

# Completing the Fragmented: Supplements to Petronius' *Satyricon* Between Forgery and Reconstruction

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## [1] Sullivan (2011 [1965], xxxi) on the transmission of the *Satyricon*

The surviving text of Petronius is regrettably fragmented and mutilated. Edifying snippets were preserved in *florilegia*; sections, words and phrases are quoted by high-minded authors such as Fulgentius and John of Salisbury, or by metricians and grammarians. But the larger narrative comes down to us in three forms. The *Cena Trimalchionis*, more or less intact, survives for posterity in a single manuscript, the *Traguriensis*. Now in Paris, it was written in 1423, but rediscovered only about 1652 in Trau (now Trogir in Croatia); this is our sole witness to the *H*-tradition. The *L*-Tradition is a collection of longer extracts from the work, which survives in several manuscripts, the most noted being a much-edited copy made by Joseph Scaliger in Leiden in 1571, the *Leidensis* (*L*). Finally we have the shorter excerpts (*O*), represented by three early manuscripts from the ninth and twelfth centuries (*B*, *R*, *P*) and a number of later manuscripts and early editions. These three sources and the *florilegia* overlap. But the text that results from their amalgamation would be more unsatisfactory than it is were it not for the painstaking work of generations of scholars such as Scaliger, Pithoeus, Heinsius, Jacobs, Bücheler and Müller.

## [2] Overview of the supplements to the *Satyricon* (Tschögele 2016)

- 1585, Jean Richard: edition with short supplements
- 1629, José Antonio González de Salas (1588–1654): edition with supplements
- 1678, Domenico Regi (1608–1681): free Italian translation with omissions and supplements
- Before 1681, Pierre Linage de Vauciennes: French translation with supplements (lost)
- After 1677, anonymous Paris Manuscript NAF 333: French translation with supplements
- 1691, François Nodot (ca. 1650 – ca. 1710): edition with a French translation and supplements that were advertised as new findings ('forgery')
- 1800, José Marchena y Ruiz de Cueto (1768–1821): edition of the Quartilla episode with a French translation and a supplement that was advertised as a new finding ('forgery')
- 1943, Ugo Dèttore (1905–1992): Italian translation with supplements
- 1965, Paul Gillette (1938–1996): English translation with supplements
- 1992, Harry C. Schnur (1907–1979): Latin novel inspired by the *Satyricon*
- 2004, Ellery David Nest (pseudonym): English supplement
- 2005, Andrew Dalby: English epilogue to the *Cena Trimalchionis*

## [3] Tschögele (2016, 71) on Regi

Regis Umgang mit dem echten Petrontext schwankt zwischen weitgehend getreuer Übersetzung [...], Übersetzung mit Kürzungen und anderen Änderungen [...] und freier Nachschöpfung [...], die vor allem in den späteren Kapiteln überwiegt. Zu drastischen Streichungen kommt es bei als anstößig empfundenen Passagen.

(English translation [S.B.]: Regi's handling of Petronius' original text oscillates between largely faithful translations [...], translations with shortenings and further changes [...], and free new creations [...]. The latter are prevalent particularly in the later chapters. There are drastic deletions in passages that were perceived as objectionable.)

## [4] Laes (1998, 361) on Nodot

The first man to comment on these new fragments was Henri Basnage de Beauval, who announced the edition of Rotterdam in the revue *Histoire des Savans* (November 1692). He already criticized the great number of gallicisms and grammatical errors in the text, as well as the elements in the plot that refer to seventeenth-century France rather than to Rome in the first century, like the passage "nos enim ad earum ornamentum matutinum quotidie urbanissime assidebamus" [...] which he considers to be an allusion to the French court-ladies making their toilet. Basnage rightly supposes that the new frag-

ments were made by a Petronius-admirer in order to make the plot of the *Satyricon* more easy to be understood, but does not at all condemn this enterprise, since it increases the joy of reading.

