

GRONINGEN COMMENTARIES ON APULEIUS

APULEIUS MADAURENSIS
METAMORPHOSES

Book XI

The Isis Book

Text, Introduction and Commentary

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INTRODUCTION

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1. Current Trends in Apuleian Scholarship and the Approach adopted in this Commentary

In this first section, we would like to broadly outline the methods, questions, and interests in current Apuleian scholarship that are of fundamental relevance to the *Isis Book*. The overview is intended to accompany and complement the recent introductory collection of essays (*AAGA 3*), which examined the *Isis Book* from various perspectives and disciplines, including textual criticism, stylistic analysis, literary criticism, (cultural) history and philosophy. Thanks to the excellent bibliographical surveys we possess,¹ the key positions among scholars regarding Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as a whole (hereafter "*met.*") up to the turn of the 21st century are well documented and need no repetition in full detail here. Instead, for convenience's sake, we have identified four representative pillars of Apuleian scholarship with specific relevance to Book 11, namely a) source criticism, as conducted by religious historians, b) allegorical and Platonic interpretations, c) approaches that are by definition the domain of literary criticism (i.e. narratology, intertextuality, genre hybridization, structural analysis) and, finally, d) options for placing the work within the cultural context of the educated élites of the second century AD. We intend to locate the present commentary within this range of scholarship and position its methodology by contrast with that of its long-serving invaluable predecessor, Griffiths 1975. Yet, this relation is not merely one of departure and correction: throughout the commentary, the reader will also notice our great indebtedness to the rich material collected in Griffiths' commentary. Apart from Griffiths 1975, we are indebted to (at least) three other fine commentaries on Book 11, Médan 1925a, Harrauer 1973, and Fredouille 1975.

1.1 The *Isis Book* as a resource for religious and cultural history

The special status of Book 11, which – unlike the 'Milesian' adventures in the preceding ten books – is wholly dominated by its religious content, has also inspired its own distinctive branch of Apuleian scholarship: with its playful wealth of detail and colourful narrative, Book 11 is used by this branch as a major, if not unique, source on Isiac cult, and it is regularly consulted by scholars engaged in the reconstruction of ancient cults, as well as those seeking to explain and interpret cultic images.² Especially in the last few decades, there has been an explosion of interest in the scholarly field of Isiac religion. On the one hand, this interest shows in a whole range of archaeological exhibition catalogues and monographs, which are dedicated to the subject of 'ancient Egypt' on a more general level. These studies aim to uncover the social, political and cultural backgrounds of Egypt whose rich diversity has given rise to the phenomenon of 'Egyptomania'.³ Whereas most of these studies concentrate on

¹ Schlam 1971; Harrison in Harrison (ed.) 1999, xxvi–xxxix; Schlam and Finkelppearl 2001.

² See the introduction to the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume (pp. 543-545).

³ De Vos 1980 and 1994; Bonacasa et al. (edd.) 1998; Felber and Pfisterer-Haas (edd.) 1999; Swetnam-Burland 2002; Versluys 2002; Bol 2004; Beck (ed.) 2005; De Caro (ed.) 2006; Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom (edd.) 2007; Manolaraki 2013.

the pictorial and literary imagination and interpretation of the exotic concept 'Egyptian' and thereby address the theme of religion merely as an important element of this larger field, some exhibitions put a decidedly stronger focus on the distinctive Egyptian cult and its sanctuaries, with a special interest in the mysteries.⁴ On the other hand, an entire range has opened up of epigraphic corpora and prosopographic studies⁵ and compendium-style collections on various subjects⁶, as well as monographs, which treat both overall thematic questions and significant individual aspects,⁷ or have a specific regional focus.⁸ In these studies, the relevant literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources are made easily accessible, and are categorized and provided with a commentary; the appearance of mythological/religio-historical reference works (*LIMC*, *ThesCRA*) should additionally be mentioned in this context. The heavily-documented commentary by Griffiths 1975 on the *Isis Book* (from an Egyptological perspective) also belongs in this category and is used by many scholars as a unique and unerring guide.

The above studies and volumes are – almost without exception – either not at all or not primarily interested in Apuleius' novel as a whole, but are seeking to create as faithful and as precise a reconstruction of the Egyptian cults as they possibly can from the extant sources. By failing to see the wider context of the novel, it could be said – perhaps with a little dramatic exaggeration – that they reduce the *Isis Book* to its (questionable) value as an 'original' source on the religious history of ancient Rome and Egypt rather than the cumulation of a complex and imaginative work of art.

Consequently, the works in question tend to ignore the literary context and the ten preceding adventure books. Such an isolated approach is problematic in that it tends to lose sight of the novelistic qualities of the narrative, and the highly stylized literary text is read not as part of a fictional creation but as a quasi-authentic reproduction of cultic reality. The complex narrative technique and intention, the rhetorical virtuosity and the inter- as well as intra-textual references are barely taken into account, just as the construct(ion) of the internal narrator and his intended audience, both of whom are entirely contained in and by the narrative, are at best mentioned in passing.

The Egyptological and archaeological perspectives are indeed valuable and even indispensable for current Apuleian scholarship, and for the scholarship of cultural and religious historians and scholars of philosophy. However, each of these specialists pursue their own specific enquiries, while the text itself simply serves as a point of reference for their investigations. By contrast, the approach of the present commentary primarily relates to philological and textual questions, combined with liter-

⁴ Cf. Arslan et al. (edd.) 1997; De Caro (ed.) 1992; Hattler (ed.) 2013.

⁵ Vidmann 1970; Mora 1990; Bricault 2005 (= RICIS).

⁶ Dunand 1973; Solmsen 1979; Merkelbach 1995; Takács 1995; Bricault (ed.) 2000, 2001, 2004 and 2013; Donalson 2003.

⁷ Representative: Wild 1981 (water in the Isiac cult); Eingartner 1991 (female cult servants); Burkert 1990 (mystery cults); Bricault 1996 (the many names of Egyptian gods); Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000 (cult spaces and their every-day uses); Alvar Ezquerro 2008 (Romanisation of oriental gods); Kleibl 2009 (utilisation of space and cultic practice in sanctuaries); Gasparini and Veymiers 2015 (forthcoming) (cultic personnel; cult agents and cult followers).

⁸ Tran Tam Tinh 1964 (Egyptian cults in Pompeii); Hoffmann 1993 (the Pompeii Iseum); Lembke 1994 (Iseum Campanense); Bommas 2005 (Egyptian sanctuaries in Greece); Bricault 2010 (Egyptian gods in hellenistic and Roman Egypt); Alvar Ezquerro 2012 (Egyptian cults in Spain).

ary and narratological interpretation. Griffiths' commentary enhances and elucidates the *realia* of the Isis Book with a tremendous wealth of epigraphic, historical, and literary sources on Isiac cult. In a deliberate departure from Griffiths, our commentary, standing in the tradition of the *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius*, is not intended exclusively, nor even preferentially, for scholars of religious history and/or Egyptologists, even though it does offer and analyse new material (literary, epigraphical, archeological). Its primary audience are those who study ancient literature with the methods and disciplines of classical philology (textual criticism; literary and cultural studies related to ancient Greece and Rome).

Even with that specific target audience in mind, the commentary is not confined to a narrow discussion about philological, narratological or literary aspects. In a more inclusive, constructive approach it seeks to bring to its analysis of the Isis Book the intense scholarly interest over the last twenty years in the cultural background and contemporary history of the second century AD. When viewed against the backdrop of the Second Sophistic and the culture of the educated élites during the imperial period, even considerably older traditions in Apuleian scholarship in general and their interpretations of the Isis Book in particular are infused with a new impetus and dynamism (cf. sections 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 below).

1.2 Allegorical, religious, and Platonic interpretations

Allegorical interpretations of the ancient novel have their roots in the groundbreaking monographs by Reitzenstein 1927⁹ and Kerényi ²1927,¹⁰ who interpreted the story about the ass and the inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche as narratives inspired by aretalogy, the product of an author who transformed cultic motifs and experiences into 'human' stories.¹¹ Among scholars who offer allegorical interpretations of Apuleius' novel, the most extreme position is taken by Merkelbach, who proclaimed a reading of *met.* as a coded text of the Isiac mystery cult.¹² This interpretation meets with scepticism today and should be treated with great caution.¹³ Despite the fact that Merkelbach's interpretative scheme has been shown to be based on a highly selective and one-sided, sometimes forced reading of the text, his approach still resonates with current research, where more sophisticated interpretations of the novel continue to read it as a religious tale of salvation, as a quasi-allegorical narrative of moral corruption and religious redemption and/or as the spiritual rise from superstitious inter-

⁹ See also Reitzenstein 1912.

¹⁰ It should be added that Kerényi (²1927, 177) explicitly disagrees with the ambivalence of Apuleius' *met.* as postulated by Reitzenstein.

¹¹ On interpretations of religious narratives and religious themes in the Greek novel in connection with miracle narratives and aretalogy see Edsall 2000–2001, with further references. For an element of the so-called *Wundergeschichten* (the amazement of a crowd of witnesses to a divine miracle), which is possibly reflected in Book 11, see introduction to Ch. XVI (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?). Cf. below, nn. 130; 156.

¹² Merkelbach 1962, and repeated in Merkelbach 1995, without any discernible acknowledgment of the numerous scholarly discussions, points of criticism, and corrections that appeared in the wake of the 1962 publication.

¹³ For criticism of Merkelbach's allegorical interpretation see e.g. Drews in *AGA* 3, 114–116.

est in magic to philosophical enlightenment and religious conversion.¹⁴

Among studies inspired by the tradition of Merkelbach, some have taken as their starting point prominent but somewhat selective hermeneutical signs. These include remote references to earlier motifs and structural analogies between the first three books and the Isis Book (e.g. Isis as counterweight to the erotic maid-servant Photis, mysteries as anti-magic) and between the story of Cupid and Psyche in the middle of the novel and the Isis Book at the end (common leitmotifs of curiosity, human folly, repentance, and the contrast between abortive and successful encounters with the deity). By thus joining the Isis book with what precedes it, they arrive at an allegorical overall interpretation of the novel.¹⁵ Such interpretations have been modified by other studies which examine *met.* in light of the Platonic writings of Apuleius (e.g. *De deo Socratis; De Platone et eius dogmate; De mundo*), who is one of the Middle Platonists and has been regarded as such in history (cf. e.g. his reception by Augustine).¹⁶ Accordingly, these studies conclude that the text must by virtue of its genre – or its very singularity – and by virtue of its author as a *philosophus Platonicus*, be a vehicle for transporting either grave or more lighthearted philosophical teachings.¹⁷

The influence of the Platonic dialogues,¹⁸ as well as that of the Middle Platonist Plutarch, on Apuleius' *met.*¹⁹ is still under discussion; here, too, the dichotomy between philosophical gravity and (light-hearted) novelistic entertainment, and the priority of one of these elements, remains a central question. In addition to the Platonic models, recent contributions in the field have cited convincing arguments for the presence of other – no less important – philosophical schools and concepts in the Isis Book. These include Stoic doctrine and Pythagoreanism,²⁰ and are sometimes interpreted as a counterweight to the Milesian adventure books, sometimes as a typical device of second-century 'entertainment'. For those ancient readers who were familiar with the quoted works and/or concepts, recognizing and enjoying philosophical/literary references and allusions in *met.* was probably a token of their culture and learning.

Finally, as a result of the heightened scholarly interest in the Second Sophistic, new avenues are being pursued that emphasize the person of the author: current studies are more vigorously focused on the performative and literary self-styling of Apuleius as a Platonist.²¹ In this approach, Apuleius' novel is seen as an integral part of a philosophical *Gesamtprojekt*, a "total work of philosophy", which unfolds successively throughout the author's complete oeuvre.

¹⁴ Representative: Harrauer 1973 ("religiöse Propagandaschrift"); Münstermann 1995.

¹⁵ Wlosok 1969; Tatum 1979; Alpers 1980 and 2006.

¹⁶ E.g. Dowden 1982b; Heller 1983; DeFilippo 1999 (=1990); O'Brien 2002.

¹⁷ See e.g. Drews 2009 and Drews in *AGA* 3.

¹⁸ E.g. Dowden in *AGA* 2 and Dowden 2006.

¹⁹ E.g. van der Stockt in *AGA* 3; Finkelpearl in *AGA* 3. On the common ground shared by Plutarch and Apuleius in their treatment of Isis and the ass as religious symbols see comm. on 11,6,2 *pessimae mihi que iam dudum detestabilis beluae*.

²⁰ Graverini in *AGA* 3; see comm. on 11,1,4 *ille Pythagoras*.

²¹ Fletcher 2014 (forthcoming).

1.3 Literary, narratological and transgeneric approaches

The structural unity of the novel has now been universally accepted and, in a significant development, current monographs on *met.* examine the novel in its entirety: works that postulate a stark contrast and an irreconcilable antagonism between the Milesian adventure books and Book 11 – as was the custom up until twenty years ago²² – are a thing of the past.²³

More debatable, perhaps, in this context is the question as to whether John Winkler's influential aporetic reading of *met.* has been rendered obsolete, a reading which treats the novel as a hermeneutic game and allows for two possible alternative interpretations, one comic and one serious.²⁴ Today, uniformly comic/satiric readings of the novel that rely on – purported – 'irony markers' in the narrative²⁵ compete with readings that favour a more mixed picture and include a blending of serio-comic elements,²⁶ or demonstrate the rich and multilayered intertextuality of the novel.²⁷ Amid the diversity of current approaches, one point of consensus is the novel's status as a sophisticated work of literature with a deeper meaning.

Inherently narratological questions – such as the identity of the narrator, the relationship between *auctor* and *actor*²⁸ and the narrator's multiple forms of characterisation²⁹ – remain the core business of Apuleian scholarship. Over the past five years, scholarly interest has moreover been centered on the influence of various (other) literary genres (drama, mime, elegy, satire, epic, the Greek novel, symposium and travel literature, mirabilia) and the possibilities and implications of a blending – a hybridization – of genres.³⁰

Building on current trends in Apuleian scholarship, the commentary observes the continuity of the last book of *met.* with the novel as a whole, and also acknowledges the many complex references in Book 11 to the ten preceding books: the reader is invited by sometimes contrastive, sometimes modified or redefined leitmotifs continually to revise his/her assessment of and attitude towards the narrative. Far from abandoning the plurality of narrative forms and voices and the contrastive juxtaposition of a deliberately pretentious and elaborate style with the low register of colloquial speech, which is so characteristic of the first ten books, the final book actually enhances these features, and takes them in a new direction; it expands the linguistic and stylistic range of the rhetorically refined virtuoso narrator even further by adding to his repertoire new elements – prayer and hymn – from the realm of religious language (see below, 7.1).

²² E.g. Holzberg 1986, 95.

²³ For an interpretation of the Isis Book as an integrative part of the novel see Schlam 1992.

²⁴ For fundamental criticism of Winkler's reading see e.g. Van der Paardt 1988; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 74-76; Nicolini 2005, 52-57.

²⁵ Van Mal-Maeder 1997; Murgatroyd 2004; Harrison in *AAGA* 3. Cf. Libby 2011. For uniformly comic/satiric readings see e.g. comm. on 11,21,4 *sumptus*; introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

²⁶ Schlam 1992; Graverini 2007 (English translation: 2012); Tilg 2014a.

²⁷ Finkelppearl 1998.

²⁸ See Nicolini 2011b.

²⁹ Panayotakis and Panayotakis 2014; Tilg 2014b; Keulen 2014.

³⁰ May 2006; Kirichenko 2010; Tilg in *AAGA* 3; Graverini 2007 (2012); Zimmerman 2008; Hindermann 2009.

While these aspects of the narrative are by themselves of a strictly literary and stylistic nature, we cannot categorize or explain their function without paying close attention to the novel's contemporary background and presumptive readership – as has already been advanced convincingly by several of the authors cited above.

1.4 The cultural-historical approach: performance and literary self-fashioning

A particularly diverse set of impulses has come to Apuleian scholarship through the vast upsurge in publications on the Second Sophistic and on the educational culture of the second century A.D. Beginning with the pioneering contributions by Sandy 1997 and Harrison 2000, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of works focusing on the aspects of *paideia* and rhetoric, of (epideictic) performance and literary self-fashioning.³¹ Apuleius' African origins, which are reflected in nearly all of his writings, can now be also re-evaluated in light of the forces of integration and expansion at work within the Roman Empire during the period.³²

With specific reference to *met.*, the high level and great diversity of learning associated with literary education in the second century A.D. offer plausible explanatory models for the great variety of subtle intertextual references and borrowings from various genres in (not only) Book 11. We can see the cultural background of the Second Sophistic also as the context that shaped the character of the protagonist Lucius, who throughout the novel and especially in Book 11 experiments with a variety of roles, behaviour patterns, and gestures in what can be described as a truly performative presentation.³³ If we think with E.J. Kenney of the intended audience of *met.* in terms of a "fully switched-on reader", who shared Apuleius' educational and cultural background,³⁴ we may presume that such a reader was trained to slip into various interpretative 'roles' ('naïve enjoyment'; 'allegorical / philosophical interpretation', 'critical analysis', etc.).³⁵

In a similar way, many of the central themes in Book 11 can be re-assessed against the cultural background of the second century, such as the intermingling and amalgamation of travel, exotic flair, and mirabilia, which is of vital importance not only to *met.* but to the *Florida* as well,³⁶ since it applies just as much to the concept

³¹ Riess (ed.) 2008; Kirichenko 2010; Tilg in *AAGA* 3; Tilg 2014a; Bradley 2012.

³² Lee, Finkelppearl and Graverini (edd.) 2014.

³³ Keulen 2014.

³⁴ For the 'fully switched-on reader' postulated against the background of Antonine literature see Kenney 1990b, 175-176.

³⁵ For example, the learned Roman reader, who was also trained to observe allegorical connotations in pictorial descriptions, may have recognised a philosophical dimension in the vivid and visual descriptions of the *anteludia* with reference to Lucius' destiny (see comm. on 11,8,4 *ursam mansuem*). On allegorical significance of pictorial description and imagery in, among other texts, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, see Hirsch-Luipold 2002.

³⁶ If we compare the Isis Book to Apuleius' *Florida* 15, for example, several analogies emerge: we see Greece and Egypt featuring as a geographical paradigm for travel narrative ('the journeys of a philosopher'), connected with a quest for exotic mirabilia, foreign cults, and ancient wisdom and lore (Pythagoras). For parallels with *Florida* 15 in the Isis Book cf. comm. on 11,1,4 *ille Pythagoras*; 11,3,4 *uberrimi prolixique*; 11,24,2; see also introduction to Ch. XXIV (2. Lucius' statuesque embodiment of Sol/Apollo and metaliterary associations). On the parallel between Lucius' arrival at the 'sacrosanct' city of Rome and the programmatic opening of the *Florida* (1,2) see comm. on 11,26,2 *sacrosanctam*; on parallels with *flor.* 9 see comm. on 11,30,4 *maleulorum disseminationes*. Tilg 2014a, 122-125 interprets certain

of the travelling star orator of the Second Sophistic.³⁷ Such a reassessment is equally valid for shorter forms of literary entertainment (e.g. miscellanies, symposium literature, and mirabilia), and for the high prestige the educated cultural élites placed on the scholarly enquiry into the origins of – preferably archaic or archaizing – local cults, festivals, and heroes, and on religious themes in general.³⁸

Considering the emphasis on religious themes in the Second Sophistic it should be remembered that these are generally presented in the form of literary constructs – and here Apuleius' depiction of Isiac cult is no exception, even though – or precisely because – ostentatious references are frequently made to a noble past (e.g. 11,1,4 *diuinus ille Pythagoras*; 11,30,5 *Sullae temporibus*) or exotic far-away locations (11,4,3; 11,5,3; 11,11,4; 11,16,6). Griffiths (1975, 30) had still postulated an Egyptian core for the Isiac cult of the imperial period, thus implying an essentially uninterrupted continuity over several centuries. Departing from this view, we operate on three basic premises:

- a) The novel refers to contemporary forms and practices of Isiac cult as a part of the established culture of Apuleius' time.³⁹
- b) These are superimposed on a distinctly Roman setting, e.g. through explicit links with the imperial cult (11,17,3) or in the description of the city of Rome as the 'sacred capital' (11,26,2).
- c) To enjoy the text, no special religious knowledge, no familiarity with the internal workings of the cult, and certainly no initiation into the mysteries is required on the part of the reader.⁴⁰

Along these lines, our commentary is intended as an extension and corrective counterweight to Griffiths 1975: our goal is not to deliver an 'accurate' reconstruction of the Isiac cult in the imperial age.⁴¹ In our interpretation, religion in the Isis Book acquires literary qualities; it is being fictionalised and rhetoricised in Apuleius' text (see also below, 7.1). Not only do the Egyptian cults provide the subject of the narrative, they are also being adapted, re-shaped, and re-created by and for the narrative.

parallels between the Isis Book and the *Florida* as what he sees as Apuleius' careful construction of a literary career (with the speaker of the *Florida* picking up where the orator, Lucius-Apuleius, left off in Rome).

³⁷ See Krasser 2010 on the connection between religion and *paideia* (*Bildungsinszenierung*) in the self-presentation of 2nd century Roman authors like Fronto, Marcus Aurelius, and Apuleius; see also Frateantonio 2009 (on Pausanias).

³⁸ Cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* and see Scheid 2012.

³⁹ See Nicolini 2005, 44-57, who points to Plutarch's interest in the cult of Isis and Osiris in a context of Platonic philosophy and to Apuleius' own experience with initiations in various religious cults (*apol.* 55).

⁴⁰ See comm. on 11,4,2 *crepitaculum*; 11,11,1 *nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis*; 11,11,2 *cista*; 11,22,3 *sacerdotem praecipuum*; 11,22,8 *litteris ignorabilibus*; 11,23,1 *prius sueto lauacro ... abluit*; introd. note on 11,23,7; comm. on 11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*. Apuleius' contemporary readers had possibly (but not necessarily) read Plutarch's treatise *De Iside et Osiride* and may have been familiar with objects like a sistrum, a sacred box (*cista*), or a boat-shaped vessel (see below, 3.1). Graverini 2007, 223-226 (= 2012, 198-200) argues for a broad and differentiated audience of *met.*, ranging from readers who would fully appreciate the literary and philosophical allusions to readers who would read for mere entertainment.

⁴¹ See Graverini 2007, 64 (= 2012, 58: "Apuleius wrote a novel, not a work of Isiac catechism or a philosophical treatise"). See also previous note.

2. Content and Structure of Book 11

2.1 Structure and summary of content

It is possible to observe a clear episodic structure in Book 11, containing the following five episodes:

1. *Lucius' prayer on the shore at Cenchreae and epiphany of Isis* (Ch. I-VI)
2. *Daybreak and Festival of Isis* (Ch. VII-XVII)
 - 2a. 'Prelude' and procession (VIII-XI)
 - 2b. 'retro-metamorphosis' (Ch. XII-XV)
 - 2c. *Consecration of the ship of Isis* (XVI-XVII)
3. *Life in the sanctuary at Cenchreae: dreams and friends* (Ch. XVIII-XX)
4. *First initiation and hymn to Isis* (Ch. XXI-XXV)
5. *Two more initiations in Rome* (Ch. XXVI-XXX)

The following summary of Book 11 is presented according to this structure.

1. *Lucius' prayer on the shore at Cenchreae and epiphany of Isis* (Ch. I-VI). Lucius awakens on the sea-shore at Cenchreae, seeing the full moon rising. Lucius is deeply impressed by the august spectacle of the moonrise; a hymn-like description of the Moon goddess's powers gives expression to his religious awe. Lucius takes a ritual bath in the sea (Ch. I), and addresses a hymnic prayer for deliverance from his misfortunes to the unknown *regina caeli* (Ch. II). Lucius again falls asleep and sees the epiphany of a beautiful goddess emerging from the waves; her lush curly hair, multicoloured dress, and religious attributes are described in great detail (Ch. III-IV). In a hymn-like self-revelation, the goddess mercifully responds to Lucius' cry for help. Her elaborate self-introduction emphasises her universal divine power and identifies her with a great number of goddesses and under her only true name: Isis. Isis gives instructions to Lucius for the coming day, on which a religious festival will be celebrated in her honour: this will be the day of his salvation (Ch. V). In return for his salvation, Isis expects Lucius' life-long dedication to her service, promising even to prolong his life beyond death (Ch. VI).

2. *Daybreak and Festival of Isis* (Ch. VII-XVII). After the epiphany, Lucius wakes up; confused by a mix of emotions, he performs another ritual bath with seawater. Seeing the golden sunrise, Lucius' joy is shared by the whole of nature, celebrating the arrival of Spring and Isis (Ch. VII).

2a. 'Prelude' and procession (VIII-XI). The spring festival in honour of Isis begins with a colourful prelude to the great procession (*anteludia*) (Ch. VIII). In the midst of the crowd-pleasing pageants, Lucius observes the departure of the sacred procession, which he describes in a clear hierarchical order, ranging from outsiders to initiates, from initiates to priests, and from priests to divine representations. Each group is defined by specific attributes, clothes and gestures. Public heralds warn the people to clear the way for the holy procession (Ch. IX). Among the crowds of initiates dressed in linen, Lucius distinguishes between women with anointed hair and men with shaven skulls; all of them produce shrill ringing sounds with their sistrums.

Among the male priests, Lucius singles out six according to their cultic attributes (Ch. X). The last group consists of representations of the gods with statues, masks, and sacred objects carried by the initiates: Anubis, an Isis-cow, a mystery box, and an Osiris-vessel (Ch. XI).

2b. *'retro-metamorphosis'* (Ch. XII-XV). At the climax of the procession Lucius sees the priest with the rose garland, matching Isis' promise. After Lucius' miraculous re-transformation, the crowds pay homage to Isis' divine power (Ch. XII-XIII). Although Lucius has regained his human voice, he is unable to articulate or to comprehend his feelings. Aware of his nakedness, Lucius chastely covers his genitals with his hands. The priest orders one of the faithful to offer Lucius a tunic (Ch. XIV). In a sermon-like speech, the priest reveals to Lucius that he has now reached a state of bliss after enduring many toils and summons him to serve the goddess (Ch. XV).

2c. *Consecration of the ship of Isis* (XVI-XVII). After the sermon, the crowds celebrate Lucius as the worthy receiver of divine blessings. The Cenchræan community celebrates the consecration of a new ship dedicated to the goddess. After the ship's departure, the procession returns to the sanctuary (Ch. XVI). There, the main priest and those initiated into the mysteries are admitted to the temple; one of them, called the 'scribe', stations himself before the temple doors, summoning the company of the *pastophori* and proclaiming the opening of the navigation season (*Ploiaphesia*). The crowds shout with approval, kiss the feet of Isis' statue and disperse to their homes, whereas Lucius cannot stop gazing at the goddess's image (Ch. XVII).

3. *Life in the sanctuary at Cenchræae: dreams and friends* (Ch. XVIII-XX). Meanwhile, Rumour had spread the news about Lucius' noteworthy fortune in his hometown; immediately his friends, relatives, and members of his household come to see him, whom they had believed to be dead. Lucius gratefully accepts the generous offerings brought by them to support his living expenses (Ch. XVIII). Lucius narrates his former adventures to his servants and relatives and becomes an inseparable companion of the priests and a constant worshipper of Isis. Although Isis frequently exhorts him in nocturnal visions to be initiated, Lucius has strong hesitations in spite of his desire to become an initiate (Ch. XIX). In another reunion scene, predicted by a dream in which the main priest appeared, Lucius regains the servants left behind at Hypata, who bring back his horse called Candidus (Ch. XX).

4. *First initiation and hymn to Isis* (Ch. XXI-XXV). The fulfillment of the prediction in the dream kindles Lucius' desire to be initiated; the priest, however, admonishes him to entrust himself to the goddess' will and to guard against the sins of impatience and obstinacy. He instructs Lucius to start abstaining from polluted and immoral foods, in order to attain access to the mysteries in a proper way (Ch. XXI). After a short period of zealously observing the religious rites in silent patience, Lucius is informed by Isis in a dream that the day of his initiation has come; he receives further instructions about the required expenses for the rites and the name of the officiant (the high priest Mithras). After taking Lucius to the temple for the morning rites, the priest reads from secret rolls containing instructions about the expected preparations (Ch. XXII). Lucius buys all the necessary things, and after a purification ceremony at the baths he receives instructions about a fasting period of ten days. On the fixed day of his initiation, Lucius receives various gifts from the crowd towards sun-

set and is led by the priest into the innermost of the sanctuary, dressed in linen. Although Lucius-narrator wishes to refrain from disclosing the details of the religious secrets, he describes a kind of cosmic journey across the boundary between life and death, involving a vision of the sun at midnight and a contemplation of all the gods (Ch. XXIII). The next morning, the crowds come to admire the initiated Lucius as he stands in front of Isis' statue, dressed up as a representation of Sol. On this second day and the third day of the initiation, Lucius celebrates his spiritual rebirth with feasting and ceremonies; during the following days, he keeps contemplating Isis' image filled with gratitude and joy. When the goddess tells him to prepare his journey home, he finds it difficult to part from her statue and begins to pray to her in tears (Ch. XXIV). In this hymnic prayer, Lucius tries to express his gratitude to Isis by eloquently praising the benevolence and cosmic powers of the saving goddess (Ch. XXV).

5. *Two more initiations in Rome* (Ch. XXVI-XXX). Lucius thanks Mithras and departs for his home town. After only a few days, he mounts a ship at the instigation of the goddess and travels to Rome, reaching the holy city on the twelfth of December. There, Lucius joins the cult of Isis Campensis as a constant worshipper; after a year he receives nocturnal admonitions by the goddess requiring a further initiation (Ch. XXVI). Puzzled by these admonitions, Lucius discovers that he is supposed to be initiated into the mysteries of the supreme god Osiris. All his doubts are removed by a dream, in which a limping priest announces a holy banquet. The next day, Lucius recognises one of the *pastophori*, a priest with the meaningful name Asinius Marcellus, whose appearance matches his dream. Lucius immediately approaches the priest, who recognises him as the man he is supposed to initiate into the mysteries of Osiris – for this god had told him in a dream that a man from Madauros was being sent to him, who would acquire literary fame, while the priest himself would acquire great financial reward (Ch. XXVII). The second initiation is delayed by Lucius' small financial means (caused by the high costs of travelling and living in the city). Being pressed and commanded by the divinity to prepare for the initiation, Lucius sells his clothes, again fasts for ten days and shaves his head. The religious initiation itself, which is described only very briefly, also leads to a more comfortable lifestyle for Lucius, thanks to the successful rhetorical activities he is able to develop in Rome (Ch. XXVIII). Shortly afterwards Lucius is unexpectedly pressed by the gods for a third initiation, which causes him distress and doubts. A kindly apparition tells him to rejoice at his threefold blessing and explains that the third initiation is necessary. (Ch. XXIX). Lucius instantly reports the vision to the priest and makes the necessary preparations for the third initiation after a prolonged period of abstinence; he can afford the expenses thanks to his continuing success as a rhetor in the forum. After a few days, Osiris, described as the absolutely supreme divinity, personally appears to Lucius in a dream, encouraging him not to fear his rivals and to pursue his rhetorical career. He elects Lucius to the college of his *pastophori* and as one of the quinquennial decurions. Joyfully displaying his shaven skull, Lucius carries out the duties of the priesthood (Ch. XXX).

2.2 Openings and (false) closures

Whereas Book 10 presents an epic closure with the description of nightfall and sleep,⁴² the opening of Book 11 has both epic and non-epic aspects (on the presence of epic in Book 11 see below, 6.3). Although the moonrise at the opening of Book 11 departs from the epic tradition of book openings that contain a description of dawn, the exact temporal indication at the very beginning of the first sentence, marking the transition to a new episode, is an element that goes back to epic (see comm. on 11,1,1 *Circa primam ferme noctis uigiliam*). Moreover, as Harrison (2003, 252) observes, Apuleius follows the pattern of epic book openings with the hero failing to sleep in the middle of the night, due to heroic emotion (as in *Iliad* 10 and 24; *Odyssey* 20); sometimes, the troubled hero is visited by a deity (cf. the epiphany of Tiberinus at the beginning of *Aeneid* 8).⁴³

The rising of the sun, which would rather be expected at the opening of a book (cf. *met.* 3,1 and 7,1), is ‘postponed’ to Ch. VII, where it marks a new episode, the beginning of the first day of Spring, described as a phenomenon that directly flows from the epiphany of Isis (see introduction to Ch. VII [1. Daybreak, spring, Isis: the joyful celebration of a divine epiphany]). A different kind of passage that suggests the ‘opening’ of a completely new episode can be found in the scene directly after the re-transformation, where Lucius expresses his astonishment about the miraculous transformation and looks for ways of inaugurating his ‘reborn tongue’ and using his ‘new voice’ in an adequate way – the terminology (see comm. on 11,14,2 *praeferar ... exordium caperem*) suggests a new prologue, the starting point of a new section, featuring a transformed Lucius, who is no longer identical with the speaker of the original Prologue.⁴⁴ The first time Lucius actually demonstrates his ‘reborn tongue’ is when he expresses his eloquent hymnic prayer to Isis after his first initiation (Ch. XXV), which looks forward to the successful use of his new voice in Rome, in the subsequent and last episode of Book 11.

Another aspect of the narrative related to structure is closure: when is the story over?⁴⁵ The accumulation of closural signs in the last five chapters of Book 11 creates an atmosphere of ‘the End’.⁴⁶ According to Finkelpearl 2004, the series of ‘false closures’ and new beginnings in the extended ‘epilogue’ of Book 11 (of which she sees the start at 11,26,4; see below) suggests a playful use of the narrative device of closure rather than comic intentions, which have been discussed by other scholars.

⁴² On the beginning and ending of Book 10 see *GCA* 2000, 10; cf. 10,35,4, with *GCA* 2000, 415-416 ad loc. On the epic (especially *Odyssean*) dimension of the transition between Book 10 and 11 see below, 6.3. On ‘epic’ book openings and closures in *met.* see *GCA* 1981, 80; *GCA* 2001, 52; Harrison 2003.

⁴³ As Harrison notes, the transition between Book 10 and 11 also recalls the bridge between Books 4 and 5, as Lucius’ dreamlike awakening recalls Psyche’s awakening in the palace of Cupid at the beginning of Book 5: “both protagonists are about to face a miraculous encounter with the divinity whose patronage will revolutionise their lives”.

⁴⁴ For this idea and a detailed comparison of the terminology of the two ‘prologues’ see Graverini 2007, 57-59 (= 2012, 52-53).

⁴⁵ On the narrative device of closure see Roberts, Dunn and Fowler (edd.) 1997.

⁴⁶ See Fowler 1997, 21-22; Tilg 2014a, 107-148. Tilg also argues that the (false) closures at the end of *met.* mark a juncture between an original religious ending of the Greek ass story and Apuleius’ own Roman conclusion.

The narrator’s use of this device reflects a conscious struggle to bring the narrative to its close, a ‘refusal to finish’ that is associated with the nature of Apuleius’ novel as a whole.⁴⁷ To Harrison (2000, 246), Lucius’ peculiar homecoming/Romecoming in Ch. XXVI constitutes the first of a number of false closures, starting from 11,26,1 and producing comic effects, based particularly on the series of two further initiations (cf. 11,26,4 and 11,29,1; introduction to Ch. XXIX [2. Religious seriousness or comedy?]).⁴⁸

The sense of ‘homecoming’ in Ch. XXVI is reinforced by Lucius’ antithetical self-definition *fani quidem aduena, religionis autem indigena* (11,26,3), which corresponds with a similar expression from the Prologue (1,1,4 *in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem ... excolui*). A number of scholars take this correspondence as a signal of (false) closure.⁴⁹ This sense of closure is heightened by the similarity of this passage with the actual ending of *met.* in 11,30,5, which equally reports Lucius’ constant cult-activity in the imperfect tense: *collegii ... munia ... obibam*. Lucius’ finding a new religious home abroad would clearly be a possible earlier ending. On the other hand, the nature of his ‘Roman mission’ would remain curiously sketchy and obscure if *met.* really ended at this point.

Other scholars have located the starting point for false endings in the news of a second initiation in 11,26,4, unexpected to both the protagonist and the reader. Winkler 1985, 215-216 identifies precisely this moment in which a serious, linear, reading (‘The swelling rise of chapters 1 - 26 of book 11 can only be read as a joyful hymn to the saving goddess’, *ibid.* 215) is suddenly undermined by a comic counter-current in the shape of two ‘epilogues’ (one for each further initiation). Following upon the false closure of 11,26,3, the new developments strikingly introduced by *Ecce* (11,26,4) would be ‘abrupt and disturbing’ (*ibid.* 216). Borrowing Winkler’s idea of ‘epilogues’, Finkelpearl 2004 regards 11,26,4 as the beginning of an extended ‘epilogue’ to *met.* She describes this ‘epilogue’ as a literary space bearing a clear resemblance to the prologue, where normal narrative rules are suspended (*ibid.* 333-336, pointing, among other things, to the interference of the author with his protagonist, most obviously in the ‘sphragis’ of 11,27,9 *Madaurensem*).

As in Ch. XXVI, there is a sense of an ending at the close of Ch. XXVIII (cf. e.g. Winkler 1985, 220-221; Harrison 2000, 247; Finkelpearl 2004, 328): Lucius has received another, seemingly final, initiation, and is relieved of his financial problems. The references to the forum (*forensi*) and certain activities in the Latin language (*patrocinia sermonis Romani*) once again recall the Prologue, where the speaker comes to Rome, pretends to learn Latin and excuses himself for being a *forensis sermonis rudis locutor*. The expectation of ring composition, however, is abruptly thwarted by *Et ecce* in 11,29,1 (similar to the function of *Ecce* in 11,26,4). Finally, the already mentioned last sentence of *met.* in 11,30,5 (*collegii ... munia ... obibam*), is viewed by Finkelpearl 329-330 as an epilogue; according to Finkelpearl, the sense of closure

⁴⁷ Finkelpearl 2004, 332; see also p. 340: “it is a novel of continuity and rebirth and, like the *Odyssey*, it keeps emerging from its ashes.” In a similar way, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* teases its readers with gestures towards ending; see Barchiesi 1997.

⁴⁸ For Lucius’ multiple initiations as one of the major inspirations for comic readings of *met.* 11 see introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

⁴⁹ E.g. Winkler 1985, 216; Harrison 2000, 246-247; Finkelpearl 2004, 319-320.

is reinforced by the connotations with death that scholars have observed in *obibam* (see comm. on 11,30,5 *obibam*).

3. Narrative technique: ‘Narrative Voice’ and Perspective

3.1 Lucius-narrator and Lucius-actor: ‘narrating I’ and ‘experiencing I’

As in previous volumes of *GCA* since 1995, we use (to some extent) the narratological approach of Genette and Lintvelt as an analytic tool for the interpretation of the narrative, especially in distinguishing various narrative perspectives.⁵⁰ In the last book of *met.*, we still have the homodiegetic form of narrative, in which the narrator Lucius is also actor in his own story: he is main narrator and protagonist at the same time. Throughout Apuleius’ novel, and also in Book 11, we see a fluctuation between the auctorial type of narration, where the centre of orientation lies in the person of Lucius as narrator (the ‘narrating I’), and the actorial type of narration, where the centre of orientation lies in the person of Lucius as actor (the ‘experiencing I’), i.e. as the main character in the narrated world.⁵¹

As we see in the other books, Lucius-narrator almost constantly suppresses his hindsight and restricts his perspective to that of Lucius-actor, who is uninformed about the nature of the events that are occurring.⁵² Lucius-narrator never reveals his identity as Isiac follower or *pastophorus* during the narrative. The reader does not find out that the narrator, who had identified himself as a ‘Milesian storyteller’ from the outset, is also an initiate and a priest, until s/he reaches the point in the final book of the narrative, where Lucius is initiated into Isiac cult and is elected to the college of *pastophori*. In contrast with the *Confessions* by Augustine, where we have a continuous comparison between two perspectives, that of Augustine the bishop (‘narrating I’) and that of Augustine the sinner (‘experiencing I’), in Apuleius’ *met.* any reference to or statement about the narrator’s religious identity or his status as matured Isiac priest is lacking.⁵³

Throughout Book 11, therefore, the events are primarily presented as seen through the eyes of the young, curious and impressionable Lucius, first as ass and then as (reborn) man, who experiences contact with a world previously unknown to him. Immediately at the beginning, we hear the desperate voice of a Lucius who marvels at the rising moon, but does not have a clue about the true identity of this deity. We hear his prayer in direct speech, and there is no trace of the narrator’s hindsight that it is actually the goddess Isis (not mentioned in Lucius’ invocation), who will present herself as the only true addressee of Lucius’ prayer. When Isis reveals her own likeness to Lucius during his sleep (11,3-6), the *ekphrasis* of the beautiful goddess again reflects the perspective of Lucius-actor, who seems to know neither the identity of the apparition nor the cultic practices or attributes of the goddess, and

⁵⁰ See *GCA* 1995, 7-12; *GCA* 2000, 27-32; *GCA* 2001, 8-10; Genette 1972 and 1983; Lintvelt 1981. See also Van Mal-Maeder 1997b on the question whether the descriptions in *met.* reflect the actorial or the auctorial perspective.

⁵¹ On this important distinction see also De Jong 2001, 207-211.

⁵² See *GCA* 2000, 31, with further references.

⁵³ See Winkler 1985, 140-142.

therefore describes her *sistrum* with the non-technical word *crepitaculum* (11,4,2). When the goddess turns out to be Isis,⁵⁴ the perspective of the experiencing I creates a surprise effect for the reader.⁵⁵

The actorial perspective is also reflected in the epic outlook of Lucius-actor on his own (recent) past, as he laments his misfortunes in his prayer to the moon goddess while presenting himself as the possible victim of another deity’s wrath (11,2,4 *offensum numen*; cf. 11,1,3 *Fato ... satiato*), or as he expresses joy at the moment of heroic triumph (11,12,1-2). In these passages, there is no explicit comment or criticism from the perspective of the narrator on his younger self’s epic outlook on his adventures. In his self-characterisation as an epic hero, who suffers various tribulations (*labores*) inflicted by the deity that is persecuting him, but finally overcomes his persecutor, the narrator does not seem to interrupt the homodiegetic-actorial narrative style, but consistently presents the story from the perspective of the ‘experiencing I’ (see comm. on 11,12,1 *et Hercules ... superarem*, e.g. on the use of the narrative tense in preserving the ‘actorial’ perspective).

It is possible to read some degree of humour behind Lucius’ efforts to upgrade his low-life experiences to the lofty scenario of the epic hero persecuted by an evil deity (11,2,4), to associate the ass’s toils and tribulations with the heroic feats of Hercules (11,12,1) or to present his redemption from sin as the deserved divine protection of an innocent and faithful man, chosen as the goddess’s favourite (11,16,4). The comic/ironic contrast between ‘low’ characters in ancient fiction and the elevated repertoire of mythology, to which they assimilate themselves, is a recurrent feature in Apuleius’ novel. It may be compared to Petronius’ *Satyricon* and his ‘mythomaniac’ narrator Encolpius, discussed by Gian Biagio Conte in *The Hidden Author* (1996).⁵⁶ This feature is reflected, for example, in the description of the ass and the old man in the *anteludia* (cf. 11,8,4 *ut illum quidem Bellerophonem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus*), where the narrator even addresses an explicit comment to the narratee on the entertaining effect of the mythological comparison (*tamen rideres utrumque*), without realising that his own self-aggrandizing behaviour as an ass and as a man may be interpreted by his *lector studiosus* as similarly entertaining (see below, 5.3).

In some cases, the use of adverbs marks the focalisation of the young Lucius as actor in the story. After his re-transformation, the experiences of the protagonist with the exotic cult and its representatives, as reported by the narrator, are tinged by the impatience of the young outsider Lucius, who wishes to become an insider in the cult as soon as possible (cf. e.g. 11,21,2 *petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret*). Reflecting the emotional attitude of Lucius-actor, who embraces the priest immediately after his hymnic prayer to Isis, the narrator refers to the priest as ‘my father’ (11,25,7 *meum iam parentem*), with *iam* expressing the feelings of the young, enthusiastic Lucius at the moment in the story, who ‘already’ feels a deep emotional attachment to the priest, as if he were his father, although he has not as yet known

⁵⁴ Isis reveals her name in 11,5,3; see comm. ad loc. for the effect of suspense by the delay of her only true name.

⁵⁵ The actorial perspective in a homodiegetic narration can have the function of creating surprise effects; see *GCA* 2001, 8; Winkler 1985, 142-144.

⁵⁶ For the use of the notion ‘mythomania’ in the context of Apuleius’ *met.* see e.g. Graverini 2003b, 212-213 (with reference to Charite/Dido); Graverini, Keulen and Barchiesi 2006, 159-160.

him for very long.

When explaining and describing the various participants and objects of the religious procession to the interested Roman reader, Lucius-narrator is often helped by the perspective of the yet uninformed Lucius-actor in such a way, that Lucius-actor and the reader of *met.* simultaneously learn about those things and those people. The rich and vivid description of the exterior details of various objects and attributes reflects the perspective of Lucius-actor as eager spectator, whose admiration may be additionally expressed by the affective use of diminutives like *flosculus* (11,9,2), *flammulam* (11,10,3), or *palmula* (11,10,5).

Sometimes the narrator presents the conjectural views of Lucius as naïve spectator, explaining the things he appears to see for the first time. This serves the narrator, who is an experienced Isiac priest, as a narrative strategy to inform the Roman reader about unfamiliar but interesting religious items (for example the *cymbium*). The narrator underlines his expertise by pointing out the contrast with normal Roman utensils (11,10,3; see below). In 11,10,5, to give another example of the naïve perspective, the narrator uses the word *uidebatur* to present Lucius-actor's guess about the symbolism of the shape of a left hand carried along in the procession (see comm. ad loc.). Although this conjectural view also helps the narrator to gloss the symbol for a Roman audience, it contrasts with some other (few) cases, where Lucius-narrator adopts his own perspective as an expert, reporting a learned religious doctrine. Sometimes he gives a detailed description of an object, like the cultic vessel in 11,11,4, where the unexpected use of the Latin diminutive *urnula* (instead of the Greek term *hydria*) not only reflects the uninitiated Lucius' ignorance at that moment about the mysteries of Osiris, the god's connection with water, or the contents of the cultic vessel itself, but also lends expression to the naïve spectator's admiration of exotic cult objects (see comm. ad loc. on the 'technical' flavour of the diminutive).

Although the perspective of the 'experiencing I' is predominant in Book 11 (as in the earlier books), on some occasions the hindsight of Lucius-narrator shines through, anticipating aspects which were yet unknown to Lucius at the time of the events. We find an example of auctorial perspective in 11,18,3, referring to the financial help offered 'with foresight' (*prospicue*) by Lucius' friends and relatives – Lucius-actor is not aware yet of the high costs that his initiations will require, but Lucius-narrator obviously is (see comm. ad loc.). In the same chapter, the workings of *Fama* are reported from the perspective of Lucius-narrator (see introduction to Ch. XVIII). In other cases, Lucius-narrator seems to share the perspective of other characters in the narrative, who view Lucius-actor as an immature person, an uninformed, enthusiastic not-yet-initiate (cf. 11,21,3 *inmaturis liberorum desideris*).

Sometimes, the auctorial narrator suddenly interrupts his auctorial narrative and presents himself in his role of narrator, who shows awareness of the character of his (written) narrative,⁵⁷ and/or consciously controls the amount of (religious) information he is imparting (we can observe in Book 11 an explicit flirtation with this role in the report of the first initiation in Ch. XXIII; cf. 11,23,5-6, with comm. ad loc.). In

⁵⁷ Cf. 10,2,4 *iam ergo, lector optime, scito tragoediam, non fabulam legere et a socco ad cothurnum ascendere*, with *GCA* 2000, 68 ad loc. Cf. also 10,2,1 *sed ut uos etiam legatis, ad librum profero*, with *GCA* 2000, 59 ad loc. on the use of metanarrative phrases.

the role of narrator, he even represents himself as being in dialogue with his narratee (whom he addresses as '*lector*'; cf. 11,23,5 and see below, 5.3).

Sometimes Lucius-narrator comes forward prominently in his didactic role as a religious expert, without reflecting the experiences of Lucius-actor, especially in explanations of technical terms (11,10,2 *altaria id est auxilia* and 11,17,2 *ex his unus, quem cuncti grammatea dicebant* and, in the same sentence, *pastophorum, quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est*). Donning the role of an experienced authority, who is aware of the contrasts between normal religious items from the Graeco-Roman world and the exotic attributes from Egyptian cults, Lucius-narrator communicates with the Roman audience as a member of their peer group (cf. 11,10,3 *lucernam claro prae-micantem porrigebat lumine non adeo nostris illis consimilem*; for the self-identification with the Roman world cf. also 11,17,3 *sub imperio mundi nostratis*). In this role of initiated and informed expert, the narrator describes and explains exotic cult objects to the Roman reader, who may be unfamiliar with the details of Isiac cult, but interested or even curious to learn about them (see e.g. introduction to Ch. X), or may also be familiar with such cult objects as a sistrum or a boat-shaped vessel, and enjoy recognising these items in the narrative. Lucius-narrator legitimises his didactic role as a religious expert by emphasising his distinct position as an Isiac initiate and a *pastophorus*, a self-designation that highlights the exotic origins of the religious cult to which he belongs.

In other cases, it is not easy to distinguish who is speaking where, the auctorial or the auctorial narrator: the two perspectives overlap or the distinction between them is less clear-cut.⁵⁸ The young Lucius is an educated young man with a wide cultural experience, who cannot be completely ignorant of information and knowledge related to exotic cults; therefore, the difference between the perspectives of Lucius-actor and Lucius-narrator should not be exaggerated. In 11,9,6 *ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines*, for example, Lucius possibly knew at the moment of the story that these flute-players were devotees of Sarapis, but it is also possible that he reports this identification with hindsight.

3.2 Narrator and author

If we strictly follow the rules of narratological theory, the association between fictive narrator and author is impossible, for the author belongs to the world outside the novel. They are two distinct instances: Lucius is not the same person as Apuleius.⁵⁹ Yet, Apuleius' novel contains various references that seem to imply that Lucius-narrator and the person who wrote this work is one and the same person. Throughout *met.*, we can observe that the fictive narrator sometimes refers to the person who wrote this novel (4,32,6 *Milesiae conditorem*; cf. 1,1,1 *sermone isto Milesio*),⁶⁰ to the

⁵⁸ See also *GCA* 2000, 31.

⁵⁹ On the narratological distinction between the narrating 'I' (Lucius-narrator) and the concrete author (Apuleius), see *GCA* 1995, 7; *GCA* 2000, 28-29. We do not use the concept of 'abstract author' in our commentary (on which see *GCA* 1995, 7-8; *GCA* 2000, 29). See also *GCA* 2001, 9, where no distinction is made between abstract and concrete author, following Genette 1983.

⁶⁰ See the discussion in *GCA* 2004, 84-85 on 4,32,6, where the narrator of the tale of Cupid and Psyche, the old woman in the cave (as quoted in direct speech by Lucius-narrator), refers to the 'author of

act of writing it (1,1,1 *papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam*), or to its future literary fame (2,12,5 *gloriam satis floridam*). Also Book 11 contains various passages that can be read in a ‘metaliterary’ key, i.e. they point to the literary success of the *Metamorphoses* and its author, for example, when the crowds make pointing gestures to Lucius (11,16,2) and call him ‘fortunate’ and ‘thrice blessed’ (11,16,4 *felix hercules et ter beatus*).⁶¹ Of special importance in Book 11 are the adjectives *beatus* and in particular *felix*, which have strong religious connotations, but also refer to Lucius’ new blessings on a metaliterary level: he will gain a successful career under the patronage of Isis (cf. 11,6,6 *uiuēs autem beatus, uiuēs in mea tutela gloriosus*).⁶² Metanarrative phrases in the first person such as *ad librum profero* (10,2,1) or *ad istas litteras proferam* (10,7,4) draw attention to the responsibility that the narrating ‘I’ takes for the written medium, the literary creation that contains the narrative. This association is also implied by the narrator’s explicit use of the word *lector* for his narratee (11,23,5): he presents himself there as a writer in dialogue with his reader (see below, 5.3).⁶³

In spite of the narratological distinction between author and narrator, Book 11 contains this tantalising passage, where the difference between the narrating ‘I’, the initiated *pastophorus* Lucius, and the author Apuleius from Madauros, seems to disappear (11,27,9 *Madaurensē*).⁶⁴ The future literary success of Lucius turns out to be the future literary success of the African author Apuleius (11,27,9 *studiorum gloriam*). Even if the voice of Lucius-narrator, descendant of Plutarch (1,2,1), Milesian author, and Isiac priest, should be distinguished – narratologically speaking – from the voice of the author Apuleius, Platonic philosopher and priest in the imperial cult, we can observe that Apuleius’ personal imprint on Lucius’ self-presentation is very strong,⁶⁵ and is reinforced at the very end of the novel with this sphragis.⁶⁶ The use of a first person narrative with a main narrator who reflects so many aspects of the personality of the author invites the reader to examine significant connections and associations between Apuleius and his literary work.⁶⁷

In contrast with a passage like 10,33,4 *ecce nunc patiemur philosophantem nobis*

the Milesian tale’.

⁶¹ For allusions and references to Lucius’ (rhetorical and literary) success and his happiness in Book 11, which can be interpreted on a metaliterary level, cf. 11,6,6 *beatus ... gloriosus*; 11,15,1 *flores*; 11,16,2-4; 11,24,2 *floride depicta ueste conspicuus*; 11,27,4 *thyrsos et hederas*; 11,27,9 *Madaurensē*; 11,28,6 *spiritu fauentis Euentus*; 11,30,2 *gloriosa in foro ... patrocinia*. See also introduction to chapter XXIV (2. Lucius’ statuesque embodiment of Sol/Apollo and metaliterary associations). On metaliterary elements in Book 11 and in *met.* as a whole see Graverini 2005 (‘A Booklike Self’); Tilg 2014a, 107-131. Cf. also below, 4.2.3 with n. 123.

⁶² On the use of *felix* in Book 11 see comm. on 11,14,2 *felicius auspicarer*; 11,16,4 *felix hercules et ter beatus*; 11,16,7 *felicius aluei*; 11,29,5 *felici illo amictu illustrari*; 11,29,5 *Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit*. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the dictator Sulla, who is mentioned in the same context as the closing image of Lucius’ joy (*gaudens*), was called Lucius Cornelius Sulla *Felix*.

⁶³ See comm. ad loc. on the ambivalence between ‘reading’ and ‘listening to’ in that passage.

⁶⁴ Note, however, that strictly speaking this passage does not associate the author Apuleius with Lucius as narrator, only with Lucius as actor in the story.

⁶⁵ For the various parallels between Lucius and Apuleius that have been observed by scholars throughout the novel see Harrison 2000, 217-218; *GCA* 2007, 12 with n. 27 (with further lit.); see also Montiglio 2007, 108; Tilg in *AGA* 3, 155.

⁶⁶ On the self-revelation of the author at the closure of his work as literary sphragis see Tilg 2014a, 125-131; Smith in *AGA* 3, 205-206.

⁶⁷ See Nicolini 2011b.

asinum?, where Lucius-narrator gives a critical comment that ironically refers to the former ‘asinine’ identity of Lucius-actor, there are in Book 11 some passages where comparable forms of critical distance do not reflect the perspective of the narrator (at the cost of his ‘former self’, the actor), but rather the perspective of the author, at the cost of the narrator. One possible example is when Lucius-narrator, who is a bald priest himself, admiringly describes the bald pates of the Isiac priests as ‘the stars on earth of the great cult’ (11,10,2 *magnae religionis terrena sidera*, see comm. ad loc.). What we have here is the account of the narrator as a passionate devotee and flamboyant rhetorician, who perceives the world from his own perspective, determined by his own outspoken characterisation. The narrator, who is a bald *pastophorus* himself (cf. 11,30,5), would probably not intend to add any suggestion of irony to a description of priestly baldness. If it is allowed to observe humour in passages like this, it should probably be described as a subtle ironical distance between the narrator and the author.⁶⁸

3.3 Animal and human

As has been pointed out above, in some cases we can observe a certain amount of overlapping and confusion between different perspectives and voices in the narrative – for example between narrating and experiencing I, or between narrator and (concrete) author – which adds to the complexity of the narrative and invites questions about the narrator’s identity. A similarly complex situation is created by the dichotomy animal – human: the distinction between the voice and perspective of Lucius the ass and that of Lucius the man is not always clear-cut and gives rise to various questions.⁶⁹

From the outset of Book 11, we see the narrative world predominantly through the eyes of the ‘experiencing I’, from the perspective of Lucius-actor, who, being an ass, has retained his human mind (*met.* 3,26,1 *sensum tamen retinebam humanum*). Until he is changed back into human form, the animal perspective of Lucius remains an important filter for the presentation of the narrated events in Book 11, which can be seen in the prominent role of animals in his prayer to the Moon goddess (11,1,2), in his description of animals rejoicing at the arrival of spring and of Isis (11,7,3-4), and in the important role of animals in the *anteludia* and in the Isiac procession. His animal perspective shines through in his great interest in all kinds of animals (including himself) in their role as worshippers of deities.⁷⁰ In the description of nature rejoicing at the arrival of Spring and Isis, animals are the first to be mentioned (see comm. on 11,7,3 *pecua* for the role of animals in Isiac cult).⁷¹ Moreover, even some gods appear in the shape of an animal in Book 11.

Whereas from a conventional Greek/Roman perspective, animal worship in Egyptian religion was often perceived in a highly negative way or considered a banal

⁶⁸ See Zimmerman in *AGA* 3, 14.

⁶⁹ On the theme of human and animal in *met.* see Schlam 1992, 99-111; Finkelpearl in *AGA* 3.

⁷⁰ In Book 11, as Schlam (1992, 111) points out, “animals, like humans and gods, are proclaimed to share in reverent adoration of the goddess”.

⁷¹ Also in his hymnic prayer to the goddess (11,25,4), Lucius (who is no longer an ass) lists various animals as devotees of Isis.

topic,⁷² Apuleius starts from this banal topic but creates something new out of it. In the procession, we see theriomorphic gods walking on human feet (11,11,1 *pedibus humanis incedere*), the dog-Anubis and the cow-Isis. This transformation of a banal topic into a respectful depiction reflects the positive role of animals throughout Book 11.⁷³

The serene atmosphere that we find from the beginning of Book 11 onwards clearly lacks the erotic and gluttonous dimensions, which were associated with animals in the previous books.⁷⁴ Negative aspects related to animals are also connected with the notion of the asinine shape, which is detested by Isis as it reminds her of her enemy Seth-Typhon, the incarnation of evil (11,6,2 *mihi ... detestabilis iam dudum beluae istius corio te protinus exue*; 11,6,4 *deformem istam quam geris faciem*). In Book 11, Lucius not only loses the loathed hide of the ass (11,2,4 *depelle quadripedis diram faciem*; 11,14,4 *me cum primum nefasto tegmine despoliauerat asinus*), but also appears to lack asinine qualities like lustfulness and greed, and to embrace human religious virtues such as *castitas* and *abstinentia* instead, including abstinence from animal food. Even before losing his asinine shape through Isis' grace, Lucius already seems to have lost his asinine interests and to have become a 'human animal'.⁷⁵ This is partly anticipated by the ass's human behaviour in Corinth in Book 10, but there is a clear contrast between the human interests displayed by the ass in Corinth (regarding food and carnal pleasures) and in Cenchreae (religious devotion). Animals in the Isis Book, including Lucius-ass, do not behave like animals, but like humans.

Like the personified representation of the birds and trees that worship Isis in Ch. VII, the behaviour of the ass on the beach in Ch. I is 'translated' by the narrator into human-like religious behaviour, which includes hymnic eloquence in the act of communicating with a deity. Just as he represents the ass being absorbed in prayer, the narrator represents the songbirds in 11,7,4 as singing praises of Isis in their hymnic song as 'the mother of the stars, the parent of the seasons, and the mistress of the whole world' – in a similar way, he represents the trees (11,7,5) as engaged in worshipping the goddess with human gestures of devotion and sweet music produced by their moving branches. Lucius reads his own behaviour and that of other animals – and of nature in general – as the behaviour of humans, which fits the metamorphic theme of the novel as a whole. Moreover, Lucius-ass walks with a peaceful human gait towards the priest with the rose garland (11,12,2 *placido ac prorsus humano gradu*, with comm. ad loc.), anticipating his actual re-transformation.

A striking fact about Lucius' prayer to the moon on the beach of Cenchreae at the opening of Book 11 is that he delivers it while still being an ass and without having his human voice back yet. It is physically impossible that Lucius-ass actually spoke these eloquent words verbatim. What the ass desired to express to the deity, is presented by the narrator as a kind of interior monologue,⁷⁶ shaped into a traditional

⁷² See Finkelpearl in *AAGA* 3, 188-189, citing Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984.

⁷³ On the positive role of animals in Book 11 see Schlam in *AAGA* 1, 104; Schlam 1992, 109-110; 112.

⁷⁴ See Schlam 1992, 75.

⁷⁵ See *GCA* 2000, 22-23 on Apuleius' play with human behaviour and animal traits in humans and animals, especially in the context of Book 10.

⁷⁶ *Gedankenzeit*; see Martinez and Scheffel 2007, 60-62.

form of communication with the divine (see introduction to Ch. II [1. Praying, not braying. The ass' approach to the deity by prayer]). This moving prayer, quoted in direct speech, is Lucius-narrator's eloquent rendering of the inner world of Lucius-actor – the thoughts and emotions of the ass, while it is approaching the divinity by being absorbed in prayer. So, also in this case there is an intermingling of perspectives (human/animal, narrating/experiencing), involving both the introspective observations put into words by Lucius-narrator and the emotions and thoughts that reflect the perspective of Lucius-actor.

A different kind of intermingling of perspectives (actorial/auctorial; asinine/human) occurs in the central scene of the re-transformation, where the reader is not only turned into a spectator of the external miraculous transformation of Lucius' visual appearance, but also shares the internal feelings of physical change undergone by Lucius-actor (see introduction to Ch. XIII on Ovidian descriptions of metamorphosis as a source of inspiration for this aspect in Apuleius), which creates a kind of synaesthetic experience (cf. below, n. 114). This is a mixed perspective which is marked by transformation and a mixing of senses itself, as it develops from an asinine into a human perspective and mixes both asinine and human perceptions and senses: sometimes the ass describes from within how it feels for an animal to become human, expressed by phrases like *cutis crassa tenuatur* (11,13,5: 'my thick hide became thin') or *quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam* ('the thing which had tortured me most of all, my tail ... gone!'), sometimes the human being describes the asinine shape as an extraneous burden he has now got rid of, e.g. *protinus mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies* (11,13,3: 'my ugly and beastly appearance slipped from me'). Finally, when Lucius has been changed back into a man, the narrator sometimes seems to refer back with some irony to Lucius' former asinine shape, for instance when the priest uses the metaphor of the yoke for Lucius' service to Isis (see comm. on 11,15,5 *ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium*).

The questions of perspective and voice, engaging readers to ask "who speaks here?" and "through whose eyes is this event seen?", cannot always be answered in a clear-cut way in Book 11. Yet, as we have observed in this section, the emphasis on the actorial perspective in *met.*, combined with the use, to a certain extent, of the point-of-view of the ass in the first part of Book 11, enhances the dynamic qualities of the narrative through surprise effects, while adding depth and relief to the characterisation of its experiencing and narrating hero Lucius.

4. Handling of Time and Space

4.1 Time

4.1.1 Narrated time and narrating time; retardation

As in previous volumes of *GCA*, we make a distinction between the 'narrative time' (*Erzählzeit*: the time taken by the presentation of the events, to be measured in the number of pages or lines of the text) and the 'narrated time' (*erzählte Zeit*: the time

that the events in the story took, according to the narrator).⁷⁷ The fluctuating relationship between narrated time and narrative time defines what is called (narrative) tempo. Narrative time and narrated time sometimes coincide, especially in passages with direct speech, which play an important role in Book 11, e.g. in Lucius' prayer to the Moon (Ch. II), in Isis' hymnic self-revelation (Ch. V-VI), in the priest's speech (Ch. XV), and in Lucius' hymn to Isis (Ch. XXV). Together with descriptive passages like the *ekphrasis* of Isis (Ch. III-IV) and the depiction of the religious procession (Ch. VIII-XII), these passages slow down the narrative tempo (see below on retardation). As we observe in the comm., there is a great variety of indications of time in Book 11, and the references to the narrated time are particularly precise in the description of the first initiation (11,23,2 *iam duabus diei partibus transactis*; 11,24,1 *mane factum est*; 11,24,5 *dies ... tertius; paucis dehinc ibidem ... diebus*).

In his study of narrative technique in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in *AAGA* 1 (see below, n. 77), Van der Paardt has argued that the analysis of narrative tempo can be viewed as an indicator of unity within the eleven books, since Book 11 'faithfully reflects' a pattern which is found repeatedly in Books 1 – 10; this pattern contains a variation between a first period with a 'low tempo', followed by a second period with a 'lower tempo', after which comes a third period with a 'high tempo' (see also below). According to Van der Paardt, Book 11 would incorporate exactly one year of narrated time: he interprets *transcurso signifero circulo Sol magnus annum compleuerat* (11,26,4) as the completion of the calendar year, in which Lucius arrived in Rome (11,26,2: December 12th), and assumes that the third and last initiation (11,29,1) must have taken place in spring, exactly one year after the re-transformation (11,22-24). One year of narrated time in Book 11 would match the narrated time of Books 1 – 10 together, which means that the tempo of Book 11 is on the whole much faster compared to that of the earlier books.⁷⁸

Yet, as we argue in the comm. on 11,26,4 *transcurso ... compleuerat*, a more plausible interpretation of this time indication is that it refers to the year that has passed by since Lucius' arrival in Rome. This means that, if we still follow the hypothetical date of the final third initiation in March, the narrated time of Book 11 comprises as much as two years.

According to our interpretation, the tempo of Book 11 goes as follows, with the narrating time indicated in the number of lines of the OCT (Zimmerman 2012):

Period 1 (low tempo): 11,1,1-11,7,1: the events of the night spent by Lucius on the beach of Cencreae (March 4th to March 5th), in 133 lines of the OCT edition.

Period 2 (lower tempo): 11,7,2-11,17,5: the events of March 5th (the Spring Festival with the *anteludia* and the procession, the re-transformation of Lucius, the speech of the priest and the launching of the Ship of Isis), in 219 lines.

Period 3 (high tempo): 11,18,1-11,30,5: the events during the two years after the re-transformation: Lucius' life at the sanctuary at Cencreae (encounters with friends

⁷⁷ For a discussion of these terms and their use in interpreting Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* see Van der Paardt in *AAGA* 1, 84-87 (see also p. 93 n. 81 with theoretical lit.); see also *GCA* 2000, 11-15; *GCA* 2001, 6-6; *GCA* 2004, 11-12. On tempo in Book 11 see also Van Mal-Maeder 2006a, 255-257; Witte 1997, 41 n. 1.

⁷⁸ As rightly observed by Van Mal-Maeder 2006a, 255.

and relatives, prophetic dreams), the first initiation, the hymnic prayer to Isis, journey home and Rome-coming, second and third initiation in Rome, in 321 lines.

The narrative tempo of Book 11, then, turns out to be much faster compared to the previous books. If one takes a more aesthetic approach, it is possible to observe a function of narrative retardation in descriptive passages like the *ekphrasis* of Isis or the depiction of the *anteludia*, which appear to hold the audience in suspense before a key event or a moment of disclosure in the story.⁷⁹

In the case of the description of Isis, we can observe a delay in the revealing of her identity and in the report of her answer to Lucius' prayer. Both are held back from the reader by turning the focus on to the elaborate details of the divinity's visual appearance, which enhances the impression of a real divine epiphany – the artful description makes the audience see the 'divineness' of the divine (see introduction to Ch. III [1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany]) –, while it slows down the pace of the narrative.⁸⁰ In a similar way, the elaborate and colourful description of the spring festival of Isis, including the *anteludia* and the procession, hold the central event of Lucius' re-transformation (Ch. XIII), announced by Isis in 11,6,4, in suspense, while enabling the reader to experience various sensory impressions of religious practice (music, gestures, costumes, masks).⁸¹ Yet, there are also many other moments (not only *ekphrasis*), which produce an effect of retardation, such as the elaborate prayer addressed to Isis in Ch. XXV, which keeps Lucius from moving on and travelling home (cf. 11,26,1 *tandem*).

Notions of retardation and delay are often reflected in the text of Book 11 on a lexical and narrative level. After the elaborate depiction of his public exposure as a statue of Sol in Isis' temple, for example (Ch. XXIV), Lucius himself is kept spell-bound by the spectacle of the goddess's statue and is delayed by his long gaze, which mimics on the level of the story what happens when a reader is pleasantly delayed by an elaborate *ekphrasis*.⁸² Lucius' lingering at the statue of Isis delays his journey (11,24,5 *commoratus*; 11,24,6 *tardam*), just as ekphrastic delight delays the continuation of the narrative.

Hesitation and delay mark the behaviour and characterisation of Lucius himself, who, in spite of some impatience, tends to hesitate and delay himself throughout Book 11 (11,12,2 *cunctabundus*; 11,19,3 *religiosa formidine retardabar ... differendam*; 11,22,6 *quid ... iam nunc stas otiosus teque ipsum demoraris?*; 11,28,4 *cunctaris*).⁸³ In the light of this characterisation, it is significant that three important authority figures, Isis (11,6,2 *incunctanter*), Mithras (11,22,6), and Osiris (11,30,4 *incunctanter*), encourage confidence and a lack of hesitation in Lucius. As we note in

⁷⁹ For the concept of 'retardation' (or 'deceleration') as a device of estrangement and narrative delay see Shklovsky 1990, e.g. 22-44; 104.

⁸⁰ According to Shklovsky's aesthetic, retarding techniques used in (literary) art ('thinking in images') enable the reader to sense the "stoniness of a stone" (see Shklovsky 1990, 5-6).

⁸¹ For an analysis of the visual and narrative strategies in the description of the procession see the Essay in this volume by Egelhaaf-Gaiser, pp. 543-562.

⁸² See Wray 2000, 259 on the connection between ekphrastic delight, keeping the reader/viewer spell-bound, and the narrative technique of delay in Apollonius Rhodius. On *ekphrasis* see below, 7.2.

⁸³ Note that the theme of 'hesitation' is also reflected in the description of Asinius Marcellus, whom Lucius in his nocturnal vision sees walking with 'hesitant step' (*cunctabundo ... uestigio*).

the comm. on 11,30,4, where this encouragement is explicitly related to public rhetorical performances, the emphasis on confidence establishes a further link between the ending of *met.* and the Prologue, where the speaker embarks upon Roman eloquence with confidence (*aggressus excolui*). Moreover, there is a clear association in Book 11 between getting rid of hesitations and fears on the one hand and confidently stepping forward with visible happiness and joy on the other, both in the solemn exhortation of the priest and in Lucius' performance at the very end of the narrative (cf. 11,15,4; 11,30,4-5); in the latter passage, the lack of hesitation, expressed through joyfully stepping forward, is connected with final closure.

4.1.2 The 'cosmological' and 'calendrical' dimension of Book 11

Another element that defines the temporal setting of Book 11 is the correspondence between Lucius' personal experiences with fixed calendar dates of important religious festivals.⁸⁴ Most prominently, Lucius' re-transformation takes place at the festival of the *navigium Isidis*, which archaeological and literary accounts place on March 5th (see introduction to Ch. XVII [The *navigium Isidis* in other texts and sources]); yet, there may also be a relation between Lucius' first initiation, celebrated as his new spiritual birthday, and the festival of the *inventio Osiridis* (see comm. on 11,24,4 *festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum*), or a possible association of Lucius' arrival in Rome with the Saturnalia (and the *inventio Osiridis*; see comm. on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium*). Also in Rome, Lucius' life as an initiate is structured according to the feast days of the Isiac calendar (11,29,5 *Romae diebus sollempnibus*). More generally, this correspondence reflects the cosmological and astrological setting of Lucius' experiences throughout Book 11.

This setting is appropriately introduced by the rising moon at the opening of the book,⁸⁵ and underlined by repeated references to the constellation and course of heavenly bodies and the cyclic movement of the seasons. Most of the references to the constellation and course of heavenly bodies indicate Isis' power to order the course of the stars (11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*; 11,25,2 *stellarum noxios meatus cohibes*; 11,25,3 *tibi respondent sidera*), which can be compared to her power over fate, including the fate that governs Lucius' life (11,6,5-7; see comm. on 11,6,7 *ultra statuta fato tuo spatia*). Isis' choice of the priest who is going to initiate Lucius is based on her observation of the astrological conjunction between him and Lucius (11,22,3), which reinforces the notion that Lucius' experiences are astrologically determined and that Isis is behind this determination. In this respect, Isis' all-pervading influence assimilates the power of the Moon over the seasons, the cosmos, and all human affairs, celebrated by Lucius in the opening scene (Ch. I).

In the course of Book 11, the initial important role of the Moon is taken over by the Sun. The glorious sunrise in Ch. VII foreshadows the increasingly prominent role of the Sun in Lucius' future life as an initiate. Hence, soon after the lunar opening,

⁸⁴ See Witte 1997, 51: "Clearly, there is a calendar pattern structuring the novel's architecture with yearly cycles paralleling the protagonist's spiritual journey"; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 54-55.

⁸⁵ See Witte 1997, 42: "the spring moon serves as an important narratological device in drawing the episode into the cosmological realm."

the narrative of Book 11 becomes increasingly 'solarised', until Lucius finally becomes initiated twice into the cult of Osiris, who was identified with Sol.⁸⁶ At the end of Book 11, the deterministic role of the lunar goddess Isis turns out to be superseded by the 'solar' god Osiris, who "dictates each person's fate" (11,27,9). The 'solarisation' of Book 11 can be also observed in details like, for example, the name of the priest, Mithras. As we point out in the comm. (on 11,22,3 *Mithram*), the name Mithras may allude to a more specific connection with solar cults, as the god Mithras was identified with Helios. During his initiation into the mysteries of Isis, which take place at sunset (11,23,3 *sol curvatus intrahebat uesperam*), Lucius experiences a journey to the Underworld and to heaven, and beholds the Sun in the darkness of the night (11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*). As the new initiate, Lucius is revealed to the community of Isiac worshippers as a quasi-divine statue, evoking both Sol (11,24,4 *ad instar Solis exornato me*) and Osiris through his lighted torch and solar crown. The people gather to admire the spectacle (11,24,4 *in aspectum populus errabat*), just as they had gathered to celebrate the rising sun of the first day of Spring (11,7,2-3).

As Beck 2004 points out, the important role of the Sun with regard to the relation between (calendar) time and space in the Isis Book reflects Platonic notions about the dependence of human vicissitudes upon cosmic constellations.⁸⁷ Lucius' journey to and arrival in Rome reveals spatio-temporal connections related to the Sun (see comm. on 11,26,2 *prosperitate ... portum* on the sundial of Augustus as a hidden 'chronotopic template'; see also comm. on 11,26,4 *transcurso ... compleuerat*). Beck (2004, 312) argues (following Merkelbach 1995) that Lucius' initiation into the mysteries of Osiris takes place on the birthday of the Sun (December 24th/25th; cf. comm. on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium* on the Isiac festival of the Kikellia taking place at the same time). The climax of the solarisation of the 11th Book is the appearance of Osiris (11,30,4). His identification with Sol had already been underlined by the epithet *inuictus*, which is well-attested in inscriptions related to the cult of Mithras/Sol in the second century. Apuleius possibly anticipated here in literary form the association of Sarapis, emperor cult, and solar symbolism that is attested from Caracalla onwards (see comm. on 11,27,2 *inuicti*); cf. below, 4.1.3 with nn. 99-100 and 4.2.3 with n. 120.

4.1.3 The significance of time indicators on a symbolic level

This section discusses the symbolic meaning of time indicators which form antithetical pairs, such as moon and sun, night and day; death and life. After the moonrise at the beginning of Ch. I, introducing lunar time as the context for Lucius' desperate prayer for his re-transformation, the rising of the golden sun in Ch. VII marks the beginning of the day dedicated to Isis, as announced by the goddess in Ch. V.⁸⁸ Accord-

⁸⁶ On the increasing 'solarisation' of Book 11 see Beck 2004; see also Beck 2006.

⁸⁷ For Apuleius' own philosophical interest in the sun, its orbit and its size cf. *flor.* 18,32 with La Rocca 2005, 274-275 ad loc., who underlines the importance of this interest for Apuleius' philosophical identity.

⁸⁸ Cf. 11,5,5 *diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupauit religio.*

ing to her promise, this day will be a *dies salutaris* for Lucius through her providence (11,5,4 *iam tibi prouidentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris*). Against this background, the rising sun on this new warm, cloudless day (11,7,4 *dies apricus*) can be read symbolically as the beginning of Lucius' 'new life', and the ending of his life dedicated to magic, which was associated with the darkness of the cloudy night and the absence of the Sun.⁸⁹ The atmosphere of religious triumph, seen under a shining sun on a new morning and characterised by joyful and admiring crowds (11,7,2; again in 11,24,4, the public spectacle featuring Lucius as Sol), is symbolically reflected in the overcoming of the dark night, experienced by Lucius during the initiation in 11,23 (cf. 11,23,7 *nocte media*).

The day/night dichotomy is also reflected on the level of religious activities and experiences. During nighttime, people have a different kind of religious experience, in the form of dreams, epiphanies, and 'underworld' visions. Nocturnal visions are associated in Book 11 with incredible events and miracles (cf. comm. on 11,13,6 *consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis*). During daytime, canonized rituals are performed in public, while the light of day is seen as an authenticating source that illuminates everything, including the truth of nocturnal messages.⁹⁰

To the image of the bright day, bringing relief after the dark night,⁹¹ Apuleius adds nautical associations, related to the metaphor of the 'dawn after the storm',⁹² which fits the religious context of the inauguration of the season of navigation (*navigium Isidis*). The symbolic associations of the antithetical time indicators 'night vs. day', 'winter vs. spring' etc., turn out to be interrelated with other symbolic dichotomies permeating Book 11, related to weather (storms vs. calmness; rainy, cloudy vs. dry⁹³), geography (sea vs. harbour⁹⁴), colour (black, dark vs. light, golden, etc.⁹⁵), and human existence in general (life, birth, vs. death; perils vs. safety⁹⁶). The

⁸⁹ Cf. 3,16,2 *quod non celerius sol caelo ruisset noctique ad exercendas inlecebras magiae maturius cessisset, ipsi Soli nubilam caliginem et perpetuas tenebras comminantem* (sc. Pamphilien), 'because the Sun had not rushed down more quickly from heaven and yielded earlier to night, so that she could exercise her magic charms, she was threatening the Sun himself with cloudy darkness and perpetual gloom'.

⁹⁰ The evidence of the day: cf. 1,18,1 *iubaris exortu cuncta conlustrantur*, with *GCA* 2007, 328-329 ad loc. on the contrast between the deceitful night and the new day, illuminating the truth. For the day/night dichotomy in Book 11 cf. also e.g. 11,22,2 *noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis; 11,22,4 necdum satis luce lucida*.

⁹¹ Harrauer 1973 on 11,5,5 *dies ex ista nocte nascetur* compares Aesch. *Pers.* 300-301.

⁹² Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 900, with Fraenkel 1950 ad loc.

⁹³ For (cloudy) storms cf. 11,5,5 *lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus; 11,7,5 magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ... temperabat; 11,7,5 nubilosa caligine disiecta; 11,15,1 magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis; 11,25,2 depulsis uitae procelli ... Fortunae tempestates*. For the absence of rain clouds see comm. on 11,7,5 *nudo sudoque luminis ... splendore*. For Isis' role as mistress of the winds and the sea see comm. on 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina*; below, 4.2.1

⁹⁴ For (safe) harbours cf. 11,15,3 *ad portum Quietis ... tandem, Luci, uenisti* (see comm. ad loc. for the various associations of this image with the context of Book 11 and with Isis' identity as mistress of the sea); 11,26,2 *Augusti portum potius sum*. It is important that Book 11 is set in large part in the harbour of Cenchreae (see below, 4.2.1).

⁹⁵ Cf. 11,7,2 *noctis atrae ... sol ... aureus* with comm. ad loc.; 11,11,1 *nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis*.

⁹⁶ The notion of safety is repeatedly expressed in Book 11 by *salus, tutus, tutela*, etc. and is often explicitly connected with an indication of time (day, season). Cf. 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina; 11,5,4 dies salutaris* (see comm. ad loc. for more examples); 11,6,6 *uiues in mea tutela gloriosus; 11,15,3 in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae; 11,21,6 salutis tutelam in deae manu posita; 11,26,2 tutusque prosperi-*

motif of seafaring with favourable winds (11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina; 11,5,5; 11,26,2*), implying the right season for sailing, returns at the end of the novel on a metaphorical level in an expression for Lucius' divinely inspired success in the Forum in Rome (11,28,6 *spiritu fauentis Euentus*).

Beyond the impact on Lucius' life, some wider symbolic associations of such time indicators may be observed. The rising of the golden sun (*sol ... aureus*) can be viewed to symbolise divine epiphany and the beginning of a 'Golden Age';⁹⁷ see also introduction to Ch. VII (1. Daybreak, spring, Isis: the joyful celebration of a divine epiphany). The elaborate description of early morning with crowds filling the streets (11,7,2), who will worship Isis during the religious procession later on, recalls a similar scene at the beginning of *Cupid and Psyche* (4,29), where people in the streets worship the princess Psyche as soon as she leaves the house early in the morning (4,29,4 *matutino progressu*).⁹⁸ In that passage there seems to be a worship of both religious and worldly power: Psyche is venerated like a goddess, but is also a princess, the daughter of the king.

In Book 11, the references to Sol and the Spring festival in combination with rejoicing crowds (11,7,2; cf. also 11,16,9; 11,24,4) may evoke traditional associations between epiphany, Spring, and the beneficial influence of a divine ruler in an encomiastic context, especially famous through Horace (*carm.* 4,5,5-8).⁹⁹ Book 11 reflects various traditional elements of this encomiastic/panegyric topos: the return of spring, the rising sun of a new day, the withdrawal of darkness and night, the rejoicing crowds gathering in the streets, celebrating the arrival of the source of beneficial light; both the element of religion and of triumph are emphasised (11,7,2 *discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali*; see comm. on 11,24,4 *cinxerat ... in modum radiorum ... sic ad instar Solis*). In the Apuleian descriptions, it is not a divine ruler, but the goddess Isis and the Sun who are put in the foreground¹⁰⁰; yet, both *sol/Sol* and Isis have significant connections with the Imperial cult in Rome (see introduction to Ch. XXVII [2. Osiris and Rome]; cf. above, 4.1.2, last paragraph, and below, 4.2.3).

4.2 Space

From the middle of Book 10 onwards, where Lucius arrives in Corinth (10,19,1), the role of geographical space in the narrative changes, and fantasy landscapes yield more and more space to the 'real' world, which forms the setting of Book 11.¹⁰¹ This transition from the fictional world to a different kind of world is underlined by a very exact reference to the distance of six miles between Corinth and Cenchreae, covered

tate, where the safe journey to Rome takes place in an unusual season (winter).

⁹⁷ For the *topos* of the glorification of the beginning of a new day, which marks the dawning of a better future, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 100-101, where the chorus celebrates the sun at daybreak as the bringer of good fortune.

⁹⁸ See *GCA* 2004, 54.

⁹⁹ The religious nature of this association goes back to Pind. *Pyth.* 8,96-97 (see Syndikus 2001, 317 with lit.).

¹⁰⁰ Gladigow (s.v. 'Epiphany/Advent', *HrwGr* II, 290-296) treats the epiphany of a deity and the *aduentus* of a ruler as more or less identical concepts.

¹⁰¹ As observed by Penwill 1990, 13-14.

at a gallop by the ass at the end of Book 10 (10,35,3 *sex ... totis passuum milibus*).¹⁰² In that passage, the detailed description of Cenchreae contains a number of significant characteristics that recur in Book 11 (the beach, the sea, the numerous crowds, the safe harbour; the spray of seawater),¹⁰³ and prepares for the realistic geographical setting of the novel's closing book, which significantly ends in Rome. In the opening scene of the last book of *met.*, the beach of Cenchreae, the sea, and the moon represent the environmental framework for the protagonist's state of mind (his stupor, his reflections and his resolution to invoke the goddess). Throughout Book 11, descriptions of landscape, space, and other local and geographical references (especially to Cenchreae and Rome; see below, 4.2.1) continue to play a functional role (see e.g. the geographical expanse of Isis' influence in Ch. V; the description of Lucius' exotic clothing in 11,24,3; the mention of *Augusti portum* in 11,26,2).¹⁰⁴

4.2.1 Havens of *gaudium*: Cenchreae and Rome

This section discusses some narrative, philosophical and religious implications of the landscapes that form the setting of Book 11. The geographical setting of the major part of Book 11 (Ch. I-XXV) is Cenchreae, the adjacent harbour town of Corinth, which probably represents Lucius' town of origin (see comm. on 11,18,1 *protinus in patria* and 11,26,1 *patrium larem*).¹⁰⁵ Scholars have discussed Apuleius' choice of Corinth and Cenchreae as settings for the ending of Apuleius' narrative, instead of Patras and Thessalonice, which we find in the Greek Ass narrative.¹⁰⁶ Among the reasons adduced so far are the Romanocentric nature of Apuleius' intended audience, who would perceive Corinth as a symbol of the relationship between Greek and Roman cultural identity,¹⁰⁷ and the reputation of the wealthy town of Corinth as an im-

¹⁰² See *GCA* 2000, 413 ad loc.

¹⁰³ Cf. 10,35,3-4 *iam cursu me celerrimo proripio, sexque totis passuum milibus perneciter confectis Cenchreas peruado, quod oppidum audit quidem nobilissimae coloniae Corinthiensium, adluitur autem Aegaeo et Saronico mari. Inibi portus etiam tutissimum nauium receptaculum magno frequentatur populo. Vitatis ergo turbulis et electo secreto litore, prope ipsas fluctuum aspergines in quodam mollissimo harenae gremio lassum corpus porrectus refoueo*. 'I set off at a fast gallop; covering a full six miles at top speed, I arrived at Cenchreae, a town that counts as part of the illustrious colony of the Corinthians, and is moreover washed by the Aegean Sea and the Saronic Gulf. There is also a harbour, a safe refuge for ships, which is visited by many people. Therefore I avoided the masses and sought out a secluded part of the coast and, close to the spray of the waves, stretched out in a wonderfully soft hollow of the beach, I refreshed my weary body.'

¹⁰⁴ On geographical references as an important backdrop for the narrative of *met.* in general see Graverini 2002; 2007, 187-232 (= 2012, 165-207); Zimmerman 2002.

¹⁰⁵ For allusions to Lucius' Corinthian background cf. 1,22,4 *Corinthio Demea*; 2,12,3 *Corinthi ... apud nos*. According to Veyne 1965, 241-242, the circle of Lucius' wanderings is closed by his arrival in Corinth in Book 10. Lucius gives no sign of recognising the city as his fatherland, when he arrives in Corinth in 10,19,1; *GCA* 2000, 259 ad loc. points out that by his metamorphosis into an ass Lucius has also lost his 'proof of identity'. This 'change of identity' is continued in Book 11, where Lucius only briefly visits his *patrium larem* (11,26,1) and is even called *Madaurensem* (11,27,9).

¹⁰⁶ See Mason 1971; see also *GCA* 2000, 17-18 for the observation that the geographical transition from Corinth to Cenchreae coincides with the permanent divergence between Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the *Onos*. For a convenient summary of the various arguments see Graverini 2012, 166-169.

¹⁰⁷ Apuleius' Latin audience would be familiar with Corinth, because after its destruction by the Romans in 146 B.C. it was rebuilt and repopulated as a Roman colony by Caesar. For the importance of the history of Corinth as a cultural background for Apuleius' narrative see Graverini 2002. Graverini (p. 65) points out that the close relation between *met.* and Corinth is connected to the town's function as a pow-

moral 'Vanity Fair', from which Lucius significantly flees at the end of Book 10.¹⁰⁸ Seeking refuge and salvation on the beach of Cenchreae, Lucius discovers in Book 11 his new identity as a chaste and pure Isiac follower, leaving behind his immoral adventures of the previous ten books, of which Corinth forms the last notorious setting before his re-transformation. Thus, the geographical transition from Corinth to Cenchreae simultaneously reflects the transition from *uoluptas* to *gaudium*.

Another important aspect of the geographical setting of Book 11 is that of local religious context. The worship of Isis Pelagia in Corinth and its adjacent harbour town Cenchreae was probably an important factor in Apuleius' elaborate description of the Festival of Isis in this setting (for Isis Pelagia see introd. note on 11,5,5; see also comm. on 11,3,3 *excusso pelago*; 11,15,1 *portum Quietis*; 11,16,7 *felicitis aluei*; 11,28,6 *spiritu*). The references to *commeatus* (11,5,5; 11,16,7) point to the important role of the grain trade, which was connected with the local cult of Isis Pelagia, a connection which is also reflected in the proximity of the *horrea* (storehouses for grain, corn etc.) of Cenchreae's harbour to the place where the Isaeum presumably stood.¹⁰⁹ On a topographical level, the reciprocal connection between Isis and Demeter by the proximity of their sanctuaries in Corinth adds plausibility to the unexpected prominence of Ceres in Lucius' prayer to the Moon at the outset of Book 11 (11,2,1 *siue tu Ceres alma frugum parens originalis*).¹¹⁰

Lucius' invocation of Venus after Demeter in the same prayer (see comm. on 11,2,1 *seu tu ... coleris*) may also be motivated by the local religious context of Corinth, which was an important cultic place for Aphrodite (cf. the prominent role of Venus in the pantomime performed at the Corinthian theatre, 10,31).¹¹¹ Against this background, the geographical transition from Corinth to Cenchreae also reflects a transition from Venus to Isis. In Book 11, Apuleius not only refers to the connections and parallels between Isis and Venus/Aphrodite,¹¹² but also represents Isis as a superior form of Venus (cf. 11,5,1 with introd. note).¹¹³

Other important factors for the choice of Cenchreae are the proximity of the sea and the town's harbour. Already in Book 10, Lucius points out that he arrives at Corinth by (partly) travelling over sea (10,19,1 *partim maritimo itinere confecto*). When he flees from Corinth, he runs at a gallop towards the sea and finds a place to rest on the beach, very close to the sea. The sea and seawater provide the context for the religious experiences and rituals that form the core of the first half of Book 11, from

erful emblem of cultural identity, which is also reflected in its mention in the Prologue (in combination with Athens and Sparta) as the fatherland of the novel itself. See also *GCA* 2007, 76-77 on 1,1,3 *Isthmos Ephyræa*; 394-395 on 1,22,4 *Corinthio*.

¹⁰⁸ For the immoral reputation of Corinth see Mason 1971; for the episode of the planned sexual performance in the theatre with a condemned woman as an episode of extreme moral corruption, deliberately set in Corinth, see *GCA* 2000, 292-293 on 10,23,2 *grandi praemio, uilis ... aliqua*.

¹⁰⁹ See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 171.

¹¹⁰ Cf. 11,5,2 *Cererem*, with comm. ad loc. For reflections of the identification of Isis with Ceres/Demeter in Isiac sanctuaries in Apuleius' time see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 172-173.

¹¹¹ See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 67-69. For other possible allusions to the religious context of Corinth see comm. on 11,8,4 *ut illum quidem Bellerophontem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus*; 11,9,6 *magno ... Sarapi*.

¹¹² See comm. on 11,2,1 *seu tu ... coleris* and *caelestis Venus*; 11,5,2 *Paphiam Venerem*; introduction to Ch. III (2. Isis, Venus, Photis). Cf. also below, nn. 167 and 212.

¹¹³ See Tilg in *AGA* 3, 148-149 and below, 6,4 on the presence of Lucretius in Book 11.

the emerging of the Moon and of Isis from the waves (in the latter case, the description alludes to the iconography of Venus; see introduction to Ch. III [2. Isis, Venus, Photis]) to the self-immersions of Lucius-ass in the seawater, to the launching of the ship (Ch. XVI-XVII). An effect of synaesthesia ('mixing of senses') is created by the combination of miraculous divine visions emerging from the sea (11,1,1 *emergentem*; 11,3,2 *emergit*) with the purely physical experience of being immersed in the waves of the same sea (11,1,4 *summerso*; 11,7,1 *respersus*).¹¹⁴ Already at the end of Book 10, the ass had sought the proximity of the spray of seawater (*fluctuum aspergines*) on the beach of Cenchreae, which foreshadows the religious connotation of the spray of the seawater shaken off by the apparition of the goddess (cf. 11,3,2 *excusso pelago*). The ass sprinkles himself with seawater again immediately after the vision has disappeared (11,7,1 *marino rore respersus*), the clarity of which had filled him with wonder (11,7,1 *miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam*).

The association between feelings of religious awe and a physical proximity to or even direct connection with the element of the sea, which we see at the opening (Ch. I), returns in the rituals at Cenchreae, which accompany the launching of the ship of Isis (cf. 11,5,5), especially at 11,16,9, where the reader/spectator can see how the whole community of Cenchreae pours libations on the waves of the sea, and how the ship of Isis is then released into the water. The 'untried keel' that is dedicated to Isis as the 'first fruits of voyaging' (11,16,7) can be symbolically compared to Lucius, who dedicates himself to Isis and begins a new 'journey of life'.

The harbour town of Cenchreae forms a concrete setting that simultaneously introduces on a metaphorical level the central images of sea, waves and navigation in this Book, which symbolically refer to the various experiences, feelings ('waves of emotion'; see below, 6.2), tribulations, and journeys of the protagonist in the whole novel, including the arrival at the safe haven at the novel's religious closure (cf. e.g. 11,5,5 *lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus, nauigabili iam pelago*; 11,15,1 *portum Quietis*, with comm. ad loc.). The important theme of a journey over sea to a saving harbour, again already foreshadowed at the end of Book 10 (cf. 10,35,5 with *GCA* 2000, 416 ad loc.), returns in Lucius' sea journey from his hometown (presumably Corinth, which means he departed from the harbour of Cenchreae) to Rome (11,26,1-2), a new landscape where he finds his final home and a 'safe haven'.

In view of the above, the harbour of Cenchreae is the perfect setting for the epiphany of Isis. Gianotti (1986, 78 n. 2) observes both the parallelism and the mirroring effect between two 'opening scenes': on the one hand, the opening of Book 2, where Lucius wakes up in Hypata and views the whole landscape in terms of metamorphosis and magic (rocks, birds, trees and fountain water are transformed human beings; statues, pictures, walls and animals will behave like humans); on the other hand, the description of dawn in Ch. VII of Book 11, where Lucius wakes up in Cenchreae, while the rising sun on the first day of spring, devoted to Isis, transforms the landscape into an atmosphere of religious joy, symbolically anticipating the positive turn of events in the unfortunate life of Lucius in his ass shape.¹¹⁵ The theme of metamor-

¹¹⁴ For Apuleius' use of synaesthesia see e.g. *GCA* 2007, 272 on 1,13,6.

¹¹⁵ His deliverance had been promised by Isis in Ch. VI; see introduction to Ch. VII (1. Daybreak, spring, Isis: the joyful celebration of a divine epiphany).

phosis as reflected in the topographical description of Hypata is mirrored in the description of Cenchreae, as the joy of all animals, plants and houses is described in terms of personification, while the human behaviour of the animals in 11,7,3-4 prefigures Lucius' own re-transformation in Ch. XIII.

The comparison between the two landscapes reveals both continuity and change: whereas Hypata symbolises Lucius' fascination for magic and his imminent metamorphosis, Cenchreae symbolises Lucius' new religious spirit – especially his *gaudium* – and forebodes his re-transformation. Whereas the landscapes of Books 1 – 10 (including Hypata) form the setting for Lucius' *aerumnae*, the landscapes of Book 11 (Cenchreae, Rome) are the safe havens that form the setting for Lucius' *gaudium*. For the polarity between *gaudium* and *aerumnae* see comm. on 11,15,4 *pristinis aerumnis absolutus ... gaudens* (cf. 11,19,1 *pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis*); on *gaudium* as the dominant emotion of Book 11 see comm. on 11,30,5 *gaudens*.

4.2.2 'Romecoming' and Romanisation

When Lucius shortly returns to his *patrius lar* (11,26,1), the narrative seems to follow the traditional literary models of homecoming known e.g. from the *Odyssey* and the Greek erotic novel.¹¹⁶ But Lucius' homecoming is described in no more than thirteen words (11,26,1 *tandem ... condendo*). It is instantly eclipsed by a much more significant 'Romecoming' taking up the last chapters of *met*. The fact that Apuleius chose Rome as the true goal of Lucius' homecoming sheds light on his technique of adapting and transforming the Greek ass narrative, where the hero sails back to his homeland Patras after his re-transformation in Thessalonice (see below, 6.1).¹¹⁷ In the context of the epic dimension of Book 11, Lucius' Romecoming belongs to a pattern that reflects a certain transition from the 'Odyssean' and 'Greek' quality of Books 1 – 10 to the more 'Aeneid-style' and Romanocentric orientation of Book 11 (see below, section 6.3).

The aspects of cultural and literary appropriation underlying the Romanocentric closure of *met* are also reflected in Apuleius' representation of Isis as the 'globalised' cultural heroine of Rome. In her self-revelation (Ch. V), Isis introduces herself in terms of an all-embracing cosmic process, in which the origins of civilization, the development and spreading of religious cult, and the evolution and expansion of the Roman Empire are interrelated phenomena – the very Roman names of the goddesses listed by Isis indicate by themselves a process of cultural and religious appropriation, Athena becoming Minerva, Demeter becoming Ceres, Aphrodite becoming Venus, etc. (cf. e.g. comm. on 11,5,2 *Dictynnem Dianam*). All these phenomena and developments converge and culminate in Isis. The Apuleian Isis as the 'globalising' cultural heroine of Rome reflects the geographical focus of Book 11, where Rome, the political and religious capital of the Empire (cf. introd. note on 11,17,3), is the *telos*

¹¹⁶ On the idea of Lucius' *nostos* cf. e.g. Harrison 2002, 43; some differences in Graverini 2007, 189-190 with n. 10 (= 2012, 167-168 with n. 10).

¹¹⁷ See Graverini 2007, 190 (= 2012, 168); Tilg 2014a, 110-11 argues that the 'Romecoming' marks out Apuleius' own addition to the Greek ass story and his achievement in Roman literary history.

of Lucius' wanderings ('Romecoming').

Fredouille (1975, 19 with n. 2) observes that Lucius' geographical movements at the end of *met.* (first to Cenchreae instead of his presumed home Corinth, then to Rome) result in a narrative spiral rather than a circle. However, it could be argued that we here find a narrative circle with the Prologue to *met.*, which shares the same setting of a Greek speaker coming to Rome. The Roman ending of *met.* weaves into the plot of the story a number of additional layers from the fields of religion and philosophy (cf. introduction to Ch. XXX [2. The lack of detail]), politics (cf. introduction to Ch. XXVII [2. Osiris and Rome]) and e.g. Alvares 2007, 7-8), as well as autobiography and poetics (cf. introduction to Ch. XXVII [3. History and autobiography]) and comm. on 11,27,9 *Madaurensem*.¹¹⁸

4.2.3 The contrasting relationship between periphery and centre

Book 11 introduces a contrasting relationship between periphery and centre on various levels: *prouincia – urbs; aduena – indigena*; Greece – Rome; Africa – Rome. As we have observed above, the introduction of Rome as the unexpected place of 'homecoming' for Lucius finds an analogy in the movement from Greece to Rome (from 'periphery' to 'centre') that we find in the Prologue (1,1,3-4). The contrast between Greece and Rome is defined on a level of imperial administration by the term *prouincia* and its derivatives (cf. 11,28,1 *prouincialibus*; 11,29,5 *in prouincia*), indicating that Lucius moves from his peripheral place of origin to a different kind of world, which requires him to meet higher standards than he is used to, not only regarding the expenses of the cult and of living in general (11,28,2 *erogationes urbicae*), but also regarding the expected level of learning and rhetorical abilities. In the end, Lucius manages to meet those higher standards on every level, earning a good income by his successful rhetorical activities in the Forum and putting his envious fellow-orators in the shade through the industrious learning of his studies (11,30,4 *maleuolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem serebat*).

Both in the Prologue and at the ending of the novel, the contrasting relationship between the periphery and the centre is encapsulated by the antithetical pair *aduena – indigena*, which reflects Lucius' (and the narrator's) status as newcomer (*aduena*) in Rome (see comm. on 11,26,3 *aduena ... indigena*); in both instances, *aduena* also refers to Lucius' arrival (*aduenio*) at the goal of his journey. In Book 11, this goal is defined as *sacrosancta ista ciuitas*, underlining Rome's status as the religious centre of the world (11,26,2 *sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo*). The description of Lucius as a 'newcomer to the shrine but a native of the cult' is mentioned in close connection with a reference to the cult of Isis Campensis, which had its centre on the Campus Martius. The religious setting of the Campus Martius, a place where oriental cult was integrated into a programme of imperial propaganda,¹¹⁹ brings Lucius not only closer to Isis, but also closer to the Emperor. The other instance of the adjective

¹¹⁸ Tatum 1982, 1113 speaks of "suggestive yet enigmatic breaks in the fabric of fiction at the end of the novel".

¹¹⁹ See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 175-185; Lembke 1994.

sacrosanctus in Book 11 (11,17,2 *pastophorum, quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est*) foreshadows the fact that Lucius' prestigious membership in the college of *pastophori* at the end of the novel and his appointment as one of the quinquennial decurions (see comm. on 11,30,4) reflects an important progress also in his religious career in Rome, from *fani aduena* in 11,26,3 to one of the heads of the Iseum Campense.

Movement and journeys from the periphery towards the centre are symbolised in Book 11 by the important theme of navigation, illustrated by Lucius' journey on the ship that takes him from 'home' to Rome (11,26,1-2) and by the opening of the trade season at the festival of the launching of the ship (Ch. XVII), which evokes the theme of grain transport from Egypt to Rome, underlined by the word *commeatus* (11,5,5; 11,16,7). The description of this festival shows that members of local cults in the province felt a deep attachment to the Emperor and to Rome as the centre of political power, and that expression of these feelings of attachment and connection with the centre belonged to religious practice in the province (cf. 11,17,3 *fausta uota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo*). The opening of the trade season coincides with the beginning of the navigation season; the religious festivities related to these 'beginnings' are introduced by rejoicing crowds in the province, greeting the rising sun on the first day of Spring (11,7,2-3).

The movement from the periphery to the centre also sheds light on the religious prominence of the Sun in Book 11 (see above, 4.1.2); in this context, it is impossible to neglect the Sun's associations with the Emperor. From the time of Augustus, Roman emperors had a close ideological and iconographic relation to the Sun.¹²⁰ In the second century A.D., as Dowden in *AGA* 3, 164-165 points out, it was in particular Emperor Antoninus Pius who was identified with Sol. Moreover, a particular interest in Egyptian (Isiac) religion can be observed on imperial coins and other iconographical evidence in the Antonine period, presenting Isis as a divine equivalent of Faustina.¹²¹ Along these lines, the idea of imperial *adventus*, evoked by the arrival of Spring and the rejoicing of all nature in Ch. VII, may point to a theme that implicitly pervades Book 11 as a whole. Notably, the book opens with Lucius' decision to pray at the 'august image of the goddess' (cf. 11,1,3 *augustum specimen deae*),¹²² and Lucius' final haven, both in a geographical and a religious sense, will be Rome, symbolised by the 'Port of Augustus' (see comm. on 11,26,2 *Augusti portum*).

In 11,27,9, the poor Madauran is predicted to achieve literary fame, in the context of the cult of Osiris in Rome, who was associated with the Sun and with the Emperor. In view of the above, the metaliterary allusions to the successful career of Lucius/Apuleius (above, 3.2), the man from the periphery who becomes a celebrity in the centre,¹²³ are possibly connected with certain encomiastic allusions in the Isis Book.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ See Alvar 2008, 412-413, who observes that "the Sun has an elective affinity with autocracy".

¹²¹ See Bricault 2000 and 2005; Graverini in *AGA* 3, 103 n. 53. For the relation between Isis and worldly power see also introduction to Ch. VI; Bricault and Versluys (edd.) 2014.

¹²² See comm. on 11,22,5 *numen augustum* on the possibility that the use of the adjective *augustus* in Book 11 reinforces the idea of 'imperial' aspects of Isis' cult. Cf. also 11,16,3 *hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformauit ad homines*.

¹²³ See comm. on 11,28,6 *patrocinia sermonis Romani*, also on the analogy with the movement from Greece to Rome in the Prologue. On metaliterary allusions in Book 11 see above, 3.2 with n. 61.

¹²⁴ For the associations between Osiris and the Sun God see above, 4.1.2; for associations between

5. Characters and Characterisation

5.1 The three main characters and the crowds

(1.) The hero of Book 11 is the young and enthusiastic Greek youth Lucius, whose curiosity for magic had led to his transformation into an ass and many misfortunes experienced in his asinine shape. Lucius' self-characterisation reflects his 'epic' ambitions, viewing himself as the victim of a deity's wrath and associating his victory over bad Fortune with Herculean labours.¹²⁵ After his salvation, he smoothly slips into his new celebrity role in the Greek province as a chosen person, the favourite of Isis, showing little patience and lots of ambition in his new career as an Isiac initiate. In Rome, he quickly makes it to the top in his religious and oratorical career.

(2.) Lucius' saving goddess Isis presents herself as a universal, henotheistic divinity as well as the origin of the world. She implicitly compares Lucius' asinine appearance with someone from her own theology, Seth-Typhon.¹²⁶ Her demand of life-long service from Lucius in return for his salvation from his asinine state reflects her characterisation as a saving goddess with an autocratic identity (see introduction to Ch. VI). She communicates with Lucius and the priest by means of prophetic dreams.¹²⁷

(3.) Isis' high priest Mithras plays a central role in Lucius' re-transformation and first initiation through Isis' intervention. His supreme status in the cult is emphasised by his name Mithras, the name of a Persian god, and by many epithets. He displays his divine authority by his performance, for example when he utters the solemn words of his sermon in a state of prophetic frenzy, or when he addresses Lucius in a fatherly manner.

Other important figures in Book 11 are represented by the anonymous crowds, which appear throughout. Their unanimous voice and performance transforms them into a kind of 'character' in the story, which recalls the role of the masses in epic, especially Lucan.¹²⁸ An important narrative function of the anonymous crowds in Book 11 is the articulation of interpretative comments on Lucius' status, prestige and moral reputation; these comments reflect a deferential perspective on Lucius that 'scrupulous readers' of *met.* (for the term see 5.3) may not unanimously share.¹²⁹ Yet, anonymous crowds are also represented as actively participating in the events, showing the great power and impact of religion on the masses and vice versa. On one level, crowds in Book 11 play the role of a commenting and admiring audience, re-

Osiris and the first man in Rome see introduction to Ch. XXVII [2. Osiris and Rome]; comm. on 11,29,3 *clemens imago*.

¹²⁵ On Lucius as a 'mythomaniac' narrator see above, 3.1 with n. 56.

¹²⁶ Isis does not mention the name of her enemy explicitly, perhaps because her dislike of asses goes beyond a single reason. Smith in his *Essay on the Isis Book and contemporary Jewish/Christian literature* argues that the ass was also often associated with both Jews and Christians; see below, n. 137.

¹²⁷ On Isis' appearances during sleep (incubation), see comm. on 11,3,2 *perlucidum simulacrum ... uisum est*; 11,7,1 *oraculi uenerabilis*; introd. note on 11,19,2. On (prophetic) dreams see also below, 6.2 with n. 217 and the *Essay* by Smith in this volume (pp. 529-530).

¹²⁸ See most recently Gall 2005.

¹²⁹ See introduction to Ch. XVI (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?) on the much-debated issue of the people's positive interpretation of Lucius' past, in which scholars have observed a contrast with the interpretation given by the priest.

sponding with amazement and acclamation to the presence of gods and to the divine miracles performed by them (11,7,2; 11,13,6; 11,15,5; 11,16,2-5; 11,17,4; 11,24,4),¹³⁰ on another level, crowds spread rumours about Lucius, mainly positive (11,16,3 *fabulabantur*) but also negative ones (11,30,4 *disseminationes*). Generally, the crowds seem to behave differently in Book 11 from the crowds in earlier Books as a result of their distinctively religious feelings, as they do not appear to be driven by curiosity but by religious admiration (see comm. on 11,24,4 *in aspectum populum erabat*).¹³¹

The characterisation of Lucius, Isis, and the priest Mithras develops in the context of their mutual interaction. In their relationship with the goddess, both Mithras (her priest) and Lucius (her new devotee) gain features which make their identity and status appear 'larger than life' – Mithras has the name of a god, and Lucius is not only rewarded by Isis with the prospect of immortality (11,6,6-7; cf. 11,21,7), but is also shown in the temple with the appearance of the Sun god at his first initiation (Ch. XXIV). In a similar way, the characterisation of Isis and Mithras is determined in their orientation towards Lucius. Isis even adapts her own theological/mythical repertoire to the story of the protagonist, implicitly comparing Lucius-ass with her arch enemy Seth-Typhon (11,6,2). The portrayal of Mithras is defined by his fatherly behaviour towards Lucius, persuading him to become a follower of Isis, slowing him down in his enthusiasm and educating him to become more balanced and composed. Both Isis and the priest acknowledge Lucius' claims and ambitions as the hero of his own story and respond to his self-presentation in similar terms, which reveals their rhetorical aim of winning him over to become a member of the cult (cf. Isis' promise of fame in 11,6,6 *gloriosus*). Lucius, Isis and Mithras also resemble each other regarding their fate towards the end of the novel: in the final chapters, set in Rome, three other characters move into the foreground, which in one way or another represent 'counterparts' to Lucius, Isis, and Mithras, featuring in a different context. These characters are the man from Madauros, the god Osiris, and the priest Asinius Marcellus.

