

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσι δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὔροις
ἔς Ἵπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

EDITORES

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AD PETR. SAT. FR. 16 MÜLLER

Inter minuscula *Satyricon* fragmenta, quae a Petro Daniel in ‘glossario S. Dionysii’¹ reperta sunt, etiam hoc legitur (fr. 16 Müller):

Satis constaret eos nisi inclinatos non solere transire cryptam Neapolitanam.²

Stefan Faller in *Satyricon* parte deperdita Encolpium cum sociis iter Puteolos per cryptam Neapolitanam fecisse audacius coniecit,³ quo in transitu angustia laborarent: “Der Tunnel war zu Römerzeiten teilweise nur 2,64 Meter hoch – kein Wunder, das man geneigt war, ihn nur gebückt zu durchschreiten, wie Petron schreibt”.⁴ At hunc altitudinis modum, quem Faller, ni fallimur, e Chr. Hülsen commentatione sumpsit nec recte interpretatus est,⁵ vero minorem esse cum ceterorum virorum

¹ Nunc cod. Bernensis 276, saec. XIII; v. imprimis: Richardson 1993, 63–82, praes. 68.

² Non hic est locus vexatissimae quaestioni a Iano Dousa olim excitatae (Dousa 1583, 46), scilicet an *crypta* in *Sat.* 16, 4 commemorata eadem sit atque Neapolitana; v., e. g., Sullivan 1968, 45 n. 1 (*contra*); Jansson 2004, 127–128 (*pro*).

³ Faller 2007, 77. Cf. etiam Ciaffi 1967, 298, ad fr. 16 (“Purtroppo, però, non sappiamo con sicurezza chi raggiungesse così Napoli, anche se la probabile localizzazione lì a Napoli <...> di molta parte delle avventure di Encolpio proprio a lui ci fa pensare ed a Ascilto e Gitone”); Courtney 2001, 45 (“We know that he [Encolpius. – *V. Z.*] was at Rome; from there he seems to have gone to Naples, from which he apparently doubled back a few miles through the *crypta Neapolitana* (fr. 16) <...> to Puteoli”). Rectius meo quidem iudicio Sullivan (*loc. cit.*): “Fgt. XVI might not refer to the adventurers at all”.

⁴ Faller 2007, 76. Eadem fere iam apud Iulium Caesarem Capacium inveniuntur: “Quae si vera iudicanda fuerint, cryptae eo tempore tantam cernimus humilitatem, ut nisi inclinati transire adeuntes non possent” (Capacius 1607, 387). V. porro Summers 1910, 241 (“Petronius *Frag.* 16 refers to tall persons having to stoop when going through it”); Bosio 1983, 118 (“ricorda questa galleria anche Petronio [Frg. 16], chi la dice troppo bassa”); Costa 1988, 175 (“Petronius [fr. 16] reported that people had to duck their heads to go through the tunnel”); etc.

⁵ Hülsen 1901, 1733: “Der Tunnel <...> hatte im Altertum einen Querschnitt, der zwischen 10 und 20 p<alimi napoletani> (2,64 und 5,28 m) in der Höhe <...> schwankt”.

doctorum rationibus confirmatur, tum praecipue quattuor geotechnitarum Neapolitanorum, qui saec. XX exeunte cryptam denuo exploraverunt et faciem eius pristinam, plurimis aetatum posteriorum commutationibus depravatam, diligenter descriperunt: “The original Roman cross section was <...> probably 3,5 to 4 m high, with vertical walls and cylindrical vault”;⁶ sunt etiam, qui cryptam nulla in parte minus quam 4,6 metra altam fuisse affirmaverint.⁷ Quapropter Francesca Romana Berno, mithraei reliquiis adhuc in crypta exstantibus freta, verbum *inclinandi* ad obscuras quasdam superstitiones referre maluit.⁸

Quamvis non deessent aliae quoque loci Petroniani explanationes, eaeque non magis felices,⁹ ego in his moratus sum, quippe quae postquam Michael Hascher ad fragmentum illustrandum rectam, ut puto, viam ostendit, prodissent. Itaque operae pretium videtur sententiam eius non modo ab immerita oblivione vindicare, sed etiam exemplis corroborare. Est enim haec:

Selbst wenn die hier gemeinten Personen auf einem Pferd oder Wagen den Tunnel zu passieren pflegten, besteht bei einer minimalen Höhe von über 4,5 m kein rationaler Grund, dies in gebückter Haltung zu tun. Meines Erachtens will Petronius hier kritisch eine Leute charakterisieren, die sich so groß vorkommen, daß sie auch in einem riesigen Tunnel meinen, gebückt gehen zu müssen. Ein anderer Aspekt dürfte der psychologische Eindruck im – eben recht dunkel – Tunnel sein, der unter Umständen zum Bücken oder Ducken veranlassen kann.¹⁰

Haesitat Hascher, ut videmus, inter duas explicationes: nam in fragmento nostro de hominibus quibusdam sive nimium arrogantibus, sive

⁶ Amato *et al.* 2000, [5].

⁷ Johannowsky 1952, 114–118 (laudatum apud Hascher 1999, 131); Busana-Basso 1997, 153 (cf. p. 159–160, ubi a Romanis in cryptas perfodiendis certas quasdam proportiones observatas esse demonstratur: “Nei tunnel caratterizzati da un cavo di larghezza media [da m. 3.40 a m. 4.60] ricorrono altezze comprese tra m. 4.0 e m 5.20 [nella Grotta di Sibilla, nella Grotta di Seiano, nella *Crypta Neapolitana*, nella Grotta di Cocceio], mentre un’altezza maggiore, pari a m 6.00, si riscontra nelle gallerie più ampie”). Adde, quod Seneca, qui, dum Puteolis Neapolim tendit, cryptam transiit et in *Epist.* 57, 1–2 omnia eius incommoda copiose enumeravit, de fornicibus impendentibus nusquam est questus (Berno 2006, 337).

