

# PETRONIUS' 'SATYRICA' : SOURCES AND AFFINITIES

Kate Hendricks Rodriguez

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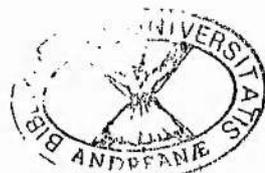
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by Kate Hendricks Rodriguez

submitted for the degree of  
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## ABSTRACT

"Petronius' *Satyricon*: Sources and Affinities"

By Kate H. Rodriguez

In the ongoing debate over the genre of the *Satyricon* of Petronius, the theories that the work is a parody of the Greek romance or that it is a mock-epic have reached a level of orthodoxy. The *Satyricon's* stylistic and thematic affinities to satire, mime, New Comedy and the comic romance have supported a lively debate in the academic community also. However, the rhetorical basis of Petronius has been largely overlooked. In this thesis, I challenge the orthodox arguments of Greek romance and mock-epic, and I propose alternative literary sources for consideration, in particular that of Roman declamation.

In Chapter I, I look at the structure of the epic: the function of the *ira Priapi* in relation to Homer's Poseidon and the occasion-problem-resolution structural pattern of epic with regard to the *Satyricon's* form. This yields interesting questions about the validity of the mock-epic argument.

Similarly, in Chapter II, I challenge the Greek romance parody hypothesis on several levels. A brief look through the chronology of the Greek romance shows its height of popularity a full century or more after Petronius. A study of Giton and Encolpius, the central couple of the *Satyricon*, demonstrates significant differences in their characterization from any *personae* of Greek romance. Additionally, the entire cast of Petronius assumes a different position in society than does the cast of Greek romance. Further into Chapter II, I debate the more recent assertions that the *Satyricon* is indebted (via Greek romance) to Near Eastern and Egyptian literature. Lastly, I discuss as influential on Petronius, several other genres of narrative fiction: γέλοια, περίπλοιοι and the comic romance.

In Chapter III, I put forward as an argument Petronius' debt to Roman declamation, which has been heretofore virtually ignored. In the first half of the chapter, I discuss counterparts in theme and style between the scenes of the *Satyricon* and Roman declamation cases. In the latter half of the chapter, I

examine the cast of Petronius as a whole, finding counterparts in declamation literature and other genres with which the *Satyricon* has affinities. This study of character seems to show that a majority of the cast comes from the world of declamation.

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## INTRODUCTION

The debate over the genre of the supposedly 16-book *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter has been ongoing for two centuries, being particularly active during the latter half of this one. The arguments that the work is a parody of the Greek romance or that it is a mock-epic have reached a level of orthodoxy. The *Satyricon's* stylistic and thematic affinities to satire, mime, New Comedy and the comic romance have supported a lively debate in the academic community also. In this thesis, I too debate some of these contentions and propose alternative literary sources for consideration, in particular that of Roman declamation. —

The epic-like characteristics of the *Satyricon* were first discussed by Elimar Klebs in the late 19th century, when he proposed that Petronius intended to create a mock-epic with Priapus functioning as Poseidon does in the *Odyssey*.<sup>1</sup> Motifs found in both the epic and Petronius have been demonstrated in great detail by Collignon,<sup>2</sup> Courtney,<sup>3</sup> Baldwin,<sup>4</sup> and others. Sullivan supports the claims that the *Satyricon* is indebted to the epic for some motifs, but doubts that the structure of the work is that of mock-epic.<sup>5</sup>

The wanderings of the couple Giton and Encolpius and their jealous dramas evoke the Greek romance. Theories have developed that the *Satyricon* as a whole is a parody of the Greek romance (Heinze),<sup>6</sup> that the work is a synthesis of Greek fiction and Roman satire (Walsh),<sup>7</sup> and that the work is a developed form of the erotic romance, influenced by satire (Perry,<sup>8</sup> Mendell).<sup>9</sup> Anderson has drawn a parallel between Trimalchio's Eastern name and the Alexander Romance.<sup>10</sup> Scholars also find affinities between characters and motifs of Petronius and those contained in the fragments of Lollianus' *Phoenicica* or *P.Oxy.* 3010 (Sandy,<sup>11</sup> Parsons).<sup>12</sup>

Petronius' affinity with satire is discussed according to several different styles. Menippean satire, as described by Quintilian and as exemplified by Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, is considered by many to be responsible in some way

for the form of the *Satyricon*, its mixture of prose and verse. Some contend that the *Satyricon* is a Menippean satire expanded into a romance (Rohde,<sup>13</sup> Ribbeck,<sup>14</sup> Schmid,<sup>15</sup> Hirzel)<sup>16</sup> or that it is an original adaptation of this brand of satire (Ramage).<sup>17</sup> Coffey considers the work to be a mixture of Menippean satire and the Greek romance.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Astbury argues that Petronius has nothing to do with Menippean satire, save the *prosimetrum* form, and that this form may have come from Greek romance.<sup>19</sup>

One scholar argues that the *Satyricon* is a sophisticated Epicurean satire with its preponderance of luxury and death motifs and its moral tone (Arrowsmith).<sup>20</sup> Perry, on the other hand, argues against the satire theory because of Petronius' apparent lack of moral seriousness. Others have seen satire in the *Satyricon's* poetry and rhetoric contrasted with the degenerate habits of its characters (Beck)<sup>21</sup> or the artificiality and self-delusion in the work (Sandy).<sup>22</sup> Avery contends that the *Cena Trimalchionis* itself is modeled on Horace's second satire, Nasidienus' dinner party.<sup>23</sup>

The *Satyricon* bears many instances of low comic drama and buffonery, most of which point to mime: e.g. Quartilla's theatrical scenes in 16-26, the chorus of slaves in the *Cena*, Giton baring his throat in 94. It has been argued that mime is responsible for the form of the *Satyricon* (Abbott).<sup>24</sup> Collignon initially pointed out the mimic motifs shared by Petronius, and Rosenbluth further expands upon this study.<sup>25</sup> Walsh points out that the mimic elements demonstrate Petronius' intention to entertain, but that is all. Collignon finds only a few parallels between Petronius and New Comedy, but Preston points out that themes such as disguise, hiding, dreams and comic combat are found in Plautus and Terence as well as in the *Satyricon*.<sup>26</sup> A broad study of the theatrical ingredients in Petronius has recently been introduced (Panayotakis).<sup>27</sup>

Perry asserts that the basic story of Petronius is analogous to Lucian's *Onos*, and although he admits that there is little extant evidence of comic romance prior to the *Satyricon*, he believes that the formative genre for Petronius was a Greek one. Burger<sup>28</sup> and Collignon also acknowledge this affinity.

There are a number of other affinities claimed between the *Satyricon* and other genres. Sullivan believes that much of the moralizing in the work represents a sustained parody of Seneca's tragedies and philosophical works. The short tales of the Widow of Ephesus and the Pergameme Boy in the *Satyricon* are universally thought to be in the class of Milesian tales, although Cabaniss argues that the Widow of Ephesus and other themes in Petronius have New Testament affinities.<sup>29</sup> O'Neal<sup>30</sup> believes the werewolf story in 61-62 is a parody of Aeneas' venture to the underworld, and Cameron explores the possibility of Habinnas in the *Cena* being a parody of Alcibiades of Plato's *Symposium*.<sup>31</sup> It is clear that the complexity of the *Satyricon* leaves room for innumerable considerations.

While I do not wish to discredit entirely the meticulous and often well-grounded research surrounding the genre of and influences on the *Satyricon*, the orthodox views of the work as either a Greek romance novel or a mock-epic deserve challenging. The rhetorical basis of Petronius has also been largely overlooked as have several other literary forms. In Chapter I, I attempt to look at the structure of the epic: the function of the *ira Priapi* in relation to Homer's Poseidon and the occasion-problem-resolution structural pattern of epic with regard to the *Satyricon's* form. This, I believe, yields interesting questions about the validity of the mock-epic theory.

Similarly, in Chapter II, I challenge the Greek romance parody hypothesis on several levels. A brief look through the chronology of the Greek romance shows its height of popularity a full century and more after Petronius. A study of Giton and Encolpius demonstrates significant differences in their characterization from any *personae* of Greek romance. Additionally, the entire cast of the *Satyricon* assumes a different position in society than does the cast of Greek romance. Further into Chapter II, I debate the assertions made by Graham Anderson that the *Satyricon* is indebted (via Greek romance) to Near Eastern and Egyptian literature. Anderson's argument, based entirely on plot and motif, does not hold up under scrutiny. Lastly, I discuss as influential on Petronius, several other genres of narrative fiction: γέλοια, περίπλοι and the comic romance.

In Chapter III, I put forward as a theory Petronius' debt to Roman declamation, which has been heretofore virtually ignored, save for a few passing comments.<sup>32</sup> In the beginning of the chapter, I discuss counterparts in theme and style between the scenes of the *Satyricon* and Roman declamation cases. In the latter half of the chapter, I examine the cast of Petronius as a whole, finding counterparts in declamation literature and other genres with which the *Satyricon* has affinities. This study of character seems to show that a majority of the cast comes from the world of declamation.

## ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- <sup>1</sup> E. Klebs, "Zur Komposition von Petronius' Satirae," *Philologus* 47 (1889), 623-35.
- <sup>2</sup> A. Collignon *Etude Sur Petrone* (Paris, 1892).
- <sup>3</sup> E. Courtney, "Petronius and the Underworld," *American Journal of Philology* 108 no. 2 (1987), 408-10.
- <sup>4</sup> B. Baldwin, "Ira Priapi," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973), 294-96.
- <sup>5</sup> J. P. Sullivan *The 'Satyricon' of Petronius* (London, 1968).
- <sup>6</sup> R. Heinze, "Petron und der griechische Roman," *Hermes* XXXIV (1899), 494-512.
- <sup>7</sup> P. G. Walsh *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge, 1970).
- <sup>8</sup> B. E. Perry, "Petronius and the Comic Romance," *Classical Philology* XX (1925), 31-49.
- <sup>9</sup> C. W. Mendell, "Petronius and the Greek Romance," *Classical Philology* XII (1917), 158-172.
- <sup>10</sup> G. Anderson, "Trimalchio at Sousa-on-Sea," *American Journal of Philology* 102 (1981), 50-3.
- <sup>11</sup> G. Sandy, "Lollianus' Phoenicica," *American Journal of Philology* 100 (1979), 367-76.
- <sup>12</sup> P. Parsons, "A Greek *Satyricon*?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 18 (1971), 53-68.
- <sup>13</sup> E. Rohde *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1914).
- <sup>14</sup> O. Ribbeck *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1887).
- <sup>15</sup> W. Schmid, "Der griechische Roman," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* XIII (1904), 465-85.
- <sup>16</sup> R. Hirzel *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895).

- <sup>17</sup> E. Ramage, D. Sigsbee and S. Fredericks *Roman Satirists and Their Satire* (Park Ridge, 1974).
- <sup>18</sup> M. Coffey *Roman Satire* (London, 1976).
- <sup>19</sup> R. Astbury, "Petronius, *P.Oxy* 3010, and Menippean Satire," *Classical Philology* 72 (1977), 22-31.
- <sup>20</sup> W. Arrowsmith, "Luxury and Death in the *Satyricon*," *Arion* 5 (1966), 304-31.
- <sup>21</sup> R. Beck, "The *Satyricon*: Satire, Narrator and Antecedents," *Museum Helveticum* 39 (1982), 206-14.
- <sup>22</sup> G. Sandy, "Satire in the *Satyricon*," *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1969), 293-303.
- <sup>23</sup> W. Avery, "Cena Trimalchionis 35.7: *hoc est ius cenae*," *Classical Philology* 55 (1960), 115-17.
- <sup>24</sup> F. F. Abbott *Common People of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1965).
- <sup>25</sup> M. Rosenbluth *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren* (Berlin, 1909).
- <sup>26</sup> K. Preston, "Some Sources of Comic Effect in Petronius," *Classical Philology* X (1915), 260-69.
- <sup>27</sup> C. Panayotakis, "*Theatrum Arbitri*": *Theatrical Elements in the 'Satyricon' of Petronius* (Diss. Univ. of Glasgow, 1993).
- <sup>28</sup> K. Burger, "Der antike Roman vor Petronius," *Hermes* XXVII (1892), 354-55.
- <sup>29</sup> A. Cabaniss, "A Footnote to the Petronian Question," *Classical Philology* 49 (1954), 98-100.
- <sup>30</sup> W. J. O'Neal, "Vergil and Petronius. The Underworld," *Classical Bulletin* 52 (1976), 33-4.
- <sup>31</sup> A. M. Cameron, "Petronius and Plato," *Classical Quarterly* N.S. XIX no. 2 (1969), 367-70.
- <sup>32</sup> Particularly, P. George points out that the speeches of Giton are "extracts from declamations," in "Style and Character in the *Satyricon*," *Arion* 5 (1966), 336-58; and P. G. Walsh acknowledges the declamatory nature of some of the dialogue on p. 28f.

## Chapter I

### THE *SATYRICON* AND THE EPIC

The large number of heroic epic elements in the *Satyricon*, particularly the presence of an angry deity, has warranted substantial attention from scholars, though Petronius' intentions are still a matter of dispute. Klebs proposed the view that the *Satyricon* was a travesty of the epic (primarily of the *Odyssey*) with the theme of Priapus, the god who hounds Encolpius as Poseidon does Odysseus.<sup>1</sup> Sullivan, on the other hand, points out: "It is simply the motif of the wrath of a deity pursuing a homeless wanderer and one or two supporting incidents which are derived from the *Odyssey*; we must not look further than this."<sup>2</sup> It has been mentioned that the epic tone used in some of the *Satyricon's* episodes provides a comic parody especially in light of the "anti-heroic" nature of the narrator.<sup>3</sup> As can be argued with the Greek romance in relation to Petronian characters, the author may be parodying the traits of the epic heroes--loyalty, courage, wits, unbending sense of justice--by inversion of those characteristics in Encolpius and company.

Nearly every episode and scene of the *Satyricon* contains an epic name, quotation, reference or combination thereof; the presence of this genre is more obvious to us than any other. This suggests two possibilities: either that the author is parodying the epic with the adventures of an anti-hero Encolpius, or that he is merely using epic motifs--so familiar to the Roman listener--in isolated comic situations. It seems unnecessary to take up the well-argued parody approach to looking at the two genres; it is essential, however, to look at Petronius' material debt to the epic before going beyond. What needs to be examined then is the structural influence, if any, of epic on Petronius, whether the *ira Priapi* fulfills the same role as the wrath of Poseidon as an overall plot mechanism, and whether the episodes and scenes in the work correspond to the typical epic structural pattern of occasion--problem--resolution, a plot scheme that controls both the overall plot and sub-plot in this genre.<sup>4</sup>

The two longest verse passages in the *Satyricon* are also primary examples of

epic influence in the work. The *Troiae Halosis* (89) is materially Vergilian while the *Bellum Civile* (119-124) is stylistically like the *Aeneid*. Although neither of these modifications alone can be said to constitute parody, they are clearly imitating the epic. The *Troiae Halosis* is prompted by a painting of same which Encolpius spies in the picture-gallery, and is, broadly, a condensed version of *Aeneid* II.13-267 reworked in iambic trimeters. The poem embraces the main topics of Vergil's: the point at the tenth year of the siege of Troy when the Greeks are inspired to construct the wooden horse as a deceitful votive offering, a huge cavern inside to hide the enemy; the Trojans' joy and celebration at the gift of the horse and the supposed departure of the Argive fleet; Laocoon's rushing to the crowd to warn them in vain that the horse is a ploy; the portent of the twin serpents riding to the shore on the crests of the waves from Tenedos to kill the sons of Laocoon and the priest himself; the Trojans accepting the horse within the city walls and their downfall.

There are several thematic variations in this poem of Petronius which, added to the difference in meter, demonstrate that it is not a parody of Vergil, but rather a rewriting of this stock tale.<sup>5</sup> Petronius begins his version with the fate and fear of the Trojans (Phrygians) before switching quickly in l.2 to the mention of Calchas, the prophet who foretold the siege of ten years. This is in contrast to Vergil's opening lines of the Danaans "fracti bello (l.13)" and the delay in including Calchas until l.122. Vergil has the wooden horse built with the help of Pallas Athena (l.15), and Petronius inconsistently has the horse constructed "Delio profante," a clear mistake since Apollo was, even after the return of Chrysis, an antagonist of the Greeks. Petronius adds some elements of detail missing in the *Aeneid*. The wood for the horse is dragged down from Mount Ida in l.4-5, and Sinon makes an inscription on the horse, presumably to the effect that it is an offering, in l.12-13. Vergil makes no mention of either of these particulars. Stubbe points out other incongruities between the two accounts. In the *Satyricon*, Laocoon makes one attempt with an *ingens hasta* to strike the side of the horse and reveal the Greeks (l.50), but with the aid of the gods the vaults ring hollow. In Petronius' version, the priest tries a second time with an axe, but fails to sway the crowd (l.23-24). In the *Troiae Halosis* l.57f., the Greeks release

themselves from the belly of the horse once inside the city walls of Troy; Vergil has Sinon "fatisque deum defensus iniquis," unbolt the vault (I.257f).

Petronius' longest poem bears a theme entirely different from that of the *Troicae Halosis*, depicting the rise of the Roman Civil War, Caesar's crossing the Alps and Pompey's abandoning Rome, yet it is indebted to Vergil for much of the language and style. A. Collignon cites a lengthy list of linguistically and metrically corresponding lines between the *Bellum Civile* and the *Aeneid*, for instance:

Ac tali volucrem Fortunam voce lacessit (I.78)

Irritatque virum telis et voce lacessit (X.644)

Actiacosque sinus et Apollinis arma timentes (I.115)

Actius haec cernens arcum interdebat Apollo (VIII.704)

Intentans cum voce manus ad sidera dixit (I.155)

Et duplices cum voce manus ad sidera tendit (X.667)

exonerabantur, nec rupti turbine venti (I.197)

adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti (II.416)

nondum Caesar erat, sed magnam nixus in hastam (I.203)

stabat acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hastam (XII.398)<sup>6</sup>

Petronius signals the imitation of his predecessor also with the occasional use of familiar Vergilian verse endings: "dextra coniungere dextram," for example, found in I.100 and *Aeneid* VIII.164 or "miserabile visu (I.222; I.111)."

The phraseology and broad meanings of some passages of the *Bellum Civile* can be attributed to Vergil.<sup>7</sup> The opening lines of Petronius' epic: "orbem iam totus victor Romanus habebat/qua mare, qua terrae, qua sidus currit utrumque/nec satiatus erat" can compare with *Aeneid* VII.100f.: "omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque

recurrens/aspicit Oceanum vertique regique videbunt." The language of the l.54f of the *Bellum Civile*: "sed veluti tabes tacitis concepta medullis/intra membra furens curis latrantibus errat" is clearly meant to remind the reader of the passion of Dido: "est mollis flamma medullas/interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus./uritur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur/urbe furens (IV.66ff)." A possible source for the expression in l.117ff: "vix navita Porthmeus/sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba:/classe opus est" is found in VI.413 as the ferryman takes Aeneas aboard, "gemit sub pondere cumba." The details of Petronius' description of Furor: "atque flagranti/stipite dextra minax terris incendia portat (l.262f)" have their origin in Vergil's *Allecto*.

Petronius includes more Homeric than Vergilian references in total in the *Satyricon*, and the use of epic names in the work confirms this. The first chapter of the *Satyricon* introduces, among others, Agamemnon the rhetor, a character with apparently no resemblance to the epic hero save the name. This is true of several other epic-named *personae*. Agamemnon's assistant Menelaus is mentioned first in 27; Trimalchio calls his Fortunata a Cassandra in 74; Lichas is referred to as a Cyclops in 101; Circe's maid is named Chrysis (126). The only sensible name-play seems to be the one between Circe and Encolpius whom she calls in chapter 127 Polyaeus, an epithet reserved for Odysseus.<sup>8</sup>

Direct references to or motifs from epic surface in even more scenes of the *Satyricon*. In 30, the *atriensis* shows the guests pictures of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* displayed in the hall of Trimalchio's house. In 39, Trimalchio offers a line from Vergil in conversation and then confuses his tales in an effort to seem familiar with Homer in 48. Chapter 50 shows the host confusing a tale about the making of Corinthian bronze with elements of the epic and Roman history: "Cum Ilium captum est, Hannibal, homo vafer et magnus stelio, omnes statuas aeneas et aureas et argenteas in unum rogam conguessit et eas incendit...." And again he displays a marvelous confusion of his Greek mythology in 59 with Helen as the sister of Diomedes and Ganymede, Agamemnon as her seducer, and Homer's epic of the war between Troy and Tarentini.<sup>9</sup> Hermeros (58) admits he never learned, among other things, his *menias*, presumably a reference to the μῆνιν in the first line of the

*Iliad*.<sup>10</sup> One of Habinnas' slaves begins to chant the *Aeneid* (V.1) and offends Encolpius with his poor performance skills (68).