In her self-revelation (Ch. V-VI), Isis takes the opportunity to step into the gap created by Lucius' exuberant prayer to the Moon at the opening of the book. As he was uncertain of her identity, Lucius had addressed a whole range of goddesses in order not to miss her true name. In a spirit of sophistic rivalry, Isis presents herself in an even more exuberant self-revelation, in which she claims to be all the goddesses addressed by Lucius at once, and even more. After introducing herself as the origin of the world (11,5,1), Isis focuses in the rest of the speech on her relation with mankind, illustrating her omnipotence through the various ways in which mortals are dedicated to her and obey her under many names, on different levels: on an ethnic level (11,5,2-3), on a ceremonial level (11,5,5: the *Ploiaphesia*; 11,6,1: the *pompa*), and on an individual level – here, she focuses on her personal relation with Lucius in her role as a saving goddess, promising redemption, happiness, and fame (11,5,4; 11,6,2; 11,6,5), even in the afterlife (11,6,6), and demanding a life-long dedication in

¹³⁰ For the amazement and the acclamation of a crowd of witnesses as an element from aretalogical narrative, which can often be found at the end of ancient novels, see above, n. 11.

¹³¹ Cf. introduction to Ch. XXIII (3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?) on the difference between *curiositas* and *desiderium religiosum*.

return (11,6,5; 11,6,7).¹³² While emphasising the universalism and the longevity of her cult, Isis' self-revelation at the same time reflects her henotheistic nature,¹³³ as she claims to be the one and only true goddess (*facies uniformis ... numen unicum ... uero nomine*). Henotheistic religion lays an absolute claim on its follower: the initiate has to surrender his whole life to the cult of this deity – there is little time for other cults.¹³⁴ Not only on the level of geography, but also on the level of time, the power of Isis is all-embracing: she can appear to two different persons at the same time (11,6,3 *eodem momento*); see also comm. on 11,7,4 *parentem temporum*: Isis transcends time itself, she is 'beyond time'.¹³⁵

In the light of the earlier books of *met.*, where the witches Meroe and Panthia represented similar claims of omnipotence and cosmic powers and demanded unconditional obedience from their followers,¹³⁶ Isis' self-revelation also symbolises the triumph of Isiac religion over magic, the former object of Lucius' fascination. By implication, she even assimilates her victory over Lucius' asinine state to a victory over her enemy Seth-Typhon, the incarnation of evil, who had the head of an ass (11,6,2).¹³⁷ Lucius appears to have no other choice than to become a follower of Isis. Isis' multi-coloured appearance and multiform identity, as well as her intellectual associations with wisdom, learning and speech,¹³⁸ make her an ideal patron deity for Lucius, who is a colourful and shape-shifting character himself.

In the course of the narrative, Isis, in her turn, will be undermined in her claims to absolute power by Osiris, who turns out to be the one and only highest deity in the world of Book 11 – it is in the context of his cult that Lucius/the man from Madauros finally attains the happiness and fame that was promised to him by Isis. The rhetorical crescendo in the description of Osiris' power leaves no doubt that he completely eclipses the power of Isis (11,30,3 *deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator, Osiris*).¹³⁹

The name of the priest who carries the roses in the procession and who addresses the sermon-like speech to Lucius after his re-transformation (Ch. XV) is Mithras. Many explanations have been offered for the choice of the priest's name, which is disclosed by Isis when she informs Lucius that Mithras will initiate him into the mysteries, because they are connected by a divine astral conjunction (see comm. on

¹³² Isis' powers are partly described in language with military and legal connotations (see introduction to Ch. VI [Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity]), reflecting her identity as a goddess of war (11,5,3 *Bellonam*) and of justice and revenge (*Rhamnusiam*).

¹³³ On the universalism of Isiac religion see introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess); introduction to Ch. II (3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis); Merkelbach 1995, 94-100; Versnel 1990, 39-95; Turcan 2007. See also the Essay by Drews in this volume (pp. 517-518).

¹³⁴ Cf. 11,6,5-7 and see Cancik and Cancik-Lindemaier 1994, 71.

¹³⁵ On Isis and time see the Essay by Drews in this volume (pp. 523-524).

¹³⁶ For analogies between Isis and the witches see comm. on 11,6,5 *me ... Acherontis tenebris interlucem*; 11,25,3 *respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa*; see Frangoulidis 2008. See also below, nn. 163-164.

¹³⁷ In his Essay in this volume (pp. 536-539), Smith argues that the ass was also often associated with both Jews and Christians, which would give Isis another reason to hate that animal. See above, n. 126.

¹³⁸ See comm. on 11,5,4 *prisca ... doctrina pollentes Aegyptii*; see also Finkelppearl 2003, 40-41 ('Isis' multiformity makes her the ideal patroness of the novel').

¹³⁹ For a different interpretation of Isis and Osiris as Supreme deities see the Essay by Drews in this volume (pp. 517-523).

11,22,3 *Mithram*). Mithraism and Isiac cult are two different religions; one of the interpretive possibilities of the name offered in the comm. is that Apuleius might have chosen the name for its oriental and exotic 'sound'; moreover, as the comm. points out, scholars have observed various connections between Isiac cult and Mithraism.¹⁴⁰ The name of Mithras evokes associations with another famous mystery religion of the Roman Empire; together with Isis, the name enhances the mystical atmosphere of Book 11. Both Isis and 'Mithras' are accommodated into appropriate discourse in *met.* (unlike e.g. the Dea Syria).¹⁴¹ In the context of the priest's characterisation, the divine name underlines the solemn, exalted self-presentation of the priest, who is reported to communicate with the gods (11,6,1; 11,6,3; 11,13,1; 11,14,3) and is called a *uir alioquin grauis et sobriae religionis obseruatione famosus* (11,21,3).

The priest utters the dignified words of his sermon in a state of frenzy, which points to divine inspiration as the source of his authority (cf. 11,16,1); his prophetic possession recalls the Sibyl in *Aeneid* 6 (see comm. on 11,16,1 *fatigatos anhelitus trahens*). Various lofty epithets underline his supreme authority in the cult: *summus* (11,16,6; 11,20,1), *maximus* (11,17,1), *primarius* (11,21,2), and *praecipuus* (11,22,3). A special case is *egregius*, which in earlier books often had ironical connotations (see comm. on 11,16,1 *egregius*). As already noted, Mithras develops into a paternal figure for Lucius (cf. 11,21,3 *ut solent parentes*; 11,25,7 *meum iam parentem*); the wording of his speech evokes the scene from the *Aeneid*, where Anchises meets Aeneas in the Underworld (see below, 6.3).¹⁴²

At the same time, there is a striking contrast between the heavenly name Mithras and the more 'down-to-earth' Roman name Asinius Marcellus.¹⁴³ This name belongs to the *pastophorus* with the deformed left foot, who is associated with the Iseum Campense in Rome and who is responsible for Lucius' second and third initiation. Whereas Mithras dedicates his service to Isis, who instructs him in prophetic dreams about Lucius, Asinius performs rituals for Osiris, who tells him in a prophetic dream that he has to initiate the 'man from Madauros'. Asinius' name introduces a historical dimension into the closure of the narrative, which can be related to the mentioning of Madauros, the place of origin of the historical author of this novel. Compared to Mithras, Asinius Marcellus is a very different kind of priest functioning in a different religious context, since he is one of the *pastophori*, anticipating the final image of the bald-headed Lucius on the board of the college of the *pastophori* in Rome.¹⁴⁴

So, towards the end of Book 11, together with the change of setting to Rome, counterpart characters appear who seem to 'take over' the role of the central characters so far, Lucius, Isis, and Mithras. Lucius becomes the man from Madauros, Isis gives way to Osiris as the only true highest god, and Mithras' priestly role is 'taken

¹⁴⁰ On possible religious associations of the name Mithras see also above, 4.1.2.

¹⁴¹ Dowden in *AGA* 2, 3 views Isiac cult and Mithraism as religious developments in the Roman Empire that Antonine intellectuals sought to incorporate into Roman authorised traditional discourse, unlike other religions such as Christianity, which were rejected outright.

¹⁴² For interpretations of the priest's sermon and for its role in the thematic structure of Apuleius' novel as a whole see introduction to Ch. XV.

¹⁴³ For the impression of historical authenticity of the name see comm. on 11,27,7 *Asinium Marcellum*. On the wordplay in the name Asinius, which was a well-known name in Rome, see Nicolini in *AGA* 3, 29-30.

¹⁴⁴ See Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AGA* 3, 52-53.

over' by Asinius Marcellus, who becomes a patron figure for the man from Madauros.¹⁴⁵

These transitions go hand in hand with another important shift in Book 11, the shift from the colourful and detailed world of the Greek province, associated with fiction and myths, to the 'real world' of Rome.¹⁴⁶ This shift is connected with a transition to a different narrative style (see introduction to Ch. XXVI [A new narrative mode]), in which geographical (cf. 11,26,3 *de templi situ sumpto nomine Campensis*) and temporal indications (cf. 11,26,2 *uespera ... quam dies insequatur Iduum Decembrium*) become much clearer, and various elements add a historical dimension to the narrative.¹⁴⁷ The spectacular style of the *ekphrasis* of Isis' epiphany (Ch. V) is replaced by more simple and direct reports of dreams and visions, such as the *clemens imago* (11,29,3; cf. 11,28,4), and the final vision of Osiris, who is described without any visual detail (see introduction to Ch. XXX [2. The lack of detail]; cf. 11,27,9). Whereas Lucius wore an auspicious robe at the public part of his first initiation, elaborately described in Ch. XXIV, it is not clear what he wears at his second and third initiations, which are only described briefly.¹⁴⁸ In the final chapters, personal identities are revealed without mask or disguise (cf. 11,30,3: Osiris appears *non in alienam personam reformatus*, with comm. ad loc.). Physical signs that are indicative of true identity are uncovered: Asinius shows his deformed left foot,¹⁴⁹ Lucius shows his bald head without covering it, and Apuleius reveals his African origin.¹⁵⁰ A similar shift can be observed in the role and use of rhetoric by the characters of Book 11: at the closure of Book 11, our attention is shifted from the entertaining and enchanting rhetoric of narrative fiction (as reflected in the exuberant and poetic language used by Lucius, Isis, and Mithras) to the Roman rhetoric practised by Lucius at his successful oratorical career in the Forum.

5.2 Lucius' characterisation as a reflection of continuity and change in *met*.

A central question related to Book 11 is, whether a fundamental inner change takes place in Lucius at the religious closure of his adventures. The core of his previous misadventures is his transformation into an animal that represents the very faults that he possessed as a young man: unbridled curiosity, sexual licence, and audacity.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ For the theory of Coarelli 1989 that a certain Q. Asinius Marcellus, who came from a powerful consular family, was Apuleius' real-life patron, see comm. on 11,27,7 *Asinium Marcellum*; see also comm. on 11,22,3 *Mithram*, sub 5) and 11,27,9 *studiorum gloriam* and *grande compendium*.

¹⁴⁶ See also above, 4.2. See introd. note on 11,24,3 on the reversal in the relationship between myth/fiction and reality in Book 11 as reflected in the embroidered pictures on Lucius' ceremonial clothes at his first initiation.

¹⁴⁷ See introduction to Ch. XXVII (3. History and autobiography) and cf. e.g. comm. on 11,30,5 *sub illis Sullae temporibus*.

¹⁴⁸ For the problem of the old and the new robe cf. 11,29,5 with comm.

¹⁴⁹ See comm. on 11,27,5 *sinistri pedis* and *sinistri ... uestigio*; 11,27,7 *indiciu pedis*.

¹⁵⁰ The reference to African origin (11,27,9 *Madaurensis*) occurs in a context of mutual recognition by physical characteristics, with a cluster of terms referring to identifying signs (11,27,5-7): *signum*; *uestigium*; *indiciu*; *status*; *habitus*. According to Keulen 2014, 247-248 n. 26, it is implied that just as Lucius recognizes Asinius Marcellus by his physical appearance, Asinius will recognize the man from Madauros as such, that is, by his appearance as a native African.

¹⁵¹ See Tatum 1979, 30, who points out that these are also the qualities of the main character Loukios

Has the 'reborn' Lucius in Book 11 been cured of his old sins? Can we observe any moral and intellectual progress in his characterisation? There is a broad spectrum of answers to this question.¹⁵² The issue of the volte-face performed by Lucius in Book 11 by becoming an Isiac devotee is closely connected to the interpretation of *met*. as a novel of personal development.¹⁵³ Related to this question is also the much-debated issue of 'conversion', which is a term we seek to avoid.¹⁵⁴ As we observe in the commentary, Lucius' unexpected and apparently unexplained 'leap of faith' is presented at the outset of Book 11 as a conscious decision (see comm. on 11,1,3 *statui deprecari*), which would not have been perceived as surprising by an ancient reader, but as a possible choice.¹⁵⁵

We can see the 'old' and the 'new' characteristics of Lucius as a mirror of the continuity and change between Book 11 and the previous ten books. In our view, Lucius' characterisation, both as the narrator/writer of this text (4,32,6 *Milesiae conditorem*; see above, 3.2) and as the central figure of the novel's religious ending, can be seen as reflecting the role of Book 11 as an integral part of the whole novel. Considering the importance of dreams and miraculous epiphanies for the changes in Lucius' life, for example, one could also argue for continuity in Lucius' characterisation, instead of associating him with radical change and rupture. Being the favourite of Isis, who rescues him from his miseries, he remains a protagonist of stories about miracles and wonder workers (cf. 11,16,3-4 and see introduction to Ch. XVI [Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?]).¹⁵⁶

The continuity between the earlier books and the final book can be grasped especially in Lucius' characterisation as an impatient young man with a thirst for information about things which are beyond the grasp of human knowledge (for his eagerness to be initiated see introductions to Ch. XXI and XXII; cf. 11,22,5 *solito constantius*); yet, in Book 11 Lucius is also hesitating a lot (see above, 4.1.1). Lucius never seems to repent any wrongdoing or to admit any guilt related to his former curiosity for magic in Book 11 (yet, see comm. on 11,2,4 *si quod offensum numen ... saeuitia premit*). This reflects a continuation of his (apparent) oblivion to his own moral

in the Pseudo-Lucianic *Onos*.

¹⁵² The question is answered positively by e.g. Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 96, pointing out that the *laboriosa doctrina* praised by Osiris is radically different from the bookish *doctrina* of the former *scholasticus* Lucius (2,10,2; 11,15,2). Drews in *AAGA* 3, 124 argues that Lucius gradually becomes illuminated and wise in Book 11, interpreting the phrase *liberum arbitrium* (10,35,2, in the context of Lucius' escape from the Corinthian theatre) on a philosophical level, pointing to Lucius' first conscious step towards his re-transformation (see also the Essay by Drews in this volume, pp. 525-526). The question is answered negatively by e.g. Harrison 2000, 244-245 (Lucius remains a gullible dupe); Harrison in *AAGA* 3, 83: Lucius is "his old indiscreet self" and "Lucius the religious initiate (whether actor or auctor)" is revealed as still the same old fool". See for a moderate view Finkelpearl in *AAGA* 3, 196 n. 36: "Nonetheless, the argument could be made that Lucius' voluntary extension of the fast at 11,30,1 and other signs of increased patience in the later parts of the final book are signs of moral progress."

¹⁵³ For a discussion of the issue of 'Entwicklungsroman' see e.g. Drews in *AAGA* 3, 108 with n. 8, with further references.

¹⁵⁴ The term 'conversion' (cf. Nock 1933; Shumate 1996) is considered problematic for Lucius' religious experience in the Isis book by Bradley 1998. See next note.

¹⁵⁵ See Nicolini 2005, 49-50 on Isiac cult as a fashionable religion in Apuleius' time and see comm. on 11,1,3 *statui deprecari* on the individual's choice to approach the divine as the decisive step towards faith in ancient religion (rather than 'conversion').

¹⁵⁶ See above, n. 11; see also below, n. 162 on the role of the marvellous in Book 11 in connection with 'Egyptian elements'.

faults from the earlier books.¹⁵⁷ As he had done before, Lucius blames Photis for his sufferings also in Book 11 (see comm. on 11,20,6 *cum me Photis ... incapistrasset erroribus*; cf. also comm. on 11,15,1 *seruiles ... uoluptates*). As we have observed above (see 3.1), any explicit reference to the perspective of Lucius-narrator in his role as a mature Isiac priest is lacking in *met*.

However, at the same time we observe an important change, if we take Lucius-narrator's restraints on the reader's curiosity in Ch. XXIII into consideration (cf. 11,23,5): Lucius here shares the new perspective of Book 11 that explicitly casts a suspicious light on *curiositas*, a characteristic which he does not attribute to himself here, but to his reader (on this 'role-reversal', see introduction to Ch. XXIII [The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader]).

In Lucius' characterisation as narrator/author, it is also possible to observe continuity. Although we see in Book 11 an important paradigm shift from 'Milesian' subject matter (sex, violence, gluttony, wanderings) to 'Isiac' subject matter (prophetic dreams, celebration of religious rites, initiations),¹⁵⁸ the voice of the narrator as a sophisticated, erudite, and rhetorically gifted storyteller, who entertains and surprises his reader with the vividly depicted miraculous adventures of his younger self, remains consistent from the beginning of the novel until the end.¹⁵⁹

The self-confident *ethos* of Lucius-narrator in Book 11 presents a consistency with the characterisation of Lucius-actor as a well-bred, well-to-do, and well-educated young man with a high reputation, such as he is presented from the outset of the novel (cf. 1,2,1). That Lucius (both as actor and auctor) is to be appreciated by the Roman reader as a man of high social class and status is indicated by Roman values like education (*doctrina*, 11,15,1; 11,30,4), noble birth (*natales*, 11,15,1) and rank (*dignitas*, 11,15,1).¹⁶⁰ This *ethos* goes hand in hand with the confident role of the successful rhetorical artist and (Milesian) author of a successful literary work. The *ethos* of Lucius-narrator as a self-assured and fervent *pastophorus* is sometimes clearly reflected in his narrative choices, e.g. in the scene after his re-transformation in Cenchreae, where he is not only celebrated as the goddess' favourite due to his *fides* and *innocentia* (11,16,3-4), but is also worshipped almost as if he were a god himself after his first initiation (cf. Ch. XXIV).

For someone who characterises himself as a Milesian author (see also above, 3.2), a plausible way of enthralling his reader with miraculous tales of a colourful variety (cf. 1,1,1 *uarias fabulas*) is the choice of narrative material associated with the marvels of exotic countries, foreign cultures and cults, and wide travelling.¹⁶¹ In Book 11, this choice leads to a narrative about the protagonist's experiences with Egyptian re-

¹⁵⁷ See *GCA* 2007, 110 on 1,2,6 *stitor alioquin nouitatis ... non quidem curiosum*. See below, n. 197.

¹⁵⁸ This shift is reflected on a micro-level in the speech of the priest; see introduction to Ch. XV (2. Structure and motifs).

¹⁵⁹ There is no apparent reason why the voice of Lucius-narrator in Book 11 should not be identical with the voice of the *ego* in the Prologue, who announces the narration of Milesian tales written on Egyptian papyrus (and who can be identified with the *Milesiae conditor*, see *GCA* 2004, 85). See *GCA* 2007, 11-12, arguing along different lines for a situation of performance: the speaking *ego* of the Prologue 'dons the mask' of Lucius.

¹⁶⁰ Significantly, the speech of the priest encourages Lucius-actor to question the values, from which he derives his high self-esteem (11,15,1 *nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, uel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit*). On Lucius' *dignitas* see James and O'Brien 2006.

¹⁶¹ See also above, 1.4 with n. 36.

ligion, where 'Egyptian' gains programmatic connotations with wonder inspired by exotic art, ancient lore, and religious mystery.¹⁶² In spite of the clear contrasts between magic and Egyptian mystery cult, there are also analogies to be found between these two worlds.¹⁶³ Analogies between religion, magic, and mystery continue to appear in Book 11 from the very beginning (see introduction to Ch. I [2. The associations of the Moon with magic]), when Lucius sees the full moon rising during the mysteriously silent night.¹⁶⁴

The most important thing that seems to have changed in Lucius in Book 11 is that his thirst for knowledge about magic has transformed into a burning religious fervour (Ch. XXI), combined with an intense concern with pureness and chastity (11,1,4 *purificandi studio*; 11,30,1). From the moment he decides to pray to the Moon goddess (11,1,3 *statui deprecari*), Lucius directs his energies from the wrong things to the right things, but they are still the uncontrolled energies of Lucius, the exuberant protagonist of a fictional narrative of metamorphoses and other miracles. There is even a clear increase of terms that describe Lucius' feelings of distress and torment towards the end of Book 11 (see comm. on 11,28,2 *cruciabar ... premebar*), which culminates in the striking image of the waves of emotion (11,29,3; see below, 6.2). It is not before the appearance of the *clemens imago* (11,29,3) that Lucius' emotions finally settle into the peaceful religious *gaudium* that marks the ending of the novel (11,30,5).

The vivid characterisation resulting from the depiction of Lucius' intense emotions resembles that of other characters in *met*. like Psyche or Charite. Schlam in *AAGA* 1, 99 mentions Lucius' eagerness to be initiated in connection with the theme of curiosity: he draws a parallel between Lucius' pursuit of magic and Psyche's penetration of her husband's identity, and compares the role of Cupid, who saves Psyche after she succumbs again to curiosity (6,20), to the role of divine favour in restoring the ass to his human state.¹⁶⁵ Lucius' religious gestures (e.g. 11,24,7), his prayers, and his wish to approach the divine strongly resemble the characterisation of Psyche; in the comm. we provide many detailed instances.¹⁶⁶ His strong emotional reactions to

¹⁶² Cf. 11,5,3 *prisca ... doctrina pollutent Aegyptii*; 11,11,1 *horrendus... Anubis*; 11,11,3 *cista secretorum capax penitus celans operta magnificae religionis*; 11,11,4 *miris extrinsecus simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata*; 11,16,6 *nauem ... picturis miris Aegyptiorum ... uariegatam*. For the marvellous in Book 11 cf. e.g. 11,3,3 *mirandam speciem*; 11,13,6 *populi mirantur*; 11,27,1 *nouum mirumque*; 11,29,2 *noua ... inaudita*, and see Heiserman 1977, 161-166; Graverini 2010, 75-76.

¹⁶³ For parallels between mystery cult and magic cf. 11,11,3 *operta*; 11,21,9 *arcana ... secreta*; 11,22,8 *litteris ignorabilibus*; 11,23,7 *sine piaculo... referam*. For associations with magic in Book 11 see also next note and above, n. 136.

¹⁶⁴ For associations and parallels with magic in Book 11 cf. 11,1,1 *lunae ... completum orbem*; 11,1,1 *nactusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta*; 11,2,2 *seu nocturnis ululatus horrenda Proserpina triformi facie laruales impetus comprimens ... propitiaris*; 11,2,3 *inuocare*; 11,14,1 *defixus*; 11,15,1 *seruiles ... uoluptates*; 11,16,6 *taeda lucida et ouo et sulphure*; 11,25,3 *tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa*. See also previous note.

¹⁶⁵ The parallels between Lucius and Psyche cannot be separated from the 'mise-en-abyme' function of the Cupid and Psyche story for the whole novel, to which various scholars draw attention; see e.g. Schlam 1992, 50-51; 74-75; 97-98; Smith in *AAGA* 2, 69-82; Drews 2009, 422-423 n. 39; 472; 489-491; Graverini 2007, 105; 129-130 (= 2012, 95; 115).

¹⁶⁶ For parallels between Lucius and Psyche see comm. on 11,1,4 *lacrimoso uultu*; 11,2,4 *tu ... subsiste, tu ... adfirma, tu ... tribue*; 11,15,2 *religiosam ... beatitudinem*; 11,16,4 *innocentia fideque*; 11,19,1 *deae gratissimum mihi ... conspectum*; 11,19,3 *quamquam festinans, differebam*; 11,21,6 *temerarium atque sacrilegum audeat ministerium subire*; 11,22,4 *recreatus animi*; 11,24,4 *in aspectum populi errabat*.

seeing Isis (fear and joy in 11,7,1; delight in 11,24,5) can be compared with Psyche's reactions to the extraordinary vision of Cupid (5,22,3-4). Lucius' inner torment (11,19,3: eagerness, fear, impatience) while reflecting on the difficult requirements of Isiac religion (abstinence etc.) resembles Psyche's emotional turmoil before she discovers the identity of her husband (5,21,4).

Scholars often compare Lucius' emotions felt in his relationship with Isis with his emotions felt for Photis.¹⁶⁷ Some scholars emphasise the contrast between the 'old' Lucius, who was driven by sexual pleasure (2,7,7 *ardorem*; 2,10,1 *cruciatum uoluptatis eximiae*) and the 'new' Lucius, who wishes to be as close as possible to the goddess to experience contemplative and religious joy (11,17,5; 11,24,6; 11,25,6).¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, Lucius' admiration of Isis in many ways corresponds to his admiration of Photis, and this correspondence is sometimes also reflected in details of the text (see e.g. comm. on 11,17,5 *ungue latus*; 11,22,4 *recreatus animi*).¹⁶⁹

Scholars have also observed continuity between Lucius' emotions of anxiety, passionate desire and hasty eagerness at the initiation into magic (3,14,1; 3,19,4 *sum namque coram magiae noscendae ardentissimus cupitor*; 3,22,1; 3,24,2), on the one hand, and his intense emotions regarding the initiations into the cult of Isis on the other (cf. 11,21,2 *accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebatur*; see also comm. on 11,21,9 *arcana ... secreta*).¹⁷⁰ According to Sandy in *AAGA* 1, 136, the 'ministers' in both situations struggle to check his enthusiasm. However, in contrast with the priest in Ch. XXI, Photis is all too willing to comply with Lucius' wishes, but begs him to keep silent about the secret mysteries (cf. 3,15,5; 3,20,1-2). The priest tries to temper Lucius' eagerness to be initiated but encourages him to follow the rules of abstinence (11,21,9); later on, Lucius transfers his youthful enthusiasm to refraining from unholy food (11,30,1 *inanimae protinus castimoniae iugum subeo*), even prolonging his abstinence on a voluntary basis (*spontali sobrietate*).

Scholars who adopt a more uniformly comic interpretation of Book 11 (see above, 1.3) read the life-long service and devotion demanded by Isis as a sign of continuity in Lucius' characterisation, since in Book 11 he is destined to perform further 'asinine services' in a new slave mill, for a new master.¹⁷¹ A comparable way of underlining the continuity in Lucius' characterisation throughout *met.*, including his becoming an Isiac devotee, is the comparison of Lucius as a religious fanatic with Aelius Aristides made by Harrison (2000-2001).

Even if Lucius' devotion is obviously genuine, some scholars still view Lucius'

¹⁶⁷ For interpretations that construct an opposition between Isis as a 'higher Venus' and Photis as a 'lower Venus' see comm. on 11,2,1 *Caelestis Venus* and on 11,15,1 *seruiles uoluptates*; for different interpretations that view Lucius' *sancta militia* for Isis in terms of serious contrast or rather of comic continuity with the *amatoria militia* in his relationship with Photis, see comm. on 11,15,5 *sanctae ... militiae*. For the parallels between Lucius' fascination for Photis' and Isis' appearance, which reflect both continuity and change, see also below, 7.2.1.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g. Schlamm in *AAGA* 1, 104; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 93. On Lucius' religious emotions in Book 11 see also introduction to Ch. VII (2. Mixed emotions: Lucius' response to the epiphany).

¹⁶⁹ For a different example of parallelism between the last Book and the Photis episode see comm. on 11,29,5 *Quod ... sit*.

¹⁷⁰ The parallelism between both situations regarding the 'sin' of Lucius' impetuosity and urging was already noted by Wlosok 1969, 81-82 [= 1999, 155].

¹⁷¹ See e.g. Sallmann 1988; Van Mal-Maeder 1997a, 104. Hindermann 2009 views the relationship between Lucius and Isis as a continuation of the *servitium amoris* between Lucius and Photis.

behaviour as being far from philosophical. According to this interpretation, Lucius' display of his shaven head and Isiac dress can be seen as a demonstration of his interest in appearances and superficial prestige rather than true enlightenment.¹⁷² Other scholars, however, emphasise the highly ambivalent nature of Lucius' appearance in the last pages of the novel.¹⁷³ 'Authority figures' in the narrative like Byrrhena or Mithras, who observe certain qualities in Lucius, limit their praise of him to the so-called extraneous aspects (like 'nobility of birth'; see comm. on 11,15,1 *nec ... profuit*), which demonstrate his high social status, but, on a philosophical level, are of little moral value. Seen from this perspective, Lucius lacks the wise man's interior qualities of wisdom and temperance, and he continuously reveals the aesthetic pleasure in contemplating superficial appearances that characterises the immoral man from Apuleius' *De Platone*.¹⁷⁴ A philosophically inclined reader, who reads Lucius' behaviour against the background of Plutarch's moral treatises or Apuleius' philosophical writings, might interpret all these features in terms of an implicit 'warning' against moral defects like superstition, unhealthy curiosity, or delusion by superficial appearances.¹⁷⁵ Yet, in the narrative of Book 11, Lucius appears to embody virtue rather than vice. The notion which Lucius embodies most of all in the last book of the novel is religious triumph, as he becomes the object of the gaze of the crowds (see also above, 5.1), who see him as a role model to emulate and admire (cf. 11,15,4; 11,16,4; 11,24,2-4).

5.3 The *lector studiosus*

In this section, we focus on the characterisation of the narratee as constructed in the text by the narrator, who addresses him as "*lector*" (see above, 3.1). The narrator and his narratee entertain a special relationship as the producer and enjoyer of the special kind of illusions that belong to the rhetoric of narrative fiction; often, they share characteristics and ambivalences that define the conditions of this special communicative relationship. Sometimes, the narrator explicitly pays attention to such shared characteristics, for instance when he seems to attribute *curiositas* to the reader (11,23,5), or when he refers to the emotional involvement of the reader that resembles his own emotional behaviour (11,23,5 *anxie*; 11,23,6 *angore*). The parallelism between the perceptions of the reader and the perspective of Lucius-actor is especially connected with the theme of *curiositas*: the reader is supposed to have a thirst for the knowledge about the mysteries of Isis, and is put in more or less the same situation as Lucius-actor before his initiation (see introduction to Ch. XXIII [2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader]).

¹⁷² Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 3 (*Mor.* 352C) 'For it is not the cultivation of a beard, Clea, and the wearing of a threadbare cloak that make a philosopher, nor does dressing in linen and all manner of shaving make an Isiac devotee; the true devotee of Isis is he who, whenever he hears the traditional view of what is displayed and done with regard to these gods, examines and investigates rationally what truth there may be in it.' See Van der Stock in *AAGA* 3, 172 for an unequivocal view on Lucius in Book 11 as an unphilosophical character.

¹⁷³ See Graverini 2007, 90-99 (= 2012, 82-89); Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Apul. *Plat.* 2,16 p. 242-243 and see Keulen 2006, 193-195.

¹⁷⁵ For Plutarch's moral writings and Theophrastus' writings on character types as a background for Lucius' characterisation as a novelistic figure see below, 6.2.

Although various programmatic remarks in the text address a reader, who is supposed to respond to the text with admiration (cf. 1,1,2 *ut mireris*) and belief (cf. 11,23,5 *crede, quae uera sunt*),¹⁷⁶ the reader is simultaneously defined as ‘*scrupulosus*’ and ‘*studiosus*’ (9,30,1 *lector scrupulosus*; 11,23,5 *studiose lector*), i.e. he is not merely expected to perceive and marvel spontaneously, but also at the same time to subject his perceptions to careful judgment and scrutiny from a critical distance (cf. 11,23,5 *studiose lector* with comm. ad loc.).¹⁷⁷ Already in the Prologue, the speaker addresses a reader who might display a critical attitude towards the narrative (cf. 1,1,1 *modo si papyrus Aegyptiam ... non spreueris inspicere*; 1,1,6 *lector, intende*).¹⁷⁸ Winkler defined such a reader as the ‘scrupulous reader’, who controls and checks everything that the narrator reports to him.¹⁷⁹

A ‘scrupulous reader’, for example, observes and responds to possible ‘moments of irritation’,¹⁸⁰ like the emphasis on money or repetitious structures like the manifold initiations,¹⁸¹ which are explicitly marked as such by the narrator (for intratextual markers cf. 11,26,4 *rursus ... rursus ... rursus*; 11,29,2 *iteratae ... traditioni*), or the repeated admonitory dreams.¹⁸² Such a reader may be expected to share Lucius’ feelings as they change from wonder into worry or even annoyance.¹⁸³ The *lector studiosus* may also (re-)assess together with Lucius the events in the light of the earlier books (see e.g. comm. on 11,17,5 *pristinios casus meos recordabar*).

A particular instance from the description of the *anteludia* may illustrate as a ‘case study’ the pluriformity of the reader’s characterisation in Book 11, in the context of his continuous dialogue with the narrator (11,8,4 *uidi ... asinum pinnis adglutinatis adambulantem cuidam seni debili, ut illum quidem Bellerophontem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus, tamen rideret utrumque*). As often, the narrator takes up his position between the narrated events and his reader, whom he challenges to interpret the narrative text; in this case, he invites the *lector studiosus* not only to picture his vivid eye-witness account of the ass with wings stuck on, walking along with a lame old man in a procession, but also to give a learned mythological interpretation of the

¹⁷⁶ For the marvellous in Book 11 see above, 5.2 (on Lucius’ characterisation as a Milesian author, whose narrative is associated with wonder and miracles; see also n. 162 for the connection between the marvellous and ‘Egyptian’).

¹⁷⁷ Cf. similar observations in Wheeler 1999 on reader response in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: the narrator expects the reader to notice discrepancies and inconsistencies; yet, forestalling disbelief, the narrator also transforms sceptical audiences into believing and admiring audiences.

¹⁷⁸ On the attentive and critical reader implied by the Prologue see Ginsburg 1977, 50-51; Zimmerman 2001.

¹⁷⁹ On the ‘scrupulous reader’ of *met.* see Winkler 1985, 57-98. See also *GCA* 2000, 22: “the reader is constantly challenged to increase his own interpretative activities and to adopt an independent attitude towards the narrator, since the narrator repeatedly makes it clear that his evaluations and preliminary announcements, his assessments of the situations presented, only reflect the individual vision of a *persona* who is closely involved in the events (...)”.

¹⁸⁰ Sallmann 1988 views the producing of ‘irritation’ in the reader as an important feature of Book 11, since, in his view, Lucius is again condemned to a kind of servitude, which is called *libertas* (11,15,5).

¹⁸¹ For the theme of the high costs of the initiations see e.g. comm. on 11,21,4 *sumptus*; introduction to Ch. XXVIII (1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius’ second initiation). On the manifold initiations see introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

¹⁸² A repetitive structure can to a certain extent be observed at the beginning of Book 11 in the repeated rite of self-immersion in the sea (11,1,4 *septies ... summerso fluctibus capite*; 11,7,1 *marino rore respersus*).

¹⁸³ Cf. 11,27,1 *nouum mirumque* and see comm. on 11,29,2 *noua haec et inaudita ... intentio*.

spectacle (“you might call the old man a Bellerophon and the ass a Pegasus”) and to respond with laughter to the comic sight (just as Lucius-actor had probably laughed, as he experienced the events).

On one level, the reader is invited by the narrator to enjoy a *spectaculum*, as often in *met.*¹⁸⁴ The response to this *spectaculum* could be differentiated as follows: one possibility is that the reader just enjoys the funny scene with the ass and the old man in a naïve and direct way; another possibility is that he recognises themes that permeate *met.* as a whole, including Book 11, such as role-playing, costumes and masks.¹⁸⁵ The shape of the ass performing the role of Pegasus probably reminded the attentive reader of Lucius’ own asinine shape and possibly also of the significant role of the ass in Isiac religion (see comm. on 11,8,4 *et asinum pinnis adglutinatis*).¹⁸⁶

On another level, the *lector studiosus* may not only laugh at the amusing pair in the procession, but also at Lucius himself as a ‘mythomaniac’ narrator (see above, 3.1), whose self-aggrandizing comparisons in earlier books with the myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus had produced similar effects of comic/ironic disparity to those produced in the *anteludia* (cf. especially 8,16,3; see comm. on 11,8,4 *ut illum quidem Bellerophontem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus*).¹⁸⁷

The special atmosphere of Book 11 as the religious closure and at the same time as an integral part of Apuleius’ novel as a whole is reflected in the transitions, the tensions, and ambiguities in the portrayals of its central characters (Lucius, Isis, Mithras), the crowds, the narrator and the *lector*. The pendant to the *lector*, who is only seemingly overwhelmed, yet keeps his critical distance while admiring the story, is the narrator, who poses as a weak mortal being, lacking the adequate verbal and rhetorical qualities to describe the divine, but at the same time surprises us with a display of brilliant rhetoric that gives highly eloquent expression to his astonishment (11,3,3; see below, 7.2.2).

6. Literary texture

In this section, we will discuss some aspects of the rich intertextuality of Book 11, presenting a selection of the most important texts and genres that give shape to the literary texture of the novel’s religious closure. First, we will focus on the most important intertext of Apuleius’ novel, the Greek ass-narrative (*Lucius or the Ass*, also known as the *Onos*); then, we will discuss some connections and analogies with ancient prose fiction (the Greek and Roman novels). Two further sections will discuss the intertextual background represented by the epic genre, including, on the one hand, Greek and Roman epic (Homer, Vergil), and, on the other, a specific example

¹⁸⁴ For the importance of *spectacula* in *met.* see *GCA* 2000, 20-21, with further references.

¹⁸⁵ The associations with roles, masks and costumes belong to a wider pattern in Book 11; see Finkelpearl 2009, 29-30, who observes that the Isis Book “explores drama, role-playing and masks (literally in the *anteludia* in Book 11)”. See introd. note on 11,8,2 on the language of theatrical performance (mime) used there. The re-transformation is also described in terms of taking off costumes and masks; see below, 6.1.

¹⁸⁶ For the associations of the lame old man see comm. on 11,8,4 *adambulantem cuidam seni debili*.

¹⁸⁷ Generally on the allusive function of the figures of the *anteludia* regarding earlier episodes from *met.* see introduction to Ch. VIII. See also the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume (pp. 559-561).

of didactic epic (Lucretius' *De rerum natura*), which forms a central intertext of the Isis Book. Another important genre that plays a distinctive role in the intertextual background of Book 11 is that of the Greek Isiac Hymns, which will be discussed below in 7.1.1.

6.1 The *Onos*

The opening of Book 11 is a turning point in many aspects, and one of them relates to the intertextual relationship with the Greek ass-narrative: at this point, Apuleius no longer appears to follow the Greek *Metamorphoseis*, as far as we can reconstruct this lost novel from its epitome, the *Onos*, which has been transmitted among the works of Lucian.¹⁸⁸ It has even been argued that in Book 10 the Latin *Metamorphoses* leaves the intertext of the *Onos* for good.¹⁸⁹ Yet, as we will see below, it is possible to identify in Book 11 references or allusions to key instances from the ending of the Greek model, as reflected in the *Onos*. The instances discussed in this section comprise the description of the re-transformation (Ch. XIII),¹⁹⁰ the public opinion about Lucius and the question of his guilt (11,13,6; 11,16,3-4), and the identification of the main character of the narrative with the man who actually wrote the novel (11,27,9).¹⁹¹ Such instances add to the pattern of characteristics of Book 11 that invite the reader to examine connections and associations between Apuleius and his literary work (see above, 3.2).

The endings of the *Onos* and the Latin *Metamorphoses* are radically different. The *Onos* ends in a burlesque atmosphere; the Latin version of the ass narrative ends in a religious atmosphere of salvation. In the *Onos*, the re-transformation takes place in the theatre of Thessalonice, where the ass gets the opportunity to eat roses from a basket which is carried around. In Apuleius, Lucius-ass flees from the Corinthian theatre at the end of Book 10, still before his re-transformation. The escape from the theatre expresses on the narrative level the 'intertextual' departure from the *Onos*, which has already been preceded by the earlier geographical transformation (Thessalonice – Corinth).¹⁹² In Book 11 Lucius gets the opportunity to eat roses during a religious procession in honour of Isis in Cenchreae. The *Onos* ends farcically with Loukios being thrown naked on to the street, where he has to spend the night as an *exclusus amator*.¹⁹³ The Latin narrative ends on a note of religious joy, with Lucius being successfully integrated into the highest levels of Roman society as a bald-headed priest and orator who holds prestigious posts at the Isaeum Campense (11,30,4). In the course of Book 11, Lucius loses both his former animal skin and the human hair

¹⁸⁸ On the issue of the common derivation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the pseudo-Lucianic *Onos* from a lost Greek novel entitled *Metamorphoseis*, attributed by Photius (*bibl.* 129) to a certain Lucius of Patrae, see Mason in *AAGA* 1, 1-15; Mason 1994. Tilg 2014a, 1-18 casts doubt on the idea of the *Onos* as a mere epitome and advocates a religious ending in the original Greek ass story.

¹⁸⁹ See *GCA* 2000, 15; 17-18.

¹⁹⁰ See comm. on 11,13,3 *mihi delabitur ... facies*.

¹⁹¹ For other likely parallels with or references to the end of the Greek model see comm. on 11,8,4 *simiam*; 11,18,2 *quique ... proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant*.

¹⁹² See *GCA* 2000, 18.

¹⁹³ See Bernsdorff 1997, who points out that the closing image of Loukios' nakedness refers to a central feature of his return to humankind that is also prominent in the re-transformation (*Onos* 54).

that grows on his skull, but his human nakedness (11,14,4 *nudo*) is covered with chaste gestures and religious clothing (11,14,3-5), whereas his bald head remains uncovered (11,30,5).

Although it is possible that our ending of Book 11 is not complete (in any case, the subscription is missing in the manuscripts), the missing part would probably contain no more than one or two sentences; furthermore, good arguments have been proposed for *obibam* (11,30,5) as the final word of the Isis Book.¹⁹⁴ It has recently been suggested that Apuleius possibly transposed material from the farcical, 'Milesian' ending of the ass tale as reflected in the *Onos* and inserted it into a passage from one of his 'Milesian' Books, which has no counterpart in the *Onos*.¹⁹⁵ This technique of transposing passages from the end of the Greek ass tale to one of the Milesian Books in *met.* highlights the contrast between the 'serious tonality' of Apuleius' conclusion and the burlesque quality of the first ten books of *met.*

The issue of the relationship with the Greek ass-narrative is also related to the interpretation of Lucius' characterisation in Book 11, and to the question, whether he becomes a better man at the end of his adventures (see also above, 5.2). In the *Onos*, the metamorphosis of the protagonist Loukios into the very animal that embodies the moral faults he displays as a man (especially curiosity, but also sexual licence) represents a transformation in appearance only, a symbolic transformation reflecting certain negative qualities of his personality. This philosophical aspect of metamorphosis also entails the idea of punishment.¹⁹⁶ Loukios' changes are merely physical, not psychological, since his character remains the same, also after his re-transformation: at the burlesque closure of the *Onos*, Loukios is still driven by sexual lust. The return to his former human appearance and size does not lead to salvation but to another punishment (the servants of his former lover throw him out naked on to the street). In view of the contrasting endings of the Greek and Latin ass narratives, it appears likely that Apuleius' Lucius not only loses his asinine appearance, but also reaches a degree of moral and intellectual improvement at the end of his adventures (see above, 5.2). The contrast in moral colour with the Greek Loukios may be illustrated by the emblematic image of Lucius' 'act of *pudor*' after his re-transformation, which reflects a feature that is absent from the Greek narrative: the hero's sense of shame (see comm. on 11,14,4 *uelamento me naturali probe munieram*).

In the Latin *Metamorphoses*, the idea of the metamorphosis into an ass as a punishment for the (former) sin of *curiositas* becomes explicit in the famous words of the priest: 11,15,1 *curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti*.¹⁹⁷ The

¹⁹⁴ See the introduction to Ch. XXX (3. Is our ending complete?); see also Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 27, who argues that the epilogue structure of the final chapters of Book 11 (see above, 2.2) would contradict the idea of the loss of an extended new episode with a farcical character in the spirit of the *Onos* (for this idea see Van Mal-Maeder 1997a; Holzberg 2006, 109-111).

¹⁹⁵ See Panayotakis 2006; for another example see Gärtner 2010.

¹⁹⁶ See Tatum 1979, 29-30, quoting Plato, *Phaedo* 81d-82a. For curiosity as the central source of Loukios' misfortunes compare e.g. the very final sentence of the *Onos* (56), where Loukios offers sacrifices to the gods to thank them from saving him out of the "curiosity of the ass".

¹⁹⁷ Cf. 11,2,4, where Lucius expresses awareness that his unfortunate state may be a divine punishment for some offence. It is significant, however, that in Book 11 Lucius never explicitly admits any guilt related to his former curiosity for magic, apparently continuing his earlier oblivion to his own moral faults (see above, 5.2 with n. 157). It has often been observed, for example, that Lucius in his eagerness remains completely oblivious of the moral embodied by the sculpture of Actaeon (2,4), whose metamor-

idea of punishment for (religious) sins is particularly prominent in Book 11.¹⁹⁸ The priest warns Lucius to guard against reckless behaviour in Ch. XXI (the sins of greediness, obstinacy, and reckless and sacrilegious behaviour: 11,21,5 *aviditas; contumacia*; 11,21,6-7 *perditae mentis; temerarium atque sacrilegium ... ministerium*). In Ch. XXIII, Lucius-narrator warns the reader of the risk of punishment through improper curiosity (11,23,5). For these frequent representations of the imminent threat of punishment in the Isis Book, Apuleius may have taken the description of the public reactions to Loukios' re-transformation at the end of the *Onos* (54) as a significant cue:

τῇ δὲ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ καὶ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθείσῃ θεᾷ πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι δεινὸν ἐπεθορύβησαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον εἰς δύο γνώμας ἐσχίζετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ φάρμακα δεινὰ ἐπιστάμενον καὶ κακὸν τι πολύμορφον ἤξιον εὐθὺς ἐνδον πυρὶ με ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ περιμεῖναι καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγους ἔλεγον δεῖν καὶ πρότερον διαγνῶναι, εἴθ' οὕτως δικάσαι περὶ τούτων ...

At the extraordinary and utterly unexpected spectacle everyone was stunned and raised a terrible hullabaloo, with the audience divided into two minds. Some demanded that I should be immediately burned to death in there as an expert in evil spells, an evildoer with many shapes; the others advocated waiting and learning what I had to say before deciding on the matter.

Apuleius responds to this scene from the Greek model in a key passage from Book 11 that reflects a telling contrast in the public reactions to Lucius (11,13,6):

Populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam et consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis clarae et consona uoce, caelo manus adtendentes, testantur tam inlustre deae beneficium.

The people were amazed, the devotees expressed their reverence for such a manifestation of power by the greatest deity, and for the magnificence and the ease of that transformation, something which resembled the dreams of the night; raising their hands, with one, clear voice, they rendered testimony to this great beneficence by the goddess.

The passage reflects the fact that the religious context, chosen by Apuleius to stage the closure of his version of the ass narrative, transforms the likely public reactions of fear, hostility and punishment into something completely different. The people's unanimous admiration and religious awe fulfils the nocturnal promise of the goddess (see comm. on 11,6,4). Instead of punishing the evil magician for practicing black arts, the people celebrate the 'rebirth' (11,16,4 *renatus quodam modo*) of the goddess's favourite as a divine miracle (see introduction to Ch. XVI [Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?]).¹⁹⁹ The fact that the

phosis was an obvious punishment for his curiosity (see e.g. Tatum 1979, 37).

¹⁹⁸ For the implicit connotations of punishment in Lucius' pledge to Isis (his non-compliance would lead to punishment) see comm. on 11,6,5 *uadata*.

¹⁹⁹ Or even a propitious phenomenon, similar to those seen in prophetic dreams: see comm. on 11,13,6 *consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis*.

crowds are convinced of Lucius' innocence and trustworthiness may be a hint at the biographical background of the author, who in his defence speech against charges of magic presented *innocentia* as one of his chief virtues (see comm. on 11,16,4 *innocentia fideque*).

The public rumours, the pointing gestures (11,16,2), and the *makarismos* (11,16,4) reflect on a metaliterary level the literary fame of the novel's protagonist, but also point to his spiritual father Apuleius, whose fame was based to a great extent on his prose fiction (see comm. on 11,27,9 *studiorum gloriam*). His technique of (contrastive) references to the ending of the Greek ass tale appears to serve his strategies of associating and connecting himself with his literary work (see above, 3.2).

Against this background, it is not unlikely that the autobiographical reference to the 'Man from Madauros' (11,27,9), made in the same context as the reference to the same man's literary fame, adds another correspondence with the end of the lost model, where a similar authorial self-introduction may have been found.²⁰⁰ This authorial self-revelation appears to be reflected in the *Onos* at the denouement of the story, where the moment of re-transformation also becomes the moment of revealing who the author of this story really is (*Onos* 55):

κἀγὼ, Πατήρ μὲν, ... ἔφην, ἔστι μοι Λούκιος, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τῷ ἐμῷ Γάϊος. ἄμφω δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὀνόματα κοινὰ ἔχομεν. κἀγὼ μὲν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἄλλων εἰμὶ συγγραφεύς· ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἐλεγείων ἐστὶ, καὶ μάντις ἀγαθός· πατρὶς δὲ ἡμῖν, Πάτραι δὲ τῆς Ἀχαΐας. "My father" I said "is ... My name is Loukios, and my brother's name is Gaios. The other two names we have in common with our father. I am a writer of stories and other things, and he is an elegiac poet and a fine prophet. Our native town is Patras in Achaea.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the reference to the protagonist's profession of writer at this key moment of his first-person story is an abridgement of a similar authorial self-revelation in the lost original. So, the 'Man from Madauros' may have had his most important literary precedent in the 'Man from Patras' in the lost Greek *Metamorphoseis*, where the indication of geographical origin may have had a similar function of the author's self-introduction and 'signature' – or even verification, lending autobiographical truth to a fictional story.²⁰¹

In the Greek model, the transformation of the protagonist into the author is closely connected to the moment of transformation of ass into man, as they are reported in the same narrative context. Yet, also in Apuleius these two metamorphoses are significant re-transformations, which can be viewed to mirror each other; Lucius' rebirth as a man prefigures the final revelation of the 'Man from Madauros'. Viewed in this light, it is probably not a coincidence that in the Apuleian description of the re-transformation as well as the corresponding scene in the *Onos*, the process of physi-

²⁰⁰ This has first been observed by Graverini 2005, 232; see also Graverini 2012, 186-187; Smith in *AAGA* 3, 207-213.

²⁰¹ See Smith in *AAGA* 3, 211-212, comparing Horace's concluding poem of his third Book of *Odes*; Keulen 2013, 202-203 with n. 57, adding Propertius' programmatic poem 4,1 to the comparative discussion. Tilg 2014a, 125-131 emphasizes the stronger metaliterary character of Apuleius' passage and favours Augustan sphragides as the closest literary precedent to the 'Man from Madauros'.

cal re-transformation is depicted in terms of removing clothes and masks.²⁰² This becomes especially evident in the description of the transformation of Lucius' asinine *facies* as a mask falling off in 11,13,3, presenting a close analogy with the depiction in the *Onos* (see comm. on *mihi delabitur ... facies*). A significant difference is that Apuleius juxtaposes the throwing off of the asinine disguise with the fulfilment of the heavenly promise of Isis (*nec me fefellit caeleste promissum: protinus mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies*). Moreover, for his final authorial self-revelation, Apuleius chooses a different time and place, and a different divine authorization.²⁰³

Both Lucius in *met.* and Loukios in the *Onos* experience a process of re-integration and rehabilitation in a Roman context at the end of their adventures. Their shared experiences may point to an important correspondence between Apuleius' novel and its lost Greek model with regard to a shared strategy of establishing the author's privileged status in the sphragis of the narrative. In the *Onos* (and possibly also in the lost model),²⁰⁴ Loukios is a Roman citizen from Patras, who re-established his privileged position via an appeal to the Roman governor's shared social status.²⁰⁵ Whereas Loukios settles back into the Romanised Greek culture of his hometown Patras, Lucius is a man originating from the Empire's periphery (Corinth or Madauros!), who moves to the centre (Rome); his final journey takes him from the Romanised city of Corinth to his new home, where he becomes fully integrated at the heart of Roman power. Whereas Loukios is saved by the Roman governor, who knows Loukios and his family, Lucius' re-establishment in human society and ensuing literary fame are endorsed by divine prophecy.²⁰⁶

This divine intervention turns out to be the essential difference between Lucius' and Loukios' re-establishment in society and can be related to the different burlesque ending of the *Onos*. Yet, if Photius (*bibl.* 129) is right in seeing the most important distinction between the original Greek *Metamorphoseis* and the epitomised version of the *Onos* in the sincere and naïve tone of the first and the satirical tone of the latter, it is possible that Apuleius also found the religious ending with the protagonist's salvation through divine intervention in his lost Greek model (for parallels with Greek novels see also 6.2).²⁰⁷

²⁰² See comm. on 11,6,2 *corio te protinus exue*; 11,6,4 *deformem istam quam geris faciem*. Bernsdorff (1997, 44) points out that the re-transformation in *Onos* 54 is depicted as a process of removing clothes.

²⁰³ As Smith (in *AAGA* 3, 211) points out, "the narrator, by his acknowledgement and acceptance by Osiris, is ready to throw off the comical and lowly garb of disguise he adopted earlier and step into the first-person role of the true guide of the narrative, as one approved for leadership by the gods."

²⁰⁴ See Graverini 2012, 168; 176.

²⁰⁵ See Finkelpearl 2007, 266. Comparing the ends of *met.* and its Greek source, Finkelpearl 2007 argues that Apuleius adopts and intensifies the negative view towards Roman imperial rule found in his source and portrays Lucius' life at the end of the novel as the life of an incompletely assimilated foreigner. By contrast, Alvares 2007, 4-10 views Lucius' story as the protagonist's successful assimilation to the social and political realities of Rome, comparing Greek novels (Chariton and Longus), where the protagonists similarly mature in the course of their stories and accommodate themselves to the realities of their milieu. For different views on the relation between Roman imperial rule and cultural identity see Lee, Finkelpearl and Graverini (edd.) 2014.

²⁰⁶ See Keulen 2013, esp. 201-208 on the references to Chaldean astrology and Isiac and Osirian prophecies in *met.* as literary strategies used to anchor the author's identity (comprising geographical origin and literary renown) in literary and prophetic traditions.

²⁰⁷ See Schlam 1992, 25; Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 145 points out that it is often overlooked that the final sentences of the *Onos* present a small-scale religious ending (56 "Then I sacrificed and dedicated offerings to the gods who had saved me, now that after so very long and with such difficulty I had escaped home,

6.2 Greek and Roman novels

In several ways, the religious closure of Apuleius' novel connects with the literary genre of ancient prose fiction. The main shared characteristics are the happy ending and the positive intervention of the gods in this ending; a prominent role for Isis can also be found in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, which resembles Apuleius' novel in a number of ways.²⁰⁸ Apuleius' choice of Isis as Lucius' saving goddess, who gives him back his human voice, may have been additionally inspired by the *Life of Aesop* (also called the *Aesop Romance*), where Isis also appears and cures Aesop of his muteness.²⁰⁹

When Lucius refers to the possibility that an offended deity might be the cause of his misfortunes (11,2,4 *offensum numen*), this reflects a conscious self-identification with epic heroes like Odysseus, like in *met.* 9,13,4-5, a feature which Lucius shares with protagonists from other novels, especially Petronius' *Satyrical* (see below, 6.3).²¹⁰ In this case, the offended deity is clearly Bad Fortune (Fortuna), a feature of Apuleius' novel that reflects the role of Tyche in the Greek novels.

The role of the last book as a happy ending for the protagonist, due to the intervention of a saving goddess who is opposed to Bad Fortune, is perhaps inspired by the literary model of Chariton's erotic novel, where Aphrodite finally takes pity on the male hero and saves him from the rule of Bad Fortune.²¹¹ Moreover, Aphrodite's role as a patron goddess of Chariton's home city, Aphrodisias, may have been taken by the African Apuleius as a cue to choose the 'foreign' Egyptian goddess Isis as the hero's saving goddess in the final book.²¹²

As in the other ancient novels, the rhetorical technique of characterisation, 'producing *ethos*' (*ethopoia*), plays an important role in Apuleius' novel.²¹³ Lucius' intimate and emotional veneration of Isis, choking on tears while praying and worshipping, is a general feature of characterisation in the ancient novels.²¹⁴ Lucius' emotional characterisation in the context of his prayer to the Moon goddess resembles the depiction of the grief-stricken Charite, another typically 'novelistic character', at *met.* 4,24,6-4,25,1. Lucius' fascination with the beauty of female deities and his interest in

not from the dog's bottom of the fable, by Zeus, but from the curiosity of the ass"); further arguments in favour of a religious ending in the original Greek ass story can be found in Tilg 2014a, 7-14; see also Smith in *AAGA* 3, 210-211. For some caution regarding the reliability of Photius' verdict see Graverini 2012, 176 n. 34. On Photius see also above, n. 188.

²⁰⁸ Cf. e.g. Xen. *Eph.* 5,13,4 and see Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 146-148. On religious narratives in the Greek novels see Edsall 2000-2001, with further references.

²⁰⁹ See Finkelpearl 2003; for other possible connections between the *Life of Aesop* and *met.* 11 see Winkler 1985, 276-291; Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 42-44; 57-61.

²¹⁰ See Graverini, Keulen and Barchiesi 2006, 134; 143; Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 94-96; Graverini 2012, 141-142.

²¹¹ See Tilg in *AAGA* 3, esp. 149-151. For the Odyssean tradition behind the salvation of the novel's hero by a divinity who oversees the action see Schlam 1992, 21; below, 6.3.

²¹² See Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 151.

²¹³ For the important role of ἡθοποιία ('impersonation', the assuming of 'roles') in the ancient novels, a well-known declamatory technique taught by the rhetorical exercise-books (*progymnasmata*) for the sake of vivid characterisation and emotional effect, see Birchall 1996 and Hock 1997 (on the Greek novels); Jones 1991, 105-106 (on Petronius); Keulen 2007, 114. On character (*ethos*) in the ancient Greek novels see De Temmerman 2007. For the association between characterisation and *evidential enargeia*, see below, 7.2.1.

²¹⁴ Cf. Xen. *Eph.* 1,10; Charit. 3,8.

religious processions, which he translates into elaborate descriptions, reflect common novelistic topoi (see also below, 7.2).²¹⁵

Lucius' devotion is sincere, but it is the emotional devotion of a novelistic character, who vividly portrays himself from his own emotional perspective. There are elements which come close to exaggeration, such as Lucius' rubbing the feet of the goddess's statue with his face instead of kissing them (11,24,7). Yet, the fact that Lucius believes in god-sent dreams and oracles is not ridiculous in itself and there is no apparent reason to condemn him as a gullible dupe for it.²¹⁶ Prophetic dreams are a narrative device belonging to the fictional universe of the novel, deployed in both elevated and less elevated contexts.²¹⁷

Throughout *met.*, it is possible to compare Lucius' characterisation with stock character types as we know them from ancient comedy, from Theophrastus' *Characters*, or from descriptions of immoral behaviour in Plutarch's *Moralia*.²¹⁸ In Book 11, Lucius embodies some features that resemble the stock character type of the superstitious man as portrayed by Theophrastus and Plutarch, such as being caught up in gazing upon representations of a deity, the urge for self-purification in the sea, and an anxious concern with dreams and their interpretation.²¹⁹ Instead of pinning such features down as a proof for a uniformly comic reading of Book 11, it is also possible to interpret them in a broader context, with or without philosophical implications, viewing them as characterising elements of Lucius' identity as the protagonist of a work of ancient prose fiction.²²⁰ As a recent investigation on 'characterisation' in the ancient Greek novel demonstrates, the character types that are reflected in those works (e.g. 'flattery', 'boasting', etc.) had all become part of the rhetorical education of the Imperial age, and do not necessarily point to a conscious engagement with ethical/moral writings on virtues and vices as found in Aristotle and developed by Theophrastus.²²¹

²¹⁵ On *ekphrasis* of female beauty as a topos in the Greek novel see introduction to Ch. III (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany). On religious processions as a common feature of the Greek novels see introduction to Ch. VIII.

²¹⁶ Legitimate forms of prophetic dreaming could even be part of imperial propaganda and self-presentation (Weber 2000). For Marcus Aurelius' belief in divine epiphanies (cf. *Meditations* 1,17,20), prophetic dreams, and oracles, see Motschmann 2002, 37-41; 57; cf. Marcus' letter to Fronto, *epist. Front. ad M. Caes.* 3,10,1 (p. 43 vdH).

²¹⁷ For dreams as a narrative device in Apuleius' *met.* (cf. e.g. 8,14,1; 9,31,1), which both authorise stories and are authorised by the development of the events, see Carlisle 2008. See Bartsch 1989, 80-108 on dreams in Achilles Tattius and Heliodorus; for dreams in Petronius (*Sat.* 17-18; 104) see Harris 2009, 199-200. Generally for dreams in *met.* 11 see Annequin 1996; Gollnick 1999; Hunink 2006; Frangoulidis 2012; the Essay by Smith in this volume (pp. 529-530). See also above, n. 127.

²¹⁸ See *GCA* 2007, 27-28 on curiosity, superstition, compliancy, scandal-mongering, gluttony, boorishness and stinginess as 'moral ailments' described by Plutarch and/or Theophrastus, which are displayed by various Apuleian characters (often, these characteristics are related to their role as storytellers).

²¹⁹ For the superstitious man purifying himself with seawater see Theophrastus, *Characters* 16,13; for the impact of dreams on the superstitious man, see *ibid.*, 16,11; for the connection between superstitious fear and dreams cf. Plutarch, *De superstitione* 3 (*Mor.* 165F-166A; see also comm. on 11,1,1 *experrectus pauore subito*); for Plutarch's view that the superstitious merely worship and dress up crafted images of deities, while showing contempt for the essential values of the divine which are discussed by philosophers, see *De superstitione* 6 (*Mor.* 167D-E).

²²⁰ For caution to interpret comic/satiric elements such as the self-purification of the ass or the naked Lucius as intended to cast suspicion on Isiac cult or on the sincerity of Lucius' faith see Graverini 2007, 63-64 (= 2012, 58: "Apuleius wrote a novel, not a work of Isiac catechism or a philosophical treatise").

²²¹ See De Temmerman 2007 and 2014. De Temmerman (2007, 89) points out that Quintilian (*inst.*

Among the aspects that characterise Lucius as a typical protagonist of ancient prose fiction throughout *met.*, the volatility and intensity of his emotions are certainly prominent.²²² Although he is a man of education (11,15,1 *doctrina*), Lucius' emotions are rather more often in control of him than the other way around. Moreover, through the image of the 'waves of emotion' (most conspicuously at 11,29,3),²²³ Apuleius integrates the depiction of Lucius' volatile and sometimes conflicting emotions into the discourse of ancient prose fiction, where the representation of the emotions also entails a philosophical dimension,²²⁴ and has a rhetorical function in the poetics of the genre (see below, 7.2.1). Also in the last book, Lucius often suffers from emotional turmoil, even to the point of madness (cf. 11,29,3 *cogitationis aestu fluctuantem ad instar insaniae percitum*). In Book 11, Lucius' seems emotionally driven from the beginning until the end, which marks the continuity in his characterisation in comparison to the earlier books (for madness, cf. e.g. 2,6,3-4; 3,12,6).

6.3 Epic

Elements of the epic genre can be observed on various levels in Book 11 and reflect the general affinity of ancient prose fiction with epic; specific parallels have been observed in the Isis book with narrative patterns in Homer's *Odyssey*.²²⁵ In the transition between Book 10 and Book 11, marking the turning point in Lucius' adventures that lead to his salvation and re-transformation, scholars have observed an Odyssean pattern of homecoming, reunion, and happy ending aided by a divinity who oversees the action, a pattern which underlies the Greek novels as well.²²⁶ Since this transition coincides with the divergence between the Latin *Metamorphoses* and the Greek model (from here, Apuleius' novel no longer appears to follow the intertext of the *Onos*), a shift towards other literary paradigms seems likely.²²⁷

On a structural level, the opening of Book 11 marks a turning point in the narrative that refers to a similar turning point in the middle of Homer's *Odyssey*. Lucius wakes up on the shore of his homeland (Corinth/Cenchreae) after a long journey and many adventures and encounters a goddess, who promises him salvation. In a similar way, Odysseus in Book 13 of the *Odyssey* arrives at Ithaca after ten years of wanderings, where the Phaeacians leave him, asleep, on the seashore; there, the goddess Athena appears to him, and it is with her guidance that Odysseus is able to plan the

6,2,17) identifies the representation of 'rustics, superstitious people, misers, and cowards' as a school exercise.

²²² On emotions in the ancient novel see e.g. Konstan 1994; Fusillo 1999; Repath 2007.

²²³ On waves of emotion in *met.* see Harrison 2005b; Schmeling and Montiglio 2006.

²²⁴ For the use of the image of the waves of emotion in the ancient novel to characterise the emotions of the protagonists and their struggle to overcome them cf. Chariton 2,4,4 and 3,2,6 (see Repath 2007, 65-68); Achilles Tattius 7,1,1 (also 2,29,1; see Repath 2007, 75-76 on the metaphor of being swamped by 'waves of the soul'); Heliodorus 10,16,2 (Repath 2007, 79).

²²⁵ On epic as a narrative model for the ancient novel see Fusillo 1988, 20-24; Harrison 2013a); Graverini 2014. For the influence of epic on the closure of Apuleius' novel see Schlam 1992, 19-21 and 61; Dowden in *AAGA* 2, 13-14; Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 94-95; Penwill 2009; Beer 2011. On Odysseus as a model for Lucius see Tatum 1979, 35; 91; Montiglio 2007; Graverini 2012, 146-154.

²²⁶ See Schlam 1992, 21: "The salvation of Lucius is a comic resolution in conformity with the Odyssean tradition of the Greek romances."

²²⁷ See Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 94 n. 21.

reunion with his wife and the restoration of his former power.

As Graverini (in *AGA* 3, 95 with n. 23) points out, these parallels not only strengthen the Odyssean character of Lucius, but also point to a significant analogy on the level of structure, marking the beginning of Book 11 as the ‘second part’ of Lucius’ adventures, in conformity with the second half of the *Odyssey*.²²⁸ Graverini argues for the possibility that the first 10 books of *met.* match the 10 years of Odysseus’ wanderings, aptly followed by the happy ending in the last book. The analogy with the *Odyssey* described above would reinforce the 10+1 structure that scholars have often observed in *met.* (10 ‘Milesian’ books followed by one last book with a religious closure).²²⁹ In a sense, the number of eleven books is both like and unlike epic, since it matches “nearly but not quite the twelve books of the *Aeneid*” (Harrison in *AGA* 2, 53); Harrison explains this quasi-epic structure as a feature of the novelistic reworking of lofty epic models into the more dubious domain of fictional prose narrative.

In accordance with the poetics of ancient prose fiction (see above, 6.2), Lucius in Book 11 perceives his former adventures in terms of an epic scenario, identifying himself with a hero who suffered hardships because he was persecuted by a wrathful god (11,2,4 *offensum numen*; cf. 11,1,3 *Fato ... satiato*).²³⁰ As a victim of an angry deity, Lucius can be compared with Psyche, who is pursued by the offended Venus: both seek the “hope of salvation” (*spes salutis*: 6,5,1; 11,1,3). The powerful presence of the gods, who influence and guide the cosmos by their divine will, is an epic convention exploited by the novel in general and by the Isis Book in particular (see e.g. comm. on 11,1,2 *luminis numinisque nutu*; 11,5,1 *nutibus meis ... cuius numen*).²³¹

Related to the epic theme of suffering hardships are the themes of wanderings, journeys (see e.g. on 11,28,1 *peregrinationis ... impensae*) and homecoming/Romecoming, which play a central role in Book 11. The elements of the sea voyage and the movement from East to West add to the epic dimension of the narrative; the role of Rome as Lucius’ final destination possibly reflects a transition in Book 11 from the *Odyssey* to the *Aeneid* as the centre of orientation on the intertextual level, a transition which can also be observed in the speech of the priest in Ch. XV (see below).²³² ‘Rome’ is also the final destination of Aeneas’ journey; as a matter of fact, reaching their Italian destination is a kind of ‘return’ for the Trojans, a ‘homecoming’ to the land where Dardanus was born (cf. *Aen.* 3,96 *reduces*; 3,101 *reuerti*). Aeneas’ landing at the Tiber at the opening of *Aeneid* 7 can be viewed as his ‘homecoming’ to

²²⁸ As we have seen above in 4.1.1, it has been argued that both Books 1 – 10 (describing Lucius’ wanderings) and Book 11 (Lucius’ salvation and Rome-coming) cover a time-span of about one year.

²²⁹ For the philosophical implications of the number eleven in *met.* (and the structure 10+1) see Heller 1983; Alpers 2006; Drews in *AGA* 3, 116–118. See also comm. on 11,15,4 *providentia*.

²³⁰ See Schlam 1992, 61. Beer 2011, 82 n. 14 observes that this is the first (and only) time Lucius considers the possibility that the wrath of a god may be the cause of his misfortunes. In other contexts he blames Photis (3,26,2; 11,21,6).

²³¹ The fact that Osiris appears to Lucius at the end of the novel without changing himself into the likeness of another person probably alludes to the epic convention of saving deities appearing to the protagonist in the guise of a mortal being (see comm. on 11,30,3 *non in alienam quampiam personam reformatus*).

²³² This does certainly not imply that the *Aeneid* is not an important intertext in Books 1 – 10 of *met.*, for it is (cf. e.g. the parallels between Charite and Dido).

the land where Rome will arise.²³³ The sunrise and the subsiding winds accompanying Aeneas’ landing at the mouth of the Tiber (Verg. *Aen.* 7,25–28) are reflected in the symbolism of the Isis Book (11,5,5; 11,7,2; 11,7,5), especially in the priest’s references to the harbour and the calming of the storms (cf. 11,15,1) as a symbol of Lucius’ new life as a devotee of Isis.

In the original epic contexts, seastorms caused by an angry deity (Poseidon in the *Odyssey*; Juno in the *Aeneid*) played a vital role in visualising the hardships of the epic protagonist as a victim of the gods; in the Isis Book, the seastorm is transformed into a symbolic image (see also above, 4.1.3) that evokes the former sufferings of Lucius as an epic hero.²³⁴ By contrast, the peaceful and serene weather ‘after the storm’ enhances the religious atmosphere of salvation and inauguration that characterises the Isis Book.

Lucius’ epic outlook on his own past adventures as tribulations (*aerumnae, labores*) appears to be echoed by the priest Mithras in person (11,15,1 *multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus*). His attitude is understandable, since his rhetorical aim is to persuade this hero to become a member of his cult (on the characterisation of Mithras see above, 5.1). The priest’s speech also reflects the prominent role of the *Aeneid* as an epic intertext in Book 11. Whereas Lucius had explicitly defined himself as an Odysseus in *met.* 9,13,4–5, he seems rather to become an Aeneas in Book 11. The allusion in the priest’s opening words (see comm. on 11,15,1 *tandem ... uenisti*) to the famous encounter between Anchises and his son in the Underworld (*Aeneid* 6) introduces the analogy of the father welcoming his son, who has suffered many hardships to reach his destiny and who needs guidance and advice for the future.²³⁵ The allusions underline that the priest had expected Lucius to come and has full knowledge of his dangerous adventures.²³⁶

What is more, Lucius perceives himself as a Hercules achieving heroic deeds (see comm. on 11,12,1 *et Hercules ... superarem*), which finds an analogy in the parallelism between Aeneas and Hercules in the *Aeneid*.²³⁷ One of Lucius’ ‘epic accomplishments’ is his own ‘journey to the underworld’ during his first initiation (Ch. XXIII), which looks back at visits to the underworld, both by mythical heroes and Psyche.²³⁸ After the initiation, Lucius is exposed to the crowds with a solar crown,

²³³ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,25–28 *iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto / Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis, / cum venit posuere omnisque repente resedit / flatus*. The Vergilian echoes of Odysseus’ arrival in Phaeacia and Ithaca add to the associations of Aeneas’ arrival at the Tiber with homecoming; both Odysseus and Aeneas reach their destinations at dawn (see Jones 2005, 95).

²³⁴ On the image of seastorms as an epic feature of Book 11 see Beer 2011, 92; see further comm. on 11,15,1 *magnisque ... procellis*.

²³⁵ Cf. *Aen.* 6,687–688 *uenisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti / uicit iter durum pietas?* “Are you come at last, has your devotion, long awaited by your parent, conquered the harsh road?”. See comm. on 11,15,1 *tandem ... uenisti*, comparing Apuleius’ parody of the Vergilian passage in *met.* 8,26,6 *uenisti tandem miserrimi laboris uicarius*; see also Harrison 1997, 73–74 on this and other instances of Apuleius’ use of Vergil’s *Aeneid*.

²³⁶ Cf. *Aen.* 6,692–693 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum / accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periculis!*

²³⁷ See Harrison 2013b, 147–148 on Lucius as a comic Hercules, viewed against the background of Hercules’ appearance in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, providing the analogy of the hero’s wandering career of deeds all over Greece (*Aen.* 6,800) and a journey to Rome (where Vergil locates Hercules’ fight with Cacus, *Aen.* 8,184–305).

²³⁸ This part of Lucius’ initiation also finds an apt parallel in Psyche’s katabasis (*met.* 6,20). See comm.

wearing a beautiful outfit with designs of mythical creatures. This *ekphrasis* underlines Lucius' heroic characterisation and contains allusions to the first book of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, where Jason attracts the attention of the people, wearing a shining god-made cloak (see introd. note on 11,24,3, also on the parallel between Jason and Aeneas).

Also on a metanarrative and metaliterary level, Book 11 is indebted to epic. The shift of focus from the 'Odyssean' and Greek novelistic quality of Books 1 – 10 to the more 'Aeneid-like' and Romanocentric orientation of Book 11 invites the reader to reflect on the associations of Apuleius' novel with the notion of 'national epic'. In this context, the associations in *met.* 11 between Isis and Venus (see above, 4.2.1 and below, 6.4), mother of Rome's legendary founder Aeneas, may be of additional importance. The winged Fama (*Fama uolucris*) narrating the news of Lucius' miraculously re-transformation (11,18,1 *fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim*) significantly recalls Vergil's *Aeneid*, but also points to the prominent role of narration and storytelling in Book 11, which is reminiscent of the epic genre. Lucius himself performs similarly as a storyteller in front of his servants and relatives, assuming the role of an epic hero narrating his own adventures.²³⁹ On a metaliterary level, the creative reworking of epic models that characterises Apuleius' novelistic writing is possibly reflected in the *laboriosa doctrina* that makes Lucius' rivals envious of him: the *labores* that put Lucius on a par with epic heroes like Hercules and Aeneas may additionally reflect the 'epic endeavour' of Apuleius' literary achievement (see comm. on 11,30,4 *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*).

6.4 Lucretian resonances

In the Isis Book, a strong presence of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* can be observed,²⁴⁰ especially on the level of religious language and style. The Lucretian intertext evokes the universal and cosmological aspects which characterise the Isis Book throughout. Lucretius often uses the language and rhetoric of religious revelation and initiation in order to convey his philosophical message.²⁴¹ Lucretius obviously inspired Apuleius not only in his descriptions of an all-embracing divine power, but also in his way of expressing human emotions responding to the revelation of the divine. In his indebtedness to Lucretius as a role model, we can observe the author's ambition to construct his role as a prose *uates*, a 'prophet-writer'.²⁴² We may compare Apuleius' reverent use of Lucretius with Vergil's ambition (in *Georgica* 2,475-482) to become a *uates* who composes inspired verse dealing with cosmology and natural philoso-

on 11,23,7 *calcato Proserpinae limine* and Panayotakis (forthcoming) for the epic resonance and the parallel with Psyche.

²³⁹ For the epic and novelistic motif of recapitulating past events see comm. on 11,19,1 *narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis*. See also comm. on 11,17,5 *pristinos casus meos recordabar*.

²⁴⁰ On the presence of Lucretius in Apuleius' novel see Zimmerman 2006a, esp. 333-339 on the Isis Book.

²⁴¹ See Gillespie and Hardie 2007, 6.

²⁴² For Apuleius' self-presentation as a prose *uates* in *met.* see Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 155; Keulen 2013, 201; 208.

phy.²⁴³

The most famous allusion to Lucretius in Book 11 is found in Isis' hymnic self-revelation, where she calls herself *rerum naturae parens* (see comm. on 11,5,1 for the allusion to Lucretius' title; cf. also 11,5,1 *saeculorum progenies initialis*). Since there is no parallel in the Greek Isiac hymns for Isis being called "the mother of the universe", it appears that Apuleius took the Lucretian Venus as a model for his representation of Isis – and of Venus in *Cupid and Psyche* (4,30,1), where the goddess similarly calls herself *rerum naturae parens* (see introd. note on 11,5,1 for various implications of this comparison). The description of Isis as the creative principle and origin of the world has a strongly Platonic dimension (see comm. on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens* for a detailed discussion) and resembles Apuleius' description of the highest god in the *Apology*, which is also reminiscent of Lucretius (*apol.* 64,7 *totius rerum naturae causa et ratio et origo initialis*).

A presence of the *De rerum natura* can already be observed in the first two chapters of Book 11 in the references to a divinity's power governing the cycles of birth, life and death, in Lucius' description of (Ch. I) and prayer to (Ch. II) the Moon goddess (see comm. on 11,1,2 *pecuina et ferina*; 11,2,1 *seu tu ... coleris*, where *Venus caelestis* is invoked in her Lucretian role as *genetrix*; also comm. on 11,2,1 *primis rerum exordiis*). Yet, also the description of nature rejoicing at the arrival of Spring recalls Lucretius' hymn to Venus, where Spring is connected to Venus as a cosmic creative power (see introduction to Ch. VII [1. Daybreak, spring, Isis: the joyful celebration of a divine epiphany]). The opposition between 'winter' and 'spring' (or 'bad stormy weather' versus 'calm, serene weather') that permeates Book 11 (see above, 4.1.3), underlining the contrast between a life without Isis and a life with the goddess' beneficial presence, evokes Lucretian imagery illustrating the contrast between a life not enlightened by Epicurean wisdom and the Epicurean life.²⁴⁴

Lucretius not only inspired Apuleius in depicting the primordial, cosmic power of a god, but also in describing the religious experience of a man. A strong stylistic parallel with the hymn to Venus at the opening of Lucretius' poem can be observed, for instance, in Lucius' emotional prayer to Isis in Ch. XXV, where the polyptoton based on the second-person pronoun introduces the goddess's different powers on one level and gives expression to Lucius' intense religious emotions (cf. 11,24,7) on another level.²⁴⁵ Yet, also the mixed religious emotions of awe and attraction felt by Lucius in his experience of the epiphany of Isis (11,7,1; cf. also 11,19,3) can be compared with the paradoxical combination of religious awe and a thrill of delight felt by Lucretius (*Lucr.* 3,28-29 *diuina uoluptas ... atque horror*), in his excited reaction to the revela-

²⁴³ Vergil's ambition is connected with his famous *makarismos* of Lucretius in 490-492 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas / atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum / subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis auari*. On this much debated passage and the relationship between Vergil's *Georgics* and Lucretius' *De rerum natura* see Gale 2000, 9-15; Nappa 2005, 104-106, who points out that Vergil holds up Lucretius as a worthy and distinguished poet, but on another level challenges his philosophy by reincorporating the gods into his didactic project.

²⁴⁴ See Zimmerman 2006a, 334-335; see also comm. on 11,7,4 *pruinam pridianam*.

²⁴⁵ See introduction to Ch. XXV for a more detailed analysis of the Lucretian elements there; see also comm. on 11,25,3 *Te ... tu ... tibi*, noting that not only Lucretius' hymn to Venus in the poem of *De rerum natura* but also his praise of Epicurus at 3,3-13 is modelled on hymnic prayer. For a case where Lucretian influence is used as an argument to retain the transmitted text see 11,25,3 *respondent*.

tion of nature as offered by Epicurus' doctrines. In another context, Lucius' increasing passionate desire to receive the rites of initiation recalls the Lucretian description of the dangers, sufferings, and illusions of Love (see comm. on 11,21,2 *in dies ... cupidio gliscebat*).

In spite of the strongly Lucretian dimension of Book 11, a clear contrast may be seen between Lucretius' scornful view of religion, which the Epicureans consider a comforting illusion or a vain attempt to sway the gods with prayer or sacrifice (e.g. Lucr. 5,1194-1240), and the genuine expression of religious faith and commitment in *met.* 11, for example in the communication between Lucius and Isis (cf. 11,6,5-7). Contrary to the gods in Lucretius, Isis is a divinity who does respond to prayers and help human beings in their sorrows. Lucius' genuine belief in the presence of a propitious divinity, which is a central feature of Book 11 from its very opening onwards, can be viewed in contrast with Lucretius' theological message, affirming that humans cannot communicate with the divine.²⁴⁶

7. Language, Style, and Rhetoric

In this section, we will introduce the main pillars of the linguistic, stylistic and rhetorical strategies employed by Apuleius in Book 11. As we have observed above (see 1.4), the literarisation and rhetoricisation of religion that lies at the heart of Book 11 simultaneously reflects the literary and rhetorical tastes of Apuleius' time. In the first part of this section (7.1), we will mainly focus on aspects of language and style that are associated with the hymnic genre and the tradition of religious rhetoric; in the second part (7.2), the focus will be on rhetorical techniques to create a strong visual impact through descriptions.

7.1 Religious rhetoric, elevated style and vocabulary

In the Second Sophistic, we see a lively interest in the tradition of religious rhetoric. Composing hymnic speeches in honour of a god belonged to the repertoire of sophists performing at great events in religious and non-religious contexts.²⁴⁷ A hymn was traditionally considered to be a most precious and valuable gift for a god, which requires a maximum of professional artistry. As a result, hymn was also considered a rhetorical genre with a very high prestige. Both the hymnic tradition and its ritual context are reflected in the description of the *pompa* in a passage not without metaliterary connotations; there, a skilled poet (*sollers poeta*) had composed a song in honour of the goddess with the help of the Camenae (*Camenarum fauore*), and taught a youth choir to sing his composition during the Isiac procession (see introd.

²⁴⁶ See Tatum 1979, 95; Zimmerman 2006a, 335-336. On the tone of genuine faith in Book 11 see also the introd. note on 11,5,2.

²⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. Dio Chrys. *or.* 12,27-37; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 42 (a Greek prose hymn on Aesculapius); Apul. *flor.* 18,39 (a bilingual hymn in honour of Aesculapius; cf. *apol.* 55,10-12). On hymns composed by sophists see Sandy 1997, 154 n. 43, referring to Menander Rhetor's rules for composing them (333-344,14); see also Bowie 1989, 214-221 on Aelius Aristides' hymns to Aesculapius, both prose and verse.

note on 11,9,5 for the associations with the Horatian chorus of the *Carmen Saeculare* at Rome). In the Isis Book, Apuleius expresses through the mask of Lucius a certain aspiration to prove himself an excellent practitioner of the hymnic genre. To this epideictic gesture belongs his predilection for creating innovative, euphonic and playful language.

7.1.1 Literarising religious genres: hymn and aretalogy

In recent studies on the interaction between religion and literature (e.g. Feeney 1998; Barchiesi, Rüpke and Stephens [edd.] 2004), literature itself is seen as a creative participant in the cultural process of religion, not as something 'marginal' which only reflects something static 'out there' (in a parodic or non-parodic way).²⁴⁸ There are many ways of 'representing the divine', and a work of fictional narrative like *met.* is a possibility among all those various competing modes of representation (see above, 1.4). According to this approach, Apuleius' literarisation of religion in Book 11 presents an interaction between Roman literature and religious traditions (Isiac and non-Isiac), which can be observed both on the level of language and style and on the level of genre (literary form).

The exceptional elegance, creativity and sophistication that characterise Apuleius' literarisation of religion can be observed especially in the four so-called liturgical passages: Lucius' prayer to the Moon goddess (Ch. II), Isis' self-revelation (Ch. V-VI), the sermon-like speech of the priest (Ch. XV), and Lucius' hymnic prayer to Isis (Ch. XXV).²⁴⁹ Yet, already in the elevated style of the opening of Book 11 we can observe the presence of religious genres (hymn, prayer).²⁵⁰ Thus, we can hear the eloquent 'new voice' and 'reborn tongue' (11,14,2 *renatam linguam*) of the Isiac adept Lucius reflected on the level of style and language from the very outset of the Isis Book, even when the narrator still describes the experiences and thoughts of Lucius-ass.²⁵¹

In the commentary, we offer a detailed analysis of the rich and innovative language created by Apuleius as part of his 'literarisation' and 'rhetoricisation' of religion. As Pasetti 1999, 255-262 demonstrates, Apuleius' literary transformation of hymn and aretalogy is marked by a scrupulous care for structure and stylistic embellishments (colometry; anaphora; assonance; alliteration), including the use of poetic and innovative vocabulary (for Apuleius' lexical and semantic innovations in Book

²⁴⁸ See Stephens 2004, 158: "questions about tone – is this serious or intended as parody – or believability are, like the question about the 'reality' of a ritual described within a text, perhaps the wrong way to approach the subject."

²⁴⁹ On the four 'liturgical' sections in Book 11, which are stylistically in a class of their own, see Solmsen's review of Griffiths 1975, *Gnomon* 51 (1979), 557. For the literarised and rhetoricised nature of Apuleius' liturgical passages see e.g. comm. on 11,5,2 *Dictynnam Dianam*; 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*; 11,25,5 *nec mihi uocis ubertas ... sufficit*.

²⁵⁰ See introduction to Ch. I (3. The elevated style of the opening of Book 11: influence of religious genres); see also introd. note on 11,1,1-3.

²⁵¹ For this paradox see also introduction to Ch. II (1. Praying, not braying: the ass' approach to the deity by prayer). On Lucius' 'new voice' after his re-transformation (cf. 11,14,1 *nouae uocis*), which foreshadows his glorious rhetorical career in Rome (11,28,6; 11,30,4), see introduction to Ch. XXV.

11, see in particular below, 7.1.2).²⁵² Harrison 2005a, 273-286 discusses Apuleius' use of the poetic language of prayer in *met.*, with pp. 280-282 focussing on the Isis Book.²⁵³ Nicolini (2011a and in *AAGA* 3) demonstrates in detail how Apuleius' etymological creativity continues to be present in the religious context of Book 11 in the form of wordplay of various types, including etymological reinterpretations and calques from Greek.

In Book 11, Apuleius adopts and transforms typical features of traditional religious genres for praising a deity (hymnic prayer, aretalogy), such as the *Du-Stil* (see e.g. comm. on 11,2,4 *tu ... subsiste, tu ... adfirma, tu ... tribue*; introduction to Ch. XXV), the listing of the various names of a deity (see comm. on 11,5,1 *nomine multiiugo* and compare the artfully arranged lists of names in Ch. II and V), or the elaborate and detailed catalogue of a deity's powers (cf. e.g. 11,1,1-3; 11,2,1-3; 11,25,3-4). In Lucius' prayers, the hymnic dimension is enriched by a votive dimension, characterised by reciprocity ('do ut des'), which reflects the mentality of Roman religion (see comm. on 11,1,3 *statui deprecari*; introd. note on 11,25,5; cf. also comm. on 11,6,4 *beneficio*).

On the level of vocabulary, the Apuleian passages often evoke the traditional language of Roman prayer (see comm. on 11,5,1 *adsum ... commota*; 11,5,3 *reginam Isidem*; 11,5,4 *fauens et propitia*; 11,6,3 *tibi uenio*; 11,15,2 *deae nostrae maiestas*; 11,17,4 *feliciter ... euenire*; 11,25,1 *sancta ... sospitatrix*). Such instances show that Apuleius' technique of literarising religion not only functions to give expression to religion in a literary form, but also to deepen the religious dimension of a literary text. The repeated *adsum* in Isis' self-revelation (11,5,1; 11,5,4), for example, gives expression to the pity of Isis in traditional Roman fashion ('moved by prayer, I come to your aid'), while making her answer sound even more religious than the simple εἶμι from the Isiac Self-revelation from Kyme (Ἰσις ἐγὼ εἶμι, Totti 1,3).

Isis' self-revelation and the description of her divine powers (11,5,1-3) transform traditional elements of prayer, hymn and aretalogy into a first-person speech, an elaborate hymn-style self-revelation.²⁵⁴ We can compare the literary self-revelation of Isis in Apuleius with many examples of hymns and other religious texts from Greek contexts of Isiac cult, (especially the Isiac self-revelation from Kyme), where they had a propagandistic function.²⁵⁵ Apuleius' fully literarised and rhetoricised adaptation of this form of self-revelation follows a Roman literary tradition,²⁵⁶ but outshines its religious and literary predecessors by an artistically compelling way of arranging

²⁵² See introduction to Ch. II (2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation); introduction to Ch. V (2. Stylistic analysis); introduction to Ch. XV (3. Style); introduction to Ch. XXV. See also introd. note on 11,25,6.

²⁵³ For the poetic language of prayer see e.g. comm. on 11,1,1 *nactusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta*; 11,5,1 *caeli ... culmina, maris ... flamina, inferum ... silentia*; 11,5,2 *Cretes sagittiferi*; 11,5,2 *Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam*.

²⁵⁴ Cf. the German term *Selbstaretalogie* and see Reitzenstein ³1927, 240: "eine literarische Umgestaltung und Verkürzung eines Kultgebets".

²⁵⁵ See Mussies 1988, 13 on this form of self-identification of gods. On the role of these texts in the *interpretatio Graeca* of Egyptian religion see Lembke 1994, 105-107; Sfameni Gasparro 2007.

²⁵⁶ For the use of this form in Latin literature, cf. Ov. *met.* 1,515-524 (Apollo to Daphne); 4,226-228 (Sol to Leucothoe); more examples in *DNP* s.v. *Hymnus* II [T. Fuhrer], 792-793; note the parody in Petron. 134,12, a high-flown poem in which the priestess/sorceress Oenothea introduces herself as an omnipotent cosmic ruler.

the goddess's powers and identities and by an "astonishing care for structure, rhythm, and rhyme", which makes the original Isiac hymns seem quite plain (see Tatum 1979, 156).

Apuleius follows the Greek aretalogies and hymns of Isis, which themselves are in strong continuity with Egyptian Isiac traditions, in presenting the traditional link between Isis' cosmic and cultural prerogatives (cf. Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 52 on Isis as a Hellenistic 'cultural heroine') within a specific royal-ideological context (cf. introduction to Ch. VI [Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity]). Whereas the Egyptian hymns present Isis especially as a protectress of the king, the Greek aretalogies and hymns reflect an amplification of Isis' claims, extending the reach of her love to mankind as a whole (Malaise 1997, 88), and giving her many names, thus assimilating her with a whole range of goddesses, Demeter, Aphrodite, Athena, etc. (cf. e.g. the *Invocation of Isis*, *P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20], quoted many times in the comm.). Yet, Apuleius presents a *Romanised* version of this tradition, combining Greek and Latin literary memory (see e.g. on 11,5,2 *Dicynnam Dianam*) to present 'religious and cultural history' as embodied by Isis (who also personifies its culmination) from a Rome-centred perspective (see above, 4.2.2 on Isis as a 'globalised' cultural heroine of Rome).

7.1.2 Innovative and rare vocabulary

It has been recently observed that not even Isis' power would be able to overshadow Apuleius' most venerated deity: language.²⁵⁷ Even at the religious closure of the novel, Apuleius continues to display his linguistic creativity, especially on the level of lexical and semantic innovation.²⁵⁸ An overview follows.

In Book 11 as well as in the previous ten, Apuleius often uses rare words, some of which seem to originate from spoken language, such as (diminutive) adverbs hardly attested elsewhere (e.g. 11,1,2 *consequenter*; 11,28,3 *saepicule*) or only found in Plautus.²⁵⁹ Compound verbs, introduced by Apuleius to add vividness of expression to the narrative, may also have originated from spoken language; see comm. on 11,14,3 *superstrictis*; cf. 11,3,5 *confluctuabat*; 11,23,1 *circumrorans*; 11,24,4 *prosis-tentibus*, all *hapax* except *superstringo*, which remains rare even after Apuleius). Other rare words preferred or even created by Apuleius add colour to the narrative, but are not necessarily associated with spoken language, such as the rare and poetic verb *praenitere* (11,9,5; 11,10,1) and the similar Apuleian neologism *praemicare* (11,1,1; 11,10,3); furthermore, archaising adjectives in *-osus* (see comm. on 11,7,5 *mubilosa*, a neologism; 11,11,2 *gestuosus*) or adjectives in *-alis* coined by Apuleius (11,20,6 *dorsualis*, rare after Apuleius; 11,29,5 *gaudiali*, attested only in *met.*; 11,30,1 *spontali*, a *hapax*).

Strikingly frequent in Book 11 are adjectives in *-bilis* (the comm. on 11,24,5 *in-*

²⁵⁷ See Nicolini 2011a, 52; Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 41.

²⁵⁸ On the question of stylistic unity in *met.* and the different views on this question see Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 28-29 with n. 2.

²⁵⁹ Cf. 11,30,2 *bellule*; see comm. on 11,11,4 *altiuscule* on the Plautine origin of diminutive adverbs. On Apuleius' creative use of the language of Plautus see Pasetti 2007.

explicabili lists 17 instances), some of which are rare (11,22,8 *ignorabilibus*) and others even coined by Apuleius (e.g. 11,24,6 *inremunerabili*). The neologism *adorabilis*, which possibly originates from spoken language, may have been coined by Apuleius in this context for euphonic effect (cf. 11,18,1 *adorabile beneficium meamque ipsius fortunam memorabilem*). It can hardly be a coincidence that we find in a reference to divinely inspired eloquence a special example of Apuleius' eloquent play with rare adjectives (in this case in *-ilis*), combined with redundant expression and assonance (see comm. on 11,3,3 *dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae*).

Apuleius often uses special words in Book 11 in a context of *ekphrasis/enargeia* (see below, 7.2), e.g. rare or archaising adverbs (see e.g. comm. on 11,3,4 *sensim ... passiuè ... molliter*; cf. 11,22,8 *capreolatim*, a *hapax*) or unusual nouns with a technical flavour (11,3,5 *multiplici contabulatione*; 11,11,4 *urnula*). Apuleius' taste for coining diminutive adjectives like *dependulus* (see comm. on 11,3,5 *dependula*) can be associated with a similar rhetorical goal. Whereas such words are used or created to evoke vivid mental images, Apuleius creates other words to evoke certain sounds, like whispering (see comm. on 11,7,5 *obsibilabant*, where the verb indicates that the trees are whispering a song for Isis).

Some words are only attested in the Isis book, such as a number of poetic nouns in *-men* coined by Apuleius, e.g. *adfamen* (see comm. on 11,7,4 *adfamine*; cf. 11,30,3). They seem to have been created by Apuleius especially for the religious context; in some cases, such as *amicimen* (11,9,2; 11,23,4, used of Isiac dress) and *coronamen* (only in 11,9,2), euphonic reasons can be adduced for the coinage as well (see comm. on 11,9,2 *candido splendentes amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine*).

Another Apuleian neologism that is only attested in the Isis Book is the verb *incapistrare*; it contains a playful allusion to Lucius' previous asinine state through the etymological root *capistrum*, 'bridle' (11,20,6 *cum me Photis malis incapistrasset erroribus*; see comm. ad loc.). A similar etymological play with literal and figurative connotations can be observed in the Apuleian neologism *inextricabiliter* (11,25,2; see comm. ad loc.), an adverb attested in the Isis Book for the first time and rarely found elsewhere.

Many words that only occur in the Isis Book are calques on Greek words with ritual and/or Isiac associations, such as the noun *anteludia*, which is only attested in 11,8,1 (see comm. ad loc.; cf. 11,9,5 *antecantamenta*), or the adjective *inuinius* (11,23,2), a *hapax* which probably translates the Greek ἰουινός, which is a poetic word used in an Isiac context by Plutarch (cf. also comm. on 11,27,9 *exaptat*). Among the compound adjectives with *multi-* introduced by Apuleius (see comm. on 11,5,1 *multiformi ... multiugo*) we find in Book 11 the Apuleian *hapax multinominis*, which translates the Isiac epithet πολυώνυμος (11,22,6).

Many transliterated Greek words such as *byssus* (11,3,5) or *cataclista* (11,9,5) are introduced by Apuleius to underline the Greekness of the rituals, objects, and officiants described (see e.g. comm. on 11,8,2 *crepides*; 11,17,2 *grammatea*; 11,20,4 *spondeo*; 11,22,8 *teletae*). Only in one instance, in a context of cultic activity where the use of Greek language and ritual is explicitly mentioned (11,17,3 *sermone rituque Graeciensi*), does Apuleius appear to have used the original Greek word instead of a transliteration (see comm. on 11,17,3 Πλωταφείσα). Other loanwords and translitera-

tions used by Apuleius are already attested before him, predominantly in poetry;²⁶⁰ they show his combined interest in poetic diction and ancient technical (e.g. nautical) vocabulary (see e.g. comm. on 11,16,8 *carchesio*).

Some words occur in the Isis Book in a sense not found elsewhere (semantic *hapax*). They are especially frequent in Isis' self-revelation,²⁶¹ in Lucius' hymnic prayer,²⁶² and in the episode of Lucius' re-transformation.²⁶³ Finally, there is a notable presence in the Isis Book of nouns in *-mentum*, which are used only by Apuleius or which he uses here with a particular meaning: *antecantamentum* (11,9,5); *detrimentum* (11,1,2); *sacramentum* (11,15,5); *supplicamentum* (11,20,4).²⁶⁴

As our commentary shows, Apuleius' etymological, lexical and semantic creativity is far from diminishing in Book 11. The religious closure of *met.* offers our author a wealth of opportunities to use, mould and create language in order to serve a central literary and rhetorical goal: the engaged and engaging representation of the divine in the context of a sophisticated genre, fictional prose narrative.

7.2 *ekphrasis* and *enargeia*

Rhetorical techniques used to produce *evidentia* (*enargeia*) are exploited to the full by Apuleius, particularly in Book 11; one of them is *ekphrasis*,²⁶⁵ another is the vivid characterisation of Lucius. The narrator in Apuleius' *met.* often uses expressions that almost programmatically reflect on the visual impact of his descriptions, alluding to technical terms like *evidentia* (ἐνάργεια) or *simulacrum*.²⁶⁶ This is also the case in Book 11,²⁶⁷ which offers us, on the one hand, an almost cinematic experience of ancient religion, and, on the other, the stuff great novels are made of, like the divine beauty of a heroine,²⁶⁸ impressive processions, divine miracles, tears and sweeping emotions. The concept of *evidentia* is not confined to *ekphrasis* but applies generally to the strong visual impact of descriptions, such as we find in historiography or fiction.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁰ See e.g. comm. on 11,4,3 *cymbium*; 11,22,8 *adyti*.

²⁶¹ Cf. e.g. 11,5,2 *fluctuantes* in the sense of 'sea-washed'; *trilingues* in the sense of 'speaking three languages'.

²⁶² Cf. e.g. comm. on 11,25,2 *nec dies nec quies*, the only attestation of *quies* meaning 'night'; see also comm. on 11,25,2 *inextricabiliter contorta ... retractas* on the unique sense of 'to unravel' of the verb *retracto*; 11,25,4 *nutrimentum nubila* on the absolute, seemingly intransitive use of *nutrio*.

²⁶³ See comm. on 11,13,5 *cohibetur*; 11,14,5 *inhumano*. Cf. also comm. on 11,7,4 *adsonarent* on the unique use of *adsono* with an object.

²⁶⁴ According to Hoppe 1897, 62-63, nouns in *-mentum* can be found especially in African authors like Apuleius and Tertullian. For the frequency of neologisms in *-mentum* in the *Vetus Latina*, see Rönisch 1891, 1-20, at p. 6 (on adjectives in *-bilis*: p. 7).

²⁶⁵ On *ekphrasis* and *evidentia* as sophistic techniques see Cassin 1997. On *ekphrasis* in the ancient novel (esp. Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus) against the cultural background of the Second Sophistic see Bartsch 1989. On *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* in Apuleius' *met.* see Van Mal-Maeder 1997b; Van Mal-Maeder 2006a, 260; Graverini 2013, with further references.

²⁶⁶ See GCA 2007, 46 on Apuleius' conscious use of literary-rhetorical notions like φαντασία and ἐνάργεια (cf. 1,3,3 *compertu evidentia*).

²⁶⁷ See comm. on 11,3,2 *perlucidum simulacrum ... uisum est*, and on 11,13,6 *tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam*.

²⁶⁸ On *ekphrasis* of female beauty producing vivid mental images as a topos in the ancient novel see introduction to Ch. III (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany).

²⁶⁹ See Walker 1993; on *evidentia/enargeia* as a point of contact between novel and historiography see

7.2.1 The impressions and emotions of the protagonist

In Book 11, the concept of *enargeia/evidentia* also applies to the vivid characterisation of Lucius (his emotions, his thoughts, his prayers, etc.),²⁷⁰ in accordance with ancient rhetorical precepts. To reach the rhetorical goal of producing emotions in the audience, Quintilian recommends the speaker to feel the emotions intensely himself which he wishes to elicit in his listeners (*inst.* 6,2,29-36). Following these rhetorical precepts, Apuleius created with Lucius a convincing narrator, who immerses his narratee in the world of his extraordinary sensual impressions and exalted emotions, as presented from the actorial perspective. In line with the rhetorical programme of the Prologue,²⁷¹ the narrator aims to surprise, entertain, and amaze his reader (strictly speaking: his narratee) by presenting the events (to a great extent) through the eyes of the uninformed and impressionable protagonist Lucius (see also above, 3.1).

The influence of Lucius' characterisation on the narrative focus can be observed in a simple detail like his great interest in Isis' long curly hair in the *ekphrasis* of the goddess in Ch. III, which not only demonstrates his own well-known personal preference (cf. his description of Photis' hair and the eulogy of hair in *met.* 2,8-9), but also reflects a rhetorical taste that is manifest in the ancient novels and the Second Sophistic in general.²⁷² Whereas Lucius claims in his voluptuous *ekphrasis* of Photis at 2,8-9 that hair is the only true dress for a woman, in his *ekphrasis* of Isis undulating hair is complemented with the flowing movements of her dress and of some of her attributes. In this way, the *ekphrasis* of Isis resembles ekphrastic descriptions of heroines in the Greek erotic novels and presents a contrast with the description of Photis.²⁷³ Gazing at Isis, Lucius is enraptured and translates his delight into a sensuous description,²⁷⁴ but it is a different *uoluptas* from the sexual *ardor* he felt in Photis' presence.²⁷⁵ Yet, Lucius-actor remains an impulsive, curious, and passionate adolescent, who succumbs to the delight (*uoluptas*) of admiring beautiful goddesses and their statues.²⁷⁶ Overwhelmed by the sight of Isis' beautiful hair and the impressive

Graverini 2009.

²⁷⁰ For the connection between characterisation and *evidentia* see Keulen 2000 (on the dramatic representation of Venus in the tale of Cupid and Psyche).

²⁷¹ For a discussion of the Prologue's psychagogical aim of evoking powerful emotions in the audience, which is in accordance with the poetics of the ancient novel, see Graverini 2012, 36-42. See also above, 5.3 with n. 176.

²⁷² See Schmeling and Montiglio 2006, 29-32.

²⁷³ Cf. especially the *ekphrasis* of Anthia in Xen. Eph. 1,2 and that of Charikleia in Heliod. 3,4. The life-like movements of the intertwined serpents that form a band of gold worn by Charikleia around her breast resemble the coiling movements of rearing snakes that hold together the moon-disc on Isis' head (see comm. on 11,3,5 *sulcis insurgentium uiperarum*). See Schmeling and Montiglio 2006, 30-32 on the contrast between the descriptions of Photis and those of the heroines from the Greek novels.

²⁷⁴ See introduction to Ch. III (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany) for the association of Lucius' description of Isis' epiphany with the *topos* of female beauty eliciting ekphrastic descriptions that richly apply *enargeia* in the Greek novel.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Tatum 1979, 89-91: "The little priest's simplicity is worlds away from the sensuous *uoluptates* of Lucius' early life – in particular such pleasure as he took in the beauties of the flesh. Recall the encomium on hair inspired by Fotis (2.8). As is shown in his sensuous description of Isis' hair (11.3-4), Lucius even now does not scorn that kind of beauty. His shaved head is only the symbol of a voluntary servitude enjoined on every believer in Isis."

²⁷⁶ Cf. 11,24,5-6 with comm. ad loc., where Lucius 'falls in love' with Isis: cf. esp. 11,24,5 *inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar*.

(head-)dress, Lucius even omits a reference to Isis' eyes, which are traditionally a prominent part of descriptions of divine apparitions and of physiognomic descriptions, including his own and that of Photis.²⁷⁷ For the emotional involvement of Lucius in the procession see above, 3.1.

7.2.2 The illusionistic techniques of the narrator

Sometimes, we clearly hear the voice of the narrator self-consciously reflecting on the rhetorical act of description as an act of communication between him and his narratee, drawing the attention of his audience to the power (or the lack of power) of language to convey a vivid image. A particular example of this can be found during the description of Isis' epiphany (11,3,3): after drawing the reader into a description of the goddess' sudden appearance with the exclamation *ecce* (11,3,2 *necdum satis conixeram et ecce ... emergit diuina facies*), Lucius-narrator interrupts the narrative (11,3,3) and declares to his audience (*uos*) that his linguistic abilities are not sufficient to describe the wonderful apparition – given the eloquent and sophisticated word-choice of this declaration (see comm. ad loc.) and the powerful quality of the ensuing *ekphrasis*, this confession turns out to be a rhetorical coquetry of the narrator, who is now a successful rhetor in Rome.²⁷⁸

In a similar way, in the descriptions of the procession and of Lucius' first initiation, the voice of the narrator explicitly refers to the illusionistic technique of putting something vividly before the audience's eyes. For example, the narrator draws the reader into the description by addressing him/her directly as if s/he were present as a spectator of the event, using the second person (see comm. on 11,8,3 *e ludo putares gladiatorio procedere*; 11,8,4 *diceres ... rideres*; 11,24,3 *quaqua tamen uiseres*). Sometimes the narrator uses deictics (11,8,2 *hic ... illum*; 11,9,1 *has*; 11,10,1 *illae ... hi*; 11,11,1 *hic*) to enhance the vividness of the description, or adverbs to zoom in on spatial details (11,3,5 *nunc ... nunc ... nunc*; 11,11,1 *nunc ... nunc*, with comm. ad loc.).²⁷⁹ In other cases, the use of rare verbs may add to the 'pictorial quality' of the description (see also above, 7.1.2).²⁸⁰ Often, the narrator uses the visual imperative (*et ecce* to attract the reader's attention (11,8,1 *ecce pompae magnae paulatim praecedunt*; 11,12,1 *et ecce ... promissa nobis accedunt beneficia*; 11,23,4 *tum ecce confluunt undique turbae*).²⁸¹

Other characters in Book 11 also use *en* or *ecce* as visual imperatives that func-

²⁷⁷ For the eyes as an important element of descriptions of divinities see introduction to Ch. III (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany).

²⁷⁸ See Van Mal-Maeder 2006a, 260-261.

²⁷⁹ See Graverini 2007, 177-178 (= 2012, 157-158) on the 'theatrical' quality of such passages.

²⁸⁰ Ch. XII, where the priest with the rose garland appears, is used by Callebat 1968, 397 as a case-study for the analysis of the frequent usage of "formes à préverbe" in the novel. He counts 7 cases "où le préverbe, précisant un mouvement matériel, accuse le pittoresque de l'évocation" (*accedunt, adluciantem, adpropinquat, decedente, inrepo, proferens, proripui*), and 3 cases of "préverbes à valeur intensive" (*commotus, emensis, exanclatis*). The value of his analysis, however, is reduced by the fact that in most cases the use of the preverb appears to be more a semantic necessity than a stylistic option.

²⁸¹ In 11,23,7, the narrator uses the exclamation *ecce* not before but after a descriptive passage in a direct address of the reader, and draws attention to the act of narrating such things and how this should be judged.

tion to elicit a spectator's response to the revealing of someone's true identity. A special case of the use of *en ecce* is found in the speech of the priest in 11,15,4 *en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magna providentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*, where the exclamation *en ecce* reflects the supposed admiring response of the people to the sight of the triumphant Lucius.²⁸² This admiration is vividly pictured by the priest in his admonitory address to Lucius-actor, who simultaneously makes Lucius look at himself ('*en ecce*') as if he were present as a spectator among the people gazing at him as a participant in the procession. In 11,5,1, Isis uses the visual imperative *en* at the very beginning of her self-revelation to Lucius (see comm. ad loc.).

A remarkable *comparandum* for the visual description of the Isiac procession is provided by another long description of a procession in Heliodorus 2,34-3,6, where the narrator Calasiris explicitly aims at obtaining a 'full immersion' of the narratee Cnemon in the narrative world; the vocabulary adopted especially at Heliod. 3,1 suggests that Calasiris' account of the procession allows Cnemon to directly see the scene itself, and listen to its voices and sounds.²⁸³

7.2.3 The 'cinematic' qualities of the Isis Book

In an article about the cinematic nature of Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, Martin Winkler (2002) compares the narrative purpose of opening shots in films and a novel's visual opening scene, such as we have in Heliodorus: in both cases, this purpose is to draw the audience irresistibly into the story.²⁸⁴ *Mutatis mutandis*, this observation is also valid for the Isis Book, which is highly visual from its opening scene onwards, introducing the ass praying on the beach to the rising moon.²⁸⁵ The visuality in the Isis Book, which immediately draws the reader into a colourful world of epiphanies, processions, cultic attributes and exotic attire, can be approached in a similarly 'cinematic' way. For example, as we observe in the commentary (on 11,1,1 *lunae ... completum orbem*), Apuleius uses an almost cinematographic effect, when after describing the moonrise at the outset he makes the moon reappear at the epiphany of Isis in the form of a luminous disc above the goddess' forehead (11,3,4).

