depriving the emperor’s dining-room table of this legacy. Nero, however, as was proper for an emperor, outdid everyone by paying 1,000,000 sesterces for a single bowl. That one who was acclaimed as a victorious general and as Father of his Country should have paid so much in order to drink is a detail that we must formally record. (Translation: EICHHOLZ 1962)

8.2.2 Plutarch

Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἐλάττωνά ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνα δ’ ἤδη χαλεπὰ καὶ λυμαινόμενα τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ὅταν εἰς τάναντία πάθη καὶ νοσήματα κατηγορῶσιν [...] ἢ τοὺς ἀσώτους αὖ πάλιν καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ῥυπαρίαν ὄνειδίζωσιν (ὥσπερ Νέρωνα Τίτος

Περώνιος) (*Mor.* 60D–E = *Adulator* 19, text: BERNARDAKIS 2008)

These are minor faults. Next, however, comes that unscrupulous practice which has such a damaging effect on silly people. This consists in accusing them of tendencies and weaknesses the very opposite of their real failings [...] This may take the form of sneering at reckless and extravagant spenders for their petty-minded and sordid ways – Titus Petronius did this with Nero. (Translation: SULLIVAN 1968b)

8.2.3 Tacitus

17 Paucos quippe intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mela, Cerialis Anicius, Ruf<ri>us Crispinus, T. Petronius cecidere [...]

18 De [C.] Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officii et oblectamenti uitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui negligentiam praeferebant, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. pro cons<ule> tamen Bithyniae et mox consul uigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. dein reuolutus ad uitia, seu uitiorum imitatione, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amoenum et molle adfluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius adprobauisset. unde inuidia Tigellini quasi aduersus aemulum et scientia uoluptatum potiore. ergo crudelitatem principis, cui ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaeuini Petronio obiectans, corrupto ad indicium seruo ademptaque defensione et maiore parte familiae in uincla rapta.

19 Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiuerat Caesar, et Cumas usque progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit ultra timoris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps uitam expulit, sed incisas uenas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et adloqui amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constantiae peteret. audiebatque referentes nihil de immortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed leuia carmina et facilis uersus. seruorum alios largitione, quosdam uerberibus adfecit. iniit epulas, somno indulsit, ut quam<quam> coacta mors fortuitae similis esset. ne codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigellinum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est, sed flagitia principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et nouitate<m> cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni. fregitque anulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula. (*Ann.* 16.17–19, text: HEUBNER

1983)

17 Within days there died in single file Annaeus Mela, Anicius Cerealis, Rufrius Crispinus, Titus Petronius. [...]

18 On Petronius, brief background is warranted. His days were spent in sleep, his nights with work and life's amusements. Other men reached renown through exertion, he through indolence. Unlike many who swallow their fortunes, he was considered not a glutton and wastrel, but a man "of refined dissipation". The freer his words and deeds, and the more they displayed a certain nonchalance, the more welcome they were for apparent candour. Nevertheless, as governor of Bithynia and later as consul he showed himself vigorous and equal to affairs. Then, relapsing into vices – or imitations of vice – he was taken into Nero's inner circle as arbiter of elegance, at least while Nero deemed nothing pleasant or expensively delicate unless Petronius commended it to him. Hence Tigellinus' resentment against a rival more potent in the science of pleasures. Tigellinus, accordingly, addressed himself to the emperor's cruelty – other appetites yielding ground to this one – and accused Petronius of friendship with Scaevinus, after bribing a slave for evidence, vacating the defence, and arresting most of Petronius' household.

19 It chanced that Nero had just then gone to Campania. Petronius reached Cumae, where he was detained. He abandoned fear's delay – and hope's – without hurrying to banish life. Veins were slit and bound up as he fancied. Then he opened them again and spoke to friends, but not on serious topics or ones by which to pursue constancy's glory. He listened, too, not to talk about the soul's immortality or philosophical doctrine but to lightweight songs and easy verses. Some slaves got largesse; a few got beatings. He began a meal and enjoyed a nap so that compulsory death might nevertheless seem fortuitous. Not even in his will – unlike most victims – did he flatter Nero or Tigellinus or anyone influential. Indeed he catalogued the emperor's enormities under the names of partners male and female, including each perversion's novelty. The list he sealed and sent to Nero, and broke his seal ring so it could not later be used to manufacture trouble. (Translation: DAMON 2012)

8.2.4 Terentianus Maurus

Nunc diuiso, quam loquemur, edet
metrum, quo memorant Anacreonta
dulces composuisse cantilenas.

hoc Petronius inuenitur usus,
Musis cum lyricum refert eundem
consonantia uerba cantitasse,

et plures alii. sed iste uersus
quali compositus tome sit edam,
“iuuerunt segetes meum laborem”.

iuuerunt, caput est *id* hexametri:
si cures reliquos pedes referre,
iuuerunt animum uersus ex carmine
Flacci.

quod restat, segetes meum laborem,
tale est, ceu “triplici uides ut ortu
Triuiae rotetur ignis,
uolucrique Phoebus axe
rapidum pererret orbem”.

(*De metris*, 2849–65, *GL* 6, p. 409)

This arrangement, now to be reported,
will reveal the metre which Anacreon
used, so they say, for his delightful verses.

Petronius also used this very metre
in recording that the same lyric poet
sang out words which accommodate the
Muses.

So did several others. Let me now state
how the caesura is incorporated.
“Thus did the harvest delight my body’s
labour”:

here *iuuerunt* launches a hexameter;
if you want to scan the remaining feet,
of use will be the verses from the Horatian
song.

Then what’s left, *segetes meum laborem*,
Scans just like “You see how Trivia,
from her triple rising, rotates her star,
and how Phoebus’ flying chariot
traverses its swift circle”.

(Translation: WALSH 1996;
slightly modified)

8.2.5 Marius Mercator

Erubescere, infelicissime, in tanta linguae scurrilis, uel potius mimicae obscenitate.
Uulgares tu dignus audire acclamationes: Unus tu, unus Philistion, unus Latinorum
Lentulus, unus tibi Marullus comparandus; namque Martialis et Petronii solus
ingenia superasti. (*Liber subnotationum in uerba Iuliani* 4.1 = *PL* 48.126–7)

You should feel shame, you most wretched man, for such obscenity of your
buffoonish – or, to put it better, mimic – language. You deserve to hear the cheering
of the plebs: You, and you alone, can be compared with a Philistion, a Lentulus of

the Romans, a Marullus; for only you have surpassed the mind of Martial and Petronius. (Translation: PANAYOTAKIS 1995)

Eleganter scurra loqueris more tuo, et more quo theatrum Arbitri Ualeriique detristi. Constat in illis prosatoribus generis humani fuisse libidinem insitam eorum naturae, quam quidem diuinae Scripturae, non ut tu uis, libidinem solent, sed carnis concupiscentiam nominare (*Liber subnotationum in verba Iuliani* 5.1 = PL 48.133)

Your speech is elegant, you buffoon, after your usual manner and the manner in which you wore away the theatrical performances of the Arbiter and of Valerius. It is generally known that in the case of these writers the lust of human kind, which the Holy Scriptures usually name not as lust, as you seek, but as concupiscence of the flesh, has been implanted in their nature. (Translation: PANAYOTAKIS 1995)

8.2.6 Fulgentius

Nescis [...] quantum Satyram matronae formident; licet mulierum uerbialibus undis et causidici cedant nec grammatici muttiant, rethor taceat et clamorem praeco conpescat, sola est quae modum inponit furentibus, licet Petroniana subit Albucia. (*Myth.* 1, text: HELM 1970, pp. 12–3)

You do not realize [...] how much married women stand in fear of satire. Before women’s tide of words advocates may yield, schoolmasters may cease to burble, rhetoricians may be struck dumb, and heralds may silence their cries. Satire alone can put a stop to their raving, even that of an Albucia in heat in Petronius. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

Et quamuis Nicagorus in distemistea libro quem scripsit primum illum formasse idolum referat et, quod uulturi iecur praebeat, liuoris quasi pingat imaginem, unde et Petronius Arbitr ait:

“cui uoltur iecur intimum pererrat
et querit pectus intimasque fibras;
non est quem tepidi uocant poetae,
sed cordis liuor atque luxus” (*Myth.* 2.6, text: HELM 1970 pp. 45–6)

But Nicagorus records that Prometheus was the first to have embodied the image.

His yielding his liver to a vulture depicts a metaphor for envy. So too Petronius Arbiter writes:

That vulture which probes the liver deep within us
extracting our heart and our inmost sinews,
is no bird, as our witty poets call it,
but lust and envy, the canker of our being. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

unde et Petronius Arbiter ad libidinis concitamentum mirrinum se poculum bibisse refert [in libro XIII. ubi Quartilla interposita Ascilto et Encolpio propinato iterum illa parte Ascilti tribuit ad potandum. unde ait Quartilla “quicquid satirei fuit, Encolpius ebibit?”] (*Myth.* 3.8, text: HELM 1970, p. 73)

So Petronius Arbiter too tells us he drank a draught of myrrh to arouse his sexual desires. [This is in book XIV, where Quartilla is in the company of Ascyltus and Encolpius and, to allow the latter to drink a second toast, gave him Ascyltus’ portion to drink. Then Quartilla says “Has Encolpius drunk all the satyrion there was?”] (Translation: SULLIVAN 2011)

unde et Petronius in Euscion ait: “Cerberus forensis erat causidicus” (*Expositio Virgiliana continentiae secundum philosophos moralis*, text: HELM 1970, p. 99)

So too Petronius inveighs against Euscus as “the advocate who was the Cerberus of the courts”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

Ferculum dicitur missum carniū, unde et Petronius Arbiter ait: “Postquam ferculum allatum est” (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 42, text: HELM 1970, p. 122)

ferculum means “meat-course”. So Petronius Arbiter too says “When the *ferculum* was brought in”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

ualgia uero sunt labellorum obtortiones in subinatione factae, sicut et Petronius ait: “Obtorto ualgiter labello” (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 46, text: HELM 1970, p. 123)

ualgia denotes the twistings of the lips when vomiting. So Petronius likewise says “With lips twisted in vomiting”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

Alucinare dicitur uana somnari tractum ab alucitas quos nos conopes dicimus, sicut Petronius Arbiter ait: “Nam contubernalem alucitae molestabant”⁶⁷² (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 52, text: HELM 1970, p. 125)

alucinare means “to have false dreams”. It is derived from *alucitae*, the word equivalent to our “mosquitoes”. Petronius Arbiter says: “For the mosquitoes were afflicting my bed-companion”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

Manubies dicuntur ornamenta regum, unde et Petronius Arbiter ait: “Tot regum manubies penes fugitium repertae” (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, text: HELM 1970, p. 126)

manubies means “royal adornments”. Hence Petronius Arbiter likewise says: “These numerous royals adornments found in the possession of a runaway”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

Aumatium dicitur locum secretum publicum sicut in theatris aut in circo, unde et Petronius Arbiter ait: “In aumatium memet ipsum conieci” (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, text: HELM 1970, p. 126)

auematium means “a corner in a public place”, such as theatres or the Circus. So Petronius Arbiter likewise says: “I launched myself into a hidden corner”. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

8.2.7 Marius Victorinus

huius tenoris ac formae quosdam
eersus poetas lyricos carminibus suis
indidisse cognouimus, ut et apud
Arbitrum inuenimus, cuius exemplum

Memphitides puellae
sacris deum paratae,
item tinctus colore noctis,

We know that lyric poets inserted some
lines with this rhythm and shape in their
compositions. We also find them in the
Arbiter; for example,

“Maidens of Memphis, all arrayed
to attend the sacred gods’ parade”;
And “A boy as dusky as the night”,

⁶⁷² I here follow BÜCHELER’s conjecture *contubernalem* against HELM’s *centum uernali me*.

Aegyptias choreas.
(3.17, *GL* 6, p. 138)

“The Egyptians’ choral rite”.
(Translation: WALSH 1996;
slightly modified)

[...] metrum erit anacreontion,
siquidem *Anacreon* eo frequentissime
usus sit, sed et apud nos plerique, inter
quos Arbiter satyricon ita,

triplici uides ut ortu
Triuiaie rotetur ignis

uolucrique Phoebus axe
rapidum pererret orbem.
(4.1, *GL* 6, p. 153)

The metre will be Anacreontic, so
called because Anacreon used it so
often, but so did several of our Latin
poets, among them Arbiter in his
Satyricon, who writes

“You see how Trivia,
from her triple rising, rotates her
star,

and how Phoebus’ flying chariot
traverses its swift circle”.
(Translation: WALSH 1996)

8.2.8 Macrobius

Auditum mulcent uel comoediae, quales Menander eiusue imitatores agendas
dederunt, uel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus uel multum se
Arbiter exercuit uel Apuleium non numquam luisse miramur. (*In somn.* 1.2.8, text:
ARMISEN-MARCHETTI 2001)

Comedies such as Menander or his imitators have written please our sense of
hearing, or stories filled with fictional adventures of lovers, with which Arbiter often
occupied himself and in which, remarkably, Apuleius sometimes indulged.
(Translation: CONNORS 1998; slightly modified)

8.2.9 Sidonius Apollinaris

Quid uos eloqui canam Latini,
Arpinas, Patauine, Mantuane,
et te, comica qui doces, Terenti,
et te, tempore qui satus seuro
Graios, Plaute, sales lepore transis,

Why should I sing of the masters of Latin
utterance, the man of Arpinum, the man of
Padua, the bard of Mantua
Terence, producer of comedies,
Plautus, who though born in a serious age

et te multimoda satis uerendum
 scriptorum numerositate, Uarro,
 et te, qui breuitate, Crispe, polles,
 et qui pro ingenio fluente nulli,
 Corneli Tacite, es tacendus ori,
 et te Massiliensium per hortos
 sacri stipitis, Arbiter, colonum
 Hellespontiaco parem Priapo,
 et te carmina per libidinosa
 notum, Naso tener, Tomosque
 missum,
 quondam Caesareae nimis puellae
 ficto nomine subditum Corinnae?
 Quid celsos Senecas loquar uel illum
 quem dat Bilbilis alta Martialem,
 terrarum indigenas Hibericarum?
 (*Carm.* 23.145–64, text: LOYEN
 1960)

surpasses by his brightness the wit of the
 Greeks: Varro, too, right worshipful for
 the manysided multitudinousness of his
 books, Crispus, master of brevity,
 Cornelius Tacitus, whom by reason of his
 fertile genius no tongue must tacitly
 ignore, Arbiter, whose Gardens of
 Massilia make him the peer of the dweller
 of Hellespont as worshipper of the sacred
 tree-stock, Priapus;
 and languishing Ovid, famed for his
 lascivious poems and banished to Tomi,
 too much erstwhile the slave of Caesar's
 daughter, whom he called by the feigned
 name of Corinna?
 Why cite the great Senecas, or Martials,
 given to the world of lofty Bilbilis – all
 natives of Spanish lands?
 (Translation: ANDERSON 1936)

