

Lysis Reconstruction:

2:12 p.m. (Athens time, 17 November 1993)—walk begins at corner of (Odos) Marathonomachon and Basilikon (Vasilikon).

- NE 1 block to Platonos
- SE to intersection of Platonos, Athenon, and Konstantinoupoleos (2:20)
- cross over to Plateon, SE to Pireos (2:38)
- SW to Ermou (do not calculate, swing around Kerameikos) (2:41)
- E to Syntagma Square (3:02)
- SSW to Xenofontos (end walk, 3:04).

Subtract 3 minutes because of Kerameikos detour; transit time: 48 min. (Ermou does not swing quite as far S [through ἀγορά] as the Sacred Way must have. Does that make a difference? Probably not!).

3:15 p.m. (Athens time): *The return*—walk begins at corner of Xenofontos and Phillele

- N to Stadiou (3:20); waited at intersection—subtract 1 minute.
- NNW to Sofokleous (3:29)
- W to Pireos (3:40)
- SW to Plateon (3:59), NW to Platonos, Athenon, and Konstantinoupoleos (4:10)
- NW to Basilikon (4:21), SW to Marathonomachon.

Transit time: 1 hour 6 minutes = 1 hour 5 minutes (NOTE: Pireos does not run along the path of the outer wall from Eleftheris to Thermopylon; add 2 minutes for walk around park, maybe [but might be offset by shortcut of Ermou(?)])

Conclusion: Socrates added approximately 21 minutes to his walk, slightly more than twice what it should have taken him through Athens proper.

The Academy was approximately 3,000 meters from the Lyceum. Walking the path that Socrates describes, following the city walls, took about twenty minutes longer than traveling through the ἀγορά. This clearly shows that going through the Demosion Sema and the ancient ἄστυ would have been the most direct route between the two gymnasia.

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PETRONIUS SATYRICA 38.6–11: ALAPA REVISITED

Reliquos autem collibertos eius cave contemnas. valde suco[s]i sunt. vides illum qui in imo imus recumbit: hodie sua octigenta possidet. de nihilo crevit. modo solebat collo suo ligna portare. sed quomodo dicunt—ego nihil scio, sed audiui—cum Incuboni pilleum rapuisset, [et] thesaurum invenit. ego nemini invideo, si quid deus dedit. est tamen **subalapa** et non vult sibi male. itaque proxime cenaculum hoc titulo proscriptis: “C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iulii cenaculum locat; ipse enim domum emit.”

(Petronius *Satyrica* 38.6–11)¹

1. The text is from Müller 1995, 30–31, which is the most recent version of the passage under discussion in this essay.

The *subalapa* in this most recent edition of Petronius' *Cena* has had in other texts the variants *sub alapa* and *subalapo*,² which have prompted many a scholarly translation and have been generally interpreted in terms of manumission and slavery, character description (i.e., boastful), or mental state. I would like to suggest that the text should read *sub alapa*, as two words,³ and be explained as "under medical treatment for the *incubus*."

The interpretation and translation of *alapa* in the context of slavery, manumission, and freedmen has a long history. Burmann (1743, 224–25) suggests that *alapa* hints at a proverb, and looks at passages from Phaedrus (*Fabulae Aesopiae* 2.5.25 and 5.3.2), which may refer to the usual method of bestowing freedom. He also notes the possibility that Diogenes was being sought by financial associates to whom he owed money—or why rent out his house? Lastly, this might be a situation in which manumitted freedmen were present who had not yet acquired liberty but were regarded as such among friends. These men, moreover, could be recalled into slavery and then undergo manumission once more.⁴ Lowe likewise believes that *alapa* is a reference to slavery ("a slight box on the ear being administered by the dominus at the manumission of a slave") and may mean that the freedman puts up "with his old master's petulance . . . the habit of self-suppression being still deeply engrained."⁵ Ryan (1905, 31), although he renders the line with a reference to slavery, "He has been manumitted only lately, but he knows his business," is somewhat doubtful that the *alapa* is "the box on the ear given by his master to a slave on emancipation" (p. 184). Other scholars glossing in the same vein are as follows: Sedgwick (1939,

2. For the accepted meaning of *alapa* see Gonzalez-Haba 1969. In addition see the following (the first page in each citation is the text, the later pages, if any, include germane commentary): Schmeck 1954, 12; Müller 1995, 37. For *sub alapa* see Burmann 1743, 224–25 and 370–71; Nisard 1832, 19; Lowe 1905, 38–39; Ryan 1905, 30–31 and 184; Buecheler 1912, 24; Waters 1930, 11 and 78–79; Sedgwick 1939, 33 and 97; Maiuri 1945, 102 and 169; Marmorale 1948, 35–36; Perrochat 1952, 34; Ernout 1962, 34; Heseltine 1969, 68–69. For *sub alapo* see Friedlaender 1906, 104 and 239–40.