The description of Isis' epiphany may serve as a particular example of how the descriptions in Book 11 can be read as a 'cinematic' experience. Here, as often, the narrator makes the reader into a spectator by allowing him/her to share the

²⁸² The passage anticipates Ch. XXIV through the theme of the crowd gazing with amazement (11,24,4) and Lucius' role as a spectacle.

²⁸³ See Graverini 2007, 176-177 (= 2012, 156-157), with further lit., and the whole par. 3.4 (pp. 173-185 = 154-164) on the reader becoming spectator (one of the 'theatrical' qualities of the novel).

²⁸⁴ See Winkler 2002, 162. For a study of film as a narrative medium see Heiß 2011; for a medial-comparative study of narrative texts and the film made of them see Poppe 2007.

²⁸⁵ On the cinematic quality of Apuleius' novel see Elsom 1989, who argues that Pasolini would have been the ideal filmmaker for the film of the *Golden Ass*. The only cinematic adaptation of Apuleius' novel so far (apart from the Risus festival appearing in Fellini's *Satyricon*) is Sergio Spina's *L'asino d'oro: processo per fatti strani contro Lucius Apuleius cittadino romano* (1969/1970), with a duration of 99 minutes. On this film see Müller-Reineke 2009, 10: "The script, written by Spina himself, lays its focus on the erotic aspects of the novel which makes the movie range over the erotico-storici (erotic-historic) sub-genre of Italian soft pornography, together with other (for our taste) sensational biopics of famous Roman individuals, which were obviously quite popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s."

observations made from the point of view of Lucius-actor, whose curious gaze determines the 'camera movements' of the narrative. As is frequently the case, we see an interplay of the actorial and auctorial perspectives (see above, 3.1): on the one hand, we hear the voice of the narrator directly addressing his audience, announcing his description of the divine apparition (11,3,3 *eius mirandam speciem ad uos etiam referre conitar*); on the other hand, he shares with his audience the 'direct' visual experiences he had at the time of the events (11,3,2 *dehinc paulatim toto corpore perlucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse uisum est*). In this way, the narrator turns the reader into a spectator of this vision, without giving explicit information regarding the identity of the goddess described. Thus, the filmic 'scene' creates suspense in the audience, and invites directing an inquiring gaze at the physiognomy of the deity, as it were, over the shoulder of the equally curious ass.²⁸⁶

In the description of the *miranda species*, there are several key words that indicate the direction of the observer's gaze, starting at the top of the goddess' head, where it lingers for a long time and zooms in on many details (her lush curling hair loosely flowing *down*, a crown made of flowers *all around her head*, adorned *at its midpoint* with the moon disc framed by snakes *at its left and right edge* and with ears of wheat stretching out *over all*) and gradually moving downwards (her dress, with a variety of colours; her black cloak, passing *right round her* and running *under her right arm* up to her *left shoulder*; the rattle in her *right hand*; the shaking movement of her *right arm*; the drinking vessel hanging from her *left hand*) until reaching the lowest point, her *feet* (11,4,3 *pedes*).²⁸⁷ An intriguing effect is produced by two opposing movements taking place at the same time: while the 'camera' moves downward from the top, the goddess rises upwards from the waves, and when the 'camera' finally reaches Isis' feet, this coincides with the moment when the goddess has fully come out of the water (see introduction to Ch. III [1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany]).²⁸⁸

Finally, of a 'cinematic' nature too is the closing scene of Lucius, whom we see entering joyfully on his duties as a member of the college of *pastophori* with a completely shaved head. As Nicolini (2005, 56 with n. 124) observes, the imperfect tense of the last word of Book 11, *obibam* (11,30,5), creates a 'fade-out' effect in the closing vignette, where not a single comment or judgment on the present situation of the narrator is being expressed. While viewing the ambiguous image of the bald and smiling Lucius, moving towards a future which remains untold, the reader/spectator is left to admire the last, rigorous physical transformation of the protagonist, whose provocative bodily appearance embodies his new and successful life-style.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ On the gaze and 'physiognomic' scrutiny in *met.* see Keulen 2006, esp. 192-195.

²⁸⁷ See Winkler 2002, 166-167, describing in a similar way the movements of the camera / the observer's gaze in the description of Charikleia in Heliod. 1,2 (as seen from the point of view of the robbers).

²⁸⁸ For the scene of a divine beauty emerging from the sea as a feature of cinematography, compare the iconic 'coming out of the water' scene from the James Bond film *Dr. No* with Ursula Andress, which was quoted in *Die Another Day* with Halle Berry.

²⁸⁹ See Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 64-70. On the use of the imperfect tense (*obibam*) see comm. on 11,1,4 *sic adprecabar*.

NOTE TO THE TEXT

The reading text of the present volume is based on the Oxford Classical Text edition by Maaïke Zimmerman (2012). This choice is a departure from previous volumes of the *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius*, in which the reading text was based on the edition of Helm³1931, reprinted with Addenda and Corrigenda in 1955.¹ We also follow the orthography adopted in Zimmerman 2012 (see the Introduction there, pp. xxviii-xxxiv), including the choice to print the normalised spelling of words like *exuuias* (11,10,2), *strophis* (11,16,9), and *sumptis* (11,16,10) instead of retaining the spelling found in F. However, differently from the OCT, we have chosen to print *u* (e.g. *uero*) instead of *v* (*vero*) throughout (but using capital *U* like in *Ut* and *V* like in *Vero*). In the commentary, each section of the Latin text is indicated by book, chapter and paragraph numbers, as used in Robertson 1945 and Zimmerman 2012 (e.g. 11,2,1). In the following places, a different reading from Zimmerman's text has been chosen. The commentary discusses the disputed passages. Changes of punctuation are not listed here; the same applies for cases where a capital has been chosen for personifications (11,1,3 *Fato*; 11,25,2 *Fatorum*).

	This text	Zimmerman's text (2012)
11,3,5	<i>porrectis</i> . < <i>Vestis</i> > Bursian	<i>porrectis</i> < <i>ornata.Vestis</i> >
11,6,2	<i>mihique iam dudum detestabilis</i> Robertson	<i>mihique detestabilis iam dudum</i> F
11,6,3	<i>rerum mearum</i> F	<i>rerum earum</i> Scriverius
11,8,4	<i>uehentem</i> Frassinetti	<i>uehebatur</i> F
11,9,4	<i>facticii luminis</i> Haupt	<i>ficti luminis</i> A and U
11,10,6	<i>laureis</i> Passerat	<i>aureis</i> F
11,16,8	<i>fulgebat</i> F	<i>fulgurabat</i> φ and α
11,16,9	<i>cuiusce modi</i> Brantius	<i>huiusce modi</i> F
11,20,3	<i>ut</i> F	<i>utut</i> Pricaeus
11,27,6	<i>similis ut somnium</i>	<i>similis esset [ut somnium]</i>
11,28,4	<i>inquit</i>	<i>[in]qui[t]</i> Nicolini
11,29,4	<i>laetus capesse gaudium</i> Helm	<i>laetum capesse gaudium</i> F
11,30,4	<i>quin nunc</i> Harrison	<i>quae nunc</i> , Helm
11,30,4	<i>serebat</i> Oudendorp	<i>exciebat</i> Thomas

¹ See *GCA* 2000, 32-33 for full presentation of the procedure adopted in previous volumes of *GCA*.

TEXT

LIBER XI

- 1** ¹Circa primam ferme noctis uigiliam experrectus pauore subito, uideo praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus; nactusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta, ²certus etiam summam deam praecipua maiestate pollere resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi prouidentia, nec tantum pecuina et ferina uerum inanima etiam diuino eius luminis numinisque nutu uegetari, ipsa etiam corpora, terra caelo marique, nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui, ³Fato scilicet iam meis tot tantisque cladibus satiatio et spem salutis licet tardam subministrante augustum specimen deae praesentis statui deprecari. ⁴Confestimque discussa pigra quiete <laetus et> alacer exurgo meque protinus purificandi studio marino lauacro trado septiesque summerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecipue religionibus aptissimum diuinus ille Pythagoras prodidit, [laetus et alacer] deam praepotentem lacrimoso uultu sic adprecabar.
- 2** ¹Regina caeli – siue tu Ceres alma frugum parens originalis, quae, repertu laetata filiae, uetustae glandis ferino remoto pabulo, miti commonstrato cibo nunc Eleusiniam glebam percolis, seu tu caelestis Venus, quae primis rerum exordiis sexuum diuersitatem generato Amore sociasti et aeterna subole humano genere propagato nunc circumfluo Paphi sacrario coleris; ²seu Phoebi soror, quae partu fetarum medelis lenientibus recreato populos tantos educasti praeclarisque nunc ueneraris delubris Ephesi, seu nocturnis ululatibus horrenda Proserpina triformi facie laruales impetus comprimens terraeque claustra cohibens lucos diuersos inerrans uario cultu propitiaris – ³ista luce feminea conlustrans cuncta moenia et udis ignibus nutriens laeta semina et solis ambagibus dispensans incerta lumina, quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est inuocare: ⁴tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste, tu fortunam conlapsam adfirma, tu saeuis exanclatis casibus pausam pacemque tribue; sit satis laborum, sit satis periculorum. Depelle quadripedis diram faciem, redde me conspectui meorum, redde me meo Lucio. Ac si quod offensum numen inexorabili me saeuitia premit, mori saltem liceat, si non licet uiuere.’
- 3** ¹Ad istum modum fuis precibus et adstructis miseris lamentationibus rursus mihi marcentem animum in eodem illo cubili sopor circumfusus oppressit. ²Necdum satis coniueram, et ecce pelago medio uenerandos diis etiam uultus attollens emergit diuina facies; ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore perlucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse uisum est. ³Eius mirandam speciem ad uos etiam referre conitar, si tamen mihi disserendi tribuerit facultatem paupertas oris humani uel ipsum numen eius dapsilem

copiam elocutis facundiae subministrauerit. ⁴Iam primum crines uberrimi prolixique et sensim intorti per diuina colla passiuè dispersi molliter defluebant. Corona multiformis uariis floribus sublimem distrinxerat uerticem, cuius media quidem super frontem plana rotunditas in modum speculi uel immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat, ⁵dextra laeuaque sulcis insurgentium uiperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerialibus desuper porrectis. <Vestis> multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida et, quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat optutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore, quae circumcirca remeans et sub dexterum latus ad umerum laeuum recurrens umbonis uicem deiecta parte lacinae multiplici contabulatione dependula ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat.

4 ¹Per intexam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant earumque media semenstris luna flammeos spirabat ignes. Quaqua tamen insignis illius pallae perfluebat ambitus, indiuiduo nexu corona totis floribus totisque constructa pomis adhaerebat. ²Iam gestamina longe diuersa. Nam dextra quidem ferebat aereum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam lamminam in modum baltei recuruatam traiectae mediae paucae uirgulae, crispante brachio trigeminis iactus, reddebant argutum sonorem. ³Laeuae uero cymbium dependebat aureum, cuius ansulae, qua parte conspicua est, insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum ceruicibus late tumescentibus. Pedes ambroseos tegebant soleae palmae uictricis foliis intextae. Talis ac tanta spirans Arabiae felicia germina diuina me uoce dignata est:

5 ¹En adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina manium, prima caelitum, deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae caeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso; cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu uario, nomine multiuigo totus ueneratur orbis. ²Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem, hinc autocthones Attici Cecropiam Mineruam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusini uetusti Actaeam Cererem, ³Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant uero nomine reginam Isidem. ⁴Adsum tuos miserata casus, adsum fauens et propitia. Mitte iam fletus et lamentationes omitte, depelle maerorem. Iam tibi prouidentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris. Ergo igitur imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum. ⁵Diem qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupauit religio, quo sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus, nauigabili iam pelago rudem dedicantes carinam primitias commeatus libant mei sacerdotes. Id sacrum nec sollicita nec profana mente debebis opperiri.

6 ¹Nam meo monitu sacerdos in ipso procinctu pompae roseam manu

dextera sistro cohaerentem gestabit coronam. ²Incunctanter ergo dimotis turbulis alacer continare pompam mea uolentia fretus, et de proximo clementer uelut manum sacerdotis osculabundus rosis decerptis pessimae mihiq; iam dudum detestabilis beluae istius corio te protinus exue. ³Nec quicquam rerum mearum reformides ut arduum. Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi uenio, simul et [t]ibi praesens, quae sunt sequentia, sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio. ⁴Meo iussu tibi constricti comitatus decedent populi, nec inter hilares caerimonias et festiua spectacula quisquam deformem istam quam geris faciem perhorrescet, uel figuram tuam repente mutatam sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur. ⁵Plane memineris et penita mente conditum semper tenebis mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula adusque terminos ultimi spiritus uadata. Nec iniurium, cuius beneficio redieris ad homines, ei totum debere, quod uiues. ⁶Viues autem beatus, uiues in mea tutela gloriosus, et cum spatium saeculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis, ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semirotondo me, quam uides, Acherontis tenebris interlucentem Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, campos Elysios incolens ipse, tibi propitiam frequens adorabis. ⁷Quodsi sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis et tenacibus castimoniis numen nostrum promerueris, scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia uitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere.

7 ¹Sic oraculi uenerabilis fine prolato numen inuictum in se recessit. Nec mora cum somno protinus absolutus pauore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exurgo summeque miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam, marino rore respersus magnisque imperiis eius intentus monitionis ordinem recalebam. ²Nec mora, cum noctis atrae fugato nubilo sol exurgit aureus, et ecce discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali turbulae complent totas plateas, ³tantaque hilaritudine praeter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta uidebantur, ut pecua etiam cuiusce modi et totas domos et ipsum diem serena facie gaudere sentirem. ⁴Nam et pruinae pridianae dies apricus ac placidus repente fuerat insecutus, ut canorae etiam auiculae prolectatae uerno uapore concentus suauis adsonarent, matrem siderum, parentem temporum orbisque totius dominam blando mulcentes adfamem. ⁵Quid quod arbores etiam, quae pomifera subole fecundae quaeque earum tantum umbra contentae steriles, austrinis laxatae flatibus, germine foliorum renidentes, clementi motu brachiorum dulces strepitus obsibilabant, magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ac turbido fluctuum tumore posito mare quietas adluuies temperabat, caelum autem nubilosa caligine disiecta nudo sudoque luminis proprii splendore candebat.

8 ¹Ecce pompae magnae paulatim praecedunt anteludia uotiuus cuiusque studiis exornata pulcherrime. ²Hic incinctus balteo militem gerebat, illum succinctum chlamide crepides et uenabula uenatorem fecerant, alius soccis obauratis inductus serica ueste mundoque pretioso et adtextis capite crinibus incessu perfluo feminam mentiebatur, porro alium ocreis, scuto, galea ferroque insignem e ludo putares gladiatorio procedere. ³Nec ille deerat, qui magistratum fascibus purpuraque luderet, nec qui pallio baculoque et baxeis et hircino barbitio philosophum fingeret, nec qui diuersis harundinibus alter

aucupem cum uisco, alter piscatorem cum hamis induceret. ⁴Vidi et ursam mansuem cultu matronali sella uehentem et simiam pilleo textili crocotisque Phrygiis Catamiti pastoris specie aureum gestantem poculum et asinum pinnis adglutinatam adambulantem cuidam seni debili, ut illum quidem Bellerophonem, hunc autem diceres Pegasus, tamen rideres utrumque.

9 ¹Inter has oblectationes ludicras popularium, quae passim uagabantur, iam sospitaticis deae peculiaris pompa moliebatur. ²Mulieres candido splendentes amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine, quae de gremio per uiam, qua sacer incedebat comitatus, solum sternebant flosculis; aliae quae nitentibus speculis pone tergum reuersis uenienti deae obuium commonstrarent obsequium,³ et quae pectines eburnos ferentes gestu brachiorum flexuque digitorum ornatum atque obpexum crinium regalium fingerent, illae etiam, quae ceteris unguentis et geniali balsamo guttatim excusso conspangebant plateas; ⁴magnus praeterea sexus utriusque numerus lucernis, taedis, cereis et alio genere facticii luminis siderum caelestium stirpem propitiantes: symphoniae dehinc suaues, fistulae tibiaeque modulis dulcissimis personabant. ⁵Eas amoenus lectissimae iuuentutis ueste niuea et cataclista praenitens sequebatur chorus, carmen uenustum iterantes, quod Camenarum fauore sollers poeta modulatus edixerat, quod argumentum referebat interim maiorum antecantamenta uotorum. ⁶Ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines, qui per obliquum calamum, ad aurem porrectum dexteram, familiarem templi dei que modulum frequentabant, et plerique, qui facilem sacris uiam dari praedicarent.

10 ¹Tunc influunt turbae sacris diuinis initiatae, uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis, lintheae uestis candore puro luminosi, illae limpido tegmine crines madidos obuolutae, hi capillum derasi funditus uerticem praenitentes ² – magnae religionis terrena sidera – aereis et argenteis immo uero aureis etiam sistris argutum tinnitum constrepentes, et antistites sacrorum proceres illi, qui candido lintheamine cinctum pectoralem adusque uestigia strictim iniecti potentissimorum deum proferebant insignis exuuias. ³Quorum primus lucernam claro praemicantem porrigebat lumine non adeo nostris illis consimilem, quae uespertinas illuminant epulas, sed aureum cymbium medio sui patore flammulam suscitans largiorem. ⁴Secundus uestitum quidem similis, sed manibus ambabus gerebat altaria, id est auxilia, quibus nomen dedit proprium deae summatis auxiliariis prouidentia. Ibat tertius attollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam nec non Mercuriale etiam caduceum. ⁵Quartus aequitatis ostendebat indicium deformatam manum sinistram porrecta palmula, quae genuina pigritia, nulla calliditate, nulla sollertia praedita, uidebatur aequitati magis aptior quam dextera; ⁶idem gerebat et aureum uasculum in modum papillae rotundatum, de quo lacte libabat. Quintus auream uannum laureis congestam ramulis, et alius ferebat amphoram.

11 ¹Nec mora cum dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt, hic horrendus ille superum commeator et inferum, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis ceruices arduas, Anubis, laeua caduceum gerens, dextera palmam uirentem quatens. ²Huius uestigium continuum sequebatur

bos in erectum leuata statum, bos, omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum, quod residens umeris suis proferebat unus e ministerio beato gressu gestuosus. ³Ferebatur ab alio cista secretorum capax penitus celans operta magnificae religionis. Gerebat alius felici suo gremio summi numinis uenerandam effigiem, non pecoris, non auis, non ferae, ac ne hominis quidem ipsius consimilem, sed sollerti repertu etiam ipsa nouitate reuerendam, altioris utcumque et magno silentio tegendae religionis argumentum ineffabile, sed ad istum plane modum fulgente auro figuratum: ⁴urnula faberrime cauata, fundo quam rotundo, miris extrinsecus simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata; eius orificium non altiuscule leuatum in canalem porrectum longo riuulo prominebat, ex alia uero parte multum recedens spatiosa dilatione adhaerebat ansa, quam contorto nodulo supersedebat aspis squameae ceruicis striato tumore sublimis.

12 ¹Et ecce praesentissimi numinis promissa nobis accedunt beneficia, et fata salutemque ipsam meam gerens sacerdos adpropinquat, ad ipsum praescriptum diuinae promissionis ornatum dextera proferens sistrum deae, mihi coronam – et Hercules coronam consequenter, quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus, tot emensis periculis, deae maximae prouidentia adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superarem. ²Nec tamen gaudio subitario commotus inclementi me cursu proripui, uerens scilicet ne repentino quadripedis impetu religionis quietus turbaretur ordo, sed placido ac prorsus humano gradu cunctabundus paulatim obliquo corpore, sane diuinitus decedente populo, sensim inrepro.

13 ¹At sacerdos, ut reapse cognoscere potui, nocturni commonefactus oraculi miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris, confestim restitit et ultro porrecta dextera ob os ipsum meum coronam exhibuit. ²Tunc ego trepidans, adsiduo pulsu micanti corde, coronam, quae rosos amoenis intexta fulgurabat, auido ore susceptam cupidus promissi deuorauit. ³Nec me fefellit caeleste promissum: protinus mihi delabatur deformis et ferina facies. Ac primo quidem squalens pilus defluit, ac dehinc cutis crassa tenuatur, ⁴uenter obesus residit, pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt, manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia, ⁵ceruix procera cohibetur, os et caput rotundatur, aures enormes repetunt pristinam paruitatem, dentes saxei redeunt ad humanam minutiem, et, quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam! ⁶Populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam et consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis claraque et consona uoce, caelo manus adtendentes, testantur tam inlustre deae beneficium.

14 ¹At ego stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam, animo meo tam repentinum tamque magnum non capiente gaudium, ²quid potissimum praefarer primarium, unde nouae uocis exordium caperem, quo sermo nunc renatam linguam feliciter auspicar, quibus quantisque uerbis tantae deae gratias agerem? ³Sed sacerdos utcumque diuino monitu cognitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis, quamquam et ipse insigni permotus miraculo, nutu significato prius praecipit tegendo mihi lintheam dari laciniam; ⁴nam me cum primum nefasto tegmine despoliauerat asinus compressis in artum feminibus

et superstrictis accurate manibus, quantum nudo licebat, uelamento me naturali probe munieram. ⁵Tunc e cohorte religionis unus inpigre superiorem exutus tunicam supertexit me celerrime. Quo facto sacerdos uultu geniali et hercules inhumano in aspectum meum attonitus sic effatur:

15 ¹Multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis, ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, uenisti. Nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, uel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit, sed lubrico uirentis aetatulae ad seruiles delapsus uoluptates, curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti. ²Sed utcumque Fortunae caecitas, dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam beatitudinem inprouida produxit malitia. Eat nunc et summo furore saeuat et crudelitati suae materiem quaerat aliam; nam in eos quorum sibi uitas <in> seruitium deae nostrae maiestas uindicauit, non habet locum casus infestus. ³Quid latrones, quid ferae, quid seruitium, quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae, quid metus mortis cotidianaef nefariae Fortunae profuit? In tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed uidentis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat. ⁴Sume iam uultum laetiosem candido isto habitu tuo congruentem, comitare pompam deae sospitaticis inouanti gradu. Videant inreligiosi, uideant et errorem suum recognoscant: en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae prouidentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat. ⁵Quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogaboris, teque iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium. Nam cum coeperis deae seruire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis.

16 ¹Ad istum modum uaticinatus sacerdos egregius fatigatos anhelitus trahens conticuit. ²Exin permixtus agmini religioso procedens comitabar sacrarium totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis. ³Omnes in me populi fabulabantur: 'Hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformauit ad homines. ⁴Felix hercules et ter beatus, qui uitae scilicet praecedentis innocentia fideque meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium, ut renatus quodam modo statim sacrorum obsequio desponderetur.' ⁵Inter haec et festorum uotorum tumultum paulatim progressi iam ripam maris proximamus atque ad ipsum illum locum, quo pridie meus stabulauerat asinus, peruenimus. ⁶Ibi deum simulacris rite dispositis nauem faberrime factam picturis miris Aegyptiorum circumsecus uarietate summus sacerdos taeda lucida et ouo et sulphure, sollempnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore, quam purissime purificatam deae nuncupauit dedicauitque. ⁷Huius felicitatis alui nitens carbasus litteras intextas progerebat: eae litterae uotum instaurabant de noui commeatus prospera nauigatione. ⁸Iam malus insurgit pinus rotunda, splendore sublimis, insigni carchesio conspicua, et puppis intorta chenisco bracteis aureis uestita fulgebat omnisque prorsus carina citro limpido perpolita florebat. ⁹Tunc cuncti populi tam religiosi quam profani uannos onustas aromatis et cuiusce modis suppliciis certatim congerunt et insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum, donec muneribus largis et deuotionibus faustis completa nauis,

absoluta strophis ancoralibus, peculiari serenoque flatu pelago redderetur. ¹⁰Quae postquam cursus spatio prospectum sui nobis incertat, sacrorum geruli sumptis rursum, quae quisque detulerant, alacres ad fanum reditum capessunt simili ritu pompae decori.

17 ¹At cum ad ipsum iam templum peruenimus, sacerdos maximus quique diuinis effigies progerebant et qui uenerandis penetralibus pridem fuerant initiati, intra cubiculum deae recepti disponunt rite simulacra spirantia. ²Tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti grammatea dicebant, pro foribus assistens coetu pastophorum – quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est – uelut in contionem uocato, ³indidem de sublimi suggestu de libro [de litteris] fausta uota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo, nauticis, nauibusque quae sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur, renuntiat sermone rituque Graeciensi τὰ πλοιαφέσια. ⁴Quam uocem feliciter cunctis euenire signauit populi clamor insecutus. Exin gaudio delibuti populares thallos uerbenas corollas ferentes, exosculatis uestigiis deae, quae gradibus haerebat argento formata, ad suos discedunt lares. ⁵Nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intentus <in> deae specimen pristinos casus meos recordabar.

18 ¹Nec tamen Fama uolucris pigra pinnarum tarditate cessauerat, sed protinus in patria deae prouidentis adorabile beneficium meamque ipsius fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim. ²Confestim denique familiares ac uernulae quae mihi proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant, luctu deposito quem de meae mortis falso nuntio susceperant, repentino laetati gaudio uarie quisque munerabundi ad meum festinant ilico diurnum reducemque ab inferis conspectum. ³Quorum desperata ipse etiam facie recreatus oblationes honestas aequi bonique facio, quippe cum mihi familiares, quod ad cultum sumptumque largiter succederet, deferre prospicue curassent.

19 ¹Adfatis itaque ex officio singulis narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis, me rursum ad deae gratissimum mihi refero conspectum, aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi larem temporarium mihi constituo, deae ministeriis adhuc priuatis adpositis contuberniisque sacerdotum indiuiduus et numinis magni cultor inseparabilis. ²Nec fuit nox una uel quies aliqua uisu deae monituque ieiuna, sed crebris imperiis sacris suis me, iam dudum destinatum, nunc saltem censebat initiari. ³At ego quamquam cupienti uoluntate praeditus, tamen religiosa formidine retardabar, quod enim sedulo percontaueram difficile religionis obsequium et castimoniorum abstinentiam satis arduam, cautoque circumspectu uitam, quae multis casibus subiacet, esse muniendam. Haec identidem mecum reputans nescio quo modo quamquam festinans differebam.

20 ¹Nocte quadam plenum gremium suum uisus est mihi summus sacerdos offerre, ac requirenti quid utique istud respondisse partes illas de Thessalia mihi missas, seruum etiam meum indidem superuenisse nomine Candidum. ²Hanc experrectus imaginem diu diuque apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam quid rei portenderet, praesertim cum nullum umquam habuisse me seruum isto nomine nuncupatum certus essem. ³Ut tamen sese praesagium somni porrigeret, lucrum certum modis omnibus significari partium oblatione

credebam. Sic anxius et in prouentum prosperiorem attonitus templi matutinas apertiones opperiebar. ⁴Ac dum, uelis candentibus reductis in diuersum, deae uenerabilem conspectum adprecamur, et per dispositas aras circumiens sacerdos, rem diuinam procurans supplicamentis sollempnibus, deae de penetrali fontem petitum spondeo libat. ⁵Rebus iam rite consummatis inchoatae lucis salutationibus religiosi primam nuntiantes horam perstrepunt. ⁶Et ecce superueniunt Hypata quos ibi reliqueram famulos, cum me Photis malis incapistrasset erroribus, cognitis scilicet fabulis meis, nec non et equum quoque illum meum reducentes, quem diuerse distractum notae dorsualis agnitione recuperauerant. ⁷Quare sollertiam somni tum mirabar uel maxime, quod praeter congruentiam lucrosae pollicitationis argumento serui Candidi equum mihi reddidisset colore candidum.

21 ¹Quo facto idem sollicitus sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium, spe futura beneficiis praesentibus pignerata. ²Nec minus in dies mihi magis magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat summisque precibus primarium sacerdotem saepissime conueneram, petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret. ³At ille, uir alioquin grauis et sobriae religionis obseruatione famosus, clementer ac comiter et ut solent parentes in maturis liberorum desideriis modificari, meam differens instantiam, spei melioris solaciis alioquin anxium mihi permulcebat animum: ⁴nam et diem quo quisque possit initiari deae nutu demonstrari, et sacerdotem qui sacra debeat ministrare, eiusdem prouidentia deligi, sumptus etiam caerimoniis necessarios simili praecepto destinari. ⁵Quae cuncta nos quoque obseruabili patientia sustinere censebat, quippe cum auiditati contumaciaeque summe cauere et utramque culpam uitare ac neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare deberem. ⁶Nec tamen esse quemquam de suo numero tam perditae mentis uel immo destinatae mortis qui, non sibi quoque seorsum iubente domina, temerarium atque sacrilegum audeat ministerium subire noxamque letalem contrahere. Nam et inferum claustra et salutis tutelam in deae manu posita, ⁷ipsamque traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis et precariae salutis celebrari, quippe cum transactis uitae temporibus iam in ipso finitae lucis limine constitutos, quis tamen tuto possint magna religionis committi silentia, numen deae soleat eligere et sua prouidentia quodam modo renatos ad nouae reponere rursus salutis curricula. ⁸Ergo igitur me quoque oportere caeleste sustinere praeceptum, quamquam perspicua euidentique magni numinis dignatione iam dudum felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque, ⁹nec secus quam cultores ceteri cibus profanis ac nefariis iam nunc temperare, quo rectius ad arcana purissimae religionis secreta peruaderem.

22 ¹Dixerat sacerdos, nec inpatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum, sed intentus miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate sedulum quot dies obibam culturae sacrorum ministerium. ²Nec me fefellit uel longi temporis prolatione cruciauit deae potentis benignitas salutaris, sed noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis euidenter monuit aduenisse diem mihi semper optabilem ³quo me maximi uoti compotiret, quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis, ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem praecipuum, diuino quodam stellarum consortio, ut aiebat, mihi coniunctum, sacrorum

ministerium decernit. ⁴Quis et ceteris beniuolis praeceptis summatis deae recreatus animi, necdum satis luce lucida, discussa quiete protinus ad receptaculum sacerdotis contendo atque eum cubiculo suo commodum prodeuntem continuatus saluto. ⁵Solito constantius destinaueram iam uelut debitum sacris obsequium flagitare. At ille statim ut me conspexit, prior: ‘O’ inquit ‘Luci, te felicem, te beatum, quem propitia uoluntate numen augustum tantopere dignatur?’; ⁶et ‘Quid’ inquit ‘iam nunc stas otiosus teque ipsum demoraris? Adest tibi dies uotis adsiduus exoptatus, quo deae multinominis diuinis imperiis per istas meas manus piissimis sacrorum arcanis insinueris.’ ⁷Et iniecta dextera senex commissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores aedis amplissimae ritumque sollempni apertionis celebrato ministerio ac matutino peracto sacrificio, ⁸de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos, partim figuris cuiusce modi animalium concepti sermonis compendiosa uerba suggerentes, partim nodosis et in modum rotae tortuosis capreolatimque condensis apicibus a curiositate profanorum lectione munita. Indidem mihi praedicat quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda.

23 ¹Ea protinus nauiter et aliquanto liberalius partim ipse, partim per meos socios coemenda procuro. Iamque tempore, ut aiebat sacerdos, id postulante stipatum me religiosa cohorte deducit ad proximas balneas et prius sueto lauacro traditum, praefatus deum ueniam, purissime circumrorans abluit, ²rursumque ad templum reductum, iam duabus diei partibus transactis, ante ipsa deae uestigia constituit secretoque mandatis quibusdam, quae uoce meliora sunt, illud plane cunctis arbitris praecipit: decem continuis illis diebus cibariam uoluptatem coercerem neque ullum animal essem et iniuius essem. ³Quis uenerabili continentia rite seruatis, iam dies aderat diuino destinatus uadimonio, et sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam. ⁴Tum ecce confluent undique turbae sacrorum ritu uetusto uariis quisque me muneribus honorantes. Tunc semotis procul profanis omnibus linteo rudique me contectum amicimine arrepta manu sacerdos deducit ad ipsius sacrarii penetralia. ⁵Quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum. Dicerem, si dicere liceret, cognosceres, si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contraherent <et> aures et lingua[e], <illicitae intemperantiae ista>, illae temerariae curiositatis. ⁶Nec te tamen desiderio forsitan religioso suspensum angore diutino cruciabo. Igitur audi, sed crede, quae uera sunt. ⁷Accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia uectus elementa remeau; nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine; deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adorauit de proximo. Ecce tibi rettuli quae, quamuis audita, ignores tamen necesse est. Ergo quod solum potest sine piaculo ad profanorum intellegentias enuntiari, referam.

24 ¹Mane factum est, et perfectis sollempnibus processi duodecim sacratus stolis, habitu quidem religioso satis, sed effari de eo nullo uinculo prohibeor, quippe quod tunc temporis uidere praesentes plurimi. ²Namque in ipso aedis sacrae meditullio ante deae simulacrum constitutum tribunal ligneum iussus superstiti, byssina quidem, sed floride depicta ueste conspicuus. Et umeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenus pretiosa chlamida. ³Quaqua tamen

uiseres, colore uario circumnotatis insignibar animalibus; hinc dracones Indici, inde grypes Hyperborei, quos in speciem pinnatae alitis generat mundus alter. Hanc Olympiacam stolam sacrati nuncupant. ⁴At manu dextera gerebam flammis adultam facem et caput decore corona cinxerat palmae candidae foliis in modum radiorum prosistentibus. Sic ad instar Solis exornato me et in uicem simulacri constituto, repente uelis reductis, in aspectum populus errabat. Exhinc festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum, et suaues epulae et faceta conuiuia. ⁵Dies etiam tertius pari caerimoniaram ritu celebratus et ientaculum religiosum et teletae legitima consummatio. Paucis dehinc ibidem commoratus diebus inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar, inremunerabili quippe beneficio pigneratus. ⁶Sed tandem deae monitu, licet non plene, tamen pro meo modulo supplicue gratis persolutis, tardam satis demouitionem comparo, uix equidem abruptis ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis. ⁷Prouolutus denique ante conspectum deae et facie mea diu detersis uestigiis eius, lacrimis obortis, singultu crebro sermonem interficiens et uerba deuorans aio:

25 ¹Tu quidem sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua, semper fouendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis. ²Nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum quidem tenue tuis transcurrit beneficiis otiosum, quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis uitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua Fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes. ³Te superi colunt, obseruant inferi, tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. Tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa. ⁴Tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina. Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aues caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo labentes, beluae ponto natantes. ⁵At ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio et adhibendis sacrificiis tenuis patrimonio; nec mihi uocis ubertas ad dicenda, quae de tua maiestate sentio, sufficit nec ora mille linguaeque totidem uel indefessi sermonis aeterna series. ⁶Ergo quod solum potest religiosus quidem, sed pauper alioquin, efficere curabo: diuinos tuos uultus numenque sanctissimum intra pectoris mei secreta conditum perpetuo custodiens imaginabor. ⁷Ad istum modum depreco summo numine, complexus Mithram sacerdotem et meum iam parentem colloque eius multis osculis inhaerens ueniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem.

26 ¹Diu denique gratiarum gerendarum sermone prolixo commoratus, tandem digredior et recta patrium larem reuisurus meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo. Paucisque post diebus deae potentis instinctu raptim constrictis sarcinulis, naue conscensa, Romam uersus profectionem dirigo, ²tutusque prosperitate uentorum ferentium Augusti portum <potitus sum> celerrime ac dehinc carpento peruolauit, uesperaque quam dies insequeretur Iduum Decembrium, sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo. ³Nec ullum tam praecipuum mihi exinde studium fuit quam cotidie supplicare summo numini reginae Isidis, quae de templi situ sumpto nomine Campensis summa cum

ueneratione propitiatur. Eram cultor denique adsiduus, fani quidem aduena, religionis autem indigena. ⁴Ecce transcurso signifero circulo Sol magnus annum compleuerat, et quietem meam rursus interpellat numinis benefici cura peruigilis, et rursus teletae, rursus sacrorum commonet. Mirabar quid rei temptaret, quid pronuntiaret futurum. Quidni? Plenissime iam dudum uidebar initiatus.

27 ¹Ac dum religiosum scrupulum partim apud meum sensum disputo, partim sacrorum consiliis examino, nouum mirumque plane comperior: ²deae quidem me tantum sacris inbutum, at magni dei deumque summi parentis, inuicti Osiris, necdum sacris inlustratum; ³quamquam enim conexas, immo uero inunita ratio numinis religionisque esset, tamen teletae discrimen interesse maximum; prohinc me quoque peti magno etiam deo famulum sentire deberem. ⁴Nec diu res in ambiguo stetit. Nam proxima nocte uidi quendam de sacratis linteis iniectum, qui thyrsos et hederas et tacenda quaedam gerens ad ipsos meos lares collocaret, et occupato sedili meo religionis amplae denuntiaret epulas. ⁵Is, ut agnitionem mihi scilicet certo aliquo sui signo subministraret, sinistri pedis talo paululum reflexo, cunctabundo clementer incedebat uestigio. ⁶Sublata est ergo post tam manifestam deum uoluntatem ambiguitatis tota caligo, et ilico deae matutinis perfectis salutationibus summo studio percontabar singulos, ecqui uestigium similis ut somnium. ⁷Nec fides afuit. Nam de pastophoris unum conspexi statim praeter indicium pedis cetero etiam statu atque habitu examussim nocturnae imagini congruentem, quem Asinium Marcellum uocitari cognoui postea, reformationis meae alienum nomen. ⁸Nec moratus, conueni protinus eum, sane nec ipsum futuri sermonis ignarum, quippe iam dudum consimili praecepto sacrorum ministrandorum commonefactum. ⁹Nam sibi uisus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat [et], de eius ore, quo singulorum fata dictat, audisse mitti sibi Madaurensis sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sua sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari prouidentia.

28 ¹Ad istum modum desponsus sacris, sumptuum tenuitate contra uotum meum retardabar. Nam et uiriculas patrimonii peregrinationis adtrierant impensae, et erogationes urbanae pristinis illis prouincialibus antistabant plurimum. ²Ergo duritia paupertatis intercedente, quod ait uetus prouerbium, inter sacrum et saxum positus cruciabar; nec setius tamen identidem numinis premebar instantia. ³Iamque saepicule non sine magna turbatione stimulatus, postremo iussus, ueste ipsa mea quamuis paruula distracta, sufficientem conrasi summulam. ⁴Et id ipsum praeceptum fuerat specialiter: ‘An tu’, inquit, ‘si quam rem uoluptati struendae moliris, laciniis tuis nequaquam parceres; nunc tantas caerimonia aditurus impaenitendae te pauperiei cunctaris committere?’ ⁵Ergo igitur cunctis adfatim praeparatis, decem rursus diebus inanimis contentus cibus, insuper etiam deraso capite, principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus, plena iam fiducia germanae religionis obsequium diuinum frequentabam. ⁶Quae res summum peregrinationi meae tribuebat solacium nec minus etiam uictum uberiorem subministrabat – quidni? – spiritu fauentis Euentus quaesticulo forensi nutriti per patrocina sermonis

Romani.

29 ¹Et ecce post pauculum tempus inopinatis et usquequaque mirificis imperiis deum rursus interpellor et cogor tertiam quoque teletam suscitare. ²Nec leui cura sollicitus, sed oppido suspensus animi mecum ipse cogitationes exercitius cogitabam, quorsus noua haec et inaudita se caelestium porrigeret intentio, quid subsiciuum quamuis iteratae iam traditioni remansisset: ³Nimirum perperam uel minus plene consuluerunt in me sacerdos uterque. Et hercules iam de fide quoque eorum opinari coeptabam sequius. Quo me cogitationis aestu fluctuantem ad instar insaniae percitum sic instruxit nocturna diuinatione clemens imago. ⁴'Nihil est' inquit quod numerosa serie religionis, quasi quicquam sit prius omissum, terreare. Quin adsidua ista numinum dignatione laetus capesse gaudium, et potius exulta ter futurus quod alii uel semel uix conceditur, teque de isto numero merito praesume beatum. ⁵Ceterum futura tibi sacrorum traditio pernecessaria est, si tecum nunc saltem reputaueris exuuias deae quas in prouincia sumpsisti in eodem fano depositas perseuerare, nec te Romae diebus sollempnibus uel supplicare iis uel, cum praeceptum fuerit, felici illo amictu illustrari posse. Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit, animo gaudiali rursus sacris initiare deis magnis auctoribus.'

30 ¹Hactenus diuini somni suada maiestas quod usus foret pronuntiauit. Nec deinceps postposito uel in supinam procrastinationem reiecto negotio, statim sacerdoti meo relatis quae uideram, inanimae protinus castimoniae iugum subeo et lege perpetua praescriptis illis decem diebus spontali sobrietate multiplicatis instructum teletae comparo largit<ionib>us, ex studio pietatis magis quam mensura <re>rum collatis. ²Nec hercules laborum me sumptuumque quicquam tamen paenituit – quidni? – liberali deum prouidentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum. ³Denique post dies admodum pauculos deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator, Osiris non <in> alienam quampiam personam reformatus, sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est: ⁴quin nunc incunctanter gloriosa in foro redderem patrocina, nec extimescerem maleuolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem serebat. Ac ne sacris suis gregi cetero permixtus deseruirem, in collegium me pastophorum suorum, immo inter ipsos decurionum quinquennales adlegit. ⁵Rursus denique quaqua raso capillo collegii uetustissimi et sub illis Sullae temporibus conditi munia, non obumbrato uel oblecto caluitio, sed quoquouersus obuio, gaudens obibam.

CHAPTER I

Prayer to the Moon.

After escaping from the circus and from the monstrous erotic encounter with the murderous woman, Lucius arrives at Cenchreae: here, on the sea-shore, tried by his misfortune and exhausted, he falls into a deep sleep. After a while, though, he suddenly awakes to find himself in front of the magnificent spectacle of the full moon silently shining on the sea. Such is the majesty of this vision that he immediately realizes that he is in the presence of the divine.

1. The Moon as a universal goddess

When Lucius decides to invoke the Moon, it is not exactly clear whether he is aware that he is actually addressing Isis. It seems more likely, as well as more profitable from the point of view of the narrative, that this prayer, not directly addressed to Isis, serves as a climax before the final *coup de théâtre*: the self-revelation of the Egyptian goddess, which comes as a complete surprise to the reader.¹

It simply happens that, as he finds himself at a dead-end and unable to find an escape by human means, Lucius has no other choice than to invoke divine aid; and so, perhaps inspired by a fortuitous circumstance (the marvellous spectacle of the full moon rising from the sea), he recognizes the 'divine' in the very same deity who, in an age of religious universalism, would subsume all the female divinities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon: the Moon. The catalogue recited by Lucius in fact sums up the primary identities of the ancient goddess known as *Luna*, first only by means of a laudatory periphrasis describing the goddess' powers (Ch. I), but then fully and clearly in the prayer itself (which traditionally lists all of her possible names, with the curious exception of Isis; see introduction to Ch. II [3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis]). Originally only a minor sky goddess, this *Luna* had not developed a truly autonomous cult in the archaic period, nor did her cult ever lead to a well-organized or specific mythology about the Moon goddess. On the contrary, she often became associated with the cult of several anthropomorphic deities.

On the origins and characteristics of lunar syncretism, and for a systematic study of the lunar mythology in the Roman world, see the useful chapters dedicated to "Divinization of the Moon" in Lunais 1979, 95-209; the lunar cult, however, presents more or less identical characteristics throughout the Mediterranean area, and has been the subject of numerous studies, among which see Préaux 1973, 57-63 (with more bibliography). Also helpful is Schwenn in *RE* II.A s.v. *Selene* 1140-1142; on the identification of Selene with Hecate and Artemis, see the rich and useful material in

¹ Only in chapter V will the reader find out that the saving goddess who appears to Lucius is the Egyptian goddess Isis; see Introduction, 5.1 with n. 133 on the universalism of Isiac religion, something which easily makes this narrative trick possible.

Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II/2 s.v. *Mondgöttin* 3183-3184, and Hopfner 1939, 125-145; finally, for a fine collection of literary and iconographic sources, see *LIMC* VII,1 s.v. *Selene/Luna* [F. Gury], 706-715.

From the very first moment of its penetration of the Roman world, the cult of *Luna*, just like that of the Greek *Selene* (who, together with Hecate and Artemis, formed the so-called ‘lunar triad’), had been absorbed into the worship of goddesses who already shared her particular lunar traits, such as Proserpina and Diana; by the height of the classical period this fusion is complete, as is perfectly shown by the interchangeability of epithets shared by the three goddesses. Many other minor deities would gradually join this original triad, namely the ancient Anna Perenna and Lucina; or, among the celestial deities, Phoebe and Venus; less well-documented is a connection with Ceres (but cf. Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II/2 s.v. *Mondgöttin* 3189, who quotes the important testimony of Serv. *georg.* 1,5: [Stoici] *item Lunam eandem Dianam, eandem Cererem, eandem Iunonem, eandem Proserpinam dicunt*; on these connections see below, Ch. II). The link with Ceres seems to be a late innovation in her cult, but is nonetheless present: it is not by pure chance that the small temple consecrated by Servius Tullius to the Moon – the same one which burned down in the great fire of 68 A.D. – was situated in close proximity to the temples of Ceres and Diana. The goddess’s nature is therefore multi-faceted at every stage of the history of her cult.

The great prominence of the Moon goddess and her leading role in the Roman pantheon (tacitly implied by Apuleius here) are clearly the result of the later tendency toward universalism, as has been already outlined by Griffiths 1975, 111. In fact, just like the Sun god, who would end up absorbing all of the major male divinities in later antiquity (cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1,17-23; see Fauth 1995, 163-164), the Moon goddess will also subsume all the main female deities of many different religious systems (independently of their precise connection with the moon). This happens not by a simple association, but through a real and permanent syncretism: the Moon will thus eventually become the supreme divinity (more details on this in Lunais 1979, 186-188). Even more decisive will be the contribution of oriental cults, especially those of Egypt: their influence will expand the list of the goddess’s epithets, and extend her powers, a phenomenon that is well-documented in the Greek magical papyri (*Selene*’s supremacy is evident, for instance, in the definition contained in *PGM* IV,2664-2665 *μόνη τύραννε ... τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων* and in 2602 *κοίραινε μόνη τύραννε, κραιπίνε Τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*; elsewhere the goddess is called *βασίλεια* and *ἄνασσα*, cf. *PGM* IV,2791 and 2281; her dominance is also clear throughout the prayers contained in *PGM* IV,2241-2355 and IV,2522-2567). The overlap between the oriental goddess Astarte and the queen of the Egyptian gods finally guarantees the Moon her central prominence. It should be noted, however, that this is most likely a Hellenistic innovation in her cult, since the Egyptians originally conceived of the Moon as a male divinity (on which see Préaux 1973, 60-61; Lunais 1979, 185 n. 19; and, especially for literary sources, also Röder, *RE* IX.2 s.v. *Isis*, 2115-2116). Thus, although we cannot take for granted that Lucius actually means to address Isis, it must have been almost inevitable for the ancient reader to identify the Moon and the primary Egyptian goddess: the very absence of Isis’ name from the catalogue of divinities must have attracted the reader’s attention.

On the other hand, the cult of Isis had developed the same universalizing tendencies as the lunar cult: Isis herself had become a universal goddess, as is easily demonstrated by many literary and iconographic sources, even very early in the history of her cult (on the hellenization of Isis, and on the overlap between Isis and the main Greek goddesses, see, *LIMC* V,1 s.v. *Isis* [Tran Tam Tinh], 793, and Merkelbach 1995, 59-69). Isis, too, was identified with practically every important female deity, including Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, Hecate, Kore-Persephone, Nemesis, Dikaiosyne, and Gaia/Ge/Tellus; of course she was also identified with Selene/Luna herself (in the same way as the male deity Serapis was identified with Helios). The identity marker of Isis was in fact the lunar disc that crowned the goddess’s head, the same disc, “shining like a mirror,” which Apuleius will describe in Isis’ epiphany at 11,3,4 (the archeological evidence too extensive to catalogue; see for instance *LIMC* V,2 s.v. *Isis* [Tran Tam Tinh], 174; 209, and *LIMC* I,2 s.v. *Alexandria* [M.-O. Jentel], 75). Isis’ supreme and governing power, exercising her sovereignty over everything (*praecipua maiestate pollere*), completes the overlap between Isis and the Moon; it is possible to find many literary similarities and other points in common between Lucius’ prayer to the Moon, and the famous so-called Kyme aretology, a sort of self-revelation speech, in which Isis enumerates her powers (see also below, Ch. V).

Whether the identification with Isis is stated or merely implied, recognizing the Moon as a universal supreme deity here serves an important purpose: Apuleius avoids any misunderstanding in Lucius’ invocation, by resemanticizing in a definitive and positive way the highly ambiguous elements associated with the syncretism of the lunar cult, one which was constantly open to other, different interpretations.

2. The associations of the Moon with magic

We must also stress that the Moon held a prominent position in the sphere of magic. The Moon and magic were traditionally connected, and the Moon played an important role in several magical rites (Apuleius seems to be perfectly aware of this link, a consequence of the original connection with Hecate-Proserpina, in *apol.* 31,9: *ut solebat ad magorum caerimonias aduocari ... Luna noctium conscia et manium potens Triuia*; and we can find plenty of references to it in literature, cf. e.g. Apollon. *Rhod.* 4,59-61; Verg. *Aen.* 4,513; Hor. *sat.* 1,8,21-22; Lucan. 6,505-506; 669). As a manifestation of the goddess Hecate, the Moon was the patron of sorcerers and witches, and she was propitiated and worshipped during the magical rites: the invocation to the Moon before a rite was in fact a traditional literary element (it suffices to mention *Ov. met.* 7,194-196 and 14,403-405 with Bömer 1969-1986 ad loc.; of course the Greek magical papyri abound with examples, cf. Préaux 1973, 120-121, Lunais 1979, 216-225 and Schwenn, *RE* II.A s.v. *Selene*, 1139-1140). Even more important, the detail of the full moon itself is significant, as the Moon was considered to exert her influence especially in her waxing phase (e.g. the famous episode of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in which Medea intentionally waits for the full moon before celebrating magic rites, *met.* 7,179-181; for more instances, see Préaux 1973, 119). For further investigations on the close connection between Moon and witchcraft, cf. Roscher 1890, 75-84 and 84-92 and *id.*, *Lex. Myth.* II/2, 3164.

Lucius' misadventures, caused by an illicit act of transgression into magic, can come to an end only by means of another divine power. It should be emphasized that Lucius now seeks deliverance within permissible, even conventional boundaries. Here, the mystic silence of the night (11,1,1 *nanctusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta*) does not provide the background for magical rites, but for a religious experience. This shift will be confirmed by the invocation itself, which follows the traditional forms and conventions of ancient prayer. After overstepping the boundaries of what is permitted, Lucius now tries to return to traditional religion and to place himself within its reassuring limits.

3. The elevated style of the opening of Book 11: influence of religious genres (hymn, prayer)

On a stylistic level, in the whole passage one observes a decisive elevation of the writing: the frequent use of hyperbaton aims to put in relief particularly significant sequences; the strong presence of elaborate neologisms and coinages (see e.g. *silentiosa, detrimentis*) as well as poeticisms of lofty origins (*opacae noctis, terra caelo marique, satiato*), with some slight interference from scientific language (*incrementis/detrimentis, emergentem*), is associated with an insistent search for phonic and paronomastic effects. The whole passage seems to reflect a certain influence from the ancient tradition of religious hymns that surely inspires the form and contents of its long central period.

This passage has not been acknowledged hitherto as peculiar in this sense, although it shares the same style that will be fully exploited in other solemn moments of this book and that we recognize as 'religious' (namely the famous prayer at Ch. II, Isis' self-aretaology in Ch. V, and the final prayer of thanks at Ch. XXV; we find the same style in both the prayer to Juno and to Ceres in *met.* 6,2 and 6,4, on which see Pasetti 1999): on these 'liturgical passages' see Introduction, 7.1.1, and for a detailed analysis see the individual notes.

11,1,1 *Circa primam ferme noctis uigiliam experrectus pauore subito, uideo praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus*; It was about the first watch of the night when I was awakened by a sudden fright to see the full orb of the moon shining brightly while rising from the waves of the sea.

The final book opens with the highly significant image of the full moon (*lunae completum orbem*), the very symbol of Isis, cf. also 11,3,4 *argumentum lunae*. Beyond this concrete and almost formulaic detail of giving the time, which is common to the openings of many other books (see following note), the moon's apparition introduces here a surreal and mystical atmosphere. In fact, the description of the landscape here seems decidedly functional: it represents the environmental framework for the protagonist's state of mind, with which it is indissolubly intertwined, as it determines Lucius' stupor, his reflections and his definitive resolution to invoke the goddess.

Circa primam ferme noctis uigiliam: this temporal indication at the start of a new book (cf. also the openings of Books 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 10), marking the transition into a new episode, or, as here, a crucial turn in the narrative, is an element that goes back to epic (Hom. *Od.* 2,1-2; 8,1-2; 17,1-3; *Il.* 8,1-2; 11,1-4; 19,1-2; see Harrison 2003, 239-254); see Introduction, 2.2 on (book) openings and closures. Apuleius employs such indications several times, usually with much more stylised and formulaic periphrases, perhaps to be read as parodic (cf. Van der Paardt 1971, 24 and *GCA* 2001, 52). Here, however, as mentioned above, both timing and atmosphere are decidedly functional in the unfolding of events. Finally it is perhaps worth noting the contrast by which this book opens with a moonrise – while other books open with a sunrise; see also comm. on 11,7,2 and Witte 1997, 42, who discusses the significance of this first full moon of spring.

circa primam ... uigiliam: on the division of the night into four *uigiliae* each of three hours, from six in the evening until six in the morning (which originates from the military practice of watches), see Wolkenhauer 2011, 117 with further references. It is nightfall, and it seems to be a precise choice and no coincidence, that the same hour of the evening that was revealed to be fatal in *met.* 3,21 (when Photis takes Lucius to see Pamphile's magic) here symmetrically becomes an hour of salvation and of the manifestation of the miracle (for a similar, studied correspondence of events occurring at the same hour, this time at the *tertia uigilia*, cf. Nethercut 1968, 114 on 1,11,6 and 3,3,5).

circa ... ferme: in line with an evident tendency in the imperial age, the preposition *circa* has entirely supplanted *circum* in all Apuleius' works (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1079,6-30 and Callebat 1968, 217). For the redundant combination *circa + ferme* (variant for *ferre*) to indicate temporal approximation, cf. also *met.* 1,11,6; 4,1,1; 8,16,1; 8,30,1; 9,30,3. For more in general on the pleonastic concatenation of synonymous adverbs or adverbial phrases, a feature probably adopted from the language of comedians and usually characteristic of spoken language, cf. Callebat 1968, 528-529.

experrectus pauore subito: the cause of this sudden fear is not explained, but it is plausible that Apuleius wishes to suggest a sort of presentiment and disquiet caused by the very presence of the divine; in general, however, the sense of anxiety associated with a vigil or with a sudden awakening is a common feature, partly ascribable to a widespread Greek pseudo-etymology that associated τάρβος with ταραττω, and with which Apuleius seems well familiar elsewhere (cf. *met.* 1,11,6 *prae metu ... uigilo* with *GCA* 2007, 243 and Plut. *de superst.* 3 [*Mor.* 165D], with Lozza 1980, 73 ad loc.).

experrectus: the alternation between this form and the less common *expergitus* (an archaism previously known only in Lucilius, Accius and Lucretius), could be casual, but sometimes seems to be dictated by rhythmic-phonetic factors, as happens for example in a case such as 2,26,2 *expergitus et nimio pauore perterritus* (chosen to balance the other participle, that shares both suffix and prosody, according to the Apuleian obsession for this type of pairing); the choice in *met.* 1,17,2 *clamore experrectus Socrates exurgit* is less clear, but the word chosen could be in some way mimetic of the noise the sentence describes, and here too it seems to be in line with the alliterative tendency of the entire passage, on which cf. also *infra* (note on *completum orbem*). It is however curious to note that the form *experrectus* is always used by Apu-

leius in cases of rough and unexpected awakening, provoked by someone or something (cf. 1,17,2; 11,1,1 and 11,20,2; by contrast cf. *expergitus* in 2,26,2 and 4,22,5 for a natural awakening, while in 2,14,5 the awakening is metaphorical): this strangely coincides with an old distinction attempted by the grammarian Diomedes, cf. *gramm.* I 376,12-15 *expergitus dicitur qui satiatus somno sponte euigilat (...)* *experrectus autem a quiete impeditus* (naturally there were also those who took an opposite view, such as Fest. p. 79 and 80, cf. Butler – Owen 1914 on *apol.* 43,5 *expergitus*). The semantic distinctions made by the grammarians were, as is well known, almost always artificial, and our case is no exception to this tendency (cf. Keller 1980, 319-322), but the particular phonic texture of *experrectus* may have induced Apuleius' sensitive ear to share the idea that was explicitly put forward by Diomedes.

uideo: in the *incipit*, as later throughout the passage, the choice of verb tenses is notable; after the sort of 'pianissimo' which concludes Book 10 (10,35,5 *curriculum solis deflexerat, et uespertinae me quieti traditum dulcis somnus oppresserat*) with the 'descending' sequence of pluperfects associated with a strong alliteration in *s* used to signal – as well as the end of the book – Lucius' falling asleep, the transition into the following, crucial scene is marked by the concrete immediacy of the present tense.

praemicantis lunae candore nimio: the chiasmic arrangement of the adjectival elements aims perhaps to place the group *lunae candore* in pictorial relief; as for the lexical choice, not even the coinage *praemico* (on which see following note), increasing the intensity of the simple *mico* (which Accius had applied to the Sun, cf. *trag.* 586 [562 Dangel]), appears to be sufficient for Apuleius, who glosses it and doubles it by means of the instrumental accompanied by the superlative: in the excess of the pleonastic juxtaposition of *prae-* + *nimio* one could see a first sign of superhuman presence.

praemicantis: the verb is probably an Apuleian invention (four times in *met.*, cf. 5,20,2; 10,1,2 with *GCA* 2000, 56, and again 11,10,3); for the use of shining heavenly bodies, *ThLL* s.v. *praemico* 702,8-9 compares *Orient. carm. app.* 4,13 *te ... omnes guttae praemicantes inuocant* (where *guttae* means 'stars'). The intensifying value of the prefix (not to be taken for granted, as can be seen by comparing *praeluceo* used in *met.* 10,32,1 with local value) recurs in *Min. Fel.* 5,9 *fulmina praemicare* and *Ps. Aug. serm.* ed. Caillau 1,44,3 *cum fulgore praemicante*; it will be taken up in a metaphorical sense, with both local and intensive values superimposed, in *Cassiod. hist.* 2,1,9 *animi robore praemicantes* (of men shining with virtue, with *praemicantes* rendering διαλάμποντες in the Gr. original). On composites with *prae-*, André 1951, 139 is still of use.

nimio: the adjective is usually meant *in malam partem* and this use with a positive hyperbolic connotation (for which cf. e.g., in entirely different contexts, *met.* 4,8,8 *nimia uirtus*; 5,22,5 *splendore nimio*; 7,3,4 *nimia rotunditate*; 8,22,7 *nitore nimio*) is frequent in Plautine comedy (cf. e.g. *Capt.* 275; *Men.* 1039; *Mil.* 998) and seems to be a colloquial expression rather than an archaism (rather like the adverb *nimis/nimio* used enthusiastically with superlative value; many examples again in Plautus, cf. *Amph.* 218; *Merc.* 549; *Rud.* 681; *Stich.* 523); this is probably an element of *sermo cotidianus*, such is often found in many modern languages.

lunae ... completum orbem: the disc of the full moon; this expression is used only here, but cf. *Tib.* 2,4,18 *orbem / compleuit ... Luna*. The more usual combination, as is shown by a glance at *ThLL* s.v. *plenus* 2414,31-52, is one combining the adjective *plenus* with *luna* (in Apuleius cf. *Socr.* 1 p. 117 *seu corniculata, seu diuidua seu protumida seu plena sit*) or, less often, with *orbis* (cf. *orbem plenum* in *Ov. met.* 7,531 and 10,296; *Plin. nat.* 2,58). It is possible that the choice was influenced by the alliterative tendency that articulates this passage (*praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum*); note also the lexical and phonetic similarities with 11,3,4: *super frontem plana rotunditas ... inmo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat*.

The full moon is not without significance for anyone familiar with magic (see introduction to this chapter [2. The associations of the Moon with magic]; see also Introduction, 5.2 with n. 164); the moments in which the moon has its greatest power are at the new moon and full moon, and the latter is usually thought to be beneficent, as opposed to the new moon, which is dangerous and evil (cf. Préaux 1973, 121, with many examples). At the same time, the moon is a particular symbol of Isis, as will be reaffirmed in 11,3,4 (cited above), in which, with an almost cinematographic effect, the same luminous disc reappears above the goddess's head (cf. Introduction, 7.2.3).

orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus: the double hyperbaton creates a sort of slow-motion effect and seems to suggest the moon's gradual rising. *marini fluctus* is a poetic combination (already in *Lucr.* 5,1079 and *Prop.* 2,32,49) also reused by Apuleius in *met.* 2,17,1; 5,28,2.

commodum: on this favourite adverb of Apuleius indicating temporal coincidence, see *GCA* 2007, 158.

emergentem: perfectly in line with the author's etymological taste, this expression very conveniently combines the technical, astronomical sense of *emergere* (i.q. *oriri*, cf. e.g. *Cic. Arat.* 77 *emergit Scorpius alte*; *Liv.* 44,37,9 *donec luna in suam lucem emersit*; *Sen. nat.* 7,17,2 (*cometa*) *circa undecimam horam diei emersit*; 7,27,3 *intra breuissimum tempus Aries extollitur, Libra tardissime emergit*; *Val. Fl.* 5,1 *altera lux ... emersit Olympo*; *Plin. nat.* 2,106 *arcturi ... sidus non ... sine procellosa grandine emergit*) with the apparent image of the moon which almost 'comes out' of the waters. The same astrological use of *emerge* seems to derive in fact from the primitive belief, found since Homer, that all the stars (except the Great Bear) began and ended their heavenly journey in the Ocean, a concept variously explored in figurative art (cf. Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II/2 s.v. *Mondgöttin* 3144-3146). The same verb will be used again immediately after the prayer, at the goddess's epiphany (cf. 11,3,2 *ecce pelago medio ... emergit diuina facies*), with a circular repetition which is a frequent habit of the author (see *GCA* 1995, 323 on the repetition of *inscenso me* in *met.* 9,39,1 and 9,40,4; in this chapter, cf. *infra*, comm. on *adprecabar*).

11,1,1-3 *nactusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam summam deam praecipua maiestate pollere resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi prouidentia, nec tantum pecuina et ferina uerum inanima etiam diuino eius luminis numinisque nutu uegetari, ipsa etiam corpora, terra caelo marique, nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui, Fato scilicet iam meis tot*

tantisque cladibus satiato et spem salutis licet tardam subministrante augustum specimen deae praesentis statui deprecari. And so, taking the opportunity of the silent secrecy of the night, as I knew that this greatest goddess reigns with supreme power and that all human matters are ruled by her providence, and that not only the animals, both domestic and wild, but also all inanimate things receive life from her light and will, and even their own bodies, in earth, in heaven and in the sea, grow in consequence of her waxing, and decrease in opposite consequence of her waning, since Fate was hopefully satisfied with all my terrible sufferings and seemed to offer a hope, however late, of rescue, I made up my mind to pray to the visible manifestation of the benevolent goddess.

Following a scheme that will also be maintained in the famous prayer at Ch. II (see comm. ad loc.), the goddess is not yet identified with certainty; her identity is rather suggested by allusion. The symmetrical structure of the sentence barely succeeds in controlling a very complex syntax, with the main clause (*statui deprecari*) relegated to the end and preceded by a long series of subordinate clauses, something that already smacks of the liturgical style; a mark of this is the disproportionately long central segment (*certus ... imminui*): the list of the goddess's powers anticipates the glorification of her δυνάμεις, typical of the hymnological tradition and then properly and canonically expressed in the prayer (cf. 11,2,1-3). The *amplificatio* which expands this second block of the sentence creates a clear disproportion with the other two coordinated segments that frame it (*nanctus ... secreta, Fato ... satiato*), betraying the reprise of a precise religious scheme (note incidentally that even at a lexical level the *uirtutes* of the goddess listed here will correspond exactly with those of the invocation in Ch. II and of Isis' self-arealogy in Ch. V). Indeed, since the archaic age, celebrations in praise of a god could be expressed, rather than in the most common *Du-Stil* formula, in a declarative form, using the third person singular (cf. Norden 1913, 163), something that is brought to mind here. The contamination with the narrative style though produces a small variation on the normal rhetorical scheme: the long succession of powers belonging to the goddess, which was usually expressed in constructions with participial or periphrastic forms (particularly relative clauses), is here reproduced in the more prosaic sequence of infinitives governed by *certus* (*pollere ... regi ... uegetari ... augeri ... imminui*). Even the careful stylistic framework of this digression reminds us of the prayer style: the rhythmic and phonic effects that ensure melodic continuity to the whole passage (internal rhymes, alliterative combinations, anaphorae, asyndetic sequences, antithetical parallels, paronomasiae and etymological figures, which will be discussed in detail in separate notes), although they coincide with typical Apuleian taste, are originally traditional elements of liturgical language (on the hymnological style reproduced in Apuleian prayers cf. *GCA* 2004, 375 and 387, and especially Pasetti 1999, 246-271).

nanctus ... certus ... Fato ... satiato et ... subministrante: the impulse to act is provided by three main reasons (physical, psychological, circumstantial) that all contribute to the decisive choice of the prayer. The strong *variatio* between the relative participle (*nanctus*) and the adjective (*certus*), is accentuated by the syntactic imbalance that it eventually creates between the two members, the first of which takes a simple

object, while the second introduces the long '*fuga*' of infinitive clauses; this *variatio* is then reaffirmed with the ablative absolute that follows. Even the syntax, then, contributes to emphasising the most important motif: Lucius' expression of religious belief. According to Winkler's interpretation (1990, 130-131), the term *certus* here takes on the role of a keyword. It is precisely this adjective that changes the protagonist's point of view and, therefore, that of the reader, indicating a new awareness: the reader at this point can, according to Winkler, 'decide' (cf. *statui*) to share Lucius' choice, the only one which will give him/her a unifying view of the story. Although it may be true that Lucius' decision at this point comes as a surprise, this sudden change of direction at the start of the final book can receive explanation in the context of a widespread cultural attitude towards religions, particularly mystery religions (cf. comm. on *statui deprecari*). One cannot, on the other hand, leave aside the actual semantics of *certus* and Apuleius' own use of this adjective, which is usually given a neutral, when not entirely negative, value (the author applies it in a wide variety of situations and uses it for any kind of convictions, even those which are clearly mistaken or obstinate, cf. e.g. *met.* 4,4,4; 6,10,5; 8,14,4; 9,21,2; *apol.* 1,1), and so there is nothing in this element alone which reveals a deeper philosophical-religious involvement or persuasion. Winkler's idea was however taken up and developed by Shumate 1996, 313 (but on that, see Introduction, 5.2 with nn. 154-155).

nanctusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta: Harrauer 1973, 2 feels this is suggestive of the famous *tacitae per amica silentia lunae* (Verg. *Aen.* 2,255); *opacae noctis* is certainly a Vergilian *iunctura* of considerable later history (cf. after Verg. *Aen.* 4,123; 8,658; 10,161; also Ov. *epist.* 16,47; Val. Fl. 7,372 and 2,288 by enallage; Sil. 6,70-71; 15,591; Stat. *Theb.* 1,520). In general, for poetic elements in the Apuleian prayer-style, cf. Harrison 2005a, 273-286. The sibilation, to which the coinage *silentiosa* greatly contributes (this is its only use in Apuleius, it will recur only in Cassiodorus) gives this segment a phonic surplus, suggesting the mystic silence evoked by the text. The nocturnal atmosphere favours meditation and prayer, and it is therefore not necessary to connect this temporal detail with the practice of the mystery cults, which indissolubly linked sacred rites with the night, even if the phrase *silentiosa secreta* is reminiscent of the mystery tradition (comparisons with *met.* 6,2,4 *per tacita secreta cistarum* or 11,21,9 *quo rectius ad arcana ... religionis secreta peruaderem* are sufficient).

silentiosa secreta: precedents for this superabundant expression, here marked by the alliteration, can be found in *met.* 6,2,4 *tacita secreta* (here also in a religious context and associated with various phonostylistic phenomena; see the useful observations in Pasetti 1999, 254) and in *met.* 3,15,3 *arcana secreta*. Bernhard 1927, 175 collects various similar cases of pleonastic *iuncturae* with an evidently emphatic value (further examples in Van der Paardt 1971, 114).

summatem: F has *summatam*, but the correct form *summatem*, already so emended in some *recentiores*, is well supported by other occurrences in Apuleius. The rare *summas* occurs three times in this book (apart from our passage, in 11,10,4 and 11,22,4, both referring to Isis). Frequent in Plautus (cf. *Pseud.* 227 *summatum uirum*; *Cist.* 25 *summatibus matronas*; *Stich.* 492 *summates uiri*), this adjective seems to disappear after him until the time of Gellius and Apuleius (see Marache 1957, 195; Mannheimer 1975, 60-61); it is fairly widespread again in postclassical Latin, in which it

indicates, as in the archaic period, high-ranking individuals (or positions): cf. e.g. Symm. *epist.* 1,64,2 *summates ciuitates*; 3,37 *qui ... summatem ... obtinet locum*; Amm. 23,6,30; 26,10,14; *Cod. Theod.* 13,5,32; Sidon. *epist.* 9,6,2; Cassiod. *var.* 6,4,49; Ennod. *epist.* 8,37,1 p. 224,3, and especially a significant explanation by Fulgentius in *serm. ant.* 47: *summates dicuntur uiri potentes, simpolones dicuntur conuiuiae ... unde et Sutrius in comedia Piscatoria ait: 'summates uiri simpolones facti sunt ganei'*; see Souter 1949 s.v. *summates* 'the leading people in the state' (cf. the adjective *primas*, first attested in Apul. *met.* 2,19,1 *primatem feminam*). Apuleius uses the term *summas* in a similar way at *met.* 4,23,3 *unicam uirginem ... summatem regionis* ('one of the local nobility'), referring to the noble girl kidnapped by the bandits (the comm. in *GCA* 1977, 175 ad loc. seems, however, to overinterpret it as a sign of assimilation/identification between Charite and Isis).

Although some comments tend to classify *summas* as an element of high style (cf. e.g. Thamm 1971 on Plaut. *Cist.* 25; *contra* Petersmann 1973 on Plaut. *Stich.* 492), judging by the story and the contexts in which it has come down to us, it could well be a term from the *sermo cotidianus* (cf. Bernhard 1927, 133, who classifies it as a word belonging to the spoken language of Apuleius' time, together with adjectives like *dapsilis*, *hircinus*, *iniurius*, *penitus*), which Apuleius here promotes to a more solemn function and register, deliberately defining it as an epithet of the divine (in fact unparalleled). Compare Apuleius' use of the adjective *optimas* – elsewhere attested as a political term – as a rare epithet in his description of the Heavenly Venus at *apol.* 12,3 *alteram uero caelitem Venerem praedita quae sit optimati amore* (according to Ernout 1965, 31-32, "par affectation d'archaïsme"). *Summas dea* functions as an equivalent of *summa numinum*, a definition that Isis will give of herself in the aretology of *met.* 11,5,1 (cf. Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* [Totti 21], 3 ὀψίστη; more material in Griffiths 1975, 198). Cf. also 11,25,7 *summo numine*; 11,26,3 *summo numini*; Osiris is called *deum summus parens* in 11,27,2 (cf. also 11,11,3 *summi numinis*). On *summus (deus)* as a pagan expression for the supreme god, which was generally avoided in Christian Latin to render the biblical epithet ὁψίστος, with the exception of Tertullian, who uses *summus deus/dominator* only twice in his first work, *ad nationes* (2,7,6; 2,13,2), see Braun 1962, 85-87.

resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi prouidentia: cf. also 11,25,2 *nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum quidem tenue ... transcurrit ... quin ... protegas homines et ... porrigas dexteram qua Fatorum ... retractas licia*; that the moon, in its various shapes, governs everything, is a topical motif in the magical papyri (cf. e.g. *PGM* IV,2837-2840); for Selene as ruler of destinies cf. *supra*, *PGM* IV,2602 κραίτνε Τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαυμόνων; 2664-2665 μὴνη τύραννε ... τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαυμόνων.

Independently from the later religious developments, this is a motif originally linked with the para-scientific belief that the lunar phases influenced life and actions, and therefore also human destinies, in a relevant way. The idea that the lunar horoscope might affect the lives of men was a result of the – originally purely 'meteorological' – relationship between the phases of the moon and agricultural tasks, which leaves its mark, before any appearance in literary sources, in the division of the Roman calendar; on this theme and on several related topics, cf. Lunais 1979, 78-85.

ipsius: for the equivalence *ipsius* = *eius*, cf. also *met.* 2,11,6; 2,30,6; 8,20,3; 9,17,2; the extension of *ipse* to act as a generic article or anaphoric demonstrative,

without any particular emphatic purpose, is an element of colloquial language that becomes frequent from the 2nd century, but is also sometimes found in the classical age (Väänänen 1964, 128; LHSz 2,190).

resque ... humanas: since Lucius is still a donkey, there may be a joke for the reader here, which could also recall a play at *met.* 7,13,3 *ipse etiam hilarior pro uirili parte* (on which cf. Nicolini 2007, 157).

prorsus: although recourse to this adverb is very much an Apuleian idiom (as shown by its great frequency in all his works and especially the novel), its position here, appearing almost attributive, makes its meaning uncertain. Usually, *prorsus/prorsum* (the first form prevails not only in Apuleius but in all Latin literature) was used as an intensifier for *omnis/cunctus/totus* or in general to reinforce any positive adjective or verb (a classical use, which was becoming more rare in the imperial age: cf. Callebat 1968, 537-538). Here it is most likely that the term refers to the whole phrase, with the meaning 'in a word' (summing up after a series of points). The use appears to be similar at *met.* 10,7,4 *prorsus orationes altercationesque*, with *GCA* 2000, 141 ad loc.: although there is not a real list in the preceding text, which is 'concluded' by *res humanas*, *prorsus* functions in a similar way, indicating a generalising of a particular detail from the previous description ('I knew for sure that the supreme goddess exercised the fullness of her power, and that, in a word, the sum of human affairs was governed by her very providence'), see *ThLL* s.v. *prorsus* 2160,40-41.

prouidentia: one of the terms that reveal the already implicit overlap between the moon and Isis; with the usual tendency to ring-composition (cf. note above on *emergentem*), the lunar providence in which Lucius places his trust will be replaced by Isis' providence in *met.* 11,5,4 (*iam tibi prouidentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris*, and cf. also later the priest's words in 11,15,4 *aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae prouidentia ... Lucius*, on which, though, see comm. ad loc. for a textual uncertainty). As already observed, the characteristics of the two syncretisms end up meeting each other: power over things and influence on human destinies were evidently attributed to the moon as a direct derivation of the belief according to which the moon regulates the world's life cycles (on this cf. also *infra*); the connection between Isis and the concept of *prouidentia* seems rather to be interpreted in the context of Hellenistic religious universalism, which attributes all power to the Egyptian goddess, therefore implicitly including the notion of *pronoia/prouidentia*, the supreme strength that was once generically attributed to the gods (cf. e.g. Cic. *div.* 1,117 and *nat. deor.* 2,58; Quint. *inst.* 1,10,7); this indeed is natural for a goddess who is commonly identified with *Fortuna* and *Felicitas*.

The verbalization of this link in Latin seems, however, to be an Apuleian novelty (Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 97-98 was the first to note this, but points out that Isis was already defined as *pronoia* in *P.Oxy.* 1380, Totti 20,43-44 and 85) and gains crucial importance in this book: Isis' *prouidentia* is opposed, even etymologically, to *Fortune's caecitas* (cf. 11,15,2 *Fortunae ... inprouida malitia*). Further reflections on this topic, although poorly documented, are found in Griffiths 1975, 253 (according to whom this association reflects both Stoic influence and the Egyptian understanding of the gods as "kindly arbiters of providence").

For an exhaustive study of the term, which is a real keyword in the final book of the novel, with 11 occurrences all referring to Isis, cf. Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 86-106, who gives a good demonstration of purely mechanical, conventional uses of combinations such as *diuina prouidentia*, *prouidentia deum* in the first ten books, the space of human error and Fortune's judgement. A different view is offered by Drews in *AAGA* 3, who argues for a more coherent and philosophically accurate usage of the hierarchy and interaction between Fortune, Fate, and Providence, instead of theological-philosophical fluctuations among these concepts.

nec tantum pecuina et ferina uerum inanima etiam diuino eius luminis numinisque nutu uegetari, ipsa ... corpora ... augeri ... imminui: by using this bipartition, Apuleius reorganizes the basic beliefs about the moon's action, beliefs which were grouped around two leading concepts: one, according to which the moon, which rules over the night, is responsible for the beneficent and fertilizing moisture, and therefore is itself the source of life for living beings (*uis sideris* or *spiritus* is how Pliny defines this vital breath, cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,217 and 221), and the other, complementary, by which cycles of birth, life and death in earthly creatures correspond to the periodic movements of the moon. The principle of the moon's direct action on animal and plant life is formulated in a more generic manner starting with Aristot. *gen. an.* 4,10, p.777b for whom "the moon contributes to all the processes of reproduction and fulfilment", and appears variously in the epiclesis of the papyri (cf. e.g. *PGM* IV,2554-2557 where it says that the moon "has made everything" and that it is "mother of all", and *PGM* IV,2834-2837: "all things have life from the moon"); for a full treatment of this topic, cf. Roscher 1890, 49-55; Préaux 1973, 64-65 and 131-133, and Lunais 1979, 49-64 and 68-78. As for the moon's effect on plant cycles and animals, among many Latin sources, cf. Varro *rust.* 1,5,4 and 1,37,1; Colum. 8,5,9; Plin. *nat.* 18,321-323; Gell. 20,8,5-7. On the relationship between the phases of the moon and life cycles of living creatures, cf. note below on *augeri ... imminui*. Lastly, as regards inanimate objects upon which the moon's cycle was believed to have an effect, like tides, winds, earthquakes and minerals, cf., again, with many sources, Lunais 1979, 38-49.

nec tantum pecuina et ferina, uerum inanima etiam: parallelism with *uariatio* which hides the etymology *animal propter animam* constant throughout Latinity (cf. e.g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,36; Sen. *epist.* 113,2; Aug. *civ.* 9,9): the neuter noun *inanima* placed in opposition to the pair *pecuina + ferina*, which of course stands for the whole set of *animalia*, alludes to the original etymology of the missing noun, which is in this way recalled to the reader's mind. This periphrasis therefore suggests the set of all living beings, animate and inanimate; on this section of the description, cf. Maranconi 2006, in particular 279-283.

pecuina et ferina: "domestic and wild animals"; this combination is a variant of the paradigmatic pair *ferae + pecudes*, which Apuleius does indeed pick up on other occasions (cf. *apol.* 7,7); its history begins with the proem to Lucretius (cf. Lucr. 1,15 with Citti 1986, 111; other occurrences of the phrase *ferae pecudes* at Verg. *georg.* 3,480; Ov. *met.* 11,600; Liv. 3,47,7; Stat. *Theb.* 4,141). Apuleius responds to the Lucretian asyndeton with the rhyming pair of polar opposites. The adjective *pecuinus* seems to be a coinage (cf. also *apol.* 12,2 *pecuinis et ferinis* with Hunink 1997, 55 ad loc. and Facchini Tosi 2000, 162-163), evidently inspired by the context, in order to associate antithetical and homoeoteleutic terms; the use of the plural *ferina* as a neu-

ter noun, i.q. *ferae*, is also only found in Apuleius, and seems to depend on the requirements of the context (in fact, it is not known outside this passage and the passage cited from the *Apology*: there too, Apuleius alludes to the invocation of Venus at the opening of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*). On a phonic level, one can also appreciate a final echo of the homoeoteleuton in the term that ends the periphrasis, *inanima* (on this, further analysis in Facchini Tosi 1986, 140).

luminis numinisque nutu: a web of word-play, in which sonic effect is mixed with etymological research. For the combination, cf. also 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... nutibus meis dispenso*. The paronomasia of the first two words, which are isosyllabic and almost homophonic, is intertwined with the figura etymologica which links *numen* and *nutus* (also classical; see Varro *ling.* 7,85 *numen dicunt esse imperium, dictum ab nutu*; and also Paul. Fest. p. 172; Serv. *Aen.* 4,269; Prisc. *gramm.* II 126,7; for a similar play on words, cf. Liv. 7,30,20 *adnuite ... nutum numenque uestrum inuictum*); *luminis*, then, creates a further figura etymologica with *luna*, a term which is not expressed but nevertheless remains somewhat in the background (this is also part of a long tradition, for which cf. e.g. Varro *ling.* 5,68; Catull. 34,15-16 *notho es / dicta lumine luna*; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,68; Firm. *err.* 17,2); cf. 11,2,3 *luce ... lumina*. For the topos of the nod of the divinity, well-attested from Homer onwards, see comm. on 11,5,1 *nutibus meis ... cuius numen*; for the link between light and the life-giving power of the moon, cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 41 (*Mor.* 367D), which already attributes the distinction between the fecund and humidifying light of the moon ($\gamma\acute{o}\nu\iota\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omicron$ τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν), favourable to animals and plants, and the dry and damaging light of the sun, to the Egyptians (this concept is well developed in Plin. *nat.* 2,221-223); see on these aspects of the moonlight also comm. on 11,2,3 *luce feminea*.

uegetari: related by zeugma to inanimate beings as well, as Harrauer 1973, 3 rightly notes; before Apuleius this verb is only known in Sen. *dial.* 9,17,8 and Gell. 17,2,1. It may have belonged to everyday language (as its simple formation and its extremely wide diffusion in later Latin suggest, cf. Callebat 1968, 137), with the generic meaning 'to reinvigorate', 'to strengthen', but Apuleius seems to use it especially in relation to the life-giving breath that animates all creatures, cf. also *mund.* 10 p. 310 *licet spiritus ille etiam nominetur qui animalia extrinsecus ... uitali et fecunda ope uegetat*.

ipsa etiam corpora: the sense is 'their very bodies', the physical, individual bodies of the animate and inanimate creatures just mentioned (this is shown by comparison with similar passages, including Plin. *nat.* 2,109 and 2,221 *hoc [sidus] esse quod terras saturet accedensque corpora impleat, abscedens inaniat* and Aug. *civ.* 5,6 *cum ... dici posset ad solas corporum differentias adflatus quosdam ualere sidereos*; but also e.g. Hyg. *astr.* 4,2; Plin. *nat.* 9,18; Sen. *benef.* 4,23,1; Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 3). In other words, not only do all beings receive their life from the moon, but their physical lives, in their cycle of birth, growth and death, are also determined and regulated by the lunar phases.

terra caelo marique: tripartition of the world, meaning the entirety of regions and/or creatures, is a topos of epic origin and recurs in later poets (cf. Bömer 1969 ad Ov. *met.* 1,5 and 12,39-40); among the most influential Greek models is a part of the description of Achilles' shield in Hom. *Il.* 18,483, but see also Empedocl. frg. 27 Wright and Apollon. Rhod. 1,496 and 1098-1099. In Latin, this sequence had become

almost formulaic (cf. Barchiesi 2005, 150-151 ad Ov. *met.* 1,5), but is subject to several variations (cf. among many examples Enn. *ann.* 556 Skutsch and *scaen.* 235 Jocelyn; Afran. *com.* 9 Ribbeck; Catull. 63,40; Lucr. 1,1014 and 5,92 with Munro 1908, 323-324 ad loc.; Verg. *Aen.* 1,58 and 6,724 with Norden ⁴1957 ad loc.; *ecl.* 4,51; *georg.* 4,222; Plin. *nat.* 2,192, etc.; Apuleius himself adopts it again in *flor.* 15,17) and it was evidently already seen as traditional in ancient times, as shown by Cic. *fin.* 5,9 *ut nulla pars caelo, mari, terra, ut poetice loquar, praetermissa sit*. The concept is often linked with the corresponding subdivision of living creatures (other sources in Schulze 1962, 237 n. 1; Pfeiffer 1959, 1-6; Smolak 1971, 180-194).

nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui: the second *colon* ends with parallelism taken to extremes (isometry and almost perfect isosyllabism of elements, anaphora of *nunc*, double opposing pair *incrementis/detrimentis, augeri/imminui*, separated by the isomorphic synonyms *consequenter/obsequenter*): on the phenomenon of so-called *παρίσσωσις*, we refer to the basic bibliography (Norden 1909, 816-820; Polheim 1925, 206-209; Bernhard 1927, 87-91 and 225-228; and LHSz 2,706). All these rhetorical devices give vivid expression to the idea of an eternal cyclic movement inherent to the cosmos. This idea of eternal cyclical movement and change is also reflected in the eternal alternation of the seasons, which will come to the fore in the transition from winter to spring in Ch. VII. The notion of an eternal cyclical movement is full of symbolism, alluding, for example, to the ever-changing vicissitudes of human life (cf. *res humanae*): see Nisbet – Hubbard 1970 on Hor. *carm.* 2,11,10 *luna*. Cf. Syndikus 2001 (vol. 2), 341 on the moon as symbol of changeability, and see comm. below on 11,2,3 *solis ambagibus* for the enigmatic, multiform changes of the moon, related to her orbit. Such symbolism creates an appropriate opening for the last book of a work called *Metamorphoses*.

consequenter: here ‘in consequence of’; *OLD* s.v. 2 ‘in accordance with’ compares for the use of *consequenter* with dative (*incrementis*) Ulp. *dig.* 10,2,18 pr. *his consequenter Iulianus ait*. This rare adverb is found before Apuleius only in Rutilius Lupus, with the different meaning of ‘consequently’, ‘as a result’ (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 413,12-53 ‘secundum rationem’); Apuleius adopts this sense in *met.* 9,21,5 and 10,2,1. Cf. 11,12,1, where the adverb means *apte, congrue* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 413,55-80). Our occurrence is probably an etymological reconstruction, based on the primary meaning of *consequor*; the adverb, on the other hand, despite its absence in texts, must have been widespread in spoken language, as demonstrated not only by its later frequency in the language of Christian preaching and in legal language from Gaius (*inst.* 3,179) onwards (see *ThLL* s.v. *passim*), but also by its success in the Romance languages. Here the choice is evidently functional in balancing the following *obsequenter*: it is possible that the two adverbs are to be interpreted as symmetrical opposites, rather than true synonyms: ‘in consequence of ... with the opposite consequence’; see also Facchini Tosi 2000, 163 n. 157.

augeri ... imminui: the polar pair *augeri – minui*, here modified only by the addition of the prefix *in-* (clearly for the sake of rhythm), sums up a rather well-known scientific concept. On the moon’s influence on the life cycles of animals in Latin literature, see e.g. Cic. *div.* 2,33 with Pease 1963 ad loc., especially 407-408, who offers a wealth of material on the influence of the moon on (marine) life, land animals, trees

etc., and cf. also Hor. *sat.* 2,4,30; Plin. *nat.* 2,109; Gell. 20,8,2-4; cf. in particular the already cited passage of Plin. *nat.* 2,221 (see above on *ipsa etiam corpora*), based on a similar parallelism and on the opposition *augeri/minui: hoc [sidus] esse quod terras saturet accedensque corpora impleat, abscedens inaniat. Ideo cum incremento eius augeri conchylia ... sed et sanguinem hominum etiam cum lumine eius augeri ac minui, frondes quoque et pabula ...* That things grow and shrink together with/in consequence of the phases of the moon, based on the Greek principle of *συμπάθεια*, is not only a Roman idea but also a universal belief (cf. Préaux 1973, 94-103): more specifically, the waxing phase of the moon favours birth and growth in plants and animals, while the waning phase is responsible for withering and ageing (many sources in Roscher 1890, 61-67; it is worth remembering at least Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 8 [Mor. 353F], who refers to the Egyptian priests’ belief that the onion is the only plant which thrives on the waning moon). More generally, the (sometimes scientifically based) belief that lunar phases interfere with plant and animal life cycles survives today in Europe and the whole Mediterranean basin (cf. Éliade 1964, 145 f., Préaux 1973, 94 n. 2, with further bibliography on the subject; Lunais 1979, 68-70).

incrementis ... detrimentis: the first element in this pair is a classical word (but rather used in the singular, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *incrementum* 1046,14-20); the same cannot be said of *detrimentum*, preferred to the usual, and technical *damnum* (cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 4,7,13; Manil. 2,95 and 3,286-288; Lucan. 8,467-469; Gell. 20,8,7; Claud. 28,498-499), evidently because of phonic reasons; the usual opposition is set up, marked by isosyllabism, assonance and shared suffix. In relation to *luna* this term is not known before Apuleius, but is found frequently enough in the post-classical period, cf. also following note.

detrimentis: this is F’s reading; there is no reason to prefer the reading *decrementis* found in a few *recentiores*, probably an emendation by a copyist who ended up being ‘more Apuleian than Apuleius’ in his search for symmetry even in the etymology of terms. In fact *detrimentis* occurs also in *mund.* 19 p. 332 and is supported by a strong later tradition: it is found in the pseudo-Apuleian treatise *Asclepius* (*Ascl.* 3 *caelum ergo, sensibilis deus, administrator est omnium corporum, quorum augmenta detrimentaque sol et luna sortiti sunt*), and taken up again in the same contrast by many later writers (cf. among others Ps. Cypr. *spect.* 1,1; Fulg. *myth.* 2,16). The best testimony, however, is that of Augustine, who, although he usually shows a decided preference for *decrementum*, nevertheless chooses *detrimentum* in a context that seems to echo our passage (Aug. *civ.* 5,6 *uidemus etiam ... et lunaribus incrementis atque detrimentis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum*). Moreover, correspondence and symmetry between roots, although often looked for by Apuleius, cannot be referred to as the only criterion of word-choice since, even in this same passage, it is entirely ignored in the opposition *augeri/imminui* (as already rightly pointed out by Hildebrand 1842 ad loc.).

Fato scilicet iam meis tot tantisque cladibus satiato et spem salutis licet tardam subministrante: a personification of *fatum* seems likely here (although this would be the only such case in *met.*); see also following note. A strong alliterative effect marks this last phrase which expresses Lucius’ final hope: that Fate, here clearly an *alter ego* of the *scaeva Fortuna* which has persecuted him up to this point (cf. also following note and Harrauer 1973, 5) may have finally been placated (on the theme of For-

tune as a goddess persecuting Lucius see comm. on 11,2,4 *si quod offensum numen ... saeuitia premit*; cf. 11,15,1 *multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis*).

Fato ... satiatio: Fate seems to be described in terms of a hostile divinity: the link with *satio* could remind us of a rather conventional motif according to which an irate divinity feeds on the misfortune of mortals, who in turn can only hope to satisfy, or ‘satiare’ them; cf. among many examples Hor. *carm.* 1,2,37 with Nisbet – Hubbard 1970 ad loc.; Ov. *met.* 3,252; 6,281 with Bömer 1976 ad loc., and 8,543; and also, Ov. *fast.* 5,575; Sen. *Ag.* 519-520; *Oed.* 201; *Her. O.* 1319; Sil. 12,619; Petron. 121,119; and Vergil often links with a paronymological twist the irreducible goddess Juno (*Saturnia*) to the verb *saturō*, cf. *Aen.* 5,608 (*necdum ... saturata*), 5,781 and 7,298 (cf. Feeney 1991, 201). This idea is also exploited by Apuleius elsewhere, cf. *met.* 7,17,1 *Fortuna meis cruciatibus insatiabilis*; and parodied at *met.* 8,29,2 *deam Syriam esurientem suo satiaret sacrificio*.

specimen: it is certainly possible that the word has here the general meaning ‘symbol’ (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12,162-164 *cui tempora circum / aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt / Solis aui specimen*), but it seems more likely that Apuleius is playing with etymology, by pointing to the root **specio* (on a similar procedure, cf. *GCA* 2004, 51 on *met.* 4,29,2 *saeculi specimen*): Lucius turns to the ‘visible manifestation’ of the undefined universal deity, and directs his prayer to this (see also Laird 1997, 70-71). The same meaning seems to be implied in *met.* 11,17,5 in relation to a statue of the goddess, given that, as is known, the Egyptian cults retained the belief that the deity actually resided in the statue, that the statue was therefore a real manifestation of the goddess, and indeed even needed a ‘house’, the temple, cf. Burkert 1990, 42. *OLD* s.v. is therefore correct to explain it like this (‘a visible appearance or manifestation’) even though the term is not found elsewhere with this meaning.

deae praesentis: it is the contingent situation of the magnificent full moon that gives Lucius the idea of invoking the ‘present’ moon, the goddess ‘who stands before’ him; nonetheless Apuleius’ linguistic conscience and his inclination to obtain the greatest semantic significance with minimal effort make the double sense of *praesens* (a standard term of religious language) highly probable; Lucius hopes that the goddess will also be ‘benevolent’ to him, and the predicative value of the adjective allows one to translate this way. Naturally, this is a possibility of the Latin language (given that the religious meaning of ‘propitious’, ‘benevolent’ comes from the very concept of the divine ‘presence’), but the idea of playing on this double meaning had already been exploited by Hor. *carm.* 1,35,2 (see Nisbet – Hubbard 1970 ad loc.), Verg. *Aen.* 9,404 (with Hardie 1994 ad loc.). For the use of *praesens* ‘i.q. favens et sim.’ see *ThLL* s.v. *praesens* 843,62-844,50. For the notion of a god’s felt presence see also comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis ... praesentiam*.

statui deprecari: ‘I made up my mind to pray’. Lexical choice seems here to be determined by a very precise cultural fact: like all the mystery cults, Isism too was a votive religion and depended therefore on an act of private ‘decision’, basically performed in a dangerous situation and in the hope of salvation (indeed, the votive practice could be considered simply as the last attempt, after many, in the hopes of reaching salvation, and a concrete, material salvation more than a spiritual one). It was this act of ‘decision’ (and the ‘do ut des’ mechanism made implicit by the salvation) that

would then have caused conversion and *pistis*. In Christian religion, by contrast, we have the reverse situation, in the sense that it is the decision of the god to have mercy, and then the human reacts with prayer and *pistis* (the pathway followed by Augustine is paradigmatic). For these concepts cf. Burkert 1990, in particular 19-23; see also Bradley 1998, who emphasises that Lucius’ religious experience is fundamentally different from Christian conversion (*contra* Nock 1933; Shumate 1996); see Introduction, 5.2 with nn. 154-155. In this light the characterization of the last book as something artfully tacked on to the previous ten, often ascribed to it, should be rethought (cf. also Nicolini 2005, 49-50, and further discussions of the topic of conversion in Graverini 2007, 59-82 [= Graverini 2012, 53-75]). Finally, note the contrast with the complete irrationality that guides Lucius when he deliberately chooses to devote himself to magic (cf. 2,6,2 *ut ... gestirem ... prorsus in ipsum barathrum saltu concito praecipitare*).

deprecari: a verb frequently employed by Apuleius (14 times in *met.*), always with the same meaning (‘to beg’). Although the primary value of the prefix seems actually to be the idea of turning away (indeed the verb has been used since archaic times in the sense of ‘to try to avert with prayers’, ‘to entreat’, cf. e.g. Ennius *scaen.* 134, and many examples in *ThLL* s.v. 598), the intensifying use that permits a reinterpretation with the meaning ‘to pray insistently’, ‘to beg’ is already classical.

11,1,4 *Confestimque discussa pigra quiete <laetus et> alacer exurgo meque protinus purificandi studio marino lauacro trado septiesque summerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecipue religionibus aptissimum diuinus ille Pythagoras prodidit, [laetus et alacer] deam praepotentem lacrimoso uultu sic adprecabar: and so, all of a sudden, I shake off my sluggish torpor and stand up joyous and lively and, at once, eager to purify myself, I plunge into the sea for a lustral bath; and after immersing my head seven times in the water, since that is the most suitable number for any rites, as the divine Pythagoras has taught us, with tearful eyes I started uttering my prayer:*

Confestimque ... exurgo ... trado: another return to the present tense, this time immediately following the perfect (*statui*), visually marking the transition into action.

discussa ... quiete: for the use of *discutere* with ‘sleep’ (the same combination also in 11,22,4 *discussa quiete*) see *GCA* 2000, 183 on 10,11,3 *marcido sopore discusso*, pointing out that the use of this verb for shaking off sleep, tiredness, or intoxication is quite general (there is no need to assume a medical connotation, as Harrauer 1973, 5 ad loc. does); in *met.*, cf. e.g. 1,2,3 *ut ipse etiam fatigationem ... discuterem*; 8,13,1 *crapulam cum somno discutit*. For these and other examples see *ThLL* s.v. *discutio* 1374,31-32 (‘statum animi vel corporis hominum’), including references to dispelling fear, worries etc. (cf. 4,21,1 *iam timore discusso*; 7,1,3 *discussa sollicitudine*). This general metaphorical use of *discutere* may gain a more specific and ‘literal’ dimension in the context of sleep, as the association of sleep with terms like *caligo* and *nebula* is very frequent (see *OLD* s.v. *nubes* 7a), especially in poetry (in *met.*, cf. 2,30,3 *somni nebula*; 6,21,1 *soporis nebula* and 11,7,5 *caligine disiecta*).

pigra quiete: half way between the usual enallage (of the type *prompta uelocitate, compta cura, adfixo seruitio, exerta uigilia*, etc. on which cf. Nicolini 2011a, 171-

172) and a causative sense, this combination has a poetic flavour (cf. e.g. Catull. 63,37 *piger sopor*; Sen. *Ag.* 161 *pigro languore* and *epist.* 55,7 *otium pigrum*; Stat. *silv.* 1,6,91 *pigra Quies inersque Somnus*; Mart. 12,62,2 *sub quo pigra quies nec labor ullus erat*).

<laetus et> *alacer exurgo*: this is the text printed by Robertson 1945, following a proposal by Helm (Helm himself however, in the 1955 reprint of the Teubner text, relegates it to the apparatus and returns to the manuscript reading). This addition goes together with Leo's athetesis of the whole phrase *laetus et alacer* (a very frequent, almost idiomatic *iunctura*, with an astonishing number of occurrences, cf. e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 1,17; *Phil.* 12,18; *Mur.* 49; *Liv.* 10,25,5; *Val. Max.* 7,5,4; *Sen. dial.* 12,20,1; *epist.* 72,4; *Sil.* 14,627; *Tac. dial.* 23,4; *Plin. epist.* 10,100; *Quint. inst.* 2,9,2, etc.) before *deam* in the final sentence. This *constitutio textus*, which has become standard (also adopted by Brandt – Ehlers 1958, Hanson 1989, Griffiths 1975 and preferred nowadays by most translators), has been splendidly discussed by Magnaldi (in Magnaldi and Gianotti 2000, 61): a small mark that is still visible in F before the word *laetus* could be, according to Magnaldi, the remains of an indication of a possible *lacuna*; in fact, a copyist may have accidentally missed out the segment *laetus et* (perhaps by a sort of *saut du même au même* from *quiete* to *et*) and then tried to make up for it by including the two skipped words before *alacer*, a marker-word that he rewrote in the margin, in order to show the position of the error; but the whole phrase *laetus et + alacer* ended up being put back to the wrong place. This double correction solves the problem of the unmotivated and clumsy repetition of *alacer* within such a short space and, at the same time, of the contradiction between the phrase *laetus et alacer* and the immediately following *lacrimoso uultu*; although it is true that one can weep with joy, as argued by Armini 1928, 323-324, it is also true that this sort of 'psychological oxymoron' is usually emphasised or commented upon, as shown by the same passage that Armini himself draws upon (cf. *met.* 1,12,1; on tears of joy, see also the comprehensive treatment in *GCA* 1985, 75-76); here, however, the motif seems to be conventional, cf. below.

Among those who defend F's text, we find Fredouille 1975, 44-45 and also Augello 1977, 222 (the latter with rather fragile arguments); it is interesting anyway to note that those who follow F are then constrained in translation to avoid the problem of the presence of both *laetus et alacer* and *lacrimoso uultu* by adding a concessive conjunction, or clarifying the meaning of this in a note (for a comprehensive discussion, cf. Magnaldi and Gianotti 2000, 61).

Finally, from a more strictly linguistic point of view, Apuleius' propensity for reusing similar expressions with similar terms and moods, leads us to think that here too, as elsewhere, the phrase is associated with a punctual or sudden action, like that expressed by *exurgo* (cf. *met.* 1,17,4 *emergeo laetus atque alacer*; 3,29,6 *alacer ac laetus propius accessi*; and see also 8,21,1 *exurgit alacer*) rather than the durative aspect of the imperfect, which jars a bit with the sense of the phrase.

marino lauacro trado: purificatory ablution before a prayer (or a rite, or simply before entering the temple) was typical of many different cults (and also occurred traditionally in magical ceremonies, cf. Tupet 1976, 19-29); Griffiths 1975 on *septiesque summerso* cites an important inscription from the imperial age, cf. *SIG* III,1042,4-6 λουσαμένους δέ κατακέφαλα αὐθημερόν εἰ[σπορεύ]εσθαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν

γυναϊκέων διὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν λουσαμένην κ[ατα]κέφαλα εἰσπορεύεσθαι αὐθημερόν. Naturally, each population had a privileged place for ablutions, so for example biblical purifications generally involve the Jordan, Egyptians would prefer the Nile, while in Latin literature we frequently learn of the Roman use of the waters of the Tiber (cf. e.g. Hor. *sat.* 2,3,290-292 *frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo / mane die, quo tu indicas ieiunia, nudus / in Tiberi stabit*; Pers. 2,15-16 *haec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgite mergis / mane caput bis terque et noctem flumine purgas*; Iuv. 6,523-524 *ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis / uerticibus timidum caput abluet*). In general any running water is considered suitable for such a use, but some ancient inscriptions testify to a belief that sea water was particularly capable of purification (see again *SIG* I,93,35; III,1218,15) and this is confirmed by some literary texts, cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 1193 θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά. Plato, although usually hostile to similar superstitious practices, counts immersing the feet in the sea among cathartic rituals for those guilty of homicide (Plato, *Lg.* 865a-866d). And even the apotropaic purification of the superstitious in Plut. *de superst.* 3 (*Mor.* 166A) consists in an ablution in the sea – (καὶ βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλατταν). This was one of the most frequent methods of purification, expressly recommended in a number of mystery ceremonies, but largely spread through popular tradition (cf. Cumont 1929, 35-36; Lozza 1980, 81 with further bibliography). On purificatory ablutions see most recently Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 330-331. On the potential humour in the head-dunking donkey (see also below, 11,7,1 *marino rore respersus*), cf. Harrison in *AAGA* 3, 77. For the practice of ritual purification in Isiac cult see comm. on 11,23,1 *prius sueto lauacro ... abluit*.

septiesque summerso fluctibus capite quod eum numerum ... Pythagoras prodidit: Lucius attributes the necessity of repeating the act seven times to Pythagorean precepts; Pythagoreanism notoriously held the number seven to be most sacred, as it is the sum of the triad and the tetrad; this idea was probably inherited from a more ancient tradition, namely the numeric mysticism of the Delphic cults, through the mediation of Orphism (on which see Roscher 1906, 24) and had a vast and lengthy influence. It suffices to think that a very common paronymy, flourishing in the Pythagorean circles and attributed to the master himself, connected the term *ἑπτὰ* with adjectives like *σεπτός*, *σεμνός* (= 'venerable', 'holy'). Among the most authoritative and ancient sources that witness to the symbolic value attached to the number seven by the Pythagoreans cf. Aristot. *metaph.* 14,6,5, p. 1093a; see also Cic. *rep.* 6,12 with Zetzel 1995, 228 ad loc.; Gell. 3,10; Macr. *somn.* 1,6,45 with Armisen – Marchetti 2001, 35 n. 139 ad loc. (but Plato already confirms the divine essence of the number seven in *Tim.* 35b-c; Roscher 1906, 24-43 provides a chapter entirely dedicated to number seven in the Pythagorean tradition).

It is more difficult, on the other hand, although not strictly necessary, to trace a direct Pythagorean connection for the sevenfold bath of purification (Roscher 1906, 43 n. 72 hypothesizes that such a practice derives from the cult of Apollo, but see also below). The number seven was also a sacred number in the Egyptian mystery tradition and Griffiths supposes Apuleius could have in mind the connection between Pythagoras and Egypt, which is also described by Plutarch (*de Isid. et Os.* 10, *Mor.* 354E) and referred to by Apuleius in *flor.* 15,14-15: in this symbolic choice of number seven for the ablutions, in fact, one could see the convergence of Pythagorean

elements and the religious-folkloric practices of the Egyptians (cf. Griffiths 1975, 113-114 with bibliography, and also Burkert 1972, 470).

Furthermore, even in Western traditions, the sacredness of the number seven was not confined to Pythagorean precepts, but typical, from very early times, of many religions and philosophies (we refer again to Griffiths for some examples of the association between number seven and purification rites in the biblical tradition; on the importance of this number in various aspects and rituals of the most diverse Greek cults, beginning with that of Apollo, a full discussion is found in Roscher 2003, 339-389); besides, the survival of traditions, rites, practices and sayings linked to the number seven even in modern culture is itself sufficient to demonstrate this. Moreover, given that the magic function of the number was originally based on the division of time into periods, of seven or nine days, linked to the phases of the moon (and “the number seven motivates the moon which is in the seventh planetary sphere”, according to Macr. *somn.* 1,6,48), the pertinence of the number seven, the lunar number, in this context seems absolutely in order. On the link between the Moon-Selene and the number seven, cf. once again Roscher 2003, 357-358 who dwells particularly on the recurrence of the number in the rituals of the twin cults of Apollo and Artemis-Hecate-Selene, both in sacrifices (cf. e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 6,38-39 the sacrifice that the Sibyl, *Phoebi Triuiaequae sacerdos*, imposes on Aeneas: *nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuuenos / praestiterit, totidem lectas ex more bidentis*), and in the presence, mentioned several times in sources, of choruses composed of seven boys and seven girls, consecrated to these gods.

Returning to the purification ceremonies, we learn that a sevenfold ablution (combined with a sevenfold prayer) was the typical practice of the cult of Hecate-Selene-Persephone already from the *Argonautica*, in which Medea’s rite follows exactly this scheme, cf. Apollon. Rhod. 3,860-863 (with Fraenkel 1968 ad loc.): ἐπὶ μὲν ἀεναίοισι λοεσσαμένη ὑδάτεσσιν, / ἐπτάκι δὲ Βριμῶ κουροτρόφον ἀγκαλέσσασα, / Βριμῶ νυκτιπλόων, χθονίην, ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσα.