8.2.10 Servius

auri sacra fames] tractus est autem sermo ex more Gallorum. nam Massilienses
 quotiens pestilentia laborant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro
 publicis <sumptibus> et purioribus cibis. hic postea ornatus uerbenis et uestibus
 sacris circumducebatur per totam ciuitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent
 mala totius ciuitatis, et sic proiciebatur. hoc autem in Petronio lectum est. (*ad Vergili
 Aen.* 3.57, text: THILO/HAGEN 1923a)

The word is taken over from Gallic custom. Whenever the Massilians were in the
 toils of a plague, one of their poor people would volunteer to be fed at public ex-
 pense for a whole year on foods of ritual purity. He would then be decked out in foli-
 age and sacred robes, and led round the whole city as the recipient of curses, so that
 the ills of the entire state could descend on him. He would then be cast out. This ac-
 count appears in Petronius. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

si autem a uerbo non uenerint, communia sunt: nam similiter et masculina et feminina in “-tor” exeunt, ut “hic” et “haec senator”, “hic” et “haec baneator”: licet Petronius usurpauerit balnearicem dicens. (*ad Vergili Aen.* 12.159, text: THILO/HAGEN 1923b)

But if not derived from a verb, they are common in gender, both masculines and feminines ending similarly in *-tor*. For example, *senator* = “male or female senator”, *balneator* = “male or female bath-attendant”. Mind you, Petronius arbitrarily uses *balneatrix*. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

item Quirites dicit numero tantum plurali; sed legimus apud Horatium hunc Quiritem, ut sit nominatiuus hic Quiris: item idem Horatius “quis te Quiritem”; cuius nominatiuus erit hic Quirites, ut dicit Petronius. (*in artem Donati, GL* 4, p. 432)

Then too he uses *Quirites* only in the plural, but in Horace we read *hunc Quiritem* [“this citizen”], so that in this instance there is the nominative *Quiris*. Horace also writes *Quis te Quiritem?* [“Who has restored you as citizen?”]. The nominative in this instance will be *Quirites*, a form used by Petronius. (Translation: WALSH 1996)

8.2.11 Ioannes Lydus

ἐξ οὗ πρῶτος λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς Λουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἠρωϊκοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκωμῶδησεν. μεθ' ὃν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, οὓς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι σατυρικούς, οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος χαρακτηῖρα ζηλώσαντες τοῖς μὲν Ῥίνθωνος μέτροις, τοῖς δὲ τῶν μνημονευθέντων διασυρμοῖς χρησάμενοι, τὴν σατυρικὴν ἐκράτυναν κωμωδίαν. Ὀράτιος μὲν οὐκ ἔξω τῆς τέχνης χωρῶν, Πέρσιος δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν Σώφρονα μιμήσασθαι θέλων τὸ Λυκόφρονος παρῆλθεν ἀμαυρόν. Τοῦρνος δὲ καὶ Ἰουβενάλιος καὶ Πετρώνιος, αὐτόθεν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐπεξελθόντες, τὸν σατυρικὸν νόμον παρέτρωσαν. (*De magistratibus populi romani* 1.41, text: BANDY 1983)

Lucilius the Roman took his start from him [sc. Rhinthon, who was the first to write comedy in hexameters] and became the first to write comedies in heroic verse. After him and those who came after him, whom the Romans call saturici, the later poets, because they had emulated the style of Cratinus and Eupolis and had used

Rhinthon's meters and the caustic railleries of those mentioned above, strengthened the satiric comedy. Horace did not deviate from the art, but Persius in his desire to imitate the poet Sophron surpassed Lycophron's obscurity. Turnus, Juvenal, and Petronius, however, because they had capriciously made abusive attacks, marred the satiric norm. (Translation: BANDY 1983)

8.3 NARRATIVE AND NARRATING

8.3.1 Temporal Distance

The following chart provides a list of all finite verbs in the present tense, indicative mood, in the first section of the *Satyrica* (1–99). Not listed are:

- cases where the present tense is to be expected because of the introductory conjunction, i.e. *dum* (for example 6.1) or *donec* (6.4),
- verses of those poems not attributed to any of the protagonists (80.9, 82.5),
- comments by the narrator, as listed in n. 177, and
- the predicates *inquam*, *inquit*, *ait*, *respondit*.

Verbs whose form in the present tense looks identical with its perfect tense, are marked by a question mark (?). In some of these instances we can only decide based on the Petronian prose rhythm, which has not been investigated in the context of this study. The aim of this list is to illuminate how frequently and inconsistently the narrator makes use of the historic present tense.

6.1	uenit ?	52.7	excipimus	92.5	instat
7.2	uenimus ?	52.8	bibit ?	92.5	negat
7.3	uideo	54.4	uenit ?	94.8	intrat
		55.1	comprobamus	94.8	reuocat
11.1	alligo	55.1	garrimus	94.9	tollit
11.1	fruor	59.7	concidit ?	94.12	collabitur
		60.3	demittitur	94.13	exclamo
15.8	abimus	64.1	miramur	94.13	quaero
		64.1	credimus	95.1	interuenit ?
19.6	excidit ?	64.1	rogamus	95.4	pulsat
20.2	extendit ?	67.4	uenit ?	95.5	soluit ?
21.2	superuenit ?	67.5	applicat	95.6	rapit
21.5	repetimus ?	67.6	resoluit?	95.6	sequitur
23.2	intrat	67.13	abscondit?	95.6	uindicat
23.4	uenit ?	72.7	uenimus ?	95.7	fit
		73.5	descendimus ?	95.7	excludo
26.10	amicimur	78.5	extendit?	95.7	utor
26.10	iubemus	78.8	fugimus?	95.8	mulcant
27.1	uidemus			95.8	intentat
27.4	accurrit ?	79.9	gratulator	95.8	componit
28.1	eximus	80.8	egreditur	95.8	trahit
28.6	sequimur			95.8	instigat
28.6	peruenimus ?	82.1	cingor	96.4	perfertur
33.6	accipimus	82.1	excito	97.1	intrat
33.6	pertundimus	82.1	prosilio	97.7	uenit ?
34.2	animaduertit ?	82.1	circumeo	97.10	amolitur
35.1	conuertit	82.4	tendo	98.1	agit
36.2	uidemus			98.1	mittit
36.4	damus	90.1	profugit ?	98.1	scrutatur
36.4	aggredimur	90.7	mando	98.2	irrupit
39.6	laudamus			98.3	amplector
40.1	clamamus	91.1	uideo	98.5	iubet
40.1	iuramus	91.2	conuertit ?	98.5	uidet
41.8	perbasiamus	91.3	iubeo	98.7	oleo
47.7	agimus	91.3	extraho	99.2	rogo
47.7	castigamus	91.3	peruolo	99.2	quaeso
49.5	exclamat	91.4	inuado	99.6	consurgimus
49.6	fit	91.4	contero	99.6	iubet
49.6	despoliatur	91.5	inuenit ?	99.6	compono
49.6	consistit	92.1	pulsat		
52.4	refert	92.2	interrogo		

8.3.2 Narrative Distance

In the following charts I have quantitatively divided the extant *Satyrিকা* into columns of verbal (left hand-side) and non-verbal (right hand-side) passages. By ‘verbal’ I denote those parts where the narrator reports protagonists’ speeches directly (reported speech, i.e. direct discourse, abbreviated as ‘DD’) or indirectly (transposed or narrated speech, i.e. indirect discourse, abbreviated as ‘ID’); ‘non-verbal’ parts lack any form of protagonists’ discourse. Verbal passages are further qualitatively divided with regard to the sort of speech (reported, transposed or narrated) and the speaker. The aim of these lists is to illuminate where in the *Satyrিকা* as well as how frequently and inconsistently the narrator reports protagonists’ speeches in proportion to narrating events and contributes to our assessment of the *Satyrিকা* as a narrative of words or of events [see section 4.3.2].

All analyses bounded in the subsequent charts have been undertaken with full awareness of the following potential issues. Firstly, due to the poor textual transmission the attribution of several lines of reported speech to any of the protagonists remains either doubtful or not provable. These cases have been marked by ‘?’. Secondly, the numbers are entirely based on the extant parts; due to the fragmentary condition of the text it cannot be excluded that passages, which may have contained mostly verbal or non-verbal passages and, therefore, could potentially overturn the present figures, have not come down to us. Thirdly, measuring both speeches and non-verbal parts in lines is not as accurate as in words, yet represents the economical solution – given the sheer amount of text to be analysed. Finally, I have subsumed narrated and transposed speech under indirect discourse (‘ID’). The decision of not separating these was made in the interests of highlighting the dichotomy between Encolpius’ choices of recounting some speeches directly and others indirectly.

At the School of Rhetoric (1–5)			
52 lines	DD	Agamemnon	
41 lines	DD	Encolpius	
No ID; 73 lines DD		73 lines overall	<2 lines
Reunion with Ascyltus and Giton (6–11)			
<23 lines	DD	Ascyltus	
<12 lines	DD	Encolpius	
<2 lines	DD	<i>anus</i>	

4 lines	DD	Giton	
<4 lines	ID	Encolpius	
<4 lines ID; <41 lines DD		<45 lines overall	<56 lines

At the Market (12–5)

<16 lines	DD	Ascyltus	
<5 lines	ID	<i>aduocati</i>	
<3 lines	ID	Encolpius	
<3 lines	ID	Enc/Asc/Git	
<2 lines	ID	<i>rusticus</i>	
<1 line	ID	<i>cocio</i>	
<1 line	ID	<i>mulier</i>	
<1 line	ID	Ascyltus	
<16 lines ID; <16 lines DD		<32 lines overall	<60 lines

Quartilla's Brothel (16–26.6)

<53 lines	DD	Quartilla	
<9 lines	DD	Psyche	
<7 lines	DD	Encolpius	
4 lines	DD	<i>cinaedus</i>	
1 line	DD	Ascyltus	
<9 + 2? lines	ID	Encolpius	
<4 + 1? lines	ID	Quartilla	
<1 line	ID	Enc/Asc/Git	
<17 lines ID; <74 lines DD		<91 lines overall	<137 lines

Trimalchio's Feast (26.7–78)

<438 lines	DD	Trimalchio	
<229 lines	DD	Other freedmen (Dama, Seleucus, Phileros, Ganymedes, Echion, Niceros, Plocamus)	
<140 lines	DD	Hermeros	
<54 lines	DD	Habinnas	
<37 lines	DD	Single nameless people (<i>atriensis, puer, dispensator, seruus, conuiuia, cocus, actuarius</i>)	
<10 lines	DD	Encolpius	
<6 lines	DD	Menelaus	
<5 lines	DD	Agamemnon	
<4 lines	DD	Groups of people (<i>uniuersi, tota familia, haec classis, alia classis</i>)	
<4 lines	DD	Scintilla	

<3 lines	DD	Enc/Asc/Git?	
<2 lines	DD	Fortunata	
<2 lines	DD	Ascyltus	
<1 line	DD	Croesus	
<22 lines	ID	Trimalchio	
<17 lines	ID	Single nameless people (<i>seruus, nomenclator, cocus, actuarius, baro, ostiarius</i>)	
<12 lines	ID	Enc/Asc/Git?	
<9 lines	ID	Groups of people (<i>quisquis, uniuersi, tota familia, omnes, illi</i>)	
<5 lines	ID	Encolpius	
<5 lines	ID	Fortunata	
<3 lines	ID	Habinnas	
<3 lines	ID	Other freedmen (Dama, Plocamus, Stichus)	
<2 lines	ID	Scintilla	
<2 lines	ID	?	
<1 line	ID	Enc/Asc?	
<101 lines ID; <935 lines DD		<1036 lines overall	<594 lines

Encolpius is Jilted and Robbed (79–82)

<22 lines	DD	Encolpius	
<7 lines	DD	Ascyltus	
<4 lines	DD	<i>miles</i>	
3 lines	DD	Giton	
3 lines	ID	Giton	
1 line	ID	Encolpius	
<1 line	ID	<i>miles</i>	
<5 lines ID; <36 lines DD		<41 lines overall	<71 lines

Eumolpus in the Art Gallery (83–90)

<202 lines	DD	Eumolpus	
<16 lines	DD	Encolpius	
4 lines	DD	?	
No ID; <222 lines DD		<222 lines overall	<33 lines

Reconciliation with Giton (91–9)

<53 lines	DD	Eumolpus
<28 lines	DD	Encolpius
<22 lines	DD	Giton
<6 lines	DD	<i>deuersitor</i>

4 lines	DD	Bargates	
<4 lines	DD	<i>praeco</i>	
<2 lines	DD	<i>nauta</i>	
<13 lines	ID	Encolpius	
<4 lines	ID	Eumolpus	
<4 lines	ID	Ascyltus	
<3 lines	ID	Giton	
<24 lines ID; <119 lines DD		<143 lines overall	<144 lines

Abroad Ship with Lichas and Tryphaena (100–14)

<220 lines	DD	Eumolpus	
<53 lines	DD	Encolpius	
<47 lines	DD	Lichas	
<29 lines	DD	Giton	
<13 lines	DD	Tryphaena	
4 lines	DD	Hesus	
<4 lines	DD	<i>ancillae</i>	
<12 lines	ID	Eumolpus	
<4 lines	ID	Tryphaena	
3 lines	ID	Encolpius	
<3 lines	ID	<i>gubernator</i>	
<2 lines	ID	Lichas	
1 line	ID	Giton	
<25 lines ID; <370 lines DD		<395 lines overall	<219 lines

The Journey to Croton (115–24)

<331 lines	DD	Eumolpus	
<29 lines	DD	Encolpius	
<18 lines	DD	<i>uilicus</i>	
<4 lines	DD	Corax	
<1 line	DD	Enc/Git/Eum	
<28 lines	ID	Enc/Git	
<2 lines	ID	Corax	
1 line	ID	Encolpius	
1 line	ID	Eumolpus	
<32 lines ID; <383 lines DD		<415 lines overall	<62 lines

The Seductions of Circe (125–39)