3. The critical apparatus reads: Friedlaender 1906, 104: *subalapo* *Heräus* vgl. *die Anm.* *sub alapa* *H* *fortasse* *subalapa* *Bücheler*⁴ *Leo*. Buecheler 1912, 24: *subalapo* (*vel-pator*) *Her.*, *subalapa* *cum aliis praefert* *Leo anal.* *Plaut.* III, 13. Müller [1961] 1995, 37: *subalapa coniunxit Bücheler*: *sub alapa* *H*: *subalapo vel subalapor* *Heraeus* (*cf. eiusdem Kl. Schr.* 110³). Ernout 1962, 34: *sub alapa libri, sensu obscuro*: *subalapo* "iac-tanticulus" *alii*. Smith 1975, 85–86: *subalapa coniunxit Buecheler*: *sub alapa* *H*: *subalapo vel subalapor* *Heraeus Kl. Schr.* 110.

4. Burmann 1743, 224–25: "Hi, cum Latini modo fierent juris, in servitute poterant revocari." Burmann cites Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.27.15) for this type of manumission: "quin et manu mittendi duas species institutas ut relinqueretur paenitentiae aut novo beneficio locus. quos vindicta patronus non liberaverit, velut vincolo servitutis attineri." The three usual ways of bestowing freedom of slaves were through the census roll (*censu*), claim of liberty (*vindicta*), or will (*testamento*). In the first method the slave presented himself to the Censor, and after he demonstrated proof of his master's consent he was entered into the Census Roll as a *civis*. The *vindicta*, a ritual related to *vindicatio*, allowed a slave to undergo a mock ritual in which he claimed that he was not a slave and, if there was no opposition from his master, he was granted his freedom. The will allowed slave owners to release their slaves into freedom but there were numerous conditions that had to be met and legal technicalities that had to be observed. Freedom by *censu* or *vindicta* was permanent once granted. Freedom by *testamento* could be jeopardized if the will was challenged, illegal, or declared void. On slavery and bestowal of freedom see Buckland 1932, 72–86; idem 1981, 42–51; and Watson 1971, 47–53. Burmann is perhaps referring to the bestowal of freedom granted in a more informal nature: "by declaration in private before five persons, or by the reception of the slave as a guest at the master's table" (Furneaux 1896, 343). This type of conferral is termed *inter amicos, per epistolam, or convivio*, and was not legally binding. Due to this dubious status the slave would have to receive a lawful conferral at a later time—during the interval, however, the slave could be recalled into the service of the master.

5. Lowe 1905, 39; he cites Hirschfeld's reading, *sufflatus*, "he is a little puffed up," and Bücheler's suggestion that *alapa* means he is a "slave to business and moneymaking." On *sufflatus* see Hirschfeld 1881, 108–17.

87): “a slave on manumission received a symbolic box on the ear (*alapa*). So perhaps ‘hasn’t yet forgotten his box on the ears.’” Marmorale (1948, 35) chooses the translation that Diogenes has “just been freed” and sees no reason to emend the text. There are numerous other scholars who similarly render *alapa* in this context.⁶