Lastly, within *met.*, the choice of the number seven seems to have some symbolic meaning derived from religious practices and beliefs also in 6,8,3 *septem sauiā suauia* (the recompense promised by Venus to Psyche’s informer) with *GCA* 2004, 418 ad loc.; while in *met.* 2,24,2 *introducitis ... septem testibus* we observe the ancient sacred value slipping into the field of law. On the number seven in *met.* see also Bernhard 1927, 188.

summerso ... capite: the compound *summergo* is decidedly unsuited to this context; it always means, ‘to cause to sink’, ‘to submerge’ (*OLD* s.v.): it is significant that the only case in which *submergo* is associated with *caput*, Stat. *Theb.* 4,108, is about a river, the Achelous almost personified: here *caput* actually stands for the spring that ‘plunges’ deep into the earth; cf. Apuleius himself in *met.* 2,5,4 *omnem ... lucem mundi ... imis Tartari ... submergere nouit*. It has probably been preferred to the more normal *immergo* (*ThLL* s.v. *immergo* 454,63-84, and *Apul. met.* 3,24,2 *auide manus immersit*), or the simple *mergo*, the most natural in this sense, for the sake of the *sigmatismos*.

ille Pythagoras: this reference to the Greek philosopher is pertinent in the Isiac context; the connection between Pythagoreanism and Egyptian religion goes back to Herodot. 2,81 (ibid. 123 by a sort of allusion; see also Merkelbach 1995, 268); indeed

both Pythagoreanism and Orphism were considered to be descended from Egyptian doctrines (the similarities between these and Pythagoreanism are in fact rather remarkable). According to a well-established tradition (if historically certified only in the cases of the philosophers Solon and Eudoxus) many Greek philosophers would have gone to Egypt on a sort of ‘study trip’ and would have learnt elements of the Egyptian mystery doctrines from teachers there. Pythagoras, for the record, was one of these, and apparently studied with a certain Oenuphis from Heliopolis: he might even have borrowed some important precepts of his philosophy-religion from the sacred hieroglyphs (cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 10, *Mor.* 354E-F with Froidefond 1988 ad loc. for bibliography). For the links between Pythagoras and Apuleius’ philosophy as well as for the connections with Pythagoreanism and Platonism, see also famously *Florida* 15 (with Lee 2005, 134-138).

deam praepotentem: Lucius calls the Moon *praepotens*; cf. Cicero’s use of *praepotens* as an epithet for the supreme god governing the universe in *leg.* 1,23 (see Dyck 2004 ad loc.). In the rest of Book 11, *potentia* is a frequently mentioned attribute of Isis. See comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis*, noting that in poetry the epithet *potens* is frequently used of Hecate/Triuia. Cf. also 11,16,3 *omnipotentis ... deae*.

lacrimoso uultu: cf. also 11,24,6 *lacrimis obortis, singultu crebro, aio*. Appel 1909, 208-209 presents a rich collection of passages in which the religious plea is combined with tears in a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* of the divinity: despite the despair in which Lucius effectively finds himself, this seems to be more a ritual gesture (cf. also Psyche’s prayer in *met.* 6,2,3 *uberi fletu rigans deae uestigia*, with Ceres’ response in 6,3,1 *tuis quidem lacrimosis precibus et commoueor et opitulari cupio*; the scene is repeated in 6,3,4 before Juno). Isis commands Lucius to cease his tears in 11,5,4 *mitte iam fletus*. According to Lateiner (2009, 287), Lucius’ tears, accompanied by lamentations and prayer (cf. 11,3,1), provide a marker of his returning human identity. On Lucius’ religious emotions in Book 11 see also introduction to Ch. VII (2. Mixed emotions: Lucius’ response to the epiphany).

sic adprecabar: again, the choice of tense is notable. The use of the imperfect immediately after the vivid actions expressed by the two present tense verbs (*exurgo, trado*) fixes and suspends Lucius’ decisive move in an atmosphere full of expectation. On the alternation of present and imperfect tenses, cf. with many examples Callebat 1968, 427 (2,26,2 *cadauer accurro, et ... rimabar singula*; 4,1,5 *hortulum ... inuado et ... prospectabam loca*), who rightly discards the hypothesis of a typical negligence in colloquial usage, in favour of a stylistic refinement aimed at slowing down the movement and insisting on a particular moment in the action. At other times such a use of the imperfect responds to different requirements: the case of the famous *explicit* (*met.* 11,30,5 *obibam*) is exemplary, in which the choice of tense creates an effect of dissolution of the final image of the protagonist, leaving at the same time a shadow of ambiguity over the very end of the work (Nicolini 2005, 56 n. 124). The inverse variation, from imperfect to present, is rarer (but has the same intention of bringing alive and illuminating an isolated moment of the action, against an indistinct narrative backdrop, cf. once again Callebat 1968, 428).

The verbal echo, with a minimal change in the prefix, closes the scene in a sort of ring-composition, closely linking the moment of the decision (*statui deprecari*) to that of its effective realization (*adprecabar*). *Adprecor* is very rare in literature (be-

fore Apuleius, who also uses it in *met.* 4,29,4; 6,3,4 and 11,20,4, it is found only in Hor. *carm.* 4,15,28), and seems to be an analogical formation, possibly coined by Horace, on the paradigmatic *adoro*.

CHAPTER II

Lucius addresses a prayer to the moon, asking her to put an end to his miseries and to deliver him from his quadruped appearance.

1. Praying, not braying: the ass' approach to the deity by prayer

Since Lucius is still a braying ass, the possibility of an eloquent prayer to the moon goddess, delivered aloud by an animal on the beach of Cenchreae, would be problematic. There is a fascinating contrast with his vain attempt at invocation at 3,29,3 (*enuntiare non potui*): here, his asinine shape is not presented by the narrator as an obstruction to praying eloquently, crying tears and pouring out laments (cf. 11,1,4 *lacrimoso uultu*; 11,3,1 *fusus precibus et adstructis miseris lamentationibus*). James (1987, 240) draws attention to the humorous aspect of the situation; Laird 1990, 149 points out that Lucius' re-transformation is already foreshadowed here (see also Lateiner 2009, 287, cited in comm. on 11,1,4 *lacrimoso uultu*). Finkelppearl (2003, 40) argues that Lucius already here owes his eloquence to Isis (see also Finkelppearl 1998, 208: "Isis is a sort of Muse responsible for Lucius' regaining of a voice"). Even before regaining his human shape and becoming an accomplished orator (cf. 11,28,6), Lucius shows his mastery of the power of words and the magic of persuasion, as one may judge from the answer of the goddess in chapters V-VI; Isis already appears to inspire his eloquence (cf. 11,3,3 *si tamen ... ipsum numen eius dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae subministraverit*).

By presenting the interior monologue of the ass as an act of praying aloud (11,1,4 *adprecabar*) and by using the traditional form and structure of ancient prayer, the narrator represents the ass as engaging in a direct form of communication with the goddess, who responds by showing her divine likeness to Lucius during his sleep. This is in accordance with other passages, in which animals and even trees actively engage in religious worship of Isis, e.g. by singing hymnic praise of the goddess (11,7,4-5). Since it is physically impossible that the ass actually spoke these eloquent words verbatim, they represent the narrator's introspective observation of what Lucius-ass, who had retained his human mind, felt and thought in his situation of agony (see Introduction, 3.3 with n. 76 for a narratological analysis); cf. Lateiner 2009, 287 n. 33: "The retained human consciousness multiplies the pain of the metamorphosized animal embodiment".

The return of Lucius' human voice is explicitly thematised in 11,14,1, but Lucius does not mention its use until 11,19,1, where he narrates his adventures to his relatives and friends. After his first initiation, Lucius will display his rhetorical talent with his human voice in his hymnic prayer to Isis, which shares many features with the prayer to the Moon-goddess, such as the canonical form of *Du-Stil* (cf. 11,2,4 and see Introduction, 7.1.1). For prayer as a form of human communication with the divine in antiquity see e.g. Scheer 2001, 31-56; the ancients prayed aloud and not in silence, since silent prayer was usually regarded with suspicion (cf. Chariton 3,8,7-9,

where Callirhoe prays aloud to Aphrodite's statue, though there are no other people present); see Van der Horst 1994; Scheer 2001, 45-46.

2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation

Lucius' prayer to the Moon is structured according to the traditional tripartite scheme of ancient prayers (see *DNP* s.v. *Gebet* [Graf]), which starts with the *invocatio* (1), drawing the attention of the deity by summoning her (*regina caeli*), enumerating epithets and epicleses in relative and participial clauses, which first describe the deity's universal characteristics (bringing civilisation, love, marriage, childbirth etc.) and then a local cultic place that presently (*nunc*) forms the focal point of her worship, viz. Eleusis for Ceres/Demeter, Paphos for Venus/Aphrodite, and Ephesus for Diana/Artemis; an exception to this pattern is formed by Proserpina, who is worshipped *uario cultu* (11,2,2). A tendency to strive for completeness serves to ensure that the right deity is invoked for the fulfilment of the wish. Then, in the *pars epica* (2), the person engaging in prayer justifies his/her rightful claim to be heard, pointing to previous sacrifices or other rites, or mentioning previous occasions, in which the deity had heard the person's prayers. Finally, in the *preces* (3), the request itself is being expressed (11,2,4 *tu ... subsiste, tu ... adfirma, tu ... tribue*); sometimes, part 2 and 3 are exchanged for the sake of emphasising urgency. In the case of Lucius' prayer, part 3 follows part 1, but the last sentence of the prayer (11,2,4 *ac si quod offensum numen inexorabili me saeuittia premit, mori saltem liceat, si non licet uiuere*) could be considered as an abbreviated form of the '*pars epica*', drawing attention to the justifiability of the prayer – the *si*-clause still leaves open the possibility that Lucius' unfortunate situation is not completely desperate and that there is hope for survival and salvation, but also justifies the claim to be heard in case there is no hope for divine clemency: in that case, Lucius deserves at least the chance to decide on his own death.

The prayer demonstrates remarkable dramatic emphasis and linguistic refinement, with an impressive sequence of parallels in construction, dicola, tricola and tetracola, euphonic effects, metaphors, anaphora, oxymora, neologisms and poetic elements (see Introduction, 7.1 on Apuleius' use of religious rhetoric and elevated language in Book 11). The periphrastic address that opens Lucius' invocation of the Moon-goddess (*regina caeli*) is followed by a phrase made up of four periods introduced by *siue, seu, seu, seu*, which unfold according to a scheme that plays on congruity and disparity of construction. With the exception of Diana, who is designated by periphrasis (*Phoebi soror*), the goddesses are all mentioned by their own names, accompanied by an epithet (*Ceres alma, caelestis Venus, horrenda Proserpina*). Relative clauses, absolute and participial ablatives evoke in eulogistic fashion the past actions and the characteristics of those divinities, as well as their current principal places of worship, which are given prominence by triple anaphora of *nunc* (except for the case of Proserpina: see below). This long invocation of 17 lines (11,2,1-11,2,3) finally leads to the object of Lucius' prayer (11,2,4), expressed by two sequences of three imperative phrases introduced by *tu* (*Du-Stil*) and presenting a parallel construction, where evocative, almost incantatory anaphora aims at persuasion (*suadere*) through

pathos (*mouere*); these two sequences intersect with two phrases in the subjunctive, presenting in turn a parallel construction (*sit satis laborum, sit satis periculorum*).

On the stylistic structure and complexity of the invocation, see the elaborate analyses by Boscolo 1986 and Pasetti 1999; see already Berreth 1931, 11-19, who offers a scheme of the structure on pp. 13-14, as well as Harrauer 1973, 9-11 and Griffiths 1975, 121-123; see also Bex 1997. For observations on this prayer from the perspective of religious rhetoric see e.g. Norden 1913, 144-145, who underlines its typical structure and its proximity to Hor. *carm.* 3,21 and refers to the background of Greek religious rhetoric; see also Pulleyn 1997, 100-101, who assumes Greek influence; Guittard 1998. On religious rhetoric (particularly in prayers to gods), see also Pernot 2000 and 2006. For Apuleius' use of the language of prayer in Book 11, see Introduction, 7.1.1.

3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis

Lucius remains uncertain as to the exact identity of the divinity he is addressing and whom he identifies as a female being: see introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess) and below, comm. on 11,2,1 *Regina caeli*. Lucius follows a traditional pattern in ancient religion, marked by a tendency to strive for completeness in invoking deities (e.g. in dedicatory inscriptions on altars or in prayers), which reflects an anxious endeavour not to pass over any inhabitant of the divine world (see Van der Horst 1988 on altars for unknown gods and on the Varroian classification of *di certi, incerti, praecipui*, and *selecti*; on Roman categorisation of divinity see also Feeney 1998, 83-87); accordingly, Lucius addresses the divinity with as many alternative names as possible (*siue ... seu ... seu ... seu*; see Alvar 1985 on the traditional Roman formula *siue deus siue dea* and cf. Gell. 2,28,2-3), in order not to offend her with a wrong identification, and adds *quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est inuocare* to be absolutely on the safe side (see below on 11,2,3 *quoquo ... inuocare*).

Lucius' choice is not random; he alternately invokes four divinities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon which were associated with the moon as well as with Isis. These four divinities have in fact played a role in his adventures and hence he knows them well (Diana/Hecate: *met.* 2,4; Ceres, Venus, and Proserpina: in the tale of Cupid and Psyche). Among the four goddesses mentioned here, especially Diana/Artemis was very often identified with the moon; cf. Hor. *carm. saec.* 35, quoted below on 11,2,1 *regina caeli*. Thomas 2011, 73 ad loc. notes that there is abundant evidence of statues, coins, lamps etc., mostly dating to the Hellenistic period or Roman republic/Early Empire, in which Artemis/Diana – Selene/Luna is crowned with a crescent moon with vertical horns, citing e.g. *LIMC* II s.v. *Artemis* [L. Kahil] 906; 907; 909; and VII s.v. *Selene, Luna* [F. Gury] 2; 5; 14; 15; 21; 23. Against this background, it is quite striking that Apuleius here puts Ceres in first place instead of Diana, who is mentioned in third place. Ceres' associations with the moon are far less well-documented, as noted above in the introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess): the identification of Ceres with the moon is a late innovation in her cult. Several possible explanations can be given for this unexpected prominence of Ceres.

According to the human 'cycle of life' reflected in Lucius' prayer, Ceres and Venus are mentioned in first and second place, as they play a primordial role for human-

ity as a whole (the beginnings of civilisation and procreation), whereas Diana and Proserpina are mentioned in third and fourth place, as goddesses responsible for the cycle of life of individuals (from childbirth to death). At the same time, Ceres and Proserpina, mother and daughter (cf. 11,2,1 *parens ... repertu laetata filiae*), who are both chthonic goddesses associated with the cycle of life and death, frame Venus and Diana in their function of goddesses of amorous relationships and childbirth. Proserpina gains particular prominence as she is mentioned twice in Lucius' invocation, both at the beginning (*filiae*) and at the end. The 'cycle of life' is also reflected in the emphasis on family relations and motherhood throughout the prayer (*parens ... filiae ... generato Amore ... soror*).

Another effect of Lucius' invocation of Ceres/Demeter at the beginning of his prayer is that he unwittingly invokes Isis by mentioning the name of Ceres, who traditionally had very strong associations with Isis (see comm. on 11,5,2 *Cererem*), which are reflected on a topographical level by the proximity of their sanctuaries in Corinth (see Introduction, 4.2.1 with n. 110). Moreover, by calling her *frugum parens originalis*, he hints at the identity of Isis as *rerum naturae parens* (11,5,1) without being aware of it.

This connection is revealed in Isis' reply to Lucius, who, outwitting the brilliance of Lucius' religious rhetoric, similarly opens (in almost a direct echo) her hymnic self-revelation with the words *rerum naturae parens*. For another example of Isis' detailed reactions to Lucius' invocation, which show a certain degree of rhetorical *aemulatio*, see below on 11,2,3 *dispensans incerta lumina*. Isis, the goddess with many names (cf. 11,5,1 *nomine multiiugo*; 11,22,6 *deae multinominis*, with comm. ad loc.), imposes her claim to be the one and only addressee of Lucius' prayer, which lists several names of important goddesses to whom Isis was assimilated since Hellenistic times – yet, the Apuleian Isis is represented as a Romanised deity who strives for even more completeness by claiming the whole world (11,5,1 *totus ... orbis*) as a place of worship for herself as a universal goddess (see Introduction, 4.2.2 and 5.1 with n. 133).

11,2,1 'Regina caeli – siue tu Ceres alma frugum parens originalis, quae, repertu laetata filiae, uetustae glandis ferino remoto pabulo, miti commonstrato cibo nunc Eleusiniam glebam percolis, seu tu caelestis Venus, quae primis rerum exordiis sexuum diuersitatem generato Amore sociasti et aeterna subole humano genere propagato nunc circumfluo Paphi sacrario coleris; 'Queen of Heaven, – whether you are beneficent Ceres, the primordial mother of crops, who in your joy at the recovery of your daughter set aside the ancient acorn, fodder for beasts, and revealed refined food to men, and now cultivate the land of Eleusis, or whether you are heavenly Venus, who at the very beginning of the world reunited the opposite sexes by creating Love and so perpetuated the human race with everlasting regeneration, and now are worshipped in your sanctuary on sea-girt Paphos.

Regina caeli: *regina* is a frequently attested epithet of the goddesses of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, particularly of Juno; Isis shares it with her (see Bricault 1997, 90-91 with numerous examples; Kákosy 1974), as well as Diana (addressed as

luna) in Hor. *carm. saec. 35 siderum regina bicornis ... luna*; : see introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess). Lucius' apostrophe strikes a chord with the goddess who is conspicuous by her absence in his list: claiming the space which was left open by Lucius, Isis responds to his appeal by presenting herself as its one and only addressee (cf. 11,5,1 with comm. ad loc.). The combination *regina caeli* appears here for the first time and occurs again in e.g. Vulg. *Ier. 7,18* (cf. also 44,17) in a context of paganised Jews worshipping the Moon. In a 'biographical' reading of Book 11, Hoevels 1974 suggests that Apuleius refers to Astarte here, who was honoured in Carthage as Tanit or Virgo Caelestis (cf. Tert. *nat. 2,8,5 caelestem Afrorum*), a local divinity with whom Apuleius must have been familiar in his youth (Hoevels equates Lucius-ass at the beginning of Book 11 with the young Apuleius) and which he subsequently replaced with the cult of Isis (thus already Wittmann 1938, 14-15: see Griffiths 1975, 116 on 11,2,1 *caelestis Venus*).

siue tu ... percolis: in his desire to regain his human shape, Lucius-ass invokes in the first place Ceres in her role of the goddess who brought civilisation by teaching men to cultivate corn and thus to distinguish themselves from wild animals (see below on *ferino ... cibo*). Apuleius undoubtedly recalls here the primordial role of Ceres in the transition of the ages, e.g. in Verg. *georg. 1,147-149 prima Ceres ferro mortalis uertere terram / instituit, cum iam glandes ... deficerent siluae*; cf. also Ov. *fast. 4,399-402 bene erat iam glande reperta / duraque magnificas quercus habebat opes. / Prima Ceres homine ad meliora alimenta uocato / mutauit glandes utiliore cibo*; *met. 5,341-343 prima Ceres unco glaebam dimouit aratro, / prima dedit fruges alimenta que mitia terris, / prima dedit leges*. In Lucius' invocation, the act of bringing civilisation (*miti commonstrato cibo*) appears by virtue of its position in the relative clause as a consequence of the great joy felt by the goddess at finding her daughter again, who had been abducted by Hades; cf. also Ov. *met. 5,570-571 and 642-661*. For the identification of Ceres/Demeter with the moon, see introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess); for the association between Demeter and Isis see introduction to this chapter (3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis); cf. 11,5,2 *Cererem*.

Ceres alma: the epithet appears three times in *met.*: in 4,30,1 of Venus and in 6,2,1 of Ceres; *GCA 2004*, 371 ad loc. underlines with Serv. *georg. 1,7* the etymology of the adjective (*alere*), which is particularly apt for Ceres.

frugum parens originalis: a poetic (cf. Verg. *georg. 2,173 salue, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus*) and pleonastic phrase, which refers to Ceres/Demeter as personification of the earth, producer of crops, and bestower of plenty, as in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* in the refrain (*hymn. Ceres 2*; 119) 'welcome Demeter, who feeds many, who brings many bushels' (Δάματερ μέγα χάρει πολυτρόφει πολυμέδμνε). The use of *parens* with reference to Ceres/Demeter possibly plays on a current ancient etymology of the name Demeter (cf. the etymological play *caelestis* – Ouranos below), relating it to earth (γῆ/δῆ) and explaining it as 'mother/nurturer of the people', cf. e.g. *Etym. Gud. 351,17-18 Δημήτηρ ἡ γῆ, τουτέστι δῆμου μήτηρ, ὡς πάντων τροφός*, cited by Hopkinson 1984, 78 n. 1 on Callim. *hymn. Ceres 2*. Cf. also above, *Ceres alma*. For *frugum* as a reference to the concept of fertility, which has always been essential to Ceres/Demeter, cf. Lucr. 5,14 *namque Ceres fertur fruges ... mortalibus instituisse*; this is also reflected in her epithet *frugifera*, see *GCA 2004*,

375 on 6,2,4 *frugiferam*. For *parens* as a poetic epithet of divinities (e.g. Cybele, Jupiter, Mars) see Carter 1902, 137-138; *ThLL* s.v. 363,5-364,40 (for its use as an epithet of Nature, the Earth, the World, etc., see *ibid.* 364,8-40). Isis introduces herself in 11,5,1 to Lucius as *rerum naturae parens* (alluding to Venus, who in 4,30,1 pompously defined herself as *rerum naturae prisca parens*); cf. also 11,7,4 *parentem temporum* and 11,27,2, where it refers to Osiris.

Note that in Lucius' invocation the description *frugum parens originalis* also applies to the moon, which had a reputation of being beneficial to *fruges* on the one hand through its movements, which move the seasons along and so produce crops (cf. Catull. 34,19-20, in the hymnic prayer to Diana/luna; Hor. *carm.* 4,6,39-40 *prosperam frugum* and see below on 11,2,3 *nutriens laeta semina*) and of being the 'mother of the world' on the other hand (Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 43, *Mor.* 368C, on Selenē). For *parens* as an epithet of the moon cf. *Anth. Lat.* 723 *luna parens mensum, numerosa prole renascens*.

reperit laetata filiae: the apposition evokes the joy of Ceres/Demeter, once Jupiter/Zeus had decided that her daughter (*filiae*, alluding to Persephone's alternative name Κόρη, 'the Daughter' [of Demeter]), would return to the upper world for one period of the year, the time corresponding to the rebirth and dawning of nature. The sadness of Ceres/Demeter is mentioned e.g. in *hymn. Dem.* 2,98-99, 196-204 (cf. also *Ov. fast.* 4,503-504; *met.* 5,569); her recovered happiness in *Ov. met.* 5,570-571. In our passage, *laetata* is probably chosen also because of its association with the adjective *laetus*, -a, -um in the sense of 'lush', 'fertile': cf. below, 11,2,3 *laeta semina*. The noun *reperitus* is first found in Apuleius and has the sense of 'finding' here; it occurs again (equally in the ablative) in 11,11,3 and in *flor.* 3,2 where it means 'invention'.

uetustae glandis: the acorn, food of the first men in the earliest ages, before the invention of cultivation: see e.g. *Lucr.* 5,939-940; *Verg. georg.* 1,148 (*supra*, on *siue tu ... percolis*); *Ov. fast.* 4,399-402.

ferino remoto pabulo, miti commonstrato cibo: the parallel construction with assonance underlines the opposition. Cf. *Lucr.* 5,932, where the poet says of the first men: *uitam tractabant more ferarum*; cf. also *ibid.* 1368-1369 *fructusque feros mansuescere terra / cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo*; *Ov. met.* 5,342 (*supra*, on *siue tu ... percolis*) where the adjective *mitis* is also found (*alimenta ... mitia*), referring to food that has been 'smoothed', 'civilised' by cultivation. During his stay with the cook and his brother, the baker, Lucius had been used to refined dishes (cf. 10,15,3 *humanis ... cibis*) instead of animal food (*pabulum*: e.g. 8,21,2); his strong desire to become human and 'civilised' again, to return to human civilisation, perhaps also explains his invocation of Ceres as the first goddess.

nunc ... glebam percolis: Eleusis, principal place of worship of Ceres/Demeter, where the Eleusinian Mysteries took place. The use of the collective singular *gleba* in the sense of 'cultivated land' is poetic (*OLD* s.v. 1b); the word also appears in Psyche's prayer to Ceres in 6,2,4-5 *deprecor ... per ... glebae Siculae sulcamina*; in 1,1,3, *gleba* appears (for the first time: see *GCA* 2007, 78 ad loc.) in the sense of 'region', 'land'. The poetic image is reinforced by the verb *percolo*, which Apuleius uses several times in the sense of 'to worship' with a divinity as object, e.g. in 5,25,6 *Cupidinem ... percole*. Yet, here the verb is employed in an etymologising sense ('to cultivate thoroughly'), as in *flor.* 6,9 *sapientiam percolunt* and *flor.* 18,36 *uestras*

disciplinas studiosius percolo. This wordplay, which is characteristic of Apuleius (Nicolini 2011a, 122-129), thus combines the original and the metaphorical sense of the verb in order to say that the goddess worships the land of Eleusis by making it fertile. Cf. Kenney 1998: "and now fructify the ploughlands of Eleusis"; Nicolini 2005: "e adesso rendi fertile la terra di Eleusi".

seu tu ... coleris: Venus is invoked in her role of *genetrix*, as in *Lucr.* 1,1-20, especially 19-20 *omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem, / efficit ut cupide generatim saecula propagent*. For Venus representing love as a civilising force cf. *Ov. ars* 2,473-480. In our passage, it is because of her role as the mother of Amor (absent in Lucretius) that the human race propagates itself (see below). For the identification of Venus/Aphrodite with the moon, here underlined by the epithet *caelestis*, see Plutarch, *Amatorius* 19 (*Mor.* 764B and D), comparing Eros with the sun and Aphrodite with the moon. Görgemanns in Görgemanns et al. (ed.) 2006, 167 (n. 298) suggests that Plutarch indirectly refers to Isis here, who was associated with both Aphrodite and the moon (cf. *de Isid. et Os.* 52, *Mor.* 372D, where Plutarch also records Eudoxus's affirmation of Isis' role as arbiter in matters of sexual love). Görgemanns also refers to a connection between Aphrodite and the moon goddess in *Lucian. Syr. Dea* 4 and 32 and *Herodian. hist.* 5,6,4, both discussing the cult of the Phoenician goddess Astarte, the 'oriental' Aphrodite (on Aphrodite's sanctuary in Memphis cf. *Herodot.* 2,112; *Strabo* 17,1,31), who was also called 'Ourania' (cf. *Pausanias* 1,14,7; see Lightfoot 2003, 441-443). Apuleius juxtaposes Venus and the Moon in the *Apology* in the context of a description of magical incantations (31,9 *illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia*), while Isis identifies herself with *Venus Paphia* in 11,5,2. For a possible motivation related to the local religious context (Corinth as a centre of worship of Aphrodite), see Introduction, 4.2.1 with n. 111.

caelestis Venus: whereas the adjective is often used for divine things, it is rarely found as an epithet: outside our passage, cf. *flor.* 20,10 *Carthago Africae Musa caelestis*; *Prop.* 1,13,23 (Hebe). In *met.*, Providence (*providentia*) is qualified as *caelestis* in 8,28,1 and 9,27,1. In our passage, this epithet (Οὐράνιος) etymologically alludes to the birth of Venus/Aphrodite, born from the semen of Ouranos that fell into the sea (cf. *Hesiod. theog.* 178-200), an episode to which Lucius equally refers in 2,8,6 *caelo deiecta, mari edita, fluctibus educata ... Venus* and in 10,31,1-2; cf. also 4,28,4 *deam quam caeruleum profundum pelagi peperit et ros spumantium fluctuum educauit*, with *GCA* 2004, 47 ad loc. In the *Apology* (12), Apuleius discusses the Platonic theory of the twofold love goddess, *Venus uulgaris* and *Venus *caeles (caelitem Venerem)* (Aphrodite Urania and Aphrodite Pandemos: cf. *Plat. symp.* 180c-185e: see Hunink 1997, 54-55 ad loc.; Kenney 1990, 19-20; Münstermann 1995, 16-18). This parallel has led many readers of *met.* to assimilate the Isis of Book 11 with this *caelestis Venus*, while setting her in contrast with Photis, who would be, on the other hand, the image of *Venus uulgaris*: see (expressing disagreement with this view) *GCA* 2001, 410, with references.

primis rerum exordiis: the primordial age of Venus is evoked several times in *met.*: cf. e.g. 4,30,1 *en rerum naturae prisca parens, en elementorum origo initialis*, with *GCA* 2004, 57-58 ad loc., underlining the reminiscence of Lucretius' proem; see also Panayotakis 1997, 32-34. The use of the plural *exordia* to designate the first phase in the development of things, the beginnings, is poetic (*OLD* s.v. 3) and occurs

e.g. in Lucr. 2,333 *cunctarum exordia rerum*; cf. also Verg. *ecl.* 6,33 *his exordia primis / omnia*.

sexuum diuersitatem ... sociasti: an emphatic expression. Except for our passage, *OLD* s.v. *socio*, -are 1b 'to unite in marriage or sim.' cites only poetic attestations, particularly from epic (Vergil, Statius); in combination with this verb, two different meanings of *diuersitas* ('separateness' and 'difference') make sense: the two sexes unite in the bonds of marriage. The combination of abstract noun with a noun in the genitive, frequent in spoken language, is found several times in Apuleius: see Bernhard 1927, 99 and Väänänen 1964, 90. The phrase *sexuum diuersitas* recurs in Christian writers, e.g. Lact. *inst.* 1,16,5; Aug. *nupt. et concup.* 2,5,14.

generato Amore ... genere propagato: the chiasmus underlines the wordplay and makes Bursian's correction *generabili (Amore)* unnecessary. By presenting Venus as the mother of Amor, Lucius repeats the tradition (the most common one) which he had heard in the tale of Cupid and Psyche; see Mattiacci 1998 on the neoteric and elegiac representation of Venus and Cupid in Apuleius.

nunc ... coleris: as he had done with Ceres, Lucius ends his invocation of Venus by mentioning a single cultic place (cf. 4,29,3, where Knidos, Cythera and Paphos are mentioned); the parallelism is underlined by the anaphora of *nunc* and by the verb that brings this period to a closure, echoing *percolis* (above); this type of wordplay associating figura etymologica and paronomasia is characteristic of Apuleius (Nicolini 2011a, 39-55).

circumfluo ... sacrario: the city of Paphos, on the island of Cyprus, possessed one of the main temples of Venus, of which the Phoenician origin and character is discussed by Griffiths 1975, 116-117; in 11,5,2, the idea of a place of worship surrounded by the sea is expressed by the phrase *fluctuantes Cyprii* (see comm. ad loc.). This use of the adjective *circumfluo* in the passive sense ('flowed round, surrounded') is mainly attested in epic poets (*ThLL* s.v. 1145,44; *OLD* s.v. 2a). See comm. on 11,3,2 for Isis/Venus as goddess emerging from the sea.

11,2,2 *seu Phoebi soror, quae partu fetarum medelis lenientibus recreato populos tantos educasti praeclarisque nunc ueneraris delubris Ephesi, seu nocturnis ululatibus horrenda Proserpina triformi facie laruales impetus comprimens terraeque claustra cohibens lucos diuersos inerrans uario cultu propitiaris* – whether you are the sister of Phoebus, who by relieving the delivery of offspring with your soothing remedies have brought to birth so many peoples, and are now venerated in the famous temple of Ephesus, or you are propitiated by diverse rites as Proserpina, fearsome for nocturnal howls, you who with triple countenance repress the attacks of ghosts and control the gates of the earth and roam through widely scattered groves –

seu ... Ephesi: the next stage in the cycle of life (after sexual union and procreation) is that of childbirth. Lucius invokes Diana/Artemis, sister of Phoebus/Apollo (see next note), as the patron goddess of childbirth instead of Juno/Hera. For Artemis in her aspect of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, cf. Callim. *hymn. Dian.* 21-25; 126-128; *aet. frg.* 79-79a, with Harder 2012, 669-670 ad loc. Romans invoked Diana Lucina as guardian of women in childbirth; cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,68-69 on the relation

of this role with her identity as Moon goddess (for which see introduction to this chapter [3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis]); cf. also Catullus' hymn to Diana (34,13-14), where he calls her *Iuno Lucina* (see Green 2007, 135-138).

The thematic continuity in relation with the preceding goddesses, who were invoked in their identity of fertility deities (regarding both soil and men), leads Lucius to appeal to Diana/Artemis of Ephesus: pictorial representations of her with her upper body covered with nipples evoke precisely those responsibilities (*LIMC* II, 2, 564-573); cf. Min. Fel. 22,5 *Ephesia mammis multis et uberibus exstructa*. The parallel construction underlines this continuity – relative clause introduced by *quae*, ablative absolute, a verb in the perfect tense (*educasti*, with euphonic echo of *sociasti*), mention of the principal place of worship – not without playful variations: the use of periphrasis to designate the goddess, variations of vocabulary (*delubris* instead of *sacrario*, *ueneraris* instead of *coleris*) and word order: the verb of the relative clause is not put at the end of the sentence, as was the case in the two preceding periods, but after the anaphoric adverb *nunc*.

Phoebi soror: Diana is designated by her connection with her brother Phoebus Apollo, who, according to certain versions of the myth (cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 1,4,1), helps her with deliveries. According to other versions, Diana delivered her own mother from her birth-pangs when she bore Apollo (see Harder 2012, 669 on Callim. *aet. frg.* 79-79a).

medelis lenientibus: a euphonic combination; for a detailed discussion of the word *medela*, which is first attested in the 2nd century A.D., but was possibly archaic (cf. e.g. *tutela*) and had been superseded by *remedium* in Ciceronian Latin, see *GCA* 2000, 90 ad 10,3,5 (with lit.).

populos tantos: Hanson 1989 translates 'populous multitudes', which expresses the idea that Diana has raised an innumerable amount of people (a quantity of individuals). Yet, the combination probably means that the scope of her activity includes many different peoples (Kenney 1998 'many peoples'). For *tantus* = *tot*, a use attested from Prop. 4,11,12 onwards, which becomes frequent in the 2nd century A.D., see *GCA* 2004, 437 ad 6,10,4.

educasti: 'brought to birth' (Walsh 1994), rather than 'brought forth' (Hanson 1989). For a similar problem with the translation of *educare*, which is not completely synonymous with *parere*, see *GCA* 2004, 47 on 4,28,4 *educauit*. Apuleius undoubtedly chose the verb *educare* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *educō*² 'bring up', 'nurture', 'rear') instead of *educere* for the sake of rhyme with *sociasti* (11,2,1). For a similar word choice for euphonic reasons cf. 2,8,6 *mari edita, fluctibus educata*, where *GCA* 2001, 167-168 argues that (*fluctibus*) *educata* is a rhetorical doubling of the previous (*mari*) *edita*. For this use of *educare* cf. Ov. *met.* 8,830 *quod pontus, quod terra, quod educat aēr*. Here, *educare* additionally alludes to Diana/Artemis in her function of educator, taking care of the first education of children (see on this subject Belfiore 2003, 80-81); cf. Varro *frg. Non.* p. 447,36-448,1 *educit ... obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus*.

praeclaris ... ueneraris delubris: poetic plural and homoeoteleuta underline the solemnity of the closure of this period.

seu ... Proserpina ... propitiaris: central to the closing part of his prayer, addressing Proserpina, is the final stage of the cycle of life, i.e. its end; this is appropriately evoked with a period characterised by a rupture in the construction: in contrast with the three preceding hypothetical clauses, marked by parallelism of construction and by anaphora (*siue tu Ceres [es] ... quae ... nunc ... seu tu ... Venus [es], quae nunc ... , ... seu Phoebi soror [es], quae ... nunc*), this fourth part does not turn out to be a relative but a main clause (*seu ... Proserpina ... propitiaris*), without indication of time. This rupture in construction (discussed in detail by Harrauer 1973, 14) underlines the fact that Proserpina does not have a fixed cultic place here (contrast Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,106-107 on Henna as a sacred place of Proserpina), like her colleagues, but is worshipped *uario cultu* in far-flung places (*lucos diuersos inerrans*) by followers who undertake far journeys to experience an encounter with her, in order to win her favours (*propitius* < *pro*, *peto*: Ernout-Meillet, 539). Lucius assimilates Proserpina with Hecate, the goddess associated with magic, notably represented by the ancients in the form of a woman with three faces or three bodies (the close connections between Hecate and Proserpina/Persephone are mentioned in *Hom. hymn. Dem.* 2,438-440, since Hecate played an important role in the Mysteries of Eleusis), see below on *triformi facie*. Isis also claims the realm and the identity of these goddesses (cf. 11,5,2 *Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam*; 11,5,3 *Hecatam*; for the associations between Isis and Proserpina cf. also 11,23,7 *calcato Proserpinae limine*). Proserpina's role of protector of the living, that of guardian of the boundary separating earth from the underworld, and her place of dwelling are mentioned in a tricolon (three present participles of transitive verbs, preceded by the complement of the verb in the accusative, formed by a group adj.-subst. / subst.-subst. / subst.-adj.); Norden 1913, 220 compares this chained participial construction (*comprimens – cohibens – inerrans*) with Greek hymns to Isis; cf. also below, 11,2,3 *conlustrans – nutriens – dispensans*.

nocturnis ululatus: OLD s.v. *ululatus* cites our passage as the only example in prose of this word used in expressions of religious excitement (in poetry, cf. e.g. Catull. 63,24, with reference to the Maenads); cf. however already Liv. 39,15,6 (with regard to the Bacchanals) *ululatusque nocturnis qui personant tota Urbe*. Here, the combination rather evokes magic and the supernatural, as in Ps. Quint. *decl.* 10,7 *euocata nocturnis ululatus ... umbra* (cf. also the singular use, *ibid.* 10,19) or Ov. *met.* 15,797, who mentions howling dogs among the omens predicting Caesar's death (*nocturnos ululasse canes*). Regarding Persephone as assimilated to Hecate, these words refer to the cries of the dogs that announce the latter's arrival; cf. e.g. Theocr. 2,35; Verg. *Aen.* 4,609 (in Dido's curse) *nocturnisque Hecate triuiis ululata per urbes*; 6,257-258 *uisaeque canes ululare per umbram / aduentante dea*; Sen. *Oed.* 569; Lucian. *philops.* 14.

horrenda: this adjective (also at 11,11,1, used of Anubis), appearing mainly in poetry, translates the epithet ἐπαινὴ qualifying Persephone in *Hom. Il.* 9,457, 569, etc.; cf. Apul. *met.* 6,20,2, where the adjective is used of Cerberus: *sopita canis horrenda rabie, domum Proserpinae penetrat*. In our passage, given that it is the first participle evoking the role of protector of the living against the attacks of the dead (*laruales impetus comprimens*), its use appears almost like an oxymoron.

triformi facie: the poetic adjective *triformis* (Gr. τριμορφος) appears in Hor. *carm.* 3,22,4 *diua triformis*, in a short poem that equates Diana with the moon and Hecate;

cf. also Ov. *met.* 7,94-95; Sen. *Med.* 7, etc. For examples of representations of Hecate with three heads and three bodies, see LIMC VI, 2,662-669. In 11,5,2 *Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam*, the equally poetic adjective *trilingues* (see comm. ad loc.) may underline the special relation of the Sicilians with Proserpina/Hecate.

laruales ... cohibens: being the mistress of demons and souls without bodies (cf. *apol.* 31,9 *manium potens Triuia*), Hecate controls the access to Hell and, as such, is sometimes represented with a key; see Griffiths 1975, 118; Johnston 1990, 34-36 and 143-148; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,238; Sen. *Oed.* 559-560 *uocat inde manes teque qui manes regis / et obsidentem claustra Lethaei lacus*. Note the sound effect created by the parallelism of the two participles *comprimens ... cohibens*.

laruales impetus: a second hand corrected the reading of F *larbales*. For Apuleius' classification of (evil) demons (cf. *Socr.* 15 p. 152-153), among which are the evil *laruae* and the *Lemures*, see GCA 1995, 253-254 on 9,29,3 *larua uel aliquo diro numine immisso*. For the use of the adjective *larualis*, cf. *apol.* 63,1 *formam ... cadaueris fabricatam, prorsus horribilem et larualem*.

terrae claustra cohibens: the phrase seems to allow two different interpretations. Either the participial clause further develops what had been expressed in the preceding part, with Proserpina/Hecate preventing the ghosts from leaving Hell to torment the living (cf. Grimal 1958: “que tu sois Proserpine ... qui contiens les violences des spectres et tiens fermées les barrières dont est close la terre”; Hanson 1989: “repress the attacks of ghosts and keep the gates to earth closed fast”; cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1311 *abruptat Erebi claustra ... Bellona*); or the phrasing refers in an emphatic way to the separation of the earthly world and the underworld, inaccessible for the living (cf. Kenney 1998: “and control the gates of hell”). For the euphonic combination of words compare Hor. *epist.* 2,1,255 *claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum*; for this use of *cohibeo* in the sense of ‘continere’, ‘concludere’, cf. 4,6,4 (fons) *in modum stipitatis maris uel ignauis fluminis cuncta cohibebat*, with GCA 1977, 60 ad loc.

lucos diuersos inerrans: by contrast with the other three goddesses addressed, the Proserpina invoked by Lucius does not possess a fixed place of worship, in a ‘civilised’ place. Passageways giving access to the world of the death are often found in woods, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6,136-139; in Vergil, *lucus* (in the plural) also designates the Underworld: e.g. *Aen.* 6,118 *lucis ... Auernis* (cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 4,3,133); 6,154 *lucos Stygis*; 6,673. The transitive use of the verb *inerro*, *-are* (attested only here) complements the two preceding parts of the tricolon.

uario cultu: this is confirmed by Isis' answer, 11,5,1 *ritu uario*.

11,2,3 *ista luce feminea conlustrans cuncta moenia et udis ignibus nutriens laeta semina et solis ambagibus dispensans incerta lumina, quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est inuocare: you who with your female light illumine all ramparts, with your moist fires nurture fertile seeds, and according to your solitary convolutions dispense a variable radiance, by whatever name, in whatever rite, under whatever guise it is meet to call upon you:*

ista luce ... lumina: the action of the lunar star is invoked in a tricolon presenting similar length and an almost identical construction in its three parts (complement in the ablative – present participle – complement of the verb in the accusative, formed

by an adjective and a substantive, which are isosyllabic with homoeoteleuta: *cuncta moenia – laeta semina – incerta lumina*); see the analysis by Pasetti 1999, 251; on the participial style characteristic of Isiac hymns, see above on 11,2,2 *seu ... Proserpina ... propitiaris*. Each part describes a particular aspect of the omnipresent influence of Moon, which are all three related to her light: (1) illumination of ‘all ramparts of the world’ (probably meaning the whole universe), (2) nurturing of fields with ‘moistening’ moonlight, and (3) the various phases of the shining moon, related to her ever-changing orbit (which influences the seasons, cf. 11,1,2). For the etymological play *lumen – luna* see comm. on 11,1,2 *luminis numinisque nutu*.

luce feminea: since the Moon is a female deity, her light is also female (cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,430 *at si uirginem suffuderit ore ruborem*). Moreover, the fertilising and moistening activity of the moon (see below on *udis ignibus* and *nutriens ... semina*) is linked to its feminine character. Probably *lux feminea* is echoed by *udis ignibus*; the ‘feminine’ aspect, then, would be related to the humid, moistening, nurturing aspect of the moonlight (cf. 11,1,2 *luminis numinisque nutu*, with comm. ad loc.). Cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,223 *ferunt lunae femineum ac molle sidus atque nocturnum soluere umorem et trahere, non auferre* and see Paparazzo 2011, 93 on the passive/feminine connotations (deriving from Stoic theory) given by Pliny to water, the moist element, which are transferred here to the moon as a ‘feminine and soft star’. Cf. also Macr. *Sat.* 1,17,53 *lunam uero umidiore et uelut femineo sexu naturali quodam pressam tepore inferiora tenuisse*. For the astrological use of the adjective *femineus*, associated with the night, cf. Manil. 2,222 *sunt quibus esse diurna (sidera) placet, quae mascula surgunt, femineam sortem tutis gaudere tenebris*; Claud. *carm. min.* 44,6 *femineis signis Luna Venusque fuit* (*ThLL* s.v. *femineus* 467,26-34). Since Lucius is praying to the Moon-goddess here, the aspect of ‘feminine light’ may also be associated with the light of the moon as a poetic image for female beauty, cf. Sappho frg. 34 and 96 L.-P. and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5,89-90), where the effect of a necklace on Aphrodite’s breasts is compared to the light of the moon; cf. the comparison of Dido to a rising moon obscured by clouds in Verg. *Aen.* 6,453-454.

conlustrans cuncta moenia: Apuleius has a penchant for such alliterations, as noted by GCA 2007, 328 ad 1,18,1 *cuncta conlustrantur*.

moenia: rather than the walls of a fortified city, the word alludes in this poetic context to the limits of the world, of the earth and of heaven or to “the fiery envelope supposed by the Epicurean philosophers to encircle the world” (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. Lucr. 1,73 *flammania moenia mundi*, with Bailey 1950, 612 ad loc.; 2,1045; 3,16; 5,119; 5,454; Ov. *met.* 2,401-402 *at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli / circuit*.

udis ignibus: F has *undis*, which a different hand in the margin corrected to *nudis*. The parallelism of construction in this tricolon requires an adjective and several conjectures have been made; Pontanus: *uudis* (but the reading of A is also *undis* and not *uudis* as Griffiths 1975, 119 suggests), Giarratano: *umidis*, Blümner: *sudis*, adopted by Griffiths. However, it is the reading *udis*, mentioned in a note by Beroaldus as an alternative to *nudis*, which is generally printed in editions; it is indeed found in some *recentiores* (see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 6 n. 18). The combination *udis ignibus* forms a poetic oxymoron that is in accordance with the description and the characterisation of Isis as a goddess uniting opposite qualities (cf. comm. on 11,3,5; 11,5,1; see also Augello 1981). The image suits well the idea of the rays of the moon in the hu-

midity of the night and the notion of the earth nurtured by dew; cf. Verg. *georg.* 3,337 *roscida luna*; Fulg. *myth.* 2,16 (p. 58,12 Helm) *uaporea lunae*, quoted by Oudendorp 1786 (who corrects our passage to *in udis*). For the word *ignis* as a poetic expression for the rays of the moon, cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,427, Sen. *Oed.* 505; *Phaedr.* 745; cf. also Varro *rust.* 1,37,3 and Apul. *Socr.* 1 p. 117 (*luna*) *uaria ignium face*. See also Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 6-7, who points out that Apuleius’ allusions to ancient theories of the moistening influences of the moon are supported by *nutriens laeta semina* below. Cf. 11,7,5 *nudo sudoque luminis ... splendore* with comm. ad loc. on the word-play with ‘*se-udus*’ and ‘*non udus*’ there, related to the contrast between the moist moonlight during the night and the clear, dry sky with sunshine during the day.

nutriens laeta semina: the moon is beneficial to plant growth and the generation of animals by virtue of its fertilising and moistening clarity; see above on *luce feminea* and cf. 11,1,2 *nec tantum pecuina ... uerum inanima etiam diuino eius luminis numinisque nutu uegetari*, with comm. ad loc. Cf. Schol. Hor. *carm. saec.* 16 *semina ... lunae humore nutriuntur* and in Lucius’ hymnic prayer to Isis 11,25,4 *tuos nutu ... germinant semina*.

solis ambagibus: Hanson 1989 prints *Solis ambagibus* and translates “according to the convolutions of the Sun”; thus also e.g. Brandt – Ehlers 1958: “nach dem Sonnenlauf deinen wechselnden Strahl regelnd”; GCA 1995, 274 ad 9,32,2 *siderum ordinatis ambagibus* cites our passage as example of “the orbit of the sun”; there, however, we have an ablative absolute. Furthermore, the grammar in our passage would need a preposition (*ob* or *pro*) if *solis* were a noun. *Solis* must be understood as an adjective: the actions of the moon are enumerated in a tricolon with parallelism of construction, where each participle (*conlustrans*, *nutriens*, *dispensans*) is preceded by a complement in the ablative (subst. + adj.: *luce feminea*; adj. + subst.: *udis ignibus*, *solis ambagibus*), and followed by a complement in the accusative (adj. + subst.: *cuncta moenia*, *laeta semina*, *incerta lumina*). Another possibility is that Apuleius wrote *sol<it>is ambagibus* (‘your ordinary convolutions’), but this would contradict the idea of the irregularity of the Moon’s orbit (see below). The combination *solis ambagibus* describes the solitary wanderings of the moon around the earth (*am-* = ἀμφί): Nicolini 2005 thus translates “nel ciclo dei tuoi moti solitari”. The solitary aspect may allude to the fact that the moon alone shines at night (cf. Varro *ling.* 5,68 *sola lucet noctu*).

There may be an additional semantic play on the relation between *ambagibus* and *incerta*, suggesting that the moon’s unstable, fluctuating and always changing light (*incerta lumina*) is related to the irregularity of her orbit, for *ambages* is not only used of the regular movements of heavenly bodies, but also of unpredictable, fickle twists and turns (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ambages* 1, applied to various long, involved, or fluctuating processes; cf. 1,6,4 *fortunarum lubricas ambages* with GCA 2007, 171 ad loc.); for the latter connotation applied to the moon cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,41 *multiformi haec ambage torsit ingenia contemplantium* (‘by the riddle of her transformations she has racked the wits of observers’) and see Beagon 2011, 75-76: “Obscurity, change and variety are her hallmarks; anything but harmonious and restful, Pliny’s moon twists and tortures the minds of those observing her by her multiform changes (...)”. Cf. also Plin. *nat.* 2,48 *lunae ... multiuagos ... flexus* (‘the widely varying curves of the moon’s

course'). For the moon as a symbol of changeability see also comm. on 11,1,2 *nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui*.

dispensans incerta lumina: the phrase is echoed by Isis in 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... nutibus meis dispenseo*, not without an effect of rhetorical *aemulatio*: whereas the Moon distributes (*dispensans*) her own moonlight in her varying shapes, Isis' cosmic power is able to govern the course (*dispenseo*) of all heavenly bodies.

incerta lumina: a poetic combination, referring to the ever-changing, unstable light of the moon. For *lumen/lumina* referring to the moonlight cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,80 *lumen ... obscura ... luna premit*; Sil. 9,170 *nocturno ... lumine*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *lumen* 1814,73-1815,6. *ThLL* s.v. *incertus* 881,36 includes our passage among 'de iis quae mutantur'; the possible semantic connection of *incerta* with the preceding *ambagibus* suggests that the light of the moon is presented as unstable in general as a result of her irregular course (see comm. above on *solis ambagibus*), which is also related to the various phases of the moon (cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,95 *lunae ... luminum uarietatem tum crescentis tum senescentis*).

In other (mostly poetic) contexts, where *certus* and *incertus* are used as qualifications of the light of the moon and the stars, they connote (a lack of) reliability depending on their visibility, cf. Hor. *carm.* 2,16,2-4 *simul atra nubes / condidit lunam neque certa fulgent / sidera nautis*; with Nisbet – Hubbard 1978 ad loc. for more parallels. The light of the moon is in poetic contexts often called dim or vague because of the darkness of the night or of clouds or mist (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,270 *per incertam lunam sub luce maligna*; 6,453-454 *qualem primo qui surgere mense / aut uidet aut uidisse putat per nubila lunam*, recalling Apollon. Rhod. 4,1479-1480). This cannot be the meaning of *incerta* here, since Lucius prays to a full moon 'glistening with extraordinary brilliance' (11,1,1).

quoquo ... inuocare: the anaphora and the acceleration of the rhythm reinforce the intensity of the invocation before the goal of the prayer is finally expressed. This new tricolon resumes the uncertainty of Lucius regarding the identity of the divinity he addresses or his anxiety of not being precise and exhaustive enough; see introduction to this chapter (3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis) on the Varronian category of *di incerti*, deities whose function and identity cannot be ascertained. In comparison with other Roman invocations of unknown gods, Lucius' precautions are threefold: cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 3,21,5, where only *quocumque ... nomine* concludes the list of hypothetical clauses (*seu ... seu ... seu*): see Nisbet – Rudd 2004, 248-249 ad loc.; cf. also Catull. 34,21-22 *sis quocumque tibi placet / sancta nomine* (more examples in Van der Horst 1988, 38 with n. 82). For the inclusion of variant names in hymnic invocation cf. also Hor. *carm. saec.* 15-16 *siue tu Lucina probas uocari / seu Genitalis*, with Thomas 2011 ad loc., who quotes Puleyn 1994, 19-20 and additionally compares Serv. *Aen.* 2,351; Macr. *Sat.* 3,9,10.

inuocare: the verb *inuocare* is the term used for prayers to gods, demons, and the spirits of ancestors (*ThLL* s.v. 254,52), but also for magic invocations (*ThLL* s.v. 256,15): cf. Apul. *met.* 2,29,4 and 3,19,4. As Harrauer 1973, 15 notes, it is for this reason that in the *Apology* Apuleius prudently prefers to use *aduocare* (a verb with legal connotations) to *inuocare* (e.g. 31,9 *ut solebat ad magorum cerimonias aduocari Mercurius carminum uector et illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia et manium potens Triuia*).

11,2,4 *tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste, tu fortunam conlapsam adfirma, tu saeuis exanclatis casibus pausam pacemque tribue; sit satis laborum, sit satis periculorum. Depelle quadripedis diram faciem, redde me conspectui meorum, redde me meo Lucio. Ac si quod offensum numen inexorabili me saeuitia premit, mori saltem liceat, si non licet uiuere.* 'do help me in my tribulations that have now become extremely desperate, do strengthen my fallen fortune, do grant respite and peace from the cruel misfortunes that I have endured. Let this be enough toil, let this be enough danger. Do deprive me of that dreadful face of a fourfooted creature; do return me to the sight of my friends and family, give me back to the Lucius that I am. But if some divine power that I have offended pursues me with its inexorable savagery, then at least let me die, if I may not live.'

tu ... subsiste, tu ... adfirma, tu ... tribue: after the invocation consisting of various periods concatenated into a long complex sentence structure follows the core request of Lucius' prayer, expressed by means of three short sentences with the imperative. The parallel construction in this tricolon is underlined by the anaphora of *tu*, reinforcing the *pathos* of his supplication and the willingness to persuade: see Pasetti 1999, 252-253, who observes that the appeal to divine *misericordia* follows the magic coercion exerted by the *nomen*. For the *Du-Stil*, characteristic of hymnic prayer, cf. 11,25,3-4 with comm. ad loc. and see introduction to this chapter (2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation). Lucius' art of rhetoric will be crowned with success: cf. the words of the priest of Isis in 11,15,1 *multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, uenisti*. Compare Psyche's prayer to Juno in 6,4,3 *sis meis extremis casibus Iuno Sospita meque in tantis exanclatis laboribus defessam ... libera*, with GCA 2004, 391 ad loc. commenting on the use of the archaic verb; see also below. Finally, compare Charite's prayer in 6,28,3 *Vos ... Superi, tandem meis supremis periculis opem facite, et tu, Fortuna durior, iam saeuire desiste*.

iam nunc extremis aerumnis: the adjective *extremus* is ambiguous, referring, on the one hand, to the extreme degree of the misfortunes experienced by Lucius (*OLD* s.v. 4b 'extremely distressing, desperate'), but perhaps also, on the other hand, to the last stage of his adventures, a sense which perfectly suits the eleventh book that forms the closure of *met.* (*OLD* s.v. 3 'finishing, final').

aerumnis ... casibus ... laborum: the word *aerumnae* belongs to the idiolect of Apuleius (see GCA 2007, 175 ad 1,6,5, noting its archaic colour); as Häussler 2005, 54-55 observes, both *aerumnae* and *labor* often function in *met.* to signify the multifarious sufferings that the protagonist and other characters have to undergo, and are programmatically combined into the expression *aerumnabili labore* in the Prologue (1,1,4). Here, Lucius-actor uses these expressions to describe his fate of having been changed into an ass (as in 7,2,4 *ueteris fortunae et illius beati Lucii praesentisque aerumnae et infelicis asini facta comparatione*), which he implores the goddess to end. In Book 11, cf. also 11,12,1 *exanclatis laboribus*; 11,15,4 *pristinis aerumnis*

absolutus; for *casus* as a term for Lucius' earlier sufferings cf. 11,17,5 *pristinos casus meos recordabar*.

fortunam conlapsam adfirma: on the theme of fortune in *met.*, see e.g. Monteduro Roccavini 1979; Fry 1984; Fick-Michel 1991, 367-386; May 2006, 318-324 (in particular on Isis-Fortuna). The expression *fortunam conlapsam* also appears in 5,10,3 (the reading of F retained by *GCA* 2004, 174 ad loc.). According to *ThLL* s.v. *adfirmo*, -are 1227,53, the use of this verb in the concrete sense of 'to make firm' (= *firmare*) is only attested in our author (cf. 2,12,4 *copulas nuptiales adfirmet* and 7,22,3 *corium adfirmatum*); it matches Apuleius' taste for etymological play and concretisation of metaphors. Cf. Kenney 1998: "do you rebuild the wreck of my fortunes". The interplay of concrete and abstract meanings in *adfirma*, which is also present in *collapsam* (see *OLD* s.v. *collabor* 5 for its use of power, reputation, fortune), can be related to the theme of metamorphosis and re-metamorphosis: Lucius prays to Isis to restore his lost good fortune both on a concrete and an abstract level (thus *OLD* s.v. *affirmo* 1d 'to re-establish, restore', quoting only our passage).

exanclatis casibus: a euphonic combination (note assonances, alliterations) containing the archaic and poetic verb *exanclō*, which was considered too archaic by Quintilian, *inst.* 1,6,39-40, yet is frequently adopted by Apuleius (but only in the novel) in elevated passages, on one occasion in a paratragic vein: see *GCA* 2007, 307 on 1,16,2 *aerumnas exanclasti* with further references, to which now add De Trane 2009, 174-183. Compared with two occurrences in Book 6 and one in Books 1, 7, and 8, the triple use of *exanclare* in *met.* 11 is relatively frequent. This led Hoevens 1979, 167 to suggest that the verb may have been a formulaic term in the Mysteries; the suggestion is received with justified scepticism by *GCA* 2004, 391 on 6,4,3 *tantis exanclatis laboribus*. In this book it always refers to Lucius' previous toils and brings out the contrast with his salvation (cf. 11,12,1 *tantis exanclatis laboribus, tot emensis periculis*, with comm. ad loc. on the Odyssean associations; 11,15,1 *exanclatis laboribus*).

pausam pacemque tribue: the alliteration reinforces the pleonastic expression, in which the synonymous, isosyllabic and isometric nouns lend a marked prose rhythm to the closure of this sentence (dispondeus followed by a paean 4e). For the rhyming effect cf. 11,25,2 *nec dies nec quies* with comm. ad loc.

pacem: for the pagan practice of asking the gods for *pax* in prayer see comm. on 11,23,1 *praefatus deum veniam*.

sit satis laborum, sit satis periculorum: centred by two tricola, this dicolon juxtaposes with emphatic anaphora two almost synonymous nouns with syllabic crescendo and identical clausula (dichoreus); cf. 11,12,1 cited above.

depelle ... redde ... reddere: for Lucius, the end of his sufferings will coincide with his re-transformation, for which he begs by means of three imperatives put in a chiasmic position in comparison with the imperatives of the preceding tricolon (*subsiste, adfirma, tribue*). The *pathos* is accentuated by anaphora, a decrescendo movement and a focalisation on the person of Lucius (*me – meorum – me – meo*). All three of Lucius' wishes will eventually be fulfilled: the first is accomplished at 11,13,3-5 and the second at 11,18,2-11,19,1. This leads to the question of what exactly Lucius means with the third wish. Does he simply play on words and paraphrase the idea of re-transformation into a human being in general with the idea of re-transformation

into a human Lucius in particular? Does he refer to a third stage of regaining true identity and re-integration, beyond re-transformation and reunion with his relatives and friends? Is this an implied foreshadowing of Lucius' new identity attained at the end of the novel in Rome, where the Greek protagonist of the Latin *Metamorphoses* becomes Roman, and where his identity is integrated with the identity of his fictional father Apuleius (11,27,9 *Madaurensē*)?

quadripedis: Apuleius uses the word *quadripes* in both a favourable and unfavourable sense: see *GCA* 1981 on 6,27,1 *quadripedi cursu*. In Book 11, the sense is rather unfavourable, especially here: cf. the other occurrence at 11,12,2 *quadripedis*, which is the last mention of an animal feature of Lucius before his re-transformation.

depelle: the verb *depello*, -ere ('to drive/push away', 'to dismiss') is possibly chosen here to create a wordplay with *pellis* (*de + pellis*); the image evoked is that of an animal skin dropping off to release the human being imprisoned inside (cf. 11,6,2 *detestabilis beluae istius corio te protinus exue*). Through the notion of the loss of the animal skin, the verb *depello* perhaps also evokes (acoustic) associations with the verb *depilo*, -are ('to pull out the hair') or the adjective *depilis* ('hairless'); cf. 11,13,4 *pilus defluit*. Cf. Isis' reply in 11,5,4 *depelle maerorem*.

redde me conspectui meorum: cf. 6,9,3 *Psychen ... dominae conspectui reddunt*; 9,27,2 *conspectui profano redditus*; Harrauer 1973, 16 observes a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* 9,261-262 *reuocate parentem / reddite conspectum*.

meo Lucio: cf. 10,29,2 *rosae, quae me priori meo Lucio redderent*. Pasetti 1999, 253 n. 19 notes that Apuleius replaces the dative of the personal pronoun (*mihi*: cf. e.g. Hor. *epist.* 1,14,1 *uilice siluarum et mihi me reddentis agelli*) with a proper name (*meo Lucio*) to reinforce the parallel with *conspectui meorum*; cf. 3,23,5 *quo dicto factoue rursus ... ad meum redibo Lucium?* The formulation gives the impression of a Lucius suffering from something of a split personality, as if his metamorphosis had divided him into two: see Pasetti 2006, 246-248 who, in the section "*meus Lucius, meus asinus*", enumerates the different interpretations (narratological, psychoanalytical, poetical) elicited by this 'split of mind'.

si quod offensum numen ... saeuitia premit: the last sentence of Lucius' prayer, which follows the proper request to the goddess (the '*preces*'), could be considered as a brief '*pars epica*' (normally preceding the *preces*), justifying the claim to be heard by the deity (see introduction to this chapter [2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation]). The expression alludes to the epic motif of the wrath of a deity persecuting the hero of the story and keeping him from homecoming (most famously in Homer, the wrath of Poseidon; in Vergil, Juno's anger). The epic motif of divine anger driving the narrative is also frequent in Greek and Roman prose fiction, e.g. Eros in Xenophon of Ephesus (1,2,1); Aphrodite in Chariton (8,1,3); Priapus in Petronius (139,2 *me quoque per terras ... sequitur grauis ira Priapi*; see Schmeling 2011 ad loc.); in Apuleius, the offended Venus pursues the cause of her anger, Psyche (see Introduction, 6.3 on the presence of epic in Book 11).

Lucius himself does not seem to have a clue which deity is persecuting him, just as he is ignorant of the identity of the deity to which he addresses his prayer. Earlier, he referred to Fate as a hostile divinity (cf. 11,1,3 *Fato scilicet iam meis tot tantisque cladibus satiatio et spem salutis licet tardam subministrante*), and the reader may especially think of Fortuna, who is often considered responsible for Lucius' sufferings

and wanderings, cf. 11,12,1 *quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus ... alluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superare*, where *laboribus* reflects the Odyssean dimension of Lucius' tribulations (see comm. ad loc.). Apuleius describes both Fortuna and Venus as *saeuiens* (on this likeness between Venus and Fortuna see *GCA* 2004, 398 on 6,5,3 *saeuientes impetus*). Note the sharp contrast between the *inexorabilis saeuitia* of the deity feared by Lucius and the compassion of Isis (11,5,1). Harrauer 1973, 16 refers to the words of the priest for this explanation of Lucius' ill fate (11,15,2), but this is actually the only passage which explicitly expresses the idea that Lucius offended a god with his behaviour. Neither the priest nor Isis accuses Lucius of having committed a crime against any divinity.

inexorabili ... saeuitia: note the wordplay, with an adjective aptly chosen for the closure of this prayer.

mori ... uiuere: to finish his plea for mercy, Lucius implores the goddess for the right to die if some deity would object to his being alive, i.e. his regaining of his human shape. On several occasions, Lucius had indicated his desire to end his life, without ever making serious efforts to put this into practice: cf. 4,3,1; 7,24,2; 10,29,1, with *GCA* 2000, 351 ad loc. on the theme of suicide in *met.* and in the Greek novels. In our passage, the chiasmic position of the antithetical verbs accentuates the pathetic emphasis of the conclusion of this prayer. Fredouille 1975, 49 refers to a verse framing an erotic poem in iambic senarii attributed to Apuleius: *amare liceat, si potiri non licet* (*Anth. Lat.* 712,1 and 24).

si non licet uiuere: Van der Vliet 1897 proposes supplying <*hominem*> *uiuere*: if this is actually the sense expressed here, such an addition would flatten the pathetic effect of this final phrase.

CHAPTER III

A divine being appears to Lucius.

1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany

After having addressed his prayer to the moon, Lucius sees a divine being emerging from the waves (11,3,2). The emphatic intermezzo in 11,3,3, an apology full of strategic understatement and exuberance of expression, serves to draw attention to the eloquent expressive talent of the narrator Lucius and the richness of his following *ekphrasis* of the epiphany (see below on 11,3,3 *paupertas oris humani*). The description of her hair and her dress (11,3,4-5; 11,4,1) indicates that the apparition is a goddess; her attributes (11,4,2-3) reveal that she is Isis, although Lucius himself does not appear to recognise her identity (see comm. on 11,4,2 *crepitaculum*, where the word choice reflects that Lucius does not recognise the Isiac *sistrum*). The vivid and colourful description reflects how deeply impressed Lucius is by the beautiful apparition; on *ekphrasis* as an ancient rhetorical technique to express a reaction to beauty in a description full of vividness (*enargeia*), which makes this beauty visible to the mind's eye, see Webb 2010, especially 182-185 on *ekphrasis* of female beauty producing vivid mental images as a topos in the Greek novel; cf. e.g. Ach. Tat. 6,4,4, where Thersandros is 'filled with an apparition (*phantasma*) as if of beauty', after his servant reports her appearance, 'singing the praises of her beauty'. On *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* in the context of describing a deity see also Van Mal-Maeder 2006a and 2006b.

Following the traditional characteristics that signify the divine nature of an epiphany (more than human size, excessive beauty, shining brightness, divine fragrance; see Gladigow 1990; Mussies 1988; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 122-123), Lucius-narrator pulls out all the stops in this extremely elaborate description, which gives expression to his astonishment about the exotic traits (the lunar disc framed by snakes, the dress with variegated colours, the shiny black cloak embroidered with twinkling stars, the *sistrum*, the boat-shaped vessel with serpents, the sandals), which are very different from the usual appearance of Greek and Roman cult statues and therefore draw the attention of both Lucius and the Roman reader. In traditional descriptions of gods, their appearance as a whole, including their clothing, was shiny and had a peculiar lustre, surpassing the glow of fire (Mussies 1988, 4-5, comparing e.g. the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 5,86). In the case of Isis, the bright radiance of her appearance as a whole (11,3,2 *perlucidum simulacrum*) comes especially from the heavenly bodies represented in her headdress (the lunar disc: 11,3,4 *candidum lucem emicabat*) and on her cloak (stars and moon: 11,4,1 *coruscabant ... flammeos spirabat ignes*). In addition, her robe offers a lustrous spectacle of different radiant colours (11,3,5 *nunc ... lucida, nunc ... lutea, nunc ... flammida*), and her black cloak is gleaming with a dark sheen (*atro nitore*).

According to the rules of rhetoric, the description of the epiphany follows a top-down direction. Starting from the head, the focus slides down to the folds of the dress and the cloak: this downward movement coincides with the upward movement of the epiphany emerging from the waves. One traditional element of descriptions of gods is conspicuous by its absence, viz. the bright and shining eyes of the divinity (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3,397; *hymn. Aphr.* 5,181; Heliod. 3,13,2-3; Mussies 1988, 4), which seems to be replaced here by the bright light of the lunar disc. Lucius does not describe Isis' face at all, but only focuses on the hair (which possibly reflects Lucius' own personal inclinations, see below) and the crown placed on top. An effect of ring composition is created by the softly undulating movements of Isis' hair at the beginning (*molliter defluebant*) and of her cloak at the end of the description, where many words recall depictions of hair (*dependula ... decoriter confluctuabat*). By the use of unusual adjectives (e.g. 11,3,4 *uberrimi*) or nouns (11,3,5 *contabulatione*), rare verbs (11,3,5 *confluctuabat*) or (a cluster of) certain adverbs (11,3,4 *sensim ... passim ... molliter*), the *ekphrasis* not only describes the details of colour and movement in the goddess's appearance, but also reflects the vision's emotional and sensual effect on Lucius as spectator.

The descending movement of the description reaches a climax in complexity and refinement in 11,3,5, which coincides with the moment that the divine apparition has wholly emerged from the water. Linguistic affectation, reflecting Lucius' astonishment in front of an incredible vision, is achieved through the accumulation of rare and poetic words, by phonic and rhythmical effects and by parallelisms (*nunc ... albo candore / nunc ... croceo flore / nunc ... roseo rubore*, etc.). As often in descriptions in *met.*, the abundance of details paradoxically makes it difficult to visualise the depicted object exactly (cf. especially the description of Photis' hair in 2,9,7, with *GCA* 2001, 180 ad loc., or that of the cave in 4,6,1-6, with the note of Vallette 1908 ad loc.); see also Pigeaud 1983.

2. Isis, Venus, Photis

Iconographic connections between Photis and Isis already appear at the beginning of the *ekphrasis* (11,3,2), since both have visual associations with Venus emerging from the waves (cf. 2,17,1 *in speciem Veneris quae marinos fluctus subit pulchre reformata*; 10,31,2 *ipse autem color deae diuersus in speciem: corpus candidum, quod caelo demeat, amictus caeruleus, quod mari remeat*). For the iconographic associations of Isis with Venus/Aphrodite see Malaise 1997. For representations of the birth of Venus emerging from the water, see e.g. the 'Ludovisi Throne' analysed by Simon 2000, 214-217, also *LIMC* II,1,113-116 s.v. Aphrodite, and II,2, fig. 1158-1188, especially 1170. In this *ekphrasis*, there is a specific point of resemblance between Isis and Photis in the description of their curly locks (see below on 11,3,4 *crines uberrimi ... molliter defluebant*). For a comparison between Isis and Photis regarding their looks (hair, dress, etc.), see Schmeling and Montiglio 2006, 36-38; Alpers 1980, 201-202 discusses the connections between Apuleius' *ekphrasis* of Photis and Isis on the one hand and visual representations of Isis ('corkscrew hairstyle') on the other.

3. Divine hair: a favourite object of attention in religious and rhetorical practice

Lucius opens the description of the vision by depicting Isis' hair. The representations of Isis show that the goddess was often portrayed with an elaborate hairstyle, with details varying according to region and period; see *LIMC* V,2, e.g. fig. 305-318; introd. note on 11,3,5. In this *ekphrasis*, the poetic adjectives *intorti* and *dispersi* specifically allude to curly hair as an ethnic characteristic related to African origin (see below on *intorti ... dispersi*): Romans may have associated this Isis with an African-Libyan look. For the importance of hairdressing as part of the cultic practice of cosmetic attention to Isis' statue, cf. 11,9,2-3.

Hair is an element of the female body for which Lucius has a particular passion, both as actor in the story and as narrator (see Introduction, 7.2.1): compare his eulogy of hair in 2,8,2-2,9,6 and his description of Photis' locks in 2,9,7; cf. especially 2,8,2 *uel quid ego de ceteris aio, cum semper mihi unica cura fuerit caput capillumque sedulo et puplice prius intueri et domi postea perfrui*. See *GCA* 2001, 21-22 and 159-163 ad loc., discussing the importance of the theme of hair in the authors of the Second Sophistic and its metaphorical potential. The latter is confirmed in our passage by the verbal exuberance (5 adjectives, 3 adverbs) and a cluster of words which can metaphorically refer to style and language (see also Finkelpearl 1998, 62-67): the combined use of the participles *intortus* and *dispersus* for the sinuous, spiralling movement of the curls and their loose, disorderly arrangement can be seen in combination with terms like *uberrimi* and *prolixi* as oblique references to the sensuous, animated, intricate and abundant verbal description of the hair (for a similar meta-stylistic reference, cf. 1,4,4 *puer in mollitiem decorus insurgit inque flexibus tortuosus eneruam et exossam saltationem explicat*, with *GCA* 2007, 137-138 ad loc.).

11,3,1 *Ad istum modum fuis precibus et adstructis miseris lamentationibus rursus mihi marcentem animum in eodem illo cubili sopor circumfusus oppressit.* After thus having poured out my prayers and added pitiable lamentations, I was again surrounded by sleep, which oppressed my languishing mind at the very spot where I was lying down.

The sequence vehement grief – exhaustion – falling asleep – suddenly waking up resembles Charite's behaviour in 4,24,6-4,25,1 *Sic lamentata, et animi dolore et faucium tendore et corporis lassitudine iam fatigata, marcentes oculos demisit ad soporem. commodum coniuerat, nec diu, cum repente ...*

Ad istum modum: for idiosyncratic expressions like *ad hunc modum* and *ad istum modum*, which often conclude direct speech, cf. 6,4,4 *ad istum modum supplicanti*; 10,12,1; 11,16,1; 11,25,7. Callebat 1968, 214 points out their increased frequency in later books of the *met.* Before Apuleius, *ad istum (istunc) modum* is only attested in Plautus and Terence (*ThLL* s.v. *iste* 514,6-11). For a different use of the expression, cf. 11,11,3 *argumentum ... ad istum plane modum ... figuratum*, with comm. ad loc. on the deictic value of *istum*.

fuis precibus ... sopor circumfusus oppressit: a very elaborate sentence. The primary sense of *fundere* (cf. Hanson 1989: "when I had thus poured out my prayer")

suggests that Lucius' prayer has a certain frantic intensity (see Watson 2003 on Hor. *epod.* 17,53 *fundis preces*); cf. Catull. 64,124-125 *perhibent (Ariadnen) ... / clarisonas imo fuisse e pectore uoces*. The image is repeated in the same sentence when sleep is 'poured around' Lucius. According to the usual poetic image, it is Sleep itself who actively pours (Stat. *Theb.* 5,199 *Somnus ... fundit grauia otia cornu*; Sil. 6,97 *sopor ... fundit per membra quietem*); Apuleius' transformation of the image into a passive 'being poured around' suggests that someone else (the divinity) is the agent, who pours sleep into Lucius' body, almost as a response to his 'poured' pleas.

adstructis ... miseris lamentationibus: the combination *adstructis ... lamentationibus* does not occur elsewhere, but the use of *adstruo*, evoking the language of rhetoric (cf. Sen. *contr.* 1,1,13; Quint. *inst.* 8,3,64; Apul. *apol.* 95,5 *quamcumque orationem struxerit Auitus*), underlines Lucius' use of the art of persuasion. Cf. 5,6,9 *haec etiam blanditiis astruit*, in the same context (5,7,2), we also find the pleonastic combination *miseris lamentationibus*. On the elaborate eloquence of Lucius' prayer see introduction to Ch. II (2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation).

rursus ... sopor ... oppressit: cf. 10,35,5 *dulcis somnus oppresserat*, with GCA 2000, 416 ad loc., noting that the expression often occurs in a context where people are in such a deep sleep that they do not notice what happens around them, or where a sudden event even surprises people, although they are 'overcome by sleep'; for the reverse situation, the 'release' of sleep, cf. 11,1,4 *discussa pigra quiete*; 11,7,1 *somno ... absolutus*. Isis appears to Lucius during his sleep, in a dream vision; see below on 11,3,2 *perlucidum simulacrum ... uisum est*.

in eodem illo cubili: the soft hollow in the sand on the beach of Cenchreae, where Lucius had fallen asleep (cf. 10,35,4); cf. also 11,16,5 *ipsum illum locum quo pridie meus stabulauerat asinus*, where the terminology strongly underlines Lucius' former asinine shape (see comm. ad loc.).

11,3,2 *Necdum satis coniueram, et ecce pelago medio uenerandos diis etiam uultus attollens emergit diuina facies; ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore perlucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse uisum est*. I had scarcely closed my eyes when suddenly from the middle of the sea a divine apparition emerged, lifting her head that was admirable even to gods; and then gradually, after shaking off the seawater, her whole body came into sight, standing before my eyes as a bright image.

Necdum satis coniueram et ecce ... emergit diuina facies: for the use of *et ecce* to introduce a sudden new scene, cf. 11,7,2 *nec mora cum ... et ecce* and see GCA 2007, 315 on 1,17,1 (see also *ibid.* 18, *Introd.* 2.2.1 n. 55; Callebat 1968, 424 for more examples); *ecce* occurs in ekphrastic descriptions of artistic representations of goddesses in 2,4,3 *ecce lapis Parius in Dianam factus* (sculpture; see GCA 2001, 98 ad loc.), and in 10,32,1 *Venus ecce* (pantomime dance); while *ecce* and other elements there recall earlier *ekphraseis*, this *ekphrasis* describes a 'real' epiphany: see Laird 1997, 71-73 and see Introduction, 7.2.2 on the narrator's use of rhetorical devices to draw the reader into the description. May 2006, 307-328 argues for typological similarities between Isis and a *dea ex machina* as portrayed in drama.

Necdum satis coniueram, et: the phrasing suggests the beginning of a dream vision, as in 1,11,6-7 *paululum coniuero. commodum quieueram et repente*. There, the narrative situation is complicated (see GCA 1995, 369 with n. 25), since the events, which looked like a dream, turn out to be real. Here, it seems likely that Isis appears to Lucius during his sleep, in accordance with many other cases in which Isis shows her own likeness in dreams (for the dream terminology see below on *perlucidum simulacrum ... uisum est* and for prophetic dreams in Isiac and non-Isiac contexts see comm. on 11,7,1 *oraculi uenerabilis*). For a different view, see the Essay by Drews in this volume.

coniueram: this correction by Wowerius 1606 for the reading *conipseram* or *compseram* found in F is adopted by Helm 1955, Brandt – Ehlers 1958 and Zimmerman 2012. Compare in a very similar context (see above, *introd.* note on 11,3,1) 4,24,6-4,25,1 *sic lamentata ... marcentes oculos demisit ad soporem. commodum coniuerat ... cum repente ...* (on Charite). Not without hesitation, Robertson 1945 prints the reading of Philomathes 1522 *connixeram*, far preferable to the weak conjecture *composieram* by Wiman 1927, followed by Griffiths 1975.

pelago medio ... emergit diuina facies: the description recalls the rising of the moon described at the beginning of the Isis Book, especially by the echo of the verb *emergo*, cf. 11,1,1 *uideo praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus*, with comm. ad loc.

pelago medio: a poetic phrase, attested in Lucan. 8,249 and Iuv. 12,77; cf. also Claud. Don. *Aen.* 1,110 and Ov. *hal.* 83 *in medias pelagi ... sedes* (*ThLL* s.v. *pelagus* 990,52-55).

diuina facies: Isis shows her own outward appearance in full divine glory to Lucius, without inflicting any harm by it, just like her consort Osiris in 11,30,3 *Osiris non in alienam quampiam personam reformatus, sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est*; see Mussies 1988, 3-4, who points out the contrast with other cases, in which the full revelation of a deity could be unbearable for a human (e.g. Semele and Zeus).

uultus attollens: the phrase is poetic. Before Apuleius (who uses it only here), *ThLL* s.v. *attollo* 1149,81-1150,2 only cites examples from poetry (Ov. *met.* 4,144 *uultus ... attolle iacentes*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 587; Val. Fl. 5,85, etc.). The singular seems to be less frequent in this particular conjunction, but also poetic: cf. Sil. 9,168 and 10,632. For this use of *attollere*, suggesting a solemn gesture, cf. also 11,11,1 *attollens canis ceruices arduas*, with comm. ad loc.; cf. also 11,4,3 *insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum ceruicibus late tumescentibus*. Here, the phrase *uultus attollens* may additionally resemble an element of a literary dream description, where someone appears to the dreamer; cf. 8,8,6 *pallore deformem attollens faciem*, where Tlepolemus' appearance to Charite alludes to Sychaeus' appearance to Dido in Verg. *Aen.* 1,354 *ora modis attollens pallida miris*. GCA 1985, 90 notes in addition that the expression *attollens faciem* possibly represents the gesture of someone who is about to speak (for Isis' speech see below, chapters V-VI). The poetic plural *uultus* is also found with respect to divinities in 5,11,4 (Cupid) and 6,22,4 (Jupiter).

perlucidum simulacrum ... uisum est: see *OLD* s.v. *simulacrum* 4: 'the outward appearance of a person or thing (imagined in the mind; seen in a dream)'. For Apuleius' use of terminology from ancient theories of sense perception see GCA 2007,

169 on 1,6,3 *simulacrum*, which (like the Gr. εἰδωλον) means both ‘phantom’ and ‘image (produced in the mind)’. The word *simulacrum* is one of the terms that point to a dream vision, imagined in the mind (also: *necdum satis coniueram, et ...*). On Isis’ appearances during sleep (incubation), see also comm. on 11,7,1 *oraculi uenerabilis*. The words *uisum est* only suggest that the dream vision is brought to completion and does not indicate a dream vision by itself (differently 11,30,3 *sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamime per quietem recipere uisus est*).

perlucidum: the adj. *perlucidus* is used both for the splendour of divine figures (*ThLL* s.v. 1520,38-41 and 1520,65-73) and for celestial bodies (*ThLL* s.v. 1520,46-51); Kenney 1998 translates “radiant likeness”. See above, introduction to this chapter (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany) on radiance as one of the characteristics of divine appearances. According to Laird 1997, 73-74, however, the adjective has to be understood here in the sense of ‘transparent’: “The *transparent* likeness provides a through route to apprehension of the deity, unlike any kind of substitute image, graven or otherwise”. See *OLD* s.v. *perlucidus* 1 ‘having the property of transmitting light, transparent, pellucid’.

excusso pelago: for the poetic use of *excutio* in the sense of ‘shaking off something adhering or sticking in order to remove it’ cf. *Ov. ars* 1,235 *ille quidem pennas uelociter excutit udas* (Cupid shaking off the wine from his wings); *Stat. Theb.* 2,135-136 *Aurora ... rorantis excussa comas* (‘shaking the dew from her tresses’); see Horsfall 2008 on *Verg. Aen.* 2,686 *crinem ... flagrantem excutere*. The examples quoted in *ThLL* s.v. *excutio* 1312,42-73 often concern the shaking off of clothing or a cloak; in a similar way, the sea(-water) can be seen as a kind of natural attire of Isis Pelagia (cf. Introduction, 4.2.1), which she shakes off in order to emerge with her multicoloured robe.

pelago: for the meaning of *pelagus* per synecdochen for ‘seawater’, *ThLL* s.v. 992,59-66 quotes, except for our passage, only examples from poetry, cf. *Manil.* 5,582; 5,591; *Lucan.* 3,629; *Stat. Ach.* 1,244.

11,3,3 *Eius mirandam speciem ad uos etiam referre conitar, si tamen mihi disserendi tribuerit facultatem paupertas oris humani uel ipsum numen eius dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae subministrauerit. I will make an effort to describe her wonderful appearance to you, if only the poverty of human language will afford me the means of expression or if the divinity herself will furnish me with a superabundance of eloquent skill.*

Eius: for the initial *eius* cf. 11,9,5 with comm. ad loc.

ad uos: this is one of the few passages in *met.* in which the main narrator (or a secondary narrator) directly addresses his audience, drawing attention to a situation of oral or written communication: cf. 8,1,4 (the narrative of the slave of Charite); 9,14,1; 9,30,1; 10,2,1, with *GCA* 2000, 59 ad loc.; 10,18,1, with *GCA* 2000, 248 ad loc.; 11,23,1; see also *GCA* 2007, 62-71 ad 1,1,1.

paupertas oris humani: Laird 1997, 72-73 remarks that the ‘*adunaton*’ does not occur in earlier *ekphraseis* in *met.*, where Lucius never happens to be short of words; it does occur in the opening of the *Cupid and Psyche* tale, where the old woman-narratrix avows that Psyche’s beauty cannot be described because of *sermonis*

humani penuria (4,28,2). Instead of *paupertas*, Lucius displays the overflowing *ubertas* (cf. 11,25,5) of his *os humanum* in the description of Isis; on the play with rhetorical notions of abundance see below on 11,3,4 *uberrimi prolixique*.

For poverty of human language in general as the cause of the ineffability of the divine (*Unsagbarkeitstopos*), cf. also *Socr.* 3 p. 124 *penuria sermonis humani*. For a similar apology in Book 11 (which includes a play on concrete and metaphorical notions of poverty and abundance), cf. 11,25,5 *at ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio et adhibendis sacrificiis tenuis patrimonio; nec mihi uocis ubertas ad dicenda, quae de tua maiestate sentio, sufficit*, with comm. ad loc.; there, Lucius speaks about his own rhetorical/linguistic ‘resources’ rather than a general ‘human weakness’. Cf. *Sen. benef.* 2,27,1 (on someone who is miserly with words) *tanta illi inopia erat sermonis; epist.* 40,3 (on a ‘poverty-stricken’ style) *illa ... inopia et exilitas minus intentum auditorem habet*. For the notion of ‘poverty of language’ in the Latin rhetorical tradition (indicating a lack of *copia* or *ornatus*) cf. *Cic. fam.* 4,4,1 *orationis paupertate; de orat.* 3,155 *inopia* (of a style lacking *ornatus*); *Rhet. Her.* 4,21 *inopia uerborum*; *Gell.* 14,6,5 *nostras paupertinas litteras*. Seneca (*epist.* 58,1 *uerborum ... paupertas*) both speaks of the poverty of language in general (which has lost many words compared to the past) and about the poverty of the Latin language in comparison to Greek. On the latter theme, which has to be distinguished from the topos in our passage, see Fögen 2000, 179; cf. *Lucr.* 1,139 *difficile inlustrare ... propter egestatem linguae*; 1,832 *patrii sermonis egestas*.

dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae: form illustrates content in this emphatic word combination, where the affectation in expression multiplies and duplicates itself, prefiguring the following description of a divine being; see Nicolini 2011a, 131 (and in *AGA* 3, 33), who highlights the play with abundance and assonance in the combination *dapsilis – elocutilis*, with the suffix *-ilis* expressing the idea of richness and quantity. The adjective *dapsilis* is rare (before Apuleius, it is found in Plautus, Lucilius and Columella); compare for a similar metaphorical use *Plaut. Pseud.* 396 *largitus dictis dapsilis*. The reading *elocutilis* (a word attested only here) is found in the Class I mss. and as a correction by another hand in ϕ *elocutilis*; in F, the letter *e* is erased.

11,3,4 *Iam primum crines uberrimi prolixique et sensim intorti per diuina colla passiuè dispersi molliter defluebant. Corona multiformis uariis floribus sublimem distinxerat uerticem, cuius media quidem super frontem plana rotunditas in modum speculi uel immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat, First of all her lush and luxuriant hair – gently curling and loosely spread along her divine neck it gracefully streamed down. A crown variegated with many kinds of flowers was entwined all around the topmost part of her head; at its midpoint, above her forehead, a flat round disc, in the shape of a mirror, or rather a representation of the moon, was radiating a white light,*

Iam primum: many examples of this *iam* ‘d’ouverture’ or ‘de préparation’ can be found in *met.* (Chausserie-Laprée 1969, 497-517): see the index of *GCA*; in the Isis Book, cf. 11,16,8 *iam malus insurgit*, where *iam* signals a stage in the description.

crines uberrimi ... molliter defluebant: cf. 2,9,7 *uberis enim crines leniter remissos et ceruice dependulos ac dein per colla dispositos sensimque sinuato patagio residentes...nodus adstrinxerat*; there, Photis is described from the back, in contrast with Isis in our passage, where we have a front view. The connections between these two passages can be explained by the lexical preferences of Apuleius (idiosyncrasy); several scholars observe a deeper meaning and interpret the connections as an indication that Isis represents the positive counterpart of Photis: for such interpretations, see e.g. *GCA* 2001, 180-182 ad loc. and 409-411; Schmeling and Montiglio 2006, 37-38.

uberrimi prolixique: note the euphonic repetition (assonance with *i*). Only Apuleius seems to use *uber* of copiously flowing hair (cf. 2,9,7 *uberis ... crines*), which adds a remarkable vividness to the description; compare the *ekphrasis* of the statue in *flor.* 15,7 *ceruix suci plena, malae uberis*, where *suci* and *uberis* “both seem to play on organic features of the statue, suggesting that it is animate” (Lee 2005 ad loc.). In its concrete sense and with regard to hair, Apuleius uses the adjective *prolixus* also at *flor.* 15,7 and at *met.* 2,9,4; before Apuleius, this use is attested in archaic authors, cf. Ter. *Haut.* 290; Pacuv. *trag.* 20a (= 8 Schierl; Schierl 2006, 118 ad loc. is in favour of *promissa* there). The two adjectives are also used with regard to language and style (*OLD* s.v. *uber* 5; *ThLL* s.v. *prolixus* 1827,73-1828,2 and 1828,18-57); this metaphorical use of *prolixus* is post-classical (cf. Gell. 2,26,7; 13,29,3; Fronto *epist. ad Anton. imp.* 2,6 [p. 89,8] *prolixa oratione*; Apul. *flor.* 18,10).

sensim ... passiue ... molliter: for this accumulation of adverbs, which do not only describe the curly hair itself but also transmit the effect produced on Lucius by the visual impression of the undulating movement of the hair, cf. 2,9,7 (quoted above: *leniter ... sensim ... paulisper*); 2,7,3 *sensim ... placide decenter*. Cf. also 10,32,3 (the actress performing Venus in the pantomime) *placide commoueri ... leniter fluctuante spinula et sensim adnutante capite coepit incedere*. The undulating movements in the *ekphrasis* of Isis contribute to the vivid depiction of her lush curly hair and elaborately draped dress (cf. below, 11,3,5 *decoriter confluctuabat*). See the individual notes below and see Introduction, 7.1.2 on Apuleius’ use of special words in a context of *ekphrasis/enargeia*.

sensim: the adverb *sensim* used of slow physical undulating movements also appears in another descriptive passage full of erotic sensuality, cf. 2,7,3 *lumbis sensim uibrantibus*; 2,17,4 *sensim residens*; see Pasetti 2007, 93-94 with n. 150.

intorti ... dispersi: the use of *intortus* for curly hair (instead of e.g. *crispus*) is poetic and rare; before Apuleius, cf. Val. Fl. 6,563 *labitur intortos per tempora caerulea crines ... uelatus harundine Peucon*; Sil. 3,284 *intortos demissus uertice crines* (i.e. Bocchus, the leader of a Numidian tribe), with Spaltenstein 1986 ad loc. on Silius’ allusion to curls as an ethnic trait of Africans. The related adjectives *tortus* and *retortus* are also used for curly hair, especially as an indication of an ethnic background associated with Africa or Syria; cf. Manil. 4,722 *Syriam produunt torti per tempora crines*; Mart. *spect.* 3,10 *aliter tortis crinibus Aethiopes*, with Coleman 2006 ad loc. for more parallels; cf. also Mart. 6,39,6 *retorto crine Maurus*. The only example before Apuleius for *dispergo/dispersus* used of disordered hair is Lucan. 10,84 (describing Cleopatra’s appearance) *ueluti laceros dispersa capillos*; after Apuleius, *ThLL* s.v. *dispergo*, 1407,35-38 cites e.g. Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 1,55 (Lachesis) *incultas*

dispersa comas. The allusions to curls as an ethnic marker may point to Isis’ own African origin; notably, in 11,5,3 Isis suggests that her true identity is only perceived by Ethiopians and Egyptians, who worship her with rites that are truly hers. For parallels with archaeological evidence see Bianchi 2007, 485-486, who mentions ‘Libyan locks’ or the ‘corkscrew’ as one of the characteristics of some statuesque representations of Isis. Patera 2012, 39 points out that curled hair was not allowed for female cult servants according to ancient sanctuary laws (along similar lines, cult servants had to wear white clothes for the sake of ritual purity, whereas the use of coloured garments was prohibited; see below on 11,3,5 *multicolor*).

per diuina colla: the poetic plural *colla* also appears in the description of Photis’ hair (see above on *crines uberrimi ... molliter defluebant*); Isis’ neck, however, is called *diuina*.

passiue: *ThLL* s.v. 2. *passius* 625,35-36 cites only our passage for this use of the adverb *passiue* in the sense of ‘incompto’. See also Nicolini 2011a, 15, who connects this use of *passiue* (‘scattered’, ‘random’, ‘disorderly’) with the verb *pando* rather than with *patior*; compare the poetic use of the p.p.p. *passus* to describe loosened hair (*ThLL* s.v. 2. *pando* 195,67-196,2). The adjective *passius* is also rare, and appears for the first time in our author; see *GCA* 1995, 305 on 9,36,4.

molliter: the adverb *molliter* vividly depicts the fluid, supple quality of the curly locks flowing downward; for this use of *molliter* in the sense of ‘flexibiliter’, *ThLL* s.v. *mollis (molliter)* 1381,27-35 includes our passage with other passages, which describe the supple and smooth quality of feminine or effeminate movement (dance; a woman’s gait) or comment on the lifelike, animate quality of works of art (Verg. *Aen.* 6,847-848 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / ... uiuos ducent de marmore uoluit*; Plin. *nat.* 34,55 *Polycletus ... diadumenum fecit molliter iuuenem*).

defluebant: given the fact that this is the frequent metaphorical use of the verb in the sense of ‘streaming or flowing down’ (*ThLL* s.v. *defluo* 364,3-34 ‘de rebus corporeis non liquidis’), we can observe in this passage, with its description of a divinity emerging from the water, Apuleius’ predilection for the concretisation of metaphor. In other passages where *defluo* is used of hair, it has a completely different meaning (‘to fall off’; cf. 11,13,4 *pilus defluit*). For the play with sound and rhythm, cf. *confluctuabat* (11,3,5) and *perfluebat* (11,4,1).

corona multiformis: according to Griffiths 1975 ad loc., the adjective not only refers to the ablative *uariis floribus*, but to the various elements by which the crown is decorated. On the motif of the *corona* in *met.*, which is particularly prominent in Book 11, see *GCA* 1995, 383, Appendix V.

distinxerat: this is clearly the reading of F (A and U have *distinxerat*), retained by Hildebrand 1842; Van der Vliet 1897; Helm 1907; Giarratano 1929; Terzaghi 1954. There is no exact parallel for this use of *distingo*, but the verb seems to be used as a synonym of *obligare* here, in the sense that the *corona multiformis* is tied all around the crown of the head from which the hair radiates (*uerticem*), bringing it out as the topmost part (*sublimem distinxerat*); cf. 2,9,4 *cumulat uerticem*, where the thick tresses of hair ‘amount to’ the crown of the head. The prefix *di-* indicates a separating movement, perhaps referring to the symmetrical appearance of the *corona*, being tied round the head in two directions, parting from the lunar disc at its midpoint (*cuuius media*); compare Oudendorp’s (1786) interpretation ‘unique constrinxerat’, quoted

by Hildebrand. Cf. the use of *astringo* in a similar context of describing an elaborate hairstyle, 2,9,7 *crines ... conglobatos in summum uerticem nodus adstrinxerat*. Helm 1931 reads *destrinxerat*, following Oudendorp 1786 and comparing 10,30,6 *caput stringebat diadema candida* ('a shining diadem covered her head') for the meaning. Helm's correction is also printed by Robertson 1945; Brandt – Ehlers 1958; Hanson 1989 and, more recently, by Zimmerman 2012 (see also *OLD* s.v. *destringo*, quoting our passage sub 3c 'to touch lightly'). Our passage is mentioned by *ThLL* s.v. *distringo* 1550,55, drawing attention to the frequent confusion between *distr-* and *destr-* in mss. (for cases in *met.*, cf. 9,17,5; 10,35,1). For the weakened sense of the pluperfect, a phenomenon already found in archaic Latin, and becoming more widespread in later Latin, see LHSz 2,320-321.

cuius media: Pricaeus' (1650) correction to *medio* is not necessary, for *media* can be understood as *media parte*, or *media* (abl.) in analogy with *dextra laeuaque* ('in the middle ... on the right ... on the left'); in the latter sense the reading *media* is defended by Oudendorp 1786, who compares Liv. 9,12,2 *media lapsos* (where Oakley 2005 ad loc. adopts Doujat's emendation *media <uia>*). For *medius* with genitive cf. below, 11,4,1 *earumque media ... luna*.

in modum speculi: mirrors are also found in other ekphrastic passages, of Photis' hair (2,9,3 *ad instar speculi*), of Venus (4,31,7) and of the Isiac procession (11,9,2 *nitentibus speculis*, with comm. ad loc.). See for scientific, philosophical and magical connotations of mirrors the famous passage of *apol.* 13-16, with Hunink 1997, 57-58 ad loc.; Too 1996; Junod 2004, 117-121.

argumentum lunae: according to Griffiths 1975 ad loc., the disc originally represented an attribute of the goddess Hathor symbolising the solar globe; then, Hellenistic interpretations of Isis' cult transformed it into a lunar attribute belonging to Isis; for examples of headdress of Isis in the form of a disc see *LIMC* V,2, fig. 30 d., fig. 268 (= Merkelbach 1995, 566, fig. 87, with a cobra); Merkelbach 1995, 567 analyses the disc of fig. 88 (= *LIMC* V,2, fig. 174) as the lunar disc; regarding fig. 89 (p. 568), he hesitates between lunar and solar disc. For the association of Isis with the Moon, see introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess); for the 'cinematographic' effect of the lunar disc see Introduction, 7.2.3. The use of *argumentum* in the sense of 'symbol', 'emblem' (*ThLL* s.v. 547,70) is previously attested in Valerius Maximus and Pliny the Elder (cf. *nat.* 36,64 *radiorum eius [Solis] argumentum in effigie est*); cf. also 11,11,3 and 11,20,7.

candidum: this is the first occurrence of this key word in Book 11: cf. 11,15,4; 11,20,5; 11,23,7, with comm. ad loc.; 11,24,4. Cf. also below, 11,3,5 *albo candore*.

emicabat: the transitive use of the verb is also attested in 9,34,1 (see *GCA* 1995, 286 ad loc.), then at Cassiod. *or. frg.* p. 481,17.

11,3,5 *dextra laeuaque sulcis insurgentium uiperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerialibus desuper porrectis. <Vestis> multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida et, quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat optutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore, quae circumcirca remeans et sub dexterum latus ad umerum laeuum recurrens umbonis uicem deiecta parte laciniae multiplici*

contabulatione dependula ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat. held together on the right and on the left by the coiling movements of rearing snakes, while over all ears of wheat were stretched out. Her dress, woven of the finest linen, shimmering with a myriad of different colours, here shining with white brilliance, there yellow with saffron bloom, there flaming with rosy redness. And what especially perplexed my sight was a deep black cloak, shining with dark resplendence – passing right round her and running under her right arm up to her left shoulder, bunched into the form of a knot, with a part of the garment dropped below, it hung down with a series of numerous pleats and gracefully undulated with tasselled fringes to its lower edges.

In *LIMC* V,2 there is no example among the representations of Isis that includes all elements of the headdress described here, although each of the elements mentioned by Apuleius is well attested. According to Griffiths 1975, 126-127, the linen robe of varying colours corresponds to traditional Egyptian representations of Isis. He also mentions literary and archaeological testimonies that agree with the black cloak as depicted by Apuleius (see below, comm. on *palla ... nitore*), although he points out that "it is hardly to be expected that figures or statues of Isis will embody the colours described by Apuleius" (p. 128). On the baroque rhetoric that enhances the intensity of the different colours described see Callebat 1993, 1661-1662, who also points out that the regular phonic texture (assonance) and formal structure (see below on *nunc ... lucida, nunc ... lutea, nunc ... flammida*) create an effect of harmony (see also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 123).

sulcis insurgentium uiperarum: *sulcus* should mean 'coiling movement (of a serpent)' here. According to *OLD* s.v. *sulcus* 3a, the word means 'a furrow or rut left in the ground by something moving over it', citing our passage is the only example with a snake; for this sense of *sulcus* see *GCA* 2004, 257-258 on 5,20,3 (where a similar sound effect to *sulcis insurgentium* can be heard, *sulcatos intrahens gressus*), referring to e.g. *Ov. met.* 15,725-726 *litoream tractu squamae crepitantis harenam / sulcat* for the use of *sulcare* in connection with a trail made by a snake. This sense appears problematic in this passage, where we do not have a surface on which snakes would have left a trace (unless Apuleius had a pictorial representation in mind here, engraved or painted). Harrison (1988, 265-266) therefore proposes to correct the transmitted reading to the easier *spiris*, 'coils', providing close euphony with the balancing *spicis*. However, in the light of Apuleius' predilection for bilingual wordplay and learned allusion, it is very probable that our author plays on the etymological connection between *sulcus* and the Gr. ὄλκος (Maltby 1991, 593 s.v. *sulcus*; Ernout-Meillet, 664), since the latter is also attested in the sense of 'body-coils of a serpent' or 'coiling movements of a serpent': see *LSJ* s.v., citing two lines from the *Theriaca*, the work on (snake) poisons by the Hellenistic poet Nicander of Colophon (162; 266); cf. also Lucian. *Herm.* 79 (θηρεύειν) τοῦ ὄφεως τὸ σῶφαι ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ ὄλκου 'you hunt the slough, ignoring the crawling serpent'.

Apart from Apuleius, the verb *insurgo* is used of serpents at Verg. *Aen.* 11,755 *arduus insurgens* and Sil. 2,546 (*ThLL* s.v. 2061,73-77); cf. also 11,4,3 *insurgebat aspis*. The serpent often appears in Isiac iconography, on her headdress (cf. e.g.

Merkelbach 1995, fig. 87; 92) or next to the goddess, at her feet or on her arm (cf. *LIMC* V,2, fig. 15 b; 88; 318 a); the goddess herself is sometimes also represented in the form of an uraeus-serpent with the bust of a woman: *ibid.* fig. 333; 354; 364.

spicis ... Cerialibus ... porrectis: the adjective *Cerialis* occurs mainly in poetry; here, it is used in a transferred sense (*ThLL* s.v. *Ceres* [*Cerialis*] 344,19-41), but also reinforces the association of Isis with Ceres: see comm. on 11,2,1. The goddess Isis/Demeter is sometimes represented with ears of corn on her headdress (cf. e.g. Merkelbach 1995, fig. 86; 92), in her hand or next to her (*LIMC* V,2, fig. 174; 260-261; 364). Scholars have long observed that an element is missing between the description of the crown and the subsequent one of the dress: see next note.

<*Vestis*> *multicolor*: even if the mss. do not clearly indicate the *lacuna*, to which Robertson 1945 refers in his critical apparatus, at least a noun qualified by *multicolor* seems to be missing in this sentence. Some scholars add a noun preceded by an adjective (which corresponds to the abl. *spicis ... porrectis*): following a conjecture by Castiglioni 1938, Helm 1955 inserts <*ornata. Sed et uestis*> after *porrectis*, in order to close the previous sentence with a participle that forms a parallel with *cohibita*, and to supply a substantive that seems to be missing at the opening of this sentence; *ornata* is also printed by Griffiths 1975 and Hanson 1989; Robertson 1945 proposes <*conspicua. Tunica*>, arguing from a *saut du même au même* (cf. *spicis*); Zimmerman 2012 prints <*ornata. Vestis*>.

On the level of grammar, the addition of an adjective or a participle at the end of the sentence is not indispensable, as the phrase *spicis ... porrectis* can be taken as an ablative absolute; Fredouille 1975 (who prints <*tunica*>) refers for the ablative absolute at the end of the preceding sentence to 11,24,4 *foliis in modum radiorum prosistentibus* and to Bernhard 1927, 44. The conjecture <*uestis*> is by Bursian 1881; the omission of this word by a scribe could be explained by the linking of terms ending in *-is* in the preceding sentence (*sulcis, spicis, porrectis*) or by haplography; for the combination *uestis multicolor*, cf. Tert. *pall.* 3,1 (where *uestis* is understood from the preceding lines) *multicolor et discolor et uersicolor, numquam ipsa, semper alia*. Other conjectures have been proposed: Van der Vliet 1897 <*uestis tunica*>; Purser 1906 <*multicia tunica*>; Médan 1925a *tenui* <*tunica*>. Griffiths 1975, 126 mentions the colour contrast of the black cloak (*palla*) as an argument in favour of *tunica* instead of *uestis*.

Hildebrand 1842 leaves the text as transmitted (*porrectis. Multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta ...*), and does not treat the textual problem (he obviously did not see one here). Another possibility would be to read *multicolor<ia> bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida* etc., or rather *multicolor<a>* (for the second declension form cf. Apul. *mund.* 16 p. 323 *iris multicolora est*; Gell. 11,16,4 *'multiuaga' dicimus et 'multicolora' et 'multiformia'*). The adjective *multicolor*, like its synonym *polymitus* (cf. *Isid. orig.* 19,22,21) is also attested as a neuter substantive plural, especially in ancient glossaries and in Hieronymus, in the meaning of 'multi-coloured dress'; cf. Gloss. *Polymita: multicoloria, uaria*; Vulg. *Ez.* 16,13 *uestita es bysso et polymito et multicoloribus* (cf. Hieronymus' comments ad loc. in his *in Ezech.* 4,16,13b ll. 1326-1328 *omnis autem ornatus describitur feminarum, ut ... discoloribus uestiatur*; Vulg. *Ez.* 16,10 *uestiui te discoloribus*).

multicolor: Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 77 (*Mor.* 382C) mentions Isis' multicoloured robes (στολαὶ ... ποικίλαι), establishing a connection with the powers of Isis concerning material substance (ὕλην, referring to Platonic matter: see Griffiths 1970 ad loc.), which "becomes everything and receives everything – light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end" (translation Griffiths 1970, 241). The many colours of Isis' dress foreshadow her own multiple identity; cf. 11,5,1 *multiformi ... multiuago*, with comm. ad loc.; cf. also above, *corona multiformis*.

De Caro 1992, 68 mentions a statue of Isis with traces of polychrome, and a head of Isis that formed part of an acrolith statue, consisting on the one hand of a marble head, hands and feet, and, on the other, of a wooden trunk on which real (colourful) clothes were draped. On polychrome in ancient clothing used in ritual contexts see Fless 2012, who points out that the colours used in artistic representations of Isis (sculpture) were not representative for factual habits in the cult (as reflected in archaeological findings), but reflected the composition strategies of the author. According to Götte 2012, 32-33, ancient descriptions of clothes show that colours made everyday garments into religious attire, while specific colours had specific functions. To achieve ritual purity, ordinary cult servants had to stay away from the luxury of gold and coloured or black garments (which were associated with divine attire) and wear simple, white clothes (Patera 2012).

bysso: the Latinised form of the Gr. βύσσος is attested for the first time in our passage (*ThLL* s.v. 2265,81-82); cf. *Isid. orig.* 19,27,4 *byssum genus est quoddam lini nimium candidi et mollissimi*. For linen dress as a typical characteristic of Isis, compare the apostrophe of the goddess in the *Hymn from Andros* (Totti 2,1) Αἰγύπτου βασίλεια λινόστολε ('linen-garbed queen of Egypt'); Osiris too could be imagined as clothed in linen (cf. Lucan. 9,159; Tert. *coron.* 8,3 *propria Osiridis ueste*), as noted by Griffiths 1970, 270 on Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 4 (*Mor.* 352C). Because of its plant origin, linen is considered pure (cf. Apul. *apol.* 56,2) and serves as the material for vestments used in Isiac cult; see comm. ad 11,10,2 *candido linteamine* and cf. 2,28,2, where the Egyptian priest Zatchlas is dressed in linen (*linteis amiculis*). For linen as the appropriate textile for Isis and Isiac worshippers Fredouille 1975 compares Ov. *met.* 1,747 *linigera ... turba* (see Anderson 1997, 221 on the un-Roman nature of this attire).

nunc ... lucida, nunc ... lutea, nunc ... flammida: the anaphora underlines the parallel construction and the assonances of this tricolon (3 adjectives consisting of 3 syllables, each of them preceded by an almost isosyllabic complement in the ablative). The abundance of adjectives gives expression to the abundance of colours (cf. *multicolor*), but the parallelism of *lucida* with *lutea* and *flammida* also suggests different tones of glowing light, radiating whiteness, golden-yellowness, and reddishness (see introduction to this chapter [1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany]). On this repeated *nunc* (more local than temporal) in an *ekphrasis*, see comm. on 11,11,1 *nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis*. For the use and meaning of colours in Book 11 see comm. on 11,7,2 *noctis atrae*.

albo candore lucida: for white linen as the typical dress for members of Isiac cult see above on *bysso*. For gods dressed in white shining garments, Mussies 1988, 5 compares the Egyptian god Imuthes-Asklepios, described in *P.Oxy.* 1381 and also mentions the angels in the New Testament who are clothed in this way (compare e.g.