Beyond the *Cena*, the references to heroic epic continue. Eumolpus alludes to several Vergilian passages in 94 when he (presumably) addresses Giton: "O felicem matrem tuam, quae te talem peperit: macte virtute esto. Rarem fecit mixturam cum sapientia forma." These mirror the address of Aeneas to Dido: "quae te tam laeta tulerunt saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes (I.605f);" the description of victorious runner Euryalus: "gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus (V.343);" and Apollo's praise of Ascanius: "macte nova virtute, puer...(IX.641)." Further in 97, Giton hides from Ascylos and the constable by clinging to the underside of the bed: "momentoque temporis inseruit vinculo manus et Ulixem astu simillimo vicit." Petronius again points directly to his source in the recognition scene of 105 in which Lichas identifies Encolpius by his genitals: "Miretur nunc aliquis Ulixis nutricem post vicesimum annum cicatricem invenisse originus indicem...."

Tryphaena employs an epic image in her verse appeal at the end of the mock-battle in 108: "Non Troius heros/hac in classe vehit decepti pignus Atridae...." Still on board Lichas' ship, Eumolpus adds Vergilian allusions to his fable of the Widow of Ephesus, as the soldier persuades the woman to eat and drink: "Id cinerem aut manes credis sentire sepultos?"<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, some of the details of the tale have parallels in Aeneas' seduction of Dido. Both women are chaste widows, faithful to their dead husbands but both become enticed by other men; while the widow of Ephesus succumbs to the soldier in the tomb, Aeneas seduces Dido in a cave (IV.165ff). An unaltered line of Vergil appears also at the end of the tale, but its authenticity in the text is doubtful.<sup>12</sup> Eumolpus mentions Homer in his criticism of the written arts before offering his own epic *Bellum Civile*. Homer, he says, provides an example of brilliant thoughts which do not stand out from a work, but rather "intexto vestibus colore niteant." The verse passages of 127, when Encolpius describes the setting of his and Circe's attempt at lovemaking recalls the meeting of Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad* in which the earth springs fresh grass and flowers for them to lay on (XIV.337ff).<sup>13</sup> But here again, after Polyaeus' first bout with impotence, he tells

Giton: "Crede mihi, frater, non intellego me virum esse, non sentio. Funerata est illa pars corporis, qua quondam Achilles eram...(129)." And when his impotence continues to plague him in 132, he resorts again to Vergilian verse as he speaks to the part of the body that fails him: "illa solos fixos oculos aversa tenebat" (taken directly from Vergil as Aeneas meets Dido in the underworld in VI.469) and further: "quam lentae salices lassove papavera collo" (partial line from IX.436). Later in the passage, Encolpius tries to justify the damning of his own body with, among others, the example of Odysseus in a debate with himself over whether to kill the suitors' women in XX.5ff: "Non et Ulixes cum corde litigat suo...?"

Oenothea's verse passage of 134 in which she relates her extraordinary powers includes a reference to the epic Circe: "...Phoebeia Circe/carminibus magicis socios mutavit Ulixis..." Encolpius romanticizes about Chrysis, reckoning her beauty to be greater than Helen and Venus: "Ipse Paris, dearum litigantium iudex, si hanc in comparatione vidisset tam petulantibus oculis et Helenem huic donasset et deas (138)." Just following in 139, he likens himself to, among other heroes of ancient myth, Telephus the king of Mysia wounded at Troy by Achilles and, more importantly, to Odysseus who suffered at the hands of angry Neptune. Here, Encolpius tells us that he has been pursued by Priapus in the same manner: "Me quoque per terras, per cani Nereos aequor/Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi..." The motif of Priapus surfaces on several occasions throughout the *Satyricon* and deserves more detailed attention later.<sup>14</sup>

Scenes and motifs supposedly from epic that appear in Petronius but do not directly acknowledge their origin have been thoroughly pointed out by Collignon and later scholars. Most of the parallels, however, are not significantly similar enough for credibility.<sup>15</sup> The final scene of the *Cena* does seem capable of conjuring up Vergilian imagery. The porter tells the escaping Encolpius, Giton and Ascyltos that they are wrong to think they can leave by the same door they had entered: "Nemo unquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est...(72)." Aeneas enters and leaves the underworld by separate gates (see VI.898).<sup>16</sup> This, when coupled with the motif of Giton quieting the chained dog in Trimalchio's house by throwing it some left-over

food from dinner (see *Aeneid* VI.419-423) seem to evoke the epic.<sup>17</sup>

Encolpius' mourning scene on the beach in 81 is undeniably indebted to epic.<sup>18</sup> Like Achilles, who withdraws to the beach to mourn the loss of Briseis to Agamemnon, so Encolpius goes to a remote spot on the beach and spends three days in solitude, beating his breast and groaning over Giton. He makes an allusion to Achilles when he insults Ascylos: "Qui tamquam die togae virilis stolam sumpsit, qui ne vir esset, a matre persuasus est..." Achilles was sent to Scyros in the early stages of the Trojan War, dressed as a girl by his mother to avoid being forced into the military.<sup>19</sup> In 82, Encolpius puts on his sword and thinking of nothing but "caedem et sanguinem" goes in search of his lover but is foiled when a soldier approaches him and, knowing that Encolpius is not a soldier himself, takes his arms away. Achilles again seems to be evoked here. He is prepared to kill Agamemnon for proposing to take Briseis, but Athena comes to him and stays his anger (I.188-218). Walsh asserts, on the other hand, that this part of the scene is meant to evoke Aeneas rather than Achilles; Encolpius "marches out to fight, searching out his adversary as it were in fallen Troy..."<sup>20</sup> The language becomes Vergilian here: "gladio latus cingor" compares with "hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram...(II.671)" as Aeneas girds himself up for a last desperate fight against the Greeks. Encolpius' seeking out his lover like a madman ("furientis modo omnes circumeo porticus...") echoes Aeneas' quest through the destroyed city of Troy searching for his home and Creusa in II.761f.

The episode of Encolpius and his companions en route to Croton is wholly Vergilian as Collignon points out.<sup>21</sup> Petronius depicts the storm scene in a similar manner to Vergil at the opening of Book I. Compare the description in 114: "inhorrui mare nubesque undique adductae obruere tenebris diem" with the scene of Aeolus releasing the winds at the bidding of Juno: "eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque...ponto nox incubat atra (I.88-89)." Lichas is blown overboard during the storm ("in mare ventus excussit, repetitumque infesto gurgite procella circumegit atque hausit") while Trojan Orontes meets a similar fate: "ingens a vertice pontus/in puppim ferit.../ast illam ter fluctus ibidem/torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vertex (I.114-117)." When Encolpius and his companions reach the shore in 115, they eat

food which has been spoiled by sea-water, conjuring up the image of Aeneas and his men, parching the wet, spoiled grain in the fire before grinding it (I.177-179).

Encolpius' exploration of the new land (Croton) seems to be a condensed version of Aeneas in Carthage. The *Satyricon* characters climb a mountain top and see a town on another hilltop in the distance (116); Aeneas also seeks a view of the landscape from a peak (I.180-181), and he later views the towers of Carthage from a hilltop in I.419-420. The following day, Aeneas determines to explore the country further: "quas vento accesserit oras,/qui teneant...homines feraene (I.307-308)," just as Encolpius asks the *vilicus* about Croton: "qui homines inhabitarent nobile solum, quodve genus negotiationis praecipue probarent...(116)."

Other less obvious motifs that occur in the *Satyricon* have been said to be a result of epic influence. The romantic infidelities that trouble the relationship between Giton and Encolpius can have been designed to mirror the epic heroes' tendency to linger with women or goddesses at various stages of their travels.<sup>22</sup> Primarily, the Circe/Polyaenus episode of 126-139 parallels the *Odyssey* XII in which that hero remains with Circe in Aeaea for a year. The origins of the descriptions offered in the *Satyricon*'s picture-gallery scene of 83-89, it has been suggested, have come from epic via the Greek romance.<sup>23</sup> In the discussion of possible escapes from Lichas' ship, Encolpius suggests to his companions: "Quin potius ad temeritatem confugimus et per funem lapsi descendimus in scapham praecisoque vinculo reliqua fortunae commitimus (102)?" This can compare to *Aeneid* II.262, the release of the Greeks from the horse: "demissum lapsi per funem...."<sup>24</sup> There is the element of common deity between the magical healing of Encolpius' impotence by Proselenos and Oenothea and the magical spell of Circe on Odysseus' men in X.234ff. Encolpius gives thanks to Mercury for restoring his virility in 140 while Odysseus is able to resist being turned into swine by a moly which Mercury gives to him (X.281ff).<sup>25</sup>

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Regardless of the number of other types of epic references in Petronius, clearly the influence and function of Priapus as well as the scene structure of the *Satyricon*

should indicate to a larger extent whether or not Petronius is paralleling the *Odyssey* closely enough for a decent, recognizable parody. Priapus should operate in the same way as Poseidon--whether the offenses and punishments are different is irrelevant--and the plot should be formed similarly. The occasion--problem--resolution scheme that is responsible for both the overall plot and the sub-plots in epic should be evident if the work owes its very nature to this genre. Homer, the exemplary poet according to Aristotle, introduces the subject of his *Odyssey* within the opening lines: "θεοί δ' ἔλέαιρον ἅπαντες/νόσθι Ποσειδάωνος ὃ δ' ἄσπερχές μενέαινεν ἀντιθεῶ/Ὀδυσῆϊ πάρος ἦν γαίαν ἰκέσθαι (I.19-21)." The author establishes the pervading plot mechanism here: the wrath of Poseidon, occasioned by the blinding of his son Polyphemus by Odysseus. Odysseus faces ten years of wandering before the anger is resolved, by the hero's willingness to make a sacrifice to the sea-god upon return to Ithaca. Within this broad framework of wrath and wandering are a series of sub-plots which continue the occasion--problem--resolution pattern, and which often work in succession, one set of actions laying the groundwork for the next. For example, the incident of Odysseus' men on Thrinacia, who refuse to heed the warnings of their leader and eat the cattle of Hyperion, results in the shipwreck, the men's death at the hands of the sea-god, and the hero's stranding alone on Ogygia, an occurrence which marks the start of another plot cycle. Odysseus is kept against his will by Calypso for seven years until Zeus sends Hermes to force her to release him. Furthermore, his delivery from the island makes possible the next shipwreck. This lands him in Scherie and--after he reveals himself at the feast of King Alcinous--eventually on the shores of his native land. The occasion of Odysseus' return to Ithaca finds him faced with the problem of the suitors. The hero and his son Telemachus murder them and save the palace from ransacking. Yet this leads Odysseus into a second conflict, this time with the relatives of the suitors seeking revenge. Athena, disguised as Mentor, puts an end to the fighting and restores peace.

The *Iliad's* infrastructure is largely the same although Apollo's role is different from Poseidon's. The rape of Chrysis incurs the anger of the god who sends a plague and is appeased only by the return of the girl. And the cycle begins again with

Agamemnon's rape of Briseis. At this point, however, the god's anger takes a subordinate position to the "μῆνιν Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος," the element which controls the remainder of the action until resolved with the death of Hector.

The wrath of Poseidon and its overall control in the structure of the primary epic is never allowed to be forgotten although the god is not directly responsible for all of Odysseus' misfortunes between sea-journeys. It is while Poseidon is away in Ethiopia that the gods convene and decide to order the hero's release from Ogygia (I.22ff). Poseidon sends the storm blasting Odysseus onto the shores of the Phaeacians who, not coincidentally, are shipfaring people and honor the god as their patron deity (V.281ff). Poseidon's significance seems to decline upon Odysseus' return to Ithaca until the final two books, but it must be remembered that the hero's absence, during which time the problem of the suitors has arisen, is the work of the sea-god. The continual references to Poseidon (without direct regard to Odysseus) ensure that the reader keeps the god in mind throughout the better part of the epic. Upon reaching Pylos, Telemachus is invited to a feast in honor of him by Nestor (III.29ff); Menelaus tells Telemachus of the fate of the hero Ajax who was saved from a shipwreck, but boasting that he had defied the gods, was drowned by an angry Poseidon (IV.499ff); Odysseus learns from Athena in Book VII that he is to meet Queen Arete, the granddaughter of Nausithous, son of Poseidon and King Alcinous, her husband of the same lineage. In the following book, the bard singing of the scene of Ares and Aphrodite caught and bound by the net of Hephaestus gives a prominent place to the sea-god, the only one of the Olympians who does not laugh at the clever trick (VIII.266ff). Mentions of him in Book XI occur twice as Odysseus encounters the dead: firstly Tyro, seduced by Poseidon, who gave birth to the twins Pelias and Neleus (230f) and later Iphimedeia the mother of his twin sons Otus and Ephialtes (305f).

Poseidon's anger is reiterated often in the *Odyssey*. The opening of the epic sees Zeus and Athena in discussion over the hero, his blinding of Polyphemus and his wandering exile (I.45ff). In the storm off the coast of Ogygia, Ino speaks to Odysseus, asking why the god is at odds with him and offers him a veil of safety

(V.333ff). Once in the palace of King Alcinous, Odysseus must tell his tale from the beginning--the initial offense to the sea-god and his years of struggle as a result (IX-XII). The spirit of Teiresias in Book XI reminds him that Poseidon is resolved to make his journey a difficult one. The god himself reiterates his anger to Zeus when Odysseus reaches the Ithacan coast (XIII.126f), and Athena tells the hero here that she was not prepared to intervene in his strife with his enemy deity (339ff). Finally, the hero's reunion with Penelope makes possible another demonstration of the adventures and misfortunes brought by the wrath (XXIII 263-343).

Encolpius' statement of anguish in 139 is the only one of its kind in the *Satyricon*; if he is meant to be the victim of an angry Priapus in the same way that Odysseus falls prey to Poseidon, there is relatively little supporting evidence. Encolpius' first offense to this deity comes in 17, the scene in which Quartilla begs him, as well as Giton and Ascyltos, not to reveal the devotions they have witnessed "in sacello Priapi." Their accidental intrusion could cause them great harm, she warns them. During the revelry in 21, however, Quartilla ironically tells them that they must devote their hours of sleep to the "Priapi genio." The god makes an appearance of sorts during the *Cena* in the form of a cake presented at the meal, "gremio satis amplo omnis generis poma et uvas sustinebat more vulgato (60)." Lichas becomes suspicious when he is told by Priapus in a dream: "Encolpion quod quaeris, scito a me in navem tuam esse perductum (104)," and when Encolpius suffers from impotence, he entreats the god to forgive him for his sins: "sed inops et rebus egenis/atritus facinus non toto corpore feci...(133)." And he encounters Priapus indirectly when he kills the sacred goose which Oenothea tells him is "Priapi delicias (137)."

The controversial theory that Encolpius has offended Priapus in some other way (perhaps by impersonating the god, robbing a temple or by revealing a secret) and has become as scapegoat needs to be included here as well.<sup>26</sup> The fragment of Sidonius Apollinaris: "Et te Massiliensium per hortos/sacri stipitis, Arbiter, colonum/Hellespontiaco parem Priapo (Carmen XXIII)" vaguely suggests that Petronius was a native of Massilia. Servius mentions an account in Petronius of Massilians taking steps to ward off a plague:

nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis (sumptibus) et purioribus cibis. hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiciebatur. hoc autem in Petronio lectum est.<sup>27</sup>

Sullivan proposes that the work is initially set in Massilia, that Encolpius is at least once involved in Priapean worship and that even the original *Satyricon* begins with a plague already in progress, like the *Iliad*.<sup>28</sup>

He suggests that Encolpius might have offended Priapus by robbing a temple, betraying a secret or perhaps even impersonating the god ("...for [Encolpius] seems to be well endowed physically").<sup>29</sup> It is probably the case, in support of Sullivan, that if there were an episode in the *Satyricon* set in Massilia that it must have come in the lost first half of the work. Although Sullivan's attempt at reconstructing Encolpius' involvement with the god is interesting and plausible even, his suggestions are nevertheless largely speculative.

If we consider that Sullivan is correct in his renovation of the epic-like beginning of the *Satyricon*, it is still difficult to see that the *ira Priapi* is the plot-controlling device for the whole mock-epic rather than merely a repetitive comic motif. The god is infrequently mentioned by epic comparison, and the extent of his anger is never clarified. The most fundamental question regarding whether the general plot of the work fits the occasion--problem--resolution pattern is an unanswerable one. It is impossible to state, with any degree of conviction, the occasion which has caused the wrath, as Sullivan admits.<sup>30</sup> Certainly, Encolpius has erred in 17, but has he offended the god before this as he evidently has in the impotence scenes of 132-133? Presumably, he incurs Priapus' disfavor again after killing the goose. So Encolpius commits at least three offenses, and yet this is already unlike the epic in which one misdeed sets a god at odds with a mortal. It should also be remembered that in 114, Encolpius seems to be involved in the insult of a different deity (a point which

Sullivan fails to mention)<sup>31</sup>: he is accused of having stolen the robe and rattle of Isis. Lichas is blaming her for the storm at sea, not Priapus. And it is Mercury whom Encolpius finally acknowledges for the loss of his virility and thanks for its restoration: "suis beneficiis reddidit mihi, quod manus irata praeciderat...(140)." Also lacking in the *Satyricon's* structure is a patron god or goddess for Encolpius, the invaluable personal aide whom all heroes must have. Odysseus is helped throughout the *Odyssey* by Athena, Achilles by his mother Thetis, and Aeneas by Venus.

The verse passage of 139 provides a list beyond Ulysses and Neptune of mortals dogged by angry divinities: Heracles and Hera, Laomedon and both Apollo and Poseidon, Pelias and Juno. This declaration of Encolpius could be simply another of the "poetic outbursts which stud the *Satyricon*," and is not necessarily the plot vehicle.<sup>32</sup> Priapus' manifestation to Lichas in 104 is the only instance in the *Satyricon* when the god is given a voice (unlike Poseidon's many appearances),<sup>33</sup> and Tryphaena follows this by telling of a vision of Neptune pointing out that Giton is also aboard the ship. This couple of dreams suggests something other than an occasion of *ira Priapi*: "Petronius is merely playing with the stock theme of revelatory dreams in epic literature (one thinks of the rash of these in *Aeneid* 2)."<sup>34</sup>

Considering the prominence of Poseidon in the *Odyssey*, Petronius uses Priapus relatively rarely. Throughout the shipwreck scene of 115 and the Croton episode following, there are epic references but none to the god who, if Encolpius' complaint at 136 is to be taken seriously, should be responsible for these misfortunes. The anger of the god is mentioned only twice; episodes such as the mourning scene of 81 in which the narrator complains of his lot in life have no reference to the *ira*. Nor does the Quartilla scene of 17-18. If the wrath of Priapus is responsible for the wanderings of the main character, then the resolution of this plot must be an end to the travels. But Encolpius makes no mention of a desired end: he and his companions do not seem to have waiting for them an Ithaca. The absence of such a detail would be highly ironic in a parody.

It remains to be seen how the structure of the scenes within the *Satyricon* which have epic references correspond (if at all) to the supposed overall theme of the *ira*

*Priapi*, and how they conform (or not) to the occasion--problem--resolution format. The opening scene of the *Satyricon* in the school of Agamemnon is clearly indebted to the declamations, yet there is the epic name (doubly so because Agamemnon's assistant is named Menelaus in 27). Neither the characters nor the scene display any of the epic structural features. Encolpius takes part in the declamation to gain a dinner invitation, and leaves the colonnade to find the missing Ascylos (6). Whether Encolpius and his party have come to this town as a result of wandering at the bidding of Priapus is impossible to say; he is clearly a newcomer to the place: "Postquam lustravi oculis totam urbem...(11)," but he makes no mention of being driven here by an angry deity.

Quartilla's intrusion into the trio's lodgings in 16 and their subsequent evening of revelry with her have the Priapean elements to recommend them; and here the scene may make a connection to the epic. Her dramatic display in front of Encolpius, Giton and Ascylos encourages them to agree not to disclose what they have witnessed in the temple. It could be said that the occasion--problem--resolution pattern is used in the early part of the episode: Encolpius has caused Quartilla's *impetum tertianae* by witnessing these devotions, and the illness is resolved by the promise of secrecy. The scene does seem to center itself around the appeasement of Priapus. The purpose of the priestess' banquet which follows this scene is not clearly defined (perhaps the fault of lacunae). If the Priapean revelry is meant to be a punishment for the men, it seems odd that there is no reference to the god's role.