Another possibility has been to view the word as indicative of personality. Rönsch (1879, 632–33) examines four verbs that may offer some insight into Diogenes’ character. First, *alapari*, “to boast,” whence the Spanish *alabar*, “to praise” and “to boast.” Second, *alapari*, “to threaten *alapas*,” “foul and haughty slaughter.” Here *alapari* would be derived from the substantive *alapa*; this to Rönsch is not natural but rather an affected school definition. Third, the word *alapari* and its possible Greek cognates ἀλαπάζειν and λαπάζειν, “to comport oneself insolently” and “to boast arrogantly,” are suggested. Thus *alapari* may mean “to treat someone rudely and wantonly” and “to suffer his violent wantonness.” Fourth, *alapari* may be rendered “to beat.” Rönsch prefers the definitions that may have come from the Greek words that have the root λαπ-.⁷ Friedlaender (1906, 105, 239–40) translates this line as “Aber es ist etwas protzig und gönnt sich das Beste.” Heraeus bases his interpretation on the Traguriensis manuscript, which has the reading *est tamen sub alapa nec vult sibi male*, the only text to do so.⁸ He claims that *sub alapa* permits no satisfactory explanation, refers to Friedlaender’s *subalapo* observation that in context the word may be understood as “conceit,” and rejects Hirschfeld’s *est tamen subflatus*, which he calls a truly unprovable paleographic conjecture. He renders the line as *subalapo*, and notes that this alludes to boasting.⁹ Havers (1911, 189–202) notes that *sub alapa* could be understood in terms of Diogenes as freedman, but he cites Heraeus (1900, 429) and then opts for the verb *alapari*, “to boast.”¹⁰

Interestingly Havers suggests that the Greek τὸ ῥάπισμα, “a box on the ear,” points to mental inferiority, which in Greek folk belief was caused by the slap of a demon on the head; *alapa*, he notes, should be interpreted in the same way. He remarks that there was a Roman superstition that the blow received from a *mala manus* can displace the mind, and as support refers to the ghost story in *Satyrica* 63: a *baro phreneticus periit*, because he had been struck by a *mala manus*.¹¹ Pisani (1928,

6. Perrochat (1952, 34), agrees with Marmorale. Maiuri (1945, 169), has suggested that Diogenes’ legal ability to purchase a new *domus* is a marker of his newly acquired freedman’s status. Altamura (1974, 181) understands the renting out of the house as an act that legitimated his new social standing. Alessio (1960–61, 345–46), writes that the phrase should be written as *sub alapa*, which is hyperbolic and denotes that Diogenes had recently been granted his freedom. Other similar translations are as follows: Arrowsmith 1959, 47: “Not so long ago he was just a slave. Yes sir, he’s doing all right”; Ernout 1962, 34: “Mais il a la joue encore chaude (n. 1 = Allusion au soufflet dont on frappait l’esclave affranchi . . .), et il veut se donner du bons temps”; Sullivan 1965, 53: “Besides, he can still feel his master’s slap and wants to give himself a good time”; Heseltine 1969, 69: “Still, he shows the marks of his master’s fingers, and has a fine opinion of himself”; see Samaranch 1967, p. 81, n. 46, for a similar opinion. On the relationship between *alapa*, slavery, and manumission, see Nisbet 1918, 5–14.

7. Further elucidation is needed on the relationship between ἀλαπάζω, λαπάσσω, and *alapa*: Chantraine 1968, 54, 620, observes that ἀλαπάζω means “enlever . . . vider, piller un cité” and λαπάσσω means “amollir, vider” with such derivatives as “évacuation” (λάπαξις), “laxatif” (λαπακτικός), “qui relâche les entrailles” (καταπλαξικόλιον)—*alapare* shares little with ἀλαπάζω. Ernout and Meillet (1951, 35) suggest that the etymology for this “terme populaire” is unknown and that it may even be related to the Etruscan *alapu*. On the unreliable etymology of *alapa* see Schrijver 1991, 33. I owe tremendous gratitude to the reader who kindly pointed out Chantraine 1968 and Ernout and Meillet 1951 for clarification on the relationship between ἀλαπάζω, λαπάσσω, and *alapa*.

8. Heraeus 1937, p. 110, n. 3; cf. Gaselee 1915, 209.

9. Strelitz (1897, 883–84) also suggests that the manuscript only allows *sub alapa* and that the text therefore need not be altered.

