Cena Trim.	From the Estate	Possible Imports	Best of Its Kind	Varro	Horace	Juvenal	Apicius
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
glis	X		X				X
granum	X						X
lepus	X				+	+	X
locusta	X						X
malum Cydonium[15]	X		X				X
malum Punicum[16]	X		X				
malum	X					+	X
mel	X						X
mullus	X					−	X
mulsum	X						X
nux	X			−			X
oculata	X						
oliva	X						
ova anserina	X					+	
ova pavonina	X					+	
panis	X					+	X
papaver	X						X
perna	X						X
piper[17]		X			+		X
piscis	X				+		X
pisum	X						X
placenta	X				+		
poma	X					+	
potio	X				−	+	
prunum Syriacum[18]	X		X				X
renes	X						
scriblita	X						
siligo	X					+	X
sterilicula	X						X
sumen	X						X
sus	X						
testiculus	X						X
Thebaica		X	X	+			X
tomaculum	X						
turdus	X						X
uva passa	X						X
uva	X						X
vinum	X				−	+	
vitellus	X						X
xerophagia	X						

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15. Plin. *HN* 15. 37.

16. Colum. 10. 243.

17. Plin. (*HN* 12. 29 and 16. 136) notes that the *piperis arbor* was grown in Italy, but he surely refers to an ornamental shrub. On this point see now H. Schnur, "The Economic Background of the *Satyricon*," *Latomus*, XVIII (1959), 793, n. 1.

18. Plin. *HN* 15. 43.

HORACE *CARM.* 1. 5: LOVE AND DEATH

No poem of Horace will continue to attract the attention of critics more magnetically than his ode to Pyrrha. In hazarding a brief supplement to a series of fine, recent appreciations, I offer proof only of the critic's never-ending task.[1] Horace's boundless imagination, while ever attracting the reader, provides sufficient reason to despair of completeness.

A slender youth is making love to Pyrrha in a delightful grotto. In his ignorance of love's fickleness he expects her to be his forever. He has sympathy from the speaker (presumably Horace), wiser in Cupid's ways. The poet himself has just hung up a tablet to Neptune for safe escape from shipwreck.

There is a pointed irony in the final stanza.

1. Three new readings are of special interest: K. Quinn, "Horace as a Love Poet: A Reading of *Odes* 1. 5," *Arion*, II (1963), 59–77; V. Pöschl, "Die Pyrrhaode des Horaz," *Coll. Latomus*, LXXX (1964), 579–86; and E. Fredricksmeyer, "Horace's Ode to Pyrrha (*Carm.* 1. 5)," *CP*, LX (1965), 180–85. I am grateful to Professor Fredricksmeyer for his criticism of this Note.

Though Horace is now knowledgeable in amatory matters, he paid the price by a narrow escape from death. He was in such difficulties that he had to offer a vow to save his life. His waterlogged garments prove how much he was at the mercy of the sea and its powerful god. His adventures on these particular waters are over, but he still must be listed among the *miseri* who have experienced unsuspected misfortunes from Pyrrha's wiles. What of the *gracilis puer* who seems in a position of such bliss?

"Miseri, quibus intemptata nites" is a focal phrase. They deserve pity who are lured in ignorance by her gleam. Those who put Pyrrha to the test learn love's wantonness from her perverse ways and suffer for it. We have the final example of Horace himself. What will become of a slender boy faced with such wiles?

The verb *nites* suggests an answer. Its cognates are used often by Horace of seductive beauty. The *nitor* of Glycera burns Horace (1. 19. 5) and that of Liparean Hebrus has the same effect on Neobule in another poem (3. 12. 6). Horace can speak of *nitido . . . adultero* (3. 24. 20) and commiserate with Albius (Tibullus?) that in Glycera's eyes someone younger has outshone him (*praeniteat*: 1. 33. 4). In these examples human charm finds metaphorical parallels in dazzling light. This quality can also be found in landscape. Horace prays to his ship (1. 14. 19–20): "interfusa nitentes / vites aequora Cycladas." He can later include *fulgentes Cycladas* among precincts specially dear to Venus (3. 28. 14).

