

stood as an exhortation to the reader. In the remaining four instances, where the second person does not occur, the word *Memmi* is entirely irrelevant to the context.<sup>7</sup>

Possibly Lucretius held *Memmi* in reserve until he had a thought that he could not at once complete metrically, and then inserted the word and moved on. A random glance at the recent computer-prepared concordance to *De rerum natura* will show that many words in the poem occur only at certain places in the hexameter, possibly indicating a formulaic tendency in the over-all composition of *De rerum natura*.<sup>8</sup> *Memmi* was a word that Lucretius needed to use on occasion by virtue of his dedication of the poem to Memmius, but a word that, aside from the first two instances, did not need to be used thereafter at any specific point in the poem. This would seem a reasonable interpretation of Lucretius' design, because of the great variance of the context into which the name of Memmius was introduced and the difficulty of finding any contextual rationale for insertion at any specific point. I doubt very much the frequent assertion that Lucretius wished to draw Memmius' or anyone's attention to specific parts of the poem; more than likely Lucretius thought that the entire poem was important and that any part was as worth while as the next.

7. See the ed. of *De rerum natura* by W. A. Merrill (New York, 1907), p. 25; also J. P. Elder, in *CP*, LXIII (1968), 58-60.

8. L. Roberts, *A Concordance of Lucretius*. Supplement to *ΑΓΩΝ*: 1968. (Berkeley, 1968), *passim*.

In summation, our knowledge concerning the possible relationship between Lucretius and Memmius is interesting through our lack of information rather than through actual historical evidence. If Memmius were a noted patron of the arts, worthy of the dedication of an epic poem, why is there no mention of this anywhere, including the one place—the letters of Cicero to Memmius—where one would expect it? When Cicero attempted to convince Memmius that he should not demolish the alleged house of Epicurus (*Cic. Fam.* 13. 1), what better means could Cicero have used than to appeal to Memmius' noted services to the arts and literature?

In fact, it may be best to follow the view of Ettore Bignone, who held that Memmius was an equal, rather than a patron, of Lucretius.<sup>9</sup> Certainly this fits the evidence or lack of evidence, available to us. Lucretius saw Memmius as a flagrant example of the corrupt and wanton society in Rome that he was striving to eliminate. Since Memmius was so seen by those of his contemporaries who cared to comment on the matter, there is no reason to believe that Lucretius would have considered him any differently.<sup>10</sup>

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9. E. Bignone, *Storia della letteratura latina*<sup>2</sup>, Florence, [n.d.], II, 159.

10. I wish to thank Professor J. P. Elder for his assistance and advice in the preparation of this Note.

### TRIMALCHIO'S MENU AND WINE LIST

In three fairly recent articles it has been contended that Trimalchio was not a rich man by Petronian standards, that Opimian wine was not the choice of connoisseurs in A.D. 66, and that the recitation of the *actuatorius* (*Sat.* 52) claiming vast lands for Trimalchio was a rehearsed speech prompted by Trimalchio himself.<sup>1</sup> But it is in the food set before the guests that Trimalchio tries especially to impress upon his *convivae* that he is indeed a

wealthy man and a lavish spender. The number of separate foods in the *Cena* strikes the reader at first glance as truly impressive; by my count there appear to be sixty-two items.

How does Petronius intend us to take this vast display of foods? One of the clues to Petronius' intent is that seen by B. Baldwin in his article on Opimian wine: "his (Trimalchio's) Opimian wine would be at least 170 years old. If genuine, such a vintage would not

1. G. Bagnani, "And Passing Rich," *Phoenix*, Supp. I (1952), 218-23; K. F. C. Rose, "Trimalchio's Accountant," *CP*, LXII (1967), 258-59; B. Baldwin, "Opimian Wine," *AJP*, LXXXVIII (1967), 173-75. J. P. Sullivan, *The "Satyricon" of*

*Petronius* (London, 1968), notes that Cicero's tomb was three times bigger than Trimalchio's and that "his house is old-fashioned and has been converted and enlarged, rather than newly built on a Texas scale" (p. 150).