10. He cites Rönsch 1891 for the connection between *alapa* and *alapari*.

11. On *mala manus* and *phreneticus* see Paschall 1939, 48–49 and 75–76.

348–49) adopts Heraeus' *alapari* (to boast) emendation, although Heraeus disregards the transmitted text; he regards Havers' attempt to interpret *alapa* as a blow given to the head by a demon that produces a diminution of the intellectual faculty as too contrived, alludes to the passages from Phaedrus (2.5), and consequently chooses the idea that Diogenes is a freedman.¹²

Since my interpretation of *alapa* arises from the phrases *cum Incuboni pilleum rapiisset, [et] thesaurum invenit*,¹³ and has as its background the folkloric elements in the context of superstition in the *Cena*, representative scholarship and commentaries on Petronius' *incubo* should be surveyed.¹⁴ Burmann (1743, 224) suggests that there may be an allusion to Orcus' helmet or to Pluto's broad-rimmed hat. The majority of scholars, however, discuss the *incubo* in this passage in terms of a common folk tale in which "a mortal steals a garment of a fairy . . . who, to recover it, bestows miraculous properties"¹⁵ on the mortal, or that the *incubo*, while wearing a hat, protected hidden treasure. If someone was able to take the creature's hat, he could force the imp to reveal the treasure.¹⁶

The *incubo* in ancient literature appears a limited number of times, mostly in medical treatises. In Scribonius Largus' *Compositiones* (100) the *incubo* is responsible for the deep breathing, apnea, and choking sensations that occur during sleep.¹⁷ The treatment consists of liquids and decoctions made from barley and the herbs hyssopus and harehound. Artemidorus in his *Oneirocritica* (2.37) explains the dreams associated with Ephialtes, the Greek version of the *incubo*:¹⁸ "If he [Ephialtes] oppresses or weighs down a man without speaking, it signifies tribulations and distress. But whatever he says upon interrogation is true. If he gives someone something or sleeps with someone, it foretells great profit, especially if he does not weigh down the person."¹⁹ Rufus of Ephesus, as quoted by Rhazes the Arab (130), says

12. Smith offers a concise summary of the customary ways of construing *alapa* (1975, 85–86): "*Sub-alapa* . . . 'something of a boaster.' This form . . . does not occur elsewhere but is based on the existence of *alapari* 'boast', which occurs in glossaries. . . . Unduly forced explanations have been put forward by editors who retained *sub alapa*: (i) 'he has only recently been given his freedom' (and so is rather ostentatious); cf. *alapa*, blow, often used of the symbolic blow given by a master when he manumitted his slave; (ii) 'he's a bit touched' (lit. 'he has been struck', sc. by a *daemon*)."

13. On the syntax of this line see Dell'Era 1968, 210–13.

14. For a general overview of superstition in the *cena* see the essays by Stempler 1928, Grondona 1980, and Petersman 1995. On the *incubo* and modern-day Italian superstition see Rini 1929, 83–84.

15. Sedgwick 1939, 97; he refers us to Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.10–13 "o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi, / thesauro invento est enim mercennarius agrum / illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico Hercule!" Porphyryon suggests this is a reference to the *incubo* (ad Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.12–13). On the passage from Horace also see Wickham 1891, p. 179, n. 10.

16. Rat 1934, 460; Friedlaender (1906, 239), Waters (1930, 78), Maiuri (1945, 169), Marmorale (1948, 35), Perrochat (1952, 35), Arrowsmith (1959, 173), Alessio (1960–1961, 200), Heseltine (1969, p. 68, n. 1), Smith (1975, 85), and Walsh (1997, 168) all agree with Rat on the glossing of *incubo* in Petronius. Paratore (1933, 110–18) suggests that the line is symbolic of the superstitious nature of the language of the *Cena*.

17. "Facit bene haec compositio ad suspirium et ad vocis abscisionem et subitas praefocaciones ex qualibet causa ortas ad eos, qui saepius existimantur ab incubone deludi; usque eo tamen vixantur, ut interdum vitae periculum adeant: est enim vitium non contemnendum, utique in processu aetate. quibus dandum erit medicamentum proximo die eius noctis, qua correpti sunt, cum intervallum a somno fecerint et quod satis est ambulaverint, ex aquae hysopum aut marrubium incoctum habentis cyathis quattuor vel quinque pondere X unius vel unius et victorati, prout res postulerit; deinde post horas tres quattuorve cremor ptisanæ detur." The text is from Sconocchia 1983, 53. Marcellus Medicus (20) includes this passage from Scribonius.

18. Placidus also identifies the *incubo* as Pan; see Pirie and Lindsay 1930, 25. St. Augustine, in the *De Civitate Dei* (15.23), supplies the same relationship; see Levine 1966, 539.