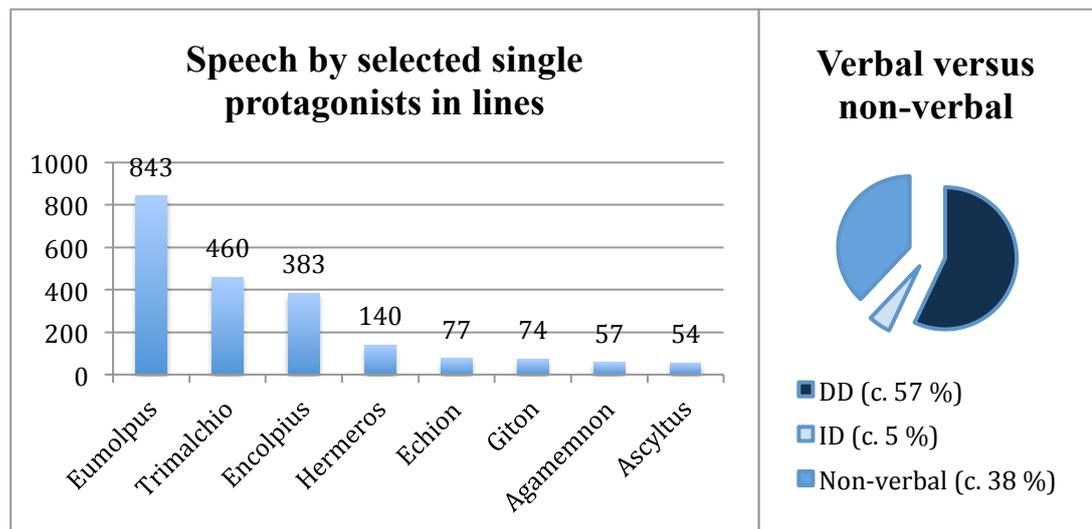
<106 lines	DD	Encolpius
<41 lines	DD	Circe
<36 lines	DD	Chrysis

<36 lines	DD	Oenothea
<12 lines	DD	Proselenos
<8 lines	DD	Giton
<4 lines	DD	?
<1 line	DD	<i>aniculae</i>
<4 lines	ID	Encolpius
<3 lines	ID	Eumolpus
<3 lines	ID	<i>matrona</i>
2 lines	ID	Circe
1 line	ID	Giton
<1 line	ID	Oenothea
<14 lines ID; <258 lines DD		<272 lines overall
		<297 overall

Eumolpus and the Extortionists (140–1)

<20 lines	DD	?
<16 lines	DD	Encolpius
<9 lines	DD	Eumolpus
<8 lines	ID	Eumolpus
<5 lines	ID	Philomela
<13 lines ID; <45 lines DD		<58 lines overall
		<29 lines

<251 lines ID; <2572 lines DD	<2823 lines overall	<1704 lines
-------------------------------	---------------------	-------------



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The text of the *Satyrica* is that of MÜLLER (2003) and, unless otherwise stated, all other Latin and Greek texts have been taken from the *Oxford Classical Texts* (OCT) editions. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the *Satyrica* are taken from SULLIVAN (2011). Contributions earlier than 1743 are listed in the bibliographies on Petronius (see n. 5) and/or in Burman (1743). Abbreviations for journals follow the *Année Philologique*.

- ABBOTT, F.: 'Petronius. A Study in Ancient Realism'. *The Sewanee Review* 7.4 (1899), 435–43
- : 'The origin of the realistic romance among the Romans'. *CPh* 6 (1911), 257–70
- ADAMIETZ, J.: 'Zum literarischen Charakter von Petrons Satyrica'. *RhM* 130 (1987), 329–46
- : 'Circe in den Satyrica Petrons und das Wesen dieses Werkes'. *Hermes* 123 (1995) 320–34
- ADAMIK, T.: 'Rhetorical Narration and the Literary Novella (Petronius' Satyricon 61–62)'. *AAntHung* 34 (1993), 151–7
- ADAMS, J. N.: *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. London 1982
- ALFONSI, L.: 'Petronio e i Teodorei'. *RFIC* 26 (1948), 46–53
- ALPERS, K.: 'Zwischen Athen, Abdera und Samos. Fragmente eines unbekanntes Romans aus der Zeit der Zweiten Sophistik'. In: M. Billerbeck / J. Schamp (eds.): *Kaivotoμία. Die Erneuerung der griechischen Tradition*. Fribourg 1996, 19–55
- ALTAMURA, D.: 'Apocolocyntosis et Satyricon'. *Latinitas* 7 (1959), 43–54
- AMAT, J.: 'Trimalchio et Sénèque'. In: *Au miroir de la culture antique. Mélanges offerts au Président René Marache*. Rennes 1992, 11–30
- ANDERSON, W. B.: *Sidonius. Poems and Letters*. Vol. 1. London, Cambridge (MA) 1936
- ANGELONE, R.: 'L'agenzia di un lanista in Pompei all'insegna di un famoso combattimento gladiatorio'. *AAP* 38 (1989), 339–59

- ARAGOSTI, A. / COSCI, P. / COTROZZI, A.: *Petronio. L'episodio di Quartilla (Satyricon 16–26.6)*. Bologna 1988
- ARAGOSTI, A.: 'L'episodio petroniano del forum (Sat. 12–15). Assimilazione dei codici nel racconto'. *MD* 3 (1979), 101–19
- ARMISEN-MARCHETTI, M.: *Macrobe. Commentaire au Songe de Scipion. Livre I*. Paris 2001
- ARROWSMITH, W.: 'Luxury and Death in the Satyricon'. *Arion* 5 (1966), 304–31 = id. In: N. Rudd (ed.): *Essays on Classical Literature. Selected from Arion*. Cambridge 1972, 122–45
- ASTBURY, R.: 'Petronius, P. Oxy. 3010, and Menippean Satire'. *CPh* 72 (1977), 22–31 = id. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford, New York 1999, 74–84
- AUERBACH, E.: *Mimesis*. trans. W. R. Trask. Princeton 1953 [*Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*. Berna 1946]
- AUGIER-GRIMAUD, J.: 'La théâtralité dans la Cena Trimalchionis. Esthétique du vulgaire et fracture'. *BAGB* 2011.1 (2011), 137–53
- BACON, H. H.: 'The Sybil in the Bottle'. *Virginia Quarterly Review* 34 (1958), 262–76
- BAGNANI, G.: *Arbiter of Elegance. A Study of the Life & Works of C. Petronius*. Toronto 1954a
- : 'Trimalchio'. *Phoenix* 8 (1954b), 77–91
- : 'Encolpius gladiator obscenus'. *CPh* 51 (1956), 24–7
- : 'Petroniana'. In: C. Henderson (ed.): *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman*. Vol. 1. Rome (1964), 229–39
- BAIER, T.: 'Encolps phantasiae'. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 141–53
- : 'Eumolpe et Encolpe dans une galerie d'art'. In: É. Prioux / A. Rouveret (eds.): *Métamorphoses du regard ancien*. Paris 2010, 191–204
- BAKHTIN, M.: *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays*. trans. Caryl Emerson. ed. Michael Holquist. 1981

- : *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. trans. C. Emerson. Minnesota 1984
[Проблемы творчества Достоевского. Leningrad ¹1929; Проблемы поэтики Достоевского. Moscow ²1963]
- BALDWIN, B.: 'Two Notes on Petronius'. *CW* 69 (1975–1976), 377–8
- : 'Petronius' Tryphaena'. *Eranos* 74 (1976a), 53–7
- : 'Petronius and the Fire of Rome'. *Maia* 28 (1976b), 35–6 = id.: *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*. Amsterdam 1985, 147–8
- : 'Turnus the Satirist'. *Eranos* 77 (1979), 57–60
- : 'Seneca and Petronius'. *AClass* 24 (1981), 133–40
- : 'Pliny the Elder and Petronius'. *PSN* 24 (1994), 19–20
- : 'Notes on the Tacitean Petronius'. *PSN* 31 (2001), 2–3
- : 'John Lydus on Petronius'. *PSN* 33 (2003), 1–3
- : 'Arbiter of What?'. *PSN* 34 (2004), 3–4
- : 'Gareth and Me. A Petronian Pilgrimage'. In: S. N. Byrne / E. P. Cueva / J. Alvares (eds.): *Authors, Authority and Interpreters in the Ancient Novel. Essays in Honor of Gareth L. Schmeling*. Groningen 2006, 34–46
- : 'Miscellanea Petroniana. A Petronian Enthusiast's Thoughts and Reviews'. In: E. P. Cueva / S. N. Byrne (eds.): *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*. Chichester 2014, 427–40
- BALLESTER, X.: 'La titulación de las obras en la literatura romana'. *CFC* 24 (1990), 135–56
- BALSDON, J. P. V. D.: *Romans and Aliens*. Chapel Hill 1979
- BANDY, A. C.: *Ioannes Lydus. On Powers. Or The Magistracies of the Roman State*. Philadelphia 1983
- BARCHIESI, A.: 'Il nome di Lica e la poetica dei nomi in Petronio'. *MD* 12 (1984), 169–75
- : 'Tracce di narrativa greca e romanzo latino. Una rassegna'. *Materiali e Contributi per la Storia della Narrativa Greco-Latina* 4 (1986), 219–36
[‘Traces of Greek Narrative and the Roman Novel. A Survey’. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford, New York 1999, 124–41]
- BARNES, E. J.: *The Poems of Petronius*. Diss. Toronto 1971
- BARTHES, R.: *Critique et Vérité*. Paris 1966a

- : ‘Introduction à l’analyse structurale des récits’. *Communications* 8 (1966b), 1–29
- : ‘L’effet de réel’. *Communications* 11 (1968), 84–9
- BARTOŇKOVÁ, D.: ‘Letteratura prosimetrica e narrativa antica’. In: O. Pecere / A. Stramaglia (eds.): *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino*. Cassino 1996, 251–64
- BARTSCH, S.: *Decoding the Ancient Novel. The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*. Oxford 1989
- : *Actors in the Audience. Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*. Cambridge (MA) 1994
- BASORE, J. W.: *Seneca. Moral Essays. Vol. 2: De Consolatione ad Marciam. De Vita Beata. De Otio. De Tranquillitate Animi. De Brevitate Vitae. De Consolatione ad Polybium. De Consolatione ad Helviam*. London, New York 1932
- BECK, J.-W.: ‘Terentianus Maurus non patiendus inter ceteros artis metricae auctor’. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.34.4 (1998), 3208–68
- BECK, R.: ‘Some Observations on the Narrative Technique of Petronius’. *Phoenix* 27 (1973), 42–61 = id. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford, New York 1999, 50–73
- : ‘Encolpius at the Cena’. *Phoenix* 29 (1975), 271–83
- : ‘Eumolpus Poeta, Eumolpus Fabulator. A Study of Characterization in the Satyricon’. *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 239–53
- : ‘The Satyricon. Satire, Narrator, and Antecedents’. *MH* 39 (1982), 206–14
- BENZ, L.: ‘Die Fabula Milesia und die griechisch-römische Literatur’. In: ead. (ed.): *Die römische Literatur zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*. Tübingen 2001, 43–137
- BERNARDAKIS, G. N.: *Plutarch Moralia*. Vol. 1. Athens 2008
- BESSONE, F.: ‘Discorsi dei liberti e parodia del Simposio platonico nella Cena Trimalchionis’. *MD* 30 (1993), 63–86
- BETTINI, M.: ‘A proposito dei versi sotadei, greci e romani. Con alcuni capitoli di “analisi metrica lineare”’. *MD* 9 (1982), 59–105
- BICKEL, E.: ‘Petrons simplicitas bei Tacitus. Zu Tac. ann. XVI 18 und Petron 123, 15’. *RhM* 90 (1941), 269–72
- BIRT, T.: *Horaz’ Lieder. Studien zur Kritik und Auslegung*. Leipzig 1925

- BLÄNSDORF, J.: 'Die Werwolf-Geschichte des Niceros bei Petron als Beispiel literarischer Fiktion mündlichen Erzählens'. In: G. Vogt-Spira (ed.): *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*. Tübingen 1990, 193–217
- BLÜMNER, H.: *Die römischen Privataltertümer*. Munich 1911
- BODEL, J.: *Freedmen in the Satyricon of Petronius*. Diss. Ann Arbor 1984
- : 'Trimalchio's Underworld'. In: J. Tatum (ed.): *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore 1994, 237–59
- : 'The Cena Trimalchionis'. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): *Latin Fiction. The Latin Novel in Context*. London, New York 1999, 38–51
- : 'Omnia in nummis. Money and the Monetary Economy in Petronius'. In: G. Urso (ed.): *Moneta mercanti banchieri. I precedenti greci e romani dell'euro. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 26–28 settembre 2002*. Pisa 2003, 271–82
- BOGNER, H.: 'Petronius bei Tacitus'. *Hermes* 76 (1941), 223–7
- BORGHINI, A.: 'Petronio Sat. LVII 3 e LXII 6. Nota di folklore'. *MD* 9 (1982), 167–74
- BOWIE, E. L. / HARRISON, S. J.: 'The Romance of the Novel'. *JRS* 83 (1993), 159–78
- BOWIE, E. L.: 'The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novels'. In: G. L. Schmeling (ed.): *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Boston 1996, 87–106
- : 'The chronology of the earlier Greek novels since B.E. Perry. Revisions and precisions'. *AN* 2 (2002), 47–63
- BOYLE, A. J.: 'Introduction. Reading Flavian Rome'. In: id. / W. J. Dominik (eds.): *Flavian Rome. Culture, Image, Text*. Leiden, Boston 2003, 1–69
- BREITENSTEIN, N.: *Petronius, Satyrice 1–15. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Berlin 2009
- BREMMER, J. N.: *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*. Princeton 1983
- BROWNING, R.: 'The Date of Petronius'. *CR* 63 (1949), 12–4
- BRUGNOLI, G.: 'L'intitulatio del Satyricon'. *RCCM* 3 (1961), 317–31
- BÜCHELER, F.: *Petronii Arbitri satirarum reliquiae*. Berlin 1862
- BURMAN, P.: *T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon quae supersunt cum integris doctorum virorum commentariis et notis Nicol. Heinsii et Guilielmi Goesii [...] curante Petro Burmanno. Editio altera*. Vol. 1 and 2. Amsterdam 1743
- BUXTON, R.: 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought'. In: J. Bremmer (ed.): *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*. London 1987, 60–79