**[5] Nodot, fr. 7.3–7 Laes (inserted after *Sat.* 15.9)**

*Hac voce perterritus, eo egresso ad sciendum quid esset, descendi acceperique praetoris lictorem, qui pro officio curabat exterorum nomina inscribi in publicis codicibus, duos vidisse advenas domum ingredi, quorum nomina nondum in acta retulerat et idcirco de illorum patria et occupatione inquirere.*

(English translation [S.B.]: Startled by this voice, I went outside in order to find out what was the matter. I went down and learnt that the praetor's usher, who was in charge of making sure that the names of foreigners were recorded in the public registers, had seen two new arrivals entering the house whose names had not been enrolled in the lists yet, and that therefore he had asked them about their home country and their occupation.)

**[6] Schnur (1995 [1968], 201, 258) on Nodot**

An dieser Stelle hat sich [...] Nodot verraten, denn eine Meldepflicht bestand in römischen Herbergen nicht. [...] [Dies war e]in französischer, gewiß aber kein römischer Brauch.

(English translation [S.B.]: In this passage Nodot gave himself away, for there was no compulsory registration in Roman hostels. [...] This was a French, but surely not a Roman custom.)

**[7] Laes (1998, 397) on Nodot**

The most important weakness of the Nodotian fragments is, beyond doubt, its use of the Latin language. Whilst reading the text, one is struck by the many errors that occur in a text which is not extensive at all. In these 'errors' are included constructions and words which were apparently unknown to Petronius (late Latin or even medieval Latin words), but also clear grammatical faults (not seldom Gallicisms).

**[8] Tschögele (2016, 89) on Gillette**

In der Tat erlaubt [Gillette] sich völlige Freiheit darin, den erhaltenen Text umzuschreiben und mit seinen eigenen Erfindungen zu amalgamieren. Eine genaue Abgrenzung echter und ergänzter Stellen ist daher nicht immer möglich.

(English translation [S.B.]: Indeed [Gillette] allows himself to total freedom when it comes to rewriting the preserved text and to amalgamate it with his own inventions. A clear differentiation between authentic and spurious passages is therefore not always possible.)

**[9] Schnur (1972, 15) on scholarly attempts at reconstructing the plot of the *Satyricon***

Reconstruction of the entire plot of the *Satyricon*, like conjecturing "what songs the sirens sang," is a pleasant and innocuous pastime. [...] [W]e must never, never forget that we have before us not merely a torso, but fragments of a torso. To postulate plot and leitmotif of an episodic picaresque novel on that basis is futile and otiose. Take a few chapters from *Gil Blas* or *Simplicius Simplicissimus* and just try to guess what comes before or after. Do we have any certainty that the first-person narrative did not, as in the *Odyssey*, [have] a third-person narrative *frame*?