19. The translation is from White 1975, 118–19; the Greek text, which can be found in Pack 1963, 167–68, is as follows: θλίβων μὲν γὰρ καὶ βαρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος θλίψεις καὶ στενοχωρίας σημαίνει, ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἀποκρίνηται ἐρωτώμενος, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθές. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ διδῷ καὶ συνοουσιάζῃ, μεγάλας ὠφελείας προαγορεύει, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν μὴ βαρῇ, ὅ τι δ' ἂν προσῶν πράξῃ, τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀνίστησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποθανομένῳ πρόσεισι ποτε ἀνθρώπῳ. See also Latte 1966, 246, for Hesychius' gloss on *ephaltes*.

that when one is overtaken by an incubus the treatment should consist of vomiting and purgation in one's diet, and the head should be cleared (purged) by sneezing and gargling and afterwards anointed with castor oil and things similar to it in order to avoid epilepsy.²⁰ Oribasius (*Collectiones Medicae* 7.26.174–77), recommends hellebore for those who suffer choking during the night by the incubus. He also notes (*Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* 8.2), that there is no evil daemon called *ephialtes*, but rather he terms it a serious disease. Asclepius, he continues, had diagnosed the symptoms of this malady as a choking sensation, speechlessness, and pressure. The attacks of this disease occur at night, and may be indicative of apoplexy, madness, or epilepsy, especially when the disease focuses on the head. The effects suffered at night are similar to those suffered by epileptics during the day. The prescribed treatment involves the cutting of veins and the purgation and purification of the whole body. Black hellebore, scammony, dill, wild carrot, parsley, round gourd, and peony seeds are of special value in the treatment.²¹ In his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, Macrobius writes that the incubus, according to popular belief, “rushes upon people in sleep and presses them with a weight which they can feel.”²² Paulus Aegineta (3.15) sums up what was then known about the incubus. He says that the incubus is the result of excessive eating that brings about digestive problems. The attack occurs during sleep, the symptoms of which are “incapability of motion, a torpid sensation . . . in sleep, a sense of suffocation, and oppression, as if from one pressing them down, with inability to cry out.”²³ He recommends the treatment prescribed by Oribasius. Of crucial importance is Adam's commentary on this passage by Paulus Aegineta:

20. Daremberg's text (1879, 460) of Rufus is as follows: “Quando supervenit incubus, incipiatur a vomitu et purgatione et subtilietur ejus dieta, et purgetur caput cum sternutationibus et gargarismatibus, et postea inungatur ex castoreo et ei similibus, quod non possit pervenire ad epilepsiam.” Cf. Dioscorides Pedanius 3.140.3 in Wellman 1958, 149–50, for similar treatment.

21. The Greek text of Oribasius as found in Raeder (1928, 245) is as follows: Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ καλούμενος ἐφιάλτης δαίμων κακός, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τις νόσος ἰσχυρά, ὃ δ' ὑποφήτης ἱερὸς καὶ θεράπων Ἀσκληπιοῦ· προοίμια δ' ἐφιάλτου ταῦτα· πνίξις, ἀφωνία, βάρος, φυλακτέον οὖν τὸ δεινὸν ἀρχόμενον· χρονίσαν γάρ καὶ συνεχῶς νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτων νόσημά τι τῶν μεγάλων, ἀποπληξίαν ἢ μανίαν ἢ ἐπιληψίαν ἀγγέλει, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρῃται ἡ αἰτία· ὅσα γὰρ οἱ ἐπιληπτικοὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ταῦτα οἱ ἐφιαλτικοὶ πάσχουσι κοιμώμενοι. χρή οὖν τέμνοντα φλέβα καὶ καθάρσεις παραλαμβάνοντα κενοῦν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πάσχοντος· μάλιστα δὲ βοηθεῖ τοῦτο· μέλας ἐλλέβορος, εἰ δραχμὴ μίᾳ ὅπου σκαμμωνίας μίσγεις ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τινα τῶν εὐωδῶν, ἀνησον, δαύκον, πετροσέλινον. καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς σικυωνίας δ' ἱερὰ μεγάλως βοηθεῖ· ἡ δὲ διαίτα ἔστω λεπτή, καὶ τὰ φυσώγη φυλάττεσθαι χρή. βοηθεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς παιωνίας | καρπός· κόκκους δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς μέλανας τρεῖνας μεθ' ὕδατος πίνειν συνεχῶς.