impress the oenosoph (Petronius) as being very potable."<sup>2</sup> Another clue is found in chapter 41, where we find Trimalchio trying to cut costs on the banquet by using the same food (*aper*) two days in a row.<sup>3</sup> A man of real *elegantia* would never have considered such an action. Thirdly, Trimalchio twice mentions Falernian wine (28, 34), one of the truly fine Italian wines, but not of the same quality as the Setine, Caecuban,<sup>4</sup> or Chian wines found in the *Cena Nasidieni* of Horace<sup>5</sup> or the *Cena Virronis* of Juvenal.<sup>6</sup> Petronius describes several wines at Trimalchio's table as *calda*, *mulsum*, or merely *potio*, all very undistinguished terms implying local table wines. It seems highly unlikely that Petronius would drink just any table wine. The last overt clue to the quality of Trimalchio's *Cena* is given us by the host himself (48): "deorum beneficio non emo, sed nunc quicquid ad salivam facit, in suburbano nascitur eo, quod ego adhuc non novi." From this we can see that Trimalchio is actually proud that he has raised the food for the banquet on his own estates. This, however, hardly qualifies his *cena* as a gourmet's delight. The urbane Petronius is certainly shaking his head in disapproval at a tasteless display by a tasteless man.

In an effort to analyze the foods in the *Cena Trimalchionis* as closely as possible, and not to be overwhelmed by their large number, I have provided a complete listing (see Table 1) of these foods: the first column shows which items could be found on or near Trimalchio's estate. By far the greatest proportion (89%) was home grown, thus verifying Trimalchio's inept boast. To Petronius, who dined often at the imperial table, such fare as provided by Trimalchio must have appeared plebeian and fit for a former slave. Even the *garum* (36), so highly prized by the Romans, was ordinary.<sup>7</sup>

The second column shows possible imports (11%). This is perhaps a minimum figure and could be higher, but all indications point to just these few imports. The third column indicates which foods are the best of their kind; this is a highly subjective matter, but the benefit of the doubt has regularly been given to Trimalchio. Columns 4, 5, and 6 compare the *περὶ ἐδεσμάτων* of Varro, the *Cena Nasidieni* of Horace, and the *Cena Virronis* of Juvenal with the *Cena Trimalchionis* (a plus sign indicates Trimalchio's food can be favorably compared with the others, and a minus sign that it cannot). Trimalchio's *Cena* has only twenty-one items in common (eighteen favorable comparisons, nine unfavorable) with the other three *cenae*. This relatively small number of similar foods is more important than it at first seems. Varro's foods, like many of Horace's and Juvenal's, are virtually all expensive imports. Of the four *cenae* here compared the menu of the *Cena Trimalchionis* is the most varied and also the most common. Below is a listing of some comestibles which Varro, Horace, and Juvenal mention, but which Trimalchio does not have. From the point of view of the *arbitrator elegantiae* these foods have a larger claim to *elegantia* than do Trimalchio's.

## MEATS:

*aper* Lucanus (H), *asellus* Pessinuntius (V), *attagena Phrygia* (V), *grus Melica* (H, V), *haedus ex Ambracia* (V), *palumbes* (H), *pavus e Samo* (V).

## SEA FOODS:

*conchylium* (H), *helops Rhodius* (V), *ilia rhombi* (H), *muraena* (H, J), *muraena Tartesia* (V), *ostrea Tarenti* (V), *pectunculus* (V), *pelamys Chalcedonia* (V), *scarus Cilix* (V), *squilla* (H, J).

## WINES:

*Albanum* (H, J), *Caecubum* (H), *Chium* (H), *Setinum* (J).

2. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

3. Petronii "*Cena Trimalchionis*," ed. W. D. Lowe (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 47-49, note on *heri*; see also chap. 66 of the *Satyricon* for this same food-saving device: *pernae missionem dedimus*.

4. Pliny (*HN* 14. 61) reports that Caecuban wine was very scarce because its vineyards were ruined by Nero's *fossa* from Lake Avernus to Ostia (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 42; Suet. *Nero* 31). The addition of this rare wine to Trimalchio's table would have been a most elegant touch.

5. *Sat.* 2. 8.

6. *Sat.* 5.

7. Petronius describes it as *garum piperatum*, an undistinguished seasoning mentioned also in Apicius 3. 14 in connection with radishes, "*rafanos cum piperato, ita ut piper cum liquamine teras*." Had Petronius wished to show that Trimalchio was using an expensive *garum*, he would have employed something like *garum sociorum* which Pliny (31. 94) quotes at a thousand sesterces per twelve pints. Trimalchio may have meant this *garum-over-fish* to serve as a laxative, of which he apparently had a great need (47). For the price and use of *garum* as a laxative, see T. Corcoran, "Roman Fish Sauces," *CJ*, LVIII (1963), 204-10.

## FRUIT, NUTS, OIL:

*garum de sucis piscis Hiberi* (H), *glans Hiberica* (V), *nux Thasia* (V), *poma Phaeaca* (J), *Venafranum* (H, J).