The idea of bright beauty in person and landscape can on occasion be unified into a single metaphorical pattern. It forms a theme in 2. 8. The treacherous Barine gleams charmingly (*enitescis*, line 6), now committed to faithless vows. She strikes terror into those who could be victimized by her charms (21–24): "te suis matres metuunt iuvencis, / te senes parci, miseraeque nuper / virgines nuptae tua ne retardet / aura maritos." Not only does she gleam enchantingly, she sends out a "breeze" that could slow a ship from its ordinarily true course.[2] But *aura* can also mean "gleam." We need think only of the glitter emanating from Virgil's golden bough, *discolor . . . auri . . . aura* (*Aen.* 6. 204), a phrase Servius glosses as *splendor auri*.

The same metaphorical patterns run through the Pyrrha ode. They have often been traced but rarely concentrated. As her fiery name implies, she flashes, with blonde hair and a "golden" character (*aurea*, 9) which entices the unwitting. But she is like a Siren on a Siren's rock, drawing human ships to their undoing. Like the living-dead golden bough, her breeze is fickle, her glint deceptive. She rouses love but causes death. She is akin to the *nitentes Cycladas*, islands which attract and then destroy.

Here the sea is not so much a symbol for love itself as it is specifically for the dangerous journey into Pyrrha's affections. From the first stanza we can assume that sometimes the journey can be accomplished with apparent safety. The boy does enjoy her now, we learn from line 9. But after describing the initial, happy scene Horace's first word is *heu*. Weeping will soon come, first for lost *fides*, the faith she had offered him or that he had taken for granted in her or in the gods. They too change for they promise now a safe, calm trip yet suddenly send dark winds over roughened seas. The lover-sailor would have recourse at such moments to Neptune, not sea-born Venus. Landing is better than shipwreck, but under such circumstances the voyager should be thankful for any escape from death.

A slim youth now enjoys Pyrrha and hopes for ever-enduring love. If her breeze were to change he might be shipwrecked, like the poet. But even for him the gleam is false. Those for whom she is untried are worthy of pity. And the opening stanza has a secondary undercurrent of meaning which suggests that the present happy condition of the boy could serve as preparation for (or symbolic precursor of) an event of greater durability but less happiness, death.

Love scene it certainly is. We can compare the situation of Horace and his friend Quinctius Hirpinus in 2. 11. 14–17, "rosa / canos odorati capillos / . . . Assyriaque nardo / . . .

2. As Fredricksmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. 8.

uncti." They call for wine and the presence of Lyde, *devium scortum* (22–24): ". . . eburna, dic age, cum lyra / maturet, in comptum Lacaenae / more comas religata nodum." *Carm.* 3. 14, in honor of Augustus' return, shows a servant ordered to fetch perfume, garlands, wine—and Neaera (21–22): "dic et argutae properet Neaerae / murreum nodo cohibere crinem . . ." In a later ode Horace can offer ivy to Phyllis "qua crines religata fulges" (4. 11. 5).

But elements of careful exaggeration make the reader suspect that more is involved than merely love-making. *Urgeo* is rarely used in such an amatory sense and in Horace regularly appears in very different contexts.[3] Moreover Horace stresses the quantity of roses present (in the form of garlands more likely than bushes or some even more romantic bed of roses) by the addition of *multa*.[4] And perfumes on the locks of the young lover are insufficient. He is *perfusus*, "drenched all over."

Any suspicions of overstatement vanish if we consider the scene as anticipation of the burning of a corpse on a funeral pyre. At any such event flowers and perfumes would be much in evidence. Moreover we would expect the body ready for the flames to be *perfusus*, "poured over with perfumes."