- BYRNE, S. N.: 'Petronius and Maecenas. Seneca's Calculated Criticism'. In: S. N. Byrne / E. P. Cueva / J. Alvares (eds.): *Authors, Authority and Interpreters in the Ancient Novel. Essays in Honor of Gareth L. Schmeling*. Groningen 2006, 83–111
- : (2007): 'Maecenas and Petronius' Trimalchio Maecenatianus'. *AN* 6 (2007), 31–51
- CAHEN, R.: *Le Satiricon et ses origines*. Lyon, Paris 1925
- CALLARI, L. A.: *La Cena come spettacolo nel Satyricon di Petronio*. Palermo 1995
- CAMERON, A.: 'The Date and Identity of Macrobius'. *JRS* 56 (1966), 25–38
- : 'Petronius and Plato'. *CQ* 19 (1969), 367–70
- CAPRETTINI, G. P.: 'Valenze mitiche e funzioni narrative. La 'porta' e la logica del racconto nel Satyricon'. *Strumenti critici* 30 (1976), 183–219
- CARMIGNANI, M.: 'Poeta vesanus, recitator acerbus. Die auf Horaz basierende Karikierung des Eumolpus in Petronius, Sat. 118'. *RhM* 156 (2013a), 27–46
- : 'La apropiación de una leyenda. Sat. 9.1–5 y su relación con Tito Livio y la elegía ovidiana de Fasti'. In: id. / L. Graverini / B. T. Lee (eds.): *Collected Studies on the Roman Novel. Ensayos Sobre La Novela Romana*. Cordoba 2013b, 15–33
- CASTON, R. R.: *Elegiac Passion. Jealousy in Roman Love Elegy*. Oxford 2012
- CASTORINA, E.: *I poetae novelli*. Florence 1949
- : 'Petronio, Lucano e Vergilio'. In: H. Bardon (ed.): *Vergiliana*. Rome, Leiden 1971, 97–112
- CERVELLERA, M. A.: 'Petronio e Seneca tragico'. *RCCM* 17 (1975), 107–15 = ead.: *Studi di metrica e di versificazione latina*. Lecce 1987, 133–43
- CHAMPLIN, E.: *Nero*. Cambridge (MA), London 2003
- CHANDLER, C.: 'First Impressions. Eschatological Allusion in Petronius, Satyricon 28–29'. In: C. Deroux (ed.): *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*. Vol. 12. Brussels 2005, 324–33
- CHATMAN, S.: *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca 1978
- CHRISTESEN, P. / TORLONE, Z.: 'Ex omnibus in unum, nec hoc nec illud. Genre in Petronius'. *MD* 49 (2002), 135–72
- CIAFFI, V.: *Struttura del Satyricon*. Turin 1955

- : *Petronio in Apuleio*. Turin 1960
- : *Fulgenzio e Petronio*. Turin 1963
- CICHORIUS, C.: *Römische Studien. Historisches, Epigraphisches, Literargeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms*. Leipzig, Berlin 1922
- CIGNOLO, C.: *Terentiani Mavri. De Litteris, De Syllabis, De Metris*. Vol. 2: *Commento, appendici e indici*. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York 2002
- CIOCÂRLIE, A.: ‘Trimalchion entre illusion et réalité’. In: R. Poignault (ed.): *Présence du roman grec et latin. Actes du colloque tenu à Clermont-Ferrand. 23–25 novembre 2006*. Limoges 2011, 479–87
- CITTI, F.: ‘Come seque la lepre il cacciatore.... Sulle tracce di un’immagine da Callimaco a Petronio’. *Aevum(ant)* 9 (1996), 249–68 = id.: *Studi oraziani. Tematica e intertestualità*. Bologna 2000, 183–203
- CIZEK, E.: ‘À propos des premiers chapitres du Satyricon’. *Latomus* 34 (1975a), 197–202
- : ‘Face à face éloquent. Encolpe et Agamemnon’. *PP* 30 (1975b), 91–101
- CLAY, D.: ‘The Theory of the Literary Persona in Antiquity’. *MD* 40 (1998), 9–40
- COCCIA, M.: ‘*Novae simplicitatis opus*. Petronio 132.15.2’. In: *Studi di poesia latina in onore di A. Traglia*. Vol. 2. Rome 1979, 188–99
- : ‘Cena di Nasidieno e Cena di Trimalchione’. In: R. Uglione (ed.): *Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi su Orazio, Torino, 13–14–15 aprile 1992*. Turin 1993, 131–48
- CODOÑER, C. (1990): ‘El lenguaje de la crítica literaria en el Satyricon’. In: G. Calboli (ed.): *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif. II. Actes du IIème Colloque International sur le latin vulgaire et tardif (Bologne, 29 août–2 septembre 1988)*. Tübingen 1990, 57–74
- COHN, D. C.: *The Distinction of Fiction*. Baltimore 1999
- COLEMAN, K. M.: *Statius. Silvae IV. Edited with an English Translation and Commentary*. Oxford 1988
- COLLIGNON, A.: *Étude sur Pétrone. La critique littéraire, l’imitation et la parodie dans le Satiricon*. Paris 1892
- COLTON, R. J.: ‘Martial 3.82 and Petronius’ Cena Trimalchionis’. *RPL* 5 (1982), 77–83

- CONNORS, C.: 'Famous Last Words. Authorship and Death in the *Satyricon* and Neronian Rome'. In: J. Elsner / J. Masters (eds.): *Reflections of Nero. Culture, History & Representation*. London 1994, 225–36
- : *Petronius the Poet. Verse and Literary Tradition in the Satyricon*. Cambridge 1998
- CONTE, G. B.: *Latin Literature. A History*. trans. J. B. Solodow. Baltimore, London 1994 [*Letteratura latina. Manuale storico dalle origini alla fine dell'impero romano*. Florence ¹1987, ²1989, ³1993]
- : *The Hidden Author. An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1996
- COPLEY, F. O.: *Exclusus Amator. A Study in Latin Love Poetry*. Madison 1956
- CORBATO, C.: 'Tacito, Ann. XVI 19. Considerazioni sulla tradizione del *Satyricon* di Petronio'. In: *φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*. Vol. 2. Rome 1980, 563–72
- COSCI, P.: 'Per una ricostruzione della scena iniziale del *Satyricon*'. *MD* 1 (1978), 201–7
- COTROZZI, A.: 'I capitoli della scuola nel *Satyricon*'. In: F. Bellandi / F. Rolando (eds.): *Aspetti della scuola nel mondo romano. Atti del Convegno (Pisa, 5–6 dicembre 2006)*. Amsterdam 2008, 29–48
- COURTNEY, E.: 'Parody and Literary Allusion in Menippean Satire'. *Philologus* 106 (1962), 86–100
- : 'Petronius and the Underworld'. *AJPh* 108 (1987), 408–10
- : *The Poems of Petronius*. Atlanta 1991
- : *A Companion to Petronius*. Oxford 2001
- : *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. Berkeley 2013
- CROGLIANO, M. E.: 'Impotencia, parodia y poética (cap. 132)'. In: J. Nagore (ed.): *Estrategias intertextuales en la narrativa latina. El Satyricon de Petronio*. Buenos Aires 2003, 143–51
- CROISILLE, J.-M.: 'Pinacotheca mirabilis. Remarques sur Pétrone, *Satyricon* LXXXIII sq.'. In: P. Defosse (ed.): *Hommages à Carl Deroux*. Brussels 2003, 50–60
- CRUM, R. H.: 'Petronius and the Emperors'. *CW* 45 (1952), 161–7, 197–201
- CUCCHIARELLI, A.: 'L'entrata di Abinna nella Cena Trimalchionis (Petron. Satyr. 65)'. *ASNP* 1 (1996), 737–53

- CUGUSI, P.: ‘Modelli epici ‘rovesciati’ in Petronio. Osservazioni sul riuso di Odissea e Eneide nel Satyrica’. *Aufidus* 44 (2001), 123–35
- CURRIE, H. M.: ‘Closure/Transition and the nox erat Topos. Some Notes’. *LCM* 18 (1993), 92–5
- D’ARMS, J. H.: *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge (MA) 1981
- : *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania*. Bari 2003
- D’AUTILIA, M. I.: ‘Il licantropo. Un topos del ‘racconto meraviglioso’ tra Petronio e l’oralità folklorica’. *Primum legere* 2 (2003), 93–111
- DAMIANI, G.: ‘Il duello. Dal serio al parodico (Petronio Sat. 82)’. *Aufidus* 39 (1999), 39–59
- DAMON, C.: *Tacitus. Annals*. London 2012
- DAVIAULT, A.: ‘Mais, au fait, qui était donc Encolpe?’. *CEA* 14 (1982), 165–72
- : ‘Est-il Encore Possible de Remettre en Question la Datation Néronienne du Satyricon de Pétrone?’. *Phoenix* 55 (2001), 327–42
- DE JONG, I. J. F. / NÜNLIST, R. / BOWIE, A. M. (eds.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 1: *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2004
- / NÜNLIST, R. (eds.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 2: *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2007
- (ed.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 3: *Space in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2012
- DE SAINT-DENIS, E.: *Pline l’Ancien. Histoire Naturelle. Livre XXXVII*. Paris 1972
- DEBRAY, L.: ‘Pétrone et le droit prive romain’. *Nouvelle Revue Historique du Droit Français et Étranger* 43 (1919) 5–70, 127–86
- DEROUX, C.: ‘L’autre remède contre la fièvre de Quartilla (Pétrone, Sat. 18.3)’. *Latomus* 60 (2001), 186–7
- DICKEY, E.: *Latin Forms of Address. From Plautus to Apuleius*. Oxford 2002
- DIMUNDO, R.: ‘La novella del fanciullo di Pergamo. Strutture narrative e tecnica del racconto’. *AFLB* 25–26 (1982–1983), 133–78
- : ‘Da Socrate a Eumolpo. Degradazione dei personaggi e dei funzioni nella novella del fanciullo di Pergamo’. *MD* 10–11 (1983), 255–65

- : ‘La novella del efebo di Pergamo. Struttura del racconto’. *Materiali e Contributi per la Storia della Narrativa Greco-Latina* 4 (1986) 83–94
- : ‘Il perdersi e il ritrovarsi dei percorsi narrativi (Petronio, CXL,1–11)’. *Aufidus* 2 (1987), 47–62
- : ‘Le novelle petroniane. Forme di riscrittura dei modelli’. In: F. Oliveira / P. Fedeli / D. F. Leão (eds.): *O romance antigo. Origens de um género literário*. Coimbra 2005, 131–43
- : ‘Presenze elegiache nel Satyricon’. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 183–95
- DOBROIU, E.: ‘Allusions à l’empereur Tibère dans le Satyricon’. *Analele Universitatii Bucuresti. Limbi clasice* 18 (1969), 16–45
- DOODY, M. A.: *The True Story of the Novel*. New Brunswick 1997
- DUNCAN-JONES, R.: *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*. Cambridge 1974
- DUPONT, F.: *Le plaisir et la lois. Du Banquet de Platon au Satiricon*. Paris 1977
- EBERSBACH, V.: ‘Die humanitas des Petronius oder Diagnose eines gesellschaftlichen Verfalls’. In: B. Kühnert / V. Riedel / R. Gordesiani (eds.): *Prinzipat und Kultur im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. Bonn 1995, 192–202
- EICHHOLZ, D. E.: *Pliny. Natural History. Vol. 10: Libri XXXVI–XXXVII*. London, Cambridge (MA) 1962
- EIGLER, U.: ‘Der irrende Held. Bilder und Ordnung in Petrons Satyrica und Vergils Aeneis’. *AU* 50.4–5 (2007), 94–101
- ELSNER, J.: ‘Seductions of Art. Encolpius and Eumolpus in a Neronian Picture Gallery’. *PCPhS* 39 (1993), 30–47
- ENDRES, N.: ‘Petronius in West Egg. The Satyricon and The Great Gatsby’. In: F. Pinheiro and S. J. Harrison (eds.): *Fictional Traces. Receptions of the Ancient Novels*. Groningen 2011, 111–24 = id. *The F. Scott Fitzgerald Review* 7 (2009): 65–79
- ERNOUT, A.: *Pétrone. Le Satiricon*. Paris¹1922

- FANTHAM, E.: 'Mime: The Missing Link in Roman Literary History'. *CW* 82 (1989), 153–66
- FARRELL, J.: 'Classical Genre in Theory and Practice'. *New Literary History* 34 (2003), 383–408
- FEDELI, P. / DIMUNDO, R.: *Petronio Arbitro. I racconti del Satyricon*. Rome 1988
- FEDELI, P.: 'Il tema del labirinto nel Satyricon di Petronio'. *Materiali e Contributi per la Storia della Narrativa Greco-Latina* 3 (1981a), 161–74
- : 'Petronio. Il viaggio, il labirinto'. *MD* 6 (1981b), 91–117
- : 'Petronio. Crotone o il mondo alla rovescia'. *Aufidus* 1 (1987), 3–34
- : 'Encolpio-Polieno'. *MD* 20–21 (1988a), 9–32
- : 'La degradazione del modello. (Circe e Polieno in Petronio vs Circe e Odisseo in Omero)'. *Lexis* 1 (1988b), 67–80
- : 'L'eloquenza come metafora. Petron. 1,4'. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 83–92
- : 'Il romanzo petroniano. Bilanci e prospettive'. In: F. Gasti (ed.): *Il romanzo Latino. Modelli e tradizione letteraria*. Pavia 2009, 13–29
- FERREIRA, P. S.: 'Contribution to the Definition of the Relationships between the Satyricon of Petronius and Menippean Satire'. In: C. Teixeira / D. F. Leão / P. S. Ferreira (eds.): *The Satyricon of Petronius. Genre, Wandering and Style*. Coimbra 2008, 11–58
- FINLEY, M. I.: *The Ancient Economy*. Worcester, London 1973
- FIORETTI, P.: 'Sul paratesto nel libro manoscritto (con qualche riflessione sui 'titoli' in età antica)'. In: L. Del Corso / F. De Vivo / A. Stramaglia (eds.): *Nel segno del testo. Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere*. Florence 2015, 179–202
- FISCH, R.: *Tarracina-Anxur und Kaiser Galba im Romane des Petronius Arbitro*. Berlin 1898
- FITZGERALD, W.: 'Aeneas, Daedalus and the Labyrinth'. *Arethusa* 17 (1984), 51–65
- FLOBERT, P.: 'Considerations intempêtes sur l'auteur et la date du *Satyricon* sous Hadrien'. In: J. Herman / H. Rosén (eds.): *Petroniana. Gedenkschrift für Hubert Petersmann*. Heidelberg 2003, 109–22
- : 'De Stace à Pétrone'. In: J. Champeaux / M. Chassignet (eds.): *Aere Perennius. En hommage à Hubert Zehnacker*. Paris 2006, 433–8