Matt. 28,3; *Luc.* 24,4), and the appearance of Jesus during his transfiguration (*Matt.* 17,2).

croceo flore lutea: the use of *croceus* for the colour of saffron is mainly attested in poetry, from Vergil onward (*ThLL* s.v. 1212,51-1213,8). For the combination *croceo ... lutea*, serving to enhance the idea of yellow, cf. Verg. *ecl.* 4,44 (in the forthcoming Golden Age) *iam croceo mutabit uellera luto* (aries); Apul. *met.* 10,34,2 *prorumpit uino crocus diluta, sparsimque defluens ... capellas ... perpluit ..., donec ... canitiem propriam luteo colore mutarent* (see *GCA* 2000, 404 for the contrastive allusion to Vergil there).

roseo rubore flammida: the euphonic combination in the ablative also appears in the eulogy of hair in 2,8,4; cf. Ov. *am.* 3,3,5; *met.* 3,482 (in the acc.); the poetic adjective *roseus* occurs in relation to the colour of the rising moon at Stat. *Ach.* 1,619, and regarding the rising sun at Sil. 4,481-482 *ab aequore Eoo / surgebant roseae media inter caerulea flammae*. The adjective *flammidus* occurs only in Apuleius, and only here in *met.*; this is also the only passage where it is used of colour (in *Socr.* 8 p. 138 and 9 p. 140, it means ‘ardens’; in *mund.* 21 p. 336, it means ‘calidus’). This use is analogous with *flammeus* (for its concrete sense of ‘ardens’ see below, 11,4,1 *flammeos ... ignes*) as a synonym of ‘rufus’; cf. Gell. 2,26,5 (discussing Latin terms of colour) *ex ipsis rebus uocabula colorum mutuatur et igneum aliquid dicit et flammeum*.

longe longeque: for the gemination *longe longeque* before Apuleius see *ThLL* s.v. *longus* (*longe, appendix*) 1651,64-70, quoting e.g. Cic. *fin.* 2,68; Hor. *sat.* 1,6,18; Ov. *met.* 4,325; Plin. *epist.* 5,6,32; Fronto *epist. ad M. Anton. de eloquentia* 2,8 (p. 139,11-12); Gell. 13,29,3. For gemination of adverbs in Apuleius see comm. on 11,20,2 *diu diuque*.

confutabat optutum: Apuleius likes peculiar expressions that describe the distorting impact of something on the narrator’s visual perception; cf. 11,16,10 *quae postquam ... prospectum sui nobis incertat*. Here, Kenney’s translation (1998) keeps something of the original meaning of *confutare* in the sense of ‘refuting’, ‘disproving’ (Lucius cannot ‘believe his eyes’): “But what above all made me stare and stare again ...”. *ThLL* s.v. *confuto* 272,7 interprets *confutabat* in our passage as ‘perturbabat’ (thus e.g. Hanson 1989 “and what most especially confounded my sight”). *ThLL* s.v. *obtusus* 307,9 quotes for this use before Apuleius only Sil. 3,493; the word can also mean ‘eyes’, as in 1,4,2; see *GCA* 2007, 135 ad loc.; cf. also 2,2,8; 2,4,10.

palla nigerrima ...atro nitore: Plutarch mentions interpretations that connect the black colour of Isis’ cloak or stole (found on some of her statues) with her identity as a Moon-goddess, since black represents the obfuscations in which she longingly pursues the sun, cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 52 (*Mor.* 372D). In other passages of the treatise, the Isiac black receives different explanations, such as the ‘robe of mourning’ put on by Isis, on hearing of the death of Osiris, in 14 (*Mor.* 356D), or the ‘black linen garment’ wrapped around the gilded cow that symbolises Isis, in 39 (*Mor.* 366E). In 3 (*Mor.* 352B), Plutarch mentions sacred garments of Isis (or of her devotees, modelled on those of the goddess herself; see Griffiths 1970, 267) that represent a contrast between dark, shadowy garments and brightly shining garments; in Apuleius, the cloak is black and shining at the same time. In Isidorus’ 3rd *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 23,34), the goddess is addressed as ‘black-garbed’ (μελανηφόρε); the same epithet (see LSJ s.v.)

is attested of Isiac priests in a Greek inscription (*SIG* III,977^a, II B.C.). For statues of Isis made with black marble see Goette 2012, 21-34.

circumcirca: a rare adverb from the *sermo cotidianus*, attested before Apuleius only at Plaut. *Aul.* 468; Cato *inc. lib. frg.* 52; Sulp. Ruf. *Cic. fam.* 4,5,4; *Bell. Hisp.* 41,4. Stockert 1983 on Plaut. *Aul.* 468 points out that this is the only adverb in Latin consisting of two prepositions of the same root and having more or less the same meaning, and that such reduplications (cf. also *incircum, decirca*) add expressive emphasis (‘round about’). Here, it particularly enhances the lively depiction of the dynamic circular motion of the cloak around the body of Isis (*circumcirca remeans*).

umbonis uicem: according to Hanson 1989 ad loc., this is usually taken to refer to the knot between the breasts, which was a distinctive feature in representations of Isis’ dress; Griffiths 1975 nevertheless points out the difference in Apuleius’ description, where the knot seems to be close to the shoulder. Yet, as observed by LIMC V,1, fig. 791, the place and the size of the knot vary according to different tastes: in Greece, it is moderate in size and placed in asymmetrical fashion; in Rome, it is more voluminous and placed in the centre; for examples, see LIMC V,2, e.g. fig. 6-8, 304-305; Götte 2012, 27-29 with fig. 14a and 14b. Others observe in our passage a wider use of the word *umbo* in the sense of ‘toga’, as in Pers. 5,33 (synecdoche: *OLD* s.v. 3); thus Grimal 1958: “à la façon d’une toge”. Others try to render the original sense of *umbo*, such as the translation by Lindsay ²1965: “it (i.e. the cloak) was ... fastened with a knot like the boss of a shield”. Alpers (1980, 201 n. 21) discusses this element as another possible visual link between Photis and Isis, since Photis actually wears her garment tied up under her breasts in 2,7,3.

multiplici contabulatione: the word *contabulatio* is attested in Caesar and Vitruvius to indicate a floorboard or ‘plank’, a technical sense also found in Apul. *flor.* 18,3. The derived sense of ‘fold of a garment’ (brushing the ground, here the surface of the sea) is only attested in our passage (*ThLL* s.v. 623,73). Apuleius’ description is paralleled by the ‘contabulated cloak’ worn by female Isiac cult servants as depicted on ancient monuments, characterised by a remarkable draping in thickly layered flat beam-like folds; see Götte 2012, 30-31 with fig. 15; 16a and 16b; also fig. 18 with a bust of a priest of Serapis. The architectural associations of the expression *multiplex contabulatio*, recalling descriptions of high towers (cf. Liv. 32,17,10 *turrim ingentis altitudinis ... multiplici tabulato*; Sil. 14,300 *turris multiplici surgens ... tecto ... tabulata decem*), serve to evoke a vivid impression of the size, the quantity and the regular structure of the folds of Isis’ cloak, reflecting the deep impression of the towering divine appearance upon Lucius’ eyes. In this context, it is possible to observe etymological play in the adjective *multiplici* with the notion of ‘folding’ (cf. *plico, -are*); an ancient glossary explains *multiplex* as *multotiens plicatum* (*ThLL* s.v. *multiplex* 1591,15-16).

dependula: this Apuleian diminutive, which is elicited by the sound effects of the sentence (*multiplici contabulatione dependula, ad ultimas oras nodulis*), also occurs in the description of Photis’ hair in 2,9,7 (see above on 11,3,4 *crines uberrimi ... molliter defluebant*) and in another elaborate description, cf. 3,2,8 *alii stautis dependuli, nonnulli per fenestras et lacunaria semiconspicui* (where *semiconspicui* is a hapax). For Apuleius’ apparent taste for coining such adjectives (cf. *antependulus, retropendulus, propendulus*) to suit the sound pattern of elaborate descriptions

of (divine) beauty, cf. 5,22,5 (the *ekphrasis* of the sleeping Cupid) *alios antependulos, alios retependulos*, with *GCA* 2004, 279 ad loc. (see also below on *decoriter confluctuabat*).

ad ultimas oras: this use of *ora* for the edge of clothes or a piece of fabric (*ThLL* s.v. 1. *ora* 864,12-37) is first attested in Catull. 64,308 (the *ekphrasis* of the appearance of the Parcae) *his corpus tremulum complectens undique uestis / candida purpurea talos incinberat ora*; for the plural, cf. Ov. *met.* 6,101 *circuit extremas oleis pacalibus oras* (the tapestry woven by Pallas); Quint. *inst.* 11,3,138 *ut tunicae prioribus oris infra genua paulum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perueniant*. Cf. 11,4,1 *per intextam extremitatem*.

nodulis fimbriarum: on the diminutive *nodulus* see Pasetti 2007, 46-47 with n. 182, who notes that it occurs with a ‘technical’ flavour both in *met.* (3,23,2 *dulcem... capilli tui nodulum*; 9,40,1, with *GCA* 1995, 332 ad loc. for further parallels), and in other authors, e.g. as a botanical term in Plin. *nat.* 21,26 *scapi ... nudantibus se nodulis in faece nigri uini ... macerantur*. In this elevated passage, as Pasetti notes, the originally technical flavour of *nodulus* is less important than the sound pattern of the context (see above on *dependula*). See also comm. on 11,11,4 *nodulo*, where it is used of a snake’s coils. The word *fimbriae* is rare, attested with regard to clothes at Varro *ling.* 5,79, Cels. 2,6,6 and Petron. 32,3.

decoriter confluctuabat: the description of Isis’ dress reaches its climax in a euphonic combination (alliterations), also formed by rare words: the archaising adverb *decoriter* is attested for the first time by Apuleius, who uses it three times, cf. 5,22,5 (the *ekphrasis* of Cupid) *crinium globos decoriter impeditos*; cf. also 6,28,5 (Charite speaking about the hair of Lucius-ass) *frontem ... crispatam prius decoriter discriminabo*. The verb *confluctuo* is a hapax; its etymology fits the context of the divine vision emerging from the waves; see also above, comm. on 11,3,4 *defluebant*; 11,4,1 *perfluebat ambitus*.

CHAPTER IV

The *ekphrasis* of the divine appearance continues: cloak and attributes.

11,4,1 *Per intextam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant earumque media semenstris luna flammeos spirabat ignes. Quaqua tamen insignis illius pallae perfluebat ambitus, indiuiduo nexu corona totis floribus totisque constructa pomis adhaerebat. Along the embroidered edge and scattered all over its fabric, stars were glittering; in their midst, a crescent moon exhaled its flaming fires. And wherever the edge of that conspicuous cloak was undulating, a garland made up of all kinds of flowers and all kinds of fruits was attached to it with uninterrupted wreathing.*

intextam extremitatem: in F, *intextam* is a correction by a second hand of *intectam*; A and U also have *intextam*. According to Griffiths 1975 ad loc., the reading *intectam* (‘through the flimsy border’), retained only by Hildebrand 1842, Eyssenhardt 1869 and Giarratano 1929, is not favoured by archeological evidence, since certain representations show stars and a crescent moon attached to the stoles hanging over the chest. For an example of a statue of Isis wearing a cloak covered with stars see Merkelbach 1995, 585 (fig. 108: Isis-Urania). Götte 2012, 31-32 refers to representations of female cult servants of Isis wearing a black pleated cloak (cf. 11,3,5 *multipluci contabulatione*) decorated with stars and fertility symbols. Here, the stars are woven or embroidered on the edge and the fabric of the garment; cf. 4,8,2 *uestis ... sericae et intextae filis aureis*; see also comm. on 11,16,7 *litteras intextas*, where F has *ingestas*. For *extremitatem* cf. 11,3,5 *ad ultimas oras*; Apuleius is the first to use the word for the border of a dress (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4,137 *fascia, quae ambit extremitatem uestium*; Ps. Paul. Nol. *epist. app.* 2,13 p. 445,26 (*ut per extremitates uestimentorum fimbrias habeant*)).

in ipsa eius planitie: this is the only occurrence of the term *planities* with reference to fabric (*ThLL* s.v. 2318,35); perhaps Apuleius took the term *planities* from architectural language (cf. above 11,3,5 *multipluci contabulatione*), cf. Vitruv. 5,12,4 *planitia puluini* (‘the surface of the platform’) and see *ThLL* s.v. 2318,39-60.

earumque media: *medius* with genitive (*complurium*: *ThLL* s.v. *medius* 582,74-77) is attested at Liv. 42,58,9 *medius omnium rex erat*; Stat. *Theb.* 4,683; cf. also Apul. *met.* 8,16,2 *turbae medius*, with *GCA* 1985, 152 ad loc.

stellae: for Isis as mistress of the stars cf. 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*, with comm. ad loc.

coruscabant ... flammeos spirabat ignes: shiny lustre, especially of their clothes, was a traditional feature of descriptions of gods; see introduction to Ch. III (1. The *ekphrasis* of a divine epiphany).

coruscabant: for the intransitive use of this poetic verb in the sense of ‘to glitter’, cf. 2,9,2; 3,28,2; 5,1,6; 11,23,7 with comm. ad loc.

semenstris luna: the adjective *semenstris* does not derive from *sex* + *mensis* ('of six months' duration'; this is the normal formation in Latin of all periods), but is formed by *semi-* + *-menstris* (see *OLD* s.v. *semenstris*², mentioning only our passage). The majority of translators suppose that this is about the 'full moon', an interpretation which could justify the following *spirabat ignes*. However, noting that the re-semanticisation of the adjective is reinforced by another etymological play, based on the equivalence *luna* – μήνη, Nicolini 2011a, 163 observes that the expression indicates 'a half moon' (literally: 'a moon in half moon'). The adjective *semenstris* appears in the same sense at Amm. 20,3,1, where he alleges that the sun can have the shape of the half moon when reappearing from behind the moon during an eclipse: (*sol*) *primo attenuatum in lunae corniculantis effigiem, deinde in speciem auctum semestrem, posteaque in integrum restitutum*; see Den Boeft et al. 1987 ad loc. (with lit.), referring to the usual Latin terms for the half moon, *dimidius* and *dimidiatus*. Griffiths 1975, 132 similarly interprets the expression in our passage ("a half moon breathed a flame of fire"), pointing out that the half moon is one of the constant elements in Isiac iconography: cf. e.g. *LIMC* V,2, fig. 210 (= Merkelbach 1995, fig. 99) and fig. 268 (= Merkelbach 1995, fig. 87); see comm. on 11,3,4 *argumentum lunae*.

luna ... ignes: for the personification of the moon, whose fiery glow is described by the poets, cf. e.g. Verg. *georg.* 1,427-430 *luna reuertentis cum primum colligit ignis ... at si uirgineum suffuderit ore ruborem*; Hor. *carm.* 4,2,57-58 *curuatos ... ignis tertium lunae referentis ortum*; Sen. *Oed.* 505 *luna ... dimissos dum plena recolliget ignes*. For *ignes* used of the moonlight see *ThLL* s.v. 290,37-40; cf. also Apul. *Socr.* 1 p. 117 *uaria ignium face*.

quaqua: the relative adverb expresses the movement of the cloak as followed by the eyes of the spectator (and of the reader, wandering over the surface of the cloak); for a similar use of *quaqua* in an *ekphrasis* cf. the description of Lucius' outfit in 11,24,3 *quaqua tamen uiseres*, with comm. ad loc.

tamen: for *tamen* = *autem* (LHSz 2,496-497) cf. also 7,15,2.

insignis: the adjective refers here, with etymological play, to the stars and the moon embroidered on the cloak, as described in the preceding sentence. For *insignis* used of stars, see *ThLL* s.v. 1904,21-35 'de sideribus'; cf. e.g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,80 *cum satis docuerimus hos esse deos, quorum insignem uim et inlustrem faciem uideremus, solem dico et lunam et uagas stellas*; cf. also *signum* in the sense of 'constellation': *OLD* s.v. 13. The cloak's conspicuous nature (*insignis*) is created by its embroidery: for *signum* used of embroidered figures, cf. *OLD* s.v. 12b; moreover, there may be a deliberate resonance of the preceding *ignes* in *insignis*.

perfluebat: the transferred use of this verb with reference to garments seems unique (*ThLL* s.v. *perfluo* 1396,29); with *fluo*, it is mainly found in the poets, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1,319-320 *uenatrix ... nodo ... sinus collecta fluentis* (*OLD* s.v. *fluo* 13a also refers to Quint. *inst.* 11,3,140); cf. also Catull. 64,68 *fluitantis amictus*; Sen. *Oed.* 422-423 *inde tam molles placuere cultus / et sinus laxi fluidumque syrma*; Fronto *epist. ad M. Caes.* 4,3,7 (p. 59,18-19) *manuleorum interuallis, quae interdum laxata uidemus atque fluitantia*. See also comm. on 11,3,5 *decoriter confluctuabat*.

indiudivo nexu: although made of all kinds of flowers and fruits, the garland forms a continuous, uninterrupted chain. For *nexu* used of wreaths of flowers compare the verb *necto*, Ov. *fast.* 4,945 (of Flora) *uariis florum dea nexa coronis*.

corona ... pomis: according to Griffiths 1975, 132 ad loc., garlands decorating the divinity's clothes are not frequently attested, in contrast with wreaths of flowers adorning the head (see comm. ad 11,3,4); cf. however *LIMC* V,2, fig. 210. Fruits associated with the image of abundance are more often represented as spilling out of a cornucopia: cf. e.g. Merkelbach 1995, fig. 95-97. In the story of Cupid and Psyche, Venus comes home from a wedding banquet, her whole body wreathed with roses (6,11,1) *totum ... reuineta corpus rosis micantibus* (see *GCA* 2004, 445 ad loc., comparing this both to our passage and to the seduction scene of Photis with Lucius in 2,16,1).

totis floribus totisque...pomis: note the assonance created by the anaphora; the adjective *totus* as often in *met.* is used in the sense of *omnis* (see *GCA* 1995, 34 ad 9,1,2 *totis pedibus*).

totis floribus: not only roses; see comm. on 11,6,1 *roseam ... coronam*, and cf. 11,3,4 *corona multiformis uariis floribus*.

11,4,2 *Iam gestamina longe diuersa. Nam dextra quidem ferebat aereum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam lamminam in modum baltei recuruatam traiectae mediae paucae uirgulae, crispante brachio trigeminos iactus, reddebant argutum sonorem.* Regarding her attributes, these were of a wide variety. For in her right hand she held a bronze rattle, and some small rods in the middle, pierced through its narrow blade that was curved in the manner of a belt, were emitting a tinkling sound, as her arm shook with threefold quivering jolts.

gestamina: see comm. on 11,9,2 *gestamine*.

diuersa: most translators interpret this as an indication of the variety of the attributes, whereas Kenney 1998 takes it in terms of a contrast with Isis' dress: "Quite different were the symbols that she held".

dextra quidem: picked up below by *laeua uero* in 11,4,3 (cf. Gr. μέν ... δέ).

crepitaculum: the word usually indicates a noisy instrument, intended to chase away birds or bees (e.g. Colum. 9,12,2), or a rattle used as a children's toy (e.g. Quint. *inst.* 9,4,66; Mart. 14,54). Only here is it attested in the meaning of the *sistrum*, the Isiac instrument (*ThLL* s.v. 1169,6); cf. Prop. 3,11,43 *Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro*. Lucius' avoidance of the sacred term (*sistrum*) probably reflects the fact that the account is given from the narrative perspective he had at the moment of the events (the perspective of 'Lucius-actor' at the time of the story), who does not know the apparition's identity yet, nor the cultic practices of the goddess. For the etymological explanation of the σε στρον cf. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Os.* 63 (*Mor.* 376C); since Plutarch relates the word to the verb σεῖω ('shake': Griffiths 1970 ad loc. compares 'rattle' in English, both verb and noun), Apuleius may play in this sentence with a Latin 'equivalent' explanation, suggesting a connexion with both sound (*crepitaculum* < *crepitare*) and movement (*crispante*), and underlining his explanation with words that phonetically reproduce the jingling noise of the *sistrum*.

paucae: in view of the adjective *trigeminus*, Médan 1925a, 11 ad loc. thinks that the *sistrum* described here possesses three rods, according to a type actually attested. According to Griffiths 1970, 527 on Plutarch, *de Isid. et Os.* 63 (*Mor.* 376D) περιφερούς ἄνωθεν κτλ., where Plutarch offers a detailed description of the *sistrum* and mentions four rattle-rods, the archaeological record offers examples of instruments with both three and four rods; for examples, see Merkelbach 1995, fig. 99, 150 and 157-159.

crispante: a poeticism. Before Apuleius, the verb is attested in a transitive sense in Verg. *Aen.* 1,313 *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro* (modelled on Hom. *Il.* 12,298 δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων) and Sil. 8,372 (with reference to weapons: *ThLL* s.v. 1207,67-82). Comparable with the Greek poetic verb τινάσσω, which can be used of making the strings of a cithara quiver by striking them (cf. *AP* 9,584,9), *crispo* indicates the arm's jolting movement that makes the *sistrum* tinkle.

trigeminus iactus: on Apuleius' use of the sacred number three see introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

argutum sonorem: cf. 11,10,2 *argutum tinnitum constrepentes*, with comm. ad loc.; for *argutus* (poetic) used of shrill sounding musical instruments see *OLD* s.v. 1c, noting that here the use is transferred to the sound itself (*sonorem*).

11,4,3 *Laeuae uero cymbium dependebat aureum, cuius ansulae, qua parte conspicua est, insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum ceruicibus late tumescentibus. Pedes ambroseos tegebant soleae palmae uictricis foliis intextae. Talis ac tanta spirans Arabiae felicia germina diuina me uoce dignata est*: From her left hand hung a golden drinking vessel, and on its handle, at the part which is clearly visible, an asp rose while holding aloft its head, with its neck swelling wide. Her ambrosial feet were covered by sandals woven with the leaves of the victory palm. Such was her appearance as, exhalating so many blessed perfumes from Arabia, she deigned to address me with her divine voice:

Laeuae ... dependebat: though infrequently attested, the use of the dative with *dependeo* is mainly found in poetry, e.g. at Ov. *met.* 6,593; Sen. *Oed.* 463 (*ThLL* s.v. 568,45-47, which nevertheless quotes our passage as an example of the absolute use of the verb: 568,5).

cymbium: according to *ThLL* s.v. 1589,60 and 63, this Latinised form of the Gr. κυμβίον, predominantly attested in poetry (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3,66; 5,267; Prop. 3,8,4; Mart. 8,6,2, etc.), indicates a kind of drinking cup or bowl in the form of a small boat (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 51 *cymbium poculi genus a similitudine nauis*). See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 146-147 on transliterations and loan words from the Greek used by Apuleius to enhance the exotic atmosphere in the Isis Book (cf. e.g. 11,22,8 *adyti*). In 11,10,3, the *aureum cymbium* carried in the procession refers to a lamp, which probably also had the form of a small boat. The form of the *cymbium* fits the context of the celebration of the *navigium Isidis*. However, according to Vidman 1970, 63, caution is due in connecting archaeological evidence for such boat-lamps from Puteoli and other harbour towns with the *navigium Isidis*. According to Griffiths 1975, 133-134 on our passage, Isis' *cymbium* should probably be identified with a 'water-pitcher', as found

in visual representations. Merkelbach 1995, 270 compares Isis' *cymbium* with the σκάφια ('small bowls' or 'small cups') mentioned in inscriptions from Delos, e.g. *IG XI*⁴ 1307,20 (a catalogue of votive offerings from the Serapeum), and suggests that such offerings were destined for Isis Pelagia.

cuius ... tumescentibus: cf. 11,11,4 *ansa* (sc. *urnulae*) *quam contorto nodulo supersedebat aspis squameae ceruicis striato tumore sublimis*, with comm. ad loc. On the presence of the serpent on the Isiac vessel, see Griffiths 1975, 134-135 ad loc., who sees connections with the 'uraeus-serpent' (the Egyptian cobra), symbol of sovereignty and divinity. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 172 (with further lit.) points to archeological evidence for snakes as a common feature of the cults of Isis and Demeter. For snakes associated with Isis see also comm. on 11,3,5 *sulcis insurgentium uiperarum*.

insurgebat aspis: snakes, especially the uraeus-serpent, are very frequent in ancient representations of Isis (who was identified with the uraeus and sometimes represented as one herself) and her cult servants; see e.g. Merkelbach 1995, 615, fig. 145, a relief in Rome showing a female priest in the role of Isis, with a uraeus-serpent entwined around her left arm; for evidence from frescoes in the Isiac sanctuary in Pompei see De Caro 1992, Tav. VII, fig. 1.8, a priest with a serpent on a rose garland, fig. 1.75, a cobra, and Tav. X, the famous fresco with Isis receiving Io at Canopus, with a cobra around her left arm.

caput extollens arduum: cf. 11,11,1 *attollens canis ceruices arduas* (*Anubis*), with comm. ad loc. The use of the adjective *arduus* for the parts of the body is poetic (*ThLL* s.v. 494,8-29) and belongs to Apuleian language; see *GCA* 2001, 103 on 2,4,5 *sublatis canibus in pectus arduis*.

ceruicibus ... tumescentibus: the plural *ceruices* is attested in earlier authors with the same sense as the singular; according to Varro *ling.* 8,14 and Quint. *inst.* 8,3,35, Hortensius was the first to use the singular; compare for our passage Cic. *Vatin.* 4 *te tamquam serpens ... inflato collo, tumidis ceruicibus intulisti*. The verb *tumesco* appears both in poetry and prose; cf. Ov. *met.* 6,377 (peasants turned into frogs) *inflata ... colla tumescunt*.

pedes ambroseos: Apuleius is the only author who uses the poetic adjective *ambroseus* in prose; see *GCA* 2000, 283 on 10,22,1, noting that the adjective *ambroseus* and the noun *ambrosia* elsewhere in *met.* are used only of divine beings. Sometimes *ambroseus* qualifies the radiance of a deity's complexion (cf. the actress playing Venus in 10,31,1, marked by *gratia coloris ambrosei*), sometimes the scent of his/her heavenly body (cf. Charite's exalted description of Tlepolemus, in which he becomes like a divinity, 8,9,6 *adhuc odor cinnameus ambrosei corporis per nares meas percurrit*; Cupid's hair drenched with ambrosia in 5,22,5 *uidet capitis aurei genialem caesariem ambrosia temulentam*). Cf. Claud. 10,110 (Venus) *ambrosioque sinu puerum complexa ferocem*. Isis' odoriferous feet represent the typical characteristic of the special fragrance accompanying the gods when they appear to men; see Mussies 1988, 5 and see below on *Arabiae felicia germina*.

soleae palmae uictricis foliis intextae: cf. 11,8,3 *baxeis*, with comm. ad loc.; 2,28,2, where the Egyptian priest Zatchlas is equally dressed in sandals made of palm leaves (*palmeis baxeis*). Otherwise, this type of sandal is not known to the Roman world. Compare De Caro 1992, Tav. VII, a fresco depicting a priest wearing sandals

made of bulrushes. As we have observed with the linen fabric of Isis' dress (11,3,5 *bysso tenui*), products made of plants were considered 'pure' in a religious context, which may explain the choice of palm leaves instead of leather for the sandals worn by a deity who strictly requires a meatless diet from her initiates (cf. Berreth 1931, 45). Palm branches are mentioned twice in Book 11 as a religious attribute carried in the procession for the festival of Isis; cf. 11,10,4; 11,11,1. For evidence of sandals made of palm fibre or of palm leaves in Ancient Egypt see Griffiths 1975 ad loc., who points out that this type of sandal appears in funerary contexts; since Isis was in origin a funerary goddess, embodying victory over death, "the victory associated with her sandals is that over death" (p. 136); for the palm tree as the symbol of eternal life in Egypt see Wittmann 1938, 538. There is probably a coincidence between Egyptian notions and the world of symbols of the Greeks and Romans, who associated palm leaves with victory (in athletic games or triumphs); cf. 2,4,2 *palmaris deae facies* (of statues of Nike); 11,24,4 *caput ... corona cinxerat palmae candidae foliis in modum radiorum prosistentibus*, where the palm leaves belong to a cluster of symbols denoting victory, triumph and regality. For Isis' identity as a goddess of victory, cf. 11,7,1 *numen inuictum*, with comm. ad loc. In this use ('denoting or associated with victory': *OLD* s.v. 3), *uictrix* is principally attested in poetry.

talīs ac tanta: the sonorous expression is aptly chosen to indicate the appearance of a deity, larger and more beautiful than any mortal can be; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,591-592 (Venus appears to Aeneas) *confessa deam, qualisque uideri / caelicolis et quanta solet*, with Horsfall 2008 ad loc., pointing to Hom. *Il.* 24,630 ὄσσοσ ἐῖν οἶός τε as the closest linguistic antecedent. In the masculine form, cf. Ov. *met.* 3,284-286 (with regard to Jupiter) *quantusque et qualis ab alta / Iunone excipitur, tantus talisque, rogato, / det tibi complexus*; Mart. 7,38,1 *tantus es et talis*. After Apuleius, the combination appears again in Christian authors, e.g. in Zeno 2,3,1 and Aug. *epist.* 167,1.

Arabiae felicia germina: Nicolini 2011a, 169 classifies this occurrence among examples of enallage that renew common combinations (*Arabia felix*, i.e. the ancient name of Yemen, famous for its spices and essences; cf. Herodot. 3,113; Lucian. *ver. hist.* 2,5; Plin. *nat.* 5,65 *odoriferam illam ... terram et Beatae cognomine inclutam*). The inversion entails a slight semantic shift, as the adjective *felix* has to be taken in the wider sense of *iucundus*, *gratus* (for a similar Apuleian enallage cf. 11,5,2 *fluctuantes Cyprii*). The expression *Arabia Felix* appears at Plin. *nat.* 5,87; 12,82 (cf. also 1,1 *de felicitate Arabiae*; Cic. *Att.* 9,11,4 *Arabiam εὐδαίμωνα*). See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 148-149 for this passage as one of the references to oriental locations, which enhance the exotic ambience of the Isis Book. In descriptions of epiphanies, fragrance is one of the elements signalling the appearance of a divine being (cf. *pedes ambroseos*); see on this motif Lohmeyer 1919; Lilja 1972, 25-30; Mussies 1988, 5; Gladigow 1990, 99. Cf. e.g. the divine scent (ὄδμη ἀμβροσῆ) mentioned in the seventh *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7,36-37); Jaillard 2011, 147 compares for divine fragrance as "yet another mark of the god's hold upon the place" the mention of Syrian incense in Eur. *Bacch.* 144-150, at the height of the trance described in the parodos. Cf. 11,9,3 *geniali balsamo*.

germina: F has *gemina*, φ has *germa*, A and U have the corrected form *germina*; *ThLL* s.v. *germen* 1923,13-16 quotes our passage under the category 'i.q. *resina*,

arboris lacrimae', pointing out that this is the only instance of its use with reference to fragrances.

diuina me uoce dignata est: a solemn and euphonious turn of phrase. The idea of *dignatio* by the gods is characteristic of Book 11, cf. 11,11,1 *dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere*; 11,21,8; 11,22,5; 11,29,4; 11,30,3 *sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est*. In the other books, cf. only 1,23,6 *maiolem domum dignatione tua feceris* (Milo to Lucius) and 6,9,2 *tandem ... dignata es socrum tuam salutare* (Venus to Psyche). Conversely, in the *Cupid and Psyche* story a common feature of Venus is her *indignatio*: cf. 5,31,7 with *GCA* 2004, 360 ad loc.

CHAPTER V

Isis' epiphany to Lucius: the goddess's hymn-style account of her own qualities.

1. Structure

In chapters V and VI, Isis responds to Lucius' prayer to the *regina caeli* in chapter II. Following Festugière (1954, 159) with some slight modifications, we can divide the whole discourse of Isis (11,5-6) into four sections, the first section being Isis' self-revelation (11,5,1-3), the second, Isis' reassurance of Lucius and her demand that he pay attention to her instructions (11,5,4), the third, Isis' instructions regarding the procession and the re-transformation (11,5,5-11,6,4; see below, introd. note on 11,5,4), and the fourth, Isis' demands and promises regarding the obligations and benefits of Lucius' future life as an Isiac initiate and his life in the hereafter (11,6,5-7). For a comparison of Isis' address to Lucius with the structure of Demeter's address to mankind in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (2,256-274) see Richardson 1974, 243 ad loc. For a more detailed stylistic analysis of the structure of Isis' self-revelation (11,5,1-3) see below.

2. Stylistic analysis

The structure and style of Isis' hymn-style self-revelation have been analysed, among others, by Bernhard 1927, 73 and 86; Berreth 1931, 19-27; Wittmann 1938, 22-39; Harrauer 1973, 27-28; Tatum 1979, 156-157; Pasetti 1999, 256-262. See Introduction, 7.1.1 on Apuleius' technique of literarising religious genres (hymn and aretalogy). The scheme and analysis below are especially based on Pasetti's study. The first part (I) introduces the goddess with her various epithets (*rerum naturae parens*, etc.) and powers (*quae ... dispenso*), and draws attention to the universal nature of her cult (*multiformi ... uario ... multiuigo, totus*). The latter part (II) elaborates on this universalism by listing the various names under which she is worshipped by various peoples, reaching a conclusion with her only true name (*reginam Isidem*).

Part I.

En adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus,

A.	<u>rerum</u> <u>elementorum</u> <u>saeculorum</u>	naturae omnium progenies	parens domina initialis
B.		<u>summa numinum</u> <u>regina manium</u> <u>prima caelitum</u> ,	

deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae

C.	caeli maris inferum	<u>luminosa</u> <u>salubria</u> <u>deplorata</u>	<u>culmina</u> , <u>flamina</u> , <u>silentia</u> ,
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nutibus meis dispenso.
cuius numen unicum

D.	<u>multiformi</u> ritu nomine	specie uario <u>multiuigo</u>
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totus ueneratur orbis.

Using the Saussurean concept of the hypogram, Pasetti (1999, 258 n. 36) recognises iterative sound effects in A, B, and C, which make the epiphany of the *NUMEN* evident on a phonetic level: *eleMENtorum oMNium doMINa ... regina MANium ... caeli luMINosa culMINa / maria salubria flaMINa*; the first syllable of *NUMEN* is reflected in *NUtibus* (see below on 11,5,1 *nutibus meis dispenso, cuius numen*), and in *nomine* in tricolon D we find a last reflection of the dissemination of *NUMEN*.

Part II.

E.	inde hinc illinc	primigenij <u>autochthones</u> <u>fluctuantes</u>	Phryges Attici Cyprii	<u>Pessinuntiam</u> deum matrem, Cecropiam Mineruam, Paphiam Venerem,
F.	<u>Cretes</u> Siculi Eleusini	sagittiferi <u>trilingues</u> uetusti	<u>Dictynnam</u> <u>Stygiam</u> <u>Actaeam</u>	<u>Dianam</u> , <u>Proserpinam</u> , <u>Cererem</u>
G.		<u>Iunonem</u> <u>Bellonam</u> <u>Hecatam</u> <u>Rhamnusi</u>	alij, alij, isti, illi,	
H.	et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii caerimoniis me propriis percolentes appellant uero nomine reginam Isidem.			

In the second part, as opposed to the first, the main verb appears at the end (*appellanti*). The most important stylistic feature is the rich lexical material. As opposed to the Isiac hymns, where they appear in monotonous enumeration, the epithets and names are carefully put together to produce rhythmical and phonetic effects. In section E, the ‘foreign-sounding’ lexemes are concentrated in the centre, whereas in F, they are rather distributed in a parallel way; in both E and F, the names of the goddesses come at the end, but in G at the beginning. Grammatical parallelism is underlined by vertical correspondences, like anaphora (*inde/hinc/illinc*), epiphora (*alii/alii/isti/illi*), and grammatical rhymes (*PessinuntIAM/CecropIAM /PaphIAM*), marking the cultic places. The elevated style of Isis’ self-revelation is marked by archaic language (*primigenii*), poetic epithets (*sagittiferi; trilingues*), and Apuleian lexical innovations like *autocthonos* and *fluctuans* (see Pasetti 1999, 260-261). There are also various horizontal correspondences, such as alliteration (*Phryges Pessinuntiam; Dictynniam Dianam*); with regard to order of epithets and ethnic names, note the parallelism in E and chiasmic order in F. In the climactic last section (H), which is marked by *variatio* and *amplificatio* (periphrasis instead of simple epithets), additionally note the alliteration with p: *priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii caerimoniis me propriis percolentes appellanti*.

11,5,1 ‘En adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina manium, prima caelitem, deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae caeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso; cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu uario, nomine multiugo totus ueneratur orbis. ‘Lo, I am at hand, moved, Lucius, by your prayers, I the mother of the universe, the mistress of all the elements, the original ancestry of the ages, the highest of deities, the queen of the dead, foremost of heavenly denizens, the single manifestation of all gods and goddesses, I who order by my nod the starry heights of heaven, the health-giving breezes of the sea, and the lamented silences of the Underworld dwellers: all the world worships my single godhead under many forms, in differing rites and by manifold names.’

In her opening words, Isis underlines her primordial nature: she presents herself as the origin, the ordering and ruling principle, and the binding force of the whole universe. As is generally noted, the opening of Isis’ self-revelation closely resembles Venus’ exclamation in 4,30,1 *en rerum naturae prisca parens, en elementorum origo initialis, en orbis totius alma Venus*. With the phrase *rerum naturae parens* and the mention of the *elementa*, both passages evoke Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*; Finkelpearl (1998, 200) observes that a comparative reading of the two passages against the ‘Lucretian’ background entails making an obvious contrast between the Apuleian Venus and Isis. Apuleius attributes Lucretian cosmic functions and qualities to Isis, who turns out to be the ‘real’ Venus (cf. below, 11,5,2 *Venerem*) and the true ‘parent of the world’, unlike the Apuleian Venus from *Cupid and Psyche*, who herself denies that she any longer holds such honours. For a different view see Dowden in *AAGA* 2, 8, who observes that Venus in *Cupid and Psyche* “is the driving force be-

hind this myth as Isis ... will be for the whole novel. What looks like jest now becomes serious later, as the process of metamorphosis of Venus into Isis charges Venus retrospectively with significance.” Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 148-149 observes that the many correspondences between Venus and Isis in *met.* and the allusions to Lucretius strongly suggest that Apuleius developed Isis out of Venus and thought of her as a superior version of that deity (see also Introduction, 4.2.1 with nn. 112-113). On the Lucretian dimension of Book 11 see Introduction, 6.4.

En: for this self-introductory use of *en*, *ThLL* s.v. 546,37-41 mentions only a few select examples from Latin poetry before Apuleius, starting from Verg. *Aen.* 5,672-673 *en ego uester / Ascanius*. Apuleius seems to be the first to use *en* in the direct speech of deities; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,452 *en ego uicta situ*, where *en* functions as a visual imperative (‘look at me’) in Allecto’s display of her true identity and origin to Turnus (see Smith 2005, 39). For the self-presentation of a goddess with the lively interjection *en* cf. 4,30,1 *En ... en ... en*, with *GCA* 2004, 57 ad loc.

adsum ... commota: for the adaptation of the hymnic invocation *ades (adsis, adeste)* – a typical Roman element of the formal language of prayer (Appel 1909, 115-117; Hickson 1993, 67-69) – to a first person form, spoken by a god, there is an important precedent in Statius; cf. *silv.* 3,1,112 (Hercules:) *ipse adero et conamina tanta iuuabo*; *Theb.* 3,313 (Mars:) *adero et socia arma iuuabo*. For *adesse* of divine presence and help in prayer language, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10,254-255 with Harrison 1991 ad loc.; Ov. *fast.* 6,652 with Littlewood 2006 ad loc.; more examples can be found in *ThLL* s.v. 924,47-62. Cf. below, 11,5,5 *adsum ... miserata ... adsum fauens et propitiata*. Isis’ repeated emphasis on her helpful presence refers to the help she offers by means of her prophetic dream; cf. 11,6,3 *hoc eodem momento quo tibi uenio, simul et ibi praesens*. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,395 *aderitque uocatus Apollo*, where “Apollo will be present principally through the oracular counsel he gives” (Horsfall 2006 ad loc.). Yet, although she only appears in his sleep, Lucius actually feels Isis’ helpful presence: see comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis ... praesentiam*.

tuis commota ... precibus: it is her personal compassion for Lucius (*tuis*), emphasised at the beginning and at the end of her self-introduction (11,5,4 *adsum tuos miserata casus*), which moved Isis to appear. For Isis as a characteristically merciful goddess, see the *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,36) Ἐγὼ ἰκέτας ἐλεᾶν ἐνομοθέτησα; Isidorus’ 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,35-36); 3rd *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 23,34). Her epithet ἐπήκοος (the goddess who ‘gives ear’ to prayers), found in inscriptions in Pellene, Thessaloniki and Delos (cf. e.g. *SIRIS* 47; 412; see Bricault 1996, 25; Dunand 1973, vol. II, 20 n. 4) is attested on so-called ear *stelae*, with sculpted ears that symbolise Isis’ mercy; see Dunand 1973, vol. II, 113 with n. 4 (see Planche X in vol. III). This attribute is related to her soteriological identity as a healing goddess and tutelary deity (see below on 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*); cf. the *Encomium of Maroneia* (Totti 19,6-7) ταῖς εὐχαῖς [ἐπήκ]ουσας.

In view of Isis’ parallels with the Platonic supreme deity (see below on *rerum naturae parens*), Isis’ compassion (see also comm. on 11,15,1 *aram Misericordiae*) can be considered at odds with the ἀπάθεια of that higher god (cf. *Socr.* 12 p. 147 *nec misericordia contingi*); yet, according to Turcan 2007, 76-77, Isis’ helpful omnipresence (cf. also 11,25,1 *sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua*) is an aspect of

her status as supreme deity (cf. *mund.* 24 p. 343, on Jupiter: *sospitator quidem ille et genitor est omnium, qui ad complendum mundum nati factique sunt*).

Luci: Isis' direct address with the vocative *Luci* reflects the goddess's emotional response to Lucius' concluding appeal *redde me meo Lucio* (11,2,4); see Pasetti 1999, 256, who notes this element as an important difference from the Greek self-revelations. Note the expressive juxtaposition of *commota* and *Luci*, framed by *tuis ... precibus*.

rerum naturae parens: cf. 4,30,1 *en rerum naturae prisca parens* (on Venus) with *GCA* 2004, 57 ad loc.; cf. 11,11,2 *omniparentis deae*, with comm. ad loc. (notably, Osiris is called *deum summus parens* in 11,27,2). The epithet *rerum naturae parens* famously alludes to Lucretius' title *De rerum natura* and his hymn to Venus (cf. *Lucr.* 1,21 *rerum naturam sola gubernas*; see above, introd. note); the epithet is paralleled in another description of a goddess in the anonymous iambic *Precatio Terrae Matris*, which is probably post-Apuleian (*Anth. Lat.* 5,1): *dea sancta Tellus, rerum naturae parens* (see Harrison 2005a, 281). In *Macr. Sat.* 1,20,18, Isis is called *natura rerum* (Bricault 1996, 87), which reflects her ancient Egyptian identification with the earth and with the procreation of plants and fruits (Wittmann 1938, 29); moreover, in the Graeco-Roman world, Isis was perceived as Demeter/Ceres; cf. 11,2,1 *Ceres alma frugum parens originalis* and 11,25,1 *fouendis mortalibus munifica*, with comm. For the idea of Isis as 'mother' cf. 11,5,2 *deum matrem*; 11,7,4 *matrem siderum* and *parentem temporum*.

Isiac texts frequently identify Isis with nature (φύσις; see Turcan 2007, 77), but not explicitly with the origin of the universe (similarly, only Apuleius associates Isis explicitly with *providentia*; see Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 97). In Isis' *Self-revelation from Kyme*, she introduces herself as the eldest *daughter* of Kronos (Totti 1,5) (cf. below on *progenies*).² Plutarch explains Isis as a female creative principle, attributing this notion to Plato: *de Isid. et Os.* 53 (Mor. 372E) (see Griffiths 1970 ad loc.); cf. 43 (Mor. 368C), on the Moon: μητέρα τὴν σελήνην τοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσι. For Isis' cosmic dimension in the aretalogies see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 54; cf. e.g. Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21), 3 ζῶης εὐρέτρια πάσης, and 8 πάντων τε φύσιν εὐανθέα ... καρπῶν; cf. also Isis' *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,7) Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρώπου εὐροῦσα. The Christian apologist Athenodorus (*suppl.* 22,8, ed. SC p. 150,58-151,1) mentions Isis as a goddess whom pagans consider φύσιν αἰῶνος ('the origin of the world, by which all have been created and through which all exist'). In the iambic *Self-revelation from Cyrene*, Isis declares herself as the 'only ruler of Aion' (Totti 4,4) Ἐγὼ τύραννος εἷσις αἰῶνος μόνη, where the reference to Aion implies the cosmos in its eternity (Turcan 2007, 81).

The present claim rather resembles Apuleian descriptions of the Platonic Supreme Deity (Plato *Tim.* 28c); see Méthy 1996; Turcan 2007, 73-74; Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 136; cf. *apol.* 64,7 *totius rerum naturae causa et ratio et origo initialis, summus animi genitor, aeternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex* (cf. also 64,6); *Socr.* 3 p. 124 *quorum parentem, qui omnium rerum dominator atque auctor est*; *Plat.* 1,12 p. 205; *mund.* 27 p. 350; 31 p. 360. According to Méthy 1996, Apuleius intro-

² Similarly, the *Encomium of Maroneia* (Totti 19,15-16) pronounces that the Earth became mother of all things and that Isis was daughter to this primordial deity.

duces a truly religious dimension into his version of the supreme god, and creates the literary figure of Isis in *met.* with the function of a Platonic myth, in expressing the complex and sometimes contradictory phenomenon, which rational thinking is unable to express: the relation of the Supreme Divinity with the world and mankind (for which see above on *tuis commota ... precibus*).

elementorum omnium domina: as opposed to Lucretius, where *elementa* refer to atoms, the *elementa* here refer to the traditional four elements (earth, water, air, and fire), of which Isis is the mistress; cf. 11,7,4 *orbis totius dominam*; 11,25,3 *tibi ... seruiunt elementa*. The four elements are reflected here in the three spheres 'heaven', 'sea' (= earth), and 'underworld'; see below on *caeli ... maris ... inferum*. For this sense of *elementa* cf. *Apul. Plat.* 1,7 p. 194; *mund.* 21 p. 336. In the *Invocation of Isis*, Isis is addressed as the creator of all the elements, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 184-186. For more examples, see Wittmann 1938, 29.

According to Scazzoso 1951, 121 (see also Merkelbach 1995, 270 n. 9; 292), *elementa* could also mean 'stars' (στοιχεῖα), or spirits/demonic forces, which are in charge of the planets, and have to be propitiated with magic formulas; cf. *Ps. Apul. Ascl.* 10 *ex elementis superioribus inscendere posse uideatur in caelum*. The latter sense of *elementa* seems to be expressed in this context by *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*. Cf. 11,23,7 *per omnia uectus elementa*, with comm. ad loc. on the sense of *elementa* there ('cosmic regions').

elementorum ... saeculorum: as Pasetti (1999, 257) observes, the frequency of the plural genitives in *-orum* and *-um* in the tricola A + B have an important rhythmical function, and are taken up in the following phrase *deorum dearumque facies uniformis*.

saeculorum progenies initialis: cf. 4,30,1 *origo initialis*; both phrases may be inspired by *Lucr.* 5,176 *rerum ... genitalis origo*.

progenies: for the archaic and poetic flavour of *progenies*, which appears in Ennius (*scaen.* 39 Jocelyn), Catullus (66,44), and Lucretius (2,617) as well as Vergil (*Aen.* 10,30), see Harrison 2005a, 281. For Apuleius' predilection for fifth-declension nouns cf. also 11,7,5 *alluuius* with comm. ad loc. Whereas some commentators take *progenies* in the sense of 'offspring' (e.g. Griffiths 1975, Hanson 1989; Kenney 1998: 'first-born'), here the sense of 'origin, ancestry', attested in Republican drama (*Ter. Phorm.* 395; *Pacuv. praetext.* frg. 1 Ribbeck = frg. 257 Schierl; *Acc. trag.* 50 (318 Dangel); see Jocelyn 1967 on *Enn. scaen.* 39 *progeniem ... peperisti*), is equally suitable (Vallette 1945: 'origine et principe'; Brandt – Ehlers 1958: 'Keimzelle'; Nicolini 2005: 'l'origine prima'). See also previous note. The ambiguity of *progenies* draws attention to the ambiguity of Isis' divine status: in Isiac texts, Isis is presented as the eldest daughter (cf. *progenies initialis*) of Kronos rather than the creator of the universe (see above on *rerum naturae parens*; cf. below on 11,5,2 *primigenii*). A perfect example of Apuleian literary wit applied to controversial theological questions.

summa numinum: in other contexts, Lucius refers to the *regina caeli*/Isis as *dea summas* (11,1,2; 11,10,4; 11,22,4) or *summum numen* (11,25,7; 11,26,3); see Méthy 1996, 252 with n. 33; Turcan 2007, 73 and see comm. on 11,1,2 *summatem*. In 11,11,3 *summi numinis*, the implicit reference is to Osiris. For *summus* as a general epithet of deities see *OLD* s.v. 12; with reference to the Platonic supreme divinity, cf. *mund.* 25 p. 344 *summam illam potestatem*.

regina manium: for *regina* as a cult title of Isis see below on 11,5,3 *reginam Isidem*; cf. also 11,26,3 *reginae Isidis*. For *regina* as an epithet of the moon goddess see comm. on 11,2,1 *regina caeli*. Here, Isis identifies herself in particular with Proserpina (below, 11,5,2 *Stygiam Proserpinam*), the queen of the underworld, in response to Lucius' prayer (11,2,2). This role is also alluded to immediately below in *inferum deplorata silentia ... dispenso*; cf. also 11,6,6 *me ... Acherontis tenebris interlucentem Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem ... adorabis*. In Isiac texts, Isis is called πῦρ Ἄιδος (Mesomedes' *Hymn to Isis*, Totti 25,9) or τὴν ἐν Λ[ή]θῃ Ἰαρίαν ὄψιν (*P. Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20], 127-128); see Wittmann 1938, 29.

prima caelium: 'the highest of deities', not 'the first of the stars', as suggested by Griffiths 1975 (and in a similar vein Harrauer 1973 ad loc., who points to Isis' identification with the moon goddess). In accordance with poetic language (cf. Enn. *scaen.* 171 Jocelyn *templa caelium*; Harrison 2005a, 281), Apuleius always uses *caelites* in the sense of 'gods, divinities'; cf. e.g. 3,23,1 *at mihi scelus istud depellant caelites*; *apol.* 26,2 (magiam) *caelium antistitam*; *Socr.* 5 p. 129 *quisquam ... e caelium numero* (cf. *caelestes deos* in the same context). In the opening of Isidorus' 3rd *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 23,1), the goddess is called Ὑψίστων μεδέουσα θεῶν.

deorum dearumque facies uniformis: Isis' claim to be the manifestation of all deities, both female and male, reflects her identity as 'Isis Panthea'. The importance of the phrase is underlined by its central position (see also Wittmann 1938, 24), forming a hinge between the tricola A + B and the relative clause introducing the third tricolon (C); it contains the only occurrence of the form *deorum* in Book 11 (see below on 11,5,2 *deum matrem*). Since Isis actually mentions only female deities, and later on Osiris appears as the true 'deorum regnator' (cf. 11,30,3), Beroaldus 1500 deleted *deorum* (also some mss. have only *dearumque*). Oudendorp 1786 thought *deorum* was a gloss on *caelium*, which had been falsely adopted in the text by early editors. Although Hildebrand 1842 shared these doubts, he objected to reading only *dearumque*, because the *-que* would mar the asyndetic pattern in Isis' list of attributes.

facies uniformis: see below on *multiformi specie*.

caeli ... maris ... inferum ... dispenso: for a more elaborate division of Isis' power into the spheres of heaven, earth, and the underworld, cf. Lucius' aretology in 11,25,3. For a slightly different tripartition of the world see comm. on 11,1,2 *terra caelo marique*. In a similar way, the immense power of Cupid described in the oracle of Apollo (4,33,2) is illustrated by the mention of its impact in three spheres (see *GCA* 2004, 89, with lit.): *quod pinnis uolitans super aethera cuncta fatigat / ... quod tremit ipse Iouis, quo numina terrificantur / fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae*. Here, the sea represents the sphere of the earth; yet, the substitution is not surprising in view of Isis' identity as Isis Pelagia (cf. below on 11,5,5).

caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso: for Isis ordering the course of the stars, the sun, and the moon, cf. the Isiac *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,13-14) ἐγὼ ἄστρον ὁδοῦς ἔδειξα. ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταζάμην (more examples in Wittmann 1938, 29 with n. 99). Cf. 11,25,2 *stellarum noxios meatus cohibes*; 11,25,3 *tibi respondent sidera*. The stars are mentioned here first; Isis' prominent role as mistress of the stars supports interpretations of Book 11 from an 'astrological' perspective (the significance of calendar and horoscope; the astrological connotations of

time; the role of the Sun), as in Witte 1997 and Beck 2004. See also comm. on 11,22,3 *diuino quodam stellarum consortio ... mihi coniunctum*; 11,24,1 *duodecim ... stolis* (probably symbolising the Zodiac).

caeli ... culmina, maris ... flamina, inferum ... silentia: see Harrison 2005a, 281 on the plurals *culmina, flamina* and *silentia*, which are all common in poetic usage for their metrical convenience. The homoeoptoton underlines the affinity between the three spheres of the cosmos ruled by Isis; for the correspondence *culMINA/flaMINA/silentIA*, Pasetti 1999, 257 with n. 35 compares 11,2,3 *moenIA/seMINA/luMINA* in Lucius' prayer to the moon goddess. For the poetic plural *caeli ... culmina* cf. Manil. 1,150.

luminosa: this is the first attestation of *luminosus* referring to *lumina* in the sense of stars (cf. *OLD* s.v. *lumen* 5b). See *ThLL* s.v. *luminosus* 1829,4-23, comparing Aug. *gen. ad litt.* 3,10 p. 73,8 *a confinio luminosi caeli usque ad aquarum fluuida*. For the use of *luminosus* in a religious context cf. also 6,2,4-5 (Psyche's prayer to Ceres) *te ... deprecor ... per ... inluminarum Proserpinae nuptiarum demeaacula et luminosarum filiae inuentionum remeaacula*, and see comm. on 11,10,1 *uiri feminaeque ... linteae uestis candore puro luminosi*.

maris salubria flamina: for Isis' power over the sea and the winds cf. 11,5,5 *lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus*; 11,7,5 *magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ... temperabat*; 11,25,4 *tu nutu spirant flamina*. Isis the healing-goddess makes the winds 'health-giving' (cf. the unhealthy storms of *Fortuna saeuicens* in 10,4,3); for the theme of *salus* see below on 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*. For the symbolic opposition between unfavourable and favourable winds in Book 11 see Introduction, 4.1.3. For Isis' role as mistress of the winds and the sea (Isis Pelagia) in Isiac texts, cf. Isis' *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,39; 43); *P. Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20,237); Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,32-34); more examples in Wittmann 1938, 29-30. On Isis Pelagia see further below, introd. note on 11,5,5 and Introduction, 4.2.1.

flamina: Apuleius is the first to introduce the word *flamen* (attested in poetry from Ennius *ann.* 433 Skutsch onwards) into prose, as noted by Callebat in *AAGA* 1, 180; for Apuleius' use of poetic words in *-men* see also comm. on 11,7, 4 *adfamine*.

inferum deplorata silentia: note the oxymoron in *deplorata silentia*. According to *ThLL* s.v. 575,43 f., the p.p.p. *deploratus* is used here for the first time as an adjective with the meaning 'miserabilis'. Harrauer 1973 ad loc. notes the hypallage for 'the silences of the miserable underworld'. The rhetorical device possibly aims to avoid an ugly genitive plural (*deploratorum*) as well as to extend the meaning of the adjective to both *inferum* and *silentia* in a sort of *apo koinou*. Along these lines, note additional wordplay with *inferi* ('the inhabitants of the underworld, the dead') = *deplorati*, the 'lamented' (= the dead; see *OLD* s.v. *deploro* 1).

inferum: with the exception of *mund.* 17 p. 327, Apuleius always has genitive plural *inferum*, also in *met.* 11,11,1 (cf. *apol.* 64,1) and 11,21,6. For more examples of genitive in *-um* (e.g. *superum* in 11,11,1; *pastophorum* in 11,17,2 and 11,30,4) see *GCA* 1977, 143; for the solemn connotation of this form, redolent of religious formulae, see LHSz 1,428. Cf. also Pasetti 1999, 257 with n. 34 and see below on 11,5,2 *deum matrem*.

nutibus meis ... cuius numen: see comm. on 11,1,2 *luminis numinisque nutu* for the Apuleian play with the etymology *numen* < *nutus*; see introduction to this chapter (2.

Stylistic analysis) for Pasetti's (1999, 258) observations on the hypogram *NUMEN* in 11,5,1. For the plural *nutibus* ('nods') cf. 11,16,2. For Isis' *nutus* cf. also 11,21,4; 11,25,4. For *nutus* used in *met.* especially of female deities (Fortuna, Juno, Isis) see *GCA* 2001, 277 on 2,18,2 *deque nutu ... petendum*, where it is used of Ptolemy.

The word *nutibus* contains an allusion to the epic convention of a god's assentive nod, particularly recalling Jupiter in Catull. 64,204-206 *annuit inuicto caelestium numine rector / quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt / aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus*. For other reflections of Jupiter's nod (looking back at Hom. *Il.* 1,528-530) in Latin poetry, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10,115 (= 9,106) *adnuat et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum* (see Harrison 1991 ad loc. on the figura etymologica); Hor. *carmin.* 3,1,8; Sen. *Ag.* 383-384. For the powerful nod of a goddess cf. Callim. *hymn. lavacr. Pallad.* 131-133 (Pallas Athena); Ov. *met.* 8,780 (Ceres). On the other hand, Apuleius uses *nutus* here in a 'cosmic' context; cf. Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 40 εἰμαρμένη, necessitas, ordo uel maxime dei nutu sunt effecta, qui mundum gubernat sua lege et ratione diuina. For the impact of the divine nod on the stars cf. also Claud. *rap. Pros.* 3,66 *dixit et horrendo concussit sidera nutu*, with Gruzelić 1993 ad loc.

dispenso: cf. 11,2,3 *dispensans incerta lumina*. Before Apuleius, the use of *dispenso* for the governing power of a god is only attested three times in Manilius' *Astronomica*; for the power of a god as a cosmic principle, cf. Manil. 1,250-252 (*mundum*) *sacro ... meatu / conspirat deus et tacita ratione gubernat / mutuaque in cunctas dispensat foedera partes*; after Apuleius, this use of *dispenso* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1403,53-82 'de deo res humanas administrante') becomes frequent in Christian texts (often with *cuncta* as object); cf. also Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 17 *deus gubernator dispensans omnibus rebus mundanis quantum unicuique necessarium*.

numen unicum ... nomine multiiugo: the antithesis *numen unicum* – *nomine multiiugo* (with paronomasia *numen* – *nomine*) underlines an essential element of the henotheistic nature of Isis.

multiformi ... multiiugo: like Plautus, Apuleius likes compound adjectives with *multi-* and introduces various new ones (e.g. *multiscius*, translating Gr. πολυμαθής, in e.g. 9,13,5; *multiuius* in 9,11,1; more examples in *GCA* 1995, 106-107 ad loc.). The present examples aptly reflect the universal nature of Isis, as does *multinominis* (an Apuleian hapax) appearing in 11,22,6 *deae multinominis*, and translating the Isiac epithet πολυώνυμος (see Pasetti 2007, 147; Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 34); see also 11,3,5 *multicolor* (with comm. ad loc.), where the self-definition of the goddess is foreshadowed by the many colours of her dress (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 123). Although both *multiformis* and *multiiugus* had been established in Latin long before Apuleius (from Cicero onwards), it is likely that Apuleius has Greek compound adjectives with *πολυ-* in mind, at least in the case of *multiformis* (Gr. πολύμορφος, used of Isis in *P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20,9]; more examples in Bricault 1996, 61; cf. μυριομόρφος, *Anth. Graec.* 16,264), or at least draws attention to the process of latinising Greek words and concepts. This is also implied by Gell. 11,16,4, where the same two adjectives are mentioned together with *multicolor* in a discussion about the difficulty of finding adequate Latin terms for Greek words with *πολυ-* like πολυπραγμοσύνη.

Griffiths 1970, 503 points out that epithets like μυριώνυμος, πολυώνυμος, and μυριομόρφος represent the process of attributing universal epithets to Isis by

interpretatio Graeca (Malaise 1997, 88), for in Egyptian texts equivalent epithets had mainly been attributed to Horus, Osiris, Hathor, and the Sun god, but not to Isis. Against this background, the Latin compound adjectives with *multi-* used of Isis not only refer to translating from Greek to Latin on a purely linguistic or literary level, but also reflect the *interpretatio Romana* of Isis' Hellenised universalist identity, since her cult was widespread throughout the Greek (=Roman) world.

multiformi specie: Bricault (1996, 87) lists this as an epithet of Isis (occurring only here). Cf. Apul. *mund.* 37 p. 370 (on Zeus/Jupiter) *et cum sit unus, plurimis nominibus cietur <propter> specierum multitudinem, quarum diuersitate fit multiformis uis*. According to *ThLL* s.v. *multiformis* 1586,44-48, this is the first attestation of this adjective used of gods and demons; after Apuleius, cf. Tert. *carmin.* 24,3 *multiformis Christi argumentatores*; Firm. *err.* 21,2 (probably referring to Dionysiac cult) *deus iste uester non biformis est, sed multiformis*. Possibly, *multiformi specie* is an allusion to Isis' iconography, which appears to be of many forms: thus, one and the same goddess (*facies uniformis*) can embody various different goddesses. Cf. Lucian. *Syr. Dea* 32 (on the cult statue of Hera) ἡ δὲ Ἥρη σκοπεόντι τοι πολυειδέα μορφήν ἐκράνθει: [...] ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Σεληναίης καὶ Ῥέης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νεμέσιος καὶ Μοιρέων. For the 'Hellenic metamorphosis' of Isiac iconography, through which Isis assumed the traits of Hellenic femininity, and on the role of different cultural and religious perspectives in interpreting the identity of divine images (cf. the dream of Ptolemy Soter, Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 28, *Mor.* 361F-362A), see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 64-65.

specie ... ritu ... nomine: in tricolon D, the tripartite structure and the three nouns *specie ... ritu ... nomine* correspond to Lucius' prayer in 11,2,3 *quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est inuocare* (but here, the noun *species* replaces *facies*, with 'paraphonic synonymy'); see Pasetti 1999, 8.

nomine multiiugo: cf. 11,22,6 *deae multinominis*; both passages allude to one of the most frequent epithets of Isis, μυριώνυμος, 'with ten thousand names' (Bricault 1996, 53), found both in inscriptions, even Latin ones (Vidman 1970, 115 with n. 45; Versnel 1990, 50 n. 32 and 190 n. 317; Bricault 1996, 87), and in literary texts, cf. e.g. *Vita Aesopi* 5; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 53 (*Mor.* 372E, with Griffiths 1970 ad loc.). Cf. Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,26) πολυώνυμη Ἴσι μεγίστη; the *Anubis Hymn* (Totti 5,6) πολυώνυμος Ἴσις (more examples of this epithet for Isis in in Bricault 1996, 61; for other deities in Mussions 1988, 17). Cf. Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 20 *hunc uero innominem uel potius omninomem esse, siquidem is sit unus et omnia, ut sit necesse aut omnia eius nomine aut ipsum omnium nominibus nuncupari*. See De Meo 1983, 138-139 for πολυωνυμία as a typical feature of prayer language; cf. Ov. *met.* 4,11-17, listing the many titles of Bacchus, and 5,341-345 (aretalogy of Ceres).

multiiugo: for a similar use of *multiiugus* in an introduction of polysyndetic utterances cf. 6,2,3 *multiiugis precibus* (introducing Psyche's prayer to Ceres), with the observations of *GCA* 2004, 374 ad loc. Apuleius also uses *multiiugus* in a religious context when he speaks about his own countless initiations (*apol.* 55,9 *multiiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et uarias ceremonias ... didici*), which may have included initiations in the Isiac cult, although he does not mention her directly in the *Apology*; cf. *Socr.* 1 p. 117 (on the visible gods), where Apuleius uses *multiiuga* of the varying visual appearances of the moon.

11,5,2 Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem, hinc autochthones Attici Cecropiam Mineruam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusinii uetusti Actaeam Cererem, Thence the Phrygians, first-born of men, call me Pessinuntine Mother of the Gods, thence the autochthonous Athenians call me Cecropian Minerva, thence the sea-tossed Cyprians call me Paphian Venus, the arrow-bearing Cretans call me Dictynna Diana, the triple-tongued Sicilians call me Proserpina of the Styx, the ancient Eleusinians call me Ceres of Attica,

For the identification of Isis with the main Graeco-Roman goddesses as a feature of the hymnic tradition see Introduction, 7.1.1 (final paragraph); see also introduction to Ch. I (1. The Moon as a universal goddess); introduction to Ch. III (3. The Moon and four goddesses reflecting the cycle of life: a mirror for Isis). The catalogue named in the malediction by the priest of the Dea Syria in 8,25,3 includes several goddesses mentioned in 11,5,2-3 (*deum mater, Venus, Bellona*): those goddesses, however, are not fully identified with the Dea Syria and certainly do not merge into her. The Dea Syria is scornfully presented as a private deity, whose cult is objectionable and who is wrongly identified with elements belonging to Isis. Book 11 does not seem to involve any scorn of other religions (Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 153); the many faiths and deities, including Cybele (mentioned in a prominent first position), and Bellona, but excluding the Dea Syria (see Dowden in *AAGA* 2, 3), are now subsumed in the *deorum dearumque facies uniformis*. The cult of the Dea Syria turns out to be a negative foil, against which the Isiac cult, in spite of the many similarities in public appearance (cf. 8,30,5 with *GCA* 1985, 269-271 and the Appendix IV, 2.10.1 in the same volume, especially p. 292 with n. 21) emerges as the only true religion; see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 133-134; Nicolini 2005, 51; Graverini 2007, 83-90 [= 2012, 75-82].

For the prominent place of Cybele and the Phrygians in Isis' self-revelation three general explanations may be given. First, the Phrygians, the oldest people of the world, represent the exotic-oriental and original human race *par excellence*. For the role of the exotic in Apuleius' literary representation of Isis' cult see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 146-152; for Phrygian elements in Isiac ritual cf. 11,8,4 *Phrygiis*, with comm. ad loc. The second explanation regards the *interpretatio Romana* of Isiac cult: the Phrygians and their Mater Magna cult are an important part of the history of the origin of Rome (in the *Aeneid*, the Trojans are regularly called 'Phrygians'), and therefore constitute an important aspect of Roman cultural identity (cf. *Ov. fast.* 4,272 in *Phrygios Roma refertur auos*, with Fantham 1998 ad loc.); see Nauta 2005, 113 and below on *deum matrem*. The third explanation is related to the second: Cybele was the first and most conspicuous deity with whom Isis became fused in Rome; see Takács 1995, 32-51 on the appearance of Isis Panthea and Isis-related symbols in Roman art in (non-cultic) contexts (especially coins) during the Late Republic. Her self-identification with the Great Mother therefore alludes to Isis' own long-standing renown in the artistic, intellectual, and religious world of Rome.

Isis' self-revelation playfully gives the various peoples poetic attributes, which reflect aspects of the respective goddesses they revere (see comm. on *primigenii*;

autochthones; fluctuantes; sagittiferi; trilingues); this may also shed some light on a textual problem in the passage on the *Eleusinii*, where the scribe wrote *uetustam*, probably instead of *uetusti* (see comm. below).

Inde ... hinc ... illinc: the adverbs structure the topographical sequence (cf. *OLD* s.v. *hinc* 4), which results in an expressive description of the 'orbis totus'. Cf. below, 11,5,3, where this function is taken over by pronouns, *alii ... alii ... isti ... illi, et qui*.

primigenii Phryges: Apuleius uses the archaic adjective *primigenius* ('first-born'), which is often attested in inscriptions (e.g. as an epithet for deities, viz. Fortuna, Hercules; see *OLD* s.v. 1), for the first time as an epithet for a people, indicating the status of the Phrygians as the oldest human race (cf. the *Naassene Hymn*, Hippol. *haer.* 5,7,22 [= Hopfner 1923, 435] Αἰγύπτιοι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας ἀρχαιότεροι). Apuleius' innovative use of *primigenii* is most probably motivated by phonetic reasons, possibly by para-etymological play (*primigenii Phryges*; cf. *autochthones Attici* below); additionally, it draws attention to Isis herself in her identity as Ἴσις Τύχη Πρωτογένεια (Dunand 1973, vol. II, 81; Turcan 2007, 83), who was assimilated in Rome to *Fortuna Primigenia*. For the notion of Isis as the beginning of everything see comm. on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens* and *saeculorum progenies initialis*. For the association between Isis and Fortuna see comm. on 11,15,3 in *tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae*; introd. note on 11,6,7.

Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem: the Phrygians and their Mater Magna cult, which the Romans imported from Pessinus (cf. Liv. 29,10,5, quoting the Sibylline Books, *si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam aduecta foret*; *Ov. fast.* 4,255-349), are integrated into the universal cult of Isis in a programmatic first position (see introd. note above). For the universal nature of the cult of Mater Magna herself, cf. Lucr. 2,610-613 (containing a well-known pun on *Phrygia* and *fruges*), where her associations with the origin of the crops suggest the influence of the Demeter legend; note that in our passage Cybele replaces Demeter/Ceres, who was mentioned first in Lucius' prayer to the *regina caeli* in 11,2,1.

Pessinuntiam: all editors adopt Wowerius' (1606) emendation for F's *pessinuntant* (the first hand had already written *.d.* in the margin, which indicated that the reading was doubtful). The *editio princeps* already has *Pessimunticam*. This is one of several uncontroversial emendations in 11,5,2-3; for a detailed discussion of the textual problems in this passage see Zimmermann in *AAGA* 3, 7-10.

deum matrem: the title *deum mater* refers to Cybele, *Mater Magna* (she was identified with Rhea, the mother of Zeus). Her official cult title in Rome was *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*, but in inscriptions also *Mater Deum* and *Mater Magna* are frequent. For the ideological significance of *Mater Magna* in Rome see Wiseman 1984 (Augustan politics); Beard 1994; Nauta 2005 (Roman identity). Compare the Greek Isiac epithets Μήτηρ θεῶν and Μήτηρ μεγάλη, attested in the 2nd cent. B.C. in Delos (Bricault 1996, 52; Dunand 1973, vol. II, 112; *SIRIS*, p. 67). In Pliny (*nat.* 2,37), 'Isis', 'mater deum', and 'Iuno' are listed among epithets for the *sidus Veneris*: *alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellauere* (Bricault 1996, 86). Note the striking fact that the goddess who includes all other gods and is 'unica' can be the mother of the gods at the same time. For Isis as 'mother' cf. above, 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens*.

deum: in *met.*, Apuleius prefers the more solemn and archaic form *deum* (21 x) to *deorum* (8x); see Pasetti 1999, 257 with n. 34, pointing out that *deorum* in 11,5,1 (see above) is the only occurrence of that form in Book 11, and chosen for phonetic reasons. See also comm. on 11,5,1 *inferum*.

autochthones Attici: as a substantive, *αὐτόχθονες* traditionally refers to the Athenians (cf. Eur. *Ion* 29); this is the first occurrence of the Latinised form of *αὐτόχθων* ‘sprung from the soil’ (*ThLL* s.v. 1599,60-65 mentions only two other late examples). Apuleius may have introduced it for phonetic reasons (*autochthones Attici*), compare *primigenii Phryges* above. Parallel to *primigenii*, *autochthones* represents a claim to being the oldest human race; cf. Diod. Sic. 3,2,1, who calls the Ethiopians *αὐτόχθονες*, because they were not immigrants but literally natives of their own land, and the first to be generated by the earth (see below on 11,5,3). Moreover, in a similar self-referential manner to *primigenii*, the adjective *autochthones* implies an allusion to Isis’ own ‘primordial’ nature, for Isis was reputed to be the daughter of Earth (cf. the *Encomium of Maroneia*, Totti 19,15-16). For the primordial aspect of Athena-Isis see below on *Minerua*.

Cecropiam: all editors retain F’s *Cecropeiam*; see also *ThLL Onomasticon*, vol. II, s.v. *Cecrops* 292,55, mentioning only this passage for the Latinised form *Cecropēius*. However, the Greek form *Κεκροπήιος* mentioned by *ThLL* is nowhere attested (though the Supplement of LSJ mentions the alternative form *Κεκροπήϊς* for *Κεκροπήϊς*). Latin poets without exception use the standard form *Cecropius* (as an equivalent of ‘Athenian’, cf. Gr. *Κεκρόπιος*); as an epithet of Minerva, cf. Lucan. 3,306; Mart. 1,39,3; 7,32,3 (with the extensive note of Galán Vioque 2002 ad loc.); Sidon. *carm.* 24,96 (cf. also Mart. 5,2,8 *Cecropia puella*). In view of these parallels, Harrison 2005a, 282 argues for adopting *Cecropiam* in the text (his arguments are endorsed by Zimmerman in *AGA* 3, 8 with n. 25; the reading *Cecropiam* is adopted by the OCT). Although it is not impossible that Apuleius introduced *Cecropeius*, an error in F seems more likely in this passage, where several of the other geographical epithets (*pessinumtam*, *phlaphiam*, *raanusiam*) are garbled. The attested poetic form *Cecropius* is in accordance with the Latin poetic vocabulary of this passage (cf. e.g. *sagittiferi* and *trilingues*). This Latin pedigree fits the *interpretatio Romana* of the Greek goddess Athena, who appears as the Roman goddess Minerva here (see note ad loc.). Moreover, Apuleius does not use neologisms in this context; the lexical innovations are semantic, viz. in *fluctuantes*, or consist in Latinising Greek words for the first time, cf. above, *autochthones*. Note also the perfect homoeoteleuton of *Pessinuntiam* – *Cecropiam* – *Paphiam* (with *-iam* following a consonant).

Minerua: although the Latinised form *Athena* is attested (see *OLD* s.v.), Apuleius uses the name of the Roman goddess Minerva, even if Isis refers to the cult of Athena in Attica (note the contrast with the preceding three Latinisations of Greek forms: *autochthones Attici Cecropiam*). The identification of Isis with Athena/Minerva is also mentioned twice in Plutarch, where it is connected with the notion of self-begetting, cf. *de Isid. et Os.* 9 (*Mor.* 354C), quoting the self-proclamation of Athena Isis in the inscription of Saïs, and 62 (*Mor.* 376A), with Griffiths 1970 ad loc. In the *Invocation of Isis*, *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 30, Isis is called *νικήτριαν Ἀθήνην νόμφην*.

fluctuantes: the participle *fluctuans* occurs only here in the sense of ‘sea-washed’, translating the epic/hymnic epithet of Cyprus *ἐνάλιος* (cf. *Hom. hymn. Aphr.* 6,2-3 *Κύπρου ... εἰνάλιος*). See comm. on 11,2,1 *circumfluo ... sacrario* for the ‘sea-girt’ sanctuary of Venus Paphia. For this sense of *fluctuans* cf. *ThLL* s.v. *fluctuo* 942,70-74 (‘*fluctibus agitari*’). For a different interpretation cf. *OLD* s.v. 2b ‘to float’, comparing our passage to descriptions of ‘floating islands’ (cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,209 *quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur*). In both interpretations, Isis’ words transfer a characteristic of the island to its inhabitants (Kenney 1998 translates ‘island-dwellers’); see below on *trilingues*. Yet, through *fluctuantes* the Cyprians also reflect an aspect of the sea-born Aphrodite/Venus, whose followers are tossed in the ‘Sea of Love’ (see e.g. *GCA* 2004, 289 on 5,23,4 *fluctuat*).

Paphiam Venerem: cf. 11,2,1 *seu tu caelestis Venus, quae ... circumfluo Paphi sacrario coleris*; 4,29,3 *Paphon nemo ... ad conspectum deae Veneris nauigabant*, with *GCA* 2004, 51 ad loc. Venus is the goddess, beside Proserpina and Ceres, with whom Isis is most frequently identified, both in religious texts and in iconography (Malaise 1997, 92). Cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,37, cited above on *deum matrem*. In the Greek world, Isis is frequently called *Ἀφροδίτη*, e.g. in inscriptions in Delos from the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. (e.g. *I. Délos* 2080,1), where sometimes a fusion between Isis, Aphrodite, and the Syrian goddess Astarte is found (Dunand 1973, vol. II, 112); also often in *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), e.g. 38-39; for more examples see Wittmann 1938, 30 and Bricault 1996, 16. For the importance of the connection between Venus and Isis see introd. note on 11,5,1; Introduction, 4.2.1 with n. 112. In the catalogue in *met.* 8,25,3, Venus is called *Venus domina*, and is in the company of her *parhedros* Adonis (not mentioned here; see *GCA* 1985, 217 ad loc.).

Paphiam: the emendation *paphiam* for F’s *phlaphiam* is already found in the *editio princeps*.

Cretes sagittiferi: Apuleius takes the adjective *sagittifer*, which he uses only here, from poetic language, where it is first attested as an epithet (cf. the Homeric *τοξότης*) of the Parthians in Catull. 11,6 *seu Sagas sagittiferosue Parthos*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 8,725 *sagittiferos ... Gelonos*; Ov. *met.* 1,468. See Pasetti 2007, 125-127 on Apuleius’ use of compound adjectives in *-fer* taken from poetic language (cf. 6,2,4 *frugiferam*, a poetic epithet of Ceres; see *GCA* 2004, 375 ad loc.); see also Harrison 2005a, 281. Unlike the Parthians, the Cretans are not traditionally ‘arrow-bearing’, but here the epithet is transferred from the deity venerated by them, who is traditionally represented as bearing bow and arrows (cf. the statue of Diana as a huntress in the atrium of Byrrhena, depicted in *met.* 2,4). For a similar epithet of Artemis in a hymnic context, cf. the *Orphic Hymn* 36,3 *τοξότι* and see Morand 2001, 58; cf. *PGM* IV, 2523 (= 2819) ‘dart-shooter Artemis’. For another hunting attribute of Diana (‘nets’), alluded to through the Greek etymology of the epithet *Dictynna*, see next note.

Dictynnam Dianam: according to Pasetti 1999, 261 n. 47, Apuleius is the first to use the name *Dictynna* as an epithet in combination with the name *Diana* (for later examples, e.g. Serv. *Aen.* 2,116, see *ThLL Onomasticon* III, 1 s.v. *Dictynna*, 143,28-30). This seems to be part of Apuleius’ literarisation of hymnic language; cf. the *Orphic Hymn* 36,4 (the dating is disputed), where *Δίκτυννα* is one of the many epithets with which Artemis is invoked. With this combination, Apuleius subtly points to the process of religious and cultural appropriation on a ‘micro-scale’ (Artemis sub-

suming the identity of the Cretan goddess Dictynna and Diana subsuming the identity of Artemis and Dictynna), which is so crucial to his portrait of Isis, who embodies universalism on a global scale. The literary identification between Diana and Dictynna in this context reflects, on the one hand, Isiac cultic practice – in the *Invocation of Isis*, Isis is called both Δικτυννίς (*P.Oxy.* 1380 = Totti 20,82) and Ἄρτεμις (84-85; for more examples of the associations between Isis and Artemis see Bricault 1996, 15; Malaise 1997, 94) – and alludes, on the other hand, to Hellenistic and neoteric literary traditions, which give Apuleius’ literarisation of religion a distinguished poetic ancestry.

For *Dictynna* (derived from δίκτυα, ‘fisherman’s nets’) as Artemis’ cult title as the goddess of hunting (‘Lady of the Nets’), see Maltby 2002 on Tib. 1,4,25, where *Dictynna* is juxtaposed with *sagittas*; see above on *Cretes sagittiferi*. In *Ciris* 305, *Dictynna* is applied to Diana’s manifestation as the moon; for this association cf. the anonymous lines in *FLP* frg. 10 (Courtney 1993, 458-459) = *FRP* frg. 235 (Hollis 2007, 398-399) that possibly derive from the epyllion *Dictynna* by P. Valerius Cato (see Lyne 1978, 223-225 on *Ciris* 294-309): *Luna, deum quae sola uidet periuria uulgi / seu Cretaea magis seu tu Dictynna uocaris*. This epyllion was labelled both *Diana* and *Dictynna* (cf. Suet. *gramm.* 11,2 with Kaster 1995 ad loc.); the latter title is mentioned by the poet Cinna (frg. 14 *FLP*, Courtney = 14 *FRP*, Hollis).

Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam: see Pasetti 1999, 260 on the poetic word *trilinguis* in the context of Apuleius’ use of the language of prayer; more generally Pasetti 2007, 120 on Apuleius’ use of numeral compound adjectives taken from the *Dichtersprache* (cf. also 11,2,2 *triformi*). Apuleius uses the adjective *trilinguis*, which in Horace means ‘having three tongues’ (*carm.* 2,19,31; 3,11,20, both of Cerberus; cf. *Stygiam* in our passage), in the abstract meaning of ‘speaking three languages’ (the Sicilians spoke Greek, Latin, and presumably Punic, or a less known local dialect, like Sicel; see Willi 2008), which may be an expression for ‘speaking many languages’ (Harrauer 1973 ad loc.). Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 34-35 discusses *trilingues* as ‘semantic hapax’, pointing out the analogy with *bilinguis* for the Gr. δίγλωσσος, used by Ennius, Lucilius, and Horace. It is possible that this use of *trilingues* had a precedent in Varro (apud Isid. *orig.* 15,1,63); however, since Isidorus quotes Varro in paraphrasis it is by no means certain whether Varro himself used *trilinguis*.

In addition, *trilingues* may connote ‘the inhabitants of Trinacria (= Sicilia)’, the ‘land with the three promontories’ (= *linguae*), cf. Ov. *met.* 13,724 *tribus haec excurrit in aequora linguis*; *fast.* 4,419 f. *terra tribus scopulis ... Trinacris* (on the names of the promontories and their geographical position see Fantham 1998 ad loc.), where Ovid describes the scene of the Rape of Proserpina by Pluto. As was the case with *fluctuantes* (see above), the adjective plays on the (Stoic) idea that people reflect the characteristics of the landscape they inhabit (cf. Cic. *fat.* 7 *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici*, with Schallenberg 2008, 105). In this context, the adjective *trilinguis* also underlines the special connection of the Sicilians with their goddess with the ‘triple form’, Proserpina; cf. 11,2,2 *triformi facie*, with comm. ad loc. on the associations with Hecate. Apart from Horace (*carm.* 2,19,31 and 3,11,20), the adjective *trilinguis* occurs once in Val. Fl. 7,184, where Venus threatens to compel Hecate to subdue the fire-breathing bulls with her ‘triple chant’ (*cantu ... trilingui*), which refers to the threefold form of Diana as Hecate, Luna, or Lucina (see

Perutelli 1997 ad loc.). On Apuleius’ use of the number three in Book 11 see also introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

Stygiam Proserpinam: the assimilation of Isis with Proserpina (cf. 11,2,2 *Proserpina*; 11,5,1 *regina manium*) is less frequent. Wittmann 1938, 30-31 compares the *Invocation of Isis*, *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 71-72 ἐν Μετηλείτῃ Κόρῃ and 127-128 τὴν ἐν Λήθῃ ἰλαρὰν ὄψιν. Cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 27 (*Mor.* 361E), where Archemachus the Euboean’s identification of ‘Persephassa’ with Isis (for more instances see Bricault 1996, 60) parallels the identification of Pluto with Sarapis. Griffiths 1970 ad loc. points out that Isis, like Proserpina, had a funerary role, which connected her to the underworld; see comm. on 11,23,7 *calcato Proserpinae limine* and Panayotakis (forthcoming). Proserpina’s associations with the Moon (Plut. *de fac.* 27, *Mor.* 942D) and with Hecate (cf. 11,2,2 *triformi facie*; 11,5,3 *Hecatam*) and Isis’ identification with both (see introduction to Ch. I [1. The Moon as a universal goddess]) also account for the identification Isis – Proserpina. For the importance of the associations between Isis, Hecate, the Moon, and Persephone in Middle Platonism (Plutarch; Porphyrius’ *de imaginibus*) see Zambon 2002, 67-71; influenced by Plutarch’s doctrines, Porphyrius described the Moon as the Elysian Fields (giving an allegorising interpretation of Hom. *Od.* 4,563-564), cf. 11,6,6 *Acherontis tenebris interlucentem*.

Stygiam: for *Stygia* as a poetic epithet of Proserpina cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4,526 *Stygiae ... seueros Iunonis thalamos* (the ‘Stygian Juno’ being Proserpina); see Harrison 2005a, 282 for other poetic attestations. *Stygiam* is an early emendation of F’s *stigiam*; Kaibel’s (1900) conjecture *Ortygiam* (Robertson 1945: ‘fortasse recte’) is adopted by Griffiths 1975 (Hanson 1989 reads ‘Ortygian’ in his translation but *Stygiam* in his Latin text), because it would complete the pattern of geographical allusions (a not entirely valid argument: cf. *Dictynnam*, which is another variation in the pattern, because it is not a geographical adjective, but another divinity’s name used as an attribute). Cf. 11,6,6 *Stygiis ... penetralibus*; 4,33,2 *Stygiae tenebrae*; 6,13,4 *Stygiis ... paludes*.

Eleusinii uetusti Actaeam Cererem: F has *Eleusini uetustam deam Cererem*, which was retained by most editors (adopting the correction *Eleusinii* found in v; cf. 11,2,1 *Eleusiniam*), including Helm, Griffiths 1975, and Fredouille 1975. Castiglioni 1938, 563-564 observed that in this symmetrically constructed tricolon *Eleusinii* needed an attribute, and proposed *Eleusinii uetusti*. For the recurrent topic of the long-established lineage of a people worshipping Isis in this chapter, compare the Phrygians (cf. 11,5,2 *primigenii*), the Ethiopians and the Egyptians (11,5,3). Here, the adjective *uetusti* (as in other case, e.g. *sagittiferi* and *trilingues*) also reflects an aspect of the deity, which may explain the scribal error (see introd. note above). Then, to avoid the insipid combination *deam Cererem*, Castiglioni suggested *sanctam deam Cererem* (or, alternatively, *uenerandam deam Cererem*, or *legiferam deam Cererem*). Robertson’s (1945) ingenious emendation *uetusti <Acta>eam Cererem* is in accordance with the use of poetic and hymnic language in this context (cf. Stat. *silv.* 4,8,50 *tuque, Actaea Ceres* – note, however, that this is an emendation of the transmitted *Acea*; moreover, there is the danger of circular argument, as Harrison 2005a, 282 points out). Robertson’s emendation attractively restores complete isocolon with the two preceding clauses, with *Actaeam* matching the toponymic epithets *Dictynnam* and *Stygiam* (see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 9-10, offering a detailed analysis of this

problem). For *Actaeus* (derived from *Acte*/Ἀκτῆ, an archaic name of Attica) as a divine epithet cf. also Stat. *silv.* 5,2,128 *Actaea ... uirgo*, used of Minerva (transmitted as *Acceaque* – evidently this epithet was liable to textual corruption). Robertson's emendation (supported by Augello 1977, 224-226) is adopted by Harrauer 1973, Hanson 1989, Brandt – Ehlers 1958 and Zimmerman 2012.

Cererem: in Lucius' prayer to the *regina caeli*, Ceres is the first-mentioned goddess (11,2,1); cf. also 11,3,5 *spicis Cerialibus* and see *GCA* 2004, 375-376 on 6,2,4 (where Psyche prays to *Ceres frugifera*) for the association of the old Roman goddess Ceres with the Eleusinian Mysteries. Isis is frequently identified with Demeter, as early as the fifth century B.C. (cf. Herodot. 2,59; 2,156); for examples of Demeter as a title of Isis see Bricault 1996, 20-21. For the similarity between the two goddesses see also above on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens*; Introduction, 4.2.1 with n. 110. Like Isis, Demeter is called *πολυώνυμος* (Griffiths 1970, 502-503 with n. 1). Demeter and her mystery cult (especially the initiation rites in Eleusis; see Lembke 1994, 106; Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 42-43 and 47-48) played an important role in the *interpretatio Graeca* of Isiac cult (Malaise 1997, 91).

11,5,3 *Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusia illi, et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utriusque priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellunt uero nomine reginam Isidem. Some call me Juno, others Bellona, others Hecate, still others Rhamnusia, and the people of both Ethiopians, who are enlightened by the life-generating rays of the rising Sun God, and the Egyptians, who are predominant through their ancient lore, worship me by my distinctive rites and call me by my true name of Queen Isis.*

Iunonem: the identification between Isis and Hera/Juno was frequent; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 32, 34, 60, 68; Diod. Sic. 1,25,1. For *Iuno* as an Isiac epithet (cf. *SIRIS* 391) see Bricault 1996, 85; see also above on 11,5,2 *deum matrem*. The worship of Juno herself, *regina dearum* (6,4,2), reflects similar universalist tendencies in Isiac cult; cf. Psyche's prayer in 6,4,1-3, where the goddess is worshipped in all the East and all the West. Here, Juno follows immediately after Ceres; in *Cupid and Psyche*, they similarly appear as a juxtaposed pair (6,2-4; see Harrison 2005a, 281).

Bellonam: at the end of the republic, during Sulla's campaigns in the East (92 B.C.), the bloody Sabine war-goddess Bellona was identified with the Cappadocian goddess *Mâ* of Kommana after Sulla had become acquainted with this goddess. Her cult involved noise, ecstatic dancing and prophesying (her devotees are called *fanatici*, cf. Iuv. 4,123-124), and self-mutilation (see Lindsay and Patricia Watson 2003 on Mart. 12,57,11 *turba ... entheata Bellonae*; Horsfall 2000 on Verg. *Aen.* 7,319 *Bellona*). Bellona's prominence under the Empire was especially indebted to her association with the cult of *Mater Magna* (cf. Iuv. 6,511-512 *ecce furentis / Bellonae matrisque deum*, with Courtney 1980 ad loc.). The association between Isis and Bellona is typically Roman, as may also appear from the *Invocation of Isis*, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 83 ἐν Ῥώμῃ Στρατίαν (the reading, however, is uncertain). The identification points to the importance of Roman military expansion for the global spread of religion.

Hecatam: for the Latinised form *Hecata* cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,46; Latin poets prefer *Hecate*. Hecate is herself a goddess who fuses with many other deities, like the Moon, Persephone, and Artemis; for Hecate's 'polymorphic' and many-named identity cf. the Prayer to Selene (*PGM* IV,2785-2890), especially 2815-2816 (see Betz 1986, 90-92; Fauth 2006, 63-64); for the associations between Isis and Hecate see Malaise 1997, 94 and cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 113 ἐν Καρία Ἐκάτην (cf. 84-85 τριθυήν Ἄρτεμιν). See further Fauth 2006, 67-76 and comm. on 11,5,2 *Stygiam Proserpinam* and 11,2,2 *triformi facie*.

Rhamnusia: for the poetic name *Rhamnusia* (*uirgo*) for Nemesis, who had a famous shrine at Rhamnous (near Athens) cf. Catull. 64,395; 66,71; 68,77; *Ciris* 228; Ov. *met.* 3,406; Stat. *silv.* 2,6,73. Cf. Callim. *hymn. Dian.* 232 Ἑλένη Ῥαμνουσίδι, with Bornmann 1968 ad loc. Like Isis, the imperial Nemesis is a cosmos-controlling goddess, who orders human life and administers justice (see Lightfoot 2003, 439 on Lucian. *Syr. Dea* 32). For Isis' associations with *Iustitia* (*Dikaiosyne*), which presents continuity with her Egyptian identity as Isis-Maat, see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 41. The association between Isis and Nemesis is attested in ancient iconography; see *LIMC* s.v. Nemesis, no. 182 and 187.

nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes utriusque: Helm retains F's *arique* and prints *Arique* (v have *Ariique*, followed by Médan 1925a). Griffiths 1975 prefers *Afrique* proposed by Cuperus (quoted in Oudendorp 1786), which would add a personal connection of the author from Madauros, suggesting that also the African people "had a share in the glory of Egypt's heritage" (see Griffiths 1975 ad loc.). Most editors adopt the ingenious conjecture *utriusque* by Brant (mentioned by Oudendorp 1786, who follows the conjecture). Brant's conjecture is very plausible in view of 1,8,6 *Indi uel Aethiopes utriusque*, where the geographical expanse of a goddess's influence is similarly emphasised: Meroe is capable of making people as far as the Indians and 'both kind of Aethiopians' (Eastern and Western Ethiopians, cf. Hom. *Od.* 1,23-24 Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, / οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος) fall in love with her. In view of the reading *utriusque* and the Homeric passage, Robertson's (1945) strictly unnecessary and extensive insertion after *inchoantibus* <et occidentis inclinantibus> has been found attractive, because it is more elegant and produces antithesis; it was adopted by Brandt – Ehlers 1958 and followed by various translators (Kenney 1998, Nicolini 2005, Relihan 2007); also Pa-setti (1999, 261) adopts the insertion, but does not indicate that it is a conjecture. For a discussion see Augello 1977, 226 and Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 9-10.

nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis: the expression can be understood on more than one level. Apart from a geographical reference, it can also be interpreted as a temporal reference, pointing to the beginning of the day. On a third level, the phrase contains an allusion to one of the 'proofs' of the primordial status of the Ethiopians; according to Diodorus Siculus (3,2,1), it was the Ethiopians' proximity to the Sun (τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν οἰκοῦντας), whose warmth (θερμασίαις, cf. *radiis*) at the generation of the universe (cf. *nascentis dei ... inchoantibus*) impregnated the region with life, that made the earth generate them as the first human race (εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ἐγγυτάτω τόπον ὄντα τοῦ ἡλίου πρῶτον ἐνεγκεῖν φύσεις ἐμψύχους); from this primordial status flows their first rank in showing piety to the gods through cultic activity (in the same context, Diod. Sic. calls them αὐτόχθονες, see above on

11,5,2 *autochthones Attici*). Here, the present tense of *inlustrantur* indicates continuity, which especially confirms the geographical and temporal interpretation of the whole phrase; nevertheless, the traditional connection of the Ethiopians' identity with the sun and the ambivalence of the phrasing (see also below) draw attention to their mythical origin.

nascentis dei Solis: cf. 5,13,6 *lumen nascentis diei*; Apuleius plays here with the similarity of the genitives of *deus* and *dies*, in a context where a divinity (*Sol*) actually represents the beginning of a new day. For the reverse situation cf. below, where it is the *dies salutaris* instead of the sun that shines upon Lucius (11,5,4 *inlucescit*). Apuleius was undoubtedly aware of the connection between *deus* and *dies* already established in ancient etymology (see Maltby 1991, 187 s.v. *dies*), e.g. in Varro *ling.* 6,4; Paul. Fest. p. 74. Here, the association works on two levels, for Isis refers, on the one hand, to the beginning of the day (cf. *OLD* s.v. *nascor* 3a; cf. below, 11,5,5 *nascetur*), and on the other hand, to the birth of the universe, including the Sun (cf. Diod. Sic. 3,2,1 and see previous and following note).

inchoantibus ... radiis: in its most obvious meaning, *inchoantibus* can be taken as a periphrastic description of the beginning (the 'first rays') of the day, cf. 11,20,5 *inchoatae lucis salutationibus*; Fronto *epist. ad Anton. imp.* 1,5,3 (p. 93,15) *ita ut cum serenus dies inluculascit lumine inchoato*; Aug. *gen. c. Manich.* 1,14,22 *sol inchoat ... diem* (*ThLL* s.v. 968,51-54). Yet, *ThLL* s.v. *incho* 970,38 f. quotes this passage in a special section as the first instance of the verb *inchoare* without an object and with a thing as its subject, followed by some examples of a temporal or 'calendar-like' use, e.g. Pallad. 3,25,20 *mense Februario uel inchoante Martio*; Priscill. *tract.* 4,76 *inchoantibus ... diebus quadragensimarum*. In this sense, *inchoantibus* indicates the beginning of a new period, namely the creation of the world and the birth of the sun, whose rays begin to shine (for an intransitive interpretation of our passage cf. also *OLD* s.v. 4b 'to have its beginning, start'). Read against the background of the birth of the Ethiopian people through the warmth of the sun during the generation of the universe (see above), *inchoantibus* here possibly has the additional connotation of 'bringing into being (i.e. living organisms)' (*OLD* 1c), 'with generating rays', cf. Cic. *fin.* 4,34 (hominem) *a natura inchoatum*; *div.* 1,118 *a principio inchoatum ... mundum*.

inlustrantur: here, the verb *inlustrare* is primarily used in its literal sense, 'to shine upon' (*OLD* s.v. 1); *ThLL* s.v. 398,27-30 gives various instances with *sol* as subject, including the first attestation of the verb (Varro *rust.* 1,12,3). In this context, the rays of the Sun God, the counterpart of the 'moon goddess Isis' – who has a special significance in Book 11 because of his association with Osiris (cf. 11,27,2) – may connote something that goes beyond mere 'shining upon': the Ethiopians have a claim of being the first to honour the gods with pious rites, to be 'initiated', 'enlightened', because they were the first upon whom the Sun God projected his divine rays when the world came into being. Cf. the *Encomium of Maroneia* (Totti 19,17-19) 'you took Serapis as your husband and after being joined in marriage, the world shone under your faces, you Helios and Selene, having opened your eyes' (τος ὑμετέροις προσώποις ὁ κόσμος ἀνέλαμψεν ἐνομματισθεὶς Ἡλίῳ καὶ Σελήνῃ); on the interpretation of this passage see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 41. For the metaphorical use of

illustrare (*OLD* 4 'to enlighten') cf. 11,27,2 *inuicti Osiris necdum sacris inlustratum*, with comm. ad loc.

Aethiopes ... uero nomine: like the Egyptians (see below), the Ethiopians claimed to be the first people to exist on earth and to introduce religious rites (cf. Diod. Sic. 3,2,1-2); Isis here considers them both as the only two peoples who call her by her true name.

prisca ... doctrina pollentes Aegyptii: the Egyptians are honoured by Isis by means of a prominent mention in last place, stressing the longevity of their lore. Cf. 11,5,5 *aeterna ... religio*. It is their *prisca doctrina* which makes them address and worship Isis by her true designation; for the Egyptians' claim that they were the oldest human race cf. Herodot. 2,2; Diod. Sic. 1,10-11 with Burton 1972 ad loc. The idea of the triumph (*pollentes*) of 'true knowledge' (*doctrina; uero nomine*) may be implicitly underlined by the Greek etymology of Isis' true name, discussed by Plutarch: cf. *de Isid. et Os.* 2 (*Mor.* 351E) 'For the search of truth ... is well-pleasing to that goddess whom you worship, a goddess exceptionally wise and a lover of wisdom (φιλόσοφον), to whom, as her name at least seems to indicate, knowledge and understanding are in the highest degree appropriate'. For the privileged position of the Egyptians in the cult of Isis cf. Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,23-24), which, after enumerating the different names under which different peoples worship Isis, similarly concludes with the Egyptians, who call her 'the One' (ΘΙΟΥΙΝ); see below on *uero nomine*. Reitzenstein (1927, 240-242) compares the *Naassene Hymn* (3rd cent. A.D., Hippol. *haer.* 5,7,22 [= Hopfner 1923, 435]), where the Egyptians are praised in a way similar to the Apuleian passage as the only true teachers of religion.

In later passages of Book 11, strange and exotic features of Isiac cult (reliefs, paintings) are explicitly identified as 'Egyptian', always with positive connotations (the adjective *mirus* underlining their miraculous nature; cf. 11,11,4; 11,16,6; see Introduction, 5.2 with n. 162). For more ambiguously coloured references to Egyptian religion cf. the description of the priest Zatchlas (2,28). Already in the Prologue, Apuleius alludes to Egypt's associations with the origins of writing and ancient lore (1,1,1 *papyrus Aegyptiam ... Nilotici calami*; see *GCA* 2007, 68-69); for other Apuleian references to Egyptian lore cf. *flor.* 6,1; 15,15. See Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36 on Egypt as a geographical paradigm for Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and *Florida*.

percolentes: on the use of the verb *percolere* with a god as its object, first attested in *met.*, see *GCA* 2004, 309 on 5,25,6 *Cupidinem ... percole*; cf. also 6,15,2 *deique numen ... percolens*.

uero nomine: for the revelation of the goddess's true name, Merkelbach (1995, 271) compares the Koptic PENNMHT (= '*uerum nomen*') in *PGM* IV,21. At the beginning of Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,2), the goddess is called 'Isis with the great name (μεγαλόνομη)'; yet, in 23-24, the Egyptians (see above on *Aegyptii*) are said to call her by her true name ΘΙΟΥΙΝ, 'the One', 'because you, the One, are all other goddesses, whom the peoples call with their names'.

reginam Isidem: placed at the very end of the long list of goddesses that form part of Isis' universal identity, the words *reginam Isidem* repeat her claim of being the foremost deity (cf. 11,5,1 *prima caelium*). After the example of Juno (cf. 6,4,2 *reginam dearum*, with *GCA* 2004, 390 ad loc.; see above on *Iunonem*), Isis received the Roman cult title *regina* (32 entrances in the index of *SIRIS*; see also Bricault

1996, 90-92); it is frequently found in Italy as an epithet of Isis (23 times, 3 of which in Rome); see Vidman 1970, 115, who points out that this epithet illustrates the *interpretatio Romana* of the Isis cult. See De Meo 1983, 138 on *regina* as an epithet that became more and more general in prayer language, after being originally attributed only to a few goddesses. Regarding Isis, there are also Greek equivalents, cf. the 1st *Hymn to Isis* by Isidorus (Totti 21,1) βασιλεια θεῶν. In Diodorus Siculus' version (1,27,4) of the *Self-revelation from Kyme*, Isis calls herself βασιλίσσα πάσης χώρας (cf. Totti 1,3 τύραννος πάσης χώρας); cf. *Hymn from Andros* (Totti 2,1) Αιγύπτου βασιλεια. More examples in Bricault 1996, 16-17. Cf. 11,5,1 *regina manium*.

Isidem: apart from this passage, the name of Isis is mentioned twice in Book 11, viz. in 11,15,4 *Isidis magnae* (direct speech of the people of Cenchreae as reported by the priest) and in 11,26,3 *summo numini reginae Isidis* (speech of Lucius-narrator). Lucius-narrator prefers to call her 'dea' or 'numen' (cf. 11,7,1 *numen inuictum* and *deae potentis*; cf. the periphrastic description in 11,7,4). The delay of the revelation of Isis' true name until the end creates suspense; for Apuleius' tendency to postpone a character's name see comm. on 11,22,3 *Mithram*. According to Merkelbach (1995, 271 n. 10), this reluctance to mention Isis' name indicates that Apuleius treats it as a 'Geheimname'. For Plutarch's etymological interpretation of her name see above on *prisca ... doctrina pollentes Aegyptii*.

11,5,4 Adsum tuos miserata casus, adsum fauens et propitia. Mitte iam fletus et lamentationes omitte, depelle maerorem. Iam tibi prouidentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris. Ergo igitur imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum. I am at hand, in pity at your ills, I am at hand, auspicious and propitious. Now stop your tears and cease from wailing, set aside your sadness; now by my providence the day of salvation is dawning for you. So, therefore, pay careful heed to these commands of mine.

In the second section of her speech, Isis presents herself in her traditional role as a personal tutelary deity. This section forms a hinge between her self-revelation and her instructions regarding Lucius' re-transformation on the coming day (see on *ergo igitur*).

Adsum ... miserata: for *adsum* as derived from the language of prayer see above on 11,5,1 *adsum ... commota*. For Isis as a pitying goddess cf. above on 11,5,1 *tuis commota ... precibus*.

fauens et propitia: for the sacral register of *fauens* (Appel 1909, 124-125) cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,18 *adsis, o Tegeaeae, fauens*; Ov. *Pont.* 2,2,41 *uerbaque nostra fauens Romana ad numina perfer*, with Helzle 2003 ad loc.; for *fauens* used of gods cf. e.g. Sen. *Thy.* 619; *Tro.* 263; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *fauo* (*fauens*) 377,53-55. For the present combination of *fauens* with *propitia* cf. Val. Max. 1,6,13 *propitio ac fauenti numine*. A more frequently attested combination in prayer language is *uolens* with *propitius* (Appel 1909, 122-123; cf. following note), see Servius on *georg.* 1,18 *fauens: pro 'uolens' et per hoc 'propitius'*. *fauere enim ueteres etiam uelle dixerunt* (for the association between *fauere* and *uelle* see also comm. on 11,6,2 *uolentia*).

propitia: cf. 11,6,6 *me ... tibi propitiam*; 11,22,5 *propitia uoluntate*. For *propitius* as a term belonging to prayer language ('*propitius sit*' or '*esto uolens propitius*'), cf. e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 935; Cic. *nat. deor.* 1,124; see Appel 1909, 122-124; Hickson 1993, 59-60. Bricault 1996, 90 lists *propitia* as an epithet of Isis, referring to Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 37 *Isin uero Osiris quam multa bona praestare propitiam, quantis obesse scimus iratam* (late 4th/beginning 5th cent. A.D.).

mitte iam fletus et lamentationes omitte, depelle maerorem: Helm 1955 considered *omitte* as a *varia lectio* of *mitte*, and therefore excluded it from the text, followed by Scazzoso 1971 and Harrauer 1973. Helm compares for the non-chiastic structure 3,11,2 (cited below on *mitte ... depelle*) and 8,13,4 *abicitte ... importunas lacrimas, abicitte luctum*. Castiglioni 1938, 564 proposed to change *omitte* into *omnem* (belonging to *maerorem*; cf. 3,11,2 *omnem ... tristitudinem mitte*, quoted more fully in the next note). Other editors retain the transmitted text (see also Augello 1977, 227); in his review of Giarratano's edition, Bernhard (1931, 665) pointed out the Apuleian play with the second (asyndetic) chiasmus, *lamentationes omitte, depelle maerorem* (for chiasmus as a frequent phenomenon in Apuleius see Bernhard 1927, 31-33; *LHSz* 2,697). If both *fletus* and *lamentationes* are taken as objects of *mitte*, then an additional wordplay may be detected in '*omitte de-pelle maerorem*', 'remove the sadness from your hide' (cf. comm. on 11,2,4 *depelle ... faciem*). Zimmerman 2012 retains the transmitted text but with a different punctuation: *Mitte iam fletus et lamentationes omitte. Depelle maerorem*.

mitte ... depelle: for the combination cf. 3,11,2 *omnem itaque de tuo pectore praesentem tristitudinem mitte et angorem animi depelle*. Here, the imperative *depelle* seems a direct answer to Lucius' (lamenting) plea to the goddess in 11,2,4 *depelle quadripedis diram faciem*.

prouidentia mea: it is emphasised throughout Book 11 that Lucius owes his rescue from the troubles of Fortuna to Isis' providence, cf. 11,12,1 *tot emensis periculis deae maximae prouidentia adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortuna superarem*; 11,15,4 (Mithras quotes a possible reaction of the *irreligiosi*) *Isidis magnae prouidentiae gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*; 11,18,1 *deae prouidentis*. The association between Isis and providence is not common in Isiac texts and seems to be an Apuleian innovation (see above on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens*). For the theme of *prouidentia* in the Isis Book see comm. on 11,1,2 *prouidentia* and Graverini in *AAGA* 3.

tibi ... inlucescit dies: for the pathos of the expression cf. Plaut. *Persa* 712 *ne hic tibi dies inluxit lucrificabilis*; *Amph.* 547 *ut mortalis illucescat luce clara et candida* (*dies* as subject is understood); *Bacch.* 255-256 *Volcanus, Luna, Sol, Dies, dei quattuor, scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum*; Verg. *georg.* 2,336-337 *non alios ... / inluxisse dies*; Fronto *epist. ad Anton. imp.* 1,5,3 (p. 93,15) *ita ut cum serenus dies inluculascit* (cf. above on 11,5,3 *inchoantibus*). For more examples see *ThLL* s.v. *dies* 1045,64-69; additional examples s.v. *illucesco* 387,76-81. The priest describes *Fortuna uidens* in similar terms, cf. 11,15,3 *quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat*. For the meaning of the 'light' of the new day (cf. 11,7,2) for Lucius' *salus* cf. Sandy in *AAGA* 1, 137; see Introduction, 4.1.3 on time indicators and their symbolic associations. For the light of Isis interpreted from a Platonic perspective see the Essay by Drews in this volume.

dies salutaris: this is the day of the Festival of Isis, which brings *salus* in a general sense, since the opening of the trade season will bring prosperity. For *salus* as a key word in *met.*, meaning ‘health’ in a physical sense and ‘salvation’ in a spiritual sense – the latter connotation emerges specifically in Book 11 (cf. above, 11,5,1 *salubria*; 11,12,1 *fata salutemque*; in Ch. XXI *salus* occurs three times: 11,21,6 *salutis tutelam*; 11,21,7 *precariae salutis*; *nouae ... salutis curricula*) – see Tatum 1969, 83; 85; Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 153-154; 156; *GCA* 2000, 178 on 10,11,2. For Isis as a goddess of ‘salvation’ (expressed by the attributes *σώτριά* and *salutaris*; see Bricault 1996, 67-68 and 93) see Sfameni Gasparro 2007 (with further bibliography on soteriology on p. 40 n. 2). Here, on the one hand, *salutaris* alludes to the physical healing powers of Isis, for on the next day she will cure Lucius of his asinine condition. Griffiths 1975 ad loc. compares for this physical connotation of *salus* 3,25,1 *salutis inopia*, referring to Lucius’ new asinine state. Isis’ allusion to her ‘salutary’ function is a direct reply to Lucius’ prayer to be healed (11,2,4 *depelle quadripedis diram faciem*). On the other hand, we may also observe a spiritual sense of *salutaris*, for the day of the *navigium Isidis* (below, 11,5,5) will bring salvation to Lucius in a religious sense, as Isis’ future devotee, ‘saved’ through Isis’ divine powers – which are also *salutaris* (cf. 11,22,2 *deae potentis benignitas salutaris*; 11,25,2 *salutarem porrigas dexteram*). In Book 11 Apuleius does not make any explicit reference to a public therapeutic function of Isis’ cult (cf. Diod. Sic. 1,25,2-5; Isidorus’ 1st and 2nd *Hymn to Isis* [Totti 21,29-34 and 22,7-8]; the *Encomium of Maroneia* [Totti 19,6-11]; Merkelbach 1995, 199-201), but rather continues (Latin) literarised representations of Isis as the protagonist’s personal healing-goddess, to whom he addresses a prayer (cf. Tib. 1,3,27-28 *nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi – nam posse mederi / picta docet templis multa tabella tuis*, with Maltby 2002 ad loc.; Ov. *am.* 2,13,7-18 with McKeown 1998 ad loc.).

ergo igitur: for the ‘Plautine’ turn of phrase *ergo igitur*, which occurs 17 x in *met.*, see *GCA* 2000, 80 on 10,3,1 *ergo igitur* (with lit.). *Ergo* (‘so’) and *igitur* (‘therefore’) are not synonyms: whereas *ergo* makes the conclusion explicit, which Lucius should draw from the preceding information (Isis appeals to Lucius’ understanding that he should pay attention to her, as a logical consequence of the fact that through her *providentia* his future looks bright), *igitur* marks the introduction of a new phase in the macro-structure of Isis’ speech, the specific instructions for Lucius related to the festival of Isis on the next day.

imperis istis meis: the combination *iste meus / iste noster* often occurs in a dialogue context (Callebat 1968, 272); for *iste* underlining the medium through which two interlocutors communicate cf. 1,1,1 *sermone isto Milesio*; see *GCA* 2007, 238 on 1,11,2 *sermones istos nostros*; cf. *prol. Socr.* 1 p. 104 *si qui tamen uestrum nondum subitaria ista nostra cognostis*. Here, *iste* draws attention to the issue that is central to the communication between Isis and Lucius: her following *imperia*, to which Lucius has to listen attentively. For the authoritative character of Isis see also introduction to Ch. VI (Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity).

animum ... sollicitum: for *sollicitus* in the sense of ‘attentive’, ‘painstakingly careful’ see *OLD* s.v. 4 (contrast below, 11,5,5 *sollicita ... mente*).