22. The translation is from Stahl 1952, 89.

23. The translation is by Adams 1844, 388. The complete entry by Adams is as follows: “Some say that this disorder is called *ephialtes* in Greek, from the name of a man, or from those fancying as if one leaped upon them. But Themison, in the tenth book of his Epistles, calls it *pnigaleon*, from a Greek word signifying suffocation. It attacks persons under a surfeit, and who are labouring under protracted indigestion. Persons suffering an attack experience incapability of motion, a torpid sensation in their sleep, a sense of suffocation, and oppression, as if from one pressing them down, with inability to cry out, or they utter inarticulate sounds. Some imagine often that they even hear the person who is going to press them down, that he offers lustful violence to them, but flies when they attempt to grasp him with their fingers. The evil must be guarded against at the commencement; for when it continues long, and attacks every night, it is the forerunner of some serious disease, such as apoplexy, mania, or epilepsy, when the exciting cause is determined to the head; for such as persons affected with epilepsy are, during the day, those labouring under nightmare are in their sleep. We must evacuate the patient's general system by opening a vein and administering purgatives. Black hellebore is especially serviceable to such persons when given to the amount of a drachm, if three oboli of scammony, and some aromatics, such as anise, wild carrot, and Macedonian parsley, be mixed with it. The composition called *hiera*, from wild gourd, is also of great service; it is the *hiera* of Rufus. The diet should be light, and they ought to avoid everything that is flatulent. They are benefited also by the fruit of peony: fifteen of the black grains of which may be pounded with water and drunk frequently.”

The other ancient authors treat the complaint, like our author, by evacuants. Bleeding (Rhases recommends this to be done at the ankle), drastic purgatives, and friction of the extremities are the common remedies. Al-saharavius says that, if not cured by bleeding, it is to be treated, as epilepsy, with hiera and the like. Even Caelius in this case nearly agrees with the others, recommending restricted diet, and, if the disorder is great, venesection. He also approves of applying cupping-instruments with scarification on the side of the throat, and, when the disease is protracted, of emetics, and shaving the head. For the cure of the incubus, Mesue and Rhases recommend bleeding and an attenuant diet. Ruffus, as quoted by the latter, recommends vomiting, purging, an attenuant diet, sternutatories, masticatories, and ointments to the head, containing castor and the like.²⁴

Note that these texts recommend purgation of the body. I therefore propose that Dio-genes is undergoing treatment for cure of the afflictions caused by an *incubo*. The *al-apa*, in other words, is the purgation recommended in the medical treatises of Aristotle ([Pr.] 935b30), Athenaeus (8.363a), and Hippocrates (*Ancient Medicine* 11, *Epid.* 4.31, *Prognostic* 8, *Prorrhetic* 1.167, *Regimen in Acute Diseases* [Appendix] 42), who use the Greek ἀπαῶζειν and λαπαῶζειν as medical or physical purgation and evacuation.

In folklore the *incubo* is a common character. He can be, as mentioned above, an elflike creature who wears a hat, which, if removed by a mortal, can be used by the mortal to compel the creature to reveal a treasure. Indeed Otto (1965, 173–74) has already established the relationship in Roman literature between the verb *incubare* and protecting, or keenly guarding, wealth. The *incubo* in folklore is also closely associated with nightmares, which in non-Graeco-Roman accounts are very often sexual in nature.²⁵ The incubus is often imagined as a weight on the person that often paralyzes the sleeper,²⁶ this is a universal experience.²⁷ Moreover, this weight must often be removed²⁸ in order for the person to wake or to be at ease and to end the suffering at the hands of the goblin.²⁹ This belief is conveniently summed up by Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, who explain the ways in which witches copulate with devils known as incubi, and suggest five remedies: “first, by Sacramental confession; second, by the Sacred Sign of the Cross, or by the recital of the Angelic Salutation; third, by the use of exorcisms; fourth, by moving to another place; and fifth, by means of excommunication prudently employed by holy men.”³⁰ If remedies one, two, three, and five are removed on account of their Roman Catholic ritualistic terminology (these rituals are a product of Roman Catholic canon law, some of which may or may not be based on folklore belief), the only remaining nontheological, nonsacramental remedy is to vacate