In all of the *Cena*, Priapus' name appears only once, as the cake figure in 60--his likeness is viewed with indifference by Encolpius--and it seems to be mentioned only for its novelty value, rather than as a perhaps poignant reminder of the god's anger. The episode as a whole does not conform to an epic scheme, nor does it appear come about as a result of the previous episode. Although the *Cena* begins and ends, more or less, with epic allusions: the painting in the hall (29) and the *Aeneid*-like entrance/exit scene of 72, this seems to be purely coincidental. Compared with, for instance, the structure of the feast of King Alcinous in the *Odyssey*, this *cena* is of an entirely different nature. Books 7, 8 and 9 of the *Odyssey* are constructed around the hero's revealing himself. The storm from Poseidon in Book 7 lands him in

Scherie; Athena enters the scene once again to arrange for the Phaeacian king's daughter Nausicaa to find him. When Demodocus the bard sings of Odysseus leading the Greeks from inside the Trojan horse out to sack the city, the hero begins to weep and at the bidding of Alcinous reveals his identity and his travels since the war's end. Although the content of the *Satyricon's* feast should not necessarily parallel the *Odyssey's*, we might hope for a similar structure around purpose. Encolpius does not end up at the *cena* as a result of a god's bidding but rather as the result of his own wiles--he courts the favor of Agamemnon (10). The feast lacks a purpose with regard to the narrator. Trimalchio evidently purports to demonstrate his wealth and "taste" in this scene, but for Encolpius it provides neither a punishment nor a conflict, save the fact that he escapes the dinner in disgust at Trimalchio's mock-funeral (78).

Encolpius' mourning scene in 81-82 needs to be looked at more closely for its structure as the motif is assuredly derived from epic. When the narrator lists his "nomina audaciae," he calls himself an exile but fails to include Priapus or indeed any cause for his misfortunes; it seems that here is another case of Encolpius suffering by circumstance rather than by the will of a malevolent god. No plot structure with the *ira Priapi* controlling the overall action appears. The scene also lacks a proper resolution in the epic sense. Giton deserts his lover, Encolpius resolves to settle the matter with force, but his revenge is cut short by the soldier who confiscates his sword. The matter is not settled until 91. In the *Iliad*, the scene of Achilles' confrontation with Agamemnon is resolved at once with the decision over Briseis.

The occasion of Encolpius in the picture-gallery (83-90), where Eumolpus gives his rendering of the fall of Troy, does not bring about any problems or resolutions. The narrator enters the gallery and admires paintings which all have the theme of the seduction of boys. He is approached by the poet, who correspondingly tells him the tale of his seduction of the Pergameme boy, and after a brief philosophical discussion, Eumolpus begins his epic. The only conflict to be seen in this passage is possibly at the scene's end when the pair are driven out of the gallery by stone-throwing patrons. Yet this is hardly a comparable incident to the epic: this occurrence does not seem to have a clear resolution, nor does it initiate a subsequent

plot cycle. The relationship which is cemented here between Encolpius and Eumolpus does have repercussions in the boarding-house incident, however, but the scene in its entirety, with the lack of Priapean influence, bears little structural resemblance to one from the epic.

The substantial episode of the boarding house (91-100) is without a distinctive occasion--problem--resolution pattern; rather the plot is a convolution of incidents with multiple conflicts. Encolpius initially brings Giton back to the boarding house after he has discovered his estranged lover in the baths in 90. The couple settle their quarrel, and Eumolpus enters to tell the story of his time in the baths. An argument ensues between the poet and the narrator over Giton; the boy leaves to fetch water. This dispute ends with Eumolpus leaving the room, locking Encolpius in, as he follows Giton. Encolpius resolves to hang himself but is saved by the returning Giton and Eumolpus. The lovers' play that follows provides a theatrical conflict; another fight begins when the poet hits one of the inmates of the establishment, and Bargates must end the occasion with a declamatory speech. The episode as a whole, in fact, seems to have the nature of declamatory literature: the emotional appeals and rhetorical demonstrations would point more to this source than to epic.<sup>35</sup> Ascyrtos' advertisement for Giton in 97 results in the only epic motif in this episode, as the boy hides under the bed like Odysseus under the ram. A lacuna after the discovery of the boy prevents a fully-understandable outcome. The scene ends as the pair beg Eumolpus to save them. This resolution, however, does appear to set-up the next scene aboard Lichas' ship, and in this way, the end is structurally like the epic. But with the absence of a mention of Priapus as a direct or even indirect cause of the strife at the boarding house, and the random action of the plot, this episode does not help to uphold the notion that the *Satyricon* is structured as a mock-epic.

Tryphaena, in her verse delivered during the shipboard battle in 108, succeeds in ending the mock-strife, admittedly a resolution to the conflict brought about by Encolpius and Giton boarding the ship of their enemy Lichas. The rhetorical nature of her speech, however, seems to demonstrate that it owes its origins to the declamations rather than to any epic poetry.<sup>36</sup> And the context of the poem is self-contained; while

the shipboard scene might conform to the pattern of an epic scene, it has no relevance to the *ira Priapi*. The appearance of Priapus to Lichas in 104 seems to be an isolated incident since the god does not control the action of the scene's remainder.

Eumolpus delivers the *Bellum Civile* on the road to Croton, in a scene that, as it remains, has no epic structural qualities, even though the several significant Vergilian motifs in this scene might suggest otherwise. Since Priapus does not appear to be responsible for the shipwreck in 114, the occasion of Encolpius' and his companions' landing at Croton is not initially formed like the epic. The trio encounter no problems during this episode; in fact their ploy hatched en route to the city seems to be successful. They are received and provided for by the legacy-hunters (124).

The episode of Circe and Polyaeus (126-139) is another scene without a clear occasion--problem--resolution pattern, and another one in which the aimless nature of the plot distinguishes it from that of epic, although the fragmentary state of the text prohibits any firm argument. Priapus, for the first time, does have a role in this round of Encolpius' troubles, as he himself suggests later in the poem of 133 and perhaps reiterates in 139. In these verses, as they are, the narrator never mentions specifically that he blames the god for his impotence; he declares in 133 only that he wishes to be forgiven for a *culpa minor*. The impotence conflict, made apparent by his encounters with Circe and Chrysis never appears to find a resolution in what remains of the end of the scene, and the name of Priapus appears only once more in the goose-killing incident of 136-137. Encolpius hardly seems intimidated by what he has done here. Ironically, disgusted ("taedio fatigatus") with the priestesses' weeping over the goose, he hands over two gold pieces to settle the matter. If it is Mercury who is responsible for the impotence (see 140), Encolpius makes no references to him during the condemnation of his body in 132-133.

Petronius seems not to indicate anything but a broadly similar motif with the use of the epic names for Encolpius and Circe. Encolpius appears to stray from his "brother" in his relationship with Circe as Odysseus from Penelope in Book 10. From a structural perspective, the two incidents have nothing in common. The epic encounter with Circe clearly follows the expected scheme: after Odysseus' landing on

Aeaea, he is faced with the problem of Circe's magic as she turns his crew into swine. Only with the help of Mercury does he succeed in forcing her to break the spell. When Encolpius meets his Circe, the resulting conflict is not solved so simply. Chrysis takes him to be healed by Proselenos in 131. The unsuccessful treatment causes another embarrassment during his second attempt with Circe (132) and his subsequent healing session with Oenothea (134-138) does not seem to be favorable either (he says in 138, "...forsitan rediret hoc corpus ad vires et resipiscerent partes veneficio, credo, sopitae."). Chrysis' overtures to Encolpius in 139 presume another romantic encounter for him, but the result of this is impossible to say. While the plot set-up of this scene might fulfill the epic scheme: Encolpius offends Priapus, is rendered impotent and eventually finds a cure, there is not enough supporting evidence to assume this. Also the mention of Mercury as his restorative power confuses the issue.

The poems in the *Satyricon* with epic allusions need to be looked at for their significance in the work, either as structural elements or as parodies or imitations of epic verse. It has already been established that both the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile* imitate Vergil in content and form, respectively. Regardless of their function, the motifs in the passages have no relevance to the *ira Priapi* or to the wandering exile, nor do the motifs surface anywhere else in the *Satyricon*.<sup>37</sup> Encolpius' poem during his first attempt at lovemaking with Circe (127) is clearly a sort of parody of the epic. As he meets her ("Dixit haec Circe, implicitumque me brachiis mollioribus pluma deduxit in terram vario gramine indutam."), he invokes the image of Zeus and Hera, paralleling the two love scenes and rendering the end of his liaison a comic one with his inability to perform sexually. Again, this motif is exclusive to the incident, and the union of the two gods is not important to structure of the episode or beyond.

The direct use of Vergilian lines in 132 pertains only to Encolpius' second bout of impotence, another humorous but isolated use of verse. The poem to Priapus in 133 is an exception to those already mentioned. Priapus, of course, does appear at least six other times in the work, namely in the verse at 139. These are not parodies

of epic verse. But they have structural significance only if the wrath of Priapus is a plot-controlling element. From the amount of evidence there is of the god's role in the work, this does not seem to be the case. Priapus does not have the continual significance that Poseidon has in the *Odyssey*, nor does he alone appear to be responsible for all of Encolpius' trials.

## ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER I

- <sup>1</sup> E. Klebs, "Zur Komposition von Petronius' Satirae," *Philologus* 47 (1889), 630ff.
- <sup>2</sup> J. P. Sullivan *The 'Satyricon' of Petronius* (London, 1968), 93.
- <sup>3</sup> P. G. Walsh *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge, 1970), 45.
- <sup>4</sup> see p. 9ff.
- <sup>5</sup> H. Stubbe, "Die Verseinlagen im Petron," *Philologus Supplement XXV H.2* (1933), 32-34.
- <sup>6</sup> A. Collignon *Etude Sur Petrone* (Paris, 1892), 166f.
- <sup>7</sup> P. A. George, "Petronius and Lucan *De Bello civili*," *Classical Quarterly N.S.* 24 (1974), 119-133.
- <sup>8</sup> *Od.* XII.184.
- <sup>9</sup> I accept Scheffer's suggestion of "Tarentini" rather than "Parentini" which appears only in Cod. H, the one complete source of the *Cena*. Homer mentions neither of these cities in his epics, and for alliteration's sake Tarentini seems plausible.
- <sup>10</sup> as asserted in Petronius *Satyricon*, ed. M. Heseltine (London, 1969).
- <sup>11</sup> see Collignon, 124-25.
- <sup>12</sup> see Heseltine's edition of *Satyricon*, 274.
- <sup>13</sup> Christopher Gill, "The Sexual Episodes in the *Satyricon*," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973), 172-185.
- <sup>14</sup> see p. 9ff.
- <sup>15</sup> For instance, Collignon (119-20) attempts to point out as significant two Aeneid-like motifs in the *Satyricon*: the labyrinth mentioned by Encolpius as he narrates of their attempted escape from the *cena* in 73: "Quid faciamus homines miserrimi et novi generis labyrintho inclusi...", and Daedalus the cook, featured in 70. Daedalus presents a platter which appears, to Encolpius, to be a goose and a fish surrounded by birds. Trimalchio tells the guest that the clever cook has crafted these out of a pig: "Volueris, de vulva faciet pisces, de lardo palumbum, de perna turturem, de colaepio gallinam." In book VI of the *Aeneid*, the hero finds the temple of Apollo built by Daedalus where he landed safely after fleeing Minos and decorated the building with

pictures of Knossos and the labyrinth (VI.12-30). Firstly, there is no link in the *Satyricon* between Encolpius' comments in 73 and Trimalchio's praise of Daedalus in 70, and it is in keeping with Petronius to give epic names to some of his characters. Nor is it necessarily the case that the name Daedalus implies anything but a cunning craftsman (see note in Heseltine's *Satyricon*, 159). There is no basis for connecting these separate incidents. According to Collignon (120) and A. M. Cameron, "Myth and Meaning in Petronius: Some Modern Comparisons," *Latomus* 29 (1970), 397-425, when Giton appeals to Encolpius and Ascyltos as they fight over him in 80, baring his throat and telling them to strike him with their blades: "Quod si utique facinore opus est, nudo ecce iugulum, convertite huc manus, imprimate mucrones," he is possibly echoing the cry of Nisus: "me, me, adsum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,/o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis (IX.427f)." The language here is not strikingly similar. The most plausible source of these sorts of dramatic outbursts comes not from epic but from Roman declamation; see Chapter III.

<sup>16</sup> Collignon, 120. See also E. Courtney, "Petronius and the Underworld," *American Journal of Philology* 108 no. 2 (1987), 408-10, although he disagrees that Petronius borrows these motifs from the epic directly but rather has come upon them via Plato's *Protagoras*.

<sup>17</sup> Collignon, 119-20.

<sup>18</sup> Walsh, 36.

<sup>19</sup> *schol. II.* 19.326.

<sup>20</sup> Walsh, 37.

<sup>21</sup> Collignon, 126ff.

<sup>22</sup> Sullivan, 96.

<sup>23</sup> Sullivan, 96. For chronological problems of Greek romance, see p. 24ff.

<sup>24</sup> R. B. Steele, "Literary Adaptations and References in Petronius," *Classical Journal* 15 (1920), 279-293.

<sup>25</sup> Sullivan, 75.

<sup>26</sup> C. Cichorius *Römische Studien* (Leipzig, 1922), 438ff.

- <sup>27</sup> *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilli Carmina Commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig, 1881).
- <sup>28</sup> Sullivan, 41.
- <sup>29</sup> Sullivan, 40-41.
- <sup>30</sup> Sullivan, 41.
- <sup>31</sup> Sullivan, 41.
- <sup>32</sup> Barry Baldwin, "Ira Priapi," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973), 294-296.
- <sup>33</sup> H. D. Rankin, "Petronius, Priapus and Priapeum LXVIII," *Classica & Mediaevalia* 27 (1966), 225-242.
- <sup>34</sup> Baldwin, 295.
- <sup>35</sup> see p. 57-60.
- <sup>36</sup> see p. 62.
- <sup>37</sup> It has been argued that the *Bellum Civile* purports to establish the theme of moral decadence and social disintegration as an introduction to the Croton episode and the *Troiae Halosis* has long been considered by some to be a Senecan parody. See M. S. Smith's edition with commentary of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (Oxford, 1975); J. P. Sullivan, "Petronius, Seneca and Lucan: A Neronian Literary Feud?," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968), 453-467; P. G. Walsh, "Eumolpus, the *Halosis Troiae*, and the *De Bello Civile*," *Classical Philology* 63 (1968), 208-212; F. I. Zeitlin, "Romanus Petronius. A Study of the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*," *Latomus* 30 (1971), 56-82; and more recently C. Connors *Petronius 'Bellum Civile' and the Poetics of Discord* (Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1989).

## Chapter II

### PETRONIUS, GREEK ROMANCE AND NARRATIVE FICTION

The scholarship concerning the relationship between the *Satyricon* and Greek romance extends as far back as 1899 when Richard Heinze published his article "Petron und der griechische Roman" in which he asserted that the work as a whole was meant to parody the romance.<sup>1</sup> In Heinze's view, the central couple, Encolpius and Giton, represent the essential couple of the Greek novel who fall in love and are then separated by a variety of misfortunes (accidents, kidnappings, intervention by evil characters) until they are reunited with the aid of Fortune. Petronius achieves his parody by inversion of the traits of the romance characters while keeping his work within the same frame of romance and adventure. The *Satyricon* has a depraved, lower-class homosexual pair whereas the Greek novel's couple are a young, innocent male and female of well-to-do parentage. The faithful friends who appear on the side of the male hero of the romance are parodied by Eumolpus and Ascyltos. The general cast of the *Satyricon* is represented as lower-class and disreputable in contrast to the (not always upper-class but) upstanding citizens of the novel.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequent studies have tended to modify Heinze's theory rather than dismiss it altogether; some have denied the presence of parody but admitted a degree of influence. The early article by Frank F. Abbott<sup>3</sup> looks at the theories of Rohde and Schmid and their explanations of the romance's origins.<sup>4</sup> According to Rohde, the Greek novel was probably developed from the stories of travellers which took the form of adventure (epic-like) tales with the added dramatic element of separated lovers; it is from this form that Petronius gained his basic plot of love and adventure. A marked feature that the *Satyricon* and romance have in common, according to Schmid, is the rhetorical nature of both: Petronius has many examples of declamatory influence, and early fragments of romance suggest balanced arguments like those seen in Seneca's *Controversiae*.<sup>5</sup> Schmid contends that the Greek novel grew out of the adventure narratives contained in the declamations. Abbott himself seems not to disregard this

theory entirely, but he does assert that the realistic features of the *Satyricon* seem to owe their debt to the author himself.

Abbott's treatise is commented on some years later by Mendell who disagrees that Petronius is parodying the romance on the bases of, among others, his unique characterization and the "baffling tone of satire" that seems to pervade the work.<sup>6</sup> B.E. Perry follows this line of argument by distinguishing, independent of content and type, the "vast difference in nature between the two species of romance: the Greek is idealized and serious, while Petronius is realistic and burlesque."<sup>7</sup> Several decades on, E. Courtney returns in part to the original point of Heinze in order to demonstrate that Petronius is indeed attempting to parody, among other genres, the romance in many of the *Satyricon's* episodes and general framework, normally achieving this by inversion of characteristics.<sup>8</sup>

Walsh explores the possibility that Petronius is burlesquing the Greek novel's ideals and motifs and not engaging in full-fledged parody.<sup>9</sup> The two genres compare in the elements of cruel Fortune, the emphasis on religion, the separation and reconciliation of lovers. The incongruity is introduced in terms of variations to the motifs, mainly the homosexual aspects.