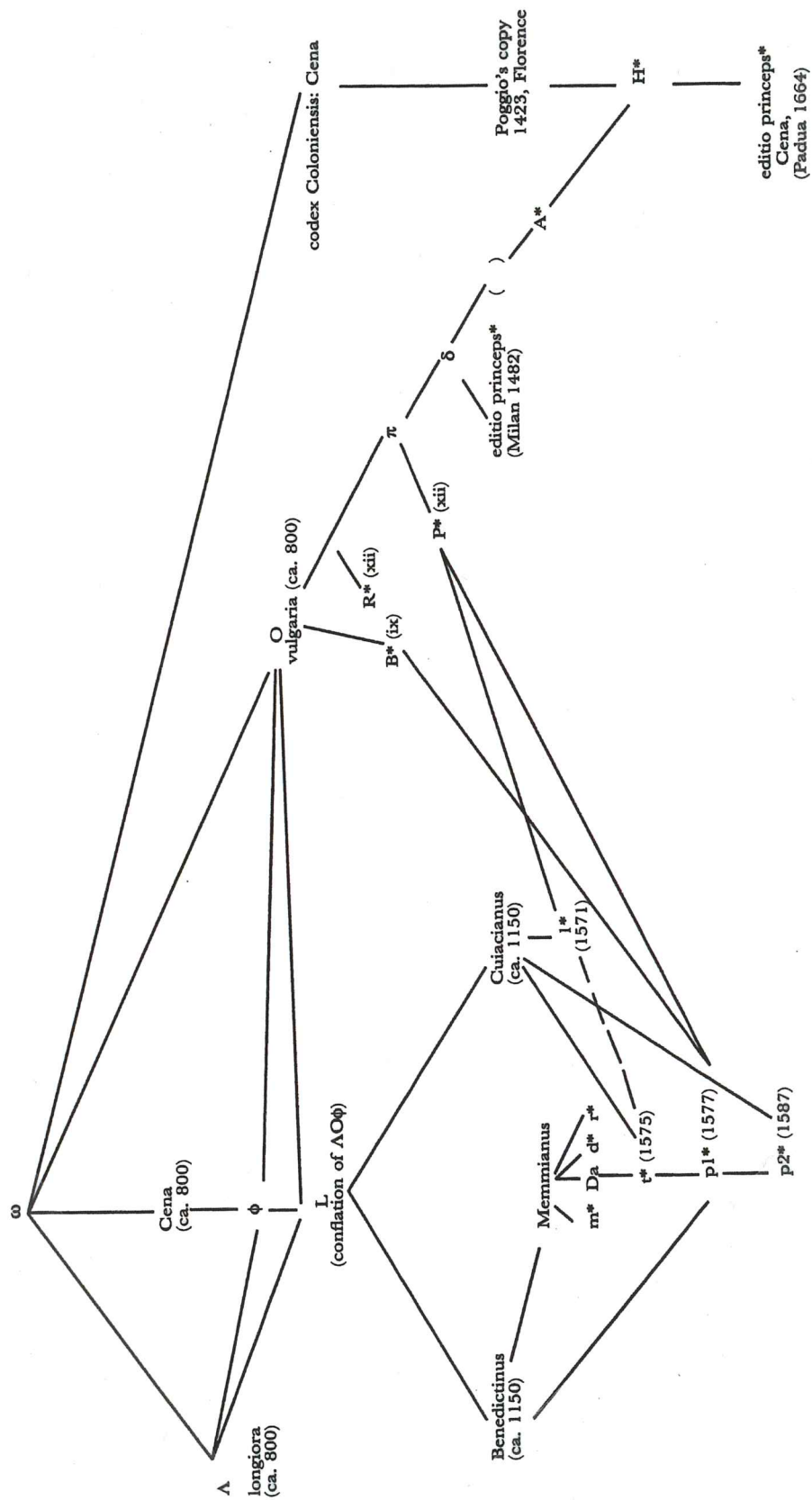
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[10] Reconstruction of the plot of the *Satyricon* in 24 Books (Schmeling 1996, 461)