The most important parallel for roses as part of a cremation ceremony comes from a passage in Propertius that has puzzled commentators. Had he died at home, the poet cries, Cynthia would have performed the funeral rites (1. 17. 21–24): "illa meo caros donasset funere crines / molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosa; / illa meum extremo clamasset pulvere nomen, / ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret." This cannot refer to placing bones in an urn but must look to the actual moment of burning, before the bones have become *pulvis*.[5] Statius (*Sil.* 2. 1. 159) calls the *agger* of Glaucias' pyre *purpureo* (and then lists the scents and *liquores* that "washed his burning hair"). Vollmer sees the pyre covered with red tapestries (at *Aen.* 6. 221 Misenus' corpse is placed *purpureas . . . super vestis*). But flowers could equally well be involved as they may also be at *Aen.* 6. 884, where Anchises prays that purple flowers be strewn at the death of Marcellus.[6] Out of many instances of roses on a tomb we may note Ausonius *Epitaph.* 31. 1–4: "sparge mero cineres bene olentis et unguine nardi / hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis. / perpetuum mihi ver agit inlacrimabilis urna / et commutavi saecula, non obii."[7]

The anointing of a corpse and the pouring of unguents are thoroughly exampled. The latter took place before as well as during and after cremation (and of course later still on the tomb itself). Propertius is assured that at his death Cynthia will beat her breast and call on him by name (2. 13. 29–32): "osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis, / cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx. / deinde, ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor, / accipiat Manes parvula testa meos . . ."[8]

Hence Pyrrha, blonde seductress, becomes a beacon fire that lures ignorant seafarers to their destruction and the pyre on which they suffer the *ardor* not of love but of death. The *gracilis puer* is no innocent sailor, no Archytas washed ashore and awaiting a handful of dust. He is the prey and then the victim of Pyrrha, not left to rot but laid out for burial by his

3. Cf., e.g., *Carm.* 1. 15. 23; 1. 24. 6; 2. 9. 9; 4. 9. 27. For *urgeo* in contexts directly associated with death, see L. C. Curran "Propertius 4. 11: Greek Heroines and Death," *CP*, LXIII (1968), 137, n. 16. It is possible that the phrase *herbosos rogos* at Prop. 4. 11. 8 may offer a further connection between flowers and the funeral pyre (see below on Prop. 1. 17. 21–24).

4. Cicero twice uses the phrase *in rosa* apparently of garlands at a banquet (*Fin.* 2. 65 and *Tusc.* 5. 73). For Horace also roses were common in such circumstances (e.g., *Carm.* 2. 3. 14). We are dealing neither with Marlowe's beds of roses nor with Shakespeare's souls couching on love.

On the Roman fondness for roses, see M. P. Nilsson *RE*, *Zw. R.* I a 1 (1914), 1111–15 (*s.v. Rosalia*).

5. The first is the contention of Enk, *ad loc.* (*in urna rosis plena*). Camps calls it a "practice otherwise unknown."

6. At *Aen.* 5. 79 the same phrase, *purpureos flores*, is definitely associated with a tomb (see Williams, *ad loc.*). Whether tomb or pyre at 6. 884 is an open question (though Norden opts for "Grabesspende," "Grabschmuck.")

7. Ausonius may well have in mind a prayer of Juvenal at *Sat.* 7. 207–8: "di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram / spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver." The comments of Mayor, *ad loc.* (I, 322, and esp. 459), are most helpful.

8. See Enk *ad loc.*, Smith on Tib. 1. 3. 7 and 2. 4. 44, Mayor on Juv. 4. 109 (I, 234 and 410), and Daremberg-Saglio, 1394–95 (and n. 15), *s.v. funus* for further references. We may note esp. Prop. 3. 16. 23 (where *huc* refers to the pyre itself), and Pers. 3. 104.

destroyer. He is already an example of her awesome power.