11,5,5 *Diem qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupauit religio, quo sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellis fluctibus, nauigabili iam pelago rudem dedicantes carinam primitias commeatus libant mei sacerdotes. Id sacrum nec sollicita nec profana mente debebis opperiri.* The day, which will be the day dawning from this night, has been nominated for me by eternal religious observance: on that day, after the winter’s tempests have been calmed and the ocean’s storm-blown waves have been stilled, my priests offer first-fruits of the trade season in dedicating an untried keel to the now navigable sea. You should await this rite with neither an anxious nor an un-instructed mind.

Here begins a longer section of Isis’ speech (11,5,5-11,6,4), with detailed instructions regarding Lucius’ re-transformation during her festival on the next day. In her announcement of the upcoming ritual, Isis alludes to her traditional role as protectress of seafarers (Isis Pelagia), saving them from shipwreck and disaster caused by storms and winter on the sea; cf. *Anth. Graec.* 6,231; Lucian. *dial. deor.* 3 (where Isis’ duties are assigned to her by Zeus) ἀνέμους ἐπιπεμπέτω καὶ σωζέτω τοὺς πλέοντας. On Isis Pelagia see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 174, with lit.; cf. 11,7,5 *magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ... temperabat*, with comm. ad loc.; see Introduction, 4.2.1 on the worship of Isis Pelagia in Corinth and its adjacent harbour town Cenchreae. For Isis’ role as mistress of the winds and the sea see above on 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina*. Related to this role is the festival of the Ship of Isis (*navigium Isidis*), which celebrates the opening of the navigation season (cf. *nauigabili iam pelago*); the ceremony will be described in more detail in Ch. XVI-XVII (cf. 11,17,3 *πλοιοφέσια*). On the presence of calendar dates in Book 11 see Introduction, 4.1.2.

There are different ways of making (contrastive) comparisons of this passage with other passages in the novel. The *navigium Isidis* is often set in contrast with the metaphorical ‘Ship of Venus’ (2,11,3 *nauigium Veneris*) celebrated by Lucius and Photis (e.g. by Nethercut 1968, 113; Harrauer 1973, x; Frangoulidis 2008, 190 n. 373). For Isis’ official announcement of her Festival, cf. Byrrhena’s announcement of the Risus Festival in 2,31,2 *sollemnis ... dies a primis cunabulis huius urbis conditus crastinus aduenit, quo die soli mortalium sanctissimum deum Risum hilaro atque gaudiali ritu propitiamus*.

Diem ... mihi aeterna nuncupauit religio: for the use of *nuncupare* with the dative see comm. on 11,16,6 *deae nuncupauit (nauem)*.

Diem, qui dies: for the emphatic repetition of the antecedent in the relative clause cf. 2,4,4 *canes ... qui canes*, with *GCA* 2001, 101 ad loc., pointing to parallels from the language of comedy. However, LHSz 2,563 points out that it also occurs in Cato the Elder and inscriptions, and is imitated by classical writers, when they strive for the effect of a clear, protocol-like style; in later Latin the construction is frequent in juridical writers and in writers with an archaising taste, Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius.

dies ex ista nocte nascetur: this is both literally the next day that will come after the night (the day of the festival of the Ship of Isis, which was celebrated on the 5th of March) and, metaphorically, the ‘dawn’ of Lucius’ new life (11,5,4 *dies salutaris*), the ‘light’ after the ‘dark night’ (11,7,2 *noctis atrae*) and the ‘storms’ of his previous

misfortunes. For the symbolic associations of such time indicators see Introduction, 4.1.3.

sedatis hibernis tempestatibus: a reference to the end of the winter and the beginning of spring (cf. 11,7,4 *pruinam pridianam*), when the sailing season opens; cf. Plin. *nat.* 2,122 *uer ergo aperit nauigantibus maria*.

pelago rudem dedicantes carinam: cf. Lucan. 3,193 *inde lacessitum primo mare, cum rudis Argo / miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes*, with Hunink 1992 ad loc. on *rudis* = ‘untried’ (see also comm. on 11,23,4 *rudis ... amicimine*) and the associations of the Argo with the origins of navigation. For similar associations cf. 11,16,9 (*nauis*) *pelago redderetur*, with comm. ad loc.

primitias commeatus: the sacrificial offerings of the first products of the new trade season (which are transported on the ships) constitute the ‘first-fruits’, the ‘opening’ of that season. In its original, concrete sense, ‘*primitiae*’ means ‘first-fruits (of agricultural produce) offered to a deity’ (cf. *apol.* 56,5). *ThLL* (s.v. 1252,13-23) distinguishes under this concrete use some special cases, in which also concrete offerings to a deity are described, but not necessarily first-fruits or agricultural products (‘*res variae vel indefinitae*’). Here they also mention our passage, referring to 11,16,9 *muneribus largis et deuotionibus faustis completa nauis*. The concrete sense of *primitias* is emphasised by the verb *libant*: the priests actually make a sacrificial offering of *primitiae*, ‘Isidi’ being implied (see on *primitias ... libant*). As Oudendorp 1786 notes, in our passage *commeatus* can have the concrete meaning of the merchandise from the ships (like grain, etc., *OLD* s.v. 3), which is being used for the offerings.

Yet, in a transferred sense, *primitiae* also means ‘beginnings’ or ‘opening’, as in 10,29,3 *primitiae spectaculi*; according to *GCA* 2000, 359 ad loc., this use is first attested in epic poetry, beginning with Verg. *Aen.* 11,156 (see also *ThLL* s.v. 1253,60-1254,19). In this transferred sense, *primitias commeatus* refers to the opening of the trade season (the ‘sailing’ of the trade ships), alluding to the Ploiaphesia: in this case, *libant* (combined with *dedicantes*) has *carinam* as its object, with *primitias commeatus* used predicatively (Hanson 1989: “my priests dedicate an untried keel ... and consecrate it as the first fruits of voyaging”; cf. Brandt – Ehlers 1958: “zur Einweihung des Verkehrs”). Cf. *ThLL* s.v. *commeatus* 1823,28 (‘*iter, itineris usus, commercium*’), where our passage is mentioned after two other passages from *met.*, where *commeatus* is used in a concrete sense of ‘convoy’, ‘column’ (8,15,8 *stipato commeatu*; 8,17,3 *per omnem nostrum commeatum*). For a similarly ambiguous use of the word *commeatus* cf. 11,16,7 *uotum ... de noui commeatus prospera nauigatione*.

primitias ... libant: we could imagine such offerings as a pouring of libations on the waves, cf. 11,16,9 *insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum*. The expression *primitias libare* also occurs in Ov. *met.* 8,275 *primitias frugum Cereri, sua uina Lyaeo, Palladios ... latices libasse Mineruae*; Plin. *nat.* 18,8 *ne degustabant quidem nouas fruges aut uina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent* (*ThLL* s.v. *libo* 1338,76-80). However, if taken with *carinam* (in combination with *dedicantes*, see above on *primitias commeatus*), the verb *libare* should rather denote ‘to consecrate’ (thus Hanson 1989): the accusative *carinam* is not internal object, but indicates the place (the ship), over which the offering is poured out. For this use, *ThLL* s.v. *libo*

1339,42-45 (‘*pro obiecto accedit locus respersus*’) quotes only two passages, Verg. *Aen.* 12,173-174 *dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro / summa notant pecudum, paterisque altaria libant*, and Apul. *met.* 8,12,4 *ego sepulcrum ... tuo luminum cruore libabo* (see *GCA* 1985, 123-124 for the textual issue there).

nec sollicita nec profana mente: cf. 11,6,5 *penita mente*; for more examples of such expressions with ablative *mente* see *GCA* 2007, 165 on 1,6,2 *dubia mente* (with lit.). Here, *sollicitus* means ‘anxious’, ‘troubled’ (*OLD* s.v. 2), unlike 11,5,4 *animum ... sollicitum* (see note ad loc.). The combination *profana mens* is rare; before Apuleius, it is only found in Ov. *met.* 2,833-834 *has ubi uerborum poenas mentisque profanae / cepit Atlantiades*, where it means ‘sacrilegious mind’, referring to the sacrilege of Aglauros against Minerva (cf. 2,755-756 *hanc arcana profana / detexisse manu*); see Bömer 1969 ad loc. on the difficult interpretation of that passage. Here, Isis seems to mean something different from ‘sacrilegious mind’ or ‘impious spirit’, as the phrase is taken by some translators (e.g. Hanson 1989, Walsh 1994, rendering *nec profana mente* with ‘reverent’): Isis is reassuring (*nec sollicita*) and instructing (*nec profana*) Lucius rather than warning him. See also below on *debebis*. *ThLL* s.v. *profanus* 1663,20-37 takes this passage in the ‘technical’ sense of ‘*eo quod initiati non sunt sacris*’, together with 11,16,9; 11,23,4 (cf. also *apol.* 55,8). Yet, unlike those passages, which actually refer to initiation proper (see comm. ad loc.), *profanus* here does not mean ‘uninitiated’ in a literal or technical sense, but in a metaphorical sense: ‘You must not await this rite with a worried mind, nor with an uninstructed mind’. Isis again underlines the importance of her instructions and guidance (cf. above, 11,5,4 *imperii istis meis*), thanks to which Lucius will not be an ‘outsider’ but an ‘insider’, who is fully informed about (‘initiated into’) Isis’ plans during the procession (cf. the explicative *nam* in the first sentence of the next chapter, referring back to Isis’ present reassurance: 11,6,1 *nam meo monitu ...*), without being initiated yet into the cult itself. The reassurance continues in the next chapter: 11,6,2 *incunctanter ergo ... mea uolentia fretus*. For a similar use of *profanus* as a religious metaphor cf. 9,27,2 *abiecto alueo, conspectui profano redditus scaenam propudiosae mulieris patefecit*, with *GCA* 1995, 235 f. ad loc. The difference from that passage is that here the metaphor is used in a religious context, without losing its metaphorical force.

debebis: for a similar use of *debebis* in a context of solemn instruction (the tower instructing Psyche about her route to the Underworld) cf. 6,18,3 *sed non hactenus uacua debebis per illas tenebras incedere*. Cf. comm. on 11,6,5 *memineris ... tenebis*.

CHAPTER VI

Isis' epiphany to Lucius: promises and demands.

Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity

After her self-revelation with the detailed description of her cosmic powers and the universal nature of her cult (Ch. V), Isis presents herself in her traditional role as saving goddess, both in her relation to the people of Cenchreae, who worship her as Isis Pelagia in the *navigium Isidis* festival, and in her relation to Lucius. Isis' power is vividly described with metaphorical language of military and legal origin, as well as with terms of religious discipline and asceticism (cf. 11,6,7). Her autocratic identity continues to be in the foreground, for everything is planned according to her instructions and orders, which have to be carefully heeded (cf. 11,5,4 *imperii*). The participants of the *pompa* are like soldiers of Isis (11,6,1 *in ipso procinctu pompae*), 'commanded' by the goddess (11,6,1 *meo monitu*; cf. 11,6,3 *facienda praecipio*; 11,6,4 *meo iussu*), and 'lined up' like an army (cf. 11,6,4 *constricti comitatus*; 11,16,2 *agmini religioso*). Isis' emphasis on asceticism and obedience (11,6,7) prepares Lucius for his future role in the *militia Isidis* (cf. 11,15,2-5). The military connotations of serving Isis have both a philosophical and a religious dimension, regarding the relation between man and the divine and the philosophical life of abstinence and self-discipline; for the philosophical use of military metaphors in the literature of Rome (Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius) see Lévy 2005. The military, warrior-like connotations of Isis are also connected to her Roman, imperial physiognomy, as reflected in her identity as *Bellona* (11,5,3) and her epithet *inuicta* (11,7,1 *numen inuictum*). These connotations represent continuity with Egyptian texts (Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 67-69; cf. 62-64), where Isis' essential characteristic is her quality as 'divine mother' of Horus and of his earthly representative, the Ptolemaic sovereign (assuming the traditional role of the Pharaoh), who expects from her legitimisation and protection.

11,6,1 Nam meo monitu sacerdos in ipso procinctu pompae roseam manu dextera sistro cohaerentem gestabit coronam. For at my command a priest, amid that very procession that is equipped and ready for action, will carry in his right hand a garland of roses, which is attached to the *sistrum*.

Isis' promise (cf. 11,13,2 *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum*) is fulfilled in 11,12,1 *ad ipsum praescriptum diuinae promissionis ornatum dextera proferens sistrum deae mihi coronam – et hercules coronam consequenter*.

meo monitu: for this typical characteristic of Isis as an autocratic goddess, see introduction to this chapter and cf. 11,7,1 *monitionis*; 11,14,3 *diuino monitu*; 11,19,2 *uisu deae monituque*.

in ipso procinctu pompae: this intriguing phrase has been interpreted in different ways. One group of scholars interprets *in ... procinctu pompae* in a figurative sense with a temporal dimension, referring to the act or state of being ready (*OLD* s.v. *procinctus* 1; cf. Sen. *dial.* 11,11,3 *in procinctu stet animus*; cf. Italian 'essere in procinto di', 'to be set, geared up to...'). Along these lines, Nicolini 2005 translates "proprio al partire della processione". Similarly Helm – Krenkel 1970: "bei der Ausrüstung für den Festzug"; Brandt – Ehlers 1958: "wenn die Prozession sich gehörig formiert". A different, temporal interpretation is offered by Vallette: "au cours même de la procession"; along similar lines, some scholars in the past (e.g. Pri-caeus 1650) preferred the variant *in protractu pompae*, in the sense of 'dum procedit pompa'.

Another line of interpretation is to take *procinctus* as the state of being equipped on a concrete level, referring to the attire and instruments (weapons) that represent the army's state of preparedness (thus Oudendorp 1786 and Hildebrand 1842, taking *procinctus* as 'pompa apparatus'). This is also the solution of *OLD* s.v. *procinctus* 2 'one's equipment, costume, clothing', listing only our passage and *flor.* 14,6 *ni ... procinctu palliastri circumstantis coronae obtutum ... defendisset* (however, the meaning of that passage seems closer to the figurative sense explained above, 'to have something ready, at one's disposal', cf. Sen. *clem.* prooem. 1,4 *clementiam in procinctu habeo*). Cf. *ThLL* 1532,44 ('de vestimento'), expressing some doubts. Some translators follow this interpretation, taking *in ipso procinctu pompae* as the concrete pieces of equipment of the *priest* (Hanson 1989: "as part of his equipment for the procession"; Kenney 1998: "as part of his processional equipment"), but this sense of 'in' is hard to explain, and *ipso* seems neglected. Moreover, the goddess's special *monitus* does not make sense if the rose garland would already be an established part of the priest's equipment.

It makes more sense to take the phrase in a more concrete, local sense, as a periphrastic expression for 'in ipsa procincta pompa' ('in this very procession, armed/geared up for action'). Thus, *procinctus* almost becomes a synonym of *pompa* (note the alliteration), with *pompae* as an explicative genitive. This concrete sense of *procinctus* reflects a development in later Latin, where the meaning shifts from 'readiness for battle' to 'army' (or 'campaign', or 'battle'); see De Jonge 1972 on *Amm.* 16,11,6 *procinctum*. See *ThLL* s.v. 1531,63-64 for *procinctus* = *coetus militantium*, quoting Gell. 1,11,7 *Alyattes ... feminas etiam tibicinas in exercitu atque in procinctu habuit* as the first attestation of this use. For *procinctus* = *exercitus* cf. Gaius *inst.* 2,101 *procinctus est enim expeditus et armatus exercitus*. The priest proceeds amidst the very *procincti*, the 'soldiers of Isis' marching in her *pompa*; cf. Fest. p. 77 *significat autem, cum ex castris in proelium exitum est, procinctos, quasi praecinctos atque expeditos* (see also below on *gestabit*). As Harrauer 1973 notes, there may be a foreshadowing of the notion of the *militia Isidis* (11,15,2-5). For the military context of the word's etymology see Maltby 1991, 497 s.v. *procinctus*, quoting Serv. *Aen.* 7,612 *ueteres Latini ... praecinctis togis bellabant; unde etiam milites in procinctu esse dicuntur*. For a different local interpretation cf. Augello 1980: "in testa alla processione".

roseam ... coronam: Apuleius transforms the secular rose motif from the Greek model (*Onos* 54: Loukios eats roses from a basket carried around in the theatre!) into

a religious one by placing it in a ritual context, and by combining general associations between Isis and flowers on the one hand, and roses and various religious cults on the other hand. Whereas elsewhere in *met.*, flowers and roses are often associated with Venus, love, and marriage, in Book 11, roses are the flowers of Isis, who, like Venus (see *GCA* 2004, 445 on 6,11,1 *totum... reuincta corpus rosis micantibus*), is covered with all kinds of flowers, presumably including roses (see comm. on 11,3,4 and 11,4,1), but, unlike in the case of Venus, roses are not singled out in the visual description of Isis. Roses and rose garlands are associated with various deities in Latin literature, cf. e.g. *Lucr.* 2,627-628 (Cybele); *Colum.* 10,261-262 (the temples of several unnamed gods during the Spring festival); in *met.*, besides Venus, cf. e.g. *Epona* (3,27,2 *Eponae deae simulacrum ... corollis roseis equidem recentibus ... ornatum*); see Fick 1971, 339-343. Although it is not impossible that roses played a specific role in Isiac cult, there is no unequivocal evidence for this outside Apuleius' text. For an example from visual art see e.g. *Abbildung* 97 in Merkelbach 1995, 575 (a terracotta statuette from Kyzikos of Isis-Tyche wearing a rose garland); more examples in Merkelbach 1995, 476 n. 1. Berreth 1931, 97 mentions a statue of Isis-Aphrodite (or of an Isiac priestess) with a basket of roses next to her. In an inscription from Nubia (*CIG* 5115), Isis is called ῥοδόσπερος ('with rosy breast', LSJ s.v.), a "purely poetic" (Eitrem 1937, 47) epithet. Moreover, as Griffiths 1975 rightly points out, the carrying of roses in Apuleius only plays an incidental part in the context of the ritual described; the rose garland carried by the priest was possibly intended for the statue of Isis. On 11,4,1 *totis floribus*, Griffiths (1975, 132) notes that "the presentation of garlands was a mark of veneration applied to many deities". Only for Lucius personally do the roses have a special significance, regarding his *salus*, and it is by Isis' specific instruction to the priest that the rose garland is attached to the *sistrum*. The role of roses is quite different in the *Rhodophoria*, the festival of 'bearing roses' mentioned in three Greek papyri of the 2nd cent. A.D., for which Bilabel 1929, 48 tried to establish a connection with local Egyptian cults of Isis or Horus (refuted by Eitrem 1937, 47).

manu ... gestabit: for the use of *gestare* for the carrying of ornaments or insignia (*OLD* s.v. 1b), cf. *Apul. apol.* 22,2 *ut ... eundem ornatum digne gestarem*; in the context of a procession, cf. 11,8,4 *simiam ... aureum gestantem poculum*. Cf. also 6,18,3 *ambabus gestare manibus*, with *GCA* 2004, 501 ad loc. on the ceremonial nature of the phrase. Here, in combination with the expression *in procinctu pompae*, the verb's military connotations may be suggested (*OLD* s.v. 1a: the verb is often used of carrying shields, swords, arms etc.); cf. 2,18,5 *gladiolo solito cinctus altrinsecus ipse salutis meae praesidia gestabo*.

coronam: on the thematic function of garlands in *met.* see Appendix V in *GCA* 1995, 383, noting that nine of the fourteen passages in which *corona* is employed occur in Book 11; for garlands a part of Isis' attire cf. 11,3,4 and 11,4,1 (see above on *roseam ... coronam*). Lucius will interpret the *corona* as a crown of victory in 11,12,1 *et hercules coronam consequenter, quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus ... Fortunam superarem* (see comm. ad loc.), and will triumphantly wear a *corona* himself after his first initiation (11,24,4). Berreth 1931, 98 suggests a connection with the archaic religious function of garlands at Roman festivals, where working farm animals were garlanded as an indication of their freedom from daily toil; cf. *Tib.* 2,1,8

with Maltby 2002 ad loc.; *Prop.* 4,1,21 *Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis*; *Ov. fast.* 6,311 *ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis*. For a religious and mystic sense of garlands connected to Egyptian cult see Berreth 1931, 97-99 and Wittmann 1938, 73 with n. 405, who interpret the rose garland as the crown of victory of the resurrected Osiris (cf. Derchain 1955), which was put in the hands of the deceased in Egypt; against this background, the garland can be seen to symbolise Lucius' victory over Fortune and his 'rebirth'.

sistro: for the *sistrum* as a characteristic attribute of Isis see comm. on 11,4,2 *aereum crepitaculum*; see also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 151. Here, the term *sistrum* is mentioned for the first time in Book 11; cf. 2,28,3 *sistra Phariaca*; 11,10,2 *aureis ... sistris*; 11,12,1 *sistrum deae*.

11,6,2 *Incunctanter ergo dimotis turbulis alacer continare pompam mea uolentia fretus, et de proximo clementer uelut manum sacerdotis osculabundus rosis decerptis pessimae mihi que iam dudum detestabilis beluae istius corio te protinus exue*. So, cause the crowds to disperse without hesitation and eagerly run to meet the procession, relying on my goodwill, and after plucking the roses gently from close by, as if you were going to kiss the hand of the priest, divest yourself at once from the hide of that beast that is utterly vile and has long been detestable to me.

According to Isis' instructions, Lucius has to 'push his way through the crowd' (cf. *dimotis turbulis*) to reach the priest with the rose garland. When the moment has come, Lucius actually decides to move into the *pompa* very carefully (cf. 11,12,2 *sensim inrepto*) in order not to upset the ritual order of the procession (*ne ... religionis quietus turbaretur ordo*). Isis' *oraculum* becomes reality in 11,13,1-2 *ultra porrecta dextera ob os ipsum meum coronam exhibuit. Tunc ego trepidans ... coronam, quae rosis amoenis intexta fulgurabat, auido ore susceptam cupidus promissi deuorauit*.

Incunctanter: both here and in 11,30,4 (see comm. ad loc. on Apuleius' use of the adverb), *incunctanter* occurs in a situation in which a god encourages confidence and a lack of hesitation in Lucius; see Introduction, 4.1.1 (last paragraph).

dimotis turbulis: for this use of *dimouere* cf. 9,21,5 *dimotis seruulis inuadit cum summo clamore Myrmecem* (Philesitherus); *Hor. carm.* 3,5,51 *dimouit obstantis propinquos*; *Tac. hist.* 3,80,2 *dimouere turbam ausus*. See *ThLL* s.v. 1218, 16-24.

turbulis: for this non-diminutive Apuleian neologism cf. 11,7,2 *turbulae*, with comm. ad loc.

alacer continare pompam: for the predicative use of *alacer*, which is frequent in *met.*, cf. 11,1,4 *<laetus et> alacer exurgo*, with comm. ad loc.

continare pompam: following the emendation by Kiessling (1883), Robertson 1945, Brandt – Ehlers 1958, Nicolini 2005, and Zimmerman 2012 print *continare* here, whereas most editors, including Hanson 1989, retain *F continuare*. According to Kiessling, this is not merely a spelling issue: as he shows with examples, there are actually two distinct verbs, the passive form of *continare*, used in a mediopassive sense (= 'semet alicui continuum facere'), which is construed with the dative, and the verb *continari*, in the sense of 'to meet', 'to run into', with accusative object. See also

ThLL s.v. *continor* 720, 65-66, arguing that the spelling *continuari* is a corruption, based on a wrong etymological association with *continuus*. Along these lines, all occurrences of the verb in *met.* are examples of the verb *continari* (for a different view see *GCA* 2004, 350 on 5,31,1; *GCA* 2007, 432 on 1,24,5 *continatur*); cf. 11,22,4 *continatus*. The verb always expresses a sense of encounter (Nicolini 2005: “va’ incontro al corteo”). Walsh 1994 and Hanson 1989 (who prints *continuarere*) translate “join the procession”; however, this would have required the dative form *pompae*. Isis does not instruct Lucius to ‘join’ the procession (as in the exhortation of the priest in 11,15,4 *comitare pompam*; cf. 4,35,1 *uirgo ... pompae populi prosequentis sese miscuit*) or to ‘follow’ the procession (cf. Brandt – Ehlers 1958), but to ‘break in on’ the procession (cf. Kiessling 1883: ‘in pompam interrumpere’).

mea uolentia: all editors follow the conjecture *mea[m]* by Colvius 1588; the form *meam* transmitted by F is easily explained by assimilation with the preceding *pompam* (Oudendorp 1786 suggests *meam* <*mea*>). The noun *uolentia*, a rare synonym for *uoluntas*, occurs in 5,31,2 *uolentiam ... perpetraturae*, also in a speech of a goddess (Venus), where the standard editions all follow Markland’s correction (apud Oudendorp 1786) of the banalisation *uolentiam* found in F (see *GCA* 2004, 351 ad loc.). Also here, another hand added an *i* above the *u*. The noun first occurs in Fronto *epist. ad Ver. imp.* 1,7,2 (p. 112,21-22) *uel minimis ... ab uno e uero principe habitis officii et bonae uolentiae signis*, where *bona uolentia* means the *beneuolentia* of the emperor. Here, Lucius can rely on the *beneuolentia* of the goddess (Hanson 1989: ‘relying on my good will’); cf. 11,22,4 *et ceteris beniuolis praeceptis summatis deae recreatus animi*; 11,22,5 *propitia uoluntate*. See also comm. on 11,5,4 *adsum fauens et propitia*, where *fauens* is used as a synonym for *uolens*.

de proximo: before Apuleius, this adverbial expression with *de* combined with the adjective *proximus*, which Apuleius also uses in 2,4,4; 4,21,1, and 11,23,7, is only found in Plaut. *Aul.* 31 and in a juridical text (Paul. *sent.* 3,5,7); see *ThLL* s.v. *propior* (*proximus*) 2035,29-44. After Apuleius, such expressions with a singular neuter form with a preposition (see Bernhard 1927, 107) become more and more frequent (especially in Tertullian, cf. e.g. *apol.* 27,6 *quos de longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant*). For more information see *GCA* 1977, 157 on 4,21,1 *de proximo*. For similar expressions cf. 1,16,6 *de alto* (not attested before Apuleius), 10,23,6 *de proprio* (in legal texts and frequent in inscriptions); *flor.* 16,4 *de repentino* (already attested in Caesar).

uelut manum ... osculabundus: cf. *apol.* 94,2 *pedes nostros aduolutus ueniam ... postularat, flens et manus nostras osculabundus* (giving expression to a plea for forgiveness); the only other attestation of this rare adjective is Suet. *Vit.* 2,5 (see *ThLL* s.v. 1105,5-8). On Apuleian adjectives in *-bundus* see *GCA* 1995, 339 on 9,41,1 *nutabundus*, with more examples and lit.; cf. 11,12,2 *cunctabundus*.

For animals performing religious worship cf. 11,7,4, where birds sing a hymn to Isis. The religious gesture of kissing a hand by animals is very unusual. Yet, Apuleius may use here the Ovidian theme of humans in bestial form expressing human feelings through kissing (e.g. Io at *Ov. met.* 1,646 *patriis ... dat oscula palmis*); moreover, the kiss itself is connected to the Ovidian motif of metamorphosis, as kissing or being kissed often accompanies or anticipates the actual disappearance of human features (see Bömer 1969 on *Ov. met.* 2,357). Here, Lucius’ ‘kiss’ will immediately anticipate

the disappearance of his asinine features; the *uelut* points to the fact that in the very last moment of his asinine state, Lucius is yet unable to perform a religious gesture that symbolises his immediate future as a human devotee of Isis. For the religious gesture cf. 11,17,4 *exosculatis uestigiis deae*, where *exosculari* is used in a passive sense (see comm. ad loc.), as in 4,26,1 *manuque eius exosculata* (see *GCA* 1977, 191 ad loc. for the variation in construction).

pessimae mihique iam dudum detestabilis beluae: in the theology of Isis, the ass is symbolically associated with Seth-Typhon, the incarnation of evil, who killed Osiris; for the Typhonian nature of the ass cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 30-31 (*Mor.* 362E-363D); Wlosok 1969, 80 n. 1 [= Harrison (ed.) 1999, 153 n. 49]; Drews 2009, 558-567. See also Tatum 1979, 43-47, with an illustration of Seth with asinine head taken from a Greek magical papyrus (p. 44). For Typhon as a counterforce to Isis and those who worship her see also Appendix 2 in Tatum 1979, 178-182, who points out that the ‘world of magic’, from which Lucius escapes in Book 11, was actually part of the real world, which Tatum illustrates with two examples of prayers to Typhon from a Greek magical papyrus.

iam dudum detestabilis: F has *detestabilis iam dudum* (this is also the reading of A), which is retained by Helm, Giarratano 1929, Terzaghi 1954, Frassinetti 1960, and Zimmerman 2012 (see also Augello 1977, 227). However, in ϕ a different word order appears (*iam detestabilis dudum*), which indicates that the scribe understood that the word order should be changed. According to Robertson 1945, the scribe of F added two dots above *detestabilis* and one above the *a* of *iam dudum* (they were subsequently erased), in order to realise the expected order *iam dudum detestabilis*. In Apuleius, adjectives and participles always come after *iam dudum*, cf. e.g. 1,6,4 *iam dudum punicanter*; 9,26,1 *iam dudum procax*; 11,19,2 *iam dudum destinatum*. Robertson’s *iam dudum detestabilis* is rightly followed by Brandt – Ehlers 1958, Griffiths 1975, and Hanson 1989.

iam dudum: it is often ambiguous whether *iam dudum* relates to a distant or a recent past; see comm. on 11,19,2 *iam dudum destinatum*. Here, as the reference is to the legend of Seth-Typhon, the meaning is clearly to a distant past.

corio te protinus exue: Apuleius adopts here the use of *exuo* with an ablative of separation, which originally indicates the taking off of clothes (cf. Fabius Pictor in Gell. 10,15,20 *tunica intima, nisi in locis tectis, non exuit se* [flamen Dialis], *ne sub caelo ... nudus sit*), and then, in a transferred sense, describes metamorphoses and retransformations (*ThLL* s.v. *exuo* 2116,50-57), cf. Hor. *epod.* 17,15 *saetosa duris exuere pellibus ... remiges ... membra* (Circe retransforms Odysseus’ crew into human shape), with Watson 2003 ad loc.; *Ov. met.* 4,591 *Cadme, mane, teque ... his exue monstribus* (reflexive use, as in our passage).

Isis asks Lucius to ‘take off’ his asinine form, as if it were a costume; cf. below, 11,6,4 *deformem istam quam geris faciem*, where the terminology suggests that the face of the ass is a kind of mask that Lucius can put off (see comm. on 11,13,3 *mihī delabitur ... facies*); cf. Introduction, 5.3 with n. 185 on theatrical associations in Book 11. The allusions to taking off costumes and masks in the context of the retransformation may be related to the self-revelation of the author at the end of the story, who will throw off the disguise he adopted earlier and will step into the role of

the true *auctor* of this narrative; see Introduction, 6.1 with n. 202 for a possible correspondence with the Greek model.

corio: the noun *corium* is used in particular of animal hide; cf. 8,4,4 *pilis inhorrentibus corio squalidus* (the hide of a wild boar), with *GCA* 1985, 53 ad loc., giving more examples.

11,6,3 Nec quicquam rerum mearum reformides ut arduum. Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi uenio, simul et [t]ibi praesens, quae sunt sequentia, sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio. And do not dread any of my instructions as being difficult to perform. For at this same moment that I come to you, I am also present there, and I am giving orders to my priest in his sleep regarding the things he has to do subsequently.

rerum mearum: although Scriverius' correction *rerum earum* is very attractive and can be defended as a case of dittography (it is adopted by Zimmerman 2012), there is no need to change the transmitted *rerum mearum*, which refers to the content of Isis' instructions (Isis likes to speak in a 'possessive sense'; cf. 11,6,1 *meo monitu*; 11,6,4 *meo iussu*; cf. also, in this context, *sacerdoti meo*).

quo tibi uenio, simul et ibi praesens: recent editions unanimously print Colvius' (1588) clever emendation *ibi* of F's *tibi*. Other emendations complicate syntax (Koziol 1869, 59-61 inserted *et* before *sacerdoti*, arguing for a zeugmatic use of *praecipio*) or presuppose errors that are less easily explained (Magnaldi and Gianotti 2000, 71-72, who proposed <et> *tibi uenio, simul [et tibi] praesens*). Colvius' correction restores a typically Apuleian wordplay, based on the homophony of one word and a phrase (*tibi ... et ibi*), which easily caused the dittography *tibi ... et tibi*. For this kind of phonic wordplay cf. 8,6,7 *inuita remansit in uita*; more examples in Nicolini 2011a, 53-54.

tibi uenio: as was the case with *adsum* (see comm. on 11,5,1 *adsum ... commota*), *uenio* can be seen as an adaptation into the first person of a typical element of the formal language of prayer, asking the deity to come to one's aid (*ueni, uenias*; see Appel 1909, 117).

simul et ibi praesens: for Isis' presence in two dreams at the same time ('double dreams') see on 11,7,1 *deae potentis ... praesentiam*; 11,13,1 *nocturni commonefactus oraculi*, with comm. ad loc. For *praesens* used of the presence of the deity, cf. 11,12,1 *praesentissimi numinis*, with comm. ad loc.

sacerdoti ... per quietem facienda praecipio: on the basis of this passage, Beroaldus 1500 proposed to emend 11,30,3 *per quietem praecipere uisus est* (Osiris), according to *ThLL* s.v. *praecipio* 444,46-48, 'fortasse recte'; see comm. on the transmitted *recipere* there. Cf. Val. Max. 1,7,4 *Latinio ... Iuppiter in quiete praecepit, ut consulibus diceret*. For the construction, cf. Sen. *benef.* 6,16,2 *facienda aut uitanda praecipiens* (medicus); more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *praecipio* 448,2-3.

per quietem: cf. 11,30,3 *per quietem*, with comm. ad loc.

11,6,4 Meo iussu tibi constricti comitatus decedent populi, nec inter hilares caerimonias et festiua spectacula quisquam deformem istam quam geris faciem perhorrescet, uel figuram tuam repente mutatam

sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur. At my command the people of the tightly-garbed ranks will give way before you, and amid the joyful ceremonies and the festive spectacles no one will recoil in terror from that ugly face that you wear and no one will make spiteful accusations against you in consequence of wrongly interpreting your suddenly transformed shape.

Isis lays strong emphasis on visual appearance (*faciem ... figuram*), insisting on the people's reactions as soon as they notice Lucius, both before and after his metamorphosis. Whereas Isis' emphatic reference to the ass' ugly face (cf. 11,2,4 *quadrupedis diram faciem*) has a religious significance here, again pointing to the negative image of the ass in Isiac cult (see comm. above on 11,6,2 *pessimae mihique iam dudum detestabilis beluae*), she also emphasises that the religious context of her own festival will make her devotees refrain from the expected negative reactions of fear or hostility. The people will give way to Lucius out of religious awe (as observed by Harrauer 1973 ad loc.), but no one will be afraid of his asinine looks. Isis' instructions become reality in 11,12,2 *sane diuinitus decedente populo*; 11,13,6 *populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam et consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam*.

constricti: most translators take this as 'dense', 'tight-packed' (cf. *OLD* s.v. *strictus* 1), which creates a neat contrast with *decedent* ("le file della gente accalcata si apriranno", Nicolini 2005). There are, however, no parallels for *constrictus* used of people who are 'closely packed'. Another possibility is that *constringere* here is synonymous with *circumdare* or *cingere* used in the wearing of clothes, belts, etc. For this use of *constringere* cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 390 *breuis expeditos zona constringat sinus*; Lucan. 9,482 *constrinxit amictus*; Stat. *sily.* 2,1,129 *breuibus constringere laenis / pectora et angusta telas artare lacerna*; Mart. 14,66,1 *taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *constringo* 542, 20-34 (for a metaphorical use cf. Apul. *mund.* 7 p. 304 *constringitur ... [Asia] Oceani cingulo et societate nostri maris*).

Hence, the *populi* of the *constrictus comitatus* are the '*procincti*' of the *pompa* (cf. above on 11,6,1 *in procinctu pompae*), with *constricti* referring to the linen tunic drawn tight around the body (possibly with a girdle). For this style of clothing see comm. on 11,10,2 *cinctum pectoralem candido linteamine ... strictim iniecti* on the encircling style of garment worn by Isiac priests (cf. also 11,27,4 *quendam de sacratis linteis iniectum*). For comparable styles of wearing clothes, with a similar function of indicating the identity of a group that forms part of a procession, cf. 11,8,2 *hic incinctus balteo militem gerebat, illum succinctum chlamide crepides et uenabula uenatorem fecerant*.

comitatus: according to *OLD* s.v. 1a, *comitatus* means here 'an accompanying crowd'; yet, we prefer to follow Kenney's (1998) translation ("the serried ranks of the crowd"; cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b 'rank and file'), which captures the military overtones of the scene.

populi: here used in the plural (cf. 11,13,6 *populi mirantur*; 11,16,9 *cuncti populi tam religiosi quam profani*), with the explicative genitive *constricti comitatus*.

nec ... uel: uel almost always replaces *aut* in *met.*, and always in the phrase *nec ... aut (... aut)*; cf. Bernhard 1927, 123-124; Callebat 1968, 330-331.

hilaris caerimonias et festiua spectacula: the same religious event is described with two different expressions, the first with an adjective derived from Greek, the second with an originally Latin adjective. The noun *caerimonia* is often used in such expressions combining several synonyms; before Apuleius, *ThLL* s.v. *caerimonia* 100,29-48 cites examples from Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Gellius. A particularly illustrative example of the kinds of ritual activity Apuleius possibly has in mind, when speaking of *caerimoniae*, is *Socr.* 14 p. 148-149 *esse nonnullos ex hoc diuorum numero, qui ... laetioribus uel tristioribus hostiis uel caerimoniis uel ritibus gaudeant, uti Aegyptia numina ferme plangoribus, Graeca plerumque choreis, barbara autem strepitu cymbalarum et tympanistarum et choraularum*. In our passage, Apuleius obviously excludes the *plangores* from Egyptian ritual as described in *Socr.*, which possibly refer to the bewailing of the dead Osiris (cf. *Plut. de Isid. et Os.* 20, *Mor.* 359A), nor does he refer to gloomy rites in general (cf. *tristioribus* in *Socr.*; *Plut. de Isid. et Os.* 26, *Mor.* 361B). In spite of the close associations between Isis and the *mater deum* (cf. 11,5,2), the ‘happy spectacles’ of Isis, referring to the imminent *anteludia* and *pompa* (11,8-12; cf. 11,9,1 *oblectationes ludicras popularium*), are not to be identified with the ‘barbaric’ ecstatic music and dance associated with processions in honour of the Dea Syria, Cybele, or Bellona; see *GCA* 1985, 270 on 8,30,5 (cf. 8,24,2).

For the combination of *caerimoniae* and *spectacula*, cf. Fronto, *principia historiae* 20 (p. 214,2) *ludeis spectaculorumque caerimoniae* (cf. *pompas* and *exuias* in the same context), referring to the carnivalesque spectacle of the rites and the processions attending the *ludi circenses* (see Van den Hout 1999 ad loc. for more parallels); see introduction to Ch. VIII on the burlesque elements of the *pompa circensis*. The context of this description is Fronto’s praise of an Emperor’s endeavours (he mentions Trajan as an example) to conciliate the Roman people by theatrical shows, games, and circuses.

hilaris caerimonias: whereas in archaic Latin only the form *hilarus* is found (derived from Gr. ἰλαρός; cf. *Serv. ecl.* 5,69; *Isid. orig.* 10,125 *ilaris Graecum nomen est*), from Cic. and Catull. onwards both *hilarus* and *hilaris* are attested (cf. *Macr. Sat.* 1,4,16 *ueteres indulsisse copiae per uarietatem, ut dicebant ... ‘hilaros’ atque ‘hilaris’*), although *hilaris* gains the upper hand. In Apuleius, both *hilarus* (7x) and *hilaris* (9x) are attested. Since his alternating use of declensions is sometimes functional in sound effect (see Nicolini 2011a, 74 n. 218 on *inanimis/inanimus*), here, the form *hilaris* possibly avoids the grammatical rhyme *hilaras caerimonias* for the sake of *variatio*, in view of the following *festiua spectacula*. For *hilarus (-is)* used in a religious context, with reference to a celebration, cf. Cic. *Att.* 5,20,5 *hilara ... Saturnalia*; in *met.*, cf. especially 2,31,2 *sanctissimum deum Risum hilaro atque gaudiali ritu propitiamus*; with reference to a god, cf. 4,2,3 *inuocato hilaro atque prospero Euentu*.

festiua spectacula: in pagan authors, the use of the adjective *festiuus* in its strict sense (‘de rebus quae ad diem festum pertinent’, *ThLL* 624,19-44) is very rare; in Apuleius, it is found only here; before Apuleius, cf. *Plaut. Mil.* 83 in *festiuo loco* (referring to the theatre); *Cas.* 760 *nec pol ego Nemeae credo neque ego Olympiae*

neque usquam ludos tam festiuos fieri, quam hic intus fiunt ludi ludificabiles; *Enn. scaen.* 395 *Jocelyn festiuum festinant diem (festinum trad.)*. After Apuleius the use becomes much more widespread in Christian authors.

deformem istam quam geris faciem: for the emphasis on the visual appearance of the ass see introd. note above. The relative clause *quam geris* underlines that the notoriously (*istam*) ugly outward appearance of the ass is not Lucius’ own genuine shape, but a kind of mask which Lucius puts on display. Cf. 10,3,1 *senili tristitie striatam gerens frontem*, with *GCA* 2000, 83 ad loc. on the possibility that *gero* has a connotation of ‘prae se ferre’, ‘ostendere’; for this connotation cf. e.g. *Ov. met.* 4,135 *ora ... buxo pallidiora gerens*; *Sen. Ag.* 748-749 *incertos geris, / Deiphobe, uultus*. One of the implications is that Lucius has the opportunity to stop displaying this appearance. For the description of the ass’ shape in terms of a costume or mask which can be taken off see above, 11,6,2 *corio te protinus exue*; 11,13,3 *mihi delabitur ... facies*; see Introduction, 6.1 with n. 202 for the parallel with the Greek model.

perhorrescet: for *perhorresco* in a religious context cf. 11,25,4 *tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aues*, where it is used in a more positive sense of religious awe.

figuram tuam repente mutatam: the terminology recalls the Prologue, where the topics of metamorphosis (1,1,2 *figuras ... hominum in alias imagines conuersas*) as well as re-transformation (*in se rursus mutuo nexu refectas*) are announced. On reflections of the Prologue’s programme in Book 11 see e.g. Introduction, 5.3 with n. 176. The people of Cenchreae will marvel at the *spectaculum* of Lucius’ re-transformation, cf. 11,13,6 *populi mirantur*.

sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur: for the threat of accusation of magic, arising from being witnessed while the transformation from ass into Lucius takes place, cf. 4,1,6 *inspectante nullo*, with *GCA* 1977, 27 ad loc.; 3,29,7 *artis magicae suspicionem uel indicii futuri criminationem*. In the re-transformation scene in the *Onos* (54), a part of the audience thinks Loukios should be burnt to death immediately ‘as a scoundrel versed in terrible spells and able to adopt many shapes’ (ὡσπερ φάρμακα δεινὰ ἐπιστάμενον καὶ κακὸν τι πολύμορφον); see Introduction, 6.1.

criminabitur: as *GCA* 1981, 231 on 7,23,1 *criminosus* notes, the verb *criminari* always connotes ‘to accuse falsely’, which is made explicit here (*maligne*), as in 8,28,1 *infit ... conficto mendacio semet ipsum ... criminari*. The use of the verb reflects a major theme both in *met.* (‘false accusations’ and ‘fear of being condemned’, see *GCA* 2007, 286) and from Apuleius’ own life; cf. *apol.* 52,4 *falsum pro uero insinulas, infectum pro facto criminariis, quem innocentem liquido scis, tamen accusas ut nocentem*. Cf. also 3,29,7 *artis magicae suspicionem uel indicii futuri criminationem*, where Rohde rightly suspects an ‘ordo mutatus’ of the words *suspicionem* and *criminationem*.

11,6,5 Plane meminervis et penita mente conditum semper tenebis mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula adusque terminos ultimi spiritus uadata. Nec iniurium, cuius beneficio redieris ad homines, ei totum debere, quod uiues. You will clearly remember and keep forever stored deep in your heart that it is to me that the remaining course of your life, until the end of your last breath, is pledged. Nor is it unjust that you owe all the time you have to live to her, by whose beneficence you will return to men.

In the last section of her speech (11,6,5-7), Isis promises Lucius a life of happiness and glory, and demands in exchange his full dedication to her service until his death and beyond. For Isis' demand for a life-long servitude (also below, 11,6,7 *sedulus obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis et tenacibus castimoniis*) cf. 11,15,5; 11,16,4; Introduction, 5.2 with n. 171; 5.3 with n. 180. May 2006, 313 compares Isis' epiphany, and especially the advice and prophecy given here, to the *deus ex machina* from tragedy (for advice and prophecy cf. Athena's appearance *ex machina* in Eur. *Ion*).

penita mente conditum: cf. Lucius' promise to store the image of Isis forever in his heart in 11,25,6 *diuinos tuos uultus numenque sanctissimum intra pectoris mei secreta conditum perpetuo custodiens imaginabor*, with comm. ad loc. For a comparable expression ('deep in someone's heart') in a religious context cf. also 3,15,5 (Photis 'initiating' Lucius into her mysteries) *quaecumque itaque commisero huius religiosi pectoris tui penetralibus*.

penita mente: before Apuleius, the positive form of the adjective *penitus* is only found in Plautus (*Asin.* 41; see GCA 2004, 466 on *met.* 6,13,5 *de summi fontis penita scaturrigine*), who offers the first attestation of its use related to the heart, the mind etc. (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2. *penitus* 1083,61-67) in *Cist.* 63 (*stultitiam*) *in latebras apscondas pectore penitissimo*. Apuleius follows this use in the present passage, in *met.* 9,26,4 *mihī penita carpebantur praecordia*, and in *Socr.* 16 p. 156 in *ipsis penitissimis mentibus*. For Apuleius' use of expressions with ablative *mente* see comm. on 11,5,5 *nec sollicita nec profana mente*.

memineris ... tenebis: for the future tense used in a jussive sense cf. 6,18,7 *huic squalido seni dabis ... de stipibus quas feres alteram*; see Callebat 1968, 100; LHSz 2,311. Cf. 11,5,5 *debebis*.

reliqua uitae tuae ... curricula: 'the rest of your career'. Here, the expression *uitae curriculum* does not only have its usual meaning of 'the race, course of life' (*OLD* s.v. *curriculum* 3c), but can have the further meaning of 'the field of the display of talents' (*OLD* s.v. 4b; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 7,7 *omne ... curriculum industriae nostrae in foro ... elaboratum est*), since Isis presents herself here as Lucius' patron goddess in the context of his future glorious career (11,6,6 *uiues in mea tutela gloriosus*); compare our modern "CV" (see below on *ultimi spiritus*). Cf. 11,21,7 *nouae ... salutis curricula*. Apuleius uses the expression in its more usual sense at *Socr.* 15 p. 153 *iuste ac prudenter curriculo uitae gubernato*; before him, it is only attested in Cicero (singular: *Verr.* 2,2,179; *Rab. perd.* 30; *Arch.* 28; plural: *ac.* 1,44 *breuia curricula uitae*) and in Fronto, *ad amic.* 2,7,18 (p. 195,3-4) *adulescentiae et iuuentuti prolixa curricula uitae data sunt*.

terminos: for *terminus* in the sense of 'the end', the point where an activity stops, cf. 4,12,1 *ille ... uitae terminum posuit*; *OLD* s.v. 4.

ultimi spiritus: as in 7,1,2 *ex anhelitu recepto spiritu*; 10,26,7 *effundit spiritum*, *spiritus* here denotes the principle of life, but is also 'breath' in a concrete sense. For another ambiguous use of *spiritus* cf. 11,28,6 *spiritu fauentis Euentus*, where it means both 'breeze' and 'inspiration'; the latter connotation is important here as well, since Lucius' glorious 'CV' (see above on *uitae ... curricula*) is pledged to Isis until his

very last moment of inspiration. For further nuances of meaning of *spiritus* in *met.* see GCA 1977, 158 on 4,21,2 *tandem ... spiritu expugnato*.

uadata: for Apuleius' use of this legal metaphor for Isis' power over Lucius cf. 11,23,3 *iam dies aderat diuino destinatus uadimonio*. Noncompliance with *uadimonium* (the summons to appear in court at the appointed time) is punishable by law. See Keulen 1997, 208-213 for more information on this metaphor.

cuius beneficio redieris ad homines: cf. 11,16,3 *hunc ... numen ... reformauit ad homines*, with comm. ad loc.

beneficio: Fredouille 1975, 62 ad loc. points out the importance of reciprocity ('do ut des') in the Egyptian religious mentality. This aspect is also reflected in the votive dimension of Lucius' prayers; see Introduction, 7.1.1. For the *beneficia* of Isis cf. 11,12,1 *promissa ... beneficia*; 11,13,6 *tam inlustre deae beneficium* (see comm. ad loc.); 11,18,1 *deae prouidentis ... beneficium*; 11,21,1 *beneficiis praesentibus*; 11,24,5 *inremunerabili quippe beneficio pigneratus*; 11,25,2 *tuis ... beneficiis* (with comm. ad loc.); 11,26,4 *numinis beneficio*.

11,6,6 *Viues autem beatus, uiues in mea tutela gloriosus, et cum spatium saeculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis, ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semirotondo me, quam uides, Acherontis tenebris interlucentem Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, campos Elysios incolens ipse, tibi propitiam frequens adorabis. You will live happily, under my guardianship you will live in glory, and as soon as you have completed the full measure of your lifetime and descend to the Underworld, there too, in that very subterranean hemisphere, you shall often worship me, whom you behold – me, shining amid the darkness of Acheron and reigning in the remote depths of the Styx, being propitious to you – while you dwell in the Elysian fields.*

For the prospect for the faithful of individual salvation in the afterlife, related to Isis' role as a healing deity and mistress of a compelling destiny (cf. 11,6,7), see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 72, who views this as part of the identity of the Hellenistic Isis, but cites this passage as the only example; for the same idea in Egyptian and in Hellenistic evidence see Panayotakis (forthcoming). The phrasing particularly recalls the conventional wish that a just ruler may have a long life, until he goes to heaven, as expressed in Sen. *Herc. f.* 742-744 *longa permensus diu / felix aevi spatia ... caelum petit / uel laeta felix nemoris Elysii loca* (compare *uiues beatus* in Apuleius with *felix aevi ... felix* in Seneca; *campos Elysios incolens* in Apuleius with *laeta ... nemoris Elysii loca* in Seneca); more examples of this conventional idea in Billerbeck 1999 ad loc.

Viues ... uiues: the anaphora underlines a central topic of this chapter, Lucius' (long) future life as a human (11,6,5 *totum ... quod uiues*); Harrauer 1973 ad loc. compares for this pregnant sense of *uiuere* ('to live as a human') 11,2,4 *si non licet uiuere*. See below on *spatium saeculi tui permensus*.

beatus ... gloriosus: as Fredouille 1975 ad loc. observes, the two adjectives complement each other as terms for Lucius' future happiness, with *gloriosus* emphasising the aspects of literary fame and social prestige. *Beatus* refers to the happiness of those

who are initiated; cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 2,480 ἄλβιος, δς, with Richardson 1974 ad loc. For the motif of *beatitudo* in Book 11, cf. 11,15,2 *ad religiosam istam beatitudinem*; 11,16,4 *ter beatus*; 11,29,4 *teque de isto numero merito praesume semper beatum*. Lucius' *gloria* refers both to his spreading fame as a follower of Isis (11,13,6; 11,16,1-4; 11,18,1) and his future glorious career under divine protection, cf. 11,27,9 *studiorum gloriam*; 11,30,4 *gloriosa in foro ... patrocinia* (see comm. ad loc.). On the unifying motif of *gloria in met.* see Graverini 2005, 235 with n. 33. On the metaliterary aspects of references to fame and happiness in Book 11 see Introduction, 3.2 with nn. 61-62.

in mea tutela: see comm. on 11,15,3 *tutelam*.

spatium saeculi tui permensus: cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 742-743 *longa permensus diu / felicitis aevi spatia ... caelum petit* (see introd. note above), with Billerbeck 1999 ad loc. on the temporal dimension of *permensus*; here, this dimension is underlined by *spatium saeculi*, which encapsulates the repeated references to Lucius' life pledged to Isis (11,6,5 *totum ... quod uiues*; above, *uiues ... uiues*). For the solemn expression cf. also Mart. 9,29,1 (humorously applied to an old woman) *saecula Nestoreae permensa ... senectae rapta es ad infernas ... aquas*; more examples of this temporal use of *permetior* in *ThLL* s.v. 1538,28-35. For temporal *spatium* see below on 11,6,7 *ultra statuta fato tuo spatia uitam ... prorogare*.

demearis: the use of *demeare* with regard to the Underworld (cf. καταβαίνω) is first attested in Apuleius; cf. 8,7,4 *ad maritum suum demeare*; 9,31,1 *quem ad modum laruatus ad inferos demeasset*; *Socr.* 24 p. 178; note the Apuleian coinage *demeacula* for the descent to the Underworld in *met.* 6,2,5 (for more details on *demeare* see *GCA* 2007, 345 on 1,19,3 *demeare ... remeare*).

ibi ... in ipso ... semirotondo: for adverbs reinforcing prepositional clauses of place (cf. also 11,17,3 *indidem de sublimi suggestu*, with comm.) see Callebat 1968, 532-533.

subterraneo semirotondo: the word *semirotondus* occurs only twice in *met.* (as an adjective meaning 'semicircular' in 5,3,2 *semirotondo suggestu*, used of the platform on which Psyche reclines in Cupid's palace; see *GCA* 2004, 128 ad loc.), and is not attested before Apuleius; here, *semirotondum* is used as a substantive meaning 'hemisphere'. For the adjective *subterraneus* with reference to the Underworld see *OLD* s.v. 1b, quoting only Iuv. 2,149 *esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna* and our passage. See also Panayotakis (forthcoming), n. 61: "The unparalleled Latin expression *subterraneum semirotondum* is probably a calque on the Greek expression ὑπόγειον ἡμισφαίριον, which occurs in astrological literature; see Vett. Val. 2,29 and 2,30. The notion of the Underworld as a 'hemisphere' is first attested in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 371b."

me ... Acherontis tenebris interlucentem: this power will become manifest to Lucius in 11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* (see comm. ad loc.). Isis' ability to illuminate the darkness of the Underworld is often associated with similar powers of Apuleian witches, most notably Meroe (*GCA* 2007, 206-207 on 1,8,4 *Tartarum ipsum inluminare*); see Introduction, 5.1 with n. 136 on the analogies between Isis and the witches. *GCA* 1995, 200 notes the parallel between this passage and 9,22,5 *sol ... subterrenas orbis plagas inluminabat*.

Acherontis: Acheron, one of the rivers of the Underworld, was commonly used to mean the Underworld itself; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,312 *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo*, *OLD* s.v. 2.

regnantem: Isis refers here to her identity as *regina manium* (11,5,1, with comm. ad loc.); see also above on 11,5,2 *Stygiam Proserpinam*.

campos Elysios incolens: the concept of Elysium as a part of the Underworld is Vergilian (*georg.* 1,38 *Elysios miretur Graecia campos*; *Aen.* 5,734-735; 6,637-638) and forms part of the *interpretatio Romana* for Apuleius' audience. For the traditional concept of a blessed existence in Elysium as a reward for goodness in life, found from Pindar (*Ol.* 2,68-69) onwards, see Fitch 1987 on Sen. *Herc. f.* 744-745 *laeta ... nemoris Elysii loca*. Often, the adjective *laetus* is applied to the area; transferring this notion to the person *inhabiting* the area, Apuleius emphasises the idea of cultivation (*incolens*) instead of the fertility of the fields.

propitiam: for *propitia* as a word from prayer language and an Isiac epithet see comm. on 11,5,4 *propitia*.

11,6,7 Quodsi sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis et tenacibus castimoniis numen nostrum promerueris, scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia uitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere.' But if by diligent obedience, worshipful service and steadfast abstinence you win the favour of my godhead, you will know that to me alone it is permitted to prolong also your life beyond the limits determined by your fate.'

In her final words, Isis points to two important aspects of her identity, one related to her role of *Agathe Tyche* (Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 56-57), the other to her power as a healing deity (see comm. on 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*).

sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis: for the emphasis on diligence in the cult cf. 11,21,1 *quo facto idem sollicitius sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium*; 11,22,1 *nec impatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum, sed intentus miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate sedulum quot dies obibam culturae sacrorum ministerium*.

tenacibus castimoniis: the hardest thing is mentioned last; *tenacibus* indicates that this abstinence is not supposed to be a matter of just ten days. The phrasing is not very clear, as to what kind of abstinence is meant here; it could include sexual abstinence, which is also suggested by the plural, parallel to *obsequiis* ('acts of chastity'). Lucius will soon be informed about how hard the rules of chastity and abstinence are; cf. 11,19,3 *religionis obsequium et castimoniae abstinentiam*, with comm. ad loc.

numen nostrum promerueris: the religious use of *promereo(r)* in the sense of 'to win the favour of' is first attested in Apuleius and then frequently in Christian Latin (*ThLL* s.v. 1846,59 f.); see *GCA* 2004, 435 on 6,10,2 *sedulo ministerio amatores tuos promereri*; cf. also 5,25,6 *Cupidinem deorum maximum percole, et utpote adolescentem ... blandis obsequiis promerere*.

ultra ... spatia uitam ... prorogare: for Isis' divine capacity to extend man's life beyond the limits imposed by his destiny, cf. Isidorus, 2nd *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 22,7-8) καὶ ὄσοι ἐν νοῦσοις θανατώδεσι μοίρῃ ἔχονται / σοὶ εὐξάμενοι ταχέως σῆς ζωῆς

ἔρωχον (“all who are bound in mortal illness in the grip of death, / if they (but) pray to you, quickly attain your (renewal of) life”, tr. Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 56 n. 44).

ultra statuta fato tuo spatia: for Isis’ power over fate cf. also 11,25,2 *Fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia*; this characteristic is reflected in the *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,55-56), ‘I overcome Fate: Fate hearkens to me’; see Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 57 with n. 47; Drews 2009, 593; Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 98 with n. 34 (with further lit.).

ultra ... uitam ... prorogare: for *uitam prorogare* used of prolonging someone else’s life cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 827; Cels. 3,19,6; Colum. 1,3,5. *ThLL* s.v. *prorogo* 2151,66-67 notes our passage as the only case with the preposition *ultra*.

spatia: for *spatium* used of the length of one’s life cf. above, 11,6,6 *spatium saeculi tui*; 8,20,1 *ad meae senectutis spatia ... ueniat*, with *GCA* 1985, 175 ad loc.

mihi tantum licere: as Wittmann 1938, 38 observes, these words reflect Isis’ henotheistic claim to be the only true divinity (11,5,1 *numen unicum*).

CHAPTER VII

Lucius’ *dies salutaris* dawns with a golden sunrise; everyone and everything welcomes the arrival of Isis and Spring.

1. Daybreak, spring, Isis: the joyful celebration of a divine epiphany

Regarding structure, it is striking that the description of the break of the new day is not at the beginning of the book, as in 3,1,1 and in 7,1,1, but postponed to the present chapter, immediately followed by the elaborate description of the new season of spring (see Introduction, 2.2). This may be motivated by the prominent role of Isis in Book 11, underlined by her epiphany in 11,3-6; thus, Apuleius suggests that Spring flows from Isis. Apuleius here uses the topos of the arrival of spring as symbol for the epiphany of a deity: Isis manifests herself in nature (cf. 11,25,4 *tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina*). The explicit reference to Spring (*uerno uapore*) connects the scene of the dawning of the new day and of Cenchreae’s transformed landscape with the beginning of the new season of spring. At the same time, it connects Spring with the celebration of its originator, Isis, *parens temporum* (the women in the Isiac procession wear spring flowers; cf. 11,9,2 *uerno ... coronamine*).

The personifying description of nature rejoicing at the arrival of Spring recalls the opening of Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* (the hymn to Venus, where Spring is connected to Venus as a cosmic creative power), where at Venus’ coming “the broad ocean smiles, and heaven is appeased and glows with diffused light” (Lucr. 1,8-9 *tibi rident aequora ponti / placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum*), as Kenney (1998, 257) points out (compare also the sense of joy and promise at the beginning of Spring in Verg. *georg.* 1,43-70; 3,322-338; 4,51-66). For the Lucretian intertextual background of Book 11 see Introduction, 6.4; on this chapter in particular see Zimmerman 2006a, 333-335. The sense of religious joy permeating this chapter introduces the recurrent theme of Lucius’ *gaudium* in Book 11 (11,7,1 *gaudio*; 11,7,3 *hilaritudine ... gaudere*; 11,30,5 *gaudens*; see Introduction, 4.2.1).

2. Mixed emotions: Lucius’ response to the epiphany

Lucius’ mixed emotions of anxiety and joy and the reactions of men and nature to the arrival of the deity belong to the characteristic topics of rhetorical and poetical epiphany descriptions (see Gladigow 1990, 98-102; Pfister in *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. *Epiphanie [das Erlebnis]* 316-319; Gladigow, s.v. ‘Epiphanie/Advent’, *HrwGr* II, 290-296; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 81 with n. 59.). For the oxymoronic aspect of the psychic experience see Nisbet – Hubbard 1978 on Hor. *carm.* 2,19,6 (on the epiphany of Bacchus) *turbidum laetatur*, quoting Porphyrio’s comment: *uiso enim deo quis non perturbetur, licet gaudeat?* (cf. also Calp. *ecl.* 1,90 *mixtus subit inter gaudia terror*). See also Richardson 1974, 306-307 on reverence, awe, and fear as the usual reactions of the onlooker at an epiphany (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 2,188-211), compar-

ing them with the emotions causing the speechlessness of the initiate, who is unable to describe his emotions related to the Mysteries. Lucius' physical reactions resemble those of the initiate described in Plutarch, *περὶ ψυχῆς* frg. 2 (frg. 178 Sandbach, *Mor.* Vol. XV), focusing on the emotional experience immediately before the consummation of the initiation, *πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήνησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο*. On this fragment see also Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 163, who compares Lucius' emotions when he senses the presence of the moon goddess (Ch. I).

Lucius' contradictory emotions (excessive sweat, joy, and fear) indeed recall his wavering emotional state at the opening of the Isis Book, where he wakes up in sudden fright (11,1,1 *experrectus pauore subito*), arises eagerly (11,1,4 *<laetus et> alacer exurgo*) and prays to the goddess with his face covered in tears (*lacrimoso uultu*). Finkelppearl 2006, 216 compares Aeneas' reaction to the epiphany of the Penates, where he both sweats and leaps up in eager reaction to the divine (Verg. *Aen.* 3,175-176 *tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor / corripio e stratis corpus*). In a similar way, the birds' reactions to Isis combine eagerness with awe, including joyful singing on the one hand (below, 11,7,4) and religious awe on the other (11,25,4 *tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aues caelo meantes*).

Sandy in *AAGA* 1, 134-135 discusses the present chapter in the context of significant links and pointed contrasts between Book 11 and Books 1 – 3, adding force to his central thesis that Book 11 is a “safe anchor in the harbour of Isis for a Lucius storm-tossed on the waves of sensual lust” rather than ‘ballast’ for the preceding ‘light’ Milesian books. Subsuming it under the category of comparison ‘psychology of mysticism’, Sandy compares our passage with other significant passages where Lucius, being in the thrall of a variety of religious experiences, is suffering various emotions at the same time, for which the Lucretian *diuina uoluptas ... atque horror* (3,28-29) can be considered paradigmatic (for the Lucretian dimension in Apuleius' depiction of religious emotions in Book 11 see Introduction, 6.4). For the combination of religious awe and attraction felt by Lucius at this point, Sandy compares 11,19,3 *cupienti uoluntate ... religiosa formidine ... festinans differebam*, and 2,1,1 *anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt*; likewise, in 2,11,4, Lucius feels the irresistible compulsion to behold the witch Pamphile while simultaneously fearing to take the plunge (*perinde in eius faciem oculos meos ac si in Auernum lacum formidans deieceram*). For continuity and change reflected in Lucius' characterisation see Introduction, 5.2.

11,7,1 Sic oraculi uenerabilis fine prolato numen inuictum in se recessit. Nec mora cum somno protinus absolutus pauore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exurgo summeque miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam, marino rore respersus magnisque imperiis eius intentus monitionis ordinem recolebam. After pronouncing the end of her awesome prophecy in this way, the invincible divinity withdrew into herself. At once I was quickly released from sleep, and I arose, overwhelmed by a confusion of fear and joy, followed by an excess of sweat, and utterly amazed by the fact that the helpful presence of the powerful goddess had been so clear, I sprinkled myself with

sea-dew and, attentive to her great commands, I repeatedly reviewed her admonitions in order.

The opening section of this chapter is marked by sound effects, such as assonance (*tam claram praesentiam*), and frequent *m* and *r* (*marino rore respersus magnisque imperiis*). The sentence *nec mora ... recolebam* is carefully structured in syntax and colometry, with two main verbs (*exurgo ... recolebam*), the one preceded by two parallel participial constructions with a passive sense (*absolutus ... permixtus*), the other preceded by three parallel participial constructions (*miratus ... respersus ... intentus*), the first two having an active and mediopassive sense, the third having the force of an adjective (‘attentive’), while all three end a colon with the same clausula (cretic plus trochee).

Sic ... recessit: a short sentence sums up the long and elaborate speech, which had been quoted in full, by referring to its closure (*fine*) and by vividly but briefly depicting Isis' immediate disappearance (see Callebat 1968, 443 on ‘brièveté narrative’). For a similar example of ‘brièveté narrative’, with *sic* used of ‘summing up the circumstances just specified’, cf. 5,23,3 *sic ignara Psyche sponte in Amoris incidit amorem*, with *GCA* 2004, 285-286 ad loc.

oraculi uenerabilis: the expression reflects the recognised status of dreams (cf. *somno ... absolutus*) as divine messages in antiquity, not only in Isiac cult (see Harris 2009, 23-76 on Epiphany or Messenger Dreams); cf. the juxtaposition in Apul. *Socr.* 14 p. 150 *somniis et uaticinationibus et oraculis*. As Apuleius mentions prophetic dreams also in non-Isiac contexts (cf. *apol.* 54,2 *somnio imperatum*), they seem to have been recognised as quite a normal phenomenon. Yet, as observed by Lightfoot 2003 (with lit.) on Lucian. *Syr. Dea* 19 ὄναρ τοιόνδε ἐθέησατο (where Stratonice receives orders in a dream from Hera), in classical sources it is especially Hellenistic henotheistic gods (Asclepius, Isis, Sarapis, Cybele) who express their will and propagate their cult through dreams (see also Bömer 1985 on *Ov. met.* 15,653; Harris 2009, 31-41 on epigraphical and sculptural evidence, with illustrations). The frequent descriptions of appearances of gods in dreams show how the gods and their typical characteristics formed part of the religious experience of the ancients, especially in the second century A.D.: Artemidorus devotes nine rather lengthy chapters of his *Oneirocritica* to such appearances, describing their different manifestations (clothes, attributes) and how the appearances should be interpreted; Aelius Aristides describes dream visions of Asclepius, Isis, Sarapis, and other gods in his *Sacred Tales* (Mussies 1988, 9-11). For incubation as a typical feature of the cult of Isis cf. Cic. *div.* 1,132 *Isiacos coniectores ... interpretes somniorum* (referring to professional interpreters of the dreams which devout Isis-worshippers received through incubation; see Harris 2009, 136); Iuv. 6,526 *iusserit*, with Courtney 1980 ad loc. (cf. 6,530 *credit enim ipsius dominae se uoce moneri*, referring to a dream vision of Isis); Diod. Sic. 1,25,3-5. Berreth (1931, 20) mentions parallels from Greek magical papyri, where the Moon Goddess sends dreams (ὄνειροπομπῆ, *PGM* IV,2626) and appears in them (ὄνειροθαυπτάνη, IV,3173).

At the very same moment, Isis turns out to give instructions to her priest through a second dream (cf. 11,6,1 *meo monitu*; 11,6,3 *sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda*

praecipio), for which the term *oraculum* is used as well (11,13,1 *nocturni commonefactus oraculi*; cf. 11,12,1 *diuinae promissionis*). We would not go as far as Kirichenko (2010, 93), who states that Lucius in Book 11 “consults an oracle” or “turns [to Isis] for instructions”, and in doing so follows “the pattern of a typical philosophical biography” (he compares e.g. the consultation of Apollo’s oracle by Socrates) – Isis answers Lucius’ *prayer*, a desperate cry for help, and she does so by an epiphany during his sleep.

uenerabilis: see comm. on 11,23,3 *uenerabili*.

pro lato: the correction *pro lato*, found in the manuscript U, of the reading *perlato* transmitted by F and A, is adopted by most editions, including Helm 1955, Robertson 1945, Hanson 1989, Brandt – Ehlers 1958, and Zimmerman 2012. Médan 1925a, 19 and Fredouille 1975, 63 ad loc. defend the correction *pro lato* by pointing out the analogy with *proferre orationem* (cf. e.g. 3,13,3 *sermone pro lato*). Yet, a stronger argument against *perlato* is the impossibility of the sense ‘to deliver, to convey (a message, a story)’ in this context, in contrast with other cases, where the transmitted reading is possible, cf. 4,31,1 *tota illa perlata ... fabula*, with GCA 2004, 65 ad loc., and 1,14,3 *perferens* with GCA 2007, 287. Since *finis (oraculi)* is the complement of the verb, *profero* ‘to give voice to, utter, pronounce’ (OLD s.v. 4a) would be more appropriate here, and has a close parallel in 9,37,3 *ultima uoce prolata* (‘after speaking his last words’). Frassinetti 1960, Marsili 1964 and Martos 2003 retain the reading *perlato*, which is also defended by Augello 1977, 227; cf. also ThLL s.v. *perfero* 1358,42-43.

numen inuictum: for *inuictus* as a title of deities (OLD s.v. 2b) cf. 11,27,2 *inuicti Osiris*, with comm. ad loc. Here, the epithet refers to Isis, who is called *triumphalis* (CIL VI,355), *uictrix* (CIL IX,3144), and *inuicta* in inscriptions; see ThLL s.v. *inuictus* 187,59, quoting CIL VI 353 (a. 51) and XIII 8190-8191; Bricault 1996, 83-84. See e.g. Abbildung 107 in Merkelbach 1995, 585 (sitting statue of Isis, with the inscription *Isidi inuict<a>e*). For similar epithets see below on 11,7,2 *triumphali* and on 11,7,4 *orbisque totius dominam*. According to Donalson (2003, 18), Isis, who had been known from early times in Egypt as a protectress of her native country against invasion, was hailed in Rome as *Inuicta* (while Serapis was hailed as *inuictus*) and became part of Roman victory lore (altars with the dedication *Inuictae Isidi* can still be seen in Rome today; for more examples, e.g. from Spain, see Donalson 2003, 153, 177). On pp. 168-169, Donalson points to the use of Isiacism in imperial theology, mentioning Commodus as the first to take the title *Inuictus*, identifying not only with Sol, Serapis, and Mithras, but also with the victory goddess par excellence, Isis (Donalson 2003, 177-178).

Before Apuleius the combination *numen inuictum* occurs only in Catull. 64,204 *annuit inuicto caelestum numine rector* (differently Liv. 7,30,20 *adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque uestrum inuictum*). On *numen* see also comm. on 11,1,2 *luminis numinisque nutu*.

in se recessit: a peculiar expression; Seneca uses it with reference to *uirtus* in *epist.* 74,29 *aeque magna est, etiam si in se recessit undique exclusa* (‘virtue is just as great, even when it has retreated within itself and is shut in on all sides’). Apuleius possibly plays with traditional epic formulas describing the withdrawal of a ghost after speaking to a living person; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,790-791 (Creusa’s appearance to Ae-

neas) *haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa uolentem / dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras*, with Horsfall 2008 ad loc., who refers to Homeric ὄχετο and ἔπττα’ for *recessit*. Moreover, there may be an Ennian reminiscence, cf. Enn. *ann.* 46-47 Skutsch *haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit / nec sese dedit in conspectum* (Aeneas). Since *recessit* can already have a medial/mediopassive sense by itself, Apuleius’ ‘pleonastic’ addition *in se* is significant, underlining the astonishing disappearance of the goddess who vanishes in the night.

In view of Isis’ associations with the Moon, the verb’s meaning ‘pass into a smaller compass, dwindle’ (of heavenly bodies, OLD s.v. *recedo* 4) may be of relevance as well, cf. Ov. *met.* 15,312 *minimos cum luna recessit in orbis*. Read against a Platonic background (Apuleian demonology), the expression may suggest that Isis now withdraws from the human atmosphere into her divine atmosphere (see below on *deae potentis ... praesentiam*).

nec mora, cum: the Apuleian expression *nec mora cum*, which frequently occurs in *met.* (see GCA 2001, 262 on 2,17,1; Bernhard 1927, 50-51) occurs three times in Book 11, two of which are in this chapter and at the beginning of successive periods (see below, 11,7,2). Cf. 11,11,1 *nec mora, cum*; 11,27,8 *nec moratus*. The phrase allows events to be rapidly linked together; here, it underlines, as Marsili 1964, 59 points out, the quick obedience of both Lucius and the sun to the divinity: as soon as Isis has finished her speech, both Lucius (*exurgo*) and the sun (*exurgit*) rise. The double occurrence of the phrase in almost immediate sequence may additionally point to the special association between Lucius and the Sun, which will become visible to the public (and to the reader) in Ch. XXIV through Lucius’ solar outfit.

somno ... absolutus: here, the compound *absoluere* is used poetically in the sense of the simplex *soluere*, in the sense of ‘relieving, freeing’ (a person from a condition, feeling); for a similar case of ‘compositum pro simpliciter’ see on 11,16,9 *absoluta strophii ancoralibus*. For the reverse situation, being ‘bound’ by a prophetic dream, cf. Enn. *ann.* 2 *somno leni placidoque reuinctus* (see Skutsch 1985 ad loc.). Our passage particularly recalls the ending of the *Somnium Scipionis* in Cic. *rep.* 6,29,2 *ille* (sc. Scipio) *discessit; ego somno solutus sum*; for the relation between deep sleep and prophetic dreams see Zetzel 1995 on Cic. *rep.* 6,10,2 *artior ... somnus complexus est*. On epiphany dreams see above on 11,7,1 *oraculi uenerabilis*.

pauore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus: the text of this passage has been disputed by editors, who saw a problem in the combination of emotional and physical reactions and/or in the concatenation of unlike terms. Van der Vliet 1897 printed: *pauore et stupore ac dein gaudio permixtus*; Blümner 1894, 312 conjectured: *pauore et gaudio ac dein furore diuino permixtus*. However, several parallels from *met.* and other texts show that Lucius’ mixed emotions in reaction to Isis’ epiphany reflect standard usage (see introduction to this chapter [2. Mixed emotions: Lucius’ response to the epiphany]).

The present use of *permiscere* with regard to the effect of emotions upon a person is first attested in Apuleius (ThLL s.v. *permisceo* 1544,36-41), cf. 9,21,3 *Myrmex ... conscientia ... pessima permixtus*; 9,39,3 *maerore permixtus*. Through the combination with *sudor*, the participle *permixtus* even gains a more concrete, physical dimension, beyond mere emotional effect; for a similarly ambivalent use of the term cf. Alc. Avit. *carm.* 3,209 *permixti felle doloris* (sc. Adam and Eve after their expulsion from

Paradise). For the concrete connotations compare the sequence *permixtus ... respersus* in this sentence. *OLD* s.v. *permisceo* interprets *permixtus* in our passage in a different, resultative sense (1d ‘to be compounded of’), comparing it with e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 8,712 *ater ... permixtus sudore et sanguine torrens* (cf. also Sall. *Iug.* 60,2 *clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu*, and cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1546,44-54). As often, the word-artist Apuleius seems to play with various connotations of *permiscere*, combining the ‘affective’ aspect of ‘disturbing’ the mind (Lucius is ‘mixed up’) with the ‘additive’ aspect of mingling various components into an emotional and physical state of being (Lucius feels a ‘mix’ of various emotions). Hanson’s translation (‘in a confusion of’) well catches the ambiguity in English.

What is more, through the juxtaposition with *pauor* and *gaudium* (*sudor* significantly constitutes the climax of a tricolon, and as such ‘continues’ the description of a sequence of *emotions*), Apuleius plays with the ambiguous sense of *sudor*, which can denote both the resulting sweat and the emotion of anxiety and fear producing it (for a similar Apuleian play with the ambivalence cf. *apol.* 55,1 *quanti ... sudores innocentibus hoc uno sudariolo adferantur*), although here the physical sense of *sudor* clearly prevails. See Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 10-12, who prefers to see this use of *sudor* as wordplay rather than zeugma (for the latter interpretation cf. Griffiths 1975 ad loc., who compares it with a typical example of zeugma ‘I swallowed my beer and my pride’).

gaudio: Lucius’ *gaudium* looks forward to the exuberant joy that permeates this whole chapter; cf. below, 11,7,3 *hilaritudine ... gaudere*, where he compares his own *hilaritudo* with the joy expressed by everything and everyone surrounding him. For *gaudium* as Lucius’ response to Isis’ presence cf. 11,14,1 *tam repentinum tamque magnum ... gaudium*; cf. also 11,15,4 *pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae prouidentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*. On the frequency of *gaudium/gaudere* in Book 11 see Nicolini 2005, 52 n. 115; see also Introduction, 4.2.1 (final paragraph).

sudore nimio: as Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 12 points out, the combination *sudor nimius* is attested elsewhere only in technical prose, discussing ‘an excess of sweat’, and how to cure it (e.g. Plin. *nat.* 31,116; Macr. *Sat.* 7,6,7); cf. especially *Mulomedicina Chironis* 3,286 on ‘excess of sweat’ (*sudor nimius*) as one of a series of symptoms of *insania* in pack animals; the association, as Zimmerman points out, may be a subtle reminder by the narrator that Lucius is still an ass at this point. Cf. 11,1,1 *candore nimio*.

deae potentis ... praesentiam: for *praesentia* (‘helpful, powerful, or opportune presence’, cf. *OLD* s.v. 2) used of gods, cf. 8,27,6 *prorsus quasi deum praesentia soleant homines non sui fieri meliores, sed debiles effici*; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,166; Phaedr. 4,26,32; Manil. 1,48-49; Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 1 (p. 40,13 Moreschini). Sometimes this presence also indicates a felt, bodily presence; cf. 11,1,3 *deae praesentis*, with comm. ad loc. on the adjective’s additional connotation of ‘benevolent’. Cf. 11,12,1 *praesentissimi numinis* with comm. ad loc., where the connotations of ‘helpful’, ‘powerful’, and ‘benevolent’ are more on the foreground than the felt presence of the deity, which is crucial to this chapter.

In 11,6,3, Isis speaks about her presence in the ‘double dream’: *eodem momento, quo tibi uenio, simul et ibi praesens*. See also on 11,5,1 *adsum*. The ancients distin-

guished between true apparitions, such as those seen by persons awake or in a light sleep, and imaginary figments of heavy, deep sleep (see Williams 1962 on Verg. *Aen.* 3,173 *nec sopor illud erat*). On the debated question, whether Isis is externally ‘present’ here or only internally seen in Lucius’ mind while he sleeps, Drews 2009, 547-557 argues for the first option (cf. also James 1987, 240), explaining Isis’ appearance to Lucius against the background of Apuleius’ demonology (*Socr.* 11 p. 144-145). According to this interpretation, after her epiphany, Isis withdraws from the human sphere back into the divine sphere (see above on *se recessit*).

deae potentis: cf. 11,1,4 *deam praepotentem* (the Moon). For *potentia* as an attribute of Isis cf. 11,13,6 *populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur tam euidenter maximi numinis potentiam*; 11,16,3 *hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformauit*; 11,26,1 *deae potentis instinctu ... Romam uersus profectionem dirigo*. Isis is called δυνάστην in *P.Oxy.* 1380,34 (Totti 20) – see Bricault 1996, 22. For the use of *potens* referring to divinities (cf. also 11,10,2 *potentissimorum deum proferebant insignis exuias*) see *OLD* s.v. *potens* 4b (‘powerful’, ‘mighty’); by far most of the examples cited by *ThLL* s.v. *potens* 281,26-42 (from Trag. inc. 241 onwards) are from poetry and refer to *female* divinities. The epithet is frequently used of Hecate/Trivia in poetry (Catull. 34,15; Verg. *Aen.* 6,247; Ov. *epist.* 12,168; Val. Fl. 3,321). However, as Fredouille 1975, 64 points out, the epithet is absent from Latin texts on Isis except for Apuleius’ Isis Book.

marino rore respersus: see introd. note above for the sound effect. This is the second purification ritual undergone by Lucius-ass; cf. 11,1,4 *meque protinus purificandi studio marino lauacro trado septiesque summerso fluctibus capite*, with comm. ad loc. On the role of water and ritual purifications in the context of Isiac cult see below, comm. on 11,23,1 *prius sueto lauacro ... abluit*.

marino rore: cf. 11,1,4 *marino lauacro*. Apuleius uses this phrase only here, and in an entirely original sense of sea water (‘dew of the sea’), possibly evoking Lucretian usage (see *OLD* s.v. *ros* 2a and cf. Lucr. 4,438 *supra rorem salis*; cf. Apul. *met.* 4,28,4 *ros spumantium fluctuum*). Possibly, this is a reminiscence of similar literary expressions in Greek, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 904 ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου; Eur. *Iph. T.* 255 ἐναλίῃ δρόσω and 1192 θαλασσία δρόσω. Elsewhere, the phrase occurs in the sense of ‘rosemary’ (*OLD* s.v. *ros* 3), both in poetic texts (Hor. *carm.* 3,23,15-16) and in technical literature (Varro *rust.*; Scrib. Larg.; Columella; Plin. *nat.*). Here, the literal connotation of *ros* (cf. Apul. *mund.* 8 p. 306 *ros ... nocturnus umor est*) fits the context of the beginning of the new day. The unusual combination and the poetic connotations add to the lofty tone of the passage; cf. 10,22,1 *labias ... modicas ambroseo rore purpurantes*, with *GCA* 2000, 283 ad loc.

magnisque imperiis eius intentus: as Isis had told him to be; cf. 11,5,4 *imperii istis meis animum intende sollicitum*. Cf. 11,17,5 *intentus deae specimen*, and see comm. ad loc. for the textual problem there.

recoleram: the use of the imperfect tense here is probably frequentative (‘I repeatedly went over’) rather than inchoative (‘I began to go over’); for the frequentative use cf. 11,20,2 *reuoluebam*; 11,29,2 *exercitius cogitabam*; for the verb *recolo* used in the sense of ‘going over in one’s mind’ cf. 9,21,5 *recolens festinationis suae delictum* and see *OLD* s.v. 4.

11,7,2 *Nec mora, cum noctis atrae fugato nubilo sol exurgit aureus, et ecce discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali turbulae complent totas plateas, At once the cloud of dark night was dispelled, and the Sun arose all gold, and look: bustling in a religious and truly triumphant mood, knots of people filled all the streets,*

nec mora, cum ... et ecce: on the double occurrence of *nec mora cum* in this chapter see above on 11,7,1 *nec mora, cum* (Robertson's proposal to delete the second *nec mora cum* is unwarranted). Here, a second subordinate clause depending on *nec mora* is introduced by *et ecce* (replacing *cum*), as Koziol 1872, 317 has observed. For this use of *et ecce*, cf. 11,3,2 *necdum satis conixeram et ecce ... emergit diuina facies*, with comm. ad loc.

noctis atrae ... sol ... aureus: Isis' all-pervading cosmic power (cf. 11,25,3 *luminas solem ... calcas Tartarum*) manifests itself in this chapter through the oppositions dark – light; cloudy – serene; night – day; implied is also the opposition between 'death' and 'life'. The present contrast between the darkness of the past and the bright sunlight and serene sky is again emphasised below, 11,7,5 *caelum autem nubilosa caligine disiecta nudo sudoque luminis proprii splendore candebat*. Cf. 11,5,5 *dies ex ista nocte nascetur*. On the symbolism of light in *met.* see Panayotakis 2001; Krabbe 2003, 545-547, who observes that in Book 11 "the essential themes of light and darkness, life and death, find their fullest development." The opposition between 'black' and 'golden' significantly returns in the description of the *ψυχοπομπός* Anubis, who is *nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis* (11,11,1), which may reflect his presence alternating between the underworld (death, 'black') and the upper world (life, 'golden'); see also Kenney's note ad loc. (1998, 257). Berreth (1931, 76) points to Egyptian astrological views of Anubis as a symbol of the horizon, embodying the rising and setting of the sun.

noctis atrae: Krabbe (2003, 540) notes that black forms part of the palette of four colours white/yellow/red/black, which Apuleius also uses in the description of Isis' robe (11,3,5), and which, after Isis identifies herself in Ch. V, appear for a second time in Book 11: red/pink (11,6,1 *roseam*), black (here), yellow (11,8,4 *crocotis*) and white (11,9,2 *candido*). See also below on *aureus*. For the symbolic associations of black night with death (cf. Hor. *carm.* 1,4,16 and see below on *nubilo*) and the corresponding association between light and life see Grewing 1997 on Mart. 6,58,4 *Elysiae ... nubila fusca plagae*, with further references on the (religious) symbolism of the colour black. The adjective *ater* is often associated with death and the underworld; for the ominous and threatening connotations of *ater* see GCA 2004, 464-465 on 6,13,4 *fontis atris fuscae ... undae*; cf. 6,19,3 *atra atria Proserpina*. For the combination *nox atra* cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6,272; more examples in ThLL s.v. *ater* 1520,68-79.

fugato nubilo sol exurgit: note the chiasmus. For the contrast between a clouded, winter-like sky and the serene sky of spring, see below on 11,7,5 *caelum ... nubilosa caligine disiecta ... splendore candebat*.

nubilo: whereas *nubilum* generally means 'cloud' (cf. 11,25,4 *tuo nutu ... nutriunt nubila*), Apuleius seems to use it in a specific sense here, 'darkness', 'gloom' (*OLD* s.v. 3b), probably inspired by the poetic use of the adjective *nubilus*, 'dark, dim, shadowy' (for similar observations see Marsili 1964 and Harrauer 1973 ad loc.). *Nubilum*

in the present sense seems to have Underworld associations (see above); cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 620 *tristi silentem nubilo ... domum* (i.e. Hades; see Billerbeck 1999 ad loc. with further examples). Cf. also Mart. 6,58,4 *Elysiae ... nubila fusca plagae* (Grewing 1997 ad loc. compares the Homeric *θανάτου δὲ μέλαν νέφος*, cf. *Il.* 16,350).

sol ... aureus: this poetic combination is first attested in Ennius *ann.* 87 *Skutsch simul aureus exoritur sol*; after Ennius, cf. e.g. Catull. 63,39; Lucr. 5,461; Verg. *georg.* 1,232 and especially 4,51 *ubi pulsam hiemem sol aureus egit / sub terras caelumque aestiua luce reclusit*; Ov. *met.* 7,663, and see ThLL s.v. *aureus* 1491,26-28. Apuleius is the first to use the combination in prose; after Apuleius, cf. Arnob. *nat.* 4,22.

aureus: in the present context, where the rising of a 'golden' sun simultaneously announces the beginning of Spring, the adjective *aureus* may have both more or less literal (the golden colour of the sunlight) and symbolic connotations, alluding to the new 'golden' ('fair') season of Isis; the symbolism combines typical elements of divine epiphany and a 'Golden Age' (cf. Ov. *met.* 1,107, where the *aurea aetas* is characterised by eternal Spring, and see Gatz 1967, 187-188). Like Gr. χρύσεος (Willcock 1995, 18), *aureus* represents timeless brightness and divinity; cf. 5,22,5 *capitis aurei*, where the splendour and brilliance of Cupid's 'golden' countenance suggests an epiphany, and see GCA 2004, 276-277 ad loc.: "Gold belongs to the gods". Berreth 1931, 76 observes that the Egyptians always imagined their gods as 'golden'; Apuleius frequently uses the adjective in Book 11, where it is specifically associated with Isis and her attributes (cf. 11,4,3, where Isis carries a *cymbium ... aureum*; the adjective occurs five times in the description of the procession in honour of Isis: 11,8,4 *aureum ... poculum*; 11,10,2 *aureis ... sistris*; 11,10,3 *aureum cymbium*; 11,10,6 *aureum uasculum*; *auream uannum*; cf. also 11,16,8 *bracteis aureis* [the ship of Isis]). Against this background, Griffiths (in *AAGA* 1, 146) rightly questions the suggestion made by Martin 1970 (more or less followed by Winkler 1985, 298-299) that the title *Asinus Aureus* alludes to the red Sethian ass. Krabbe (2003, 545) notes that Apuleius reserves for Isis "both his most striking use of the four-color palette and his most lavish use of gold".

discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali: this is the first attested passage where the adjectives *religiosus* and *triumphalis* are juxtaposed, and the first where each of them is used in combination with *discursus*. The element of 'triumph' has various connotations. It primarily means the triumph felt through the defeat of the darkness of the night and the passing of the winter season with its bad weather: the new day and the new season is a 'victory' over the negative past, a victory which has a religious connotation because Isis makes it happen; cf. 11,15,4 *pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae prouidentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*. The juxtaposition of religion and triumph of the people may also be significant in view of the encomiastic overtones of this passage (see Introduction, 4.1.3, final paragraph); cf. 11,17,3, where wishes for the well-being of the senate and people and Emperor of Rome are built into the religious ceremony of the Ploiaphesia.

triumphali: in the present sense of 'celebrating a victory', 'triumphant' (*OLD* s.v. 3), the adjective *triumphalis* is also attested as a cult-title for Isis, *CIL* VI 355 *Isidi triumphali* (cf. *CIL* IX 3144 and XI 695, where she is called *uictrix*); see above on 11,7,1 *numen inuictum*.

turbulae: on this non-diminutive Apuleian neologism (also in 11,6,2) see *GCA* 2000, 414 on *turbulis* at 10,35,4 with lit. (add Pasetti 2007, 20 with n. 41).

totas plateas: according to Griffiths 1975, 169 ad loc., Apuleius uses *totas* here in the sense of *omnes*, as he does frequently (cf. below, *totas domos* and see Callebat 1968, 287); however, the usual meaning seems present as well, as the streets are completely filled with people. On *plateas* = ‘streets’ see *GCA* 1985, 71 on 8,6,5 *per plateas populosas*; cf. also 4,29,4 (Psychen) *per plateas commeantem populi ... adprecantur*.

11,7,3 tantaque hilaritudine praeter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta uidebantur, ut pecua etiam cuiusce modi et totas domos et ipsum diem serena facie gaudere sentirem. and everything seemed to exult with such great happiness, beyond my own private happiness, that I could feel every sort of animal and all the houses and even the day itself rejoicing with an unclouded face.

hilaritudine: this is the only place where Apuleius uses *hilaritudo* (for *hilaritas* cf. *apol.* 25,2; *flor.* 17,20; 20,1), which re-introduces Plautine usage (cf. *Cist.* 54; *Mil.* 677; *Rud.* 421 and see Sblendorio Cugusi 1991, 126); for a similar case cf. *met.* 1,25,5 *seueritudine*, with *GCA* 2007, 451 ad loc.

peculiarem: for this contrastive use of *peculiaris* cf. 11,9,1 *peculiaris pompa*, with comm. ad loc.

gestire mihi cuncta uidebantur: for the panegyric nature of this description using the pathetic fallacy cf. Cic. *Pis.* 52 *cum mihi ipsa Roma prope conuulsa sedibus suis ad complectendum conseruatorem suum progredi uisa est. Quae me ita accepit ut ... etiam moenia ipsa uiderentur et tecta urbis ac templa laetari; leg. agr.* 2,9 *quid enim est tam populare quam pax? Qua non modo ei quibus natura sensum dedit sed etiam tecta atque agri mihi laetari uidentur*; Plin. *paneg.* 50,4 *muta quidem illa et anima carentia sentire tamen et laetari uidentur, quod niteant quod frequententur, quod aliquando coeperint esse domini scientis*.

pecua: although it is a topos that animals rejoice at the arrival of spring (Lucr. 1,10-15; Hor. *carm.* 1,4,3 *ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus*; Ov. *fast.* 1,156 *ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus*), it is significant that in this chapter animals are the first to be mentioned after *cuncta*. The word *pecua* means ‘animals (in general)’ here (cf. 2,1,5 *boues et id genus pecua*; Caecil. *com.* 93 *homini et pecubus omnibus*; Plin. *nat.* 8,167 *nec aequinoctio uerno, ut cetera pecua, admittitur [asinus]*) rather than (a specific type of) ‘herd/farm animals’ (cf. 6,22,4 *in feras ... et gregalia pecua*). Here, the order is reversed with respect to Lucretius’ hymn to Venus, where *pecudes* are mentioned immediately after birds (see below on 11,7,4 *canorae ... auiculae*).

This prominent role of animals (cf. also 11,1,2 *nec tantum pecuina*; 11,25,4) not only reflects Lucius’ animal identity and perspective (see Introduction, 3.3), but also looks forward to the important role of animals in the ensuing Isiac procession, featuring both real animals, which impersonate humans and mythological figures (11,8,4), and various gods in the guise of animals (11,11), among which is the cow Hathor. On the role of sacred animals (e.g. the cat, the serpent, the scorpion, the gazelle, the goose, the swallow) in Isiac cult see Donalson 2003, 4; on pp. 94-95 he points out

that in larger Egyptian temples, such as the Iseum at Rome, sacred animals, such as ibises or cats, could be found living around the temple; on the appearance of various animals in pictorial representation in Isiac temples see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 188-195. See also below on 11,7,4 *matrem siderum*.

cuiusce modi: in F and φ, the present form *cuiusce modi* (= *cuiuscumque modi*) occurs 5 times in *met.*, once in *apol.* (55,1, where Hunink 1997 proposes to read *cuius modi*) and once in *flor.* (15,5), and is preferred to the usual form *cuiusque modi* (found only at *met.* 2,26,6); see *GCA* 1985, 159 on 8,17,2 *cuiusce modi*, with further references. We find the ‘Apuleian’ combination also in 11,22,8 *cuiusce modi*. At 9,10,5, *GCA* 1995, 105 rightly follow Floridus’ (1688) emendation *cuiusce modi* of the reading *huiusce modi* of the principal manuscripts; likewise, we prefer Brantius’ proposal *cuiusce modi* in 11,16,9 to the reading of F *huiusce modi*, retained by Helm (see comm. there). According to N-W 2,453, the form *cuiuscemodi* belongs to later Latin, and is first attested in Gell. 11,16,8; cf. also Dict. 2,27; 4,20.

ipsum diem serena facie gaudere: even the day dedicated to Isis (11,3,5) feels joy; it is Lucius’ *dies salutaris* (11,5,4 *iam tibi prouidentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris*). Cf. below, 11,7,4 *dies apricus ac placidus*. The unclouded, sunny day can be read by metonymy as the sky; for the joy of the sky caused by the sun cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,102 (sol) *tum ... (terram) laetificat ut cum caelo hilarata uideatur*.

serena facie: cf. Phaedr. 4,18,5 *faciem ad serenam subito ut mutatur dies*; for *serenus* of the sky, of weather etc. (‘clear, cloudless, fine’) cf. *OLD* s.v. 1; for the *facies* of the sky cf. Stat. *silv.* 4,8,30 *caeli facies*. In this context, *serena facie* additionally underlines the personification, as it gives a ‘human face’ to the joy of animals, houses, and the unclouded day itself. For the combination *serena facie* cf. *met.* 8,7,7 *uultu ... paulo sereniore*; cf. *OLD* s.v. *serenus* 3 (of countenance) ‘full of calm assurance, unclouded’.

11,7,4 Nam et pruinam pridianam dies apricus ac placidus repente fuerat insecutus, ut canorae etiam auiculae prolectatae uerno uapore concentus suaues adsonarent, matrem siderum, parentem temporum orbisque totius dominam blando mulcentes adfamine. For suddenly a sunny and serene day had followed upon yesterday’s frost, so that even the songbirds were enticed by the spring warmth to sing sweet choral songs, soothing with their charming greetings the mother of the stars, the parent of the seasons, the mistress of the whole world.

Note the (almost) isosyllabic nature of the colometry, with the exception of the increasing number of syllables in the threefold epithets of Isis (*matrem ... dominam*). Note also the wordplay in *auiculae ... suaues*: the birds’ Latin designation is reflected in their own sweet song. Cf. 6,6,3 *ceterae quae dulce cantant aues melleis modulibus suaue resonantes aduentum deae pronuntiant*, where the sweet birdsong announces the arrival of the goddess Venus, not unlike the present passage, where the birds express joy both at the beginning of spring and at Isis’ omnipresence. For birds announcing both spring and the presence of Venus cf. Lucr. 1,12-13 *aeriae primum uolucris te, diua, tuumque / significant initum percussae corde tua ui*; see Introduction, 6.4 on Lucretian resonances in the Isis Book. The Apuleian birds are not ‘struck

in their hearts' by the power of the goddess, but *prolectatae uerno uapore*. The birds are the only creatures who actually greet Isis in this chapter.

The beginning of Spring is described at two different points at the end of *met.*, revealing a significant contrast between the present 'complete' description of Spring and the earlier 'incomplete' account of Spring's arrival in 10,29 (see *GCA* 2000, 353-354 for a detailed discussion of the parallels and contrasts). Unlike the other Spring chapter, our passage contains traditional motifs from poetic descriptions of Spring (e.g. the Spring poems in *Anth. Graec.* 10,1-16), such as singing birds and the calm sea (11,7,5 *mare quietas adluuies temperabat*), which announces the beginning of the sailing season.

pruinam pridianam: for the opposition 'winter' – 'spring' underlining the contrast between a life with the beneficial presence of Isis and a life without Isis cf. *Lucr.* 3,20-21 *neque nix acri concreta pruina / cana cadens uiolat* (on the contrast between the Epicurean life and a life not enlightened by Epicurean wisdom); see Introduction, 6.4 with n. 244.

pridianam: before Apuleius, who uses *pridianus* in both poetry (*carm. frg.* 2,6 [FLP] *conuerritorem pridianae reliquiae*, quoted in *apol.* 6,3) and prose (*met.* 7,20,2 *pluuiiae pridianae recens conceptaculum*), the adjective is relatively rare, except from some occurrences in Latin papyri with technical descriptions of military units (from 48 A.D. onwards; cf. e.g. *Chart. lat. ant.* XI 501,2) and in Pliny the Elder (*nat.* 28,248) and Suetonius (*Tib.* 34,1; *Vit.* 13,3; *Cal.* 58,1); see *ThLL* s.v. *pridianus* 1228,47-48. Only Apuleius seems to use *pridianus* of the weather; there is no apparent difference from his use of *hesternus* (cf. *flor.* 16,18 *hesternum ... imbrem*; *met.* 2,15,3 *fatigationis hesternae*). Therefore, the choice for *pridianam* seems to be determined especially by phonetic reasons: *pruinam pridianam dies apricus ac placidus*.

dies apricus: for *apricus* (*OLD* s.v. 1 'having a large amount of sunshine, sunny') used of the day cf. *Colum.* 9,14,13 *apricissimo die*; *Val. Fl.* 1,844. In this context, we can observe how Apuleius makes brilliant use of several (bilingual) etymological interpretations of the adjective, for which see Maltby 1991, 44 s.v. *apricus* and cf. *Paul. Fest.* p. 2 *apricum locum a sole apertum. A Graeco uocabulo φρικὴν appellatur, quasi ἄφρικη, id est sine horrore, uidelicet frigoris, unde etiam putatur et Africa appellari* (for similar explanations, including the connection with Africa, cf. also *Serv. Aen.* 5,128; *Isid. orig.* 14,8,34). On the one hand, Apuleius employs, on a more straightforward level, the etymological connection with *aperire* (the sky becomes 'open' and warm), alluding to the disappearance of both the frosty winter and (possibly) of Lucius' fright (*φρικὴν* in the sense of 'shivering fear' is especially used of 'religious fear', cf. *LSJ* s.v. 2 and cf. 11,7,1 *pauore*). On the other hand, in a more subtle and indirect manner, Apuleius alludes to the adjective's distinct connection with his own home region, for it can hardly be a coincidence that the *dies salutaris* of his *alter ego*, the first day of his new 'cloudless' life, in which he will be transformed into the successful 'man from Madauros', is called '*dies apricus*'. The only other passage where Apuleius uses the adjective *apricus* is in a context where he expresses his pride in his African origins (*apol.* 24,4). On the important role of the Sun in Lucius' new life see Introduction, 4.1.2 with n. 86.

fueraat insecutus: for the augmented or 'displaced' pluperfect (*verschobenes Plusquamperfectum*), which is a frequent phenomenon in Apuleius' time, and here possibly used to avoid hiatus (similarly in 11,28,4 *praeceptum fueraat*), see *GCA* 1995, 219 (with lit.) on 9,25,1 *fueraat imprecatus*. See also Nicolini 2000, 184 on 6,27,1 *fueraam destinatus* and 218 on 7,5,2 *fueraat pollicitus*.

uerno uapore: cf. *Lucr.* 2,150-151 *at uapor is, quem sol mittit, lumenque serenum / non per inane meat uacuum*.

concentus suauis: 6 out of the 16 occurrences of *suauis* in *met.* refer to music; cf. also 11,9,4 *symphoniae dehinc suauis*, and see *GCA* 1995, 134 on 9,14,1. For *concentus* = 'a song, tune' see *OLD* s.v. 1c.

adsonarent: this is the only instance where *adsonare* is used with an object; all other attestations are intransitive (*ThLL* s.v. *adsono* 906,1-8). For Apuleian innovations of this kind see Koziol 1872, 290-295; on p. 291 he compares the similarly rare transitive use of the verb *consonare* (10,32,2 *tibiae multiforabiles cantus Lydios dulciter consonant*; *GCA* 2000, 389 ad loc. notes that the transitive use is only attested there and in Boethius) and suggests the possibility that in our passage *concentus suauis* is internal object.

matrem ... parentem ... dominam: note the use of family and household language and the increasing number of syllables in the epithets.

matrem siderum: cf. 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*; 11,9,4 *siderum caelestium stirpem propitantes*; 11,25,3 *tibi respondent sidera*. The notion of 'mother' features prominently in Isiac epithets (*μήτηρ*: Bricault 1996, 51; *mater*: Bricault 1996, 86; cf. 11,5,2 *deum matrem*; 11,25,1 *matris adfectionem*). The specific notion of Isis as mother of the stars and of time (below, *parentem temporum*) may be a literary reflection of her traditional role of nurse of Horus (*Isis lactans*), which was an established feature of Isiac iconography, and transferred to her mastery over the world at large, though not over the stars or time in particular (this aspect rather belongs to *Isis Panthea*, see below on *orbisque totius dominam*); Donalson (2003, 36) mentions a Graeco-Roman relief showing Isis as multi-breasted and surrounded by a lion, a crocodile, a dolphin and an eagle, denoting her mastery over earth, sea and air.

parentem temporum: cf. 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens*. Viewed against a Platonic background, the representation of Isis as the mother of the seasons and of time in general means that Isis is not only the origin of times, but also the 'mother' of times, in the sense that she creates and guards the principles of time (cf. 11,25,3 *tibi ... redeunt tempora*; on Isis and time see the Essay by Drews in this volume). This means that Isis is not subject to the principles of time, but transcends time itself (and thus is able to appear at several places at the same time). This can be seen in contrast with Catullus' representation of Diana in 34,17-18, who measures the year with monthly units (*menstruo curso*), and accordingly is subject to the principles of time.

orbisque totius dominam: cf. 11,5,1 *cuius numen ... totus ueneratur orbis*; cf. also 4,30,1 *orbis totius alma Venus*, with *GCA* 2004, 58 ad loc. Isis receives the epithet *domina* also at 11,5,1 *elementorum omnium domina* and at 11,21,6 *non ... iubente domina*. For *domina* as a traditional Latin cult title of Isis cf. *Iuv.* 6,530 *credit ... ipsius dominae se uoce moueri* with Courtney 1980 ad loc.; the cult title is also attested in inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* II 33; XI 695 *dominae Isidi uictrici*; more examples in

ThLL s.v. *domina* 1940,63-64; Bricault 1996, 82). On similar cult titles of Isis see also above on 11,7,1 *numen inuictum*.

The phrase ‘*orbis totius domina*’ recalls a Greek cult title of Isis, γαίης πάσης δ α ἄνασσα (*SIRIS* 325,10); the epithet ἄνασσα is also used by Isidorus in his 1st *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 21,1); more examples in Bricault 1996, 14; cf. also δέσποινα, used by Lucian (*dial. mar.* 7) and found in the *Vita Aesop.* 5 (Totti 18,5,5); more examples in Bricault 1996, 19-20. The title *orbis totius domina* reflects Isis’ identity as ‘All-Goddess’, *Isis Panthea*, creator and mistress of the entire cosmos (Donalson 2003, 10-11), whose dress is covered with the stars and the moon (11,4,1 *stellae ... luna*). Isis presents herself as the mistress of the whole cosmos in 11,5,1 *caeli ... culmina, maris ... flamina, inferum ... silentia nutibus meis dispenso*.

mulcentes: for the poetic use of *mulceo* (regularly used for the charms of music) with reference to birdsong, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,34 *uolucres ... aethera mulcebant cantu*; Ov. *fast.* 1,155 *uolucres concentibus aera mulcent*. After Apuleius, cf. Claud. *carm. min.* 25,106 (*uolucres fremetem / permulcent Athesim cantu*). The verb *mulceo* is one of the terms in this chapter that refer to the sweet, soothing sounds produced by nature to greet the goddess; see also below, introd. note on 11,7,5. This passage seems to be the first where *mulceo* is used of soothing gods; this use is picked up by Arnobius in his invective against pagan religion, cf. e.g. *nat.* 4,33 *scribuntur dii uestri ... fidibus et uocum modulatione mulceri*. For the theme of *permulcere* see comm. on 11,21,3 *spei melioris solaciis ... mihi permulcebat animum*.

adfamine: Apuleius, who seems to have created this noun (from *adfari*), uses it only in the Isis book; cf. 11,30,3 *suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine*; for a similar Apuleian coinage cf. 6,2,5 *sulcamina*, and see Harrison 2005a, 278-279. After Apuleius, *ThLL* s.v. *adfamen* 1172,8-9 only quotes Iuven. 1,91 *exultat, Mariae cum prima adfamina sensit*; Ven. Fort. *carm.* 5,1,3. For the association of *adfari* with bird song cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3,638 *uolucrum adfatus*. Nouns in *-men* are poetic, and especially frequent in Lucretius; see LHSz 2,744.

11,7,5 Quid quod arbores etiam, quae pomifera subole fecundae quaeque earum tantum umbra contentae steriles, austrinis laxatae flatibus, germine foliorum reidentes, clementi motu bracciorum dulces strepitus obsibilabant, magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ac turbido fluctuum tumore posito mare quietas adluuies temperabat, caelum autem nubilosa caligine disiecta nudo sudoque luminis proprii splendore candebat. Why, even the trees, both those fertile with fruitful issue and those fruitless, content to produce only shade, loosened by southerly breezes, glistening with the buds of their leaves, whispered sweet sounds by the gentle motion of their arms, and after the huge roaring of the tempests was stilled and the boisterous swelling of the waves had subsided, the sea tempered its waves lapping on the shore, so that they became calm; but the sky, after the cloudy darkness had been dispelled, shone with the bare and bright brilliance of its own true light.

The long and elaborate sentence has a tripartite structure, containing a description of the response of the trees (*arbores ... obsibilabant*), the sea (*mare ... temperabat*), and the sky (*caelum ... candebat*). The first part is the most elaborate, continuing, on the

one hand, the preceding personifying description of nature rejoicing at the beginning of spring, and replacing, on the other hand, the mentioning of ‘earth’ in the traditional combination with ‘sea’ and ‘sky’ (cf. 11,1,2 *terra caelo marique*, with comm. ad loc.; 11,25,4 *caelo ... montibus ... solo ... ponto*). The passage is full of terms referring to the gentleness and temperate nature of the new season (*clementi ... dulces ... sedato ... posito ... quietas ... temperabat*). Note the elaborate colometry and prose rhythm, enriched by sound effect (see above) and occasional rhyme (*fragore – tumore; temperabat – candebat*).

The whispering trees and the associations with soothing music (cf. 11,7,4 *concentus suauis adsonarent and mulcentes*) and pipe playing (see below on *dulces strepitus* and *obsibilabant*) evoke the opening of Theocritus’ first Idyll, where the sweet whispering of the pine tree (Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα) is compared to the sweet sound of Panpipes; the allusion is phonetically emphasised by sigmatism (*dulces strepitus obsibilabant*). Viewed against this background, the present passage on the one hand recalls the *lepidus susurrus* announced in the Prologue (for the phrase’s association with the Theocritean opening see Gibson 2001, 71-72; Graverini 2007, 14-16 [= 2012, 12-14]), and on the other hand the divinely inspired message of salvation, expressed by the soothing music of the talking reed moved by the rustling wind in *Cupid and Psyche* (6,12,1): *leni crepitu dulcis aurae diuinitus inspirata, sic uaticinatur harundo uiridis* (see GCA 2004, 454-455 ad loc. on the associations with pipe-playing there and on the important role of music in *met.*).