The study of Greek romance is itself a tentative one. New papyrological finds before the turn of this century and more recently in the last 25 years have already called for a radical restructuring of the genre's chronology and any subsequent find could cause further revision. It is Rohde's belief that the genre grew out of the Second Sophistic, that the movement was begun by Antonius Diogenes in the 1st century AD, and that Iamblichus and Heliodorus preceded Chariton who wrote in the 5th century.<sup>10</sup> The *Ninus* romance fragments A and B, discovered in 1893, were found to be on the reverse side of a business document of 101 AD. Paleographers have established that all three fragments--fragment C was found in 1900--were written in calligraphic uncials, a style which was used between the mid-1st centuries BC and AD.<sup>11</sup> Also in keeping with the opinion of an early date is the *Ninus's* affinity to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (c.430-354), its "gravity towards military education and exploits."<sup>12</sup> Rohde's theories were further dismantled by the publication in 1900 of a 2nd century

textual fragment containing part of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*.<sup>13</sup> Two other fragments of the work found have been dated by editors to the 2nd or early 3rd centuries. This *terminus ante quem*, however, had already been partly established in 1924 by Wilhelm Schmid who based his late first century dating of the work on its pre-atticist content and style.<sup>14</sup> This is also Perry's conviction, who adds that "historical persons and events are much more prominent in his book than in any extant romance known to have been written in the second century or later."<sup>15</sup> Also noted by the author are "classical" stylistic elements found in Chariton but not in other later novelists: economy of language, dramatic structure of the prose, use of Attic-style dramatic irony and imitation of Thucydidean irony.<sup>16</sup>

The *Ninus* romance and Chariton are chronologically the only extant works that we can look to for Petronian models. Evidence for the dating of all other surviving romance texts seems to establish that the genre reached its height of popularity in the 2nd or 3rd century, a full century or more after the *Satyricon* although the early texts suggest that a tradition of prose fiction had begun to develop in the Hellenistic world. Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* contains internal evidence that most probably sets its date after 117. He mentions the εἰρήνης of Cilicia in II.13 and III.11, a political office which did not exist until Hadrian. Some scholars have also argued, albeit weakly, that the work was most likely not written long after 263, due to the featuring in the novel of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus which was destroyed by the Goths in that year.<sup>17</sup> It has also been suggested, in support of the earlier dating, that Xenophon of Ephesus is a pseudonym, and that this practice of anonymity had been abandoned by the time of the romance's heightened readership.<sup>18</sup> Iamblichus is the only romance writer whose dates are almost certain; Photius in the mid-9th century gives a 12-page summary of the *Babyloniaca* and establishes that it was written during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-80).<sup>19</sup> Also from Photius comes the summary of *Antonius Diogenes*, but he offers no date for the novel. Porphyry cites him in the mid-3rd century; however, it has been argued that his work is parodied in Lucian's *Vera Historia* and therefore would have been written in the first century and a half AD.<sup>20</sup>

There is no evidence of Longus before the 12th century, but most critics would

place *Daphnis and Chloe* somewhere in the middle of the Second Sophistic movement (c. 50-250). The mention in 3.27-30 of a present of 3000 drachmas as a fantastic amount of money is an argument that some scholars have used in support of a date before the last third of the third century when inflation in the empire would have made that amount worthless.<sup>21</sup> Also proposed, but accepted with hesitancy, is the affinity between *Daphnis and Chloe* and Roman landscape painting of the mid-2nd century which it seems ceased to be popular in the 3rd century.<sup>22</sup> Fragments of *Achilles Tatius* have been dated at various times from the 4th century to the 2nd. The most authoritative opinion seems to be that of Vogliano and Schubart, who have both dated the handwriting of a papyrus published in 1938 to the 2nd century.<sup>23</sup>

Heliodoros gives several hints in his *Aethiopica* as to its date. He identifies himself in a 12-word address at the close of the work as a "Phoenician of Emesa." This suggests that he might have been writing sometime after 194 when Alexander Severus divided Syria into Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice. Mention of Heliodoros by the 5th century church historian Socrates provides an upper limit for his dates. Scholars have settled now on either the 3rd or 4th centuries. Supporters of the 3rd century point out that in his sign-off Heliodoros also claims that he is one of the family of the Descendants of the Sun and suggest that this association is the result of the accession to the throne of sun priest emperor Elagabalus (219-222).<sup>24</sup> Those in favor of the 4th century base this on the strength of similarity between book 9 of Heliodoros, in which the siege of Syene takes place and the historical Parthian siege of Nisibis in 350.<sup>25</sup> The rest of the fragments--many of which were discovered between the late 1960's and early 1980's--all seem to date from the 2nd century with one possibility in the 3rd thus reinforcing the theory of the romance's climax of popularity then.<sup>26</sup> Whether Petronius' contemporary audience would have been familiar with the romance novel as such is doubtful. In any case, a parody of romance would seem too early at this stage in the genre's development.<sup>27</sup>

A second more important element in dismissing the argument for romantic parody in the *Satyricon* is that of character. Neither this nor chronology have been dealt with scrutiny by scholars; the focus has tended to remain on plot and motif. The

fact that Petronius does not employ the most fundamentally necessary characteristics of parody: the same form and language as the Greek romance novels, has not detracted from the many assertions that he is attacking the genre.<sup>28</sup> The two main characters of the *Satyricon* defy being placed in the category of parody; they, like the form and language, fail to be significantly similar or distinctly different from the typical couple of the romance. Heinze's and Courtney's attempts to draw a distinction between the naive romance pair and Encolpius/Giton as a parody consisting of opposites fail to succeed upon a more thorough study of Petronian character. What is really occurring in the characterization of the *Satyricon's* main *personae* is that they are much more complex and three-dimensional than the stereotypical, flat characters of the romance. To say simply that Giton and Encolpius are decadent individuals is not enough. Encolpius is, upon inspection, as naive and impressionable in his love for Giton as is Clitophon for Leucippe, for instance. In an effort to keep Giton, he puts up a brave show of fight against Ascyrtos in 9-10 and in 80 and also against Tryphaena in 108. He makes a foiled attempt to fight to regain Giton's affections in 82, and resigns to kill himself over his lost love in 94. These are hardly the sentiments of a debauched criminal as one might assume of Encolpius. There is a charming childishness about his feelings for Giton; in his naivete, he is blind to Giton's feigned innocence.

Yet at the same time he is undeniably clever and unethical in certain situations. He steals the cloak along with his two companions in 12 and, as Lichas indicates to us in 114, he has probably stolen the *vestis* and the *divinum sistrum* of Isis. Encolpius unscrupulously flatters Agamemnon in order to gain an invitation to Trimalchio's banquet and takes part in the legacy-hunter disguise with Eumolpus. His character cannot be compared or contrasted with those of the romance because it is of an entirely different nature; a simple, one-sided description of him does not suffice.

Likewise is Giton, who is one of the most rounded, complex characters in the *Satyricon*, as he appears to be one type while clearly being another. He is youthful, beautiful and sexually attractive to members of both sexes. Nor is he unaware of this. Giton is an opportunist, accepting the invitations of whomever will provide the most attention for him, all under the guise of naivete. He leaves Encolpius for the stronger

Ascyltos when the two argue over him, but later begs Encolpius to take him back from his "bloody robber (91)" which the latter does all too willingly. When Encolpius questions him in 133 as to whether Ascyltos "wronged" him when the two have deserted him, Giton cleverly tells his naive friend in precise words ("conceptissimis verbis") that he "used no force." Nor does he seem to mind the affections bestowed on him by Tryphaena on board Lichas' ship in 113 although it makes Encolpius jealous, and Giton goes so far as to refuse to include his partner in the conversation. In this scene, Encolpius seems to be as love-struck as any romance character; Giton pretends to be unaware while he is manipulating much of the action.

Petronius has failed to create characters in the same way as does the romance--as transparent, simple and predictable *personae*--in favor of developing a more complex and unique pair. It is perhaps a mistake to assume that Encolpius and Giton are indeed a "couple" as such; the small part of the *Satyricon* that we do have seems to portray the two as a duo the majority of the time, but there is no evidence that they are together throughout the whole novel. The recognition scene aboard Lichas' ship does not necessarily place the two together in a previous lost episode. Giton is revealed to Tryphaena and her maids through his cries as he is being flogged and is acknowledged as having been involved with them at some earlier point. Encolpius' identity, on the other hand, is made known separately by Lichas' recognition of his genitals (105).

Mendell attempts to argue that the large mix of character-types in the romance is similar to Petronius: "From the great king of Persia to a humble herdsman, all stages of society are represented."<sup>29</sup> This he attributes to romantic influence. Yet nearly all fictional genres have this sort of range--from the nobility to the commoner. What needs to be considered then is where the center of gravity rests in terms of characterization, the social status of the primary characters. In the romance, it is decidedly in the upper middle class while in Petronius (as Mendell partially admits) the concentration is entirely in the lower milieu. Nor is there the range of types that he suggests in the *Satyricon*, for no character is of high birth: while Trimalchio may be rich, for instance, he was born a slave.

There are other aspects of character portrayal and plot which oppose the parody hypothesis. Encolpius and Giton make several attempts to defy fate's edicts, whereas in the romance, the characters typically submit weakly to fortune, usually amidst much weeping and passionate speech. In *Achilles Tatius* III.12-15, Clitophon puts up no show of fight when Leucippe is taken from him by robbers and sacrificed--he only appeals to ill-fortune after her presumed death and makes an attempt to kill himself but is prevented. We do have examples of emotional outbursts in the *Satyricon* but there is also the case of Encolpius marching out bravely with a sword to retrieve Giton after he has been "stolen" by Ascyltos in 82. Again, one would expect in parody either a noticeably similar caricature or a polar opposite one, and with Petronius we seem to have a little of both.

The basic narrative style of the *Satyricon* differs from that of romance, most obviously because the typical romance's point of view is third person. The clearly distinguishable episodes of Petronius are loosely related with the only connective thread being the main characters who move abruptly from one stage, as it were, to another. The romances, however, can all boast Aristotle's "unity of action." Petronius' plot seems to be one of leap-frogging scenes: when Giton and Encolpius board Lichas' ship in 99, we discover that the characters from this episode have already been encountered in an earlier one. There does not seem, however, to be any single purpose to the work as a whole; the episodes are not leading up to a point of culmination as they always are in the Greek novel. In addition, the central couple of the *Satyricon* often fade into the background (e.g. as in the *Cena*) while the pair from the romance are continually at the forefront of their adventure, facing the obstacles of fortune in their struggle to be united.

Because the argument for romantic parody fails on most counts, it is difficult to believe that the declamatory aspects that permeate the *Satyricon* have come via the Greek novel as Abbott suggests. It is perfectly conceivable that Petronius borrows the tone and style of the declamations from the genre itself. Declamatory literature had a pervading influence on many other authors in the first and second centuries; Ovid's *Heroides*, for example, *epistulae* of scorned lovers, are written in the style of balanced

arguments one finds in the declamation cases: Phyllis debates the faithfulness of her lover Demophoon (II), Deianira argues with herself over the poisonous cloak she gave to Heracles (IX). The author also includes three sets of letters and replies between Helen and Paris (XVI and XVII), Leander and Hero (XVIII and XIX) and Acontius and Cydippe (XX and XXI). The Petronian contemporaries of the Younger Seneca, Lucan and Persius particularly show the influence of declamation *argumentum*. Seneca's tragedies make use of balanced argument, for example, in the dispute between Megara and Lycus in *Hercules Furens* and in the *Troades* between Pyrrhus and Agamemnon (ll.203-352). Andromache also has a brief but well-balanced speech in the *Troades* (ll. 642-662). Lucan includes several carefully weighed arguments in the *Pharsalia*, e.g. the speech of Cato in praise of Pompey (IX.190-214) and the two sets of debates between Cato and Brutus (II. 242ff and 286ff), Pompey and Cornelia (V.739ff and 762ff). Satire II of Persius contrasts what men pray for in contrast to what they ought to and similarly, he argues against the hypocrisy of men caring for no opinions but their own in Satire IV.

Confronting and dismissing the elements of imitation that surface in the *Satyricon* is not so easy a task. The work is, after all, a romance of sorts. There is a pair of lovers; the lovers are separated through the jealousy of other characters; the theme of adventure-travelling is one from the romance, though by no means exclusive to it. Petronius does seem to have been influenced on a small scale by this then budding genre, but only in the most general of ways. The most contemporary exploration of the imitation of the Greek novel by Petronius is given to us with an entirely new focus by Graham Anderson, who traces the ancestry of the *Satyricon* to Near Eastern and Egyptian origins.<sup>30</sup> He claims to have found the predecessors for four out of five of the Greek romance novels, the tradition which in turn affected Petronius: "[the romance] is not a product of the Hellenistic World, though that age has left its mark on some details of our author's outlook and handling...But now at last we have a body of texts outside Greek literature which will help us to see how the novelists themselves could have shaped or modified the tradition."<sup>31</sup>

Again, however, chronology presents a problem. The texts which Anderson

cites as being influential on Petronius presume that he was familiar with the eastern folklore, yet he fails to offer any evidence that this literature was read or indeed known in the Roman world during this time before the heightened popularity of the romance. He offers as influential, for example, such works as the Sumerian *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld* and *Enki and Nunhursah*, both dating from the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, a clear 1500 years or more before the *Satyricon*.<sup>32</sup> A critic of Anderson has noted that the author assumes the novelists were intimately familiar with these Sumerian texts when in fact they "have left no other trace in classical literature."<sup>33</sup> Also, the majority of works listed in order to prove his theory of the *Satyricon's* origins in eastern literature are medieval: the sanskrit *Hitopadesa*, the *Arabian Nights*, the Arabic *Maqamat*, *et al*, and with these he makes little attempt to establish a line of descent from the ancient tradition but merely incorporates them into the textual body of evidence: "When the *Satyricon* is so obviously related to so many ancient oriental stories, we should expect to see some reflection of them also in later oriental storytelling."<sup>34</sup> With his loose technique of comparing material, it is difficult to determine the chronology of this oriental fiction to the classical novel or any intermediate genres.<sup>35</sup>

The connections between Anderson's eastern literature and Petronius are based almost entirely on plot; because certain motifs in the *Satyricon* are similar to those of the eastern tales, it is assumed that they were drawn directly from the genre. The identity of motifs or themes in oral tradition has been an established discipline since the study of folktales began. Kaarle Krohn's *Folklore Methodology* which attempts to design a universal system for collecting, analyzing and disseminating folk material casts an interesting light on Anderson's theory of connection and exposes some substantial voids in his research.<sup>36</sup> He seems neither to have considered nor utilized the guidelines for determining the origins of themes in the folktale cycles that he mentions so frequently.

Krohn's book establishes certain rules for identifying valid groups of legends, that is, tales which through their collective motifs reveal themselves to have sprung from common origins. Anderson mentions nothing of folklore guidelines in his

research, but rather assumes that similar motifs necessarily have a common source and lineage. The folklorist would argue that some forms (usually commonplace occurrences such as shipwrecks) can develop simultaneously and independently in different places.

When considering whether two or more similar tales have a veritable connection, one must distinguish between scattered characteristics which resemble one another and valid motifs or moments. Generally, stories must have at least two identical motifs to be considered as candidates for common origin. The collective motifs should be as specific as possible; Krohn writes that, for instance, the pattern of a prayer to God followed by strong winds from the north followed by the destruction of a ship can have been created independently.<sup>37</sup> The sequence by itself is not sufficiently remarkable to be a valid comparative element.

The majority of Anderson's corresponding examples between the ancient texts and the *Satyricon* are lacking in significance of similarity and in number of resembling motifs. The appearance of, for instance, a monkey in the *Arabian Nights* who steals a cloak as compared to Encolpius' and Giton's theft of the countryman's cloak in 12 does not establish an immediate line of descent or even the probability of a connection.<sup>38</sup> The basic motif and commonplace of a cloak stolen in order to sell again is common to both, but the stories contain no other similarities. On the whole, he fails to offer adequate backgrounds and contexts to the various tales as he uses them.<sup>39</sup>

Likewise this approach can be taken with nearly all of the instances offered in *Ancient Fiction*. Anderson attempts to show that Encolpius' character and story is broadly derived from Eastern oral tradition. The anti-hero himself gives us some indication of his unfortunate background in 81 when he lists his failings: "Effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter <tot> audaciae nomina mendicus, exul, in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem desertus?" A parallel is introduced in the form of three excerpts of the Akkadian Wisdom texts--a catalogue of misfortunes by the god Marduk, the "picaro's" listing of his career and his complaints about his nouveau-riche enemy.<sup>40</sup> Although the passage may portray "the characteristic rhythm of Encolpius' career,"<sup>41</sup> no single point stands out as significantly like Encolpius's list,

nor does the combination of them yield a particularly close relationship. Marduk's lot in life as a slave, enemy of his city and an impotent echoes that of Encolpius but that is all, as does the picaro's career: ignorant of god's laws, a wide-roaming robber who is persecuted by a rich man. Detailed motifs are missing, as Anderson seems to admit: "It might be fairly argued that such texts provide only the climate in which the *Satyricon*-type tale might exist...."<sup>42</sup> Encolpius' sentiments about his lot in life seem similar to those expressed by declamation characters in Seneca and Quintilian, poor men who offer catalogues of complaints.<sup>43</sup> This contemporary Roman genre seems a much more likely source for Petronius.

Much the same lack of significance can be seen in the paralleling of the medieval *Gulistan of Sa'di* and the general cast of the *Satyricon*.<sup>44</sup> Anderson notes two pen-portraits of Trimalchio- and Lichas-type characters from Book IV of the work. These presumably both refer to the one merchant of Story II who loses a thousand gold pieces in trade and asks his son not to tell anyone so that his neighbors may not laugh at the misfortune. The merchant here bears only one similarity to the Petronian characters; Trimalchio tells his guests that he once lost a fortune on his first trading voyage (76). In a later story, a father whose son is eager to travel advises his son that only certain types of people should venture abroad: merchants, scholars, artisans and so on.<sup>45</sup> The fact that a father figure as such is entirely missing in Petronius is reinforced by the commonplace nature of the statement as well as the boy's actual adventures. He, like so many characters of unconnected folklore, boards a ship, is lost at sea and in the end becomes wealthy and powerful. This tale is lacking the detail; if the boy had been befriended by a *speciosus puer*, for instance, and the two had boarded the ship disguised as slaves in order to avoid being recognized by a powerful figure, or if an offense to the ship's deity has caused a shipwreck, then there perhaps might be a valuable connection.

Two episodes of the *Satyricon*'s plot are suggested by Anderson to have both ancient and medieval counterparts in animal adventure folktales. As partner to the cannibalism scene at the close of the work in which Eumolpus (presumably) tells the legacy-hunters they must eat his body in order to inherit his wealth, Anderson cites the

following:

Parallels to such a situation are understandably hard to find. Yet there is one: a gathering of four rogues, in which three trick a stranger into offering to be eaten by a fourth; the offer is taken up. In the course of the intrigue there is much moralising, including the following assurance: 'A woman tormented by hunger will even abandon her own son; a female serpent tormented by hunger will eat her own egg.'<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, he argues that the text of this tale in the *Hitopadesa*--which concerns the adventures of a tiger, lion, jackal and a raven--is prosimetrum like Petronius and is concerned primarily with the adventures of an eloquent picaro. And added to this is the fact that Eumolpus' slave is Corax ("the Crow") and that the main character of the larger fable is the goat--so obviously connected to the satyr.

Again, Anderson is led astray by the presence of several similar characteristics into assuming that Petronius is (necessarily) influenced by the cycle of folktale. The philosophical statements in the two episodes are undeniably similar; Eumolpus tells the story of Numantian women found holding half-eaten bodies of their children in 141. But it is difficult to see that the cannibalism scenes themselves are anything but vaguely similar. Eumolpus, having already tricked the legacy-hunters into thinking that he is wealthy, is seemingly trying to get rid of them at this point, not trying to trick them into following through with his will. The cannibalism motif along with similar sentiments can be found in Roman fiction previous to Petronius in at least two extant declamation cases.<sup>47</sup> Corax seems most likely to be a New Comedy character; not only does he have the traits of a comic slave (e.g. surly temper), his is a stock slave name in New Comedy.<sup>48</sup>

Moving backwards by several scenes, the plot of Eumolpus, Encolpius and Giton to fleece the *heredipetae* in Croton (117) is paralleled, according to *Ancient Fiction*, by another animal story of Persian origin, the medieval *Marzuban-nameh*: "If

there is a single text on which the true nature of the *Satyricon* can be made to depend, it is this one."<sup>49</sup> The tale relates the adventures of a dog Zirak and his friend Zaruy, a goat. This example makes an ideal sort of reference to introduce again Krohn's folklore rules. Anderson lists a number of similar motifs:

1. Eumolpus complains that he needs finer clothes and props in order to pull off the disguise.  
Zirak is concerned that their trick requires money, time for preparation and several armies.
2. Eumolpus is told to discuss money openly and revise his will often to appear rich.  
Zaruy tell his partner that his new reputation as a powerful figure will be known in every region of the world.
3. Encolpius and Giton become "slaves" to the master Eumolpus.  
Zaruy becomes the "servant" of Zirak.
4. Legacy-hunters believe the guise and begin to lavish their wealth on Eumolpus.  
Courtiers vie to receive Zirak and supply him with a wealth of comforts.
5. Eumolpus is so successful that he boasts that no one in Croton could successfully oppose him.  
Zaruy says that when Zirak has established his sovereignty, no one will bother him.<sup>50</sup>

This list is not so easy dismiss; we have an impressive inventory of like characteristics, although the variation of animals instead of human beings would suggest different origins. The problem here is that only one of these couplings is an identical motif: that of one friend acting as a slave to another as part of a ploy. The significant details in the two stories are missing. Zirak's purpose in hatching his plan is to establish himself as sovereign over the animal kingdom. Neither the purposes of

the respective plots nor the mechanisms involved are strikingly alike.

Anderson is wholly inaccurate in his comparison between the legacy-hunters and the courtiers in number 4 above. The courtiers who are "vying with each other to honour his coming..." are in fact various birds who, at this stage, are receiving the pigeon-messenger of Zirak, not the dog himself.<sup>51</sup> Further on in the story, the new king receives the birds, flatters them with "subtle phrases designed to win their hearts..." and they in turn "perform the ceremonies of thanksgiving and adulation."<sup>52</sup> Eumolpus secures his place of power by boasting of his financial status whereas Zirak's kingship is based on his spreading the rumor of his authority.

Another complex of oriental stories Anderson claims to contribute to the episode of the *Cena*. His initial interpretation of the character of Trimalchio and the dinner party lead him to an excerpt from the *Ras Shamra* tablets. Anderson takes the opinion of William Arrowsmith that the *Cena* is an expose of the gross excess of Petronius' era. Says Anderson: "It has been well argued that in the midst of wealth and feasting Trimalchio is preoccupied with death and decay, an old man contemptible and essentially alone amid a sort of tainted and disgusting plenty."<sup>53</sup>

In the *Ras Shamra* tablets, the character of the Ugaritic King Keret complains about his amassed wealth:

[What need have I of silver and yellow metal,  
[of gold] fresh from the mine  
[or of] perpetual slaves,  
of triads [of horses] (and) chariots....<sup>54</sup>

And further, when Keret falls ill, his wife calls a feast in order for the guests to make sacrifices to him; at one point also one of the king's sons bids his sister to make ready a tomb for her father: "Assuredly Keret is passing away,/and you must fashion a grave...." This is intended to mirror Trimalchio's mock-funeral in 71-72 and the description of the tomb design to his stone-mason friend Habinnas.