Stanzas one and four do not merely offer antithetical pictures of a boy making love in a cave and a sailor-poet dedicating garments in a temple. The poet has escaped alive (and offers homage to Neptune, not Venus), but this fact suggests that we might see the opposite, not so happy, fate in store for the youth. The opening stanza may not be as light —even ironically light—as it first seems.[9]

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9. The love scene takes place *grato sub antro*, in a purportedly pleasant grot. But, at least by the time of Lucan, *antrum* means sepulcher or tomb as well. It is possible that this sense was in the back of Horace's mind as he composed. The new *OLD* gives three examples of this use of *antrum*: Luc. *Phar.* 8. 694 and 10. 19; and *CIL* VI, 28239. *TLL* adds *Vulg. Gen.* 23. 30; *Ier. Ep.* 108. 33; and *carm. epig.* 1362. 4.

PETRONIUS 81. 3

The purpose of this essay is to examine the evidence for the traditional assumption that the missing portions of the *Satyricon* portrayed Encolpius committing murder. It will be seen that the evidence for this assumption is not so strong as the number of authorities who subscribe to the assumption suggests.[1]

The mainstay of the assumption is a sentence in 81. 3. Encolpius has secluded himself at an inn on the shore. He is distressed over the loss of Giton to Ascyltos and fearful (for what reason is not clear) of encountering Agamemnon's assistant, Menelaus. The following complaints exemplify his mournful soliloquies at the inn: "ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire? non iratum etiam innocentibus mare? effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter audaciae nomina mendicus, exul, in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem desertus?"

According to the traditional interpretation, the last sentence (*effugi* to *desertus*) is a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer. The actions of the main clause are supposed to represent real events. The *ut* clause is said to represent purpose. The question allegedly amounts to this: "Did I go to the trouble of escaping judgment, cheating the arena, and murdering my host, in order to receive no more spectacular punishment than penniless exile?" As will be shown, the sentence admits of another interpretation. It should be noted first, however, that there are two difficulties in the traditional interpretation.

The first difficulty is that the actions of the main clause do not suggest a sequence of real events. Escaping judgment and cheating the arena are not readily compatible as separate actions. They are like draft-dodging and desertion. Persons do one or the other, not both. Accordingly, the Latin is usually stretched to mean: "I escaped judgment, *thereby* cheating the arena."[2] Again, it is not clear whether homicide was Encolpius' original crime. If it was, he might be expected to mention it first. If it was not, he should mention what his original crime was, since it too was apparently a serious offense.

The second difficulty is more complicated. The traditional interpretation demands that the actions in the main clause stand in contrast to the situation in the *ut* clause. It is ironic that penniless exile should be spoken of as an inappropriate situation for an escaped criminal.[3] Yet it is not difficult to suppose that such irony was intended here. The phrase, *inter audaciae nomina*, however, may not stand even in ironic contrast to the actions in the main clause, for it is clear that these actions exemplify "audacity" either in a pejorative or in an approbative sense.

Accordingly, although *inter audaciae nomina*

1. Cf., e.g., E. Thomas, *Pétrone* (Paris, 1902), p. 42; F. Bücheler (ed.), *Petronii Arbitri Satirarum reliquiae* (Berlin, 1904), p. 122; and more recently, G. Bagnani, "Encolpius *Gladiator obscenus*," *CP*, XLI (1956), 23–27, and R. Pack, "The Criminal Dossier of Encolpius," *CP*, LV (1960), 31–32.

2. Bagnani (see above, n. 1) renders: "I escaped judgement —thus cheating the gallows—by killing a stranger."

3. Cf. 125. 3–4: "Quid, si etiam mercennarius . . . fallaciam invidiosa proditione detexerit? Nempe rursus fugiendum erit, et tandem expugnata paupertas nova mendicitate revocanda. Dii deaeque, quam male est extra legem viventibus!" Here Encolpius views penniless exile as the natural result of crime.