⁸ *Ibid.* (“una pratica apotropaica”).

⁹ S. Pisano-Verdino viatores propter pulverem oculos demisisse (Pisano Verdino 1869, 7 [di terza pag.]), I. Sgobbo autem *inclinatos* pro *in lecticis cubantibus* usurpatum esse censuit (Sgobbo 1930, 355; Maiuri 1981, 36; cf. *ThLL* VII, 1, 943, ll. 6–8, s. v. *inclinio*), quod iure confutatum est a Helm 1932, 167.

¹⁰ Hascher 1999, 145.

nimum cautis timidisque per hyperbolen agi credit.¹¹ Ego vero, etsi hoc quoque Arbitri ingenio optime convenit,¹² illud potius probem Ciceronis testimonio adductus, qui persimilem L. Licini Crassi oratoris iocum refert (*De or.* II, 267 = Crass. fr. 21 Malcovati):

Etiam illa (*sc.* ridentur), quae minuendi aut augendi causa ad incredibilem admirationem efferuntur; velut tu, Crasse, in contione: *ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut in forum descendens caput ad fornicem Fabianum demitteret.*¹³

Eiusmodi superbiam Ammianus Marcellinus in Constantio reprehendit, cum adventum eius a. 357 Romae celebratum depingit (XVI, 10, 9–10):

Augustus itaque faustis vocibus appellatus minime vocum lituorumque intonante fragore cohorrui, talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in provinciis suis visebatur, ostendens. Nam *et corpus perhumile curvabat portas ingrediens celsas*, et velut collo munito rectam aciem luminum tendens nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat tamquam figmentum hominis.¹⁴

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¹¹ V. etiam Bernard Garneau 2008, 89, quae Petronium viros quosdam immanis corporum magnitudinis illuisse suspicatur; cf. infra n. 13.

¹² Cf., e. g., in ephemeridibus scriptoris Helvetii Henri-Frédéric Amiel (1876): “Prudence risible, quand elle n’a pas de raison suffisante. Je songe aussi à ce Parisien craintif qui baissait la tête en passant sous la porte Saint-Denis” (Amiel 1991, 571).

¹³ Cuius loci acumen penitus obtudit Quintilianus (VI, 3, 67: “quod refert Cicero de homine praelongo, caput eum ad fornicem Fabium offendisse”; Monaco 1988, 135).

¹⁴ Ad rem, quae apud studiosos haud parvas movit controversias (ambigitur, utrum Ammianus singularem Constantii insolentiam derideat an ritum et ordinem imperatoribus Romanis praescriptum fideliter exponat), v.: Classen 1988; Klodt 2001, 86–91; Wittchow 2001, 299–304 (ut minus recentia praetermittam).

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In a fragment of Petronius (fr. 16 Müller) certain persons are mentioned that used to duck their heads when passing through the Neapolitan tunnel (*crypta Neapolitana*) between Puteoli and Naples. According to some interpretations proposed in the last decade, this is a realistic detail proving that the vault of the tunnel was low (yet the measuring of modern archaeologists and geotechnical engineers proves that this structure was originally at least 3,5 to 4 m high, though it had subsequently changed in course of reconstructions in the 15th–20th centuries). F. R. Berno sees in the fragment a reference to some apotropaic practice, otherwise unknown. Scholars often assume that the characters of *Satyricon* travelled through the Neapolitan tunnel on some occasion. Meanwhile the right way of understanding the fragment was indicated in 1999 by M. Hascher: this is a biting hyperbole typical of Petronius. Hascher considers two possibilities: either arrogant and lofty persons are mocked that seem so tall to themselves as to bend their heads in a huge tunnel; or extremely timid and cautious people are meant who stoop instinctively as they enter the dark vaults. The author supports the first version adducing parallels to Petronius' joke, namely a fragment of Crassus' speech in Cicero (*Cic. De or.* 2. 267 = Crass. fr. 21 Malcovati) and a description of Constantius entering Rome in a solemn procession (*Amm. Marcell.* 16. 10. 10).

Во фрагменте Петрония (fr. 16 Müller) упомянуты некие люди, имеющие обыкновение наклонять головы, проходя либо проезжая через туннель на дороге между ПUTEОЛАМИ и Неаполем (*crypta Neapolitana*). Только в последнее десятилетие эти слова предлагалось считать как реалистичной деталью, свидетельствующей о низких сводах туннеля (хотя согласно замерам современных археологов и инженеров-геотехников истинная высота этого сооружения, менявшаяся в ходе реконструкций XV–XX вв., была равна самое меньшее 3,5–4 м), так и отсылкой к ближе неизвестной апотропеической практике; охотно делались выводы о том, что герои “Сатирикона” в каком-то месте романа путешествовали через туннель. Между тем верный путь к истолкованию фрагмента был, как представляется, указан в 1999 г. автором монографической статьи о *crypta Neapolitana* М. Хашером: перед нами язвительная гипербола, характерная для стиля Петрония. Хашер взвешивает две возможности: фраза высмеивает либо самодовольных гордецов, которые кажутся себе столь высокорослыми, что наклоняют голову в огромном туннеле, либо людей чрезмерно осторожных и робких, инстинктивно пригибающихся при входе под темные своды. Автор заметки поддерживает первое из этих объяснений, указывая на параллели к шутке Петрония – а именно на сохранный Цицероном фрагмент из речи Красса (*Cic. De or.* II, 267 = Crass. fr. 21 Malcovati), а также на описание торжественного въезда Констанция в Рим у Аммиана Марцеллина (XVI, 10, 10).