Passages from Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca* show that certain *topoi* related to the beginning of spring and the sailing season, as Apuleius uses them in Book 11, continued to be used in the rhetorical schools; cf. especially *Dion.* 3,10-26 (the new season heralding the Zephyr wind; budding trees; dewy air; the twittering swallow as the companion of Spring; laughing blossoms; a light wind whose voice escorts the launched ship); 3,68-70 (whispering oaks, δρύες ἐπιθύριζον, and waving woods).

arbores ... obsibilabant: the moving and whispering trees recall the theme of metamorphosis (cf. Ov. *met.* 1,566-567, on Daphne: *factis modo laurea ramis / adnuit utque caput uisa est agitasse cacumen*). Here, the trees make a ‘human’ impression with their behaviour: the Apuleian language seems to change non-humans into humans. In this respect, the description of Cencreae recalls but also reverses the description of Hypata, where the trees surrounding the city walls appear to Lucius as humans transformed into non-humans (2,1,4 *arbores quae pomerium ambirent similiter foliatis*, i.e. *de homine*). For the personification, Griffiths 1975 ad loc. compares Petron. 120,73 *uirgulta loquuntur*.

pomifera subole: the use of *suboles* for fruit is very uncommon (*OLD* s.v. *suboles* 1b cites as the only other instance Colum. 10,385 *subolem dabit illa* [sc. *cucurbita*] *capacem Naryciae picis*), but it suits the frequent personification in this chapter (cf. e.g. *bracciorum*). In other authors, the elevated adjective *pomiferus* is mostly used of seasons (e.g. Hor. *carm.* 3,23,8 *pomifero ... anno*) or of rivers, places or trees that bear fruit; the present use is original as it applies the adjective to the fruit itself (see *ThLL* s.v. *pomifer* 2593,21-22).

quaeque earum: the relative pronoun *quae* is reinforced by a genitive form of *is*, as in 8,19,2 *quae uox eius ... non mediocrem pauorem incussit*. According to Callebat

1968, 291, this reinforcement or preciseness may either reflect popular usage or give expression to a rhetorical taste for verbal abundance.

austrinis ... flatibus: in other authors, the adjective *austrinus* has technical connotations, related to astronomical jargon (e.g. Apul. *mund.* 1 p. 290 *austrinis uaporibus*; Verg. *georg.* 2,270-271 *calores / austrinos*; Manil. 1,238 *austrinis pars est habitabilis oris*). Only in Columella 7,3,12 we do find, as here, a non-technical use (*Aristoteles ... praecepit ... austrinos flatus captare*).

clementi motu brachiorum: for *clemens* = ‘quietus’, in opposition to ‘rapidus’, ‘praeceps’ etc., see *ThLL* s.v. 1333,26-32; cf. *flor.* 2,9 *nutu clementi*. Here, the gentle movement connotes religious awe, underlining the human characterisation of the trees (for the use of *brachium* in this context see *OLD* s.v. 4); cf. 11,6,2 *clementer* and 11,12,2, where Lucius-ass decides to approach the priest ‘with gentle and almost human steps’ (*placido ac prorsus humano gradu*) and not with the unrestrained rush (*inclementi ... cursu*) of an ass, which would disturb the religious peace and order of the ritual. Cf. 11,27,5 *clementer incedebat uestigio* (the gentle gait of Asinius Marcellus in Lucius’ dream).

dulces strepitus: in this personifying context (cf. *brachiorum*), the noun *strepitus* connotes music (cf. above, *concentus*). See *OLD* s.v. *strepitus* 1b and cf. Hor. *carm.* 4,3,18 *dulcem ... strepitum* (of the poet’s lyre).

obsibilabant: this Apuleian verb is a hapax legomenon; cf. *sibilare*, used of the hissing sound produced by the wind blowing alongside a tree in Sen. *nat.* 2,28,3 *uentus, qui circa arborem finditur, sibilat*. Given the musical connotations of the object of *obsibilabant* (*dulces strepitus*) and the ‘human’ behaviour of the trees, we may observe the suggestion of the whistling sound of pipes; cf. Ov. *met.* 13,785 *enserunt toti pastoria sibila montes*. See introd. note above for Greek words for ‘whispering’ (ψιθύρισμα, ψιθύριζω), on which *obsibilare* is possibly a calque here (we owe this observation to Matteo Agnosini, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa). Here, the prefix *ob-* may add the suggestion of directing the sounds towards the divinity, whose felt presence is the occasion for this music (perhaps in analogy with προσψιθύριζω). The trees are whistling a song for Isis.

magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ... temperabat: the passage shows Isis’ power as mistress of the seas and patroness of navigation; for Isis Pelagia, see introd. note on 11,5,5; cf. also 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina*.

mare quietas alluuias temperabat: only here is the noun *alluuias* (elsewhere ‘flood-land by a river’ or ‘silt’) used in the sense of ‘the lapping of waves on the shore’ (*OLD* s.v. 3). On Apuleius’ predilection for rare or poetic fifth declension nouns in *-ias* cf. comm. on 11,5,1 *progenies* (see Harrison 2005a, 281). In combination with *temperabat*, the participle *quietas* can be interpreted proleptically; cf. 1,3,1 *mare pigrum conligari*.

caelum ... nubilosa caligine disiecta ... splendore candebat: for the contrast between a clouded, winter-like sky and a serene sky, after the winds have blown away all the clouds, cf. Apollon. Rhod. 3,1359-1363; Nonnus, *Dion.* 22,213-217 (both use the image as a metaphor). On the symbolic associations of such contrasting notions in Book 11 see Introduction, 4.1.3.

nubilosa caligine disiecta: cf. above, 11,7,2 *noctis atrae fugato nubilo* and the notes there on the associations with death and the Underworld; here, in a similar way,

Apuleius uses the polyvalent term *caligo*, which primarily refers to the darkness caused by the night, by storms etc. (*OLD* s.v. 1), but also has other possible secondary associations with death, the Underworld, and gloomy circumstances. Cf. 11,27,6 where Apuleius uses the term in the figurative sense of a ‘dark cloud’ representing Lucius’ religious doubts, which are removed through Osiris’ divine revelation: *sublata est ergo post tam manifestam deum uoluntatem ambiguitatis tota caligo*.

nubilosa: this adjective appears to be an archaising neologism created by Apuleius, who uses it only here. On the archaic colouring of adjectives in *-osus* (cf. 11,1,2 *silentiosa*, with comm. ad loc.) see *GCA* 1981, 74-75 on 6,31,6; in the time of Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius, such adjectives and their archaic origin were also a topic of philological interest; see *GCA* 2007, 461 on 1,26,5. Here, Apuleius might also have intended to create a balanced phrase (*nubilosa caligine*) and to avoid the confusing *nubila caligine disiecta* (cf. his use of *nubilum/nubila* [neut. as subst.] ‘cloud(s)’ in 11,7,2; 11,25,4).

nudo sudoque luminis ... splendore: for a similar example with *sudus*, a favourite adjective of Apuleius, cf. *apol.* 16,1 *specula uel uda uel suda*. There, Apuleius uses *sudus* in an etymologising sense (‘*se-udus*’, ‘dry’), as in *met.* 4,31,4 *sudo ... uertice* (see *GCA* 2004, 72 ad loc.), which reflects ancient etymological practice (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 295 *sudum: siccum quasi seūdum id est sine udo*). Here, we seem to find the general sense of ‘clear’, ‘bright’, referring to the sky or the weather (cf. 11,7,3 *serena facie*). Yet, as *OLD* s.v. 1 points out, this sense connotes clarity *after rain*. Although rain is not explicitly mentioned in this chapter, the clouds and storms which have gone are suggesting its former presence; the combination *nudo sudoque* may therefore point to the absence of rain clouds, alluding to the alleged etymological sense of *sudus* (cf. Sen. *nat.* 2,25 *cum sint [nubes] umidae, immo udae*; Ov. *met.* 5,570-571). Apuleius involves *nudo* in the etymological wordplay too: this use of *nudus* in the sense of ‘clear, unclouded’ is unique (*OLD* s.v. 7e), since the usual meaning of *nudus* in combination with the sky is ‘providing no shelter, open’ (*OLD* s.v. 5b). Through the rhyming combination *nudo sudoque*, Apuleius seems to playfully invite his reader to reinterpret *nudo* etymologically as ‘*non udus*’ (cf. 11,2,3 *udis ignibus*, an expression which reflects the nocturnal moisture and moonlight that contrasts with the clear, dry sky and sunlight of the day). For the frequent coincidence of assonance and etymological wordplay in Apuleius see Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 39-40. See Bernard 1927, 224 for more such examples of Apuleian rhyme.

luminis proprii splendore candebat: the description is echoed in 11,15,3 (on the light of *Fortuna uidens*) *quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat*.

candebat: the word *candidus*, meaning both ‘white’ and ‘shining’, figures prominently in Book 11 in connection with the themes of light and darkness, death and life (see above on 11,7,2 *noctis atrae ... sol ... aureus*); here, the verb *candeo* refers to what Krabbe (2003, 546) calls “the true color of the *Metamorphoses*”. Isis (11,3,5 *albo candore lucida*), the initiates (11,9,2 *candido splendentem amicimine*), the priests (11,10,2 *candido linteamine*), and Lucius himself (11,15,4 *candido isto habitu tuo*) are all garbed in shining white. Yet, in view of the use of *candere/candens* in combination with warm weather or summer heat (cf. Manil. 1,587 *uixque dies transit candentem extenta per aestum*; Lucan. 1,214 *cum feruida canduit aestas*), *candebat* here also connotes the temperature of the sky, which becomes warm through the

sunlight of the first day of spring (Ovid uses it of the air in *met.* 1,119-120 *tum primum siccis aer feruoribus ustus / canduit*); see *OLD* s.v. *candeo* 3. Behind *candebat* may be a play with the etymology of *dies*, cf. Paul. Fest. p. 74 *dies dictus*, ... *quod aer diurnus dehiscat in candorem* (see comm. on 11,5,3 *nascentis dei Solis*).

CHAPTER VIII

The *anteludia* preceding the great Isiac procession are described.

Here begins the procession which extends until Ch. XI. Religious processions are a common feature of the Greek novels (cf. Xen. Eph. 1,2-3; 5,11,2-5,12,1; Ach. Tat. 2,15,2-3; Heliod. 2,29-3,6), and here as elsewhere Apuleius' *met.* may pick up on the prominence of religious elements in these texts (see Harrison 2007; Introduction, 6.2). The *anteludia* or preliminary pageant described here (on which see Harrison 2012), preceding the account of the Isiac procession proper in 11,9-11, would recall for a reader of Roman imperial culture the *pompa circensis*, the parade preceding the *ludi circenses* at Rome, a ritual well known in provincial centres such as Carthage (cf. e.g. Tert. *spect.* 7). Like the *anteludia*, the *pompa circensis* included burlesque elements such as actors dressed up as silens and satyrs, transvestism and parodic depiction of the impending participants (who also themselves appeared in the *pompa*), as well as parading images of the gods in the last and most prestigious place (see the full description at Dion. Hal. 7,72 and Jannot 1992). Thus, the elements of masquerade reflect a Roman cultural perspective belonging to this era. Gianotti (1986, 84, with lit.) mentions a similar presence of a group in masquerade during the *Hilaria* in honour of Cybele (cf. Herodian. *hist.* 1,10,5), which indicates that such performances were a more general (and not only Isiac) characteristic of imperial Roman pagan cult. Fredouille 1975 additionally compares the procession of the Emperor to the Capitol in Hist. Aug. *Gall.* 8, which included performing pantomimes and actors (for a comparison of that passage and the Apuleian *anteludia* and for possible historical links between the two see Alföldi 1965-1966, 75-76 and Gianotti 1986, 94 n. 47; further references in Ratti 2000, 125-133). This resemblance to a pre-*ludi* parade is significant for Lucius, who has not long escaped exhibition in *ludi* at Corinth as an ass in Book 10, and who was himself part of a ceremonial procession (*pompa*) preceding the theatrical performance in the theatre of Corinth (cf. 10,29,3 *ad conseptum caeae prosequente populo pompatico fauore deducor*, and see *GCA* 2000, 358-359 ad loc.).

A helpful discussion of the *anteludia* is found in Gianotti 1986, 78-95. He conveniently divides the interpretations offered so far into three groups.

(i) from the perspective of the history of religion, many scholars have believed that the *anteludia* as described here actually formed part of the Isiac rituals or have tried to connect them with Egyptian origins (the 'positivistic' approach, e.g. Berreth 1931, 50-55; Wittmann 1938, 41-42; Merkelbach 1995, 275-276; see Introduction, 1.1); some of these interpretations point to the *anteludia* as a possible origin of medieval carnival – for a Bakhtinian reading of the *anteludia* and *pompa* as showing the carnivalesque nature of *met.* as whole see Teuber 1993.

(ii) from a literary perspective, other scholars fail to see any religious symbolism in the *anteludia*. Within this line of interpretation, more recent studies have focused on the allusive function of the figures of the *anteludia* regarding earlier episodes from *met.* (Harrauer 1973; Fick-Michel 1991, 420-423), which some scholars employ in their argument for an exclusively comic interpretation of the *anteludia* (Harrison

2000, 260; May 2006, 324-327; see Introduction, 1.3); such emphasis on its narrative function is also found in the view that the *anteludia* provides some retardation before the climactic moment of Lucius' re-transformation (e.g. Bernhard 1927, 282); see Introduction, 4.1.1.

(iii) A third, intermediate group refrains from linking the *anteludia* with Isiac ritual, but still considers a more general symbolic, religious meaning possible, even if there is not a particular one-on-one relationship with the symbols of Egyptian cult: (e.g. Griffiths 1975, 173; Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 158-159, Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 128). In particular, Gianotti 1986, 87 points to general parallels with Roman cultic practice (e.g. Cybele or the Saturnalia), such as masquerades and transvestism (cf. the observations in this chapter on the *ludi circenses*), and argues that the actors enact the broad range of social roles and forms of human life that have a place in the universalising Isiac cult. Thus, the *anteludia* vividly represent the universal nature of Isiac religion, and look forward to the description of the *pompa* in 11,10,1 *uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis*. Gianotti 1986, 93-94 also suggests that the figures in the show look on a symbolic, Platonising level to the happy future a devotee of philosophy can expect, and that the *anteludia* as a whole serve to make central philosophical topics 'accessible' to the readers of *met*.

There is clearly an emphasis on spectator pleasure in the *anteludia*: they are seen from the point of view of Lucius, who is fond of spectacles (cf. below, 11,8,4 *uidi*), and the summarising description of the *anteludia* at 11,9,1 as *oblectationes ludicras popularium* highlights their entertaining character. It seems likely that the parade is placed here to suit Apuleian literary purposes as well as for popular delectation in the story-world of Cenchreae (a location also reflected in several markedly Greek terms for clothing: 11,8,2 *chlamide* and *crepides*; 11,8,4 *crocotis*). Yet, the entertaining character of the *anteludia* and the *pompa* also has an integrative function in a public religious context, as it incites the entire population to participate in the event of the Isiac ceremony (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 129-130, who compares the similar function of the processions at the Risus Festival and before the Corinthian pantomime). For a comparison of the literary procession in Book 11 and the painted procession in the Iseum of Pompeii, related to questions of audience and observers, see the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume.

For the reader of *met*., as already suggested, the disguises chosen almost all echo events experienced or tales heard by Lucius as man or ass in Books 1 – 10 (see Fick-Michel 1991, 242-245, Harrison 2000, 240-243, Harrison in *AAGA* 3, 77-78, and the individual notes below), and the *anteludia* thus provide a kind of summary and reminder of Lucius' previous sufferings as an ass. This is highly appropriate just before his re-transformation in this last, eleventh book, and it may not be coincidental that the parade contains eleven figures plus an ass (though figures do not symbolise individual books). Moreover, the *anteludia* naturally continue the atmosphere of the day's dawn in Ch. VII (all of nature is in joyful expectation of Isis), which anticipates the day's main event of the *pompa*.

The beginning of the *anteludia* is marked linguistically as an emphatic plot-moment by the dramatic exclamation *ecce*, the vivid present verb *praecedunt* and the three-

fold alliteration *pompae ... paulatim praecedunt*; the long syllables here mirror the stately pace (cf. *paulatim*) of the majestic procession.

11,8,1 *Ecce pompae magnae paulatim praecedunt anteludia uotiuus cuiusque studiis exornata pulcherrime*. Look, the advance show for the great procession gradually came in front of it, finely elaborated by the desires of each participant offered as vows to the goddess.

Ecce: draws the reader's attention to an action, a 'familiar' usage with the nominative – cf. 11,7,2 *ecce ... turbulae complent totas plateas*, and see *GCA* 2001, 197 on 2,11,2 with lit.

pompae magnae: *pompa* (Gr. πομπή) is found as a loan-word in Latin as early as Plautus (*Cist.* 90). For *magna* = 'numerous' cf. *ThLL* s.v. *magnus* 127,82-83; cf. 10,35,3 (on Cenchreae) *magno frequentatur populo*. Fredouille 1975, 66 ad loc. translates *magna* with 'solennelle', and refers to Dunand 1969, 310, who points out the difference between a πομπή and a κωμασία in Isiac cult, as the participants in the first were the faithful, and in the second only the priests. Here, *magna* may additionally serve to draw the contrast between the figures of the *anteludia* (who were only few in number) and those of the procession, in which all devotees participated, men and women of every rank and age (cf. 11,10,1 *uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis*).

paulatim: for the controlled movements of the participants of the procession, which reflect the solemn nature of the ceremony (11,12,2 *religionis quietus ... ordo*), cf. 11,16,5 *paulatim progressi* and see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 252.

praecedunt: vivid historic present stressing an eye-witness account – cf. *GCA* 2007, 251 on 1,12,2.

anteludia: the word occurs only here in Latin and seems to be formed in imitation of Gr. προαγωγή, the similarly preliminary public parade of dramatists and (uncostumed) actors before the dramatic festival of the Great or City Dionysia at Athens (Aeschin. *Ctes.* 3,67, Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 67-68).

uotiuus cuiusque studiis exornata: *studiis uotiuus* (Brantius' certain conjecture for F's *uotibus*) should mean 'in fulfilment of religious vows or duty' given the religious context (*OLD* s.v. *uotiuus* 1a), though *uotiuus* is often undertranslated here as meaning just 'as each wished' (Walsh 1994 "in the garb of his choice", Kenney 1998 "each according to his fancy"); for this weaker Apuleian use see *GCA* 1985, 270 on 8,30,5. The stronger sense seems appropriate here and is paralleled at 8,30,5 *deamque uotiuo suscipiens hospitio*, where a service is similarly given to a goddess as an act of devotion – compare the use of *studium* for Lucius' religious devotion at 11,26,3 *nec ullum tam praecipuum mihi exinde studium fuit quam cotidie supplicare summo numini reginae Isidis*; though the weaker sense is not incompatible with a religious motivation (see Gianotti 1986, 86).

exornata: the prefix suggests elaborate dress: cf. 2,9,5 *auro ueste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier*, *ThLL* s.v. *exorno* 1579,67-68.

pulcherrime: note the rare final position of the superlative adverb, something of a colloquial touch (cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 398, *Men.* 834, *Mil.* 1098, *Most.* 656, *Trin.* 31), paralleled at 10,26,6 *domum peruadit aegerrime*.

11,8,2 Hic incinctus balteo militem gerebat, illum succinctum chlamide crepides et uenabula uenatorem fecerant, alius soccis obauratis inductus serica ueste mundoque pretioso et adtextis capiti crinibus incessu perfluo feminam mentiebatur, porro alium ocreis, scuto, galea ferroque insignem e ludo putares gladiatorio procedere. One, girded with a sword-belt, bore the guise of a soldier, another, with his cloak gathered up, was made a hunter by his sandals and hunting-spears, another, wearing gilded slippers, by means of a silk garment, costly ensemble and a hairpiece woven onto his head, counterfeited a woman with flowing gait, and yet another, conspicuous with greaves, a shield, a helmet and sword you would think was coming out of a gladiatorial training-school.

This sentence is carefully and euphonically constructed. Its list of the first four participants in the procession is carefully articulated in two balancing pairs (*hic ... illum; alius ... porro alium*), each pair internally varied with a nominative subject and accusative object. The first three clauses are linked by final third-person main verbs, alternating between singular and plural (*gerebat, fecerant, mentiebatur*), but the last clause breaks the symmetry by introducing a non-final second-person verb and ending with an infinitive (*putares ... procedere*). Sound effects are strong: the first pair balances euphonically as well as syntactically (*hic incinctus ... illum succinctum*, with elegant variation of prefix), and alliterative pairings of words are frequent (sequential and initially alliterative in *chlamide crepides, uenabula uenatorem, capite crinibus*, sequential and internally alliterative in *perfluo feminam*, non-sequential but a clear pair of linked verbal elements in *putares ... procedere*).

Gianotti (1986, 87-88) compares the language of theatrical performance (mime) used in this and in the following sentence (*gerebat ... fecerant ... mentiebatur ... luderet ... fingeret ... induceret*) with the description of the pantomime of Paris (10,30,2 *in modum Paridis, Phrygii pastoris ... pulchre indusiatus adulescens ... pecuarium simulabat magisterium*; 10,30,3-4 *adest luculentus puer ... quem caduceum et uirgula Mercurium indicabant*; 10,31,5 *illam quam cultus armorum Mineruam fecerat*); see also below on *putares*. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 219 and 479 suggests that this reflects the real-life spectacular function of religious festivals and their equivalence with other more secular attractions and celebrations as leisure activities.

incinctus balteo: a unique collocation in Classical Latin, like 2,8,6 *balteo suo cincta*; the compound verb is poetic (twice in Vergil, eight times in Horace) and has archaic colour (Enn. *scaen.* 26 with Jocelyn 1967 ad loc.). In this context the *balteus* is the sword-belt or baldric which identifies a soldier (Bishop – Coulston 2006, 106).

militem gerebat: the expression is derived from wearing a mask in playing a theatrical part (note that the mask is literally worn here in this pageant) – cf. *GCA* 2007, 438 on 1,24,8 *aedilem gerimus*, *ThLL* s.v. *gero*, 1940,75-76. Religious significance has been argued for the soldier by Wittmann 1938, 42, who suggests that he represents Upuat, the warrior assistant of Osiris, and Merkelbach 1995, 275, who links this passage with 11,15,5 *sanctae huic militiae*, of Lucius' 'military' service to Isis. This

figure could be an ironic narrative echo of the Roman soldier who brutally commanded Lucius-ass at 9,39-10,1 – see Harrison 2000, 240-242.

succinctum chlamide: the cloak is gathered up (by a belt or similar) to facilitate rapid movement – for the ablative construction cf. Hor. *sat.* 1,8,23 *succinctam ... palla*, and for this kind of hunting dress cf. Ov. *am.* 3,2,31 *succinctae crura Dianae*. The usual transliteration of the Greek noun χλαμύς (a shortish cloak which could be worn by horsemen, left the right arm free and was thus suitable for hunting – Pollux 5,18, Barringer 2001, 22) is the 3rd declension *chlamys/chlamis*. The latter form is found here and in mss. elsewhere (*ThLL* s.v. *chlamys*, 1011,72-76) but is usually normalised in modern texts to *-ys* (cf. *flor.* 15,8 *chlamyde uelat*). At 10,30,3 and 11,24,2 we certainly find the 2nd declension *chlamida* (nominative); here and in the *Florida* passage *chlamida* (ablative) could be read if consistency were required, but such variation of declension is a feature of Apuleian style (cf. *GCA* 2007, 118 on 1,3,1).

crepides: *crepis* is a unique transliteration of Gr. κρηπίς, usually *crepida* in Latin, as at *flor.* 9,21 *crepidas sibimet compegerat* (*ThLL* s.v. *crepida* 1166,70-1167,21; Callebat 1968, 62); the normal form *crepidae* would be an easy change here, but the rare hyperhellenising form of *chlamide* in the immediate context supports *crepides*. *crepidae* were sturdy sandals with ankle-straps (Goldman 1994, 114; Barringer 2001, 32), and *crepidae* and *chlamys* together were a costume suitable for hunting (Barringer 2001, 23; fig. 10 has a good illustration) but otherwise markedly Greek dress for a Roman (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27, Val. Max. 3,6,2).

uenabula uenatorem: an etymological play (both words derive from *uenari*). For the *uenabulum* (broad-bladed hunting spear), especially useful for boar-hunting, cf. Aymard 1951, 61. The hunter has been seen as an Isiac figure serving the goddess in her aspect of Diana the huntress (cf. 11,5,2 *Dictynnam Dianam*), as a version of Horos as hunter, and (less probably) as connected with the cult of Dionysus (for all this see the discussion of Griffiths here); but he also recalls episodes of hunting in the novel, especially that in which Tlepolemus is killed by the treacherous Thrasyllus (8,4-5), and the central role of hunters in *uenationes* or staged animal-hunts, such as are envisaged at 4,13 and 10,18; like the gladiator below and the procession in general, the hunter recalls the cultural context of Roman *ludi*.

<s>*occis obauratis inductus*: the *soccus* (a soft shoe) was worn by women and comic actors, and often richly decorated (cf. Hug in *RE* III.A,771,21-772,3).

obauratis: presumably embroidered with gold thread. The word is an Apuleian coinage, of a familiar type in the form of a participle with prefix – see Bernhard 1927, 120-121.

inductus: 'covered', a use of *induco* in poetry and later prose, possibly influenced by *induo* (*indutus* is read by some early editors here but is an obvious normalisation), cf. 2,28,2 *pedesque palmeis baxeis inductum*; 9,21,1 *soleas ... quibus inductus*; *flor.* 9,17 *calciamenta, quibus erat inductus*; *ThLL* s.v. *induco* 1236,22-53.

serica ueste: silk was a luxurious and usually female dress-material at Rome – cf. 6,28,6 *sinu serico*, *GCA* 1985, 239 on 8,27,3, Tac. *ann.* 2,33,1 with Goodyear 1981 ad loc. The adjective *sericus* is first found in Horace (*epod.* 8,15 with Watson 2003 ad loc.).

mundoque pretioso: *mundus* refers to the overall female outfit including accessories (*ThLL* s.v. 2. *mundus* 1633,79-1634,50), and *pretioso* here suggests rich jewellery – cf. 2,9,5 *auro ueste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata* with *GCA* 2001 178-179; 4,26,6 *mundo nuptiali decenter ornabat*; 4,33,1 *ornatam mundo funerei thalami*.

adtextis capiti crinibus: the ablative *capite* (changed by the scribe of F from an original *capiti*) is difficult to construe; *capiti* gives the usual dative after *adtexto* (*ThLL* s.v. *adtexto* 1130,78-1131,29), and might well be preferable here. Roman wigs were normally of woven real hair and could be attached as extensions – see McKeown 1989, 381 (on Ovid *am.* 1,14,45-50).

incessu perfluo: the flowing gait thought typical of a woman in Roman culture – cf. Sen. *dial.* 9,17,4 (of men) *incessu ipso ultra muliebrem molliam fluentibus*, Gleason 1995, 60-64. *perfluus* occurs only here and is probably an Apuleian coinage (Koziol 1872, 276), no doubt formed from the Apuleian verb *perfluo*, found at 1,13,1.

feminam mentiebatur: this use of *mentior* with direct object in the sense of ‘counterfeit’ is first found in Columella (*ThLL* s.v. *mentior*, 780,56-66 compares with our passage Lact. *inst.* 6,20,29 *histrionum ... corpora ... inpudicas feminas inhonestis gestibus mentiantur*); see Callebat 1968, 180. Although male-female transvestism is not specifically attested in Isiac ritual (see Griffiths 1975 ad loc.), the present description may be a literarised representation of Graeco-Roman ritual/religious practice. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 15) mentions a ritual including exchange of clothes by the sexes (see Griffiths 1970, 464). Berreth (1931, 53) suggests a connection with the *Galli*, who wore women’s accoutrements (but not clothes: see Griffiths’ scepticism) in the rites of the Mater Magna. We find a particular close parallel in the procession described in Hist. Aug. *Gall.* 8,3 *gladiatores pompabiliter ornati cum auratis uestibus matronarum*; see Ratti 2000, 230-231 ad loc., who quotes the criticism of such pagan practices in Caes. Arel. *serm.* 129,2 *quam turpe est quod uiri nati tunicis muliebribus uestiuntur et turpissima demum demutatione puellaribus figuris uirile robur effeminant non erubescentes tunicis muliebribus inserere militares lacertos*. See also Griffiths 1975 on *feminam mentiebatur*, who quotes the attack of Petrus Chrysologus (5th cent. A.D.) on a pagan show produced at the Calends (*serm.* 155 bis,1 *praeterea uestiuntur homines in pecudes, et in feminas uiros uertunt*); see also Gianotti 1986, 92 with n. 43. Merkelbach 1995, 275 suggests that this figure symbolises the worldly trappings that Lucius is about to lay aside, but more attractive is the idea that it is a reminder of various scenes of transvestism in the novel (cf. Fick-Michel 1991, 421-422), especially of the fictional tale of the bandit ‘Haemus’, who at 7,8,1-2 tells how he escaped danger by using female disguise.

porro alium: a Plautine (*Merc.* 615), Ciceronian (*Verr.* 2,2,106; 2,3,66) and Lucretian (5,833; 1278) phrase.

ocreis, scuto, galea ferroque insignem: standard elements of Roman legionary armour. *ocreae*, ‘greaves’ is probably a loan-word, first appearing in Latin in the Augustan period (*ThLL* s.v. *ocrea* 416,61-417,11), while *ferrum* (material for object synecdoche) must mean ‘sword’ here as at 8,13,3 and often in poetical usage since Ennius (*ThLL* s.v. 580,1-56).

e ludo putares gladiatorio procedere: the second person verb *putares* (like *rideres* and *diceres* at 11,8,4 below; see Introduction, 7.2.2 on the illusionistic techniques of the narrator) draws in the reader/viewer of the description by appealing collusively to

his/her judgement (see *GCA* 2000, 373-4 on 10,30,7 *quam putares Mineruam*), while *ludus gladiatorius* is a standard phrase since Cicero (*ThLL* s.v. *gladiatorius* 2008,62-76). It is hard to attach religious significance to the figure of the gladiator (Merkelbach 1995, 275 simply appeals as in the case of the soldier to ‘fighting’ for Isis); his appearance like that of the hunter closely recalls that of the future contestants in the *pompa circensis* (see on 11,8,1 above) and the context of *ludi* in general. It also looks back to the gladiatorial shows mentioned earlier in the novel, the planned *spectacula* of Demochares (4,13,2) and Thiasus (10,18,1).

11,8,3 *Nec ille deerat, qui magistratum fascibus purpuraque luderet, nec qui pallio baculoque et baxeis et hircino barbitio philosophum fingeret, nec qui diuersis harundinibus alter aucupem cum uisco, alter piscatorem cum hamis induceret*. Nor was there absent one to play a magistrate with torches and purple cloak, or one to depict a philosopher with cloak and staff and sandals and goatish beard, nor a pair who presented two characters with different rods – one a fowler with his lime, the other a fisherman with his hooks.

This sentence like the preceding one describes four figures from the *anteludia* in two pairs – that of the authority-figures of the magistrate and the philosopher, and that of the two catchers of birds and fish. All four are linked by the repeated litotes *nec ille ... nec qui ... nec qui* (with *deerat* understood), though the second pair is introduced by a single *nec* and then neatly subdivided into matching cola by *alter ... alter*. All three main parts of the sentence end with verbs of very similar sound and meaning (‘play a character on the stage’) which give good prose-rhythm (*luderet* [double cretic] *fingeret, induceret* [both spondee plus cretic]).

The magistrate and philosopher comprise a pair of authority figures suitable for carnivalesque representation and parody. Merkelbach 1995, 276 suggests that the magistrate represents Lucius’ future service for Isis as justice and that the philosopher indicates that the Egyptian priesthood are the true philosophers, but offers no evidence for these assertions (but note that the palm-leaf sandals of the philosopher are shared with the Egyptian priest Zatchlas at 2,28 – not an especially convincing argument; and as Griffiths 1975 points out, Isiac priests are clean-shaven). Harrauer 1973 here is surely right to suggest that both figures recall Lucius’ past in Books 1 – 10 (cf. also Fick-Michel 1991, 422). The magistrate recalls Lucius’ humiliations at the hands of the magistrates of Hypata, both his comic encounter with his old friend the aedile Pythias, who robs him of his supper in 1,24-5, and his meeting with other magistrates of the city who try to soothe him after the public ridicule of the Festival of Laughter in 3,11. Harrauer and Fick-Michel both see the philosopher as looking back to the figure of Socrates in the tale of Aristomenes (1,6-20); that Socrates is also a ‘false’ philosopher (there because of moral unworthiness, here because of a pretended identity). We can also think of Lucius-ass’s evocation of the real Socrates at 10,33, and perhaps of Lucius’ claim to be related to the historical philosopher Sextus at 1,2. Given that the narrator Lucius and the author Apuleius are famously conflated at 11,27,9 *Madaurenses* (see comm. ad loc.), the figure of the philosopher might also recall Apuleius’ consistent self-presentation as a philosopher in the *Apology*, complete with evocation of the philosopher’s staff (*apol.* 22,1) and unkempt hair (4,12);

note too that Apuleius represents himself as wearing the philosopher's *baxeae* at *flor.* 9,25.

The fowler and fisherman can be linked with the earlier hunter in representing three modes of catching animals – cf. Varro *rust.* 3,3,4 *aucupes uenatores piscatores*. Harrauer here suggests that they reflect Isis as goddess of nature and in her connection with the sea, while Merkelbach 1995, 276 links the images with Seth's capture of the soul, released through Isis' power, and with the rescue of the soul by the priests of Isis from the sea of the material world. Griffiths here argues for the rejection of such allegorical interpretations. Once again, both figures can be seen as a reflection of Lucius' adventures in Books 1 – 10 (Fick-Michel 1991, 422), recalling the fisherman who sells Lucius fish in Hypata (1,24,9 *piscatori*) and the supposed bird-hunting boy of 8,20 (though no rod or lime occur there).

Nec ille deerat: for the elegant and Apuleian litotes cf. 5,20,6 *nec nostrum tibi deerit subsidium*, 7,26,5 *nec tibi ministerium deerit istorum*, 8,16,6 *nec quicquam praeter unicam tubam deerat*.

magistratum ... luderet: *ludere* with accusative object in the modern sense of 'play' a character seems to be something of a colloquial usage – cf. *ThLL* s.v. *ludo* 1781,29-48.

fascibus purpuraque: fascibus (A and U) is clearly preferable to *facibus* (F and φ), especially given *Ov. fast.* 1,81 *iamque noui praeueunt fasces, noua purpura fulget* (of the consular procession). Though there is some evidence that magistrates' retinues carried the means to kindle torches (see Griffiths here), that is not the same as carrying torches themselves, and torches (*faces*) are so common in Roman life and art that they are unlikely to function as immediately striking indications of a magistrate, as the context clearly requires here, unlike *fasces*, the rods which symbolise magistral powers of beating and execution and are normally carried by lictors. *purpura* points to the *latus clauus* or broad purple band on the senatorial toga.

pallio baculoque et baxeis et hircino barbitio: the standard dress and traits of the philosopher: for the *pallium* or Greek philosopher's cloak cf. *flor.* 4,4 *pallio* with Hunink 2001, 83, for the *baculum* or philosopher's staff cf. *apol.* 22,1 with Hunink 1997, 76, for the philosopher's palm-leaf sandals (*baxeae*) cf. *GCA* 2001, 370 on 2,28,2 and for his beard *ThLL* s.v. *barba* 1727,6-18, Zanker 1995, 108-122. *Hircinus* as in an insult at Plaut. *Pseud.* 967 *heus tu, qui cum hircina barba stas* suggests the animal unkemptness of the billy-goat's beard rather than the smart modern 'goatee'; *barbitium* is found only here and at 5,8,4 and is a noun of a kind first found in Apuleius elsewhere – cf. *famulitium* at 8,22,2 with *GCA* 1985, 188.

philosophum fingeret: for *ingere* of playing a character (repeating the sense of *luderet* above and matching *induceret* below) cf. *ThLL* s.v. *tingo* 775,20-29 (which omits this passage), *OLD* s.v. 9c.

diuersis harundinibus: the different rods of the fowler and the fisherman, both usually made from a reed-stem – cf. *ThLL* s.v. *harundo* 2543,29-36 and 37-44.

aucupem cum uisco: a limed rod to trap birds is standard equipment for the Roman fowler (Cato *agr.* 95,2; Verg. *georg.* 1,139).

piscatorem cum hamis: hooks are paired with rods as fishing gear, as at Plaut. *Rud.* 294, *Stich.* 289.

induceret: of presenting a character or act in a public show, matching *luderet* and *fingeret* in theatrical colour – cf. *OLD* s.v. *induco* 3b, *ThLL* s.v. 1232,69-1233,1.

11,8,4 *Vidi et ursam mansuem cultu matronali sella uehentem et simiam pilleo textili crocotisque Phrygiis Catamiti pastoris specie aureum gestantem poculum et asinum pinnis adglutinatis adambulantem cuidam seni debili, ut illerum quidem Bellerophonem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus, tamen rideres utrumque. I saw also a tame she-bear riding in a sedan-chair in the dress of a married woman, and a monkey in a woven cap and Phrygian saffron garments in the guise of the shepherd-boy Ganymede, bearing a golden cup, and an ass with wings stuck on walking alongside a decrepit old man, such that you might call him a Bellerophon and the ass a Pegasus, and yet laugh at them both.*

A third long sentence containing the third set of four figures in the procession; here the objects of Lucius' gaze are linked by a triple *et*, the last two of which each introduces a clause with a present participle (but not placed in either case at the end of its clause for rhyming purposes).

Callebat 1968, 442 (following Helm 1955 and others) analyses *cultu ... uehebatur* as a familiarly paratactic parenthesis; such parentheses in Apuleius are usually introduced by a particle such as *enim* (Bernhard 1927, 92-93). In *met.* 3,7,3, the text transmitted by F (*conspicio prorsus totum populum – risu cachinnabili difflebant – nec secus ... Milonem*) provides a very similar parenthetical switch from first to third person in a description by the narrator. However, Zimmerman's OCT (2012) adopts the more natural reading of *v* there (*conspicio prorsus totum populum risu cachinnabili diffluentem*). Here, the text of F can be retained without the normalising addition (in mss. and early editions, followed by Helm) of the relative *quae* before *cultu* (with *difflebant*), which is not needed (see Zago 2011); but even more attractive is the suggestion by Frassinetti 1960 *uehentem* (Zimmerman 2012: 'fortasse recte'), which we have put in the text, following the OCT at *met.* 3,7,3 (above). This would produce a typically Apuleian tricolon list of participles in this sentence (*uehentem ...gestantem ... adambulantem*); compare the two other tricola earlier in this same chapter (*gerebat ... fecerant ... mentiebatur; luderet ... fingeret ... induceret*). The quasi-passive intransitive use of *ueho* is archaic and found twice in Gellius in similar contexts in participial form and with ablative of vehicle: Gell. 2,2,13 *per medias laudes quasi quadrigis uehens* (citing Quadrigarius); 5,6,27 *partim scripserunt, qui ouarent, introire solitos equo uehentes*. The proper names *Bellerophonem* and *Pegasus* balance each other in final clause-position, as do the penultimately-placed verbs *diceret* and *rideret*.

Previous scholars have made efforts to find specific religious allusions in the animals staged in this procession (see individual notes below), but their appearance may primarily reflect a feature of Roman – or even African – culture: a penchant for the staging of animals for show (see Jennison 1937 and Gianotti 1986, 82 with more references). For the use of an animal to stage the figure of Pegasus in a context of ancient fictional narrative cf. Petron. 36,2 *uidemus infra ... altitia et sumina leporemque in medio pinnis subornatum, ut Pegasus uideretur*; Gianotti 1986, 84-85 observes that

both passages share references to personal witness (below, *uidi*) and to the laughter caused by the hilarious scene (cf. Petron. 36,4-5 *res electissimas ridentes ag-gredimur*).

Vidi: for Lucius-narrator's use of the topos of autopsy, which marks his curious character and his penchant for spectacles, see Gianotti 1986, 82 and cf. *GCA* 2007, 134-135 on 1,4,2 *isto gemino obtutu ... aspexi*.

ursam mansuem: *mansues* is a rare and archaic variant for the usual *mansuetus* – cf. *ThLL* s.v. *mansues* 327,31-47, Bernhard 1927, 131, *GCA* 1981, 234 on 7,23,3. The tame she-bear has been interpreted as a form of Seth/Typhon (Wittman 1938, 42), as a representation of the Mater Magna (Berreth 1931, 51-52) and as a symbol of Lucius' casting off of his bestial nature (Merkelbach 1995, 276); the constellation of the Great Bear was certainly identified with the soul of Seth (Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 21, *Mor.* 359D, Griffiths 1970, 373), but that seems too vague a link to posit a religious significance here (see further Griffiths here). More relevant may be the habitual depiction in Egyptian art of animals in anthropomorphic activity (see Griffiths 1975 here). In the context of *met.*, the tame she-bear in the clothing of a *matrona* may recall the she-bears destined for the arena in 4,13, reinforcing the link of the *anteludia* with the *pompa circensis* (see on 11,8,1 above) and is a witty reversal of the fatal disguise of the robber leader Thrasyleon in one of their pelts (4,14-21; cf. Harrison 2000, 242). Griffiths sees the she-bear as an allusion to a Cenchrean cult of the Arcadian heroine Callisto, metamorphosed into a she-bear by Juno after an affair with Jupiter (cf. *Ov. fast.* 2,177-186); the link is attractive here given that the next figure relates to Ganymede, another object of Jupiter's lust.

Gianotti (1986, 82) also points to the possible association (which would parallel the mythological allusions to both Ganymede and Pegasus) with the myth of Callisto; Gianotti also mentions the possible Platonic dimension of these allusions, as all three myths have in common that their protagonists are received in heavenly spheres, and thus share an otherworldly destiny among the ζῴα θεῶν of Plato (*Tim.* 40b), or the *animales dii* of the Platonist Apuleius (*Plat.* 1,11 p. 203). On a symbolic level, the animals may thus implicitly anticipate the destiny of Lucius-ass, who will eventually attain immortality ('even an ass can go to heaven'; cf. Gianotti 1986, 85 n. 20).

cultu matronali: cf. *Vitr.* 1,1,5 *ornatus matronales* (the first occurrence of the adjective); for *cultus* = 'dress' cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1333,82-1336,52. The ablative (as in *pilleo*, *crocotis* and *pinnis* below) is one of quality or description, often found with dress: cf. *Acc. carm. frg.* 86 (637 Dangel) *mulier funesta ueste*.

sella uehentem: the single-seater sedan-chair (with modestly concealing curtains, clearly open here) was a standard vehicle for Roman elite women under the Empire (Suet. *Otho* 6,3 *muliebri sella*, Sen. *benef.* 1,9,3, *Iuv.* 1,124). For *uehentem* see above, *intro.* note.

simiam: the monkey disguised as Ganymede has again been seen as having various religious connotations, e.g. as representing Attis or Thoth (the theriomorphic form of Thoth as a baboon was satirised by Juvenal [15,4] and Lucian [e.g. *Imagines* 11]; see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1965-1971), or as suggesting Lucius' future change from bestial form to divine association (Merkelbach 1995, 276), and representations of apes have been found in the Iseum Campense at Rome (Lembke 1994, 228-

229 and 238-239). The animal is here in some sense the comic representation of a man: Ganymede is similarly depicted parodically as a monkey on a Roman lamp (McDermott 1938, 139). There is also probably an amusing echo of a comic moment towards the end of the Greek ass-story: at *Onos* 56 the disappointed lady who re-encounters the newly human but phallically reduced Lucius claims that he has been metamorphosed into a mere 'monkey'.

pilleo textili: the *pilleus* or *pilleum* was a felt cap worn by newly manumitted freedmen and generally at the Saturnalia (see e.g. Leary 1996, 52); the carnivalesque overtones of the latter are appropriate here. In this context it also recalls the identical 'Phrygian cap' in which Ganymede is commonly depicted in Roman art (e.g. *LIMC* s.v. *Ganymedes* [H. Sichtermann], 109; 130; 226). For *textilis*, 'woven' of headgear cf. 7,8,1 *mitellaque textili*.

crocotisque Phrygiis Catamiti pastoris specie: crocotis, sc. *uestibus*, an early Latin word imitating Greek κροκωτός (*ThLL* s.v. *crocotis* 1215,18-26), refers to saffron-dyed robes worn by women and by effeminate males (Lyne 1978, 205 on *Ciris* 252). *Phrygiis* may thus suggest 'oriental' effeminacy as well as an appropriate Eastern origin for saffron; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,614 (Numanus Remulus attacks the Trojans) *uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis*. The reader of *met.* here recalls the saffron-dressed priests of the Dea Syria (8,27,1 *crocotis ... iniecti*), who share Ganymede's passive sexual role (for their 'Phrygian' nature cf. 8,30,5 *cantus ... Phrygii*). *Catamitus* is the Latin version of Greek Γανυμήδης via Etruscan *Catmite* – see *GCA* 2007, 256 on 1,12,4, here appropriately juxtaposed (though not agreeing) with *Phrygiis* given Ganymede's origin as a Trojan prince. For Ganymede's story cf. e.g. *hymn. Aphr.* 202-217; *pastoris specie* (for *specie* = 'in the guise of' cf. *OLD* s.v. *species* 6c) points to the further detail of his acting as a shepherd when kidnapped from Mt Ida by Jupiter in avian form, implicit at Verg. *Aen.* 5,252-255. The reader of *met.* recalls that Socrates in the tale of Aristomenes is ironically compared to Ganymede by the witch Meroe (1,12,4 *Catamitus meus*); cf. Fick-Michel 1991, 423.

Phrygiis: the reference to the Phrygian origin of the garments on the one hand recalls the staging of exotic elements in a spectacle (cf. the exotic robes of the actor who plays the Phrygian shepherd Paris in the pantomime described in 10,30,2), and on the other hand points to the programmatic function of the Phrygians in the universal cult of Isis, since she mentions them as the 'first-born of men', who worship her as Mater Magna (11,5,2 *inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem ... me ... appellans*); see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 148-149 on oriental place names in the context of techniques of 'Exotisierung' in *met.*

aureum gestantem poculum: the frequentative *gestare* means simply *ferre*, a colloquial usage (Callebat 1968, 141). The golden drinking-cup again recalls the priests of the Dea Syria, who were caught red-handed stealing a golden drinking-vessel from a temple at 9,10,1 *aureum ... cantharum*.

et asinum pinnis adglutinatis: adglutinare is a technical term for gluing something on to something else, found since Plautus (*ThLL* s.v. 1312,69-1313,45); see *GCA* 2001, 395 ad *met.* 2,30,9 on its use in medical language. The comically artificial wings show that the ass (like the monkey with clothes) is a parody of a mythological figure, the winged horse Pegasus, steed of Bellerophon, slayer of the Chimaera (cf. 8,16,3; Hyg. *fab.* 57; Apollod. *bibl.* 2,3). It seems impossible (*pace* Griffiths 1975) to

disassociate the ass from Lucius' asinine form in the novel; Lucius is here surely looking at his own bestial shape from which he is soon to escape. The common asinine form of Seth/Typhon is surely also relevant here (cf. Wittmann 1938, 41-42): from its participants' viewpoint, the Isiac parade could be seen as celebrating in triumph-style a victory over the goddess's divine enemy with an appropriate caricature.

adambulatem cuidam seni debili: adambulo (three times in *met.*, all with the dative as here; cf. 3,12,5 with Van der Paardt 1971, 98) revives a compound found before Apuleius only once in Plautus (*ThLL* s.v. 566,70-75; Callebat 1968, 483), here at least partly for its alliteration with *adglutinatis*. Within *met.*, the decrepit old man recalls the lame ass-driver seen by Psyche in the Underworld with an equally lame ass (6,18,4 *claudum asinum lignorum gerulum cum agasone simili*), usually thought to evoke the chthonic torment of Ocnus (see *GCA* 2004, 502); as Merkelbach 1995, 276 points out, it may be relevant that the myth of Ocnus (condemned to plait reeds in the Underworld which were perpetually eaten by a donkey) was performed at Egyptian festivals (Diod. Sic. 1,97,3). The old man might also recall the ageing corrupt priest of the Dea Syria who earlier purchased Lucius-ass (8,24,2 *senem cinaedum*), since he with the other priests similarly walks in procession alongside Lucius-ass who carries the goddess's statue (8,27,3). See Panayotakis 1997, 27-29.

ut illum quidem Bellerophontem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus: Harrauer 1973 here argues (convincingly) that the lame old man reflects the mythological laming of Bellerophon when he fell from Pegasus in a hybrid attempt to enter heaven (prominently narrated in Euripides' lost *Bellerophon*: see Collard et al. 1995, 98-101), and (perhaps less convincingly) that this symbolises Lucius' misguided earlier attempts to gain divine power via magic, while Merkelbach 1995, 276 suggests that the recall of Bellerophon's flight symbolises Lucius-ass's forthcoming transformation from lower into higher forms of being. Within *met.*, the narrator's comment looks back to other comic/ironic allusions to the myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus in the self-narrated story of Lucius-ass (see Gianotti 1986, 83): cf. 6,30,5 *Pegasi uincebas celeritatem* (Lucius taunted by a robber), 7,26,3 *meum ... Bellerophontem* (of a traveller who opportunistically takes control of Lucius) and especially 8,16,3 *Pegasum inclutum illum* (Lucius compares his speed in fear to that of Pegasus). This recapitulated comparison has special local point here for a crowd at Cencreae, port of Corinth (Wittmann 1938, 41), since Bellerophon was a Corinthian hero (Hom. *Il.* 6,152-155) and celebrated there in cult (Pausan. 2,2,4), just as Pegasus was commemorated by an image in the Corinthian temple of Poseidon (Pausan. 2,1,9).

tamen rideres utrumque: *tamen* makes a genuine contrast between the elevating potential of the mythological comparison and its actual comic effect given the unimpressive pair, while *rideres* with *diceret* invites audience reaction to the scene like the similarly potential *putares* (see above on 11,8,2), here amusement at an entertaining mythical parody (see Introduction, 5.3 on the characterisation of the reader in the text).

CHAPTER IX

The non-initiates parade in the first part of the Isiac procession.

The non-initiates of Ch. IX precede the initiates and priests of Ch. X and the divine representations of Ch. XI; thus the procession moves in reverse order of status. The list of non-initiates in Ch. IX is ordered by gender, beginning with women presented as flower-strewers and hairdressers of Isis, moving to persons of both sexes carrying torches and other forms of illumination, two groups of specialist male musicians, a choir and a group of pipers, and ending with a brief reference to a group of males clearing the way for the procession. All these groups (presumably of free-born citizens) are performing quasi-servile tasks in honour of the goddess, taking on roles in a way which parallels the celebratory masquerade of the *anteludia*.

11,9,1-3 ¹Inter has oblectationes ludicras popularium, quae passim uagabantur, iam sospitaticis deae peculiaris pompa moliebatur. ²mulieres candido splendentes amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine, quae de gremio per uiam, qua sacer incedebat comitatus, solum sternebant flosculis; aliae quae nitentibus speculis pone tergum reuersis uenienti deae obuuium commonstrarent obsequium, ³et quae pectines eburnos ferentes gestu brachiorum flexuque digitorum ornatum atque obpexum crinium regalium fingerent, aliae etiam, quae ceteris unguentis et geniali balsamo guttatim excusso conspargebant plateas; Amongst these entertaining amusements provided for the local citizens, which were spreading in every direction, the personal procession of the saving goddess now began its weighty motion: women shining in white raiment, rejoicing in various insignia, flowering with their spring garlands, who were strewing the ground with flowers from their bosoms along the route where the sacred escort was moving, other women, who with shining mirrors turned round behind their backs were to show their obedience in the path of the coming goddess, and others who, carrying ivory combs, were to represent with gestures of their arms and curlings of their fingers the decorating and combing of the queen's tresses, and others still, who were scattering the streets with all kinds of perfumes and especially a marvellous balsam which was shaken out in drops;

Syntactically, this passage is better read as part of a long sentence which starts at the beginning of the chapter. All modern editors place a full stop after *moliebatur*, but this yields a very difficult syntax: the sentence *mulieres candido ... stirpem propitiantes* would then contain three relative clauses, a participial clause and no main verbs, and a problematic connection in *illae etiam*, which seems hard to link to the previous clauses. Modern translators (Griffiths 1975, Walsh 1994, Kenney 1998) understandably solve the problem by rendering the subordinate verbs as main clauses, but this does not accurately represent the Latin. The best way to make sense of this long sentence would seem to be to put a colon, not a full stop, after *moliebatur*: the

four subordinate clauses would then explain *pompa* and constitute a description of the opening section of the procession; *aliae etiam* is our proposal for the transmitted *illae etiam* (see below).

The passage shows many elements of elevated style: elaborate isocolon and rhyme are evident in the triplet *candido splendentibus amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine*, where two new nouns may be coined to match *gestamen* (see below) and in the isocolic pair *gestu brachiorum flexuque digitorum*, and there is also marked alliteration (*solum ... sternebant, obuium ... obsequium, ornatum atque obpexum*). Another artful feature is the variation in the relative clauses between indicative (*sternebant, conspangebant*) and subjunctive (*commonstrarent, fingerent*) verbs (Callebat 1968, 343); the two subjunctives (which could be legitimately explained as indicating purpose, see below) are elegantly enclosed within the two indicatives.

Inter has: though the demonstrative is here attached to a noun, the phrase echoes the transitional formula *inter haec* which often introduces a new narrative event in *met.* (2,20,5; 3,8,1; 11,16,5).

oblectationes ludicras popularium: the phrase suggests the popular appeal and entertaining aspects of the *anteludia* (see comm. on 11,8,4 for possible Corinthian references, while for *populares* = ‘local people’, a Plautine usage common in Apuleius, cf. Callebat 1968, 169), and the lighter pleasures (*ludicras*) they afford the non-initiates in comparison with the imminent greater profundities of the Isiac procession. Cf. 11,6,4 *hilaris caerimonias et festiua spectacula*, with comm. ad loc. *oblectationes* in the plural seems to be abstract for concrete here (one might expect *oblectamenta*), and *popularium* is objective genitive (contrast the subjective genitive at 5,2,1 *inuitata ... locorum oblectatione*).

ludicras: the adjective is not only a reference to ‘light entertainment’, but also to public *ludi* held in a religious context (*ThLL* s.v. *ludicer* 1761,60-1762,26); see introduction to Ch. VIII.

passim uagantur: the disorder and lack of direction of the *anteludia* is contrasted with the more dignified and ordered formation of the Isiac procession itself.

sospitatrix: the word *sospitator* is first found in Apuleius (nine times), who uses it at *mund.* 24 p. 343 as an epithet of Jupiter (the same epithet is attested on imperial coinage from the age of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta; cf. e.g. *Inscr. numm. imp.* IV 1 p. 125 n. 271 *Ioui Sospitatori*) and in his description of the Platonic supreme deity at *apol.* 64,7 *aeternus animantum sospitator*. For *sospitator* as a pagan cult term translating the Gr. σωτήρ (cf. also *salutaris*), adopted by the Christian author Arnobius as an epithet of Christ (e.g. *nat.* 1,53), see Mohrmann 1965, 137-138 (other Christian authors prefer to use the neologism *saluator*). The feminine form *sospitatrix* is only found here, at 11,15,4 and 11,25,1 (see comm. ad loc.), in all three cases used of Isis and apparently varying Juno’s title *Sospita*, used in Psyche’s prayer at 6,4,3; for Isis it could be a version of her Greek title σωτήρα (Bricault 1996, 66-67). For apparent Apuleian coinages in *-tor*, in general, probably archaic in colour, see Bernhard 1927, 104-105, Callebat 1968, 35-37, *GCA* 1977, 68 on 4,7,4 with further lit.

peculiaris pompa: the adjective may imply (as Griffiths 1975 notes) that the *anteludia* are not specifically Isiac (see introduction to Ch. VIII); only now does the part of the procession properly belonging to Isis start. For this contrastive use of *peculiaris* cf. 11,7,3 *tanta ... hilaritudine praeter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta uidebatur*, and see *ThLL* s.v. 924,22-47 (‘denegantur aliis’). For *pompa* see comm. on 11,8,1 above; it is often found in alliterative combinations in *met.* – cf. 4,35,1 *pompaie populi prosequentiis*, 6,28,6 *popularium pomparum*, 11,6,1 *in ipso procinctu pompaie*, 11,8,1 *pompaie magnaie paulatim praecedunt* (cf. also *popularium ... passim* in this same sentence).

moliebatur: the verb, here used in a rare intransitive sense, implies ponderous progress (*OLD* s.v. *molior* 7a), an appropriate overtone of weight and dignity here. For *moliri* in the sense of ‘viam ingredi, proficisci’ see *ThLL* s.v. 1362,43-65; the only other example of the use without object or preposition is Liv. 28,44,6 *et molientem hinc Hannibalem ...*

mulieres: female devotees but not here initiates (for women serving in the Isis-cult see Heyob 1975, 81-110, Eingartner 1991). These women present themselves as the *ornatrices* (hairdressers) of the goddess, fulfilling a female servile role in honour of Isis; for the *ornatrix* in Roman culture see Gibson 2003, 193.

candido splendentibus amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine: *amicimen* appears only here and in 11,23,4 (again of Isiac dress), *coronamen* only here, and both appear to be Apuleian coinages (variants on *amicitus* and *corona*) to match the established poetic term *gestamen*, first found in Vergil (*ThLL* s.v. 1955,43); for these and other coinages in *-men* made for euphonic lists in Apuleius see Facchini Tosi 2000, 146-148. The white dress of the non-initiates (the colour of purity often worn in ancient religious contexts) anticipates the white linen robes of the initiates (11,10,1 *lintheae uestis candore*), while *uario ... gestamine* and *florentes* look forward to the activities of this group in carrying items for the goddess’ toilette and in scattering flowers before the procession. The garlands indicate the special festival context, their flowers its springtime date.

gestamine: ‘insignia’ (Hanson), referring to clothes and cultic gear; cf. *apol.* 22,7 *Platonicae sectae gestamina*; *flor.* 9,17 *gestamina, quibus erat conspiciatus*, with Lee 2005 ad loc. Cf. also 11,4,1 *gestamina*, where it refers to Isis’ *crepitaculum* and *cymbium*.

quae de gremio per uiam, qua sacer incedebat comitatus, solum sternebant flosculus: such floral route-carpeting is a common religious honour for divine figures in the Roman empire and is offered to Psyche and Venus in *met.* (cf. *GCA* 2004, 197). *gremium* is here used as at 11,11,3 to suggest the concealing or carrying capacity of the folds of an outer garment even when standing (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2319,73-2320,9), while the affective diminutive *flosculus* (only here and 2,9,2 in Apuleius; here used in its proper, concrete sense of ‘little flower’, *ThLL* s.v. 937,77-938,11; for a different concrete use [‘patches of colour’] cf. 2,9,2 *flosculos* with *GCA* 2001, 175 ad loc.) perhaps expresses Lucius’ admiring perspective (see below on 11,10,3 *flammulam*).

sacer ... comitatus: for *comitatus* as more or less a synonym for *pompa* cf. 9,30,7 *frequenti prosequente comitatu, tradunt sepulturae* (dominum); 11,6,4 *constricti comitatus* (plural) ... *populi*.

nitentibus speculis: mirrors are normal female toilet equipment in antiquity, even for deities (cf. Venus' mirror at 4,31,7) and here like the allusions to hairdressing suggest the practice of daily cosmetic attention to the cult-statue of Isis (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 331-332), carried out by appointed officials (see Dunand 1973, vol. III, 200-202); a Greek verse epitaph from Megalopolis of the second or third century records a priestess of Isis as washing the goddess's statue and arranging its hair (Dunand 1967), while Augustine presents religious women at Rome as holding a mirror up to cult-statues of Minerva and Juno (civ. 6,10,2).

pone tergum reuersis: so as to be notionally available for 'use' by the statue of the goddess which is following behind them in the procession at 11,11 (*uenienti deae*; *reuersis* suggests that the polished, functional side of the mirror faces backwards).

obuium commonstrarent obsequium: *obuium* plays on *uiam* (the attendants literally stand 'in her way' so that she can 'see' the mirrors), while *obsequium* of the duty of obedience towards a divinity (*ThLL* s.v. 183,16-52) is naturally a key word in this book (11,6,7; 11,15,5; 11,19,3; 11,22,1 and 5; 11,28,5). Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 35-36 argues that *obsequium* is here used in the concrete sense of 'retinue' as perhaps at 4,31,5, but the verb suggests the usual abstract meaning of 'obedience'. For the deliberate variation between indicative and subjunctive (*commonstrarent*, *fingerent*) here see on 11,9,3-4 above: the subjunctive could be justified here after the relative pronoun as suggesting purpose, as at 11,8,3 *nec ille deerat, qui magistratum ... luderet, nec qui ... philosophum fingeret*.

pectines eburnos: ivory was the normal material for Roman combs (see Dar.-Sagl. 4.1, 363-364); for the *pecten* as part of the equipment of the *ornatrix* (hairdresser), cf. *Ov. am.* 1,14,15.

gestu brachiorum flexuque digitorum: the gestures of the hairdresser. Augustine (civ. 6,10,2) reports women similarly miming the actions of arranging the hair of Minerva and Juno (*digitos mouent ornantium modo*) outside the goddesses' Roman temples.

ornatum atque obpexum: *ornatus* is the *vox propria* for the activities of the *ornatrix* (*ThLL* s.v. *ornatus* 1019,10-31), while in *obpexum* (a hapax legomenon, apparently formed from the archaic *obpectere*, *Plaut. Persa* 111) Apuleius seems as in *amicimine* and *coronamine* above to coin a term to create euphonic balance (cf. Facchini Tosi 2000, 153; for compound nouns first found in Apuleius cf. Koziol 1872, 267-273).

crinium regalium: *regalium* is adjective for genitive, a usage which here, like the adjective itself (*OLD* s.v. *regalis*), has a poetic colour (Bernhard 1927, 111). The allusion to Isis' hair recalls its prominence in her earlier epiphany – see comm. on 11,3,4. For Isis as *regina* see comm. on 11,5,3 *reginam Isidem*.

aliae etiam: the mss. have *illae etiam*, but *illae ... quae* is hard to interpret here (what is the point of *illae*?), whereas *aliae* would with *etiam* point to a further element in the list and pick up *aliae* in 11,9,2: for the listing sequence *alii ... alii etiam*, 'others ... others again', cf. e.g. *Varro rust.* 2,4,22; 3,16,15; *Cic. Verr.* 2,1,121; *de orat.* 3,58.

quae ceteris unguentis et: this use of *ceteri ... et*, meaning 'all the rest and especially', imitates the Greek construction of ἅλλας τε πολλάς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα, Denniston 1950, 256, as in the similar use of *alii ... et* (cf. e.g. *Vell.* 2,77,3

et alios clarissimos uiros et Neronem Claudium). The use of perfumes is widespread in religious festivals, though here as with the allusions to hairdressing we should think in particular of the beautification and perfuming of Isis' statue (see above); the detail also recalls Isis' fragrance in her epiphany at 11,3,3 *spirans Arabiae felicia germina*.

geniali: for *genialis* = 'marvellous', almost 'divine' (cf. 5,22,5 *genialem caesariem*); see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 19 and Harrauer 1973 here. This balsam is intended for a goddess, possibly for her hair; cf. Cupid in 5,22,5, who has ambrosia as balm in his hair. For god(des)es wearing balm cf. also 6,11,1 *fragrans balsama Venus*. For the high reputation of balsam see next note.

balsamo: Apuleius here uses the more technical singular rather than the poetic plural *balsama* which he uses elsewhere (cf. *GCA* 2001, 169 on 2,8,6). Balsam, an aromatic resin derived from a thorn bush with trifoliolate leaves, probably belonging to the genus *commiphora opobalsamum*, is celebrated at length by Pliny the Elder as the queen of perfumes (*nat.* 12,111-123) in a passage Apuleius may well have known (cf. on *facticii luminis* below).

guttatim: an archaic adverb, found at 3,3,1 and before that only in Ennius (*scaen.* 175 J.) and Plautus (*Merc.* 205) – cf. Pasetti 2007, 88-89 (and 63-100 for this favourite archaising type of adverb in Apuleius in general).

conspargebant plateas: the verb (only here in Apuleius) is attested in archaic authors (*Cato agr.* 76,2; *Plaut. Curc.* 80), but may have been derived from spoken language (cf. Italian 'cospargere'); as in *commonstrarent* (above), the prefix stresses the collective action of the group. For *plateas* see comm. on 11,7,2 above.

11,9,4 *magnus praeterea sexus utriusque numerus lucernis, taedis, cereis et alio genere facticii luminis siderum caelestium stirpem propitiantes: symphoniae dehinc suaues, fistulae tibiaeque modulis dulcissimis personabant.* in addition, a great number drawn from both sexes, winning over the source of the stars of heaven with lanterns, torches, tapers and other kinds of artificial light; then harmonious musical ensembles, panpipes and double-pipes resounded in the sweetest of modes.

Lucernis, taedis, cereis: neat triple variation of artificial light sources (oil lamps, pine torches, wax tapers). *cereus* has an archaic flavour, going back to Plautus (*Curc.* 9). As Griffiths 1975 ad loc. points out, the use of artificial light is a feature of many divine cults, though here the lamps may anticipate the imminent appearance of the ship-shaped lamp of Isis at 11,10,3; carriers of lamps and torches are attested in Roman Isis-cult (Dunand 1973, vol. III, 165).

facticii luminis: facti luminis, found in A and U, is read by Zimmerman's OCT (2012), but perhaps lays too much stress on fictionality as opposed to artificiality in this context (the latter should be the point here). Haupt's (1876) *facticii luminis*, an easy correction of the *facuum lumine* transmitted in F, makes excellent sense here and introduces an adjective found in pre-Apuleian Latin only eight times in Pliny the Elder (*ThLL* s.v. *facticus* 133,61-74), a common source for Apuleius (cf. Harrison 2000, 27 n.105). Other less convincing conjectures include *facti luminis* (in the margin of F), where *factum* is unparalleled with *lumen* in the sense of 'artificially manu-

factured', *facium lumine* (Colvius 1588), *facium luminoso* (Pricaeus 1650), *facium luminosam* (Lütjohann 1873) and *alienigeno facium lumine* (Purser 1910) where *facium* inelegantly repeats the sense of *taedis*, is insufficiently generalising as a label and supplies a genitive plural which (like the possible alternative *facum*) is not found in Classical Latin (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *fax* 400,51-53); *alio genere [facuum] lumine* (Vulcanius 1594) and *alio [genere facuum] lumine* (Helm) both seem too unspecific here.

siderum caelestium stirpem: the lights symbolically acknowledge Isis' role as the originator of the stars of heaven (for this see on 11,7,4 *matrem siderum*; 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*); *stirps* in this transferred sense of 'origin' (only here in Apuleius; cf. *OLD* s.v. 4), like its sense of 'progeny' (cf. 8,20,4; 10,33,1; *OLD* s.v. 5c) is a poetic use, as is the conjunction *caelestia sidera* (Ov. *met.* 8,372, *trist.* 2,57).

propitiantes: for the synesis (sense-construction) of plural verb with singular collective noun (*numerus*), common in Apuleius, cf. *iterantes* at 11,9,5 below and Callebat 1968, 336-337. *propitiare* is used of winning over other female divinities or pseudo-divinities in *met.* – see *GCA* 2000, 388 on 10,32,2 *iaculis floris sertis et soluti deam suam propitiantes*; in the Isis Book, cf. 11,2,2 *propitiaris* and 11,26,3 *propitiatur*.

symphoniae: only here in Apuleius (seven times in Petronius; a rarish Greek term for a musical group, cf. *OLD* s.v.). Musical accompaniment was a feature of many religious ceremonies in the Roman Empire, and as Griffiths 1975 notes the two instruments mentioned here may reflect regular Graeco-Roman practice rather than specifically Isiac elements; the *sistrum* of 11,10,2 was the characteristic instrument of Isis (cf. 11,4,2 *crepitaculum*; 11,6,1 *sistro*, with comm. ad loc.) though other kinds of music were also used in Roman Isis-cult (cf. Wille 1967, 63-65; Lembke 1994, 141). Such harmonious and 'normal' music could be a surprise for the Roman reader, who might well expect more 'exotic', Oriental music in the Isis-cult, which is here presented in a way highly acceptable to Western minds (see comm. on 11,6,4 *hilaris caerimonias et festiua spectacula*).

fistulae ... personabant: the music-making here also looks back to the story of Psyche within *met.*: *tibiae* form part of the magic music of Cupid's palace at 5,15, while *tibiae* and *fistulae* are included in the celebrations of Psyche's wedding at 6,24 (on *tibiae* see *GCA* 2004, 219, on the *fistula(e)* *GCA* 2004, 551 on 6,24,3), the phrase *modulis dulcissimis* recurs from 5,15,2 *dulcissimis modulis* (see *GCA* 2004, 219), and the verb *personabant* from 6,24,3. These links within the novel reinforce the idea that the 'salvation' of Lucius in Book 11 is parallel to the apotheosis of Psyche in Book 6, though the fact that the music is performed for both Psyche and Isis also suggests some parallel between the two female characters. The sweet and virtuous music of the Isis-cult might also be seen as recalling and inverting the seductive melodies of the false Dea Syria cult in Book 8 (8,30,5 *mulcentibus modulis*). The music performed here has also been foreshadowed by the music performed by nature in response to Isis' epiphany, cf. 11,7,4 *canorae etiam auiculae prolectatae uerno uapore concentus suaves adsonarent* (the birds sing an 'Isiac Hymn') and 11,7,5 (*arbores dulces strepitus obsibilabant*).

11,9,5 *Eas amoenus lectissimae iuuentutis ueste niuea et cataclista praenitens sequebatur chorus, carmen uenustum iterantes, quod*

Camenarum fauore sollers poeta modulatus edixerat, quod argumentum referebat interim maiorum antecantamenta uotorum. These were followed by a delightful chorus of the choicest youth, brightly shining in white clothing and precious robes, repeating a lovely song, which by the favour of the Muses a skilled poet had set to music and proclaimed, which contained as its theme elements of prelude for the moment to the greater prayers to follow.

The music continues, this time in the form of a youth choir. Though there is evidence for young people being dedicated at an early age to the cult of Isis (see Griffiths 1975 here), this seems to be a honorific assembly of elite local amateurs, taught by a poet in the manner of the tragic choruses in Athens or the Horatian chorus of the *Carmen Saeculare* at Rome. This latter work provides an instructive parallel for this element of the procession, being a hymn composed by a particular poet for a special religious occasion and sung by a choir of elite youth (for the ritual context of the *Carmen* see Feeney 1998, 32-38); it is thus interesting that Apuleius' description includes his only use of the word *Camena* in *met.*, given that the Camenae appear in Horace's poem (62) and that Horace is the major user of this term in Classical Latin (eleven times; the next is Martial with six). Examples of Isiac hymns are collected in Totti 1985; for further evidence of their use in cult see Dunand 1973, III, 214-216. For the Greekness of the chorus as part of religious ceremony (underlined here by the Greek word *cataclista*) cf. Apul. *Socr.* 14 p. 148-149 *esse nonnullos ex hoc diuorum numero, qui ... laetioribus uel tristioribus hostiis uel caerimoniis uel ritibus gaudeant, uti Aegyptia numina ferme plangoribus, Graeca plerumque choreis, barbara autem strepitu cymbalistarum et tympanistarum et choraularum.*

Eas: for the demonstrative pronoun in an oblique case unusually placed at the head of the sentence cf. 4,23,4 *eam*; 11,3,3 *eius*.

lectissimae iuuentutis: both adjective and collective noun lend a poetic touch – cf. Catull. 64,4 *lecti iuuenes*, Verg. *Aen.* 4,130 *delecta iuuentus*.

ueste niuea: ritually pure white dress (see above); the phrase is found earlier in a religious context at Sil. 3,694-695 *ante aras stat ueste sacerdos / effulgens niuea*.

cataclista: a jewelled garment, a word first found here and then in Tertullian (*pall.* 3,1), the word is normally derived from Greek κατάκλειστος, 'shut up' (*ThLL* s.v. 587,15), implying a precious robe which is usually kept in storage; cf. 11,29,5 with comm. ad loc.

praenitens: the rare verb (the prefix is here intensive) occurs four times in *met.* and only seven times otherwise in Classical Latin. Apuleius' prose lexicon in *met.* favours such select poetic compounds (this one is found at Hor. *carm.* 1,33,4, Sen. *Med.* 94 and Stat. *silv.* 2,7,130) – cf. Bernhard 1927, 121.

uenustum: Griffiths 1975 finds some attractions in Wasse's conjecture *uetustum*, but the transmitted adjective's emphasis on elegance and beauty fits this context well (cf. *amoenus, praenitens*); for *uenustus* of speech, writings etc. cf. Apul. *Plat.* 1,2 p. 185 *uenustate et maiestate uerborum, OLD* s.v. 2.

iterantes: sense-construction after the collective *chorus* – cf. on *propitiantes* above. The hymn must be a relatively short one (cf. *maiorum ... uotorum*), not unlike

the 76-line *Carmen Saeculare*, which was sung twice at the Ludi Saeculares of 17 B.C. (*CIL* VI 32323).

Camēnarum fauore: for the common poetic idea of the favour of the Muses cf. *Stat. silv.* 2,7,20 *fauete, Musae* with Van Dam 1984, 464. As noted above, this is Apuleius' only use in *met.* of the term *Camēna*, an early Latin name for the Muses favoured by Horace (cf. Nisbet – Hubbard 1978, 270) which was etymologically associated with *carmen* and *canere* (cf. Varro *ling.* 7,26-27, *Serv. ecl.* 3,59, Maltby 1991, 99), a word-play clearly exploited in this passage describing singing. For the *Camēnae* as a programmatic reference to Roman poetry (cf. Verg. *ecl.* 3,59) see Lee 2005 on *flor.* 9,14 *in Camēnis ... opera* (with lit.), where it refers to Apuleius' own literary activities in the field of Roman literature, contrasted with the efforts of a Greek sophist; cf. also *flor.* 9,30 *omnem nostram Camēnam*. The Roman term here appeals to a Latin-speaking readership in this description of a Graeco-Egyptian cult.

sollers poeta: *sollers* of artistic skill is a particularly Horatian usage (*carm.* 4,8,8, *ars* 407), perhaps another Horatian element in this passage (see introd. note), while *poeta* is found only here in *met.*

modulatus edixerat: for *modulari* = 'set to music' cf. Verg. *ecl.* 5,14, Hor. *epist.* 2,2,143. *edico* here seems not to mean 'utter' (so *OLD* s.v. 3), which would be a unique sense, but refers to the recitation aloud of the poem by the poet in order to teach it to the chorus, analogous to a public proclamation, the natural sense of the verb. Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* again provides a useful parallel: one of its chorus members is imagined as recalling the poet's oral instruction at *carm.* 4,6,43-44 *reddidi carmen docilis modorum / uatis Horati*.

quod argumentum referebat: *argumentum* (standard for the theme of a work, *ThLL* s.v. 548,37-549,49, as *refero* is standard for relating in a work, *OLD* s.v. 18) seems to be in apposition here, while *quod* (like the previous *quod*, with which it constitutes an asyndetic pair) is relative with *carmen*.

interim: i.e. the sound of the hymn fills the interval of time before the more important prayers (see next note).

maiorum antecantamenta uotorum: *antecantamentum* occurs only here; like *anteludia* (see on 11,8,1) it may be an Apuleian coinage on a Greek model, echoing προοίμιον 'prelude'. The *maiora uota* are presumably the future prayers of the *navigium Isidis* ceremony itself which follows the procession; cf. 11,16,5 *festorum uotorum*, 11,16,6 *sollemnissimas preces*, and the *fausta uota* for the Emperor, the Senate and the Roman people in 11,17,3.

11,9,6 *Ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines, qui per obliquum calamus, ad aurem porrectum dexteram, familiarem templi deique modulum frequentabant, et plerique, qui facilem sacris uiam dari praedicarent*. There paraded too the pipe-players devoted to the service of the great Sarapis, who repeated through their curved reeds, stretching past their right ears, the familiar house-melody of their temple and god, and forerunners to proclaim that an easy route through should be granted to the sacred objects.

Ibant: for the verb in this marked initial position in the sentence, an Apuleian trait, cf. 11,10,4 *ibat tertius* and Bernhard 1927, 11-13.

dicati ... tibicines: the pipers clearly belong to the local cult of Sarapis (see below); for pipe-music in his cult see Griffiths 1975 here, and for the general phenomenon of religious groups of pipers in the Roman empire see Wille 1967, 358-360.

magno ... Sarapi: Sarapis (the Greek spelling; most Roman writers use the form 'Serapis') was an Egyptian deity combining aspects of Apis and Osiris, promoted by Ptolemy I in Alexandria as a fusion of Greek and Egyptian cult (for a Roman account before Apuleius see Tac. *hist.* 4,83-84, and for a convenient recent point of reference see Takács 2008), whose worship was closely linked with that of Isis and widely spread across the Mediterranean world, including Corinth (cf. Smith 1977, 217-221 and 227-228); as Griffiths 1975 points out, the temple mentioned here may be imagined as one in nearby Corinth rather than at Cencreae (where none is known). This is the only appearance of Sarapis in *met.*, no doubt anticipating that of the closely-associated Osiris at Ch. XXVII; see introduction to that chapter (1. Osiris and Sarapis). The epithet *magnum* of Sarapis/Serapis, found only here in Latin, picks up its equivalent μέγας in Greek (Bruchmann 1893, 204). Cf. 11,27,2 *magnum dei* with comm. ad loc.

per obliquum calamus, ad aurem porrectum dexteram: the wording suggests a curved pipe-instrument (*calamus*, literally 'reed', in this sense is an originally poetic metonymy: *ThLL* s.v. 123,83-124,45), with its tube stretching past the right ear, emitting sound backwards. This seems to confirm the view of Tran Tam Tinh 1967 (whose illustrations 3 and 4 seem conclusive) against that of Hickmann 1952, who thinks it is a transverse pipe like the modern flute, though Griffiths supports the latter.

familiarē templi deique modulum frequentabant: *familiaris* here implies something belonging to the *familia* or staff of the god's temple (cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 43 *in Martis familia*) as well as a sound which is familiar. The singular of *modulum* contrasts with the plural *modulis* at 11,9,4 (above), and may imply a simple and recognisable musical signature phrase advertising the cult as opposed to a complex tune. Note how the alliterative pair *familiarē ... frequentabant* elegantly enclose the phrase: *frequentō* here means 'frequently perform, repeat', a rare poetic use in the classical period but common in later Latin prose (*ThLL* s.v. 1309,58-1310,63); for the idea cf. *iterantes* above.

et plerique: Robertson (1945) doubts this reading, and cites Dousa's [*et*] *praeciaeque* in his apparatus criticus, while Rohde 1885 conjectured *plebique qui*, correcting the variant *ut plebi cuique* in E, neat palaeographically. However, *plerique* (so F) is fine in the sense of 'some', especially in an Apuleian list – cf. 3,2,8 *plerique columnis implexi, alii status dependuli*, *ThLL* s.v. 2430,1-34, and editorial dissatisfaction seems to have been driven by the mistaken belief that *plerique* is used in its common sense of 'the majority' here.

qui facilem sacris uiam dari praedicarent: *facilem* is used in the sense of 'clear, unencumbered' (cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 645 *facilem ... et planam uiam*), while *sacris* looks forward to the sacred objects described in 11,10 (11,10,2 *sacrorum*), and *praedicarent* suggests a herald-like loud proclamation (*ThLL* s.v. *praedico* 552,47-63); the subjunctive again seems to be one of purpose after the relative as in *fingerent* (see on 11,9,2-3 above).

CHAPTER X

The initiates and priests come next in the festival procession.

In the reader's view of the procession, viewed from Lucius' static observation point, the non-initiates of Ch. IX are now succeeded by initiates and then the priests, anticipating Lucius' own future progress in the cult from initiate to official: thus Ch. X looks symbolically forward in the narrative just as Ch. VIII looked symbolically back (see introduction to Ch. VIII). There is an evident contrast between the implied large numbers (*influent turbae*) of the initiates and their inclusion of both sexes and all ranks and ages, and the exclusivity of the priests, clearly limited in number, only male in gender and entrusted with specific key jobs in the procession; the particular figures and the cultic equipment each carries are carefully and distinctly enumerated (*primus ... secundus ... tertius ... quartus ... quintus*, all in first or second place in their clauses), though it is interesting that after the first four have been described in detail the last two are dealt with briefly, perhaps suggesting some diminution of interest in the observing Lucius. The two groups share the white clothing of the religious devotee, the brightness of which is strongly stressed in the passage (*candore puro luminosi, limpido tegmine*) along with the similar sheen of the males' shaved heads (*praenitentes*). The description of Isiac cult-equipment combines some exotic terms (e.g. *cymbium*) with explanations of such unfamiliar items for a Latin/Roman readership, helped by its presentation from the enthusiastic but in principle uninformed perspective of Lucius-actor, meeting such things for the first time, though of course Lucius-auctor, the experienced Isiac official looking back at his earlier life, is much better informed about the Isis cult, and the passage shows some tension between these two viewpoints (on which see Introduction, 3.1).

11,10,1-2 ¹Tunc influunt turbae sacris diuinis initiatae, uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis, linteae uestis candore puro luminosi, illae limpido tegmine crines madidos obuolutae, hi capillum derasi funditus uerticem praenitentes ² – magnae religionis terrena sidera – aereis et argenteis immo uero aureis etiam sistris argutum tinnitum constrepentes, et antistites sacrorum proceres illi, qui candido linteamine cinctum pectoralem adusque uestigia strictim iniecti potentissimorum deum proferebant insignis exuuias. Then there streamed in the crowds initiated into the divine rites, men and women of every rank and every age, luminous with the pure white of their linen clothing, the women with their soaked locks shrouded with a bright veil, the men with their heads shining completely shorn of hair, the stars on earth of the great cult, making together a high tinkling sound with sistrums of bronze and of silver, yes, even of gold, and those leading priests of the rites, who, dressed in a clinging chest-high girding of white linen cloth falling down to their feet, were carrying the distinctive accessories of the most mighty deities.

The length and fluidity of this 64-word sentence mirror the movement and volume of the procession. After the initial phrase the first half of the sentence is composed of a series of asyndetic clauses of similar length, including three with rhythmically matching clausal words (trochee-spondee: *luminosi, obuolutae, praenitentes*); the two matching clauses *illae ... obuolutae ... hi ... praenitentes* describe the two genders of initiates with their strongly contrasting luxuriant hair and shaved heads (note the pointed sense-opposition of the positionally-balanced *obuolutae* and *praenitentes*).

Tunc influunt turbae: for the metaphor of the stream, *turba* used of a religious crowd and the position of the verb near the front of the sentence stressing the rapidity of the flow cf. 11,23,4 *tum ecce confluent undique turbae*.

sacris diuinis initiatae: for the ablative construction cf. 3,15,4 *sacris pluribus initiatus*; 11,17,1 *et qui uenerandis penetralibus pridem fuerant initiati*; 11,29,5 *sacris initiare*. At Cic. *leg.* 2,21 *Neue quem initiatum nisi ut adsolet Cereri Graeco sacro* and 2,37 *initienturque eo ritu Cereri quo Romae initiantur*, the construction seems to be double (ablative of rite of initiation, dative of the god involved), whereas here *initiare* is followed only by the ablative indicating the rites in which one is initiated; cf. Cic. *leg.* 2,36 *quibus (sacris) ... initiati sumus*; Liv. 39,11,7 *obscentis ... sacris* and ThLL s.v. 1. *initio* 1650,2-8.

uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis: cf. 7,13,1-2 (again a procession) *procurrunt parentes, affines, clientes, alumni, famuli, laeti faciem, gaudio delibuti. pompam cerneret omnis sexus et omnis aetatis*; for the general inclusivity of Isiac cult see Gianotti 1986, 92. Gianotti points out how this inclusivity is anticipated by the *anteludia* (cf. 11,9,4 *magnus ... sexus utriusque numerus*), with its diversity in roles and masks, and compares for age, sex and status as parameters to measure the dissemination of a religion Pliny's observation on the Christians (*epist.* 10,96,9 *multi ... omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, uocantur in periculum et uocabuntur*). The term *dignitas* suggests a typically Roman eye for social class and status, and fits the perspective of Lucius, whose identity is marked by a sense of *dignitas*: cf. 11,15,1 *dignitas* with comm. ad loc. and see James and O'Brien 2006 for its Roman value in Apuleius.

linteae ... luminosi: the phrase is enclosed by an alliterative pair of words as at 11,9,6 *familiarem templi dei que modulum frequentabant*. For the white linen clothing of the devotees of the Isis cult, naturally frequent in this book (11,14,3; 11,23,4; 11,27,3), known since Herodotus (2,37) and familiar at Rome (Iuv. 6,533, Mart. 12,28,19), see Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 4 (*Mor.* 352C) and the illustrations of Isiac devotees from Herculaneum in Tran Tam Tinh 1964, plates XXIII and XXIV. For its wider religious symbolism of purity (cf. *candore puro*) see Hunink 1997 on *apol.* 56,1. Isis herself also wears linen: cf. 11,3,5 *byssos tenui pertexta*, with comm. ad loc.

luminosi: before Apuleius, who uses it three times, and always in a solemn, religious context (cf. 6,2,5; 11,5,1 with comm. ad loc., both in a context of 'liturgical' language), the adjective *luminosus* is much rarer than *lucidus*; after Apuleius, it becomes more frequent, especially in Augustine. Here, it refers to the brightness of colour, cf. *limpido* below (more examples in ThLL s.v. *luminosus* 1829,26-36) and cf. 11,3,5 *albo candore lucida*.

limpido tegmine ... obuolutae: there is an oxymoronic tension between *limpido*, ‘bright, shining’ (cf. 11,16,8 *citro limpido* with comm. ad loc.) and *tegmine ... obuolutae*, ‘shrouded in a covering’ (for the latter verb cf. 9,37,2 *obuolutisque lacinia laeuis manibus*). The female initiates in the Herculaneum images of Isiac ceremonies appear to have a fine-woven hair covering (Tran Tam Tinh 1964, plates XXIII and XXIV).

crines madidos: i.e. soaked in celebratory perfume – cf. 4,27,3 *unguentis madidum* (of a bridegroom). For *madidus* used of hair anointed with unguents cf. e.g. Ov. *am.* 1,6,38 *madidis ... comis*; *met.* 3,555; Sen. *Thy.* 780; Mart. 14,24,1. The reference is to the long, elaborate ‘Isis-locks’ worn by female Isiac devotees: for images see Eingartner 1991, plates 127, 142, and 151.

hi capillum derasi funditus uerticem praenitentes: *hic* in F is an obviously erroneous dittography (Philomathes’ [1522] early conjecture *hi* is needed to balance the eleven *illae*). Here the participle *derasi* governs the ‘retained’ accusative *capillum* (‘shaved of hair’), preserving the normal object case after *derado* (cf. 5,30,6 *comas ... deraserit*) with a passive form, while *uerticem* is accusative of respect with *praenitentes*: for an analysis of these two Grecising constructions see Harrison 1991, 290-291. The collective singular *capillus* is an archaic mode of expression (*ThLL* s.v. 314,65); Plautus uses only *capillus*, Apuleius both *capillus* and the more usual *capilli*. *praenitentes* is a rare and poetic verb favoured by Apuleius (who has three of the eleven examples in Latin before 200 A.D.); compare the similar *praemicare* (below). For the shaved heads of Isiac devotees, familiar at Rome, cf. Herodot. 2,36; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 4 (*Mor.* 352C); Iuv. 6,533, and Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 46-49; for the issue in Book 11 see comm. on 11,30,5; the words *capillum derasi* suggest an anticipation of Lucius’ shaved head as a pastophor at the end of the novel (11,30,5 *quaqua raso capillo*).

magnae religionis terrena sidera: cf. 11,11,2 *operta magnificae religionis*. Gianotti 1986, 92 n. 42 observes an opposition between the *terrena sidera* appearing here and the *caelestia sidera* mentioned in 11,9,4. Van der Vliet 1897 (followed by Médan 1925a and Griffiths 1975) proposed transposing this phrase to go after *proceres illi*, seeing it as more appropriate to the priests than to the lower initiates, but this misunderstands *terrena sidera* as being purely honorific rather than pictorial: the point is surely that the shining and spherical shaven heads of the male initiates look like stars on earth (stars were spherical in ancient thought), just like the round blooms of flowers in Columella (10,96 *terrestria sidera, flores*). On the level of Lucius-actor, the phrase may express his genuine admiration for the bald initiates; later on, he will proudly show his own baldness (11,30,5 with comm. ad loc.). On a different level, it is also possible to see humour in this elevated description of bald pates, since baldness in the ancient world was ambivalent, and could be interpreted comically (cf. Winkler 1985, 224-227); here there could be an echo of the Homeric joke at *Od.* 18,354-355, where the insolent suitor Eurymachus jests that reflected torch-light seems to emanate from the bald head of the disguised Odysseus. Yet, baldness was not necessarily ridiculous, and could be interpreted as the characteristic of an intellectual or of a member of a religious group (on the polysemous nature of baldness in relation to Lucius’ self-presentation see Graverini 2007, 90-99 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 46-49). For a detailed discussion of this much-debated phrase and the way

various editors and translators dealt with it see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 12-16; her second interpretation, that here we have the admiration of the actor Lucius ironised through the voice of the auctor Apuleius, seems the most attractive.

areis et argenteis immo uero aureis etiam sistris: for the expression of the phrase, with *etiam* reinforcing *immo uero* and stressing the adjective it follows, cf. 8,15,5 *unde nos incolae nocturna immo uero matutina etiam prohibebant egressione*. For the *sistrum* see comm. on 11,4,2. Bronze was its normal material, but here silver and gold suggest special types in precious metals, which honour the god (compare the golden vessels carried by the priests in what follows; for imperishable gold artefacts as befitting the immortal gods cf. comm. on 11,7,2 *aureus* and Harrison 1991, 138). Cf. 11,10,3 *aureum cymbium* (also 11,4,3); 11,10,6 *aureum uasculum ... auream uannum*. There is a gold *sistrum* from the New Kingdom with a head of the goddess Hathor (closely linked with Isis) in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo (<http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org>, inventory JE 67887) and silver *sistra* of the Roman period have been found in the Iseum at Pompeii (cf. Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 181; 185).

argutum tinnitum constrepentes: for the internal accusative with this verb (a construction used only by Apuleius) cf. 4,26,5 *constrepebat hymenaeum*; the verb itself emerges only in the second century in Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius, who has four of the eight instances recorded (see *ThLL* s.v. 540,40). For *tinnitus* of the sound of tinkling metal cf. Catull. 64,262, Ov. *met.* 6,589, 14,536 (all of tambourines), and for *argutus* of the sound of the *sistrum* cf. 11,4,2 *argutum sonorem*.

antistites sacrorum: cf. 9,10,3 *religionis antistites* (of the priests of the Dea Syria; contra GCA 1995, 102, who do not take the words together), Cic. *dom.* 104 *antistites caerimoniarum et sacrorum*, Iuv. 2,113 *sacrorum antistes* (of a priest of Cybele).

proceres illi: ‘those famous leaders’, with *ille* in its emphatic sense (Callebat 1968, 275-276). *proceres* in this context surely distinguishes the leaders within the cult (the priests) from their followers (the initiates), rather than pointing (so Griffiths 1975) to the high local social status of the priests. Apuleius is the first to use the word for priests, and the only pagan author to do so; after this passage, *ThLL* s.v. *proceres* 1516,58-65 only notes examples from Christian Latin.

cinctum pectoralem candido linteamine ... strictim iniecti: given the parallel description of the Egyptian priest Zatchlas at 2,28,2 as *iuuenem ... linteis amiculis iniectum* and the fact that *linteamen* (only here in Apuleius, rare and first found in the 2nd century – cf. *ThLL* s.v. 142,68-73) should mean ‘an object made of linen’ rather than simply ‘linen’, *candido linteamine* seems to be the usual ablative after *inicere* (‘cover with’: cf. also 11,27,4 *linteis iniectum*, 8,27,1 *mitellis ... iniecti*). This means that *cinctum pectoralem* must be the Greek accusative of respect (see on *uerticem* above) ‘tightly covered with a white linen garment in respect of the binding of their chests’. *cinctus pectoralis* (cf. *cinctus Gabinus*, a fashion of wearing the toga) refers to the encircling style of garment worn by Isiac priests which exposed the shoulders and upper chest but covered the feet – for an image from Herculaneum see Tran Tam Tinh 1964, plate XXIII.

strictim: this Plautine adverb is here re-etymologised to mean ‘tightly’ rather than its normal meaning ‘glancingly’ – see Pasetti 2007, 89 and Nicolini 2011a, 150.

adusque uestigia: uestigia in the sense of ‘feet’ is a poetic usage favoured by Apuleius (*OLD* s.v. 3). Cf. 11,17,4 *uestigiis deae*, with comm. ad loc.

potentissimorum deum: cf. 11,7,1 *deae potentis* (of Isis) with comm. ad loc.

proferebant insignis exuias: later mss. have the variant *praeferebant*, and either could stand here (‘carry in front’ and ‘carry forward’ both make sense), but *profere* (without textual variant) is used similarly of priests carrying sacred objects at 11,11,2 *simulacrum ... proferebat*. *exuias* has a quasi-technical sense of items, images or dress associated with the cult of a god (cf. 11,29,5 *exuias deae*, with comm. ad loc.); we prefer the normalising spelling *exuias* to *exubias*, the phonetically vulgarised spelling of F (for the opposite view see *GCA* 1995, 56). See Note to the Text.

11,10,3 Quorum primus lucernam claro praemicantem porrigebat lumine non adeo nostris illis consimilem, quae uespertinas illuminant epulas, sed aureum cymbium medio sui patore flammulam suscitans largiorem. The first of these held out a lamp shining with a clear light, not so similar to those lamps of ours which light our evening feasts, but rather a golden vessel kindling a rather generous little flame from an opening at its centre.

lucernam: this is another reference to the *cymbium* (boat-shaped Isiac lamp) more fully described at 11,4,3 (see comm. ad loc.). This lamp looks back to two other significant lamps in the previous narrative – that used by Pamphile in her magic rituals (3,21,4 *multumque cum lucerna secreto conlocuta*; cf. also 2,11,5), associated with Lucius’ metamorphosis, and that which allowed Psyche to identify Cupid, verbally recalled here (see next note). These previous lamps both occur in negative contexts, of disaster and/or black magic, while the lamp of Isis represents her positive saving ritual and true divine power, soon to be shown in Lucius’ re-transformation.

claro praemicantem porrigebat lumine: cf. 5,20,2 *lucernamque concinnem, completam oleo, claro lumine praemicantem*, a significant echo (see previous note). The natural word-order (found in the parallel passage) seems to be modified in order to achieve the alliteration *praemicantem porrigebat*. The verb *praemicare* (like several other compound verbs with *prae-*: Koziol 1872, 280) is first found in Apuleius (see comm. on 11,1,1 *praemicantis*); cf. the similar *praenitentes* (above).

non adeo nostris illis consimilem: for the negative *non adeo* see *GCA* 2004, 61 on 4,30,3 *non adeo gaudens*. Overall, the homely phrase expresses Lucius-actor’s admiration of something outside his normal world, paralleling the similar wonder of Vergil’s rustic Moeris at *ecl.* 1,19-20 *urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeae, putai / stultus ego huic nostrae similem*.

uespertinas: this adjective is favoured by Apuleius (six times in *met.*).

illuminant epulas: bright lights were characteristic of high-class banquets (cf. 2,19,4 *inlatis luminibus*, Verg. *Aen.* 1,726-727 [chandeliers at Dido’s feast]).

sed aureum cymbium: both adjective and noun point to the difference (explicitly stressed here) between the domestic and the divine – the lamp like other divine accessories is fittingly made from imperishable gold rather than the normal terracotta (see on *aureis ... sistris* above), while the Greek word *cymbium* (κνυβίον) points to the vessel’s special cultic and exotic character (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 143); for a full account of the *cymbium* see comm. on 11,4,3.

medio sui patore: for the colloquial *sui* for *eius* see Callebat 1968, 262-263. *patore* (derived from *patere*) is a rare noun used before Apuleius only in medical texts (cf. *GCA* 2007, 356).

flammulam suscitans largiorem: for the affective juxtaposition of diminutive and comparative cf. 8,29,1 *largioris quaestuliculi* with *GCA* 1985, 254. The comparative suggests ‘more lavish than usual’ in both passages, while *flammula* occurs only here in Apuleius and before him only once in Cicero, again with *lucerna* (*ac.* 2,80 *duas ex lucerna flammulas*) and twice in Columella (*ThLL* s.v. 875,12-24); *suscito* of kindling flame or fire is a poetic usage (*OLD* s.v. 4b).

11,10,4 Secundus uestitum quidem similis, sed manibus ambabus gerebat altaria, id est auxilia, quibus nomen dedit proprium deae summatis auxiliaris prouidentia. Ibat tertius attollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam nec non Mercuriale etiam caduceum. The second was similar in his dress, but bore an altar in his two hands, that is the means of aid, to which the aiding providence of the supreme goddess has given its own name. The third moved forward holding up a palm-branch delicately leaved in gold and in addition too the wand of Mercury.

uestitum ... similis: for the poetic accusative of respect with this adjective cf. 11,27,6 *uestigium similis*, Verg. *georg.* 2,131 *faciemque simillima lauro*, and for this Grecising construction in general see note on 11,10,3 *derasi ... uerticem* above.

quidem ... sed: a common formula of co-ordination; here *sed* stresses the second term (cf. *OLD* s.v. *quidem* 3) as at 2,2,9 *oculi caesii quidem, sed uigiles et in aspectu micantes*.

manibus ambabus gerebat: the priest carries a miniature portable shrine, using both hands. The rhyming conjunction *manibus ambabus* is first used by Apuleius, often (eight times in *met.*, e.g. 2,27,3); *ambabus* itself is a rarely used form picked up from Plautus (who uses it three times; otherwise it occurs only in grammarians – cf. *ThLL* s.v. *ambo* 1864,2-9).

altaria: this plural is often used as a singular, in literary texts and inscriptions (*OLD* s.v. 1a, Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 505); for such portable ‘mini-altars’ for the burning of incense cf. Curt. 3,3,9 (Persian religious rites) *ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum uocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur*.

id est auxilia: Oudendorp 1786 suggested that these words are an interpolated gloss, but Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 152 persuasively argues that they stress the exotic nature of the Isis-cult for a Roman readership by explaining an evidently alien technical term, as again at 11,17,2 *pastophorum, quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est*, while Nicolini 2011a, 36 links the connection *auxilia/auxiliaris* with Apuleius’ taste for etymological explanation. Fredouille 1975 plausibly suggests that this is a miniature votive altar attesting Isis’ help to her devotees in answering her prayers (hence the name, suggesting ‘tokens of aid’); this (and the plural for singular, matching that of *altaria*) is supported by a small tufa altar with a votive inscription describing it as *auxilia* known from Modena – cf. *CIL* XI 816; Malaise 1972b, 218.

deae summatis: cf. 11,1,2 *summatem deam* with comm. ad loc.

auxiliaris prouidentia: for the *prouidentia* of Isis cf. comm. on 11,1,2 *prouidentia* and Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 86-106. The conjunction clearly echoes the appearance of Isis to Iphis at *Ov. met.* 9,699-700 *dea sum auxiliaris opemque / exorata fero*; at least sometimes the adjective (picking up the preceding *auxilia*) can have a military sense (see *Ov. fast.* 1,602 *corui ... auxiliaris* with Green 2004, 277, *ThLL* s.v. 1614,3-31).

ibat tertius ... palmam ... Mercuriale caduceum: the verb of motion emphatically heads its clause, as often in Apuleius (cf. 11,9,6 *ibant et* with comm. ad loc.). This third priest carries tokens associated with the Egyptian god Anubis, the palm-branch and *caduceus*; cf. 11,11,1 *caduceum ... palmam*. Neither of them is specifically connected with Anubis in the Pharaonic cult, but their association with the jackal-god is not infrequent in the Graeco-Roman area of the Empire and at Alexandria (cf. Wittmann 1938, 50; Griffiths 1975, 198-203 on 11,10,4 *palmam ... caduceum*; Grenier 1977, 138-139; Tran Tam Tinh 1981, 864-866). The *caduceus* points to the common syncretism of this god with Hermes/Mercury (cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 11, *Mor.* 355B with Griffiths 1970, 289-290 ad loc., and comm. on 11,11,1 *ille superum commeator et inferum*). For the role of Mercury/Hermes in Isis-cult see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 189, and for Apuleius' self-proclaimed personal devotion to Mercury see *apol.* 61,8 with Hunink 1997, 165. In Egyptian religion, the palm-branch was especially conspicuous in the funerary cult, and it was probably taken over by Anubis (a funerary god *par excellence*) as a promise of future life (Griffiths 1975, 201). From a more Hellenistic or Roman perspective, the palm-branch and the *caduceus* could symbolize victory, power, and peace. For the *caduceus* as an attribute of ancient Roman rituals cf. Varro *frg. Non.* p. 528,18 *caduceus, pacis signum, quam Mercuri uirgam possumus aestimare* (on the value of this antiquarian discussion for our knowledge of oath-taking rituals see Richardson 2008, 424 n. 42); Serv. *Aen.* 4,242 *uirgam ... id est caduceum ... insigne potestatis est*; Gell. 10,27,3 *hastam et caduceum, signa duo belli aut pacis*. For the palm-branch (cf. 2,4,2 *palmaris deae*, with *GCA* 2001, 94-95 ad loc.; 11,4,3 *palmae uictricis*), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,111 *palmae pretium uictoribus*.

palmam auro subtiliter foliatam: for the same adverb used of careful craftsmanship cf. *apol.* 61,6 *formas e buxo uidissem subtiliter et adfabre factas*, *OLD* s.v. 2, while *foliatus* is a rare adjective of technical botanical flavour apparently picked up by Apuleius (three times) from Pliny the Elder (six times). The gilded palm-branch (elsewhere in Anubis cult it is usually green: see 11,11,1 *palmam uirentem*) matches the other golden divine attributes in the procession (see above on 11,10,2 *aureis ... sistris*). A link with the golden branch of *Aeneid* 6, the talisman for Aeneas' voyage to the world below, has been suggested by editors, not inappropriately given that Anubis (like Hermes/Mercury) is linked with journeying to the Underworld: both this branch and its Vergilian counterpart have delicate leaves of gold foil (cf. *Aen.* 6,209 *leni crepitabat brattea uento*).

nec non ... etiam: for this and similar emphatic conjunctions see Callebat 1968, 418, who points to the emotional and dramatic context in which such combinations are found (see also *GCA* 1985, 33 on 8,1,5 *nec non etiam*). Cf. 9,9,4 *nec non ... etiam*; 11,20,6 *nec non et*. Here, the combination emotionally underlines the importance of the wand of Mercury, which is placed at the climactic end of the sentence.

Mercuriale caduceum: the neuter gender for this noun (in earlier Latin usually masculine) is found unambiguously transmitted here, at 10,30,4 (though deleted by

Robertson 1945) and at Gell. 10,27,5 (though editors have emended there), as well as in a number of later texts (*ThLL* s.v. 33,15-23). As *GCA* 2000, 371 implies, the neuter may echo the gender of the word's Greek counterpart κηρύκειον, and Apuleius freely varies the established gender of nouns (cf. Koziol 1872, 301-302).

11,10,5-6 ⁵Quartus aequitatis ostendebat indicium deformatam manum sinistram porrecta palmula, quae genuina pigritia, nulla calliditate, nulla sollertia praedita, uidebatur aequitati magis aptior quam dextera; ⁶idem gerebat et aureum uasculum in modum papillae rotundatum, de quo lacte libabat. Quintus auream uannum laureis congestam ramulis, et alius ferebat amphoram. The fourth showed a symbol of fairness, a shape of a left hand with outstretched palm, which, being endowed with natural slowness but with no skill or dexterity, seemed more appropriate to fairness than the right arm; the same man also carried a small golden vessel rounded in the shape of a breast, from which he was making libations with milk. The fifth bore a golden winnowing-fan piled with small branches of bay, yet another an amphora.

Quartus aequitatis indicium ostendebat: the fourth priest seems to be a stolist, in charge of the god's dress and equipment (cf. Griffiths 1970, 266-267). Such a figure is described in the account of an (unspecified, perhaps Hermetic) divine procession in Egypt by Clement of Alexandria, Apuleius' younger contemporary. Clement describes the stolist (*strom.* 6,4,36,2) as carrying the symbolic 'forearm [i.e. hand and arm] of justice' and a cup for libations: Ἐπειτα ὁ στολιστὴς τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔπειτα, ἔχων τὸν τε τῆς δικαιοσύνης πῆχυν καὶ τὸ σπονδειῶν, a passage which is clearly an important analogy for Apuleius' procession (for a similar analogy cf. 11,17,2 *quem ... grammatea dicebant*, with comm. ad loc.).

aequitatis indicium ... manum: the connection of the hand with justice is hard to uncover. Kákosy 1968 argues that an etymological link in Egyptian between the words for 'hand' (i.e. with five fingers) and 'five' leads to the association of the hand/arm with justice, since the Pythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa (some of his mathematical work was translated by Apuleius – see Harrison 2000, 32) associates the pentad (concept of five) with that same virtue of justice (Photius *bibl.* 187, 144a), a link also made later by Iamblichus (*theol. arithm.* 27 and 31). Isis herself was identified with justice (Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 2-3, *Mor.* 352 A-B; see also comm. on 11,5,3 *Rhamnusiam*), which might explain appearance of the hand here and in her cult. Though *aequitas* is clearly equivalent to 'justice' here, in Roman thought *aequitas* applied specifically to justice considered as fair behaviour and even-handedness between individuals: for its history in Roman legal terminology see Bretone 2006.

deformatam: 'modelled, represented', the original sense of the verb (*ThLL* s.v. 370,44-371,12).

manum sinistram porrecta palmula: such a model of a hand with outstretched palm is known from the Iseum at Pompeii (Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 99, who connects it closely with this passage). It remains unclear as to why it is the left hand represented here (cf. Wittmann 1938, 52-53); the left hand is generally unlucky, but see comm. on 11,27,5 *sinistri pedis* on the ambivalent meaning of 'left' in *met.* and especially in Book 11.

palmula: *palmula* (here ablative of quality) is common in Apuleius (cf. Facchini Tosi 2000, 179 n. 205 for a list), sometimes with little apparent diminutive force (see *GCA* 2001, 149), and seems here to be an affective diminutive giving the view of Lucius-spectator ('neat little palm') – see on 11,10,3 *flammulam*.

quae genuina pigritia, nulla calliditate, nulla sollertia praedita, uidebatur aequitati magis aptior quam dextera: *uidebatur* seems to give the naïve guess of Lucius-actor as spectator here (see Introduction, 3.1). For the idea that too much cleverness and artfulness is at odds with justice cf. Cic. *off.* 1,63 (quoting Plato, *Menexenos* 246e) *scientia quae est remota ab iustitia calliditas* (Greek πανουργία) *potius quam sapientia est appellanda*. Perhaps Apuleius plays with the semantic link between *pigritia* and *inertia* through the etymological play with *nulla sollertia*, meaning 'inertia', a lack of *ars* (cf. Don. *Ter. Eun.* 478 *sollers quasi totus ex arte consistens (...)* *huic iners contrarium*; Maltby 1991, 573). As a result, *pigritia* seems to be re-semanticised as a positive characteristic here, with the adjective *genuina* emphasising that it is not a lack of will but a *natural* (nature as opposed to *ars*) slowness that makes the hand *piger*. At the same time, this plays on the idea that the right hand (*dextera*) is *sollers*; cf. Columella 10,29 *neu tibi Daedaliae quaerantur munera dextrae* (for *dexter* = 'sollers' see *ThLL* s.v. 924,51-57; *OLD* s.v. 3 'dexterous, handy, skillful'). The left hand is by definition not the right hand and not *sollers* and by its 'natural' features more appropriate to *aequitas*. For the opposition between 'natural' *aequitas* and other, more 'sophisticated' sources of justice (e.g. the written word of the law or the clever ideas of philosophers), cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 49 *callide uerbis controuersias, non aequitate diiudicas*; Serv. *Aen.* 2,426 'iustum' *secundum leges uel aliqua ratione constrictum, 'aequum' iuxta naturam accipiunt*; Apul. *met.* 9,27,5 *sed nec aequitas ipsa patitur habere plus auctoritatis uxorem quam maritum* (antea: *ne iuris quidem seueritate lege de adulteriis ad discrimen uocabo capitis*).

genuina pigritia: 'inborn sluggishness' – cf. 8,5,6 *genuini uigoris*. For the idea that the left side is weaker than the right physiologically and less dexterous (found since Aristotle) see *apol.* 51,3 *dextera corporis ualidiora* with Hunink 1997, 142 ad loc. and Wirth 2010, 49-57. The symbolic idea here is perhaps that justice is slow but accurate, achieving its ends in time, a common idea in Greek and Roman literature – cf. Garvie 1986, 61.

nulla calliditate, nulla sollertia praedita: for *callidus* and *sollers* of the dexterity of the right hand cf. Phaedr. *app.* 5,9 *callida finxit manu*, Tib. 1,7,29 *manu sollerti fecit*.

magis aptior: a colloquial pleonasm (cf. Callebat 1968, 253-254), suitable to express the lively perspective of Lucius here – see on 11,10,3 *non adeo nostris illis consimilem* above.

aureum uasculum in modum papillae rotundatum: a breast-shaped vessel used in Isiac cult for libations; a wall-painting from the Iseum in Pompeii shows a young man carrying such a vessel, perhaps in a procession, linked with this passage by Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 94. See also the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume. The breast shape represents Isis' nurturing nature through her breast-feeding of Harpocrates (cf. Wittmann 1938, 53-54, Tran Tam Tinh 1973) and more generally her role as 'nurse' of all creation (cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 53, *Mor.* 372E). According to Berreth (1931, 72) the breast looks forward to Isis' representation as a cow (11,11,2). For *aureum*

(golden because belonging to the gods) see 11,10,1-2 *aureis* with comm. above; *papilla* here means 'breast', often interchangeable with its more usual sense of 'nipple' – see Horsfall 2003, 428 and cf. *ThLL* s.v. 255,31-35 for more examples of *papilla* used in comparisons.

de quo: archaic/familiar usage of *de* for place of origin: cf. Callebat 1968, 200-201.

lacte libabat: for the ablative with *libo* ('make libation with') cf. 4,22,1 *uino mero libant*, *ThLL* s.v. 1339,30-45; for milk in Isis-cult see Wittmann 1938, 53-54. Cf. 11,16,9 *insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum*.

quintus auream uannum: the winnowing-basket (gold again), λίκνον in Greek, symbolising purification in separating the grain from the chaff, is a symbolic element in Isis-cult (Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 35, *Mor.* 365A, Wittmann 1938, 54, and Griffiths' [1975] extensive discussion here) and also occurs in Greek ritual and myth, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. Callim. *hymn. Ceres* 126) and Bacchic ritual (see Mynors 1990 on Verg. *georg.* 1,166). Servius on Verg. *georg.* 1,166 reports that such a basket was thought to have been used by Isis in gathering the dismembered limbs of Osiris, suggesting a specific cultic role.

laureis congestam ramulis: the transmitted *aureis*, read by Zimmerman 2012 and Robertson 1945, is supported and discussed in detail by Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 16-17, adducing the allusion at 11,10,4 *palmam auro subtiliter foliatam* (see above) to the Vergilian Golden Bough; we read Passerat's *laureis* with Helm 1955. *aureis* would require *congestam* to mean *contextam*, 'woven from', an unparalleled usage, whereas *laureis* would be consistent with its normal Apuleian sense of 'piled with' (cf. 5,2,1 *horrea ... magnis ... congesta gazis*, 6,13,1 *auri mollitiae congestum gremium*), which seems to be required here where the *uannus* should be full of aromatic branches (cf. 11,16,9 *uannos onustas aromatis* with comm.). Bay branches are used to sprinkle purificatory water in Roman cult (cf. Iuv. 2,158 with Braund 1996, 163), thus matching the symbolism of the *uannus* (above), and were clearly carried in Isiac processions at Rome (Sen. *dial.* 7,26,8). *aureis* would be an understandable assimilation with the nearby *auream* and the multiple forms of *aureus* in this paragraph.

et alius ferebat amphoram: the jar contains the Nile water central to the Isis-cult – cf. 11,11,4 *urnula* with comm. ad loc. and Wittmann 1938, 55. For *et alius* Blümner (1894) proposed *et sextus*, while Robertson (1945) proposed and printed *sextus*; all members of this list so far have been designated by an ordinal numerical adjective, and *sextus* (with Robertson's elegant asyndeton) is thus attractive, but *et alius* can simply add 'and another' as at 5,3,5 *quidam introcessit et cantauit inuisus, et alius citharam pulsauit*; cf. also 6,31,1-2 *primus ... secundus ... tertius ... quartus ... Tunc unus*, where a full numerical ordering is similarly avoided.