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|-------------------------------------|---|
| Books 1–10<br>(In the North)        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Beginnings at Massilia (Frgs. 1, 4)</li> <li>– Introduction of Encolpius as narrator</li> <li>– Sacrilege against Priapus</li> <li>– Encolpius as scapegoat</li> <li>– Interlude with Doris (126.18)</li> <li>– Introduction of Giton</li> </ul> |
| Books 11–12<br>(Moving South-Baiae) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Introduction/Episodes with Tryphaena</li> <li>– Affair with Lichas and his wife (?) Hedyle</li> <li>– Insult to Lichas and escape</li> </ul>   |
| Book 13<br>(Baiae-Puteoli)          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Introduction of Ascyltus</li> <li>– Introduction of Lycurgus</li> <li>– Robbery of Lycurgus' villa</li> </ul>  |
| Book 14<br>(Puteoli)                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Introduction of Quartilla</li> <li>– Diverse episodes with Quartilla</li> <li>– Theft of gold coins</li> <li>– Loss of gold coins</li> <li>– Theft of cloak</li> <li>– Second loss of gold coins</li> </ul>                                      |
| Book 15<br>(Puteoli)                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– (Opening is missing)</li> <li>– Introduction of Agamemnon via Menelaus</li> <li>– Episode with Menelaus</li> <li>– <i>Cena Trimalchionis</i></li> <li>– Departure of Ascyltus, arrival of Eumolpus</li> </ul>                                    |
| Book 16<br>(Moving South)           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Begins with ch. 100, departure from Puteoli</li> <li>– Meeting with Lichas and Tryphaena</li> <li>– <i>Matrona Ephesi, Bellum Civile</i></li> <li>– Toward Croton</li> </ul>   |
| Book 17<br>(Croton)                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Legacy-hunters defrauded</li> <li>– Introduction of Circe</li> <li>– Episodes of Proselenus, Circe, Oenothea</li> <li>– Final scheme of Eumolpus</li> </ul>  |
| Book 18<br>(Moving further South)   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Eumolpus leaves story</li> <li>– Departure of Encolpius and Giton from Croton.</li> </ul>  |
| Book 19<br>(Moving South)           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Eumolpus replaced by someone</li> <li>– Movement toward the East</li> </ul>  |
| Books 20–24                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Arrival in Lampsacus</li> <li>– Encolpius expiates offenses against Priapus</li> <li>– Encolpius initiated into cult of Priapus</li> <li>– Encolpius finds new troubles</li> </ul>   |

[11] The textual transmission of the *Satyricon*: stemma (Schmeling 1996, 470)



Key to the stemma (all items in the stemma marked with asterisks are still extant):

B	Bern, Bernensis 357 together with Leiden, Vossianus lat.Q.30, ninth century.
R	Paris, Parisinus lat.6842D, twelfth century.
P	Paris, Parisinus lat.8049, twelfth century.
$\pi$	lost manuscript of twelfth century.
$\delta$	lost manuscript of <i>Bucolica Calpurnii et particula Petronii</i> found in England by Poggio in 1420.
A	Paris, Parisinus lat.7989 ( <i>Traguriensis</i> ), part containing <i>vulgaria</i> of O.
codex Coloniensis	manuscript from Köln, seen by Poggio, containing XV liber Petronii.
Poggio's copy	copy of codex Coloniensis sent to Poggio in 1423.
H	Paris, Parisinus lat.7989 ( <i>Traguriensis</i> ), part containing the <i>Cena</i> , dated 1423, discovered in Trogir in 1650 by Statileo.
$\omega$	archetype of the <i>Satyricon</i> , consensus of A, O, <i>Cena</i> .
$\Lambda$	hypothesized manuscript, excerpted from $\omega$ ca. 800, of the so-called longer sections; source with O of $\phi$ and L.
O	hypothesized manuscript, excerpted from $\omega$ ca. 800, of the so-called shorter sections; source with $\Lambda$ of $\phi$ and L, and consensus of BRP.
$\phi$	archetype of the florilegia, extracted from A, O, <i>Cena</i> , dated to ca. 1100.
L	hypothesized manuscript representing conflation of A, O, $\phi$ ; parent of lost manuscripts Benedictinus and Cuiacianus.
Benedictinus	lost manuscript from ca. 1150, descendant of L, ancestor of Memmianus, employed by Pithou.
Cuiacianus	lost manuscript from ca. 1150, descendant of L, employed by de Tournes and Pithou.
Memmianus	lost manuscript, copied from Benedictinus, antecedent of d, m, r, Da.
m	Vat.Lat.11428, ca. 1565.
d	Bern, Bong.IV.665, ca. 1564.
r	London, Lambethanus 693, 1570.
Da	Dalecampianus, lost manuscript of sixteenth century, copied from Memmianus, used by de Tournes.
l	Leiden, Scaligeranus 61, ca. 1571.
t	printed edition of de Tournes, Lyon 1575.
p <sup>1</sup>	first printed edition of Pithou, Paris 1577.
p <sup>2</sup>	second printed edition of Pithou, Paris 1587.