The seventh column in the following table shows which foods are cited by Apicius. Although the whole matter of the person of Apicius and his date is problematic,<sup>8</sup> discussion of any phase of Roman cuisine without some reference to Apicius cannot be complete. Most of the foods in the *Cena Trimalchionis* are found in one or more recipes of Apicius. But since Apicius treats all foods in more or less the same manner, it is impossible to make value judgments on the basis of his statements regarding the quality of one food as compared with another.

Some of the courses in the *Cena Trimalchionis* are respectable, but by and large they are common. And as far as Petronius is concerned, common fare is inelegant. Not only was the meal served inelegantly by clumsy waiters to lower-class guests,<sup>9</sup> but the food itself was second-rate. The menu was vulgar and therefore totally unacceptable to Petronius, who, remaining aloof, allowed Trimalchio to condemn himself by his own words, actions, and selections of food. Trimalchio was a reasonably wealthy man (30,000,000 HS were bequeathed in his will), yet he attempted to provide his guests with a surprisingly cheap meal. To Petronius this was an unpardonable sin and the kind of meanness for which he was bold enough to censure even the Emperor Nero.<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 1

<i>Cena Trim.</i>	From the Estate 1	Possible Imports 2	Best of Its Kind 3	Varro 4	Horace 5	Juvenal 6	Apicius 7
altilis	X					+	
anser	X						X
aper	X				+	+	X
avis	X				+		X
beta	X						X
botulus	X						X
bubula	X						X
calda	X						
caprus <sup>11</sup>		X	X				
caryota <sup>12</sup>		X	X				X
cicer <sup>13</sup>	X						X
coptoplacenta	X						
cornuta		X					X
Falerium		X			—	—	
Falerium Opimianum		X			—	—	
farina	X						X
favus	X						
ficedula	X		X				X
ficus Africana <sup>14</sup>	X		X				
garum	X				—		X
gallina	X						X
gallus	X						

8. See now J. André, *Apicius: L' Art culinaire* (Paris, 1965), pp. 7–13.

9. The table arrangement (from *summus in summo* to *imus in imo*) of *convivae* is: Trimalchio, a former slave from Asia (75); Ascylos, student by day, thief by night; Hermeros, former slave (57); Encolpius, thief and condemned criminal; Agamemnon, unprincipled teacher of rhetoric; Habinnas, tomb engraver (65); Fortunata, Trimalchio's wife and former prostitute (37); Proculus, former undertaker (38); Diogenes, former slave (38). We know the names of at least seven other diners at this party, all of whom are freedmen. Petronius does not give us any clear indication of their places at the table.

10. Plut. *Mor.* 60 D–E; see also G. Bagnani, *Arbiter of Elegance* (Toronto, 1954), 65: "At dinner, should someone retail with bated breath a horrible tale of nameless orgies practised by some notorious profligate, a languid voice would be heard to exclaim: 'What could you expect? I always said

the fellow had no imagination!'; or, at the story of some fantastic extravagance, 'Not a bad chap; pity he's so terribly stingy!'"

11. I have adopted the new readings of Rose and Sullivan, "Trimalchio's Zodiac Dish (Petronius, *Sat.* 35. 1–5)," *CQ*, XVIII (1968), 180–84, for four foods: *caprus*, *cornuta*, *locusta*, and *oculata*. The *capri* were native to Greece (Plin. *HN* 11. 267).

12. Imported, according to Varro *RR* 2. 1. 27.

13. Very cheap, according to Martial 1. 41. 5 and 103. 10. It must be assumed that foods such as *cicer*, *favus*, *mel*, *panis*, *sus*, *uva*, which are given by Petronius without any further comment, are meant to be viewed as part of a lower-class menu.

14. Cato *Agr.* 8. 1 (Plin. *HN* 15. 72); Varro *RR* 1. 41. 6; Plin. *HN* 15. 69.

<i>Cena Trim.</i>	From the Estate 1	Possible Imports 2	Best of Its Kind 3	Varro 4	Horace 5	Juvenal 6	Apicius 7
glis	X		X				X
granum	X						X
lepus	X				+	+	X
locusta	X						X
malum Cydonium <sup>15</sup>	X		X				X
malum Punicum <sup>16</sup>	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 <sup>17</sup>		X			+		X
piscis	X				+		X
pisum	X						X
placenta	X				+		
poma	X					+	
potio	X				—	+	
prunum Syriacum <sup>18</sup>	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 orna-mental 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.<sup>1</sup> Horace's boundless imagination, while ever attracting the reader, provides sufficient reason to despair of completeness.

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,

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.

"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.