The nature of the two stories is completely different. Trimalchio does not seem

to be the least bit weary of his wealth. In fact, his biggest concern seems to be in demonstrating it to his dinner guests. The report by the porter of the week's activities on Trimalchio's various properties is the most obvious of his staged displays of riches, meant presumably both to impress and entertain the guests. King Keret's bewailing is due to the deaths of seven successive wives and his desire for an heir:

Let one look upon his sire Keret,  
let one look upon his sire--crushed,  
utterly stripped of his (kingly) power!  
So in its entirety a family came to an end,  
and in its completeness a succession.<sup>55</sup>

There is no connective motif between these two stories--a king surrounded by plenty or a rich man surrounded by wealth must be viewed as commonplace. The depiction of rich men and their trappings is one that again has close parallels in declamatory literature. In several cases, poor men criticize the excesses of their wealthy counterparts.<sup>56</sup> Cicero, in a similar way, utilizes descriptions of overabundant riches in incriminating his opposition.<sup>57</sup>

The motifs of the mock-funeral and tomb description that both this folktale and the *Satyricon* have in common are lacking in detail and abundance. Keret, towards the middle of his extant tale, has fallen gravely ill and his wife's two feasts are organized in order that the guests may make sacrifices and weep for the king as he is soon to be in the realm of the dead. Trimalchio's again "staged" production of the lamentation over his "death" involves no sacrifice on the part of the guests; he is anything but ill.<sup>58</sup> The fact that the dinner host continues to suffer from constipation, even with the aid of doctors, but is finally relieved half-way through the banquet, is not significantly similar enough to Keret's near-death experience: a plague in his head, his cure by the healing god with her wand, and his subsequent gorging of a meal.<sup>59</sup> Nor are depictions of mock-funerals exclusive to eastern literature. Tacitus (*Hist.* IV.45) tells of the senator Manlius Patritius who was beaten by a mob in Sena and was subjected

to a mock-funeral for himself accompanied by insults. Seneca cites two instances of funerals before death; in *De Brevitate Vitae* he relates the story of Sextus Turannius, who upon turning 90 and being released from work, ordered that he be mourned by his household as if dead until being allowed to return to his duties. Pacuvius, the governor of Syria, is said to have held burial sacrifices regularly in his own honor and to have been borne on a couch to his dining room (*Epis.Mor.* 12.8).

The assertion by Anderson that the freedmen's description at the *Cena* of corrupt officials is a detail that parallels Keret's son accusing him of neglecting his kingdom during his illness is also dismissable. The two traits share nothing in common save the very broad topic of bad management, an insignificant point. So the characteristic of a tomb fashioned before the death of its occupant is the only weak thread that remains to connect the two pieces of literature; and again this motif can be found numerous times in Roman literature. The emperor Augustus had his tomb built in 28 BC, 42 years before his death.<sup>60</sup> It was common among the more wealthy Romans to have tombs constructed for themselves and their families and often had them inscribed to this effect: "Dis Man(ibus) C Tullius Hesper aram fecit sibi ubi ossa sua coicantur..." or "D(is) M(anibus) Euhodus Caes(aris) n(ostri) ser(vus) et Vennonnia Apphis loco empto a Valeria Trophine fecerunt sibi et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum."<sup>61</sup> The way in which Trimalchio wants his tomb constructed by Habinnas ("praeterea ut sint in fronte pedes centum, in agrum pedes ducenti") and what he wants inscribed on his tomb ("hoc monumentum heredem non sequitur") are typical.<sup>62</sup> Horace tells of a grave-pillar on which the words "mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum. hic dabat: heredes monumentum non sequerentur" are carved onto it (*Sat.* I.viii.12-13).

Other elements of the *Cena* that Anderson assumes have made their way in via oriental storytelling are Trimalchio's urinating in 27 in comparison with Xanthus' urinating in the *Vita Aesopi*.<sup>63</sup> The motif of a master urinating into a bucket held by a slave seems to be another commonplace; the contexts themselves are entirely different. Trimalchio is playing a ball-game with his slave boys when he relieves himself and Xanthus is travelling along a road with his servant. The story of the "Barber's Fifth

Brother" in the *Arabian Nights* seems to have nothing in common with Trimalchio's story of a workman in 50-51, yet the two are juxtaposed in *Ancient Fiction*.<sup>64</sup> The *Cena's* story is of a man who, having created unbreakable glass, believed himself an equal to Jupiter until the emperor had him beheaded. The barber's poor brother buys a tray of glass with all his inheritance in order to sell it for a profit, but while dreaming of how he will become rich, he accidentally kicks the glass over and destroys it. Pliny (*N.H.* XXXVI.195) tells of an inventor who, during the reign of Tiberius, found a method of blending glass so as to render it flexible. The emperor had the artist's workshop destroyed so that the value of metals would not plummet. Similarly, an architect who remarkably restored a portico in Rome which had begun to lean, was expelled from the city by Tiberius. He saw the emperor to receive a pardon, producing a crystal glass which he dropped and then mended simply by passing his hand over it. Tiberius ordered him put to death (*Dio Cass.* LVII.21.5-7).

Apart from the aspects of character and plot in Petronius which Anderson unsuccessfully likens to Eastern literature, two examples of philosophical similarities are offered. The *Satyricon's* first philosophical ideal appears at the opening with the juxtaposition of Encolpius' declamation about the state of education: "Et ideo ego adolescentibus existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri..." and Agamemnon's admission that he is only teaching declamation because it is what the public demands: "Nam nisi dixerint quae adolescenti probent, ut ait Cicero, 'soli in scholis relinquerentur (3).'" The *Ancient Fiction's* counterpart is contained in the *Maqamat of Al-Hariri* in which a schoolmaster has "various pupils recite party pieces on virtue, while revealing that he himself is only in the business for the money."<sup>65</sup> The theme of these stories is similar but not the specific motifs: in one the teacher is denying a virtuous education to his charges, in the other, the teacher is hypocritically infusing his pupils with old-fashioned moral goodness. The theme of these stories is similar but not the specific motif, and again, because this is the only feature that the two tales have in common, they cannot be considered variants of a common origin. A much more likely influence on Petronius are the philosophical sentiments expressed by Seneca in several of the prefaces to his *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*. He decries the lack of vigor

demonstrated by students in their academic pursuits.<sup>66</sup>

The same approach can be used for the second example of moral philosophy. Eumolpus complains to Encolpius in the picture-gallery about money's precedence over art and education: "Quis unquam venit in templum et votum fecit, si ad eloquentiam pervenisset (88.2-8)?" Anderson cites the *Tale of Naneferkeptah* as a re-enactment of his point; the man in this eastern tale is approached while reading writing on a wall by a priest who tells him how he may get hold of a priceless book to bring him wealth and power.<sup>67</sup> Again, the Petronian motif has closer counterparts in the Roman tradition. Juvenal's tenth satire expresses concern that schoolboys pray to Minerva for eloquence with too much enthusiasm; they pray to achieve the same fame as Cicero or Demosthenes, "eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque/largus et exudans leto dedit ingenii fons (ll.118-119)." The theme of sham philosophers is a common one in Lucian as well. In the *Piscator*, Frankness harangues against Philosophy, arguing that her followers are hypocrites: "Their book tells them they must despise wealth and reputation...But they teach these very doctrines for pay, and worship the rich and are agog after money (34)."<sup>68</sup> Aristaenetus addresses the Stoics Zenothemis and Diphilus in *Convivium*: "although you say money-getting is of no import, you aim at nothing in the world but getting more... and teach for pay...(36)."

With the traditional and most contemporary arguments for formative influence of romance/travel/adventure elements in Petronius dispelled, we can turn to look at other types of narrative fiction in relation to Petronius. Although no single type of classical literature can be regarded as directly responsible for the *Satyricon*, there must be traditions which affected the work independent of the Greek novel. It is argued by Sophie Trenkner that the origins of the two types of novels (Greek and Roman) lie in different early genres because the aims of theme and characterization in Petronius are opposed to those of the Greek tradition, represented firstly by Herodotus.<sup>69</sup> Trenkner establishes that the most primitive realistic novel--Petronius and Apuleius are in this category of realistic fiction--is the class of Aesopian fables called γέλοια which "recount amusing incidents in the daily life of humble folk...."<sup>70</sup> The incidents arise out of human weaknesses and erotic subjects are common. Also in this group is the

Φιλόγελως, a book of jokes from the 3rd or 4th centuries AD and the *Margites*, a comic tale of a simpleton of the same name and reckoned by certain classical authors to be the work of Homer. These fables and anecdotes utilize exaggerated caricatures, "they view human psychology from the outside, satirically, as though in a distorting mirror,"<sup>71</sup> while the predecessor of the Greek romance, the historical (Ionian) novella attempts to understand and interpret human behavior. Another feature which Trenkner proposes made its way from Aesopian tales to Petronius is the use of character-types, and she argues that the chief characters of Petronius are seldom named but rather referred to as types (e.g. *quidam pauper*).<sup>72</sup> Brevity also marks an influence from the γέλοια to the Roman novel, according to Trenkner. Although the episodes of both the *Satyricon* and the *Metamorphoses* are considerably longer than a fable, for instance, both works can be summarized "without detriment to their themes."<sup>73</sup>

Trenkner's thesis does seem plausible on a certain level; the portrayal of common characters in the fables as well as the erotic themes might be elements that lend themselves to Petronius. Not all of the fables offer directly moral messages: tales X, XI and XII of *Alfonse* simply relate stories of unfaithful wives, who by the wiles of a mother (X) or a bawd (XI), arrange their infidelities, and in this way they are similar to Petronius. *Romulus* III, 9 contains a fundamental plot for the Widow of Ephesus tale. A woman who is mourning over the body of her dead husband offers drink to a thirsty soldier who is guarding the body of a hanged man. When the body disappears while the soldier is visiting the widow, the two hoist her husband's corpse into the noose. There is, however, no erotic element to this story.

The Φιλόγελως contains several themes which might indicate that they sprung from the same tradition as Petronius, or rather, followed in this tradition. Joke 25 is reminiscent of Trimalchio's speech in 71:

An egghead was on a sea voyage when a big storm blew up,  
causing his slaves to weep in terror.

"Don't cry," he consoled them, "I have freed you all in my  
will."<sup>74</sup>

Similarly, Joke 94 offers a resemblance to the *Cena* scene of 47:

In the course of a conversation about indigestion, an egghead claimed that he never suffered from it.

"Don't you ever have a sour or nasty-tasting burp?" the others asked.

"Oh, yes, every day."

One of the ethnic puns (175) concerns a doctor from Kyme and his cure for tertian fever.

We know little about the *Margites* save the scanty mentions of it by several classical authors. Aristotle says that Homer first established the main lines of comedy with his series of tales--they are burlesque dramas created out of the laughable (*Poet.* 1448 b 30). From other sources, we get a general picture of *Margites* as a stock blundering idiot, a man so ignorant (rather like the "egghead") that he does not know whether his mother or father bore him nor is he willing to sleep with his wife for fear that she will tell her mother of his inadequacy.<sup>75</sup> What apparently added to the comic nature of the work was that it was told in epic verse, blocks of hexameters with iambic trimeter alternating. The work seems to be episodic, or broken up into tales but with *Margites* featuring throughout, a feature which is perhaps enlightening in view of Petronius, but whether it portrayed him on an epic-like adventure is unknown.

Trenkner's assertions that Petronius' main characters are portrayed in the same way as those of the γέλοια needs examining. The chief characters are not, as she claims, infrequently identified by name. Giton's name appears at least 40 times in the work, Eumolpus' 27, Ascyltos' 25 and so on; Encolpius, being the narrator, is understandably only mentioned by name on some nine occasions. The point of Trenkner's "type" approach is that the characters are meant to be "abstract types"; like those of the fables and jokes, they should be characterized simply by their age, occupation, race or one personality trait. This is clearly not the case in the *Satyricon*, where, although there is little physical or ethnic description of the characters, each has

a number of varied personality features. In the γέλοια, the one trait determines the course of a tale. Petronian *personae* are also emotionally active and reactive, not a common feature of fables, though their motives are not examined in the manner of the Greek romance.

It is tempting then to confine Trenkner's argument to the five tales contained within the *Satyricon*: the werewolf story of 61-62; Trimalchio's witch story of (63); the two accounts of Eumolpus' philanderings as a paedagogue in 85-87 and 140; and the Widow of Ephesus tale (110-112). It is immediately apparent, however, that all of the tales, with the exception of the Widow of Ephesus, are personal narratives of personal experience which sets them apart from the fables. Some influence from the γέλοια, however, can be seen in other aspects of the stories. All contain character-types: Niceros' Melissa is a "pulcherrimus bacciballus (61)"; Trimalchio portrays a "Cappadocum, longum, valde audaculum (63)"; Eumolpus a "formosissimum filium (85)" and later a "filiam speciosissimam (140)." The brevity of the narratives also likens them to the fables.

The remaining larger portion of Trenkner's research focuses on the Greek novel's debt to Attic folklore, cycles of storytelling which she claims provided plots (independent of the romance) also for Euripidean tragedy, Old Comedy and Middle/New Comedy. Some of these motifs find their way into the *Satyricon*, namely the separation of lovers, lechery, theft, magical healing and travelling. This is important in showing the importance of oral tradition on later classical literature; while we can demonstrate the unlikelihood of Near-Eastern folklore influence on the *Satyricon*, there were undoubtedly Greek traditions which Petronius drew on. The werewolf story, for instance, seems to have been taken from the Greek tradition of Lycaon of Arcadia. Ovid tells of the king's change into a wolf in *Metamorphoses* I.218-239.

Sources which possibly contributed to the theme of travel in Greek literature and eventually into Roman are the περίπλοι, accounts of geographic and ethnographic studies of the ancient world. The first evidence of the genre is between late 6th and early 5th centuries BC when Greek colonization on the Mediterranean and Black Sea

coasts necessitated travel manuals for sailors and traders.<sup>76</sup> Afterwards, the narratives as such tend to digress into ideologically- or politically-based ones until the time of Alexander the Great, when the traditional genre seems to have had a revival. The *περίπλοι* were in all probability influential in early historiography, and perhaps via storytelling, into Old and New Comedy. They gave rise to the comic-travelogue, which Lucian perfected with his *Vera Historia* in the 2nd century AD. The *Satyricon* does not, in its present state, have a geographical description of any sort, but the theme of continual travel which seems to be an important one, could be indebted to this tradition independent of the Greek romance.

The comic romance, with its affinities to the comic travelogue, is the model for Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the work most closely associated with Petronius. The first, though speculative, piece of comic romance known to us is the *Milesiaka* of Aristides (100 BC), a non-extant genre which Apuleius claims to be continuing in the tradition of in the opening of his work: "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam....(I.i)." By all accounts, the subject-matter was often erotic; Phaedrus' and Petronius' Widow of Ephesus tales are both traditionally considered to be Milesian, and their likeness to Aesopian fables suggests that they have a common lineage. It has been argued that the Milesian tales, or their oral beginnings, existed even before the time of Aristophanes. His *Thesmophoriazusae* contains the speech of Mnesilochus "remarkable for its bringing in themes and stories in the manner of the Milesian tales...."<sup>77</sup> Mnesilochus, disguised as a woman in order to join an all-female gathering, tells of a trick (one of many) that she has played on her husband, how she contrived to meet her lover in the middle of the night just three days after marrying; she continues on to list some other methods of duping ignorant husbands (ll.477-519). The presence of such material is hardly surprising since the earliest mention of the collection of Aesopian tales by Herodotus dates them to the 6th century BC (II.134). In addition to content, the extent of the influence of the *Milesiaka* on Apuleius and potentially on Petronius can be considered in terms of form. If Aristides' work is a collection of short *fabulae* rather than a single tale, its influence on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Satyricon* is confined to the fables

within those works: "The Pergameme Boy", the story of Thelyphron, etc. It is possible, however, that the *Milesiaka* is a continuous narrative perhaps containing shorter tales within, and is in this way responsible for the form of Apuleius and Petronius.<sup>78</sup> Ovid in the *Tristia* 1.443f. writes "vertit Aristidem Sisenna, nec obfuit illi/Historiae turpis inseruisse iocos." If the "historiae" refers to Aristides' original, this suggests possibly that it was an extended tale rather than a collection. Apuleius himself uses the singular ("sermone isto Milesio") in reference to his entire *Metamorphoses*.<sup>79</sup>

Although Aristides' work might account for the structure of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Satyricon*, there still remain unanswered questions, mainly that Apuleius uses the *fabulae* in his work in a different way than does Petronius. Apuleius gives the impression that his tale is meant to be one for entertainment, yet the close of the work and Lucius' religious conversion to Isis suggests that the work is a fable with a purpose: "Its moral is that full knowledge of reality is gained not by magic but by the contemplation of divinity in the other, more real world, and that true happiness is to be sought not in sensuality but in the gratuitous love of the godhead."<sup>80</sup> The tales within Apuleius purport to bring home this message during the climactic end of the work. Petronius seems to want nothing more than to entertain. The rhetorical nature of the *Satyricon* as well as some of its themes can be demonstrated to have found their origin in declamatory literature; elements of this genre do not surface in Apuleius just as the religious nature is missing from Petronius. The declamations cannot be responsible for the overall structure of the *Satyricon* as perhaps an early form of the extended tale can, but the work owes a significant amount of its content to them.

## ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> R. Heinze "Petron und der griechischen Roman," *Hermes* XXXIV (1899), 494-512.

<sup>2</sup> Sullivan *Satyricon*, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Frank F. Abbott "The Origin of Realistic Romance Among the Romans," *Classical Philology* VI (1911), 257-270.

<sup>4</sup> Erwin Rohde *Der griechische Roman*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1900); Wilhelm Schmid "Der griechische Roman," *Neue Jahrb.*, Bd. XIII (1904), 465-85.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically, the Ninus romance has the scene between the hero and his aunt: he pleads with her for his cousin's hand in marriage and offers reasons why they should marry. There is also the instance of a declamatory court scene in *Achilles Tatius* VIII.8-11.

<sup>6</sup> C. W. Mendell "Petronius and the Greek Romance," *Classical Philology* XII (April, 1917), 158-172.

<sup>7</sup> B. E. Perry "Petronius and the Comic Romance," *Classical Philology* XX (January, 1925), 31-49.

<sup>8</sup> E. Courtney "Parody and Literary Allusion in Menippean Satire," *Philologus* 106 (1962), 86-100.

<sup>9</sup> Walsh, 79f.

<sup>10</sup> Erwin Rohde *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1914).

<sup>11</sup> see Medea Norsa *PSI* 13 (1949), 83.

<sup>12</sup> B. E. Perry *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley, 1967), 153.

<sup>13</sup> B. Grenfell, A. Hunt and D. Hogarth *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (London, 1900).

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm Schmid *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 6th ed. (München, 1924), 808.

<sup>15</sup> Perry *Ancient Romances*, n. 1, 343.

<sup>16</sup> Perry *Ancient Romances*, n. 1, 344.

<sup>17</sup> Perry *Ancient Romances*, n. 2, 345.

<sup>18</sup> Perry *Ancient Romances*, n. 2, 345-46.