24. Adams 1844, 389.

25. E.g., see Thompson 1956, F471.1 and F471.2.

26. On the pressure or weight caused by an *incubo* or nightmare see Robbins 1959, 353–58.

27. For the Graeco-Roman understanding of the relationship between nightmares, pressure leading to paralysis, and supernatural beings see Roscher 1972; Kiessling 1977, 1–15. For the Teutonic belief see Chantepie de la Saussaye 1902, 293–94. On the non-Greek, non-Roman *incubo*, which is most often sexual in nature, see Ananikian 1925, 86–88; Kittredge 1929, 115–23 and 220–21; Loomis 1948, 77; Jones 1949, 77 and 82–97; Robbins 1959, 255–59 and 353–58; Neuman 1954, G302.124; Alexander 1964, 328–29; Sinistrati 1972. For classical references see Reitzenstein 1906, 140–41. On the relationship between *incubi*, sex, and violence see Yamamoto 1994. For discussion of modern examples of the nightmare see Cason 1935; Chorvinsky 1995; Greeley 1975; and Hufford 1982.

28. It should be noted that λαπάσσω can mean “to void” in a technical medical sense, cf. Chantraine 1968, 620.

29. For examples in Lithuanian folklore see Balys 1936, nn. 3464, 3681 and 3682; see also Jones 1949, 86.

30. The translation is from Kramer and Sprenger 1971, 165.

the house in which this supernatural phenomenon is occurring. Note the emphasis put on the forms of "voiding" in the last three remedies found in the *Malleus Maleficarum*: exorcism, flight of the occupant from the besieged house, excommunication.

I would like to suggest that this is Diogenes' rationale for the renting of his house: Diogenes is suffering from an attack of the *incubo* and he is attempting to void or purge himself as is recommended for those suffering from such a malady—the ultimate type of voiding or removal would be to remove oneself from the place where the attack is occurring. The *alapa*, therefore, should be understood as the medical purgation (voiding) recommended for an attack by the *incubo*. This is the *alapa* about which Petronius seems to write. Moreover, Diogenes wishes to be well, *non vult sibi male*, and thus wishes to move. He wants to get away from the goblin that is causing him to suffer. The preposition *sub*, moreover, which occurs in the Traguriensis manuscript, strengthens my view on the medical sense: Diogenes is *under* treatment—he is *under an aperiens* (for a supernatural illness). This explanation of *alapa* and Diogenes' renting of his house, I believe, conforms to the supernatural tenor of so many of the conversations of the *Cena Trimalchionis*.³¹

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31. The last sentence of the Diogenes episode, *itaque proxime cenaculum hoc titulo proscriptit: "C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iulii cenaculum locat; ipse enim domum emit,"* has been understood to mean that Diogenes has put up his room (*cenaculum in insula*) for rent and now is buying himself a real house (*domus*) because as a freedman he can afford to do so; cf. Maiuri 1945, 169, Altamura 1974, 181, Alessio 1960–61, pp. 345–46. This reading would stand if *alapa* is construed in terms of manumission and slavery. As I have stated above, I believe that *sub alapa* should be understood as treatment for a supernatural malady and that Diogenes' purchase is part of his attempt to get away from the *incubo*. Moreover, in the *Cena* it is not mentioned that Diogenes tells anyone or advertises anywhere the fact that his house is haunted—it would, in fact, make complete sense that Diogenes not reveal this bit of information. It would be more satisfactory to understand this purchase of a *domus* as being typical of the *nouveau riche*. Diogenes, after all, can afford to buy the type of abode usually owned only by the great and wealthy—*hodie sua octigenta possidet*.

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EUTROPIUS V.C. MAGISTER MEMORIAE?

In the introduction to his translation of and commentary on Eutropius' *Breviarium*, an epitome of Roman history to 364 written in 369/70 at the behest of the emperor Valens, H. W. Bird states, "[That Eutropius] served in the senior post of Secretary of State for General Petitions (*magister memoriae*) under Valens . . . and Eutropius' statement (*Brev.* 10.16) that he accompanied Julian on his Persian campaign in 363 are the only pieces of totally incontestable evidence for Eutropius' life and career."¹

1. *The "Breviarium ab urbe condita" of Eutropius*, Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 14 (Liverpool, 1993), p. vii and n. 3. First published as "Eutropius: His Life and Career," *EMC/CV* 32 (1988): p. 51 and n. 5.