- FLORES, E.: 'Un Ebreo Cappadoce nella Cena Trimalchionis'. *RAAN* 38 (1963) 49–65
- : 'Petronio e lo schedium Lucilianae humilitatis'. In: *Prosimetrum e Spoudogeloion*. Genova 1982, 63–82
- FOCARDI, G.: 'A proposito di Petr. Satyr. 15,2. Un'allusione giuridica in advocati nocturni?' *Sileno* 12 (1986), 57–72
- : 'Claudio e Trimalchione. Due personaggi a confronto?'. *InvLuc* 21 (1999), 149–66
- FORSTER, E. M.: *Aspects of the Novel*. London 1927
- FRANKL, J. V.: *Negotiating Julio-Claudian Memory. The Vespasianic Building Program and the Representation of the Imperial Power in Ancient Rome*. Classics Honours Project (Paper 19) 2014 (available at: http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/classics_honors/19)
- FREDERICKS, S. C.: 'Seneca and Petronius. Menippean satire under Nero'. In: E. S. Ramage / D. L. Sigsbee / S. C. Fredericks (eds.): *Roman satirists and their satire*. Park Ridge, New Jersey 1974, 89–113
- FREDOUILLE, J.-C. / Goulet-Cazé, M.-O. / Hoffmann, P. / Petitmengin, P. / Deléani, S. (eds.): *Titres et articulations du texte dans les oeuvres antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13–15 décembre 1994*. Paris 1997
- FRIEDLÄNDER, L.: *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*. Leipzig ¹1891, ²1906
- FRÖHLKE, F. M.: *Petron. Struktur und Wirklichkeit. Bausteine zu einer Poetik des antiken Romans*. Frankfurt (Main), Bern 1977
- FUSI, A.: 'Marziale 3,82 e la Cena Trimalchionis'. In: A. M. Morelli (ed.): *Epigramma longum. Da Marziale alla tarda antichità. From Martial to Late Antiquity. Atti del Convegno internazionale. Cassino, 29–31 maggio 2006*. Cassino 2008, 267–97
- FUSILLO, M.: *Il romanzo greco. Polifonia ed eros*. Venice 1989
- : 'Il testo nel testo. La citazione nel romanzo greco'. *MD* 25 (1990), 27–48
- GAERTNER, J. F.: 'Sprachtabu und Sprachfreiheit in Petrons Satyrica'. In: D. Brodka / J. Janik / S. Sprawski (eds.): *Freedom and Its Limits in the Ancient World*. Krakow 2003, 121–41
- : 'inquinare/inclinare in Petr. 25,5. Frauensprache und sprachliche Charakterisierung in Petron Satyrica'. *Glotta* 83 (2007), 69–82

- GAGLIARDI, D.: *Petronio e il romanzo moderno*. Florence 1993
- GALSTERER, H.: 'Petrons Gastmahl des Trimalchio und die römische Sozialgeschichte'. In: B. Cerquiglini / H. U. Gumbrecht (eds.): *Der Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte. Wissenschaftsgeschichte als Innovationsvorgabe*. Frankfurt (Main) 1983, 492–510
- GAMAUF, R.: 'Petronius 97. Quaestio lance et licio oder Rechtspraxis des ersten Jahrhunderts?'. In: C. Cascione / C. Masi Doria (eds.): *Fides Humanitas Ius. Studii in Onore di Luigi Labruna*. Vol. 3. Naples 2007, 2037–46
- GARBUGINO, G.: 'La poetica di Encolpio e il ritratto tacitano di Petronio'. *BStudLat* 40 (2010), 461–80
- GARNSEY, P.: 'Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the Principate'. *Klio* 63 (1981), 359–371
- GARRIDO-HORY, M.: 'Résistance et aliénation des esclaves dans les textes de Pétrone, Martial et Juvénal'. *SHHA* 25 (2007), 315–24
- GÄRTNER, T.: 'Die petronianische Iliupersis im Munde des Poetasters Eumolpus. Ein Beispiel für exzessive Vergil-Imitation?'. *WJA* 33 (2009), 105–21
- : 'Eine übersehene Parallele zwischen Petron und Statius und die Datierung des Satyricon'. *C&M* 60 (2009), 305–9
- GÄRTNER, U.: *Phaedrus. Ein Interpretationskommentar zum ersten Buch der Fabeln*. Munich 2015
- GARTON, C.: *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre*. Toronto 1972
- GENETTE, G.: *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method*. trans. J. E. Lewin. Oxford 1980 [*Discours du récit. Figures III*. Paris 1972]
- : *Figures of Literary Discourse*. trans. A. Sheridan. Oxford 1982 [*Figures I–III*. Paris 1966–1972]
- : *Narrative Discourse Revisited*. trans. J. Lewin. Ithaca 1988 [*Nouveau discours du récit*. Paris 1983]
- : *The Architext. An Introduction*. trans. J. E. Lewin. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1992 [*Introduction à l'Architexte*. Paris 1979]
- : *Fiction and Diction*. trans. C. Porter. Ithaca 1993 [*Fiction et diction*. Paris 1991]
- : *Palimpsestes. Literature in the Second Degree*. trans. C. Newman / C. Doubinsky. Lincoln, London 1997a [*Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré*. Paris 1982]

- : *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation*. trans. J. E. Lewin. Cambridge 1997b
[Seuils. 1987]
- GEORGE, P. A.: ‘Style and Character in the Satyricon’. *Arion* 5 (1966), 336–58
- GIANOTTI, G. F.: ‘Spettacoli comici, attori e spettatori in Petronio’. In: M. Blancato / G. Nuzzo (eds.): *La commedia latina. Modelli, forme, ideologia, fortuna*. Siracuse 2009, 77–127
- : *La Cena di Trimalchione. Dal Satyricon di Petronio*. Rome 2013
- GIARDINA, G.: ‘Augusto patri patriae feliciter. Petronio 60.7’. *Maia* 24 (1972), 67–8
- GLOCK, M.: ‘Ehestreit und Sprachmoral. Zu Homer, Ilias A 536–570 und Petron, Satyrica 74,8–75,10’. *Forum Classicum* 47 (2004), 211–21
- GODDARD, J.: ‘The Tyrant at Table’. In: J. Elsner / J. Masters (eds.): *Reflections of Nero. Culture, History and Representation*. London 1994, 67–82
- GOGA, S.: ‘Encolpe et l’enfermement’. *Latomus* 58 (1999), 816–9
- GOLDMAN, M. L.: ‘Anseres [sacri]. Restrictions and Variations in Petronius’ Narrative Technique’. *AncNarr* 5 (2007), 1–23
- : ‘The Poet’s Croak. The Name and Function of Corax in Petronius’. *CQ* 58 (2008a), 375–8
- : ‘Language, Satire, and Heteroglossia in the Cena Trimalchionis’. *Helios* 35 (2008b), 49–65
- GRAVER, M. / LONG, A. A.: *Seneca. Letters on Ethics. To Lucilius*. Chicago, London 2015
- GREWE, S.: ‘Parodien mündlicher Rechtsformeln bei Petron’. In: G. Vogt-Spira (ed.): *Beiträge zur mündlichen Kultur der Römer*. Tübingen 1993, 37–58
- GRIMAL, P.: ‘Note à Pétrone, Satiricon, XXVI’ [sic]. *RPh* 67 (1941), 19–20
- : ‘Sur quelques noms propres de la Cena Trimalchionis’. *RPh* 68 (1942), 161–8
- : ‘La date du *Satiricon*. À propos d’une palinodie’. *REA* 53 (1951), 100–6
- : *Rome, la littérature et l’histoire*. Vol. 1. Rome 1986
- GRONDONA, M.: *La religione e la superstizione nella Cena Trimalchionis*. Brussels 1980
- GROSSARDT, P.: ‘Die Cena Trimalchionis gelesen als Parodie auf die Ilias’. *Hermes* 137 (2009), 335–55
- : ‘Der Trojanische Krieg in der Darstellung des Trimalchio (Petron, Sat. 39,4–5)’. *RhM* 155 (2012), 310–63

- HABERMEHL, P.: *Petronius, Satyrica 79–141. Ein philologisch-literarischer Kommentar*. Vol. 1: *Sat. 79–110*. Berlin, New York 2006
- HÄGG, T.: *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances. Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius*. Stockholm 1971
- : ‘Callirhoe and Parthenope. The Beginnings of the Historical Novel’. *ClAnt* 6 (1987), 184–204 = id. In: S. Swain (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Greek Novel*. Oxford 1999, 137–60
- : ‘Orality, Literacy, and the “Readership” of the Early Greek Novel’. In: R. Eriksen (ed.): *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative. The European Tradition*. Berlin, New York 1994, 47–81
- HALLETT, J. / HINDERMANN, J.: ‘Roman Elegy and the Roman Novel’. In: E. P. Cueva / S. N. Byrne (eds.): *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*. Chichester 2014, 300–16
- HALLETT, J. P.: ‘Resistant (and Enabling) Reading. Petronius’ Satyricon and Latin Love Elegy’. In: S. Panayotakis / M. Zimmerman / W. Keulen (eds.): *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Leiden, Boston 2003, 329–43
- : ‘Anxiety and Influence. Ovid’s Amores 3.7 and Encolpius’ Impotence in Satyricon 126ff.’. In: M. P. Futre Pinheiro / M. B. Skinner / F. I. Zeitlin (eds.): *Narrating Desire. Eros, Sex, and Gender in the Ancient Novel*. Berlin, Boston 2012, 211–23
- HALVONIK, B. N.: ‘The ethos of urbanitas in the Satyricon’. In: C. Deroux (ed.): *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*. Vol. 12. Brussels 2005, 319–23
- HARRISON, S. J.: ‘The Milesian Tales and the Roman Novel’. In: H. Hofmann / M. Zimmerman (eds.): *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*. Vol. 9. Groningen 1998, 61–73
- : *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*. Oxford 2007
- : ‘Constructing Apuleius. The Emergence of a Literary Artist’. *AN* 2 (2003), 143–71 = id. In: id. (ed.): *Framing the Ass. Literary Texture in Apuleius’ Metamorphoses*. Oxford 2013, 13–38
- HÄUSSLER, R.: ‘De causis corruptae eloquentiae. Variationen eines römischen Themas’. In: Société des Études Classiques de la République Socialiste de Roumanie (ed.): *Actes de la XII^e conférence internationale d’études classiques ‘Eirene’*. Amsterdam 1975, 311–6

- HAYNES, H.: 'The Tyrant Lists. Tacitus' Obituary of Petronius'. *AJPh* 131 (2010), 69–100
- HEINZE, R.: 'Petron und der griechische Roman'. *Hermes* 34 (1899), 494–519 = id. In: H. Gärtner (Ed.): *Beiträge zum griechischen Liebesroman*. Hildesheim, Zurich, New York 1984, 15–40
- HELDMANN, K.: *Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst*. Munich 1982
- HELM, R.: *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii V. C. Opera*. Stuttgart 1970
- HENDERSON, J.: 'The Satyrical and the Greek Novel. Revisions and Some Open Questions'. *IJCT* 17 (2010), 483–96
- HENRICH, A.: *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans*. Bonn 1972
- HERTER, H.: 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums'. *JAC* 3 (1960), 70–111
- : 'Den Arm im Gewande'. In: id. (ed.): *Kleine Schriften*. Munich 1975, 452–64
- HEUBNER, H.: *P. Cornelii Taciti. Libri qui supersunt. Vol. 1: Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*. Stuttgart 1983
- HIGHET, G.: 'Petronius the Moralizer'. *TAPhA* 72 (1941), 176–94
- HILBERG, I.: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vol. 56: *Evsepii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Vol. 3: *Epistulae 121–154*. Vienna, Leipzig 1996
- HILL, T. D.: *Ambitiosa Mors. Suicide and Self in Roman Thought and Literature*. London, New York 2004
- HINDS, S.: *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry*. Cambridge 1998
- HOFMANN, W.: 'In rutae folium. Zu Martial 11,31,17'. *Philologus* 130 (1986), 143–4
- HOFMANN, H.: 'Petronius' Satyrical'. In: E. P. Cueva / S. N. Byrne (eds.): *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*. Chichester 2014, 96–118
- HOLMES, D.: 'Practising Death in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* and Plato's *Phaedo*'. *CJ* 104 (2008), 43–59
- HOLZBERG, N.: *The Ancient Novel. An Introduction*. trans. C. Jackson-Holzberg. London, New York 1995 [*Der Antike Roman*. Munich ¹1986, Düsseldorf ²2001, Darmstadt ³2006]
- : 'The Genre. Novels Proper and the Fringe'. In: G. L. Schmeling (ed.): *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Leiden, New York, Cologne 1996, 11–28

- : ‘Inszenierung und Intertextualität in Petrons *Cena Trimalchionis*’. In: R. Kussl (ed.): *Impulse*. Munich 2005, 33–47 = id. In: id. (ed.): *Brückenschlag zwischen Universität und Schule. Beiträge zur Lehrerfortbildung*. Bamberg 2009, 130–43
- : Review of ‘Habermehl, Petronius, *Satyrica* 79–141. Ein philologisch-literarischer Kommentar. Bd. 1: *Sat.* 79–110’. *AncNarr* 7 (2009), 105–12
- (ed.): *Petronius Arbiter, Satyrische Geschichten. Satyrica. Lateinisch – deutsch*. Berlin 2013
- : ‘Racheakt und “negativer Fürstenspiegel” oder literarische Maskerade?. Neuansatz zu einer Interpretation der Apocolocyntosis’. *Gymnasium* 123 (2016), 321–39
- HORSFALL, N.: ‘Some Problems of Titulature in Roman Literary History’. *BICS* 28 (1981), 103–14
- : ‘“The Uses of Literacy” and the *Cena Trimalchionis* I’. *G&R* 36 (1989), 74–89
- HOWELL, P.: ‘Some Elucidations of Petronius’ *Cena Trimalchionis*’. *ICS* 9 (1984), 35–41
- HUBBARD, T. K.: ‘The Narrative Architecture of Petronius’ *Satyricon*’. *AC* 55 (1986), 190–212
- HÜHN, P. / J. PIER / W. SCHMID / J. SCHÖNERT (eds.): *Handbook of narratology*. Berlin, New York 2009
- IGNARRA, N.: *De palaestra Neapolitana*. Naples 1770
- JENSSON, G.: ‘The *Satyrica* of Petronius as a Roman Palimpsest’. *AN* 2 (2002), 86–122
- : *The Recollections of Encolpius. The Satyrica of Petronius as Milesian Fiction*. Groningen 2004
- JOHNSON, W. R.: *The Idea of Lyric. Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry*. Berkeley, London 1982
- JONES, C. P.: ‘Towards a Chronology of Plutarch’s Works’. *JRS* 56 (1966), 61–74
- : ‘Dinner Theatre’. In: W. J. Slater (ed.): *Dining in a Classical Context*. Ann Arbor 1991, 185–98
- JONES, F. M.: ‘The Narrator and the Narrative of the *Satyrica*’. *Latomus* 46 (1987), 810–19