- <sup>19</sup> see *Library of Photius*, tr. J. H. Freese (New York, 1920), vol 1, 168-77.
- <sup>20</sup> Wilhelm Schmid *Antonius Diogenes: Untersuchungen zu den Roman-Fragmenten der 'Wunder jenseits von Thule' und zu den 'Wahren Geschichten' des Lukian* (Diss. Tübingen, 1969).
- <sup>21</sup> R. L. Hunter *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge, 1983), 3f.
- <sup>22</sup> Otto Weinreich *Der griechische Liebesroman* (Zürich, 1962), 18f.
- <sup>23</sup> *Leucippe and Clitophon* ed. E. Vilborg (Stockholm, 1955), xvi-xvii.
- <sup>24</sup> G. N. Sandy *Heliodorus* (New York, 1982), 2f.; see mention of Heliodorus in Socrates Scholasticus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* XXII.153.
- <sup>25</sup> *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* ed. B. P. Reardon (Berkeley, 1989), 352.
- <sup>26</sup> see A. Henrichs "Lollianos, Phoinikika. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans," *ZPE* 4 (1969), 205-215; H. Maehler "Der Metiochus-Parthenope-Roman," *ZPE* 23 (1976), 1-20; P. J. Parsons *P.Oxy. 3010=42* (1974), 34-41; J. Rea *P.Oxy. 2466=27* (1967), 134-136 and S. R. West *P.Oxy. 3319=47* (1980), 11-19.
- <sup>27</sup> B. P. Reardon *The Form of Greek Romance* (Princeton, 1991), 6ff.
- <sup>28</sup> Most noticeable is that only one of the five Greek romance texts, *Achilles Tatius*, is related in the first person. For a study of romance structure and language see Tomas Hägg *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances* (Stockholm, 1971).
- <sup>29</sup> Mendell, 165.
- <sup>30</sup> Graham Anderson *Ancient Fiction* (London, 1984).
- <sup>31</sup> Anderson, 19.
- <sup>32</sup> see tales in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1969), 52-57 (*Inanna*) and 37-41 (*Enki*).
- <sup>33</sup> see review by J. R. Morgan, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* CVI (1986), 223-24.
- <sup>34</sup> Anderson, 181.
- <sup>35</sup> see review by Christopher Gill, *Journal of Roman Studies* LXXVII (1987), 246-47.
- <sup>36</sup> Kaarle Krohn *Folklore Methodology*, tr. Roger L. Welsch (London, 1971).
- <sup>37</sup> Krohn, 128f.
- <sup>38</sup> *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*, tr. Sir R. F. Burton (London, 1897), vol. 2, 380f.
- <sup>39</sup> see review by John F. Makowski, *Classical World* LXXX (1986), 54-5.

- <sup>40</sup> *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi* I.78, 82, 84f, 88; II.50, 78, 110; III.45, Si 55 (q), Reverse 10; *The Babylonian Theodicy* XIII.135, 137, 139ff. found in *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, ed. W. G. Lambert (Oxford, 1960).
- <sup>41</sup> Anderson, 175.
- <sup>42</sup> Anderson, 176.
- <sup>43</sup> see p. 73f.
- <sup>44</sup> *The Gulistan of Sa'di*, tr. A. J. Arberry (London, 1964).
- <sup>45</sup> *Gulistan*, IV.28.
- <sup>46</sup> Anderson, 176; *Hitopadesa*, tr. F. Johnson, rev. by L. D. Barnett (London, 1928), 184ff.
- <sup>47</sup> see *Dec.Mai.* XII and *Dec.Min.* 369.
- <sup>48</sup> see *Captivi*, I.657.
- <sup>49</sup> Anderson, 177-78; "Zirak and Ziray" in *The Tales of Marzuban*, tr. R. Levy (London, 1959).
- <sup>50</sup> Anderson, 177-78.
- <sup>51</sup> *Marzuban*, 154.
- <sup>52</sup> *Marzuban*, 156.
- <sup>53</sup> Anderson, 185; for article see W. Arrowsmith "Luxury and Death in the Satyricon," *Arion* 5 (1966), 304-31.
- <sup>54</sup> *Keret*, XIV.i.52, ii.54-56 in *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, tr. G. R. Driver, 2nd ed., (Edinburgh, 1978), 82-102.
- <sup>55</sup> *Keret*, XIV.i.21-23.
- <sup>56</sup> see p. 79f.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ver.* 2.2.35; 2.2.176; *Phil.* II.66f.; *Amic.* 55.
- <sup>58</sup> The way in which Trimalchio is presented in the Satyricon makes it difficult to understand how Arrowsmith can describe his character as obsessed with death: "The one thing that Trimalchio does not know is what might be called mortal modalities, and his whole concept of a feast, based upon satiety to the point of nausea or constipation, bears out his immense lack of knowledge. So terrifying is his own habit of *mememto mori*, the skeleton which reminds him of death, that he drives himself

toward death by satiety (p. 308)." The moral tones which Arrowsmith insists pervade the whole work fail to surface in any obvious way. That Petronius infuses the *Cena* with death images is undeniable, but he is more interested in characters than messages. Trimalchio's focus on death seems to be a reflection of his character--his vanity and vulgarity--rather than a moral lesson. The mention of the dinner host's clock in 26 and the silver skeleton both seem to lead up to the climactic point of his mock-funeral scene and tombstone description which is so obviously a performance: Trimalchio and his wife bring the guest to tears with their lamentations until he suddenly and deliberately changes face, becomes cheerful again and orders more wine. It is merely an attempt--while he has the captive audience--to show his guests how very much he will be missed, or hopes he will, because of his recognizable social position and generous nature (he insists that Habinnas portray on his tomb the free dinner he once offered). The constipation speech in 47 is much the same, a display of his entertaining, instructive but tasteless chatter.

<sup>59</sup> Keret, XVI.vi.8-12.

<sup>60</sup> see Suetonius *Augustus*, 100.

<sup>61</sup> H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 8184; see also J. M. C. Toynbee *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971).

<sup>62</sup> H. Thylander *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie* (1952), no. A124.

<sup>63</sup> Caxton's *Aesop*, ed. R. T. Lenaghan (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 47.

<sup>64</sup> Anderson, 184; *Arabian Nights*, Night 32f.

<sup>65</sup> Anderson, 184.

<sup>66</sup> see p. 53ff.

<sup>67</sup> Anderson, 189; see "Setne Khamwas and Nanefkerkeph" in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, ed. M. Lichtheim (Berkeley, 1973), 128ff.

<sup>68</sup> translation taken from *Lucian*, ed. A. M. Harmon (London, 1921); *Convivium* (London, 1913).

<sup>69</sup> Sophie Trenkner *The Greek Novella In The Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1958).

<sup>70</sup> Trenkner, 6. "Aesopian" fables, it must be remembered, is a broadly encompassing term. The *Alfonse* stories (*Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alphonsus*) in Caxton's

*Aesop* are the oldest medieval collection of Eastern tales dating from the early 12th century; see Caxton, 207-211. The *Romulus* collection is dated by its editor to between AD 350 and 600. They are actually the fables of Phaedrus reworked into prose although Romulus claims to have translated the fables into Latin from Greek; see Caxton, 111-112.

<sup>71</sup> Trenkner, 7.

<sup>72</sup> Trenkner, 9-10.

<sup>73</sup> Trenkner, 10.

<sup>74</sup> jokes taken from *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover*, tr. Barry Baldwin (Amsterdam: 1983).

<sup>75</sup> see *schol.* in Aeschin. 1. c. and others in the Oxford edition of Homer, tr. Thomas W. Allen (1912), vol. 5.

<sup>76</sup> see Jerker Blomqvist *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus* (Lund, 1979). This theory is discussed by Walsh *Roman Novel*, 9ff.

<sup>77</sup> A. Lesky *A History of Greek Literature*, tr. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London, 1966). 440.

<sup>78</sup> B. E. Perry "An Interpretation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* LVII (1926).

<sup>79</sup> Perry "Apuleius," 254 n. 36.

<sup>80</sup> Walsh, 142f.

### Chapter III

## ROMAN DECLAMATION AND THE *SATYRICON*

The Second Sophistic, a Greek rhetorical movement from Asia Minor beginning in about the 4th c. BC, had considerable influence over education, and therefore indirectly, literature from the second century BC to beyond the 4th century AD. With its roots in 5th century Attic oratory, this new tradition often took the form of extempore oratory, but allowed modifications to both theme and delivery. As Philostratus explains in *Vitae Sophistarum* (circa 230 AD), Aeschines of Athens in the 4th century before Christ was the creator of a second type of discourse, not like that of Gorgias whose concentration was on the loftier ideals: "ἀνδρείας, διελέγετο δὲ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡρώων τε περὶ καὶ θεῶν καὶ ὅπη ἀπεσχημάτισται ἢ ἰδέα τοῦ κόσμου (481),"<sup>1</sup> but that of definitive themes: tales of rich and poor men, tyrants and princes. In the Roman world, this rhetorical strain took the form of Roman declamation, school exercises comprised largely of fictitious legal cases as described to us in Seneca's *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*, and the declamations of Pseudo-Quintilian and Calpurnius Flaccus.<sup>2</sup> The *Satyricon* owes a considerable amount of its content, form and characterization to the Latin declamation tradition, which was, at this time, both a standard educational method as well as a cerebral form of entertainment for Roman men of leisure.<sup>3</sup>

The situations and characters of the *Satyricon* seem both to move within the same realm as the Roman declamations and employ the same sort of realism. The personalities of Petronius compare to the Roman declamation characters on two levels: characters whose types are found in the declamation cases, and characters who perform the "cases," as it were, contained in the novel. Characters like Quartilla and Psyche have their counterparts in the prostitutes and priestesses of the declamations, although as characters, they do not have the function of declaimers. Tryphaena, however, functions as both. Trimalchio and some of his freedmen and Lichas can easily represent the rich men of the declamatory world, while Encolpius and his entourage

are the poor, wandering beggars and exiles. Here again, the two levels can intermingle, as Encolpius especially represents the primary declaimer in the *Satyricon*. Likewise, many of the scenes of the work can fulfill the function of declamations in two ways--with similar styles and with comparative themes or motifs. Declamatory speeches in Petronius, for instance, might take the form of the declamations by being balanced arguments or accusations (as in 91, when Encolpius and Giton bicker over betrayal) or the declamatory scenes might be centered around a theme or motif common to both the *Satyricon* and declamation (e.g. oaths). In the majority of cases, situations in the declamations seem as likely to occur in the *Satyricon*, with the exception of the historical declamations found in the *Controversiae* and the *Declamationes Minores*.<sup>4</sup>

Many times in the *Satyricon*, the characters fall into declamatory speeches in times of heightened emotion and their scenes thus become candidates for declamatory comparison. One might imagine some of these scenes as mock-cases, in which the personalities assume the roles of prosecutor and defendant; others are merely monologues which seem like the sometimes lengthy (and often irrelevant) excursions typical of extempore *controversiae* and *suasoriae*. Petronius is perhaps endeavoring to bring the declamations to life, as it were, or "staging" them amidst the adventures of the narrator and his entourage.

More often than not, Petronius indicates declamatory affinity with his choice of words, substituting for instance, "clamo" or "proclamo" where "inquam" or "dico" would normally suffice. In a few instances, the text directly states that a speech is taking place. In 106, when Lichas is attempting to convince Tryphaena that Encolpius and Giton must be punished aboard the ship, we are told: "tam superstitiosa oratione Tryphaena..." and further in 107, towards the end of Lichas' appeal to have the men punished and Eumolpus' defense of them, Petronius writes: "Resolvit Eumolpos tam iniquam declamationem...."

The "clamo" tags appear frequently in the parts of the shipboard scene that owes its nature to declamation.<sup>5</sup> Lichas argues with Tryphaena over the two offenders in 106: "turbato vehementius vultu proclamat..." and later in 107, he does the same

with Eumolpus: "Nam quod invidiam facis nobis ingenuos honestosque clamando, vide, ne deteriore facias confidentia causam"; Encolpius threatens Tryphaena "clara liberaque voce clamavi" when he sees her hurting Giton and Lichas responds, "indignaturque quod ego relicta mea causa tantum pro alio clamo." This technique is used in several other situations as well, when the following scene assumes the nature of a mock-case. Giton tells Encolpius, "Cum ego proclamarem, gladium strinxit...", when Ascyrtos tries to bring force upon him in 9,<sup>6</sup> and upon seeing Lichas' body, Encolpius delivers a monologue in 115, "et inter tot altissimos gemitus frequenter etiam proclamabam..."<sup>7</sup> Encolpius bemoans their fate during the storm scene of 114, "cum clamore flevi."<sup>8</sup> The preponderance of these terms seems only to demonstrate Petronius' debt to Roman declamation for the design of a number of scenes.

Apart from these indications, the content of the scenes themselves do the most to support the argument for declamatory influence. A scene that illustrates well the combining of the thematic and stylistic similarities to the declamations is, not surprisingly, the opening scene of the *Satyricon*. In its present state, the novel opens with Encolpius demonstrating his rhetorical skill for his own benefit. He delivers an impressive, if not typical, declamation speech outside Agamemnon's school in order to gain the favor of the teacher and an invitation for dinner (1-3). Ironically, he is delivering a declamation against the declaimers and their instructors: "Qui inter haec nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam bene olere, qui in culina habitant. (2.1)" He accuses the teachers of ruining eloquence and of importing a degenerate style of oratory from Asia (2.14). This *topos* of the general decay of good rhetorical practice is dealt with not only in the prefaces to Seneca's *Controversiae* and by other critics of the ancient world, but also in the digressions of the declamation cases themselves.<sup>9</sup>

Seneca's *Cont. I Praef.* 8-10 has much the same sentiments as Encolpius' declamation as he attacks students for not being sharp-minded: "Torpent ecce ingenia desidiosae iuventutis nec in unius honestae rei labore vigilatur; somnus languorque ac somno et languore turpior malarum rerum industria invasit animos..." Like Encolpius, Seneca seems to think that declamation does not prepare a pupil for the challenge of ordinary life: "usque eo ingenia in scholasticis exercitationibus delicate nutriuntur ut

clamorem silentium risum, caelum denique pati nesciant (*Cont. IX Praef. 4*).<sup>10</sup> Indeed, most of declamation received negative criticism in its day. It was an educational method, "unanimously condemned by all the best minds in Rome throughout the century, which yet carr[ied] on by its own momentum until it outlive[d] them all."<sup>10</sup> The fact that Encolpius' comments are well-received--"amas bonam mentem," Agamemnon says in 3.1--shows that he is following the popular sentiment.

Seneca's criticisms within the declamations themselves are aimed at style and delivery and the faults thereof found in the speeches of his younger contemporaries. In I.ii.23, for instance, Seneca cites a case of Murredius' obscene language used in arguing the declamation of the unchaste priestess: "fortasse dum repellit libidinem, manibus exceptit." Seneca's comment is that such obscenity should be avoided in word and thought, "quaedam satius est causae detrimento tacere quam verecundiae dicere." Comparing this style to another declaimer in the same case, Seneca seems to give Asian rhetoric a bad connotation: "Grandaus, Asianus aequae declamator...." In IX.i.15, he remembers an incident of bad taste with Gargonius' color: "istud publicum adulterium est, sub Militiadis trophaeis concumbere."<sup>11</sup> He also remarks upon several incidents of not necessarily obscene but unsuitable phrases put out by "flatulent" declaimers, e.g. Murredius, who says during the trial of Flamininus: "praetorem nostrum in illa ferali cena saginatum meretricis sinu excitavit ictus securis (IX.ii.27)." Seneca in fact considers this trend in the declaimers to be a madness and gives several examples of "insane" comments; Murredius receives more criticism on this account when he remarks in the *Suasoria* II.16 (in reference to Othryades who, having been left alive on the battlefield, wrote "I won" on his shield with his own blood), "fugerunt Athenienses; non enim Othryadis nostri litteras didicerant." He finds the epigrams of Latro to be bombastic rather than forceful; in a digression in the case of X.i which mentions a pimp who sets a trap for a group of youths and burns them alive, Latro's comment is: "legunt argumenta patres et ossa liberorum coniectura dividunt...," employing a double entendre with "argumenta." Seneca despises coyly turned phrases; ones which add and detract syllables are the lowest kinds of sayings: "peribit ergo quod Cicero scripsit, manebit quod Antonius proscriptis (*Suas. 7.11*)?" In the case of

delivery, he has critical words even for Ovid who, he tells us in II.ii.9, was held to be a good declaimer in his day but had no proper order for listing his commonplaces. In his arguing of the case of the oath sworn by husband and wife, Ovid says, for instance: "Quid est quod illam ab indulgentia sua avocet? di boni, quomodo hic amavit uxorem? Amat filiam et abdicat...(Cont. II.ii.9-10)," a confusing mix of comments.

Petronius combines the comments of Seneca's prefaces and the declamations in his speech of 1-2. Students think they have entered another world when in the courtroom "rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu," the same faults which Seneca presumably finds with the younger declaimers. And like Seneca, Encolpius decries the contemporary style of declamation: "Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit ...."

Likewise, the portrayal of the conflict in chapter 9 between Encolpius and Ascyrtos borrows both theme and style from the declamatory works. During Ascyrtos' first attempt to steal Giton, he draws his sword on the boy and says, "Si Lucretia es, Tarquinius invenisti." Encolpius hears of this assault and upbraids Ascyrtos with a rhetorical line of insult: "Quid dicis muliebris patientiae scortum, cuius ne spiritus purus est?" In the case of Miles Marianus (*Dec.Mai.* III), a soldier accused of murdering a superior officer who tried to force sex upon him is defended. The officer was armed with a sword when he asked the soldier to prostitute himself, and while being charged with perversion, the declaimer asks: "itane tandem (iuvat enim velut praesentis insequi furorem) scorta tua stipendium merentur, et sub signis exoletos trahis?" There is a further reference to Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus who defended her modesty by killing herself after being raped by Tarquin, as one of the declaimer's examples of proper behavior.

Encolpius delivers his longest declamation in the monologue over Lichas' body in 115 which has both stylistic and thematic origins in the declamations. The narrator sets forth several philosophical statements concerning mortality and the fickleness of fortune, topics which J. P. Sullivan considers are due to an affinity with the works of the younger Seneca, not the declamations: "A comparison of the putative sources

reveals how the Senecan *topoi* are carefully woven together by Petronius..."<sup>12</sup> This passage reads like a pastiche of Seneca, according to Sullivan, "it reads as parody because of the outburst--Lichas was no friend of Encolpius'--and because of what we know of the speaker's character."<sup>13</sup> He cites a number of comparative examples between Encolpius' expressions and those of Seneca, and many of them are closely paralleled in theme. The intent of parody, however, is normally more than this--the mere juxtaposing of moral sentiments and immoral characters. Sullivan's portrayal of these philosophical statements as Senecan falls short of a convincing parody.

A parody is successful when its target is a particular, recognizable genre or piece; Sullivan on the other hand is considering a broad range of Senecan works as one source for the parody. He cites, among others, examples from the *Naturales Quaestiones*, *Consolatio ad Polybium* and *Consolatio ad Marcium*, and various of the *Epistulae Morales*, works diverse enough in form and nature that Lichas' speech cannot conform to all of them at the same time. Normally, the aim of a parody is identifiable at its very onset. A. E. Housman's "Fragment of a Greek Tragedy," for instance, opens with the line "O suitably-attired-in-leather-boots/Head of a stranger...," and the reader immediately recognizes not only the source of the parody but also that it is a humorous attack.<sup>14</sup> Not so with Sullivan's proposal of the nature of Encolpius' monologue.

The scene leading up to the speech of 115 should, in any case, give the reader an indication as to the origin of the theme. On the morning after the shipwreck, Encolpius and his companions are contemplating where to wander next, when they see the body "circumactum levi vertice ad litus deferri." The narrator promptly plunges into his speech beginning with a reflection upon the family of the dead man who wait at home unaware of the tragedy. There is no parallel to this situation in Sullivan's discussion of the passage, but one can clearly be found in *Dec.Mai.* VI. In this case a man offers himself to pirates in place of his father, but to do so leaves his blind mother. He dies on the ship, is thrown overboard and washes up on his native shores. The mother refuses to give the corpse of her son a proper burial because he has deserted her, and the father argues against this. So what might have been suggested

by Petronius at the beginning of this speech as a source for parody is not from a letter or philosophical treatise of Seneca--but rather a motif borrowed from the declamations. In addition, the form of the passage is suggestive of declamation. The narration followed by a speech is the same style as that of the cases, in which the hypothetical situations are followed by the *argumenta*. It would again be impossible for Petronius to follow the form of all the Senecan works indicated by Sullivan, yet this is a necessary element of effective parody.

There is clearly no ideological parody between the Senecan philosophical statements and those of Encolpius, mainly because the two are similar. What seemingly would make these renderings of Encolpius successful parody would be if he confused the sentiments of Seneca (not followed them) or if he had philosophical ideals beyond the scope of Seneca. These topics can be found also in the declamations, which adding to the fact that the scene is introduced with a declamatory motif, seem to substantiate the argument that they were borrowed from the declamation tradition.

Encolpius' monologue changes tack from the view of the family when he realizes that his enemy Lichas is the body on the beach, and he begins to criticize mankind's illusions of greatness and planning for the future: "et qui paulo ante iactabas vires imperii tui, de tam magna nave ne tabulam quidem naufragus habes. Itē nunc mortales, et magnis cogitationibus pectora implete. Itē cauti, et opes fraudibus captas per mille annos disponite." Seneca's views, as cited by Sullivan, are quite the same: "navigationes longas et pererratis litoribus alienis seros in patriam reditus proponimus...cum interim ad latus mors est...(Ep. 101.4,6)" or "quidam vero disponunt etiam illa quae ultra vitam sunt...(Brev.Vit. 20.5)." But similarly in the *Cont.* I.i, the defendant for a son being disinherited speaks of the fate of the consul Marius: "Omnis instabilis et incerta felicitas est: quis crederet iacentem supra crepidinem Marium aut fuisse consulem aut futurum (I.i.3)." Encolpius' comments about the common end of all mortals (e.g. "Quicquid feceris, omnia haec eodem ventura sunt.") is in the style of the frequent digressions in the declamations. For instance, a father airs his sentiments about life in the case of the ailing twins, in which one is killed and operated on in

order to find a cure for the illness of the other in *Dec.Mai.* VIII.10: "si fragilitatem mortalitatis incertosque velimus aestimare casus, tantundem periculi habet omnis aeger." Sullivan offers no parallel to this theme in Seneca.

In the end of his speech, Encolpius stresses the futility of burial: "At enim fluctibus obruto non contingit sepultura. Tanquam intersit, periturum corpus quae ratio consumat, ignis an fluctus an mora." Sullivan points this out as being one of the strongest examples of Senecan parody. He cites the passage from *Rem.Fort.* 5.2 as evidence: "'Insepultus iacebis.' Quid interest ignis me an fera consumat an tempus, ultima omnium sepultura?" These and the Petronian sentiments, however, seem to sum up the "Quintilian" declamation of the beached corpse mentioned earlier. The dead son rots in the waves (like Lichas): "interim corpus, nec tutum in sicco iacet (VI.3)," and is only protected from the birds and wild animals by a group of sympathetic friends (VI.3) because the boys' mother refuses to give him proper funeral rites: "mater ignem ultimum filio negat...(VI.2)." An important point seems to be made of the fact that Encolpius and the others are burying and offering an epitaph to their enemy: "Et Licham quidem rogos inimicis collatus manibus adolebat. Eumolpus autem dum epigramma mortuo facit...(115)" Their actions seem in keeping with the declamation's statements regarding burial. In *Dec.Min.* VI again the father emphasizes that corpses are not to be punished, and though there are laws ordering execution for crimes, human compassion should play a part in the burial of the body. It is human nature that causes us to pity the dead: "Inde ignotis quoque corporibus transeuntium viatorum conlaticia sepultura, inde iniecta ab alienis humus (VI.11)." *Cont.* VIII.iv also has a similar expression about burial: "Omnibus natura sepulturam dedit...Irascere interfectori, sed miserere interfecti...."

There are a number of purely thematic similarities between Petronius' portrayal of the scenes and elements in the declamations. In the second dispute over Giton, the boy begs Encolpius and Ascyrtos not to break their oath of friendship over him. He is ready instead to offer himself in order to end the strife: "Quod si utique facinore opus est, nudo ecce iugulum, convertite huc manus, imprimate mucrones (80)." Likewise, incidents of throat-baring demonstrations occur in the declamations. In *Dec.Mai.*

XVI, two young men captured by a tyrant swear an oath to the tyrant that if one can be released to see his mother (who has gone blind from grief), the other will remain as surety and be executed if the former does not return. The man sees his mother, but now she detains him because she is in distress. The young man recalls the words of the friend he has left behind with the tyrant: "accipe has manus, haec membra, si fieri potest, ut amicum matri remittamus...spondeo quemcumque iusseris aperto iugulo diem." In an earlier case (IX), a poor and a rich man are enemies, but their sons friends. When the rich man's son is captured by pirates and his father delays in paying the ransom, the poor son goes in search of him and discovers that the pirates have sold the boy to a gladiator trainer. The poor son goes to the city where the gladiatorial combat is to be held, offers himself in place of his rich friend and dies in the fighting. When the rich son returns home and publicly begins to support his friend's poor father, his own father disinherits him. Here again we are told that the rich man's son was ready to bare his throat before being ransomed: "aderat hora supplicii mei, qua nusquam morandum, iam praebendus erat iugulus et fundenda vita cum sanguine (IX.21)." This particular declamation bears other thematic similarities to Petronius, and rather ironic ones at that.

Whereas the poor man's son fights as a gladiator in order to maintain his oath of friendship, Encolpius and Ascyltos fight over Giton and ignore their oath of friendship made in chapter 10. Encolpius it seems has previously been a gladiator, or at least has taken part in combat. In 81, he says of himself, "harenae imposui," and Ascyltos--during their first dispute in 9--insults him thus: "gladiator obscene, quem \*\*de ruina\*\* harena dimisit?" If we can assume then that Encolpius has at one point been a gladiator who refused to fight or was not fit to, perhaps, this shows that Petronius is giving a comic twist in his use of declamation themes.

The motifs of suicide and oaths with regards to lovers find their way into the *Satyricon* from the declamations. Eumolpus steals Giton away from Encolpius in 94, and the distraught lover decides to hang himself--a familiar element of the declamations.<sup>16</sup> The noose is cut down, however, by Giton who expresses his love for Encolpius and a willingness to kill himself if he cannot be with him: "Erras Encolpi,

si putas contingere posse, ut ante moriaris. Prior coepi; in Ascylti hospitio gladium quaesivi. Ego si te non invenissem, periturus per praecipitia fui."

During the shipwreck scene of 114, the two are again tested in their love for each other. Encolpius is determined that the storm at sea will not separate them again; Giton ties a belt around both of them and swears an oath to Encolpius which he submits to: "Si nihil aliud, certe diutius iuncta nos mors feret, vel si voluerit <mare> misericors ad idem litus expellere...." *Cont.* II.ii has the case of a husband and wife who take an oath that if one should die, the other will also. When the husband goes abroad, he sends word back that he has died and his wife throws herself off a cliff but survives. Her father demands that she divorce the man, and she refuses. Both the above oath scene of the *Satyricon* and the preceding one of Giton's and Encolpius' reuniting echo this sort of case. The husband has unfairly treated his wife (as Giton has done to Encolpius), but she still wants him back: "Nocet illi indulgentia suorum (II.ii.3)."

One final scene on the ship seems to have its thematic origins in one of the *Controversiae*. Encolpius has committed a sacrilege in some lost episode of the *Satyricon*. In the storm scene of 114, Lichas begs Encolpius to return the items he has presumably stolen from a temple of Isis: "Tu Encolpi, succurre periclitantibus et vestem illam divinam sistrumque redde navigio. Per fidem, miserere, quemadmodum quidem soles." In Seneca's case (VIII.i), a woman who is saved from hanging herself by her son confesses to having stolen sacred objects and is sought by the magistrate for capital punishment.

The declamatory scenes of Petronius in several cases appear to be influenced stylistically by the declamations themselves, not necessarily because they contain rhetorical argumentation, but because these mock-cases take the same form. The speech of Encolpius in 81, for example, shows the listing of misfortunes in a way that the declamation characters employ. When Giton unexpectedly chooses Ascyltos during their dispute in 79-80, Encolpius in his grief retires to a lodging-house on the beach and mourns for three days: "Effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter audaciae nomina mendicus, exul, in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem

desertus?" *Dec.Mai.* V.9 has a father, whose son refuses to support him in his need because the father had previously failed to ransom him, complaining about his lot in life: "aspicis collapsum et ex omni calamitatum genere miserum et, ultra quod accidentium mensura non exit, in orbitate mendicium." Or further, the speech of an exiled man who shared a poison with his wife, but lives and is accused of killing her sounds reminiscent of Encolpius' list: "Bellum civile egi, proscriptus sum, exulavi, quid his malis adici potest nisi ut venenum bibam et vivam (*Cont.* VI.iv)?"

The shipboard controversy of the *Satyricon* is a scene which contains the most elements borrowed from a proper declamation. Chapters 104-106, while avoiding the general structure of a case, serve as the set-up for the forthcoming dispute between Eumolpus and Lichas. Tryphaena's and Lichas' similar dreams, recalled in 104, are perhaps used to signal the introduction of this case when Lichas reveals to Tryphaena that Priapus has told him in a dream of Encolpius' presence on board the ship. She answers that Neptune has said to her in a dream: "in nave Lichae Gitona invenies." Significant dreams appear several times in declamation literature. *Dec.Mai.* X has the case of a mother having dreams about her dead son in which he speaks to her. A father who has lost two sons and then his eyesight from crying dreams that he will see again if his third son dies in *Calp.Flacc.* X.

At the end of 104, the law that will govern the case is set forth. A fellow-passenger discovers Giton and Encolpius having their heads shaved on deck by moonlight in an effort to disguise themselves as slaves, and he relates this to the captain as being a sacrilege against the ship's deity. Eumolpus presents in 105 his version of the *thema*<sup>17</sup> or situation which is to be debated. When asked, he explains that he only cut the hair of the two men out of respect for the ship: "ne viderer de nave carcerem facere, iussi squalorem damnatis auferri....(105)" They are slaves, he says, and he did not want their branded marks concealed either. The two are then punished with lashes but Giton's screams are recognized by Tryphaena, who puts a stop to the beating. After the recognition scene, she joins sides with the two, and the dispute ensues.

From this point in 106 onwards, the scene presents itself much more in the

structural fashion of declamation; there is a clearly distinguishable *argumentum*. Lichas wants to continue to punish the men, but Tryphaena begs for his mercy. He proclaims that he is too god-fearing to let them off: "Ita vide, ut possit illis ignosci, quos ad poenam ipse deus deduxit. Quod ad me attinet, non sum crudelis, sed vereor, ne quod remisero, patiar (106)." And with his emotional appeal, an element common in declamation (*pathos*) he appeases Tryphaena here but not Eumolpus who immediately comes to their defense, arguing (but flatly lying) that the three of them have chosen to come aboard his ship: "Nisi forte putatis iuvenes casu in has plagas incidisse, cum omnis vector nihil prius quaerat, quam cuius se diligentiae credat. (107)" He attempts to appeal to Lichas' sense of justice by asking him to soften his anger: "Saevi quoque implacabilesque domini crudelitatem suam impediunt, si quando paenitentia fugitivos reduxit, et dediticiis hostibus parcimus (107)." Lichas takes up his prosecution again, asking why they have disguised themselves as slaves if they wittingly came aboard. He is not to be persuaded by Eumolpus' speech. Finally, in keeping with Senecan practice, the two men now offer *colores*, or short added arguments which offer different angles, at the close of the case. Eumolpus explains that they wanted to shave their heads to relieve the weight: "Voluerunt enim antequam conscenderent, exonerare capita molesto et supervacuo pondere....(107)" Lichas rebuts that they have perhaps shaved their heads to arouse pity--for bald men naturally arouse more pity.

So far the *Satyricon* has been compared to the declamations only at the level of scene--the themes and motifs that Petronius borrows for the novel and the way in which some of the scenes are modeled on the form of the declamations. What remains to be seen is the effect of the declamations on the fundamentally important role of characterization in the *Satyricon*, while dealing with other arguments about the most important influences or sources for Petronian personalities. The characterization of the author can be viewed in two ways: the general cast of characters in the novel (categorized by occupation and/or social standing) and the portrayal of these characters (the techniques in depiction and their relevance to the works). It is in the latter way that Petronius seems more akin to declamation than to any other genre.

It is clear upon looking at the novel that not all of Petronius' *personae* are lifted from the declamation literature, which, in terms of character-types, occupies a rather narrow space.<sup>18</sup> The most common arguments for influence on the *Satyricon's* cast include the mime, New Comedy, the epic, and Roman satire; it seems appropriate here in drawing up the Petronian cast of characters to compare them in both ways to these genres as well as to declamation.

There are quite a few incidental unnamed characters in the *Satyricon* and most seem to have counterparts in stock characters of these various genres. The Petronian low-life *personae* especially can find a number of parallels. In 6.5, Encolpius meets an old bawd (*aniculam*) who can conceivably be viewed as the madame of the brothel to which she leads him in 7.5. Two characters of Plautus are employed in this same occupation. The *lenae* whose business it is to sell their girls appear in the *Asinaria* and the *Cistellaria*. Another brothel-scene character, and one who turns out to be someone other than expected, is the *pater familias* whom Ascyrtos asks for directions to the boarding-house in 8. The "respectable gentleman" takes Ascyrtos down several back alleys and offers to pay him for sex. The stock character of *senex* appears in nearly every one of the plays of New Comedy, oftentimes in the role of father of a decadent son (e.g. Hegio in *Captives*) or a town elder (*Aulularia's* Megardorus), but nevertheless a middle-class citizen whom one would assume has the status of a *pater familias*.

Prostitutes like those in Petronius occur in all of the genres of literature discussed here with the exception of the epic. The declamations have a number of cases involving prostitutes, from the call-girl accused of giving a hate potion to her lover in *Dec.Maj.* XIV and XV to family disputes involving whores (*Calp.Flacc.* XXX, XXXVII; *Cont.* II.iv). Anthia is forced to take on the roles of prostitute in Greek romance (*Ephesiaca* V.6) as is Tarsia (*Apollonius King of Tyre* 33-34), and *meretrices* feature in nearly every play of New Comedy. In the mime, prostitutes appear regularly as naked *mimae*. Horace devotes *Satires* I.2 to sexual relations and condemns men who waste their inheritances on whores (58-60). Comparatively, the male characters of *cinaedi* appear twice in Petronius--first, in 21 when Encolpius and

his friends are attacked by a sodomite during Quartilla's ritual in the boarding-house and later during the banqueting scene with Quartilla in which a versifying *cinaedus* approaches Encolpius (23). The scanty fragments of the Iolaus romance reveal a number of *cinaedi* involved possibly in mystery initiation rites. Pannychis, the young girl who is deflowered during the revelry at Quartilla's perhaps has her counterpart in either the mime or declamation. Xenophon's *Symposium* describes a girl and a boy who perform a dance to the flute, performing the marriage of Ariadne and Dionysus. The girl appears dressed as a bride (IX.3), and at the end of their mime the two exit, presumably to the bridal couch (IX.7). In declamation literature, the rape of virgins is a common theme, resulting normally in the girl's decision whether to marry her rapist or condemn him to death.

Included also in this cast of marginal characters are the slaves of the *Satyricon*. Trimalchio has a diverse host of slaves; there are among them cooks, dancers, acrobats, food servers and wine waiters. New Comedy offers the most parallels to these types of servants. Plautus especially often features the cook as a *persona* in his plays; Menander has the character of a waiter in his *Dyskolos*, and in the *Casina* of Plautus, a waiter appears along with musicians. Cooks and domestics have a brief appearance also in Petronius as Eumolpus is attacked in 95 after starting a brawl with one of the staff. In keeping with Trimalchio's chorus of slaves in 34, are the chorus of the *Curculio* of Plautus and perhaps Menander's convention of a chorus of drunken party-goers during the *entr'acte*. Acrobats and dancing characters also appear as part of the cast of the low stage. The mime often consisted of dance and acrobatics as, for example, Xenophon describes in II.8,11,16 of the *Symposium*.

Encolpius and Giton, when aboard Lichas' ship in 114 disguise themselves as slaves in order to escape detection; this farce is further kept up when they pose as Eumolpus' slaves when in the company of the legacy-hunters in 117. Characters in the romance normally become slaves during the course of their misfortunes. Chaereas, for instance, is captured and sold into servitude during his voyage to find his lost lover Callirhoe. As with prostitutes, slaves generally occur in the declamations indirectly in domestic disputes. In two instances, slaves do themselves appeal for justice when

treated unfairly by their masters (*Calp.Flacc.* XXXIII and *Cont.* III.ix). *Satire* II.7 of Horace is devoted to Davus his slave who retells a Stoic sermon about the meaning and relativity of slavery. Corax seems akin to the slave character of the *Oxyrhyncus* mime fragment 413 who is portrayed as a buffoon. In this adventure mime, a group of Greeks are travelling along a barbarian coast. The slave is given stage directions to fart (πορδῆ) during his lines, as Eumolpus' slave does while on the road to Croton in 117.

Parallels that can be drawn between some of the female slave characters of the *Satyricon* and other literature are in the pairs of maidservants and mistresses--Quartilla and Psyche, Circe and Chrysis being Petronius' creations. In cases of the three declamation texts involving the pairs, the *ancillae* are used as witnesses to their mistresses' acts of adultery (*Dec.Mai.* XVIII.6, *Cont.* VI.vi and *Calp.Flacc.* XL). Female slaves with their mistresses feature prominently in New Comedy. Mysis is the servant of Glycerum, the Lady of Andros, in Terence's play of the same name, for instance, and in the *Menaechmi*, a slave is owned by the prostitute Erotio. Two of the peripheral characters who do not seem to have counterparts in any genre of literature discussed here are Bargates, the overseer of the boarding-house, and the constable of that same scene (96).<sup>19</sup> The farm bailiff who directs Encolpius to the city of Croton in 116 can perhaps have a counterpart in the *vilicus Collybiscus* who serves as the bailiff to Agorastocles in the *Poenulus* of Plautus. Also a minor character who appears only once and briefly is the soldier who confiscates Encolpius' sword in 82 when he realizes that he is not in the army. This might be a character-type lifted from declamation as *milites* predominate there. All the cases dealing with acts of military bravery (*ter fortis*) naturally have soldiers as their subjects but cases involving them occur elsewhere, for instance *Dec.Mai.* III's case of the soldier in Marius' army. The soldier appears also as a stock figure of New Comedy: Diabolus the soldier plays the lover of Cleoereta in the *Asinaria* and the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus is of course devoted to the conceited soldier Pyrgopolynices.

Other more important low-life characters of the *Satyricon*, Oenothea and Proselenos, are distinguishable because of their involvement with magic arts.

Oenothea is the most immediately recognizable character in the novel--she appears to be directly drawn from the stock characters of the sorceress Dipsas (Ovid *Am.* I.viii) and the bawd in *Propertius* IV.v.1.<sup>20</sup> For the sorceress Proselenos, there are no such direct comparisons, but her magic attempts to cure Encolpius of his impotence show us that she is endowed with the same type of skill. Horace borrows the sorceress Canidia from his *Epodes* (5 & 17) to include her in the *Satires* I.8, II.1 and II.8, with the most lengthy discussion of her and her rituals in I.8. Similarly, Circe in the *Odyssey* Book X turns Odysseus' men into swine and makes them forget their native land with a magic potion. Oenothea is further portrayed as a priestess of Priapus as is Quartilla in her earlier scene. Seneca has two declamation cases involving priestesses, both accused of unchastity (*Cont.* I.iii, VI.viii). In Book VI of the *Aeneid*, the Sybil priestess tells the hero his fortune which he cannot understand. Ptolemy, the only priestess of the extant comedies, has a minor role playing the priestess of Venus who shelters the shipwrecked daughter of Daemones in the *Rudens*.

The characters who have more substantial roles in the *Satyricon* also have multi-faceted characteristics; one character can be drawn from several different sources. Encolpius, we have just seen, is a slave character twice in the novel, but he is also a declaimer, a poet, a wanderer, a beggar, and a thief. So a number of different sources must be considered in order to reckon with these six characters within the one. Encolpius the declaimer's source is an obvious one; he is not only speaking in the style of a declaimer, he is in a declamation school, run under the auspices of Agamemnon (also a character with an obvious origin). Eumolpus, Lichas, Ascyltos and Giton all take on the role of declaimer at various times in the *Satyricon*.

Because of the fragmentary state of the novel, we do not know why Encolpius, Giton and Ascyltos are travelling but they seem to have no destination or home. They appear to be educated, but must resort to their wits and the occasional theft in order to survive. Encolpius calls himself an exile in 81 but whether this is true or simply a dramatic exaggeration is unsure. The exile is a recognizable character of the declamations, in any case, and Encolpius may have his counterpart in this genre. Seneca has three cases involving exiled men, two who are banished for involuntary

manslaughter and one who is proscribed. *Dec.Min.* 366 has the case of an exile who has been sentenced for treason, and *Calp.Flacc.* VI features a man involved with a tyrannicide. A character similar to one of the Senecan exiles appears once in Greek romance literature when the hero encounters an incidental character Menelaos who explains that he is completing a three-year banishment for accidentally killing a boy while hunting (*Ach.Tat.* 34).