- : ‘Realism in Petronius’. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*. Vol. 4. Groningen 1991, 105–20
- JURADO, M. A.: ‘Descriptio et narratio. Hacia una caracterización del tiempo novelesco en Petronio (cap. 116)’. In: J. Nagore (ed.): *Voces y lecturas de la novela latina*. Buenos Aires 2005, 125–34
- KAJANTO, I.: *The Latin Cognomina*. Helsinki 1965
- KARDAUN, M.: *Petrone Satyricon. Eine psychoanalytische Analyse*. Diss. Groningen 1993
- KASTER, R. A.: *Macrobius. Saturnalia*. Vol. I: *Books 1–2*. Cambridge (MA), London 2011
- KEIL, H.: *Grammatici Latini*. Vol. 4: *Probi Donati Severii. De Arte Grammatica Libri. Notarvm Latercvli*. Hildesheim 1961
- : *Grammatici Latini*. Vol. 6: *Scriptores Artis Metricae*. Hildesheim 1961
- KENNEDY, G.: ‘Encolpius and Agamemnon in Petronius’. *AJPh* 99 (1978), 171–8
- KERSHAW, A.: ‘The Forms of Some Greek Names in the Satyricon’. *PSN* 11–12 (1981), 4–5
- KIRK, E. P.: *Menippean Satire. An Annotated Catalogue of Texts and Criticism*. New York 1980
- KISSEL, W.: ‘Petrons Kritik der Rhetorik (sat. 1–5)’. *RhM* 121 (1978), 311–28
- KLEBS, E.: ‘Zur Composition von Petrons Satirae’. *Philologus* 47 (1889), 623–35
- KLEINKNECHT, H.: *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike*. Hildesheim 1967
- KLOFT, H.: ‘Wirtschaft und Geld in der römischen Kaiserzeit’. *GWU* 41 (1990), 418–32
- : ‘Trimalchio als Ökonom. Bemerkungen zur Rolle der Wirtschaft in Petrons Satyricon’. In: R. Günther / S. Rebenich (eds.): *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*. Paderborn, Munich 1994, 117–31
- KNOCHE, U.: *Die römische Satire*. Göttingen 1971
- KOESTERMANN, E.: *Cornelius Tacitus. Annales*. Vol. 4: *Buch 14–16*. Heidelberg 1968
- KRAFFERT, G. H.: *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung lateinischer Autoren*. Verden 1888

- KRAGELUND, P.: 'Epicurus, Priapus and the Dreams in Petronius'. *CQ* 39 (1989), 436–50
- KRISTEVA, J.: 'Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman'. *Critique* 33/239 (1967), 438–65
- KROLL, W.: 'Die Kreuzung der Gattungen'. In: id. (ed.): *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*. Stuttgart 1924, 202–24
- LA PENNA, A.: 'L'intellettuale emarginato nell'antichità'. *Maia* 42 (1990), 3–20
- : 'Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum ...!. Per la storia di una scena tipica dell'epos e della tragedia'. *Maia* 46 (1994), 123–34
- LABATE, M.: 'Di nuovo sulla poetica dei nomi in Petronio. Corax "il delatore"'. *MD* 16 (1986), 135–46
- : 'Eumolpo e gli altri, ovvero lo spazio della poesia'. *MD* 34, 153–75 = id. *Arachnion* 1.3 (1995a) (available at: <http://www.cisi.unito.it/arachne/num3/labate.html>)
- : 'Petronio, Satyricon 80–81'. *MD* 35 (1995b), 165–75
- : 'L'episodio del foro, Quartilla e altri problemi di ricostruzione della trama'. In: L. Landolfi (ed.): *Itaque conabor opus versibus pandere. Tra prosa e poesia. Percorsi intertestuali nei Satyricon*. Bologna 2010, 41–61
- : 'Tarde, immo iam sero intellexi. The Real as a Puzzle in Petronius' Satyricon'. In: M. Paschalis / S. Panayotakis (eds.): *The Construction of the Real and the Ideal in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2013, 199–218
- LAIRD, A.: 'Fiction, Bewitchment and Story Worlds. The Implications of Claims to Truth in Apuleius'. In: C. Gill / T. P. Wiseman (eds.): *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*. Exeter 1993, 147–74
- : *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power*. Oxford 1999
- : 'Design and designation in Virgil's Aeneid, Tacitus's Annals, and Michelangelo's Conversion of Saint Paul'. In: A. Sharrock / H. Morales (eds.): *Intratextuality. Greek and Roman Textual Relations*. Oxford 2000, 143–70
- : 'The True Nature of the Satyricon?'. In: M. Paschalis / S. Frangoulidis / S. Harrison / M. Zimmerman (eds.): *The Greek and the Roman Novel. Parallel Readings*. Groningen 2007, 151–68
- LANCETTI, V.: *Satire di Tito Petronio Arbitro. Volgarizzate ed annotate*. Milan 1863
- LATTE, K.: 'Randbemerkungen'. *Philologus* 87 (1932), 265–76

- LAUDANI, C.: 'Il 'pitagorismo celato' della Cena Trimalchionis'. *BStudLat* 39 (2009), 447–73
- LEÃO, D. F.: 'O memino de Pérgamo. Petronio, Satyricon, 85–87'. *Boletim de Estudos Clássicos* 39 (2003), 23–9
- LEARY, T. J.: 'Getting out of Hell. Petronius 72.5ff.'. *CQ* 50 (2000), 313–4
- LEEMAN, A. D.: 'Tacite sur Pétrone. Mort et liberté'. *ASNP* 3.8.2 (1978), 421–34
- LEFÈVRE, E.: 'Der Ephebe von Pergamon (Petron c. 85–87)'. In: M. Picone / B. Zimmermann (eds.): *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption*, Basel 1997a, 129–36
- : *Studien zur Struktur der 'Milesischen' Novelle bei Petron und Apuleius*. Stuttgart 1997b
- : 'Petrons Kritik an dem Tragiker Seneca (Sat. 88–89)'. *Aevum(ant)* 4 (2004), 253–62 = id. In: G. Aricò / M. Rivoltella (eds.): *La riflessione sul teatro nella cultura romana*. Milan 2008, 253–62
- : 'Petrons Kleidernovelle 12–15'. In: F. Oliveira / P. Fedeli / D. F. Leão (eds.): *O romance antigo. Origens de um género literário*. Coimbra 2005, 145–52
- : 'Die novellistische Struktur der drei Erzählungen in Petron. 6–15'. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 155–72
- LIPPMAN, M.: 'False Fortuna. Religious Imagery and the Painting-Gallery Episode in the Satyricon'. In: M. P. Futre Pinheiro / A. Bierl / R. Beck (eds.): *Intende, Lector. Echoes of Myth, Religion and Ritual in the Ancient Novel*. Berlin, Boston 2013, 239–50
- LO CASCIO, E.: 'La vita economica e sociale'. In: F. Zevi (ed.): *Pompei*. Vol. 2. Naples 1992, 113–31
- : 'La vita economica e sociale delle città romane nella testimonianza del Satyricon'. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 3–14
- LOPORCARO, M.: 'Il proemio di Eumolpo. Petronio, Satyricon 83,10'. *Maia* 36 (1984), 255–61
- LORAU, N.: *Come uccidere tragicamente una donna*. Roma, Bari 1988 [*Façons tragiques de tuer une femme*. Paris 1985]
- ŁOŚ, A.: 'La condition sociale des affranchis privés au 1^{er} siècle après J.-C.'. *Annales* 50 (1995), 1011–43

- LOYEN, A.: *Sidoine Apollinaire*. Vol. 1. Paris 1960
- MACMULLEN, R.: *Roman Social Relations. 50 B. C. to A. D. 284*. New Haven 1974
- MAIURI, A.: 'Petroniana'. *PP* 3 (1948), 101–28
- MAKOWSKI, J. F.: 'Petronius' Giton. Gender and Genre in the Satyricon'. In: M. P. Futre Pinheiro / M. B. Skinner / F. I. Zeitlin (eds.): *Narrating Desire. Eros, Sex, and Gender in the Ancient Novel*. Berlin, Boston 2012, 223–33
- MALITS, A. / FUHRER, T.: 'Stationen einer Impotenz. Zur Funktion der Frauenfiguren Quartilla, Circe, Oenothea und Proselenos in Petrons Satyricon'. In: B. Feichtinger / G. Wöhrle (eds.): *Gender-Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen*. Trier 2002, 81–96
- MANUWALD, G.: 'Der Dichter in der Gemäldegalerie. Zur Diskussion über Kunst und Literatur in Petrons Satyricon'. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 254–66
- MARACHE, R.: *Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle*. Rennes 1957
- MARINO, F.: 'Modelli litterari di tre scene petroniane'. *MD* 37 (1996), 155–65
- MARMORALE, E. V.: *Petronio nel suo tempo*. Naples 1937
- : *La questione petroniana*. Bari 1948
- : *Storia della letteratura latina*. Naples 1954
- MARSHALL, R. M. A.: *The Reception of Varro in Late Antiquity*. Diss. Oxford 2013
- MARTIN, R.: 'Quelques remarque concernant la date du Satyricon'. *REL* 53 (1975), 182–224
- : *Le Satyricon. Pétrone*. Paris 1999
- : 'Qui a (peut-être) écrit le Satyricon?'. *REL* 78 (2000), 139–63
- : 'Le Satyricon peut-il être une oeuvre du II^e siècle?'. In: J. Champeaux / M. Chassignet (eds.): *Aere Perennius. En hommage à Hubert Zehnacker*. Paris 2006, 603–10
- : 'Le Satyricon est-il un livre à plusieurs mains?'. *REL* 88 (2010), 206–17
- : 'Pourquoi Petronius est-il Arbitrator?'. In: R. Poignault (ed.): *Présence du roman grec et latin. Actes du colloque tenu à Clermont-Ferrand. 23–25 novembre 2006*. Limoges 2011, 433–8

- MAYER, R. G.: 'Personal Problems. The Literary Persona in Antiquity Revisited'. *MD* 50 (2003), 55–80
- MAZZILLI, C.: 'Petronio 101,7–103,2. Lusus allusivo e caratterizzazione dei personaggi'. *Aufidus* 41 (2000), 49–72
- : 'Petronio 101,7–103,2 e 107. Il discorso diretto e il discorso giudiziario tra intertestualità e teorie retoriche'. *Aufidus* 44 (2001), 137–64
- : 'Petronio, Satyricon 79–82. Implicazioni metanarrative nello stereotipo della relicta'. *Aufidus* 58 (2006), 51–82
- MCGINN, T. A. J.: *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor 2004
- MCGLATHERY, D. B.: 'Reversals of Platonic Love in Petronius' Satyricon'. In: D. H. J. Larmour / P. A. Miller / C. Platter (eds.): *Rethinking Sexuality. Foucault and Classical Antiquity*. Princeton 1998, 204–27
- MCLEAN, B. H.: *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor 2002
- MIGNE, J. P.: *Patrologia Latina*. Vol. 48: *Marii Mercatoris Opera Omnia*. Paris 1862
- MIRALLES MALODONADO, J. C.: 'La critica della retorica contemporanea nel Satyricon di Petronio'. *Maia* 63 (2011), 262–73
- MOMIGLIANO, A.: 'Literary Chronology of the Neronian Age'. *CQ* 38 (1944), 96–100
- MOMMSEN, T.: *Römische Geschichte*. Vol. 1–3. Leipzig 1854–1856
- : 'Trimalchios Heimath und Grabschrift'. *Hermes* 13 (1878), 106–21
- MORGAN, J. R.: 'Chariton'. In: I. J. F. De Jong / R. Nünlist (eds.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 2: *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2007a, 433–51
- : 'Longus'. In: I. J. F. De Jong / R. Nünlist (eds.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 2: *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2007b, 467–82
- : 'Heliodorus'. In: I. J. F. De Jong / R. Nünlist (eds.): *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Vol. 2: *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden, Boston 2007c, 483–504

- : ‘Petronius and Greek Literature’. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 32–47
- MOURITSEN, H.: *The Freedman in the Roman World*. Cambridge 2011
- MÜLLER, K.: *Petronivs. Satyricon Reliquiae*. Munich, Leipzig ¹1961, ⁴1995, ⁵2003
- MULROY, D. D.: ‘Petronius 81.3’. *CPh* 65 (1970), 254–6
- MURGATROYD, R.: ‘Petronius’ Satyrica’. In: E. Buckley / M. T. Dinter (eds.): *A Companion to the Neronian Age*. Chichester 2013, 214–57
- NAPPA, C.: ‘Lucilius & Declamation. A Petronian Intertext in Juvenal’s First Satire’. In: M. P. Futre Pinheiro / S. J. Harrison (eds.): *Fictional Traces. Receptions of the Ancient Novel*. Vol. 1. Groningen 2011, 21–32
- NELSON, H. L. W.: ‘Ein Unterrichtsprogramm aus neronischer Zeit, dargestellt auf Grund von Petrons Satiricon, c. 5’. *Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* 19.6 (1956), 201–28
- NEWTON, R. M.: ‘Trimalchio’s Hellish Bath’. *CJ* 77 (1982), 315–9
- NIEBUHR, B. G.: *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften*. Bonn 1828
- OBERMAYER, H. P.: *Martial und der Diskurs über männliche “Homosexualität” in der Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit*. Tübingen 1998
- : ‘Impotenz des Helden – Potenz des Erzählers. Die Intertextualität sexuellen Versagens in Petrons Satyrica’. In: T. Fuhrer / S. Zinsli (eds.): *Gender Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften. Rollenkonstruktion in antiken Texten*. Trier 2003, 57–92
- OLSHAUSEN, E.: ‘Soziokulturelle Betrachtungen zur Cena Trimalchionis’. In: L. Castagna / E. Lefèvre (eds.): *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption. Studi su Petronio e sulla sua fortuna*. Berlin, New York 2007, 15–32
- PANAYOTAKIS, C.: ‘Quartilla’s Histrionics in Petronius, Satyrica 16.1–26.6’. *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994), 319–36
- : *Theatrum Arbitri. Theatrical Elements in the Satyricon of Petronius*. Leiden, New York, Cologne 1995
- : ‘Eumolpus’ Pro Encolpio and Licas’ In Encolpium. Petr. Sat. 107’. In: S. N. Byrne / E. P. Cueva / J. Alvares (eds.): *Authors, Authority and Interpreters in*

- the Ancient Novel. Essays in Honor of Gareth L. Schmeling*. Groningen 2006, 196–210
- : ‘Petronius and the Roman Literary Tradition’. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 48–64
- : ‘Encolpius and the Charlatans’. In: S. Panayotakis / G. L. Schmeling / M. Paschalis (eds.): *Holy Men and Charlatans in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2015, 31–46
- PAOLI, U. E.: ‘De manumissione per mensam’. *SDHI* 2 (1936), 369–72
- : ‘L’età del Satyricon’. *SIFC* 14 (1937), 3–46
- : ‘Ancora sull’età di Petronio’. *RFIC* 16 (1938), 13–39
- PARATORE, E.: *Il Satyricon di Petronio*. Vol. 1: *Introduzione*, Vol. 2: *Commento*. Florence 1933
- : ‘Petronio nel III secolo?’. *Paideia* 3 (1948), 261–71
- PARKES, R.: *Statius. Thebaid 4. Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford 2012
- PÀROLI, T.: ‘Lupi e lupi mannari, tra mondo classico e germanico, a partire da Petronio 61–62’. *Materiali e Contributi per la Storia della Narrativa Greco-Latina* 4 (1986), 281–317
- PARSONS, P.: ‘A Greek Satyricon?’. *BICS* 18 (1971), 53–68
- PASCHALIS, M.: ‘Seneca’s Apocolocyntosis and Petronius’ Satyricon’. In: M. Paschalis / S. Panayotakis / G. L. Schmeling (eds.): *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2009, 102–14
- : ‘Petronius and Vergil. Contextual and Intertextual Readings’. In: K. Doulamis (ed.): *Echoing Narratives. Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Groningen 2011, 73–98
- PATIMO, V. M.: ‘Petronio 12–15. Lessico giuridico e travestimento parodico nella contessa del mantello’. *Aufidus* 44 (2001), 165–93
- : ‘Gli avvocati nocturni di Petr.15,2. Poliziotti o predoni?’. *Aufidus* 46 (2002a), 7–35
- : ‘Il gubernator di Lica e il Palinuro virgiliano. Un exemplum di degradazione satirica’. *Aufidus* 48 (2002b), 45–58
- : ‘Il nauta barbibus horrentibus et il tonsor del Satyricon’. *BStudLat* 35 (2005), 541–54

- : ‘Note di commento a Petron. Satyr.100.7 e 101.3–5’. *ExClass* 10 (2006), 127–49
- : ‘Qui homines inhabitarent nobile solum. Il motivo odissiano dello sbarco in terra sconosciuta nella riproposizione degradata del Satyricon (115,6–7 e 116,1ss.)’. *BStudLat* 37 (2007a), 580–92
- : ‘Stereotipi comici e mimici nei capitoli 103 e 105 del Satyricon di Petronio’. *Euphrosyne* 35 (2007b), 347–54
- PEIRANO, I.: ‘Ille ego qui quondam. On authorial (an)onymity’. In: A. Marmodoro / J. Hill (eds.): *The Author’s Voice in Classical and Late Antiquity*. Oxford 2013, 251–85
- PENNACINI, A.: Review of ‘Michele Coccia, Le interpolazioni in Petronio (Quaderni della ‘Rivista di Cultura classica e medioevale’, 13). Roma, Edizioni dell’Ateneo 1973, pp. 139’. *RFIC* 103 (1975), 456–62
- PENNISI, G.: *Fulgenzio e la Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*. Florence 1963
- PEPE, L.: ‘Sul monumento sepolcrale di Trimalchione’. *GIF* 10 (1957a), 293–300
- : *Studi petroniani*. Naples 1957b
- : ‘Petronio conosce l’epistulario di Plinio’. *GIF* (1958), 289–94
- PERI, G.: *Discorso diretto e discorso indiretto nel Satyricon. Due regimi a contrasto*. Pisa 2007
- PERKINS, J.: ‘Trimalchio. Naming Power’. In: S. J. Harrison / M. Paschalis / S. Frangoulidis (eds.): *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2005, 139–62
- PERROCHAT, P.: ‘Quelques procédés du style d’Encolpe dans la Cena Trimalchionis’. In: *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes offerts à A. Ernout*. Paris 1940, 285–95
- PERRY, B. E.: ‘Petronius and the Comic Romance’. *CPh* 20 (1925), 31–49
- : *The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins*. Berkeley, Los Angeles 1967
- PETERSMANN, H.: *Petrone urbane Prosa. Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Text (Syntax)*. Vienna 1977
- : ‘Umwelt, Sprachsituation und Stilschichten in Petrons Satyrice’. *ANRW* 2.32.3 (1985), 1687–1705 [‘Environment, Linguistic Situation and Levels of Style in Petronius’ Satyrice’. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford 1999, 105–123]

- : ‘Petron’s Satyricon’. In: J. Adamietz (ed.): *Die römische Satire*. Darmstadt 1986, 383–426
- : ‘Religion, Superstition and Parody in Petronius’ *Cena Trimalchionis*’. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*. Vol. 6. Groningen 1995, 75–85
- : ‘Environment, Linguistic Situation, and Levels of Style in Petronius’ *Satyricon*’. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): *Latin Fiction. The Latin Novel in Context*. London, New York 1999, 105–23
- PETRONE, G.: ‘Nomen/omen. Poetica e funzione dei nomi (Plauto, Seneca, Petronio)’. *MD* 20–21 (1988), 33–70
- : ‘Tempo e metamorfosi nel Satyricon di Petronio’. In: *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*. Vol. 3: *Letteratura latina dell’età di Tiberio all’età del basso impero*. Palermo 1991, 1163–73
- : ‘La ‘ierofania’ di Quartilla’. *Pan* 15–16 (1998), 91–110
- PIANEZZOLA, E.: ‘Petronio, fr. XXVII Buecheler (= Ernout). (Primus in orbe deos fecit timor...)’. In: *Poesia latina in frammenti. Miscellanea filologica in onore di Francesco Della Corte*. Genova 1974, 235–53 = id.: *Percorsi di studio dalla filologia alla storia. Editing di Federico Boschetti*. Amsterdam 2007, 9–24
- PIANO, C.: ‘La moralità epicurea del Satyricon’. *RAAN* 51 (1976), 3–30
- PISANO, A.: ‘Milesiae apuleiane e petroniane a confronto’. *BStudLat* 40 (2010), 481–97
- PLAZA, M.: *Laughter and Derision in Petronius’ Satyricon. A Literary Study*. Stockholm 2000
- : ‘Derision and Conflict in Niceros’ Story (Petronius, Sat. 61,3–62,14)’. *Latomus* 60 (2001), 81–6
- POLLITT, J. J.: *The Art of Rome c. 753 B.C.–337 A.D. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs 1966
- PRAG, J. R. W. / REPATH, I. (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Malden (MA), Oxford 2009
- PRESTON, K.: ‘Some Sources of Comic Effect in Petronius’. *CPh* 10 (1915), 260–9
- PRIULI, S.: *Ascyllus. Note di onomastica petroniana*. Brussels 1975
- PUCCINI-DELBEY, G.: ‘Présence-absence de la figure du lector dans les romans latins de l’époque impériale’. *REA* 108 (2006), 313–26

- PUZIS, H.: 'Questions Concerning the Roman Novel *Satyricon*'. *AAntHung* 14 (1966), 371–86
- : 'De C. Petronii fabula q.i. Satyricon libri'. *Meander* 22 (1967), 29–43
- : 'On the Dating, Scope, and Author of the Roman Novel *Satyricon*'. In: *Abstracts of the Speakers at the Conference of the Journal of Ancient History, 29–31 May, 1972. Moscow 1972*, 52–3
- RACE, W. H.: *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius*. Leiden 1982
- RADIF, L.: 'Il sigillo di Petronio infranto. Un amletico racconto di Nerone a Nerone (Tac., ann, 16, 18 sgg.)'. *A&R* 47 (2002), 107–9
- RAITH, O.: *Petronius ein Epikureer*. Nürnberg 1963
- RANKIN, H. D.: 'On Tacitus' Biography of Petronius'. *C&M* 26 (1965), 233–45 = id. In: id.: *Petronius the Artist. Essays on the Satyricon and its Author*. The Hague 1971, 88–99
- : 'Did Tacitus quote Petronius?'. *AC* 37 (1968), 641–3 = id. In: id.: *Petronius the Artist. Essays on the Satyricon and its Author*. The Hague 1971, 106–8
- : 'Some Themes of Concealment and Pretence in Petronius' *Satyricon*'. *Latomus* 28 (1969), 99–119 = id. In: id.: *Petronius the Artist. Essays on the Satyricon and Its Author*. The Hague 1971, 32–51
- : 'Some Comments on Petronius' Portrayal of Character'. *Eranos* 68 (1970), 123–47 = id. In: id.: *Petronius the Artist. Essays on the Satyricon and its Author*. The Hague 1971, 11–31
- REARDON, B. P.: *Collected Ancient Greek Novels. With a New Foreword by J. R. Morgan*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London ¹1989, ²2008
- REICH, H.: *Der Mimus*. Berlin 1903
- RELIHAN, J. C.: *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore 1993
- RÉMY, B.: *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces Romains d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C.–284 ap. J.-C.). Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie*. Istanbul 1989
- RÉVAY, J.: 'Horaz und Petron'. *CPh* 17 (1922), 202–12
- RICHLIN, A.: *The Garden of Priapus. Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. New York, Oxford 1992
- : 'Sex in the Satyricon. Outlaws in Literatureland'. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 82–100

- RIIKONEN, H. K.: *Menippean Satire as a Literary Genre. With Special Reference to Seneca's Apocolocyntosis*. Helsinki 1987
- RIMELL, V.: *Petronius and the Anatomy of Fiction*. Cambridge 2002
- : 'The Satiric Maze. Petronius, Satire and Novel'. In: K. Freudenburg (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*. Cambridge 2005, 160–73
- : 'Petronius' Lessons in Learning – the Hard Way'. In: J. König / T. Whitmarsh (eds.): *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge 2007, 108–32
- RIPOLL, F.: 'Le Bellum Civile de Pétrone. Une épopée flavienne?'. *REA* 104 (2002), 163–84
- : 'Adaptions latines d'un thème homérique. La théomachie'. *Phoenix* 60 (2006), 236–58
- : 'Encore sur la datation du Satyricon'. In: R. Poignault (ed.): *Présence du roman grec et latin. Actes du colloque tenu à Clermont-Ferrand. 23–25 novembre 2006*. Limoges 2011, 439–58
- RITTER, F.: 'Zwei Werke des Petronius Arbiter'. *RhM* 2 (1843), 561–72
- ROBIANO, P.: 'La citation poétique dans le roman érotique grec'. *REA* 102 (2000), 509–29
- RODRÍGUES NEILA, J. F.: 'Magistratures religiosas romanas in absentia. A proposito de Petron, Satyr., 71.12'. *SHHA* 4–5 (1986–1987), 111–23
- RODRIGUEZ, M. T.: 'La presenza di Orazio nella Cena Trimalchionis'. *AAPel* 57 (1981), 267–80
- RODRÍGUEZ MORALES, J.: 'Los nombres propios del Satyricon'. In: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos (ed.): *Actas del VII Congreso Español de estudios clásicos*. Madrid 1989, 755–62
- ROSATI, G.: 'Trimalchione in scena'. *Maia* 35 (1983), 213–27 ['Trimalchio on Stage'. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford 1999, 85–104]
- ROSE, K. F. C.: 'The Author of the Satyricon'. *Latomus* 20 (1961), 821–5
- : 'The Petronian Inquisition. An Auto-da-fé'. *Arion* 5 (1966), 275–301
- : *The Date and Author of the Satyricon*. Leiden 1971
- ROSENBLÜTH, M.: *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren*. Diss. Kiel, Berlin 1909
- ROSSETTI, G.: 'Il puer formosissimus. Modalità comunicative e degradazione di ruoli nel racconto del fanciullo di Pergamo (Petronio, sat. 85–87)'. In: M. Giovini /

- C. Mordegia (eds.): *Tenuis scientiae guttula. Studio in onore di Ferruccio Bertini in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*. Genova 2006, 215–31
- ROSTOVTZEFF, M. I.: *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Oxford 1957
- ROTH, U.: ‘Liberating the *Cena*’. *CQ* 66 (2016), 614–34
- ROWELL, H. T.: ‘Satyricon 95–96’. *CPh* 52 (1957), 217–27
- : ‘The Gladiator Petraitēs and the Date of the Satyricon’. *TAPhA* 89 (1958), 14–24
- RUDICH, V.: *Political Dissidence under Nero. The Price of Dissimulation*. London, New York 1993
- : *Dissidence and Literature under Nero. The Price of Rhetoricization*. London, New York 1997
- SAGE, E. T.: ‘Atticism in Petronius’. *TAPhA* 46 (1915), 47–57
- SALANITRO, M.: ‘Folklore autentico e folklore supposto nella *Cena Trimalchionis*’. *RPL* 12 (1989), 195–206
- : ‘Il racconto del lupo mannaro in Petronio. Tra folclore e letteratura’. *A&R* 43 (1998), 156–67
- : ‘Non bene olet qui bene semper olet. Marziale (2.12.4) ma non Petronio (fr. XXIII)’. *Orpheus* 19–20 (1998–1999), 395–401
- : ‘Petronio e Marziale’. *Maia* 59 (2007), 309–14
- SALLMANN, K.: ‘Terentianus Maurus’. In: R. Herzog / P. L. Schmidt (eds.): *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*. Vol. 4. Munich 1997, 618–22
- SANDY, G. N.: ‘Satire in the Satyricon’. *AJPh* 90 (1969), 293–303
- : ‘Petronius and the Tradition of the Interpolated Narrative’. *TAPhA* 101 (1970), 463–76
- : ‘Scaenica Petroniana’. *TAPhA* 104 (1974), 329–46
- : ‘Notes on Lollianus’ *Phoenicica*’. *AJPh* 100 (1979), 367–76
- : ‘New Pages of Greek Fiction’. In: J. R. Morgan / R. Stoneman (eds.): *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context*. London, New York 1994, 130–45
- SCHEIDWEILER, F.: ‘Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung Petrons’. *Philologus* 80 (1925), 200–6
- SCHISSEL VON FLESCHENBERG, O.: ‘Die Technik des Bildeinsatzes’. *Philologus* 72 (1913), 83–114

- SCHMAL, S.: *Tacitus*. Hildesheim 2005
- SCHMELING, G. L. / STUCKEY, J. H.: *A Bibliography of Petronius*. Leiden 1977
- SCHMELING, G. L.: *Studies in Petronius*. Diss. Wisconsin 1968
- : ‘The literary use of names in Petronius’ *Satyricon*’. *Rivista di Studi Classici* 17 (1969a), 5–10
- : ‘Petronius. Satirist, Moralist, Epicurean, Artist’. *CB* 45 (1969b), 49–50, 64
- : ‘The *Exclusus Amator* Motif in Petronius’. In: *Fons Perennis. Saggi critici di Filologia Classica raccolti in onore di Prof. Vittorio D’Agostino*. Turin 1971a, 333–57
- : ‘The *Satyricon*. Forms in Search of a Genre’. *CB* 47 (1971b), 49–52
- : ‘Confessor gloriosus. A role of Encolpius in the *Satyricon*’. *WJA* 20 (1994–1995), 207–24
- : “‘Qvid attinet veritatem per interpretem quaerere?’”. *Interpretes and the Satyricon*’. In: A. J. Boyle (ed.): *Roman Literature and Ideology. Ramus Essays for J. P. Sullivan*. Bendigo 1995, 144–68
- : ‘The *Satyricon* of Petronius’. In: id. (ed.): *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Leiden, New York, Cologne 1996a, 457–90
- : ‘Genre and the *Satyricon*. Menippean Satire and the Novel’. In: C. Klodt (ed.): *Satura Lanx. Festschrift für Werner Krenkel zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hildesheim 1996b, 105–17
- : ‘Petronius and the *Satyricon*’. In: H. Hofmann (ed.): *Latin Fiction. The Latin Novel in Context*. London and New York 1999a, 23–37
- : Review of ‘Petronius, *Satyricon Reliquiae*. Ed. Konrad Müller. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner 1995. XLVIII, 195 S. (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.)’. *Gnomon* 71 (1999b), 473–5
- : ‘Satire with a Smile. Donnish Humor and the *Satyricon* of Petronius’. *CB* 77 (2001), 51–9
- : ‘(Mis)uses of Mythology in Petronius’. In: J. F. Miller / C. Damon / K. S. Myers (eds.): *Vertis in usum. Studies in Honor of Edward Courtney*. Munich, Leipzig 2002, 152–63
- : *A Commentary on the Satyricon of Petronius*. Oxford 2011
- : ‘The Small World of the Holy Man. A Small Beginning in the *Satyricon*’. In: S. Panayotakis / G. L. Schmeling / M. Paschalis (eds.): *Holy Men and Charlatans in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2015, 17–29