The wandering or travelling man occurs several times in the declamations, usually in connection with pirates--as in the case of the man who goes abroad, is captured by pirates and is ransomed by his son in *Dec.Mai.*VI-- but occasionally in other situations. *Seneca* VII.vi has the case of a man who flees abroad when the tyrant gives slaves permission to kill their masters and rape their mistresses, and *Dec.Mai.* XII features an agent dispatched abroad to buy grain during a time of famine. Of course the theme of wandering is an Odyssean and Vergilian motif too, and fits in with Encolpius' other attributes as an epic hero character. The pair of wandering lovers such as the narrator and Giton can also be said to parallel the couples in the Greek romance who, during their adventures are for a time homeless and stray.

In keeping with Encolpius' connection to the epic hero, Odysseus takes on the guise of a beggar in Book 13 (397ff) when he first returns to Ithaca. The beggar character is frequent to the declamations, often in cases of poor men and rich men. The *Declamationes Maiores* have the case of a father--so poor that he is reduced to begging--demanding support from his son (V), and another man seeks support from the rich friend of his dead son (IX). A Senecan case accuses a man of harming the state for taking exposed babies and forcing them to be beggars in order to support him in X.iv. A mime about a beggar-turned-millionaire is also mentioned by Cicero in the *Phillipicae* II.65.

Thieves surface in declamation literature on several occasions. A woman commits temple robbery in *Cont.* VIII.i, and a man robs a box of letters from a rich man's house to prove his treason in X.vi. *Dec.Min.* 335 uses *latrones* indirectly when a boy chases robbers away from his home and tells his father that they have wounded

him. As for any thief counterparts to Encolpius and friends in Greek romance, robbers and brigands appear in all of the complete romance texts as instruments in the plots to separate the lovers. The only character of Encolpius not found in any of the literature considered is that of the poet. As this *persona*, he is joined by a number of other characters in the novel. Encolpius falls into verse more times than anyone else, but Ascyrtos, Eumolpus, Trimalchio, Agamemnon, Quartilla, Tryphaena and Oenothea have their turns too.

Giton's main character is that of male concubine; he is a beautiful youth who becomes the object of affection for Tryphaena and Psyche as well as the object of dispute between Encolpius and Ascyrtos. He is also partner-in-crime to Encolpius' thievery. In Xenophon's mime of the dancing girl and boy, the boy is described as the male concubine of his stage-master in IV.54. An accusation of prostitution appears in the Greek novel when the priest of Artemis' temple explains that the villain Thersandros was a *πύρνος* as a younger man (*Ach.Tat.* VIII.9).

Eumolpus is fond of assuming false characters in his attempt to earn a living off of other people. In his stories of 85-87 and 139, he takes on the role of paedagogue in order to gain employment and an opportunity to seduce his young charges. The declamations have cases involving tutors: *Calp.Flacc.* XVII features a rich man who buys his poor enemy as a tutor for his son. *Xenophon of Ephesus* has the incident of the hero's paedagogue drowning in the waves in an attempt to follow his ship in 1.14. The character Daos is cast as the former tutor to Kleostratos in the *Aspis* of Menander as is Lydos in *Dis Exapaton*. Then, as a childless rich man, Eumolpus has several counterparts in the declamations. The merchant of *Cont.* II.vi who wills his fortune to another man's wife is depicted as a wealthy and childless, and in the same text, a rich man becomes childless by disinheriting his three sons and now wishes to adopt a poor man's son (II.i). There seem to be no counterparts to the story-teller character of Eumolpus, at least not of the same sort. In contrast to his poetry, which is usually highly stylized and moralizing, his tales, as we have already seen, are debauched. Lichas is a declaimer as we have seen aboard his ship, but his basic role is that of owner and captain of a merchant ship, a character whom we run across in

declamation (in the case just mentioned), Greek romance and New Comedy. Merchants as such are briefly introduced as characters in *Heliodorus* (IV.16). Kalasiris encounters a group of traders who are celebrating a feast to Herakles, and they offer passage to the hero on their ship. In Terence's *Eunuchus*, a Captain Thraso appears as a main character, and likewise Cleomachus in the *Bacchises* of Plautus. The *Mercator* mentioned earlier is obviously based on a trader (Charinus) and the *Asinaria* has the minor part of an unnamed trader who has bought the asses from Demaenetus. Tryphaena, who is also a declaimer in the shipboard case of 105-108, is said by Eumolpus to be both a prostitute and to be travelling as an exile to Tarentum (101).

Like Lichas, Trimalchio is made wealthy by his trading. The remaining of his characters who have not been mentioned thus far are the freedman, the nouveau-riche dinner host and the astrologer. As a freedman character, Trimalchio is joined by the others at his banquet--Dama, Seleucus, Phileros, Ganymede, Echion, Hermeros, Niceros, Plocamus and presumably Habinnas. Although freedmen are mentioned in satire (Horace's *Satires* I.6, II.3, II.5), the only characters to surface in the genres discussed are those in the declamation cases and one found in New Comedy. Seneca has a case involving a freedman in relation to his former master in IV.viii. Also VII.vi features a newly-manumitted slave on trial against his former master's son. Sosia, the freedman and steward of Simo, is a minor cast-character in the comedy *Andria*. Trimalchio the self-made wealthy dinner host is said to resemble Nasidienus of Horace's *Satires* II.8, who gives an impressive banquet for a select few guests in much the same way as Petronius' character. The astrologer might be a *persona* which Petronius has borrowed from the declamations: in *Dec.Mai.* IV, a *mathematicus* is included as one who predicts that a man's unborn child will grow up to kill him. Laberius, it should be mentioned, seems to have written a series of mimes named after zodiac signs, but only the titles remain.

Contained in the *Cena* as well is the overbearing Fortunata, Trimalchio's wife, who was once a slave like her husband. However, neither she nor Habinnas' wife Scintilla as freedwomen have counterparts in any of the genres considered here. Horace mentions a *liberta* (I.1.100) but does not offer any characters as such. As

middle-class housewives--Encolpius describes their conversation of "diligentiam matris familiae"--the two women have the same role as some of the female characters of New Comedy. In Plautus' *Stichus*, for instance, Panegyris and her sister play the wives of two brothers who are travelling abroad as merchants. Another similar character in Petronius is Circe, who is portrayed as a *matrona*, but whose husband is never present or mentioned. The *matrona* characters appear frequently in the declamations.<sup>21</sup>

The freedmen of the *Cena* seem to fulfill the role of parasites, characters found frequently in both Roman declamation and New Comedy. *Controversiae* II.vi.9 concerns a debased son accusing his debased father of insanity. The son argues that his father is surrounded by a "grex parasitorum." New Comedy abounds in parasite characters: e.g., Saturio is a professional parasite to Toxilus in *Persi*; *Curculio* is dedicated to the exploits of the Phaedromus' parasite.

Some of the stock characters of these other genres are not included in the text of the *Satyricon*. The *nutrix* of New Comedy appears often enough, normally as belonging to the one of the young ladies in the play or a courtesan. There is no counterpart in the *Satyricon* to the parent-characters of the Greek romance nor to the pirates which play such an important role to the plots of these stories. It must be said also that the frequent pirates and tyrants of the declamations fail to occur in the novel although they are both mentioned in the opening passage (1.1).

What makes the cast of characters of Petronius more similar to declamation literature than to any of the others discussed, however, is in the portrayal of the character-types and their relationship to the *Satyricon* as a whole. Whereas the slaves of New Comedy, mime and Greek romance become very important elements to the plot or performance, slaves have relatively little prominence in Petronius. New Comedy especially has slaves as major characters in the plays--*Pseudolus*, for instance, is named after the slave who has the lead role. In Greek romance, the fact that the hero and heroine are forced into slavery during their adventures is a crucial part of the basic story-line in the genre. Trimalchio's is a colorful array of slaves, but none have speaking parts *per se* nor do they function independently of their master whom they serve mostly to help characterize.<sup>22</sup> When Giton and Encolpius become the slaves of

Eumolpus during the Croton episode, it is Eumolpus who has the main role here as the childless millionaire with two slaves.

This principle pertains to other characters that the *Satyricon* shares with the romance, comedy and mime. The prostitutes and pimps all appear at the forefront of these genres, assuming major roles, whereas in Petronius, they more or less seem to take positions in the background. Both Tryphaena and Quartilla are represented as prostitutes of a sort, but their function in the novel is not one of being a whore for sale in a brothel as it is with the *personae* of the other texts. With regards to New Comedy alone, the *matrona* and *pater familias* often take the lead while Petronius' characters of this sort do not.

The traveller has a different sort of position in Greek romance than in the *Satyricon*. The lovers who venture abroad in the romance do so with a particular plan, destination and purpose. Encolpius and Giton do not seem to have any of these. The same is true for the epic and Petronius.

Another way in which the cast of Petronius differs from that of the Greek novel and comedy is in the overall social position of the characters. The world of these two genres is generally one of the middle-class or upper-class family. The plays of Plautus or Terence normally feature as central to the plot a father, son, family slaves and sometimes a mother or uncle. And the romance necessarily deals with a young man and woman and their respective parents, who are--at least when the real parents are discovered--of wealthy status.

The declamations share some of the same differences between the *Satyricon* and these other genres. Admittedly, the cases are often ones involving family disputes, but low characters such as slaves, prostitutes and *lenones* occupy relatively little space in the declamations. Looking at the portrayal of character in Petronius with respect to declamation reveals some rather close affinities, either by the direct paralleling of character depiction or by the opposing of character-types. When portraying Trimalchio, the author has inserted a noticeable trait of a wealthy man taken from declamatory literature. A dinner guest tells Encolpius in 37 that the host's estate is so vast that he cannot count the number of his slaves nor can one out of ten slaves

recognize him, their master. There are at least two digressions on the excesses of wealth in the declamations which remind us of Trimalchio. The first appears in *Cont.* II.i when a rich man asks a poor man to adopt his only son. The poor man is ready to comply, but the son refuses and is disinherited. In the *colores* of this case, a declaimer quotes the son as saying "non me delectant ignoti servorum domino greges nec sonantia laxi ruris ergastula (II.i.26)." And in *Dec.Mai.* XIII.13, a poor man condemns a rich man's greed: "et ad excolendos agros procedet ignota etiam vilicis familia...?"

Eumolpus borrows this technique when he pretends to be a rich, childless man as a plot against the legacy-hunters (117). He, along with Encolpius and Giton, create new characters for themselves: the couple will act as slaves to Eumolpus whose new situation makes him a perfect candidate for a declamation character. He has lost a son and has left his country out of grief. He has recently endured a shipwreck which lost him two million sesterces. To color the picture, the three decide to add some of Trimalchio's characteristics to Eumolpus' new image: he will complain about loose bowels, discuss money openly, and finally must always call his two slaves by the wrong names so he will appear to be confused by the sheer magnitude of his slave horde (117).

Furthermore at the *Cena*, sentiments expressed by the poorer guests about the excesses of wealth show a similarity between their depiction and that of the poor men of declamation. Hermeros upbraids Ascyrtos in 57 for making fun of Trimalchio's word-play, and he also accuses Ascyrtos of being a rich snob. He then expounds upon the virtues of being poor, of only possessing a small bit of land and of owing nothing to anybody: "Ego fidem meam malo quam thesauros." Similarly in *Dec.Mai.* XIII, when a poor man's bees are poisoned by his rich neighbor who argues that they had been destroying his flowers, the poor man defends himself in court by explaining his humble lifestyle: "Est mihi paternus, iudices, agellus, sane angustus et pauper, non vitibus consitus, non frumentis ferax, non pascuis laetus...et non late pauperi casae circumiecta possessio (XIII.2)." A poor man's son who accuses a rich man of murdering his father in the *Controversiae* tells the jury that the rich man was jealous

of his father because he had, if nothing else, virtue: "Non erat in illo praeda quam grassator sequeretur, sed erat summa virtus, sed erat, firmissimum inopiae munimentum, contumax adversus fastidium divitiarum innocentia...(X.i.6)." Earlier in the banqueting episode, Ganymede the freedman is portrayed as one who reckons that life in the past was better. He complains about the current on-going drought which has caused the price of bread to soar, about the rich men's lack of concern for the poor ("Itaque populus minutus laborat: nam isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt"), and about the magistrate's greed ("Itaque domi gaudet, plus in die nummorum accipit, quam alter patrimonium habet"). Again, the poor man in the case involving the bees criticizes his rich enemy for having an uncontrollable lust for acquiring more.<sup>23</sup>

Ascyltos' portrayal as an effeminate man by Encolpius in 81 seems reminiscent of a character of the *Controversiae*. After Ascyltos steals Giton away from him a second time, Encolpius accuses him of transvestitism: "Qui tanquam die togae virilis stolam sumpsit, qui ne vir esset...(81)," explaining that he has done the "work" of a woman in the slaves' prison. Seneca's case involves a young man who while fulfilling a bet made with friends dresses up as a woman at night and is raped by ten other men. He accuses the magistrate of *iniuria* when he will not allow him in the court because he is unchaste. The magistrate's side describes his shameful wrongdoing: "Muliebrem vestem sumpsit, capillos in feminae habitum composuit...Sic imitatus est puellam ut raptorem inveniret (V.vi)."

Petronius sometimes seems humorously to use elements of declamation in his portrayal of character by inverting the traits of his own characters with those of the case-characters. Quartilla, who introduces Encolpius, Giton and Ascyltos to her Priapean rites seems to have a counterpart in a prostitute of Seneca. In *Cont. I.ii*, a virgin who is captured by pirates and sold to a pimp claims that she manages to retain her virginity even though visited by many men. In one instance, a man tries to use force on her and she kills him. Having been acquitted of the murder, she is sent back to her family but now seeks a priesthood. Her prosecutors maintain that an unchaste girl cannot be a priestess: "quod necesse est in hac causa nominare lupanar, lenonem,

meretricios quaestus, homicidium. Quis credat? inter haec sacerdos quaeritur. At mehercules futurae sacerdoti nihil ex his audiendum erat (I.ii.4)."

What makes Quartilla seem like an inverted model of this girl is that she is both a priestess and a prostitute (not a prostitute by trade, but certainly in behavior). Her maid Psyche enters Encolpius' room at the boarding-house in 16 and announces the cause of Quartilla's visit: "vos sacrum ante cryptam turbastis." She then enters and offers a speech begging for their pity and hoping that they do not tell of what they have seen in the chapel: "Protendo igitur ad genua vestra supinas manus petoque et oro, ne nocturnas religiones iocum risumque faciatis....(17)" It is hardly doubtful that the Priapean rites performed at night involve sexual acts. When Encolpius promises to keep silent about the whole affair, she leaves the priestess role behind and takes on that of the prostitute. She and her maid perform some kind of ritual on the men; the text is badly fragmented in these places, but it is an unpleasant experience for Encolpius: "Rogo, inquam, domina, si quid tristius paras, celerius confice; neque enim tam magnum facinus admisimus, ut debeamus torti perire....(20)" The next piece we have shows Psyche attempting to arouse Encolpius and tying his hands and feet with scarves, and the three men are given cups of *satyrion* before proceeding to more sexual revelry at Quartilla's banquet.

Petronius again can be said to have borrowed a character type in declamation for his portrayal of Chrysis in 126. In *Dec.Min.* 301, a poor man invites a rich man to dinner and his daughter serves them. When asked, the poor man tells the rich man that she is his servant, and later the rich man rapes her. Also in 342 pirates capture a man and write to the man's father for a ransom in the form of his daughter in marriage. The father instead sends a slave-girl in her place. This swapping of places might have been comically employed by Petronius in his depiction of the *ancilla* Chrysis when she describes her taste in men compared to that of her mistress. Encolpius, disguised as Eumolpus' slave earns the passion of Circe, who has a penchant for low-born men, her servant-girl tells us: "harenae aliquas accendit aut perfusus pulvere mulio aut histrio scaenae ostentatione traductus. Ex hac nota domina est mea...." Chrysis, on the other hand, has entirely opposite interests: "ego etiam si

ancilla sum, nunquam tamen nisi in equestribus sedeo."

A last opposite sort of "case" in terms of character depiction is found in the story, told by Eumolpus the story-teller, of his own experience as a teacher in 140. A matron Philomela entrusts her daughter and son to his care and instruction: "Ille [Eumolpus] esse solum in toto orbe terrarum, qui praeceptis etiam salubribus instruere iuvenes quotidie posset." He proceeds to play sexual games with his new charges. Inversely, a case occurs in *Calpurnius Flaccus* in which a son is the debauchee, unable to be controlled by his tutor. In XVIII, a rich man hires his poor enemy as a paedagogue for his son but orders him crucified when the son is killed after being caught in the act of adultery. The poor man objects to the sentencing: "Filio me luxurioso iam et petulanti dedit, quamvis omnia pater ipse curaret et regeret." The tale of Eumolpus' pederasty in 85-87 can almost parallel this type of declamation case; the Pergamene boy not only willingly submits to Eumolpus' advances, he begins to initiate the sexual action.

Although it is impossible to confine character types to one genre, the additional common elements of structure and theme between the *Satyricon* and declamatory literature give strong evidence that Petronius was influenced broadly by the tradition of declamation. Particularly, his debt is to the world of distinctly Roman declamation-- that is, less the stock characters of Greek declamation literature (e.g. tyrants, historical figures). Petronius' characters are from society's lower milieu like those of Roman declamation. Many of the scenes in Petronius can be extracted from the text to resemble "cases" in declamation. And a number of themes presented in the *Satyricon*: digressions into moralizing, disputes between rich and poor, criticisms of the state of rhetorical education, find strong counterparts in Roman extempore oratory.

### ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> Quotation taken from Philostratus and Eunapius *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. W. C. Wright (London, 1922).

<sup>2</sup> The topic of the Second Sophistic and its influence on Greek and Roman declamation is itself one worthy of a thesis length study. The primary source for the chronology and character of this evolution is Philostratus' work. For general discussions of this literary movement, see Graham Anderson *Philostratus* (London, 1986) and *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London, 1993); G. W. Bowersock *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (London, 1969); M. L. Clarke *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London, 1971); G. M. A. Grube *The Greek and Roman Critics* (Toronto, 1965); and B. A. van Groningen "Literary Tendencies in the Second Century A.D.," *Mnemosyne* XVIII, fasc. 1 (1965), 41-56.

<sup>3</sup> see S. F. Bonner *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Berkeley, 1949) and *Education in Ancient Rome* (London, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Historical declamations can be found in the following: *Dec.Min.* 323 (Alexander the Great); *Dec.Min.* 386 and *Cont.* VI.v (Iphicrates on trial); *Cont.* VII.ii (Popillius on trial), IX.ii (Flamininus the proconsul), VIII.ii (Phidias the sculptor), X.v (Parrhasius the painter), IX.i (Cimon on trial).

<sup>5</sup> see p. 62f.

<sup>6</sup> see p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> see p. 56ff.

<sup>8</sup> see p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> For discussions of declamation and its ancient critics, see Bonner *Roman Declamation*, 71-83; Grube, 256-307; and George Kennedy *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton, 1972), 446-65.

<sup>10</sup> Grube, 261.

<sup>11</sup> Sullivan, 198.

<sup>12</sup> Sullivan, 98.

<sup>13</sup> Sullivan, 98.

<sup>14</sup> see A. E. Housman *A Centennial Memento*, ed. Joseph Ishill (Berkeley Heights, 1959), 26ff.

<sup>15</sup> see p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> Hanging as a suicide method occurs in: *Cont.* V.i, VIII.i, X.i; *Dec.Min.* 270, 276, 289, 292; and *Calp.Flacc.* VIII, X.

<sup>17</sup> For stylistic terms and examples of technique used in the declamations, see Bonner 51-70.

<sup>18</sup> Bonner, 37.

<sup>19</sup> Although Bargates delivers an impressive declamatory speech in 96.

<sup>20</sup> Ovid's Dipsas is depicted as a drunken bawd who's magic power gives her command of the elements: "cum voluit, toto glomerantur nubila caelo;/cum voluit puro fulget in orbe dies (I.viii.9-10)," as is Oenothea or "goddess of wine": "Florida tellus,/cum volo, siccatis arescit languida sucis,/cum volo, fundit opes, scopulique atque horrida saxa...(134)." Propertius' bawd seems more or less the same: "illa velet, poterit magnes non ducere ferrum,/et volucris nidis esse noverca suis (IV.v.9-10)."

<sup>21</sup> see e.g., *Calp.Flac.* II, *Dec.Min.* 359 and *Dec.Mai.* XVIII.

<sup>22</sup> Trimalchio's obsession with his reputation, for instance, is evident in the manumission scene of 54 when a slave falls against his arm. He frees the man, "ne quis posset dicere, tantum virum esse a servo vulneratum."

<sup>23</sup> *Cont.* XIII.13.

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