- SCHNUR, H. C.: 'Vitorum imitatio. Tacitus on Petronius'. *CJ* 50 (1955), 353–4
 —: 'The Economic Background of the Satyricon'. *Latomus* 18 (1959), 790–9
- SCHÖNBERGER, J. K.: 'Zu Petron. C. 5'. *PhW* 49 (1929), 1199–200
- SCHRÖDER, B.-J.: *Titel und Text. Zur Entwicklung lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften. Mit Untersuchungen zu lateinischen Buchtiteln, Inhaltsverzeichnissen und anderen Gliederungsmitteln*. Berlin 1999
- SCHUBERT, C.: *Studien zum Nerobild in der lateinischen Dichtung der Antike*. Stuttgart 1998
- SCHUSTER, M.: 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauermärchen bei Petronius'. *WS* 48 (1930), 149–78
- SCHWAZER, O.: 'Die Sibylle in der Flasche. (Petr. Sat. 48.8)'. *RhM* 158 (2015), 408–18
 —: 'The pseudo-Senecan Seneca on the good old days. The motif of the Golden Age in the Octavia'. *SCI* 36 (2017), 67–80
- SELDEN, D. L.: 'Genre of Genre'. In: J. Tatum (ed.): *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore 1994, 39–64
- SETAIOLI, A.: 'Parodia dei romanzi greci d'amore nei Satyrice di Petronio'. In: L. Landolfi (ed.): *Itaque conabor opus versibus pandere. Tra prosa e poesia. Percorsi intertestuali nei Satyrice*. Bologna 2010, 11–39
 —: *Arbitri Nugae. Petronius' Short Poems in the Satyrice*. Frankfurt (Main) 2011
 —: 'L'uso della citazione poetica in Petronio e negli altri romanzieri antichi'. *Prometheus* 39 (2013), 188–206 = ['El uso de la cita poética en Petronio y en los demás novelistas antiguos']. In: M. Carmignani / L. Graverini / B. T. Lee (eds.): *Collected Studies on the Roman Novel. Ensayos Sobre La Novela Romana*. Cordoba 2013, 97–118]
- SINCLAIR, B. W.: 'Encolpius and Asianism (Satyricon 2.7)'. In: D. F. Bright / E. S. Ramage (eds.): *Classical Texts and Their Traditions. Studies in Honor of C.R. Trahman*. Chico 1984, 231–7
- SLATER, N. W.: 'Against Interpretation. Petronius and Art Criticism'. *Ramus* 16 (1987), 165–76
 —: 'An Echo of Ars Poetica 5 in Petronius'. *Philologus* 134 (1990a), 159–60
 —: *Reading Petronius*. Baltimore 1990b
 —: 'From harena to cena. Trimalchio's capis (Sat. 52.1–3)'. *CQ* 44 (1994), 549–50

- : ‘Reading the Satyrica’. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 16–31
- : ‘Eumolpus Poeta at Work. Rehearsed Spontaneity in the Satyricon’. In: E. Minchin (ed.): *Orality, Literacy and Performance in the Ancient World*. Leiden, Boston 2012, 245–64
- SMITH, M. S.: *Petronii Arbitri Cena Trimalchionis*. Oxford 1975
- : ‘A Bibliography of Petronius (1945–1982)’. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.32.3 (1985), 1624–65
- SMITH, W. S.: ‘Eumolpus the Poet’. In: M. Paschalis / S. Panayotakis / G. L. Schmeling (eds.): *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel*. Groningen 2009, 91–101
- SOLIN, H.: ‘Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt. Eine ethnisch-demographische Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sprachlichen Zustände’. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.29.2 (1983), 587–789
- : *Namenpaare. Eine Studie zur römischen Namengebung*. Helsinki 1990
- : *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*. Berlin, New York 2003a
- : ‘Petron und die römische Namengebung’. In: J. Herman / H. Rosén (eds.): *Petroniana. Gedenkschrift für Hubert Petersmann*, Heidelberg 2003b, 193–200
- SOMMARIVA, G.: ‘Eumolpo, un ‘Socrate Epicureo’ nel Satyricon’. *ASNP* 14 (1984), 25–58
- : ‘Far mercato della giustizia. L’intermezzo metrico dell’episodio del forum (Petr. Satyr. 14,2)’. *FAM* 12 (1997), 7–29
- : ‘Nomen amicitiae (Petronio, Satyricon 80,9, v. 1–8)’. In: R. Badali (ed.): *Satura. Studi in onore di Franco Lanza*. Viterbo 2003, 285–94
- SOVERINI, P.: ‘Le perversioni di Encolpio (Per una nuova possibilità di interpretazione di Petr. 9,8 s.)’. *Materiali e Contributi per la Storia della Narrativa Greco-Latina* 1 (1976), 97–107
- : ‘Polisemia ed espressione indiretta. Su taluni aspetti della trattazione petroniana di argomenti sessuali’. *BStudLat* 8 (1978), 252–69
- : ‘Il problema delle teorie retoriche e poetiche di Petronio’. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.32.3 (1985), 1706–79
- : ‘Sul ritratto tacitano di Petronio’. *Eikasmos* 8 (1997), 195–220

- STAR, C.: *The Empire of the Self. Self-Command and Political Speech in Seneca and Petronius*. Baltimore 2012
- STEPHENS, S. A. / WINKLER, J. J.: *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Princeton 1995
- STUBBE, H.: *Die Verseinlagen im Petron*. Leipzig 1933
- STUDER, G.: 'Ueber das Zeitalter des Petronius Arbiter'. *RhM* 2 (1843), 50–92, 202–23
- STUMPP, B. E.: *Prostitution in der römischen Antike*. Berlin 1998
- SULLIVAN, J. P.: 'Satire and Realism in Petronius'. In: id. (ed.): *Satire. Critical Essays on Roman Literature*. London 1963, 73–92
- : 'Petronius. Artist or Moralist?'. *Arion* 6 (1967), 71–88
- : 'Petronius, Seneca, and Lucan. A Neronian Literary Feud?'. *TAPhA* 99 (1968a), 453–67 = id. In: S. N. Byrne / E. P. Cueva / J. Alvares (eds.): *Authors, Authority and Interpreters in the Ancient Novel. Essays in Honor of Gareth L. Schmeling*. Groningen 2006, 302–17
- : *The Satyricon of Petronius*. London 1968b
- : 'Literature, Patronage, and Politics. Nero to Nerva'. In: H. D. Evjen (ed.): *Mnemai. Classical Studies in Memory of Karl K. Hulley*. Chico 1984, 151–80
- : 'Petronius' *Satyricon* and its Neronian context'. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.32.3 (1985a), 1666–86
- : *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*. Ithaca 1985b
- : *Petronius. The Satyricon*. London 2011 [¹1986]
- SWEENEY, R. D.: *Lactantius Placidus. In Statii Thebaida Commentum*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart, Leipzig 1997
- SYME, R.: *Tacitus*. Vol. 1. Oxford 1958a
- : *Tacitus*. Vol. 2. Oxford 1958b
- THILO G. / HAGEN, H.: *Servii Grammatici qui fervntvr in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. Vol. 1: *Aeneidos Librorvm I–V Commentarii*. Leipzig 1923a
- : *Servii Grammatici qui fervntvr in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*. Vol. 2: *Aeneidos Librorvm VI–XII Commentarii*. Leipzig 1923b
- TILG, S.: 'Die 'Flucht' als literarisches Prinzip in Petrons Satyrica'. *MD* 49 (2002), 213–26
- : *Chariton of Aphrodisias and the Invention of the Novel*. Oxford 2010

- : *Apuleius' Metamorphoses. A Study in Roman Fiction*. Oxford 2014
- TIMPANARO, S.: 'Per una nuova edizione critica di Ennio'. *SIFC* 22 (1947), 179–207
- TODOROV, T.: *Qu'est-ce que c'est le structuralisme*. Paris 1968
- TREGGIARI, S.: *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*. Oxford 1991
- VAN DER PAARDT, R. T.: 'The Market-scene in Petronius Satyricon (cc. 12–15)'. In: H. Hofmann / M. Zimmerman (eds.): *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*. Vol. 7. Groningen 1996, 63–73
- : 'Petronio 12–15. Lessico giuridico e travestimento parodico nella contessa del mantello'. *Aufidus* 44 (2001), 165–93
- VAN THIEL, H.: *Petron. Überlieferung und Rekonstruktion*. Leiden 1971
- VANNINI, G.: *Petronius. 1975–2005. Bilancio critico e nuove proposte*. Göttingen 2007
- : *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon 100–115. Edizione critica e commento*. Berlin, New York 2010
- VENTURA, M. S.: 'La Troiaie halosis de Petronio y los Troica de Nerón. Apuntes para un análisis intertextual imposible'. In: J. Nagore (ed.): *Estrategias intertextuales en la narrativa latina. El Satyricon de Petronio*. Buenos Aires 2003, 195–217
- VERBOVEN, K.: 'A Funny Thing Happened on My Way to the Market. Reading Petronius to Write Economic History'. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 125–39
- VERDIÈRE, R.: 'La Tryphaena du Satiricon est-elle Iunia Silana?'. *Latomus* 15 (1956), 551–8
- : 'Note on Petronius 5,20'. *PSN* 2 (1971), 5
- VESSEY, D. W. T.: 'Thoughts on "the Ancient Novel" or What Ancients? What Novels?'. *BICS* 38 (1991–1993), 144–61
- VEYNE, P.: 'Vie de Trimalcion'. *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 16 (1961), 213–47 = id. In: id. (ed.): *La société romaine*. Paris 1991, 13–56
- : 'Trimalchio Maecenatianus'. In: M. Renard (ed.): *Hommages à Albert Grenier*. Brussels 1962, 1617–24
- : 'Le "Je" dans le Satiricon'. *REL* 42 (1964), 301–24

- VILLE, G.: 'Les coupes de Trimalcion figurant des gladiateurs et une série de verres sigillés gaulois'. In: M. Renard / R. Schilling (eds.): *Hommages à Jean Bayet*. Brussels 1964, 722–33
- VOGT-SPIRA, G.: 'Ars pervetendi. I Satyrica di Petronio e i limiti del rovesciamento'. In: L. Castagna / G. Vogt-Spira (eds.): *Pervertere. Ästhetik der Verkehrung. Literatur und Kultur neronischer Zeit und ihre Rezeption*. Munich, Leipzig 2002, 193–211
- VÖLKER, T. / ROHMANN, D.: 'Praenomen Petronii. The Date and Author of the Satyricon reconsidered'. *CQ* 61 (2011), 660–76
- VON ALBRECHT, M.: *A History of Roman Literature. From Livius Andronicus to Boethius*. Vol. 2. Leiden, New York, Cologne 1997
- VOUT, C.: 'The Satyrica and Neronian Literature'. In: J. R. W. Prag / I. Repath (eds.): *Petronius. A Handbook*. Oxford 2009, 101–13
- WALSH, P. G.: 'Eumolpus, The Halosis Troiae, and the De Bello Civili'. *CPh* 63 (1968), 208–12
- : *The Roman Novel. The Satyricon of Petronius and the Metamorphoses of Apuleius*. Cambridge 1970 = Bristol 1995
- : 'Was Petronius a Moralist?'. *G&R* 21 (1974), 181–90
- : 'Petronius and Apuleius'. In: B. L. Hijmans / R. T. Van der Paardt (eds.): *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*. Groningen 1978, 17–24
- : *Petronius. The Satyricon*. Oxford 1996
- WALTERS, H.: *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*. London 1914
- WEAVER, P. R. C.: *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*. Cambridge 1972
- WEINBROT, H. D.: *Menippean Satire Reconsidered. From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore 2005
- WHITBREAD, L. G.: *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. Columbus 1971
- WIGHT DUFF, J.: *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*. London 1960
- WILLIAMS, C. A.: *Martial's Epigrams. Book Two*. Oxford 2004
- WOHLBERG, J.: 'The Meaning of Some Proper Names in Petronius'. *PSN* 6 (1975), 4
- WOLFF, É.: Review of 'René Martin, Le Satyricon, Pétrone: Paris, Éditions Ellipses, 1999, 174 pages'. *REL* 77 (1999a), 345–7

- : ‘Le mélange, idéal esthétique et social dans le Satiricon de Pétrone’. *VL* 155 (1999b), 19–25
- WOOTEN, C. W.: ‘Petronius, the Mime, and Rhetorical Education’. *Helios* 3 (1976), 67–74
- YEH, W.-J.: *Structures métriques des poésies de Pétrone. Pour quel art poétique?*. Leuven, Paris 2007
- YPSILANTI, M.: ‘Trimalchio and Fortunata as Zeus and Hera. Quarrel in the *Cena* and *Ilias* 1’. *HSPH* 105 (2010), 221–37
- ZEITLIN, F.: ‘Petronius as Paradox. Anarchy and Artistic Integrity’. *TAPhA* 102 (1971a), 631–84 = id. In: S. J. Harrison (ed.): *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford, New York 1999, 1–49
- : ‘Romanus Petronius. A Study of the Troiae Halosis and the Bellum Civile’. *Latomus* 30 (1971b), 56–82
- Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain the following items:
- BOROUGHES, R. J. C.: *Eumolpus. Literary and Historical Approaches to Characterisation in Petronius*. Diss. Cambridge 1994
- FERGUSON, J.: *Petronius and Juvenal*. London 1974
- GRIMAL, P.: ‘Le Satiricon en son temps’. *VL* 113 (1989), 2–10
- PINNA, T.: ‘Un’ipotesi sul rituale di Quartilla (Satyricon, XVI–XXVI)’. *Annali della Facoltà di Magistero. Università degli Studi Cagliari* 3 (1978), 215–25