CHAPTER XI

The images of the gods are carried in procession.

The procession goes on: after the initiates and *antistites sacrorum* the gods themselves step forward, represented by statues or masks and sacred objects carried by initiates. The dog-headed Anubis comes first, followed by the cow representing Isis; then a box holding secret objects appears, and finally a golden vessel containing water and apparently symbolizing the supreme god Osiris.

Among these gods, only Anubis is explicitly identified; his name is presented to clearly set the Egyptian background of what follows, and/or because his half-human, half-canine image was well known outside the circle of Isiac devotees. The cow is not explicitly identified as Isis, but the designation *omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum* is clear enough and recalls Isis' self-definition as *rerum naturae parens* at 11,5,1. The emphasis on animal-shaped gods might be due to Apuleius' penchant for exotic elements in his narrative representation of Isiac cult (on which see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36; 5.2 with n. 162); possibly, it also reflects the 'animal perspective' in the first half of Book 11 (Introduction, 3.3). On religious processions as a common novelistic topos see Introduction, 6.2.

The largest part of the chapter is devoted to the elaborate *ekphrasis* of Osiris' vessel: this is only said to be an *effigies* of the *summum numen*, whose identity is not explicitly revealed. This might reflect the rather naïve perspective of Lucius, who knows this is an Isiac procession but still has no deep knowledge of the Egyptian religion and of its gods (see on 11,11,4 *urnula*); both the reader and Lucius will be introduced to these details only gradually. At this stage, the attention of Lucius – and therefore that of the reader too – is mainly focused on exterior details: hence the florid and detailed description of the *urnula*.

11,11,1 *Nec mora cum dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt, hic horrendus ille superum commeator et inferum, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis ceruices arduas, Anubis, laeua caduceum gerens, dextera palmam uirentem quatiens. Soon afterwards the gods came forth, deeming it worthy to walk on human feet. Here is that fearsome go-between for the heavenly and infernal gods, Anubis, lofty with his face now black, now golden; he raises up his haughty canine neck and carries a caduceus in his left hand, shaking a green palm in his right ...*

The beginning of the 'divine' section of the procession is emphasized by a heavy assonance of *d* and *p* (*dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt*).

The god Anubis appears first. Some sources seem to confirm that he had a ceremonial precedence on these occasions: dogs always head the processions in honour of Isis according to Diodorus Siculus 1,87,3, and Anubis is mentioned first among the gods in Isis' *pompa* by Ov. *met.* 9,690; cf. also the relief at Klein-Glienicke near

Potsdam, portraying an Isiac procession headed by a priest bearing the mask of Anubis (Malaise 1972a, 236-237 and pl. 26). A parallel with the role of Wepwawet, the jackal-god of Abydos and Asyut who leads the royal processions in Egypt, has also been suggested: on this, see the cautious remarks by Griffiths 1975, 216, who rightly points out that Anubis does not lead the entire Isiac procession in Apuleius.

Nec mora cum: Apuleius frequently adopts this turn of phrase to express the rapid sequence of events: see *GCA* 2001, 262 on 2,17,1 and 2004, 144 on 5,6,1, and cf. above at 11,7,1 and 11,7,2. Callebat 1968, 445-446 points out its "valeur dramatique" and the frequent usage of the historical present after it. Outside the *met.* the full formula (including the *cum inuersum*) is only found in Prop. 4,8,51; Stat. *Theb.* 6,887 and 9,834; *silv.* 3,1,117.

dignati: the Egyptian gods' *dignatio* is a recurrent theme in Book 11; see comm. on 11,4,3.

pedibus humanis incedere: the image of 'walking on somebody else's feet' is frequently exploited by Apuleius: cf. 8,15,3 *quidquid ... fugam morabatur, nostris quoque pedibus ambulabat* – a "truly Apuleian joke" according to *GCA* 1985 ad loc., who also compare 4,27,3 *pedibus fugientem alienis* and 6,29,7 *quid meis pedibus facere contendis?* *GCA* 1977, 202-203 offers Plin. *nat.* 29,19 as a comparison, where *alienis pedibus ambulamus* is said of being transported in a sedan chair. The idea of animals walking on human feet (the dog-Anubis and the cow-Isis in our passage) or vice versa (Charite on the ass at 6,29,7, *infantulos et mulieres* at 8,15,3) is paradoxical and blurs the boundary between animal and human; it is certainly not out of place in this novel where it reinforces the overall metamorphic theme.

hic: the description of the figures marching in the procession is introduced by a demonstrative adverb that increases the 'effect of presence' for the reader (cf. below at 11,11,3 *ferebatur* and *ad istum ... modum*): he/she is implicitly urged to imagine that the procession is taking place right in front of his/her eyes, and thus to identify with the narrator who is watching it. The entire description of the procession, starting with the *anteludia*, frequently adopts rhetorical devices such as deictics and apostrophes to the reader to enhance its vividness and attract the reader's attention (on which see Introduction, 7.2.2 with n. 279).

horrendus ... commeator ... Anubis: Anubis is one of the most ancient gods in the Egyptian pantheon, whose cult was also very widespread in the Hellenistic and Roman world despite his alien theriomorphic appearance; in Apuleius' time, his importance is stressed by Lucian, *Icar.* 24 and *vit. auctio* 16. A large wealth of information on this god and further references in Wittmann 1938, 56-59; Grenier 1977; Leclant 1981. The epithet *horrendus* (cf. 11,2,2 *horrenda Proserpina*) seems to be unprecedented for Anubis; no Greek or Latin parallels are provided by Bricault 1996, 129-135 (who does not list this occurrence either). Anubis is fearsome because of his associations with the underworld (see below) where he escorts the dead, and because of his dog- (or jackal-) head. Vergil (*Aen.* 8,698) and Propertius (3,11,41) oppose the alien, theriomorphic and hostile *latrator Anubis* to the traditional Roman gods (*Iouis noster* in Propertius; Neptune, Venus and Minerva in Vergil); on the hostile reactions of the Romans to the theriomorphism of some Egyptian divinities see Alvar 2008, 312; Finkelpearl in *AAGA* 3, 184-189. Apuleius' outlook however is closer to that of

Ovid, who portrays a clearly benign *latrator Anubis* at the head of Isis' *pompa* (*met.* 9,690) and is fascinated by the exotic appearance of the Egyptian gods (which certainly appeared to him, as well as to Apuleius, very apt for a metamorphic work too). Yet another view is attested by the satirical poet Juvenal, who mockingly departs from the traditional epithet *latrator* with his *derisor Anubis* (6,534). More ancient literary and mythographical sources on Anubis are collected by Grenier 1977, 43-83.

horrendus: all modern editors accept D'Orléans' emendation found in Oudendorp 1786. The reading of *F horrendū* (an exclamation) is retained by Oudendorp; according to Griffiths 1975, 215-216 (who also accepts the emendation) the transmitted text "has the merit of distinguishing more easily between the adverbial *hic* and the pronominal *ille*", but it does not seem that that distinction needs to be emphasized or clarified, and the corruption of *horrendus* into *horrendum* can easily be explained by the proximity of *superum*. Robertson 1945 suggests *horrendus* <*deum*> in his apparatus, but the resulting word order is unnecessarily complicated.

ille superum commeator et inferum: Anubis is referred to with words that are almost identical to those used for Mercury in *apol.* 64,1, *iste superum et inferum commeator*. This verbal coincidence is one of the arguments offered by Dowden 1994 to date the novel before the *Apology* (p. 427); but see *contra* Graverini 2007, 212-214 [= 2012, 188-190]. The similarity between the two passages implicitly hints at the usual identification between Anubis and Hermes/Mercury, on which see e.g. Servius' gloss at Verg. *Aen.* 8,698 *latrator Anubis: hunc uolunt esse Mercurium*, and Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 20 (*Mor.* 375E) on the syncretistic name *Hermanubis* (the name refers to two somewhat different divinities according to Grenier 1990, 265: "une forme entièrement anthropomorphe et hellénisée du dieu égyptien Anubis", and "l'Anubis des cultes isiaques qui ... fut parfois effectivement nommé H. pour mettre en exergue sa fusion avec Hermes"). On Anubis' double nature, both celestial and infernal, cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 44 (*Mor.* 368E) and 61 (*Mor.* 375E); of course this is true for Mercury as well, cf. Hor. *carm.* 1,10,19-20 *superis deorum / gratus et imis* (see Nisbet – Hubbard 1970 ad loc. for several parallel passages).

commeator: the word only occurs here and in *apol.* 64,1 quoted above; on the frequency of nouns in *-tor* in Apuleius (often for the first time, or even hapax legomenon) see Bernhard 1927, 104-105. In this case, the only other (fragmentary) attestation of *commeator* outside Apuleius' literary works is in an African inscription, *CIL* VIII 22672.

nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis: Apuleius seems to appreciate high-contrast colour descriptions: cf. e.g. 11,22,2 *noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis*; 11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*. In general, on Apuleius' use of colours in Book 11, see Krabbe 2003, 539-542. Anubis is represented in two colours, black and gold. The chromatism is a problem for Perdrizet 1919, 186, who only knows representations of Anubis coloured all black or all gold, and suggests that Apuleius is actually not saying anything about the colour of this particular statue or mask in this passage, but is only speculating on the possible colours in which Anubis could be represented. This seems highly unlikely, and to support his hypothesis Perdrizet even corrects the whole passage to *hic horrendus commeator Inferum, ille sublimis nuntius Superum, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie*. This emendation spoils a perfectly understandable text, which is also supported by a close parallelism with the

Apology (see above). In fact, Anubis usually has a black face in ancient iconography, but golden or yellow details are also attested (mouth, eyes, insides of ears: cf. e.g. Wittmann 1938, 58-59 and n. 323).

If we have to look for metaphorical meanings in the two contrasting colours, the easiest explanation in this context is that they hint at the double nature of Anubis, celestial and infernal (see above on *ille superum commeator et inferum* and comm. on 11,7,2 *noctis atrae ... sol ... aureus*). This might also be confirmed by a passage in Plutarch's account of the rites of the *inuentio Osiridis* (*de Isid. et Os.* 39, *Mor.* 366E): the priests, he says, cover a gilded cow with a black shroud for four days as a sign of mourning, before the body of Osiris is found.

More complicated theories have been put forward. Hopfner 1940 II, 198, commenting on Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 44 (*Mor.* 368E-F) where Anubis is described as a symbol of the horizon, that separates darkness from light and the lower from the upper world, suggests that in our passage the black side of the Anubis-mask symbolizes the lower hemisphere, the golden side the upper one; Hopfner supports his suggestion by comparing Clem. Al. *strom.* 5,7,43,1-3, who reports that two images of dogs are used in Egyptian sacred processions with the same meaning. However, both dogs are golden in Clement, and therefore there is no clear correspondence with our text; and it is not certain at all that *nunc ... nunc* means 'on one side ... on the other', since black and golden details and decorations could be more freely mixed in the representations of the Egyptian god. Griffiths 1975, 216-217 points out that Clement also mentions a golden ibis (associated with the moon: cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 75, *Mor.* 381C-D) with both black and white feathers, symbolizing the shadowed and the shining part of the moon. The correspondence with Apuleius is even more complicated in this case, since in Clement the ibis has three colours (golden, black, white) and not two. Also the fact that Anubis is sometimes associated with the moon, for which Griffiths offers some sources, does not seem to play any significant role here. More, and not always relevant, comparative material on colour symbolism in Egyptian and other religions is provided by DuQuesne 1996. Despite the many but unclear possible parallels with historically attested Egyptian religious practices, Apuleius' main interest in this passage clearly was to provide the reader with a vivid, colourful and religiously inspiring representation, and not necessarily with a correct scholarly account of an Isiac liturgy (see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 40).

nunc ... nunc: the adverb seems to be used in a locative rather than temporal meaning here (Walsh 1994 translates "with face part-black, part-golden"; Vallette in Robertson – Vallette 1971 "mi-parti noir et doré de visage"); an Apuleian parallel is listed below, but it seems to be difficult to find examples of this usage in other authors. In any case, spatial and temporal notions can easily overlap: see e.g. *ThLL* s.v. *locus* 1584,53-74 ('respicitur tempus') with expressions like 'interea loci', 'ad id locorum' et sim. Perhaps the phrase is intended to suggest the rolling gait of the statue- or mask-bearer, that accentuates the glistening of the gold-painted statue or mask in the sunlight (or that exposes differently coloured parts of it to the bystanders); in this case, the temporal value of *nunc* would be present too. Cf. the description of Isis' *uestis* at 11,3,5: *nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida*. See Introduction, 7.2.2 with n. 279 on the narrator's use of adverbs such as *nunc ... nunc* to zoom in on spatial details for the sake of vividness.

attollens canis ceruices arduas: *ardua ceruix* is a very common poetic *iunctura*, starting from Verg. *georg.* 3,79-80 *illi ardua ceruix / argutumque caput*; see then Hor. *sat.* 1,2,89; Stat. *Theb.* 1,134; Sil. 1,204; Val. Fl. 2,502. In Apuleius cf. also 7,24,5 *arduaque ceruice sublimer eleuata*, where the wording is parodically adapted to the ass; a similar expression is used at 7,24,4 *uastum attollens caput*, describing a she-bear; 11,4,3 *insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum ceruicibus late tumescentibus*, describing the snake that adorns the *cymbium* held by Isis (see comm. there for the plural *ceruices*). The use of *attollo* of course is also coherent with the epic background suggested by *ardua ceruix*: see e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 5,277-278 *sibila colla / arduus attollens*. The verb might be prompted not only by the literary tradition but also by ceremonial practice, if the coincidence between our *attollens* and the βασιτάζων of a Greek inscription, probably referring to a person carrying the mask of Anubis according to its editor (Pollitt 1965, 129), were really significant (so Griffiths 1975 ad loc.). However, the idea itself of ‘carrying a god’ looks rather common (cf. e.g. Hist. Aug. *Pesc.* 6,9 *Commodus ... Anubin portaret*), and therefore it would be unsafe to attach too much importance to the comparison between our passage and the Greek inscription. Most of all, the idea itself of ‘carrying’ does not really fit the present use of *attollo*; for a similar usage, see rather 11,3,2 *uenerandos ... uultus attollens emergit diuina facies*.

Images of dog- or jackal-shaped masks to be worn by Egyptian priests are in Tran Tam Tinh 1981, 867-868; at pl. 41 b and c an opening is clearly visible on the long neck of the dog/jackal, which allowed the mask-bearer to see through it and confirms the mask character of these artifacts. See also Merkelbach 1995, plate 148 and 156 (a clay mask, again with holes for the eyes). See the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume, 550 and 560-561 with fig. 3.

caduceum ... palmam: both attributes were already mentioned (in reverse order) at 11,10,4, where the third priest in the procession carries *palmam auro subtiliter foliatam nec non Mercuriale caduceum* (see comm. ad loc.).

dextera palmam uirentem quatiens: Médan 1925a changes the word order to *dextera palmam quatiens uirentem* to enhance the prose rhythm and to break the parallelism with the previous *laeua caduceum gerens* – hardly a sufficient reason for an emendation.

11,11,2 *Huius uestigium continuum sequebatur bos in erectum leuata statum, bos, omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum, quod residens umeris suis proferebat unus e ministerio beato gressu gestuosus*. His track was followed without a break by a cow raised into an upright stance: a cow, fertile likeness of the all-bearing goddess, which rested on the shoulders of a member of that congregation, who was pacing forth happily and solemnly.

huius: F also has *cuius* in the margin, written by the same hand. All modern editions retain *huius*.

bos: the cow is a traditional ritual representation of Isis (or Hathor), cf. e.g. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Os.* 39 (*Mor.* 366E) βούην γὰρ Ἴσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γὰν νομίζουσιν (cf. also 19 [*Mor.* 358D] and 52 [*Mor.* 372B-C]); more Greek and Egyptian sources are listed by Griffiths 1975, 219-221); this of course resulted in an easy identification be-

tween Isis and Io (more common in literary sources, starting with Herodot. 2,41, than in iconography: cf. Tran Tam Tinh 1990, 794). In spite of this symbolism, and in contrast with Anubis, Isis remained predominantly anthropomorphic in iconography (see below on *in erectum leuata statum* for exceptions): so it is significant that Apuleius chooses to offer a theriomorphic representation of the goddess in this context – indeed, this gives an implicit message to Lucius, on a par with (e.g.) 6,29,5 *potest in asino meo latere aliqui uel uultus hominis uel facies deorum* but without the dramatic irony implicit in that passage.

in erectum leuata statum: Callebat 1968, 228, followed by Harrauer 1973, 72, labels this usage of the preposition *in* as ‘consecutive’ since it expresses both a physical movement and its consequence (cf. also LHSz 2,274). However, the idea of movement seems to be prominent here, much more than in other examples provided by Callebat (e.g. 7,18,4 *spinas ... in fascem ... constrictas*): so, it is doubtful that we have a “concession à un usage courant” in this case rather than a normal locative *in* + accusative. Again according to Callebat 1968, 157 the use of *leuare* in the meaning of ‘to raise, to lift’ only develops in Imperial age, but his own examples start with Livy and *ThLL* s.v. *leuo* 1231,43-47 provides at least one earlier one (Sall. *Jug.* 94,2 *praegrediens Ligus ... milites ... timidus insolentia itineris leuare manu*).

Although the iconography of Isis is predominantly anthropomorphic (cf. above on *bos*), she is sometimes represented as a sacred cow, in some cases seated or even standing (cf. Drexler 1890-1897, 363; more sources in Griffiths 1975, 221, who rightly warns that in some cases there might be some confusion between Isis and the Apis-bull). Harrauer 1973, 72 (on *bos, omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum*) and Griffiths 1975, 221-222 (on *residens umeris*) take it for granted that a statue of a standing cow is described here, but it is not at all impossible that it is a priest wearing a mask. The main difference between prone (animal) and upright (human) posture does not concern the position of the legs but that of the head: the gaze of the beasts is directed towards the ground while men can easily direct their eyes in front of them or even towards the sky (for sources on this very widespread topos, starting with Plato, *rep.* 586a, see comm. on 11,13,4 *in erecta ... officia*). Therefore, a priest wearing the mask of a cow-head (for such an image see Drexler 1890-1897, 366; for the similar Anubis-mask see above at 11,11,1 *attollens canis ceruices ardua*) could certainly be described as a cow in upright posture and walking on its hind legs.

bos, omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum: Van der Vliet 1897 expunges *bos*, but the emphatic repetition is not out of place here. More generally, repetition is hardly alien to Apuleian style: see e.g. the defence of the transmitted text at 11,10,6 *auream uannum aureis congestam ramulis* by Zimmerman 2012, 16-17, and Bernhard 1927, 232-234 with several examples (even though it appears that verbs are more frequently repeated than nouns and adjectives; Bernhard only quotes our passage, but one might add e.g. *met.* 2,4,4 *canes*; 5,25,5 *nimio*; 5,26,4 *ipsum*).

omniparentis: this is the emendation by Beroaldus 1500, accepted by all modern editors, for F’s reading *omnia (oīa) parentis*. Apuleius is very fond of this Lucretian (2,706 and 5,259) and Vergilian (*Aen.* 6,595) adjective (always said of *terra*; it is a poetic calque on a Greek compound like παμμήτρια, said of Γαῖα in *Hom. hymn. Gai.* 30,1), and uses it three other times: *met.* 6,10,6 (a clearly humorous Vergilian reminiscence: see *GCA* 2004, 441 ad loc. and Finkelppearl 1990, 341) and 8,25,3 (said

of the *dea Syria*, rather inappropriately from the point of view of an Isiac initiate: see *GCA* 1985, *app.* 4, 292-294; and *mund.* 21 p. 337 (where the manuscript tradition has *omniaparentis* as in our passage). It is a further reference to Isis as ‘Mother of the Universe’: see 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens* with comm. ad loc. Apuleius frequently uses compounds whose second member is a participle, and especially those in *omni-*: see Pasetti 2007, 133-135, who defines them as “poetismi di impronta arcaica, e in particolare enniana”.

deae fecundum simulacrum: enallage – unless the expression implies that “the image of the goddess was itself an influence on creativity”, as Griffiths 1975, 221 suggests; for Apuleius’ use of enallage see Bernhard 1927, 215. In any case, the clever disposition of the two adjectives *omniparentis* and *fecundum* reinforces the idea of Isis’ fertility without redundantly referring both attributes to *deae*. On Apuleius’ fairly consistent semantic separation between *signum/statua* (used for works of art) and *simulacrum/effigies* (used for cult images and ritual objects), see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 156.

umeris suis: either a poetic ablative of place without preposition (so Médan 1925a, 57 and Fredouille 1975), or, more probably, dative as in 3,16,3 *iuuenem ... tonstrinae residentem*; 3,27,2 *simulacrum residens aediculae*; 8,4,3 *cubili residentes ... bestias* (cf. *GCA* 1985, 49 ad loc.).

unus e ministerio beato gressu gestuosus: Médan 1925a, Vallette in Robertson – Vallette 1945, Harrauer 1973, Griffiths 1975, Fo 2002 and Relihan 2007 read *beato* with *ministerio* and translate accordingly (e.g. Relihan: “this image rested on the shoulders of one of that beatific battery of priests, and grand and graceful was his gait as he bore it along”). Walsh 1994 and Nicolini 2005 (“che uno dei sacerdoti portava avanti, facendola appoggiare sulle sue spalle e procedendo solennemente con passo lieto”) read it with *gressu*. There is no easy way to choose one option or the other, but the latter seems to be the best choice if we accept, like all modern editors, *gestuosus*, the emendation by Petschenig 1882, 41-42 for *gestuosu* in F (cf. 10,29,4 *incessu gestuosi*): the generic *gressu* seems to need some specification here (as always in *met.*: cf. 5,20,3 *sulcatos*; 9,11,3 *reciproco*; 9,21,2 *rapidum*. In 2,4,2, the transmitted reading *sine gressu* is usually emended; Zimmerman 2012 prints Lütjohanns [1873] in *ingressu*). The more frequent synonym *gradus* is also almost always used with an adjective: see e.g. 11,12,2 *placido ac prorsus humano gradu*; the same is true for *incessus*, despite 10,29,4 quoted above. The former interpretation should be preferred if we accept *gestuoso* instead, a second-hand correction in F (printed e.g. by Oudendorp 1786). Harrauer 1973, 73 notes that in pagan late Latin *beatus* is often referred to the *dignitas* of the clergy, but of course this does not mean that that must be the case here (and for *beatus* said of things cf. e.g. 4,2,5 *beatae spinae*; 5,5,5 *beati carceris*, etc.; *ThLL* s.v. *beatus* 1915,33-1916,3).

beato: the adjective might emphasize the perspective of Lucius-actor: see below on 11,11,5 *felici*.

gestuosus: on Apuleius’ frequent usage of adjectives ending in *-osus* see Callebaut 1968, 380-389: they are not necessarily connected with spoken language, but provide him with “des instruments précieux du pittoresque narratif ou descriptif” (p. 389). Cf. also comm. on 11,7,5 *nubilosa*. *gestuosus* itself is rather rare: it is found only twice in

Apuleius (here and at 10,29,4, describing the young dancers in the Paris pantomime) and once in Gellius 1,5,2 (describing the orator Hortensius’ gesticulations).

11,11,2-3 *Ferebatur ab alio cista secretorum capax penitus celans operta magnificae religionis.* ³*Gerebat alius felici suo gremio summi numinis uenerandam effigiem, non pecoris, non auis, non ferae, ac ne hominis quidem ipsius consimilem, sed sollerti repertu etiam ipsa nouitate reuerendam, altioris utcumque et magno silentio tegendae religionis argumentum ineffabile, sed ad istum plane modum fulgente auro figuratum:* Carried by another was a large box containing secret things and concealing deep within the mysteries of the sublime faith. Another was bearing in his lucky lap the venerable image of the highest divinity, not in the shape of any live-stock, of a bird, of a wild beast, nor even of a man: rather, it was to be revered for its clever conception and its very originality. It was the inexpressible symbol of that somehow deeper religion, deserving to be protected by the deepest silence; nevertheless, it was rendered in shining gold with these features:

ferebatur: the verb in first position opens a descriptive phrase: cf. 11,9,6 *ibant*, 11,10,4 *ibat*, and *gerebat* below. Bernhard 1927, 12 notes that this rhetorical device is often aimed at offering “erzählende Präsentia”. Cf. above at 11,11,1 *hic*, and below at *ad istum ... modum*.

cista: a sacred box, whose contents remain mysterious here; cf. 6,2,4 *per tacita secreta cistarum* (Psyche’s prayer to Ceres; for *cistae* in Ceres’ cult see *GCA* 2004, 375 ad loc., and for the association of Isis with Ceres see above on 11,3,5 *spicis ... Cerialibus*). For the use of the *cista mystica* in the cults of Isis and Demeter see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 172 and 212. The *cista* was a common feature also in other ancient mystery cults as well (Dionysus/Bacchus, Venus, Minerva); cf. Catull. 64,259; Tib. 1,7,48; Ov. *ars* 2,609; *met.* 2,554; Sen. *Her. O.* 595; Val. Fl. 2,267; Hyg. *astr.* 2,13,1. For iconography, see e.g. Burkert 1987, figs. 4 (Eleusinian initiation) and 6 (Bacchic initiation); Merkelbach 1995, Abb. 142; 160; 162; 240.

Despite this multiplicity, it is not unlikely that Apuleius’ Roman readers, even those who were not initiates, could more easily have connected the *cista* with Egyptian rites. For specific iconography, see e.g. the Pompeian fresco described by Malaise 1972a, 278-280 (and pl. 44): the *cista*, protected by two big snakes, occupies the lower part of the scene, while the upper part depicts Isis navigating the Nile on a ship and another ship that carries a box containing Osiris’ body. On the usual connection between the *cista* and the ceremony of the *inuentio Osiridis* see Plut. *De Isid et Os.* 39 (*Mor.* 366F), where he relates that, on the 19th of the month of Athyr, a ceremony takes place near the sea, during which τὴν ἱερὰν κίστην οἱ στολιστὰι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκφέρουσι χρυσοῦν ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν κιβώτιον, εἰς δὲ ποτίμου λαβόντες ὕδατος ἐγγέουσι, καὶ γίνεται κραυγὴ τῶν παρόντων ὡς εὐρημένου τοῦ Ὀσίριδος (but in the ceremony described by Apuleius the water is contained in a vessel outside the *cista*, the *urnula* described below at 11,11,4, and not inside the *cista* itself). Several Egyptian sources on the ritual use of *cistae* are discussed by Griffiths 1975, 222-226; however, there is no exact correspondence with Apuleius’ narration, and Griffiths himself suspects that some of the ‘orthodox’ complexities of the rite have been shed in the

novel – probably a hint that providing his readers with a detailed and accurate representation of an Isiac liturgy was not Apuleius' primary concern. We are also left in the dark as regards the dimensions, shape, and features of the sacred object. In light of the literary 'fame' of this *cista* as an object associated with mystery cults, and of the vagueness of Apuleius' account as compared with the intricacies of Egyptian cult and symbolisms, it is not clear why Griffiths concludes that "a 'secret box' in the tradition of the Osirian Denderah texts ... is surely the true source of the Apuleian *cista*" (p. 226). A generic reference to Egyptian customs, certainly well known to Apuleius' readers, is more than enough to justify his description. See Introduction, 1.4 with n. 40.

secretorum capax: Callebat 1968, 186-188 points out that Apuleius frequently constructs adjectives like *capax* with the gen. against the classical usage, and he suggests that this can be the result of the influence of similar Greek constructions, of Imperial poetry and/or of spoken language. However, it seems impossible to characterize Apuleius' usage of *capax* + genitive (cf. also 10,3,6 *capax necessarii facinoris otium*; *Plat.* 1,5 p. 191 *materiam ... figurarum capacem*) either way: it is certainly well known in Classical Latin, both in prose (e.g. Livy 39,9,1 *urbis magnitudo capacitor ... talium malorum* – note that, in contrast with what is stated in *GCA* 2000, 93, *capax* is not uncommonly used to describe 'incorporalia' in Latin, and several examples can be found besides the three listed in *ThLL* s.v. *capax* 303,64-65: cf. e.g. Curt. 4,7,29 *gloriae*; 8,13,11 *spei*; Hyg. *grom.* p. 84,9 *professionis*; Ov. *met.* 1,76 *mentis*; Sen. *dial.* 3,15,1 *spei*; etc.) and poetry (e.g. Ov. *ars* 1,136 *capax populi ... Circus*), frequent in the legal idiom (*ThLL* s.v. 302,62-68) and in later Latin (e.g. Claud. 28,385 *sedes ... capacior ulla tantae laudis erit?*). It is true that the corresponding Greek adjectives δεικτικός and χωρητικός can be constructed with the genitive, but there is no reason to think of a Grecism either; *secretorum* can be considered as a normal objective genitive.

operta: as Fredouille 1975 ad loc. points out, this is almost a technical term in mystery religions; cf. also *ThLL* s.v. *opertus* 688,80-87 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 150 and n. 242 (with examples specifically referring to the cult of *Bona Dea*). In Apuleius, Photis says that she hesitates to *domus huius operta detegere et arcana dominae meae reuelare secreta* (3,15,3); the context is explicitly linked to mystery cults, since Lucius is said to be *sacris pluribus initiatus* just a few lines later (3,15,4), and thus presumably able to keep a secret. On secrecy in magic and in Egyptian mysteries see also comm. at 11,22,8 *litteris ignorabilibus*; 11,23,7 *sine piaculo ... referam*; 11,27,4 *tacenda*.

magnificae religionis: same combination (in the ablative) in Macr. *Sat.* 1,18,11, about the cult of *Sol – Liber – Sebadius*.

gerebat: again a verb in first position, like *ferebatur* above, but active and not passive with *variatio*.

felici suo gremio: ablative of place poetically without *in*, rather than instrumental.

felici: reflecting the perspective of Lucius-actor, this adjective shows his religious admiration, his fascination for cultic objects (someone who can hold such a sacred *effigies* must be lucky), or his longing to become *felix* too as a follower of Isis, in accordance with her words at 11,6,5. For the actorial perspective cf. also above, 11,11,2 *beato gressu*.

summi numinis uenerandam effigiem: the implicit reference is to Osiris (defined as *deus deum magnorum potior et potiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator* at 11,30,3; but cf. also *summa numinum* at 11,5,1, said of Isis): see below at 11,11,4 *urnula*. For Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 56-57, the *urnula* is one of the possible implicit manifestations of Osiris in Book 11 before the true vision received by Lucius in 11,30,3.

effigiem: on Apuleius' consistent use of *effigies* for cult images and ritual objects see above at 11,11,2 *deae fecundum simulacrum*. Here, the word (that also occurs at 11,17,1 referring to all the divine images carried in the procession) would make us think of a portrait of the god, but this idea is immediately belied by what follows since we are presented with a non-anthropomorphic and non-theriomorphic *urnula*. Either *effigies* is used as a synonym of the following *argumentum* (= 'symbol': but this meaning of *effigies* would be unknown to both the *OLD* and *ThLL*), or the slight contradiction is connected to the rather ambiguous and exotic nature of the *urnula*, on which see below at 11,11,4.

non pecoris, non auis, non ferae ac ne hominis quidem ipsius consimilem: a long fourfold phrase to emphasize that the divine symbol about to be described is neither theriomorphic nor anthropomorphic. This could simply be an example of Apuleius' normal *abundantia*; Barb 1953, 224 n. 119 instead suggests that "if we substitute for the three kinds of animals their generally accepted 'kings' (bull, lion, eagle) we have (including man) the four faces of the cherubim according to the vision of *Ezekiel* i. 5-10, reappearing in *Revel.* iv. 7 and as the well-known symbols of the four Evangelists". Griffiths 1975 ad loc. considers the suggestion "intriguing"; for connections between Apuleius' novel and the Jewish-Christian tradition see the Essay by Smith in this volume, but a very specific link seems to be very out of place here. More consistently with the Egyptian background of the passage (cf. also below at 11,11,4 *urnula* on the 'Canopic Osiris'), Barb also notes that "the lids of the four 'Canopic Jars' in which the entrails of the dead, removed in the course of mummification, were deposited, show the heads of a man, a dog, a jackal and a hawk"; but again the correspondence with our passage is far from exact, since *fera* would be a very generic name for a jackal, and it is doubtful that dogs can be referred to as *pecus* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *pecus* 946,52-55).

repertu: for the 4th declension abstract cf. 11,2,1 *repertu laetata filiae* and (in a meaning closer to our passage) *flor.* 3,2 *repertu nouo*.

ipsa nouitate: Lucius appreciates novelty and originality from the very beginning of the novel: cf. 1,2,6 *sititor ... nouitatis* with *GCA* 2007, 110-111 ad loc. However, *nouitas* does not only arouse curiosity and give pleasure here, but also prompts religious veneration: therefore, it probably refers to the symbolic meaning of the *urnula* and not (only) to its artistic qualities.

altioris: *ThLL* s.v. *altus* 1780,82-85 offers only three passages where the adjective is employed of 'religio, mysterium', and Apuleius is chronologically the first user.

magno silentio tegendae religionis: cf. 11,21,7 *tuto ... magna religionis committi silentia*.

argumentum ineffabile: on *argumentum* = 'symbol' see *OLD* s.v. 4 and *ThLL* s.v. 547,71-548,19. In Apuleius, cf. 11,3,4 *plana rotunditas in modum speculi uel immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat*, and 11,20,7 *argumento serui Candidi*

equum mihi reddidisset colore candidum. The combination of *argumentum* with *ineffabile* creates a slight oxymoron here, since the verb *arguo* usually implies a verbal performance: it is either a subtle wordplay or a normal instance of paradoxical religious language, pointing out even further (after *non pectoris ... consimilem*) that the *urnula* is a very abstract symbol which, unlike the circle on Isis' head or the *seruus Candidus* of Lucius' dream, has no direct visual or verbal connection with what it symbolizes (and therefore cannot constitute an 'argument').

ineffabile: before Apuleius, the adjective is only found in Plin. *nat.* 5,1 and 28,20 in both cases referring to words and phrases in foreign languages. In Apuleius, cf. also *apol.* 64,7 *nemini effabilis*, of the supreme Platonic God (see Hunink 1997, 172 on the Platonic idea of God's ineffability), described in terms not dissimilar to those used for Isis: see comm. on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens*. The adjective is of course frequently exploited, after Apuleius, in Christian authors; the corresponding Greek adjective ἄρητος is used in religious-mystery contexts at least as early as Herodot. 5,83 (on the sacred rites of the Epidaurians).

The ineffability of this object has been anticipated by the previous fourfold negative clause *non pectoris ... consimilem*. The 'ineffability topos' is rather common in this book: cf. 11,3,3 *si ... mihi disserendi tribuerit facultatem paupertas oris humani* and 11,25,5 *nec mihi uocis ubertas ad dicenda, quae de tua maiestate sentio, sufficit nec ora mille linguaeque totidem uel indefessi sermonis aeterna series* with comm. ad loc. for a fuller discussion.

sed: the symbolic meaning of the sacred object cannot be expressed with words, but the object itself can be described. The conjunction marks an implicit contrast between the observance of the mystery character of Isis' cult and Lucius' narrative need to tell something about it; this contrast becomes explicit at 11,23,5-6: *quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum; dicere, si dicere liceret, cognoscere, si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contraherent et aures et lingua ... Nec te tamen desiderio forsitan religioso suspensum angore diutino cruciabo. Igitur audi ...*

ad istum ... modum: according to Callebat 1968, 214, in all the instances of this expression in the novel *istum* is just a synonym of *hunc* – an overlapping that could be considered either as an archaism or as a concession to the spoken language of Apuleius' times. However, Callebat himself rightly points out (p. 270) that the presence of *iste* often suggests a physical gesture, or is justified by the attempt to achieve a more lively involvement of the audience in what is going to be said: this seems to be the case here, where the narrator addresses the reader/listener. See above on *ferebatur*; 11,11,1 *hic* and the 'effect of presence' often sought by Apuleius. The deictic value of the pronoun, and the difference with *hunc*, might be more evident here than in all the other instances of *ad istum modum* in the novel, since this is the only case where the expression introduces a new description rather than referring to a previous one.

11,11,4 *urnula faberrime cauata, fundo quam rotundo, miris extrinsecus simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata; eius orificium non altiuscule leuatum in canalem porrectum longo riuulo prominebat, ex alia uero parte multum recedens spatiosa dilatione adhaerebat ansa,*

quam contorto nodulo supersedebat aspis squameae ceruicis striato tumore sublimis. A most skilfully shaped vessel, its base perfectly round, portraying on the outside wonderful Egyptian images; its opening, placed not too high, extended itself in a pipe and projected with a long small beak; on the opposite side a handle was attached, projecting far in a wide loop, and a viper sitting upon it raised its swollen, scaly and streaked neck very high.

This is the only other *ekphrasis* of an elaborately constructed artefact in the novel, after that of Diana and Actaeon in the atrium of Byrrhaena's house (2,4). On *ekphraseis* as bravura pieces in *met.* and, more generally, in ancient novels, see *GCA* 2001, 91 with further literature; on *ekphrasis* in Book 11 see Introduction, 7.2. On Lucius' possibly naive perspective reflected in this description see Introduction, 3.1.

urnula: the diminutive *urnula* is used here as a non-cultic term for the cultic vessel or *hydreion* frequently used in Isiac liturgies (cf. Vitr. 8 *praef.* 4 *cum hydria aqua ad templum aedemque casta religione refertur*; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 36, *Mor.* 365B; Clem. Al. *strom.* 6,4,37,1). Possibly, the diminutive *urnula* is preferred here to give the term a 'technical' flavour, like other diminutives taken from spoken language (cf. 1,13,5 *utriculo* with *GCA* 2007, 270-271 ad loc.), enhancing the ritual significance of the vessel without going as far as to use the specific cultic word. According to Callebat 1968, 376, the diminutive is used for its "precision pittoresque" and "couleur artiste". It is attested only three times outside Apuleius, who adopts it three more times in the *Cupid and Psyche* story where Venus gives an *urnula* to Psyche (6,13,5; cf. 6,15,5 and 6,16,1) with the order to draw water from the Styx with it. Since Lucius himself is still an outsider to Isis' cult at this point of the novel, it is perhaps not by chance that this description combines a meticulous account of the physical details of an Egyptian object with the Latin name *urnula* (avoiding the common Greek name *hydreion*) and leaves us in the dark about its precise symbolic meaning. According to Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 152, this is the peak of an "exotisierende Beschreibungstechnik", that is fully coherent with the fact that the narrator, the yet uninitiated Lucius, does not know anything about Osiris' mysteries, the god's connection with water, nor the contents of the *urnula* itself.

As we have seen, this rare diminutive occurs three times in *Cupid and Psyche*. The fact that Lucius, who was part of the audience of that tale, now uses this word again, not with reference to Venus but to Isis, and again as a container for water from a river (Osiris symbolising the water of the Nile; cf. the use of *urna* as the attribute of a river god in Verg. *Aen.* 7,792 with Horsfall 2000 ad loc., who compares it to the Osirian *hydreion* described by Plutarch) may have some significance, but it is hard to pin it down. Harrauer 1973, 76 speculates about possible symbolic connections between our passage in Book 11 and Psyche's ordeal, and suggests that there is an opposition between deadly and salubrious waters, 'false' Venus and 'true' Venus (Isis). However, these generic correspondences cannot be pushed too far, especially since Osiris and not Isis is specifically symbolized by our *urnula*. More generally, on the necessary caution that must be adopted when constructing these symbolic connections, see Keulen in *AAGA* 2, 180 and Graverini 2007, 132-134 (= 2012, 118-120).

Since the ritual use of this *hydreion* is rather well attested, both in literature and iconography, many of Apuleius' readers, whether they were initiated or not, would have had no trouble in identifying the *urnula* with this particular cultic vessel. A similar object is carried by the third officiant in the Vatican relief, on which see e.g. Malaise 1972a, 234-235; even more similar are the one depicted in a fresco at Stabiae (Malaise 1972a, 291-292 and pl. 53), that shows a long beak and a wide handle with an *uraeus* over it like Apuleius' *urnula*, and the jug represented in a frieze in Isis' temple at Pompeii (Knauer 1995, fig. 1), particularly interesting since it is also associated with a wreath of roses (cf. 11,12,1 *coronam*). More iconographical sources can be found in Wild 1981, 104-106 and Knauer 1995, figs. 2, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 etc. Wild 1981, 101-128 also points out that all our sources come from a rather restricted geographical area (a sort of "Rome-Alexandria" axis, p. 126) and only date from the 1st century B.C. onwards. This would be proof of "a more Egyptian theological perspective" in these rituals (p. 126; cf. below).

The *urnula* described in our text is in no way anthropomorphic, as was explicitly anticipated in the previous paragraph. Nevertheless, it is also defined as a *summi numinis uenerandam effigiem*: this is probably the reason that leads Griffiths 1975, 227 ad loc. to state that "the vessel here described is, in the main, a representation of Osiris Hydreios or 'Canopic Osiris'". On the origins and features of this Osiris Hydreios-type see again Griffiths 1975, 42-43 and 228-229, and Wild 1981, 101-113; it was basically a decorated jar, probably connected to the canopic jars where the entrails of the dead were placed during the mummification process, whose top was usually modelled as Osiris' head and which symbolized immortality like the holy water contained in our *urnula*. Beautiful images are provided e.g. by Wild 1981, 15-17; Malaise 1972a, 107 and nr. 11.; Knauer 1995, nr. 5; 25; 26; 27). However, in contrast with Apuleius' *urnula*, this Osiris Hydreios was at least partially anthropomorphic, and not provided with either spout or handle: this leads Griffiths 1975, 230 to suggest that Apuleius combines two different objects (*hydreion* and Osiris *hydreios*) in his description, possibly because of a "mental telescoping" of them. Knauer 1995, 23 instead suggests that the fact that Apuleius mentions an *urnula* and not a 'Canopic Osiris' is a consequence of local variation of cult practices. Wild 1981, 127 offers an alternative and more attractive explanation: by defining the *urnula* as an *effigies*, Apuleius "is trying to make the cult of Isis intelligible to outsiders", while the Egyptian point of view was that the god Osiris "is simply immanent in the water," so that we could say that Apuleius is translating immanency into a generic symbolism; if this is true, there is no reason at all why a reference to the Osiris Hydreios or to supposed local cult practices should be necessary. On the whole, once again, the text does not seem to demand a very specific knowledge of Egyptian cultic practices in its readers (see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 40).

An Isiac rather than Osirian interpretation has been offered by Barb 1953, 200-202, who considers the *urnula* to be a uterus-image. For a detailed discussion of this suggestion (rather far-fetched: Barb himself, p. 224 n. 125, is at pains to explain how the *orificium*, *canalis* and *riuulus* can be interpreted as parts of a uterus) see Griffiths 1975, 230-232.

faberrime: clearly a favourite adverb in Apuleius' descriptions (cf. also 2,4,7 and 11,16,6; *flor.* 9,21 and 15,13). The superlative is only found in Ammianus (20,11,11;

29,3,4), a well-known admirer of Apuleius' language, and in the grammarian Diomedes (*gramm.* I 478,16).

cauatam: again a recurrent word in Apuleius' idiolect for *ekphraseis* (cf. also *met.* 2,19,2; 5,1,3; 6,14,4) but this time not uncommon before him (cf. e.g. Plin. *epist.* 8,20,4 *omnia ... quasi artificis manu cauata et excisa*).

fundo quam rotundo: on *quam* used to reinforce adjectives and adverbs see Callebat 1968, 531-532 and 538-539: possibly a feature that consciously recalls the language of Plautus and Terence.

effigiata: according to *ThLL* s.v. *effigio* 184,71-75, Apuleius is the first to use the word in the sense of 'imaginibus ornare et distinguere'; cf. Amm. 14,6,9; 17,4,15; 26,7,11.

orificium: 'mouth', cf. 10,8,2 *orificium urnae*, with *GCA* 2000, 153 ad loc., pointing out that this word is first attested in Apuleius, who uses it for various 'openings'.

altiuscule: again, a word only found in Apuleius (also in *met.* 2,7,3 and 8,31,1). On the formation of adverbial forms of a diminutive see *GCA* 1985, 215 on 8,25,3 *dicacule*. Most of these formations have a Plautine origin: see Pasetti 2007, 23-61.

in canalem porrectum: cf. above 11,11,2 *in erectum leuata statum* for the 'consecutive' use of *in* + accusative. In this case, an idea of transformation seems to be present, for which see comm. on 11,13,4 *pedum plantae per ungulis in digitos exeunt*. Cf. also McKibben 1951 and Callebat 1968, 229-230 (not listing this passage; but a very similar instance is e.g. 7,19,5 *enutritius ignis surgebat in flammis*).

canalem ... riuulo: *canalis* appears to be the pipe proper, departing from the *urnula* and going mostly upwards; *riuulus* is its final part, more or less horizontal and open on the top side while the lower side extends itself to direct the water stream. A similar long beak can be seen on the *urnula* depicted in a fresco at Stabiae (cf. Malaise 1972a, 291-292 and pl. 53); cf. also the jug represented in a frieze from the temple of Isis in Pompeii, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (Knauer 1995, nr. 1).

spatiosa dilatione: this is the only example offered by *ThLL* (1162,48-50) for *dilatatio* in a spatial sense. On the adjective in *-osus* in *met.* see above, comm. on 11,11,2 *gestuosus*.

nodulo: on the technical nature of the diminutive *nodulus* see comm. on 11,3,5 *nodulis fimbriarum*. *Nodus* is frequently used of a snake's coils in poetry: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,279; Hor. *carm.* 2,19,19; Sen. *Med.* 689 (but also Plin. *nat.* 8,32; in Apuleius, also *met.* 5,17,3 *multinodis uoluminibus serpentem* and, in a slightly different sense, 5,20,5 *serpentis nodum ceruicis*).

supersedebat ... sublimis: note the repeated alliteration and assonance of *s*, that suggests the hissing of the snake and almost provides its description with the idea of living movement. An inflated neck is typical of the attacking snake, cf. Cic. *Vatin.* 4 *repente enim te tamquam serpens ... inflato collo, tumidis ceruicibus intulisti*. According to Griffiths 1975 ad loc. the *striatus tumor* of the snake refers to "the black lines on the hooded cobra's neck as shown in early hieroglyphs" (Murray 1948, 117-118 identifies the *uraeus* described here with the *Naja nigricollis*, a species of cobra with dilatable neck and three transverse black lines on the under side of it). However, it should be noted that this would be the only clear instance of *stria* meaning 'black

line' instead of 'groove, channel, furrow' (*OLD* s.v.; in Apuleius cf. e.g. *met.* 10,3,1 *senili tristitie striatam gerens frontem*).

aspis: the *uraeus*, also present in the differently shaped vase (*cymbium*) held by Isis at 11,4,3 (in the same position and described with similar phraseology: *insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum ceruicibus late tumescentibus*) and adorning her head-dress at 11,3,5. For snakes in Isiac iconography see Drexler 1890, 538 and Tran Tam Tinh 1990, nrs. 333-359.

CHAPTER XII

The appearance of the priest with the rose garland.

The long awaited moment arrives: as predicted by Isis, a priest comes forth with a wreath of roses in his hand. Lucius finally sees the end of his misfortunes, but manages to contain his excitement and makes his way through the crowd in a very controlled and already human way.

11,12,1 Et ecce praesentissimi numinis promissa nobis accedunt beneficia, et fata salutemque ipsam meam gerens sacerdos adpropinquat, ad ipsum praescriptum diuinae promissionis ornatum dextera proferens sistrum deae, mihi coronam – et Hercules coronam consequenter, quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus, tot emensis periculis, deae maximae prouidentia adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superarem. And now the help promised to me by the powerful and propitious god is finally approaching. A priest comes close to me carrying the very salvation to which I was destined, displaying as an ornament in his right hand, in full accordance with the very prescription of the divine promise, a sistrum for the goddess and a crown for me – and by Hercules, a crown appropriately indeed, since after enduring so many and so difficult hardships, after passing through so many trials, thanks to the providence of the supreme goddess I was finally overcoming the Fortune who was tormenting me so fiercely.

The passage makes intensive use of assonances and alliterations, that add to the emphasis of a passage describing a long-awaited moment: *praesentissimi ... promissa ... adpropinquat ... praescriptum ... promissionis; coronam consequenter; saeuissime ... superarem*.

Et ecce: on the use of rhetorical devices such as deictics and apostrophes to the reader that enhance the vividness of the procession's description and attract the reader's attention see Introduction, 7.2.2.

praesentissimi numinis: Porphyrio *ad Hor. carm.* 1,35,1-2 *O diua ... praesens* explains that *praesentia dicuntur numina deorum, quae se potentiamque suam manifeste ostendunt*. The adjective *praesens* is frequently used to describe gods and emperors, often also in the comparative and superlative like here (*ThLL* s.v. 844,15-33); the adjective is attested in connection with several gods of the traditional Graeco-Roman pantheon, but an inscription from Syria (*AE* 1948 n. 145), possibly from Helio-gabalus' time, mentions *praesentissimum deum magnum Sarapidem*. The superlative is also found in *met.* 3,12,4 *hodierni diei praesentissimum numen*, said of the god Rîsus; the coincidence might be intended to point out Lucius' passage from the 'protection' of a fickle and malicious divinity to the maternal care of Isis. In the plural,

the combination *praesentia numina* is highly poetic: cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,10; Hor. *epist.* 2,1,134; Ov. *met.* 15,622 and *Pont.* 1,2,105; *Ciris* 245; and see Micunco 1996.

Fredouille 1975 correctly notes that *praesentissimi* points out the fulfillment of Isis' words at 11,5,1 *en adsum*; however, the adjective here also recapitulates other qualities of Isis mentioned in that chapter, such as her being *fauens et propitia* and source of a saving *providentia* (11,5,4). In fact, the goddess's *praesentia* seems to be something very close to her *providentia*, on which see 11,1,2-3 (the moon is a source of *providentia* and is also called *dea praesens*). For the adjective's connotations of benevolence see also comm. on 11,1,2-3 *deae praesentis*; for the use of the noun *praesentia* to refer to the felt presence of the deity see comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis tam claram praesentiam*.

nobis: Lucius sometimes uses the 'royal we' (*pluralis maiestatis*), especially when in human shape (so this instance might serve the scope of pointing out the imminence of his re-transformation): cf. e.g. 1,2,1; 2,16,5; 3,22,5 and possibly 11,21,5. The form is sometimes adopted by secondary characters, too, usually with a comic self-aggrandizement: e.g. the *ianitor* at 1,15,2 and Thelyphron at 2,24,4.

fata salutemque: both *fatum* and *salus* are important themes in Book 11: cf. comm. on 11,27,9 *singulorum fata* and 11,29,5 *quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit*. According to Fredouille 1975 the combination *fata salutemque* is redundant; however, the two concepts do not necessarily overlap. Since *salus* can be considered connected with the saving *praesentia* of Isis just mentioned above, its combination with *fata* seems to point out that the prospective ending of Lucius' troubles will be the result both of the decrees of Fate and of the goddess's personal intervention (that is, ultimately, her providence; on the fluctuating relationship between these entities in *met.* see below on *providentia*). Alternatively, since *fatum* can be understood as 'dictum', 'oraculum', 'praedictio rei futurae' (*ThLL* s.v. *fatum* 356,24-25), *fata salutemque* could be interpreted as a hendiadys (= *praedictam salutem*); in this case, the expression would take up (with *variatio*, and in more abstract and religious terms) the notion of *promissa beneficia*.

ad ... praescriptum diuinae promissionis ornatum ... proferens ... coronam: the general meaning is clear, but the text has been variously analysed. The reading of *F ornatum* can only be considered as in apposition with *sistrum* and *corona*, that in turn are the objects of *proferens* (or, less attractively, the other way around, i.e. *ornatum* as the direct object of *proferens*: this would require a colon after *proferens*). For *ornatus* = 'equipment, adornment' see e.g. *apol.* 22,2 and cf. *OLD* s.v. 1a. Previous interpreters and translators have considered *ornatum* either as a noun depending on the previous *ad* and governing the genitive *diuinae promissionis* (thus Vallette in Robertson – Vallette 1945 translates: "le grand-prêtre s'avance, dans le même appareil où me l'avait décrit la divine annonce, tenant dans sa main droite pour la déesse un sistre, et pour moi une couronne"), or as an adjective with *sistrum* (Walsh 1994: "exactly in keeping with the divine promise, his right hand held an adorned rattle for the goddess and a crown of flowers for me"; cf. also Fredouille 1975). On the problems connected with these interpretations see Graverini 2013, who also defends the very attractive emendation *ornatus* by Brandt – Ehlers 1958.

praescriptum: cf. Isis' words at 11,6,1: *nam meo monitu sacerdos in ipso proprocinctu pompae roseam manu dextera sistro cohaerentem gestabit coronam*.

sistrum deae, mihi coronam: the elegant chiasmic word-order suggests a particular closeness between Lucius and his *dea*; according to Fredouille 1975 it also points out the function of the priest as intermediary between Isis and Lucius. The chiasmus makes it rather unlikely that *deae* is a genitive (cf. e.g. Relihan 2007 "the sistrum of the goddess") instead of a dative like *mihi* (e.g. Vallette 1945 "pour la déesse un sistre", followed by many other modern translators).

sistrum: on this typical attribute of Isis see above on 11,6,1. It is also mentioned in connection with the Egyptian prophet Zatchlas at 2,28,3.

coronam: the garland of roses promised by Isis (on garlands in Egyptian cults see comm. on 11,4,1 *corona*, 11,6,1 *roseam ... coronam* and 11,27,9 *coronas*) but also symbolically the wreath awarded to soldiers, commanders and heroes (see below on *hercules*) who had given proof of their valour (see *ThLL* s.v. *corona* 980,15-982,14), to whom Lucius is implicitly comparing himself. A *corona* of various flowers is also an attribute of Isis herself at 11,3,4; for other gods wearing it see *ThLL* s.v. 984,45-78. More specifically on rose garlands see Knauer 1995, who provides an image (fig. 1; cf. also fig. 25) of a jug (cf. above on 11,11,4 *urnula*) on a wreath of roses from a frieze in the temple of Isis at Pompeii; she also suggests that from other iconographical sources, like the sarcophagus represented in her fig. 4, "it can be inferred that the garland may be an essential item in the cult of Isis and Osiris as deities of resurrection" (p. 4, n. 7; cf. p. 22, n. 4, and Griffiths 1975, 159-161). On the thematic function of garlands in *met.* see Hijmans' *Appendix V* in *GCA* 1995, 383.

et Hercules ... superarem: Lucius reflects on the metaphorical meaning of the *corona* as the 'crowning' of his adventures, and clearly lends them an epic colour (Introduction, 6.3; see also below on *hercules* and *exanclatis laboribus*). The idea that the *corona* is a form of reward for Lucius' long and 'epic' vicissitudes is not absurd *per se*, but if we consider our hero's asinine shape and his usually less-than-heroic behaviour through those vicissitudes we can detect some degree of irony in the whole statement.

Lucius has already attempted to interpret what happens to or around him on a few occasions, usually without great success. The passages that describe these attempts are often ironic, and point out Lucius' conceit and lack of judgement: see e.g. 7,10,4 *et tunc quidem totarum mulierum secta moresque de asini pendebant iudicio* with *GCA* 1981, 147-148 ad loc. and 10,33,4 *ecce nunc patiemur philosophantem nobis asinum* with *GCA* 2000, 400-401 ad loc.; Zimmerman 2006, 95-101. In those cases, there is also a variation of the narratological perspective, and the ironic narrator is differentiated from the 'experiencing I' who is the victim of his irony (see *GCA* 2000, 401 on 10,33,4). Here, we seem to have a different case, without a clear generalizing comment one might attribute to the retrospective narrator. There is actually nothing in the text to indicate that the perspective of the 'experiencing I' is really broken (see Introduction, 3.1): on the contrary, the imperfect tense *superarem* indicates that the struggle is still going on and the final victory is only a hope for the moment, so that no anticipation of future events is implied here.

It is not easy to say if this irony is enough to disrupt the religious atmosphere of the passage and, more generally, of the whole book: this decision will ultimately de-

pend on each reader's general interpretation of the novel. On the one hand, one might notice that the very same phraseology used here is also adopted, and therefore somehow 'validated', by the priest Mithras in his address to Lucius (see Introduction, 5.1 and cf. below on *exanclatis laboribus*); and that ultimately a more or less implicit and often somewhat ironical comparison between the main character and Odysseus or other epic heroes (including, of course, Aeneas: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,10-11 *tot adire labores / impulerit*) is a standard feature of all the ancient novels (see Introduction, 6.2), so what we have here can be considered as a simple genre-marker and not something that can influence our overall interpretation of the novel (cf. below, *exanclatis laboribus*). On the other hand, it might be pointed out that Lucius did not carry out any really heroic deed that might deserve a *corona*; that in any case a 'heroic' ass is too much to pass unnoticed even in the religious atmosphere of these chapters; and that when Mithras uses Lucius' own words to describe his past life in heroic colours, far from validating them, he is only trying to obtain a foolish and conceited youngster's goodwill in order to exploit him more easily (this would fit a uniformly comic/satirical reading of *met.*, on which see Introduction, 1.3). In a less rigid perspective that allows serious and comic elements to coexist, one can also think of a sincerely religious atmosphere that allows for comic, novelistic elements like an ass comparing himself to Odysseus or Hercules.

Hercules: on Apuleius' use of this and similar interjections in the novel to point out the emotional involvement of the speaker with what he is saying see Bernhard 1927, 129-130; *GCA* 1995, 155 on 9,16,3 (*Philesitherus dignus hercules solus ... coronam auream capite gestare*; *GCA* 2007, 125 on 1,3,3 *hercule*, with further references. It is of course very common phraseology, but the parallel with 9,16,3 might be of interest here because of the presence of a *corona* in both passages; the present sentence might serve to reinforce the suggestion (made by *GCA* 1995, 155 and inspired by a previous observation by Nethercut 1968, 117) that these interjections can sometimes trigger an implicit comparison between Lucius and the mythical god. On the presence of implicit and explicit references to Hercules in *met.* see Harrison 2013; cf. below on *exanclatis laboribus* and cf. 11,30,2 *nec hercules laborum ... paenituit* with comm. ad loc.

exanclatis laboribus: the language might reinforce the implicit comparison between Lucius and Hercules, a hero well known for his *labores* (see above): cf. for example the very similar phrasing in Cic. *ac.* 2,108 *Herculi quendam laborem exanclatum a Carneade*. On Hercules wearing a garland see e.g. Verg. *georg.* 2,66 *Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae*, with Thomas 1988 ad loc. for more sources. Yet, it should not be forgotten that *labor* can also evoke the idea of an Odyssean adventure, and that Odysseus is a constant model for Lucius throughout the novel and in this last book as well: see Graverini 2007, 171 [= 2012, 152], and Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 94-96; Beer 2011; on Aeneas' *labores* see above at *et Hercules ... superarem*. In any case, Lucius' epic outlook on his own past adventures seems to be echoed by the priest Mithras in person: cf. 11,15,1 *multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus*, and see Introduction, 6.3. For Apuleius' use of the archaic verb *exanclō* see comm. on 11,2,4 *exanclatis casibus*.

dae maximae: cf. 11,5,1 *summa numinum*.

providentia: on this typically Apuleian attribute of Isis see above, comm. on 11,1,2 *providentia*.

adlucentem: apparently an Apuleian neologism (see *ThLL.* s.v. *adluco*), attested only here and at 10,17,3.

Fortunam: here for the first time *Fortuna*, who has usually been opposed to Lucius throughout the novel, explicitly plays the role of antagonist of Isis and her *providentia*, which will be further reinforced in Mithras' speech at Ch. XV.

superarem: Fredouille 1975 and Griffiths 1975 suggest that the subjunctive may be due to *oratio obliqua* – that is, Lucius would be explaining Isis' possible reasons for the choice of a *corona*. More simply, the subjunctive after *quod* can express "a supposed or suggested reason" (*OLD* s.v. 11b): there is no need to involve Isis' intentions, since Lucius often makes more or less educated guesses about what happens around him (see above on *et Hercules ... superarem*).

11,12,2 *Nec tamen gaudio subitario commotus inclementi me cursu proripui, uerens scilicet ne repentino quadripedis impetu religionis quietus turbaretur ordo, sed placido ac prorsus humano gradu cunctabundus paulatim obliquato corpore, sane diuinitus decedente populo, sensim inrepo.* Nevertheless, even if I was excited by that sudden joy, I did not spring forward at an importunate run: actually, I was afraid that the sudden incursion of a four-footed animal could disrupt the peaceful order of the religious procession. Instead, I creep in gradually and hesitatingly with calm and absolutely human steps, bending my body little by little while the crowd, clearly by divine inspiration, gives way.

gaudio: like *fatum* and *salus* (see above), *gaudium* is another important theme in this book: cf. comm. on 11,30,5 *gaudens*.

inclementi ... impetu: Lucius is still an ass, but he tries to get rid of his instinctive animal behaviour and avoids dashing forward in an impetuous charge like that described, with a very similar vocabulary, at 6,27,1: *et alacri statim nisu lorum quo fueram destinatus abrumpo meque quadripedi cursu proripio*. Cf. also 9,1,2 where the ass disrupts a sacrificial banquet: *cursu me proripio totis pedibus ... triclinio ... incunctanter immitto*.

inclementi: the adjective usually means 'non clemens, inhumanus' (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *inclemens* 937,46), and Apuleius properly uses *inclementi ... cursu* in opposition to *humano gradu*. He is still an animal, but his re-transformation is foreshadowed by his humanised behaviour. See also comm. on 11,7,5 *clementi motu bracciorum*.

quadripedis: this is the last mention of an animal feature of Lucius before his re-transformation. For the unfavourable use of the word *quadripes* in Book 11 (cf. above on *inclementi ... impetu*) see comm. on 11,2,4 *depelle quadripedis diram faciem*.

religionis: for *religio* = 'religious rite' cf. 11,1,4 (the number seven is *religionibus aptissimum*); *OLD* s.v. 8.

ordo: for *ordo* in the sense of 'ritual sequence' (which must be maintained) cf. Liv. 27,37,11 *ad aliud sacrificium ... edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit*; Sen. *Tro.* 1162 *hic ordo sacri*; Thy. 689 *seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas non rite fiat*; see *ThLL* s.v. 957,41-43 and 66-75.

prorsus humano: Lucius' gait is now human-style, in strong opposition to *quadripedis* (see above) and foreshadowing his re-transformation. For the contrast between *quadripes* and *humanus* in the context of re-transformation cf. 4,1,6.

cunctabundus paulatim ... sensim: a rather redundant series of an adjective and two adverbs, to contrast as much as possible with the previous *inclementi cursu* and give a vivid idea of Lucius' caution and prudence – a totally new attitude for our hero, usually too rash and ready to go into action without careful consideration. *cunctabundus* (again 11,27,2) is a type of adjective favoured by Apuleius – see comm. on 11,6,2 *osculabundus*.

diuinitus: cf. 11,6,4 *meo iussu tibi constricti comitatus decedent populi*.

inrepo: present tense, after the perfect *proripui*. On these tense variations, not infrequent at all in Apuleius, see Callebat 1968, 427, who considers them an artistic element of variation contributing to the vividness of the narration. In this case, the present is certainly intended to point out how gradually and carefully Lucius makes his way through the crowd. For a general overview of variation of tense in Latin language see LHSz 2,815-816; cf. comm. on the first chapter of this book (esp. 11,1,1 *uideo*; 11,1,4 *confestimque ... exurgo ... trado* and *sic adprecabar*).

CHAPTER XIII

Lucius' re-transformation into human form.

The paradigm of Ovidian metamorphosis

This is the crucial episode of the re-transformation enacted under the auspices of Isis: the goddess's promise (Ch. VI) finally comes true. The whole chapter is composed of three different sequences: the first describes the encounter between Lucius and the priest, which is a miraculous event in itself, since every detail in the narrated facts is in perfect accordance with the previous night's prediction (11,13,1 *miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris*); the long central sequence is dedicated to the transformation of the ass into a human, which is described in abundant detail and with a kind of symmetrical correspondence to the first, ill-fated, metamorphosis at 3,24 (on this, cf. Bandini 1986). The last sentence focuses on the reaction of the people to the miracle and on their acknowledgement of the goddess's power that has accomplished it.

On a stylistic level, the most elaborate section is the middle one: the metamorphosis is accentuated by several rhetorical and phonetic devices, such as parallelism, anaphora, alliteration, rhyme, homoeoteleuton, and by some peculiar lexical choices (noteworthy in particular is the abundance of diminutives and several neologisms, adding particular expressiveness).

Particularly striking is the influence of the Ovidian technique of describing metamorphosis, noticeable especially in the taste for the smallest details and in the extraordinary visual quality of the description: the process of the metamorphosis is vividly represented by a procedure of listing with utmost – almost scientific – precision every single detail and all the individual changes taking place in the various parts of the subject's body (see the important study of this method by Rosati 1983, esp. 136-137). In Apuleius too, the physical change is observed in its progressive development, using an orderly sequence that, also thanks to elegant word choices (especially of adjectives), puts every single stage of the transformation and every detail of the metamorphosis vividly before the reader's eyes.

To this one may add another typical trait of the Ovidian technique of metamorphic descriptions, which is the more easily adopted here since Apuleius' tale is a first-person narrative, namely the internal narrative focalisation. The protagonist/subject of the metamorphosis (Lucius-actor) seems to look at himself and to describe the transformation while undergoing it. This gives the poet the possibility of lingering on the internal, psychological aspects of the phenomenon; Rosati 1983, 133 observes that the representation of the inner change related to the metamorphosis is no less interesting than its external appearance (on these aspects and generally on Ovid's literary technique used to describe metamorphosis, see Rosati 1983, 132-137). See also Introduction, 3.3 on synaesthetic effects in Book 11.

11,13,1 At sacerdos, ut reapse cognoscere potui, nocturni commonefactus oraculi miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris, confestim restitit et ultro porrecta dextera ob os ipsum meum coronam exhibuit. As for the priest, who (as I could realize from the facts) had been alerted by the nocturnal prophecy, marvelling at the perfect agreement with the instructions given to him, he immediately stopped and spontaneously held out his hand and offered the garlands to my mouth.

At sacerdos: the opening with *at*, particularly frequent in *met.* (cf. e.g. 5,21,3 *At Psyche relicta sola ...*; cf. also, at 11,14,1, Lucius' own reaction after the metamorphosis: *At ego stupore nimio defixus haerebam*) draws attention to the figure of the priest, the co-protagonist of the miracle that is about to happen. This peculiar Apuleian opening expression is especially remarkable when found at the beginning of a whole narrative section. Although a comparable expression can be found from Homer onward (in the frequent opening with *αὐτάρ* that characterizes many books both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*), in the Apuleian passages this use of *at* is very likely to be simply a transitional phrase (without any contrast implied) which was probably common in spoken language, as rightly observed by GCA 2007, 63 on 1,1,1 and Harrison 2003, 240-241 (but see also Tatum 1979, 26). Celsus often uses the phrase to mark a transition to a new subject, as if it were a sort of title for a new paragraph (cf. among many examples Cels. 2,8,18 *At dolores capitis*; 2,8,23 *At ex suppurationibus eae pessimae sunt*).

reapse ... potui: the priest's unusual attitude and behaviour confirm to Lucius that the man is also perfectly aware of what is about to happen (exactly as the goddess had predicted in the dream, cf. 11,6,3 *hoc eodem momento quo tibi uenio ... quae sunt sequentia sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio*).

reapse: *re* + *eapse*; the adverb is found already at 1,13,3 where it serves to underline the confirmation of Meroe's name by both facts experienced and stories heard (*sic enim reapse nomen eius ... convenire sentiebam*), and at *apol.* 67,6 *mihi credite quod reapse intelletur*. The adverb is usually transmitted as *reabse*, but the normalization is accepted by all editors of *met.* and by Butler – Owen 1914, 133 (see also N-W 2,405). Although the word is attested in Cicero, it must have been felt as unusual already at an early stage, as Seneca finds it necessary to explain it at *epist.* 108,32 *eosdem libros cum grammaticus explicuit, primum uerba expressa, reapse dici a Cicerone, id est re ipsa, in commentarium refert, nec minus sepse id est se ipse*. See also GCA 2007, 267-268 on 1,13,3 *reapse*.

nocturni commonefactus oraculi: the reference is of course to the double dream narrated in 11,6,3; the device of the double dream as a plain manifestation of the divinity's omnipotence occurs several times in the last book (also in chapters XXII and XXVII). In general on double dreams see Smith in *AAGA* 3, 207-208 and 213-216, Frangoulidis 2012 and Dorati 2013, esp. 221-236 (with further references). The allusion works also on a lexical level (cf. 11,6,1 *meo monitu sacerdos ... gestabit*), and Fredouille 1975, 60 suggests that the many nouns belonging to the semantic field of *moneo*, *commoneo*, etc. in this book serve the purpose of underlining the constant and active presence of the goddess. For *oraculum* used of a prophetic dream see comm. on 11,7,1 *oraculi uenerabilis*.

11,13,2 Tunc ego trepidans, adsiduo pulsu micanti corde, coronam, quae rosis amoenis intexta fulgurabat, auido ore susceptam cupidus promissi deuorauit. Then, nervously, as my heart kept jumping and throbbing, I took up with greedy mouth that garland which was bright with all those beautiful roses woven into it and, eager for the fulfilment of the promise, I swallowed it down.

adsiduo pulsu micanti corde: the expression is slightly pleonastic (with an ablative of quality modifying the same idea expressed by the abl. abs.). As to the adjectival ablative ending of the participle *micanti*, it seems to have been preferred out of euphonic reasons (in order to avoid the dull rhyme *micante corde*). In any case, there is no need to suspect a possible error in the ms. tradition (as Griffiths 1975, 234 seems to do), since Apuleian usage – at least as transmitted – fluctuates between the two possible endings elsewhere too (cf. for instance 2,31,4 *titubante uestigio* vs. 7,20,3 *titubanti gradu* or 5,26,1 *laboranti uestigio*; 3,26,4 *delecto ... et quassanti capite* vs. 10,32,3 *adnutante capite*); moreover, the choice could have been influenced by the diffusion of the combination *micanti corde* in poetry, cf., among many examples, Tib. 1,10,12 with Maltby 2002 ad loc.; Ov. *ars* 3,722 and *fast.* 6,338; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *mico* 929,30-50.

fulgurabat: found only here in this figurative sense; normally the verb is combined either with more concrete nouns (*argentum* at *met.* 2,19,2; the *ualuae aureae* in Cupid's palace at *met.* 5,1,6) or with abstract nouns literally suiting the verb, like *nitor* (*met.* 2,9,1), or *splendor* (*met.* 5,22,5). The peculiarity of the expression, though, apart from producing a strong visual effect, appropriately highlights the fundamental means of salvation for Lucius (in this sense, apparently, the roses seem to glow in Lucius' eyes also at 4,2,1-2).

cupidus promissi: F's reading, defended by the older editions and printed by Helm 1955 and Robertson 1945, creates a forceful brachylogy, but it is dubious: in the margin of F, next to our passage, a sequence of deleted words was in fact still visible (at least until the last autoptic examination by Giarratano 1929), the last of which apparently ended in *-issime*. ϕ has derived from this a possibly original *cupidissime*, while omitting *promissi*. The mss. of Robertson's Class I present a sort of conflation between these two readings, i.e. *cupidus cupidissime*, which is not very probable. Griffiths 1975, 235 prints *cupidus promissi cupidissime (deuorauit)*, suggested by Giarratano and accepted also by Hanson 1989, Terzaghi 1956 and Augello 1977; the parallel referred to by both Augello and Griffiths at 11,16,6 *quam purissime purificatam* is not very convincing though, since in that passage Apuleius seems to translate with a peculiar figura etymologica an analogous Greek expression, typical of religious language, for which see comm. ad loc., and Nicolini 2011a, 42-43, while in this case the repetition *cupidus + cupidissime* results in a flat combination, which is hardly warranted in the context. *promissi* may have slipped into the text by a mistake of the copyist who was misled by the following line (where we find *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum*): this is the conclusion of Novák 1904, 68 who deletes *promissi* (and reads *cupidus deuorauit*) and Dowden 1980, 225 who prefers ϕ 's reading *cupidissime deuorauit* and claims: "*cupidissime* is patently not a gloss ... Further, *cupidissime* will lighten the rhythm, otherwise clumsily ponderous". Dowden believes that the word

promissum, which was more or less a line above *cupidissime* in F's copy, ended by slipping into the wrong place. But in that case the mere fact that the word had been introduced into the text in the genitive points to the likely assumption that the text contained something that would govern this genitive (unless, of course, it was a banal and mechanical insertion and the copyist did not realize it was grammatically impossible): this seems to suggest that *cupidus* was present in the original text.

The word *promissi* is, in our opinion, to be retained for several reasons: first of all, the structure *cupidus* + genitive is well supported by the author's *usus*, and in perfect accordance with Classical Latin (cf. 2,1,1 *cupidus cognoscendi*; *apol.* 72,5 *uia cupidum*; *ibid.* 102,5 *cupidum condemnandi*); a different construction with the adjective *cupidus* is attested only once in the novel, at *met.* 4,23,5, where *cupidus*, used absolutely, means simply 'greedy'. The absolute use (without *promissi*) is of course possible, but the adjective would produce a weak repetition, as it would serve the same function as the preceding complement *audivo ore*. Finally, the whole combination *cupidus promissi* finds a corresponding answer and a sort of confirmation in the following phrase *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum*; one could even say that *promissum* is sort of a *Leitmotif* in this section (cf. above 11,12,1 *et ecce ... promissa ... accedunt beneficia* and, some lines below, *ad ipsum praescriptum diuinæ promissionis ornatum*).

For all these reasons we prefer to print *cupidus promissi*, still admitting that Griffith's choice is also plausible (his reading *cupidus promissi cupidissime deuorauit* would create a structure very similar to the expression at *met.* 8,23,4 *mordicis adreptam plenissime conterui*). As for the sense of the brachylogy (with *promissum* = 'fulfilment of the promise'), one can compare Cic. *fam.* 9,8,1 *expectatione promissi tui moueor*.

11,13,3-5 ³Nec me fefellit caeleste promissum: protinus mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies. Ac primo quidem squalens pilus defluit, ac dehinc cutis crassa tenuatur, ⁴uenter obesus residit, pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt, manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia, ⁵ceruix procera cohibetur, os et caput rotundatur, aures enormes repetunt pristinam paruitatem, dentes saxei redeunt ad humanam minutiem, et, quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam! And the divine promise did not deceive me: for all at once my ugly and beastly appearance slipped from me. First, my bristly hair fell away; and then my thick skin grew thinner, my enormous belly contracted, and the soles of my feet, across the hoofs, opened into toes: my hands are no longer feet, as they are extended into their upright functions; my long neck contracts, my face and head become round again, my huge ears turn to their original size, those stone-like teeth return to human scale and, what had annoyed me above all, the tail ... totally disappeared.

After being announced with a short, concise phrase (*protinus mihi delabitur ... ferina facies*), the spectacular scene of the re-transformation is then analysed in full detail, with a technique borrowed from Ovid (cf. introduction to this chapter [The paradigm of Ovidian metamorphosis]), by closely following – in reverse direction – the transformation described at 3,24 (cf. in particular 11,13,3 *squalens pilus defluit* vs. 3,24,4

pili mei crassantur in setas; 11,13,4 *cutis crassa tenuatur* vs. 3,24,4 *cutis tenella duratur*; 11,13,4 *pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt* vs. 3,24,4 *in extimis palmulis ... digiti coguntur in singulas ungulas*; 3,24,4 *cauda procedit* vs. 11,13,5 *cauda nusquam*; the whole sequence will be analysed in the individual notes).

Perfectly symmetrical (although occurring in a different distribution in the description) are also the characteristics pertaining to other body parts, such as the face (cf. *facies enormis et os prolixum* vs. *deformis et ferina facies ... os et caput rotundatur*, and *aures immodicis ... auctis* vs. *aures enormes repetunt ... paruitatem*), with only some slight differences: while some references such as those to the *nares hiantes* and the *labiae pendulae* are omitted, a new detail is added in the reference to the *dentes saxei* (this element picks up its pointed use a little earlier, at 10,22,1, where the huge *dentes saxei* were a matter of concern to the ass on the occasion of his intercourse with the *matrona*). Such a perfect symmetry brings out even more the obvious differences between the two scenes, which are likely to have a narrative function. A strong emphasis, for example, is put on the return to biped status (the inverse change is absent from the description in 3,24): a similar line of thought seems to motivate the element of the disappearance of the tail, appropriately placed right at the end, with a slight but important modification of the sequence of the first metamorphosis: there, the appearance of the tail was one of the many traits of 'animality', which were listed during the transformation ending with a comic climax: the malicious detail about Lucius' gain in terms of 'natural endowment' (*natura crescebat*). Here, as required by the different atmosphere and by the solemn context, emphasis is shifted to the return to humanity, of which the disappearance of the tail is in a certain way symbolic. There is no space for the comic, for the grotesque: the effect is surprising and astonishing, entailing a tone that is appropriate to describe a divine miracle, as the reaction of the people (and the language describing this reaction) will confirm even further.

The whole passage is marked by strong alliterative effects: *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum*: *protinus mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies*. *Ac primo quidem squalens pilus defluit, ac dehinc cutis crassa tenuatur, uenter obesus residit, pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt, manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia, ceruix procera cohibetur, os et caput rotundatur, aures enormes repetunt pristinam paruitatem*.

nec me fefellit caeleste promissum: cf. also 11,22,2 *nec me fefellit ... deae potentis benignitas salutaris*. The close lexical correspondence, which does not seem fortuitous, creates a strong opposition with *met.* 3,25,2 *me ... festinatio fefellit* (the human mistake that causes Lucius' disgrace).

mihi delabitur ... facies: the construction with the dative of advantage (instead of the possessive pronoun) expresses more strongly the extraneous quality of the asinine shape as sensed by Lucius and adds vividness to the scene (according to Médan 1925a, 217, the expression would be poetic, but in our opinion it is more likely a feature of spoken language probably chosen for expressive colour, as already argued by Callebat 1968, 261-262): the asinine shape drops off as if it were a mask, as Harrauer 1973, 84 rightly observes, comparing the goddess' words at 11,6,4, *deformem istam quam geris faciem*. Moreover, it is possible that Apuleius has been inspired by his

model, cf. *Onos* 54 ἀποπίπτει ἐξ ἑμοῦ ἐκείνη ἢ τοῦ κτήνους ὄψις καὶ ἀπόλλυται, and see Introduction, 6.1.

delabatur: one may note the usual care in the choice of tenses (cf. above, comm. on 11,1,1 *uideo* and on 11,1,4 *confestimque ... exurgo ... trado*); after a sequence of perfects, the present tense (which from now on will be preferred for all the verbs describing the transformation) puts the focus on the very moment of the metamorphosis and adds vividness and concreteness to the description of the scene.

squalens pilus defluit: one of the first bestial characteristics to appear/disappear also in Ovidian metamorphoses, with many examples (e.g. 1,236; 1,739; 2,478 and 14,279, with the reverse procedure at 14,303); *defluo* seems to be a sort of technical term for describing the loss of hair in both animals and men (cf., among many instances, *Ov. met.* 6,141 *defluxere comae*; *Sen. epist.* 95,20 *capillos defluere dixit*; *Plin. nat.* 10,188 *toti defluunt pili*; see further *ThLL* s.v. *defluo* 364,38-39).

cutis crassa tenuatur: attested mainly in poetry during the classical period, the verb *tenuo* in the 2nd century A.D. becomes rather frequent also in prose; the meaning of the verb here seems to be inspired by its use in scientific prose (the meaning ‘to grow thinner’, ‘to tail off’ is attested in Celsus, Columella, and Pliny), with possibly some influence from everyday spoken language, based on the use of the adjective *tenuis*, which is very frequently associated with words like *cutis*, *membrana*, etc. (in Apuleius, cf. the opposition in 6,26,7 *corium non asini crassum, sed hirudinis tenue membranulum circumdedit*).

uenter ... residit: F’s reading *residet* is very likely to have suffered textual corruption and it seems opportune to restore, with Van der Vliet 1897, an original *residit* to indicate a change of condition. Although aspectual distinctions tend to disappear already in classical times and, moreover, in our particular case a firmer grasp of the question is difficult because the search for parallels is complicated by the fact that many forms of the two verbs are homographs, one can at least rely on another passage of the novel (where the copyist’s behaviour seems to testify to at least what was written in his exemplar): at 1,14,1, in the phrase *cardines ad foramina resident, ad postes repagula redeunt* (describing a door that, after having been violently thrown down, is miraculously restored together with the original positions of the sockets and the bars), the same copyist corrected the form previously written as *resident* into *residunt* by adding an *u* above the *e* (this reading was then copied by the Class I mss.) and restored the most likely original sequence of four parallel verbs that all indicate reverse actions (*resurgunt ... residunt ... redeunt ... recurrunt*). This minor correction makes much better sense in our passage as well, since it restores the progressive development of the narrated events on a verbal level, which is entailed by the dynamic character of the sequence: the ass’s enormous belly seems to deflate and retreat within the boundaries of human physiology. It also gives a good ditrochaic clausula, which is frequently found in *met.* (Bernhard 1965, 250 and see also below, comm. on *cauda nusquam*). For a different view, see *GCA* 2007, 280 on 1,14,1 *resident*.

pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt: the phrasing mixes two peculiar stylistic features of the Ovidian technique of metamorphosis description; for the use of *per* + accusative to indicate both the place and the way in which the change takes place, cf. for instance *Ov. met.* 5,671-672 *pennas exire per ungues* and 5,548 *per ... brachia pennas*; 10,490-491 *per ungues porrigitur radix*; very frequent in Ovid is

also the use of the verb *eo* (and/or its compounds) referring to the process of transformation, with or without an *in* + accusative complement indicating result (for which see also comm. on 11,11,4 *in canalem porrectum*): apart from the passage in *met.* 5,671-672 already quoted above, cf. for instance 1,236 *in illos abeunt uestes*; 4,657-658 *barba comaeque / in siluas abeunt*; 10,493-494 *sanguis it in sucos, in magnos brachia ramos, in paruos digiti*; 14,304 *redeunt umeri ...*; 14,499 *comaeque in plumas abeunt*; 14,551 *in digitos abeunt*.

manus non iam pedes sunt: cf. *Ov. met.* 3,678 *iam non esse manus, iam pinnas posse uocari*. In general, the use of *iam/non iam* indicating the accomplishment of the metamorphosis is very frequent (cf., among many instances, *Ov. met.* 2,585; 2,661; 2,830; 4,382; 6,377; 8,305).

manus ... in erecta porriguntur officia: the expression is bold: the participle *erectus* does not refer to the position of the body, as would be natural (strictly speaking, *erectus* would not even suit the *manus*), but, by transfer, to the *officia*, the ‘natural functions’ of an organ (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *officium* 522,1-22). For the normal use of this participle-adjective see for example *met.* 4,1,6 *erectus in hominem* and 11,11,2 *erectum ... statum*. The enallage, though, condenses the described action to the maximum, reproducing the prodigious rapidity of the metamorphosis on a formal-stylistic level. On a lexical level the phrase may recall *Ov. met.* 1,744-745 *officioque pedum nympe contenta duorum / erigitur*, where Io retrieves her human biped status (the reverse process is present too, in *Ov. met.* 2,479-480 *curuarique manus et aduncos crescere in ungues / officioque pedum fungi*). For this use of *porrigo* as a kind of synonym of *cresco*, cf. 9,13,2 (*muli*) *ungulas ... in enorme uestigium porrecti*.

Finally, one may wonder whether this very peculiar expression might represent an example of wordplay in a ‘religious’ context: it is in fact possible to read *manus ... in erecta porriguntur officia* on an additional level, as a description of Lucius’ gesture (his ‘pose’), which he assumes during his re-transformation; stretching his arms out to the sky (*manus ... porriguntur*), the reborn Lucius makes a gesture of worship and supplication. On this level, the *erecta officia* are the *officia* of the *manus porrectae* (= *erectae*, cf. *OLD* s.v. *erigo* 1 ‘to raise into the air’). In this particular context, the resulting gesture expresses religious *officia* towards the saving goddess; for the expression cf. 3,7,1 *porrectis ... in preces manibus*; *Ov. met.* 1,767 (the mother of Phaethon) *utraque caelo brachia porrexit*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *porrigo* 2759,21-25 (for a different, oratorical use of the gesture cf. 2,21,1 *suberectus ... porrigit dexteram*). The crowd, staring in amazement at Lucius, ‘replicates’ his religious posture: 11,13,6 *caelo manus adtendent*.

in erecta ... officia: the reference to ‘uprightness’ here generally underscores the underlying motif of the return from animal to human form, since the upright position is a fundamental trait of human nature (cf. also *met.* 4,1,6 *de iumentis quadrupedis incuruo gradu rursus erectus in hominem ... resurgerem* and see *Sall. Cat.* 1,1 with *Vretska* 1976 ad loc.); hence it became a common theme in many philosophical texts, among which are Plato, *Tim.* 89-90; *Xen. Mem.* 1,4,11; *Cic. leg.* 1,26; *Sen. epist.* 65,20; *Aug. civ.* 22,24; it is even attested in a late pseudo-etymology that links the Greek word ἀνθρώπος to the verb ἀναθρεῖν (‘to look up’, cf. *Gigon* 1953, 135). In poetry it is easy to recall *Ov. met.* 1,86 (*os homini sublime dedit caelumque uidere / iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus*), but, for an image resembling our passage

very closely, one can also think of Ov. *met.* 14,302 *quo magis illa canit magis hoc tellure leuati / erigimur* (Odysseus' friends abandon their bestial form).

cohibetur: in the passive form, with the unusual sense of 'to recede', 'to shrink' used here ('i.q. brevis reddi', *ThLL* s.v. 1545,54-55), the verb is an absolute semantic hapax.

os et caput rotundatur: cf. 3,24,5 *iam facies enormis et os prolixum*. The verb *rotundo* is rarely attested (mostly in the passive form) and seems confined to technical language (cf. for instance Vitr. 10,6,1; Mela 1,95; Plin. *nat.* 16,86); of course it is also possible that it is just a feature of spoken language.

aures enormes: the most evident and peculiar characteristic of the donkey, and one that is emphasized by Apuleius throughout the novel (apart from our passage and the opposite transformation described in *met.* 3,24,5; cf. also 6,32,3; 7,13,3; 9,15,6), so much that it led James 1991 to suggest the provocative hypothesis that the original title could have been *Asinus Auritus*. The adjective *enormis* as an alternative superlative of *magnus* is standard in the imperial age (Callebat 1968, 407).

paruitatem: although attested in the classical period, the term is uncommon (Médan 1925b, 198) and probably preferred here in order to extend the alliteration.

dentes saxei: with just a few instances in prose, the adjective *saxeus* has a certain poetic flavour; the sense is not immediately clear, even if, as the context (*redeunt ad humanam minutiem*) shows, the reference seems to be to the size of the ass' teeth (cf. already *met.* 10,22,1 with *GCA* 2000, 283) rather than to their hardness (a sense which instead prevails at 6,12,3 *cornuque acuto et fronte saxea*), but it is of course possible that Apuleius playfully takes advantage of the ambiguity resulting from a simultaneous presence of both meanings here.

minutiem: cf. also 9,27,2 for this heteroclitic variant of the standard form *minutia*, probably preferred for euphonic reasons (it avoids the homoeoteleuton and lightens the sequence, reduplicating at the same time the sound effect *-am/-em* of the previous conjunction *pristinam paruitatem*).

cauda nusquam: a sensational ending for this sensational scene: this condensed expression (which a recent hand in F clumsily tried to correct by adding the verb *comparuit*, perhaps imitating *met.* 8,21,3 and 10,15,2) aims to reproduce the prodigiously swift vanishing of the tail. With this last, vivid detail, the long sequence of the metamorphosis is concluded in a particularly effective mode. It also provides a very good ditrochaic clausula, frequent in Apuleius' prose (cf. Chodaczek 1930-1931, 534 and Bernhard 1965, 250). On the use of nominal phrases to increase expressiveness, cf. Callebat 1968, 447 and Bernhard 1927, 155-159, but it may suffice to recall a similar case in the description of the first transformation: 3,24,3 *nec ullae plumulae, nec usquam pinnulae*. For the possibility that the reference to the *cauda* may be a silent phallic allusion, see Schlam 1992, 120 and cf. also comm. on 11,14,4 *uelamento naturali probe munieram*.

11,13,6 *Populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam et consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis claraque et consona uoce, caelo manus adtendentes, testantur tam inlustre deae beneficium*. The people were amazed, the devotees expressed their reverence for such a manifestation

of power by the greatest deity, and for the magnificence and the ease of that transformation, something which resembled the dreams of the night; raising their hands, with one, clear voice, they rendered testimony to this great beneficence of the goddess.

populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur: the antithesis, underlined by the parallelism and the double homoeoteleuton, clarifies the meaning of *populi* as well as *religiosi*: the first term indicates the 'crowd' of the uninitiated, the second term – although more common as a generic term for 'believers' in Apuleius (cf. for instance 11,15,4 *uideant irreligiosi, uideant et errorem suum recognoscant*) and in Christian writers – indicates here the group of those who are initiated into the mysteries (cf. also in this book 11,16,2 *permixtus agmini religioso*; 11,23,1 *religiosa cohors* with Haraauer 1973 ad loc.). The plural form *populi* for 'people', 'crowd' (cf. also 4,32,3; 11,16,3; 11,16,9) is generally avoided by classical authors, but found in poetry (cf. Hor. *sat.* 1,1,65; Ov. *met.* 7,523); according to Callebat 1968, 169, it could be a feature of *sermo cotidianus*.

populi mirantur: since the crowd is not informed about the divine prediction, unlike the priest (or the whole group of the *religiosi*), it can only witness the miracle in total astonishment. Eventually, Mithras' words will reveal the facts to the uninitiated, too. For the the topos of a crowd's emotional response to a divine miracle (*Wundergeschichten*) see introduction to Ch. XVI (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?). For the contrast with the crowd's reaction in the *Onos* (54) see Introduction, 6.1 and cf. above, 11,6,4. The presence of a stupefied audience is also a fundamental element in Ovidian narrative, which serves to emphasize its vividness and verisimilitude, as has been excellently put by Rosati 1983, cf. especially 152 on this 'poetics of the *mirum*', whose most common trait is the astonishment, the wonder that such spectacular events provoke, and consequently the description of the amazement expressed by the spectators of each event (for Rosati's treatment of the topic see esp. *ibid.* pp. 142-153); on the effect of 'astonishment' in the ancient novel see also Graverini 2010, 57-88.

tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam: there is perhaps a pun in the phrase, based on a 'restored' religious meaning of the adjective *euidens*. The combination *numen euidens* is in fact a typical combination of sacral language, in which the adjective has a sense that is very close to *propitius*, for which cf. Liv. 5,51,4 *tam euidens numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis*; *CIL* XIV 44,2 *numini euidentissimo Mineruae sacrum* (see *ThLL* s.v. *euidens* 1036,68-81). By modifying *numen* with a generic attribute and transferring *euidens* to *potentia*, Apuleius not only creates a perfect balance in the distribution of the adjectives, but also economically and effectively recalls the sacral expression almost 'by ear', while at the same time using the adjective in its concrete and original sense of *euidens* i.q. *manifestus* – which is particularly appropriate to this context, presenting a scene that unfolds with strong visual impact, like the scene with the re-transformation (on *euidens* as a typical feature of metamorphosis in Ovid, see again Rosati 1983, 145-146). Compare Lucius' similar reaction in 11,7,1 *summeque miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam*.

consimilem nocturnis imaginibus magnificentiam et facilitatem reformationis: the expression is not very clear. Most translators understand *consimilis* as *congruens* (ap-

parently with reference to the prophetic dream) and translate accordingly, e.g. Hanson 1989, 317: “her grandeur which exactly matched my dream revelations”; Kenney 1998, 202: “the ease with which the transformation was accomplished and its miraculous conformity with the nocturnal visions”; Walsh 1994, 226: “the devotees paid homage to the demonstrable power ... and to this wonder-working which corresponded with the visions of the night”; for a similar interpretation, see also Griffiths 1975, 85 and Fo 2005, 551. If they are correct, though, one should suspect some error made by the narrator (cf. Fredouille 1975, 80 for a similar view), who attributes this knowledge to the whole crowd (or at least the whole group of the initiated), whereas it turns out from Ch. VI that the goddess only appears to the priest who will carry the *rosea corona* (cf. 11,6,3).

Another problem is the meaning of the abstract noun *magnificentia* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 61-63, listing synonyms such as *maiestas*, *claritas*, *facultas magna et mira faciendi*); either we have to view it as a compressed expression that indicates the event itself and its magnitude (hence one could translate “the extraordinary prodigy”, “the miracle”), or we should assume a sort of double enallage, like Kenney seems to do in his translation. The plural form *nocturnis imaginibus*, though not impossible (cf. 8,9,3 *nec tamen cum quoquam participatis nocturnis imaginibus ...*), adds to the doubts raised by the translations quoted above. Perhaps the focus here is not on the similarity of the events with what had been announced (Fredouille 1975, 80): a careful comparison with the more explicit expressions found at the beginning of the chapter (*miratusque congruentiam mandati muneris*) and again at 11,20,7 (*sollertiam somni ... mirabar ... praeter congruentiam ... pollicitationis*) and 11,27,7 (*nocturnae imagini congruentem*), leaves us at least with the suspicion that the reference here is not to one particular dream (the one that the priest had), but to dreams in general. The comparison expressed by *consimilem*, then, would not be that between the prediction of the dream and its concrete realization (which would sound like a useless repetition, since the very same thing had already been said at the beginning of the chapter), but, rather, that between the ‘magnificence and the ease’ with which the metamorphosis happens and the ease with which incredible things usually happen in nocturnal visions (on these and other symbolic associations of the night, see Introduction, 4.1.3).

Furthermore, it seems possible that not all of the three *cola* are parallel and on the same syntactical level (namely *tam euidentem ... potentiam / consimilem ... magnificentiam / facilitatem reformationis*): one could think of a bipartite structure in which the second part is composed by two segments connected in a sort of hendiadys, to indicate the ‘prodigious ease’ of the *reformatio*: *consimilem nocturnis imaginibus* would therefore refer to the whole group *magnificentiam + facilitatem*, and this ‘*magnifica facilitas*’ would be ‘very much like the one we observe in dreams’ (an argument against this possibility, related to the undesirable rhythm of the resulting phrase, is offered by Harrauer 1973, 87). Be that as it may on a syntactical level, what really matters here is the proper meaning of the comparison; with regard to this, we agree with scholars who prefer the second alternative: cf. Helm – Krenkel 1970, 374: “ihre Wunderkraft, wie sie in Traumbildern vorkommt”; Carlesi – Terzaghi 1954, 296: “la magnificenza e la facilità della metamorfosi, simile alle immagini che si veggono la notte nei sogni”; Nicolini 2005, 725: “di fronte ... alla grandiosa natu-

ralezza – in tutto simile a quella dei sogni notturni – con cui era avvenuta la trasformazione”.

In this context, *imago* as a category of comparison underlines, on the one hand, the ‘unreal’ nature of the event (playing on the notion of *φαντασία*, images produced only in the mind, cf. Quint. *inst.* 6,2,29 and cf. above, *euidentem*), and, on the other hand, the ‘ominous’ quality of nocturnal visions – they have a greater significance beyond their immediate appearance, they are a ‘sign’, a ‘portent’. See *ThLL* s.v. *imago* 408,83-409,22, especially 409,3-22 (‘de somniis’). In contrast to other occurrences, the allusion to nocturnal dreams here has a positive sense, just like the nocturnal vision of Osiris (*clemens imago; nocturna diuinatione*) in 11,29,3. The analogy is complete: what happens to Lucius is a marvel that people would only expect to see in dreams, and it is a propitious phenomenon. Both aspects make the people stare at the spectacle in stupefaction and awe.

reformatio: this seems to be the first case where this substantive is used of a ‘physical transformation’, but it is likely that the use belonged to spoken language, since the verb *reformatio* is attested with a similar meaning (cf. Ov. *met.* 9,399 and 11,254, where the prefix *re-* = *retro*, and see also *OLD* s.v. *reformatio* 3). By virtue of the different possibilities offered by the prefix (which can have both an intensive and a local value), Apuleius uses *reformatio* as a neutral term that can indicate both transformation into something and the reverse, i.e. a change in every possible direction, as is perfectly shown by a comparison between our passage and the first occurrence of the noun at 3,24,6 *nec ullum miserae reformationis uideo solacium* (the same goes for Apuleius’ use of the verb *reformatio*).

claraque et consona uoce caelo manus adtendentes testantur: cf. 1,10,4 *consone clamitarent quam sanctissime deierantes*. The alliterative effect probably serves to underline the crowd’s joyful acclaim with a kind of onomatopoeic effect. For the religious gesture, cf. comm. on 11,13,4 *manus ... in erecta porriguntur officia*.

caelo ... adtendentes: the construction of *adtendo* with the dative is poetic (Médan 1925b, 40).

beneficium: in the sense of ‘grace received’ (*ThLL* s.v. 1882,74-1883,22), the word is used almost obsessively over the whole of Book 11, summing up the debt of gratitude that the devotee owes to the saving goddess and, consequently, encapsulating the notion of the contract that was of fundamental importance in this kind of religion, based on a ‘do ut des’ relationship: cf. 11,6,5 *nec iniurium cuius beneficio redieris ad homines ei totum debere quod uiues*, with comm. on *beneficio* (and see also above on 11,12,1); and on the subject of *beneficia* as a characteristic trait of the (Romanised) relationship between Lucius and Isis see Van Mal-Maeder 2014 (forthcoming).

CHAPTER XIV

Lucius is overwhelmed by his regained human voice and covers his regained human nakedness.

In the chapter following that describing the miraculous re-transformation, the focus is on Lucius' paralysed state of uncertainty, in which he finds himself after having been restored to mankind. A powerful symbol of this restoration is the recovery of his lost human voice, which Lucius desires to celebrate in an appropriate manner, indeed with adequate praise of the goddess who saved him. Here, however, it is striking that after such a strong emphasis on the regaining of the human voice no speech made by Lucius is actually quoted at all: in fact, Lucius' first words inaugurating his new human voice will only be uttered in Ch. XXV, when he pronounces the famous prayer of thanks. On the contrary, the solemn atmosphere here, so full of expectation, is all of a sudden thwarted by the sudden focus on the comic image of Lucius standing completely naked before the crowd.

Ovid sometimes emphasizes the motif of the recovered voice (which is presented as just as important as the recovery of human shape) in a similar way, by underlining the protagonist's incredulity and uncertainty as s/he is confronted with her/his reborn faculty of speaking (cf. for instance Io's reaction at *met.* 1,745-746 *metuitque loqui, ne more iuuencae / mugiat et timide uerba intermissa retemptat*). The corresponding motif of the loss of voice, being a crucial, meaningful aspect of the metamorphosis into an ass, is very likely to have been present in the Greek source as well (cf. *Onos* 38,2) and, more importantly, had already been developed by Ovid (cf., among many instances, *met.* 1,647; 2,485-488; 2,665-669; 3,201; 4,412; 4,587-590 with Rosati 2007, 321, and 11,326 with Bömer 1980, 321; see also *GCA* 1981, 99).

11,14,1 At ego stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam, animo meo tam repentinum tamque magnum non capiente gaudium, As for me, fixed on the spot in total astonishment, I stood there in silence, my mind unable to contain so sudden and so great a joy,

At ego: for *at* at the beginning of a new section, paragraph, chapter, etc. see above, comm. on 11,13,1 *at sacerdos*.

nimio: on this use of *nimius* as an absolute superlative (i.q. *maximus*), probably an element of spoken language, cf. comm. on *nimio* at 11,1,1.

stupore nimio defixus ... tacitus haerebam: though the phrasing is very close to that used to describe Lucius' way of behaving when he is confronted with the first metamorphosis in the novel (Pamphile's transformation in 3,22,1 *praesentis ... facti stupore defixus*), the significance of this coincidence is not to be exaggerated; the association between *stupor* and the immobility caused by it, which is expressed by the terms *haereo* and *defixus*, seems to be one of those combinations for which Apuleius has a penchant (cf. also 9,11,5 *stupore mentito defixus haerebam*; 9,34,2 *stupore defixi mirantur*), perhaps also owing to a detailed literary reminiscence (Verg. *Aen.*

1,495 *dum stupet ... haeret defixus*); see *GCA* 2001, 151-152 on representations of *stupor* in other scenes and possible literary reminiscences contained by them. According to Lateiner (2001, 247-248), Lucius' immobility here indicates that he becomes the principal spectacle at the procession, the object of wonder (11,13,6 *populi mirantur*), as he will be in Ch. XXIV.

animo meo ... non capiente gaudium: the phrasing is ambivalent. On one level, it suggests that Lucius' mind (*animo*) cannot grasp or comprehend the παράδοξον of his sudden miraculous transformation, with the implication that the human mind is too small to comprehend (divine) miracles; cf. 1,3,3 *auditu noua uel uisu rudia uel certe supra captum cogitationis ardua*; *OLD* s.v. *capio* 29 'to grasp mentally, take in, comprehend'; with *animus* as subject, *ThLL* s.v. *capio* 322,37-70. Lucius just cannot believe his unexpected luck; cf. Liv. 9,9,14 *illi uelut somnio laetiore quam quod mentes eorum capere possent*, with Oakley 2005 ad loc., who compares for the general idea and expression Liv. 22,51,3 *Hannibali nimis laeta res est uisa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset*; 27,50,7 *et primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent*; 33,32,6 *maius gaudium fuit quam quod uniuersum homines acciperent: uix satis credere se quisque audisse et alii alios intueri, mirabundi uelut ad somni uanam speciem* (based on Polyb. 18,46,7 τὸ δὲ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαπιστούμενον καὶ δοκοῦν ὡς ἂν εἰ καθ' ὕπνον ἀκούειν τῶν λεγομένων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ συμβαινόντος). Lucius' inability to *comprehend* his luck is also reflected in the tripartite question in 11,14,2, which expresses his inability to *articulate* his luck. On a different level, the phrase *capere gaudium* may suggest that Lucius is not capable of *containing his joy* (*OLD* s.v. *capio* 28 'to be capable of having'), meaning that the sense of joy was so strong that he was completely overwhelmed by it (compare the priest, who is also 'permotus').

defixus: see *GCA* 2001, 152 (note on *defixus obstupui*) for the possibility that the term *defixus*, used for describing astonishment and wonder in front of a *mirum*, recalls magical *defixiones*.

11,14,2 quid potissimum praefarer primarium, unde nouae uocis exordium caperem, quo sermone nunc renatam linguam felicius auspicarer, quibus quantisque uerbis tantae deae gratias agerem? what would be best for me to say first? What should I start with, for the first use of my new voice? With what speech could I, in the most auspicious way, inaugurate my reborn tongue? What words, and how many, should I use to express my gratitude to so great a goddess?

The sequence of four increasing cola is marked by an intense use of euphonic effects such as assonance and alliteration and by some lexical choices which seem peculiar to religious vocabulary; the focus is on the recovery of the last human feature, the one that is most crucial for Lucius – his ability to speak. The accumulation of many different terms from the semantic field of 'speech' (*uocis, sermone, lingua, uerbis*) emphasizes the importance of language, the loss of which Lucius had often regretted during his adventures as an ass (cf. e.g. 3,29; 7,3; 8,29 for Lucius' several vain attempts to speak with his original voice).

quid ... unde ... quo: a sequence of three indirect questions, governed by a *verbum cogitandi* implied by *haerebam*, expresses Lucius' astonishment and hesitation as a result of what had just happened.

praefarer ... exordium caperem: the choice for the verb *praefor* (slightly over-abundant, given the presence of *potissimum* and *primarium*) seems to be determined by phonetic reasons, since it contributes to the marked alliterative combination. This does not exclude the possibility, suggested by Harrauer 1973, 89, that the verb has some religious connotations, since in other passages of our book it is specifically used in sacral language (cf. below, 11,16,6; 11,17,3 and 11,23,1 with comm. on *praefatus*): Lucius' first use of his reborn human voice seems actually to have a symbolic, almost sacred meaning. Finally, on the possibility that both *praefarer* and the following *exordium* have been chosen as true keywords that draw the reader's attention to a kind of 'second prologue', with which a completely new part of the story begins, see Introduction, 2.2.

primarium: the adjective, which has usually a qualitative sense, is not rare as a synonym of *primus*, though in such cases (as *ThLL* s.v. *primarius* 1235,30-32 emphasises and our passage confirms) it is generally combined with adverbs. For a slightly different interpretation see *OLD* s.v. 3 ('most important, chief'), quoting our passage together with 4,9,4 *quod est huic disciplinae primarium studium*.

nouae uocis ... renatam linguam: Lucius' 'new voice' and 'reborn tongue' can be seen as a symbol of the eloquence which he owes to Isis (cf. 11,3,3 *ipsum numen* and see Finkelpaerl 2003) and which will become central to his new life as Isiac devotee; on the level of style and language in Book 11, this 'new voice' is reflected in the religious eloquence of the narrator, for which see Introduction, 7.1.1; see also introduction to Ch. XXV.

quo sermone ... renatam linguam ... auspicarer: the transmitted reading of *F renata lingua* has been accepted by almost every modern editor (including Helm 1931, Robertson 1945, Fredouille 1975). In our opinion, however, the slight correction *renatam linguam*, mentioned already by Hildebrand 1842 and proposed again by Van der Vliet 1897, provides both better grammar and a more attractive text (it is read by Zimmerman 2012).

The absolute use of *auspicor* (= 'to begin', 'to start') is actually possible, although not so frequent and, as one can infer from the several instances given by *ThLL* s.v. 1551,32-55 ('obiecto omissio'), it is usually found in idiomatic expressions in which an object is already implied by the verb (*Tac. ann.* 4,36,1 *praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi gratia tribunal ingressum*) or in passages in which a direct object (or a subordinate infinitive) has just been expressed and can therefore be easily understood (cf. *Colum.* 1,5,9 *quisquis aedificia uolet ... exstruere, semper ab inferiore parte auspicetur*; 3,1,1 *nihil ... prohibet nos ... de isdem rebus dicturos celeberrimi carminis auspicari principio*).

More importantly, the concept to be expressed in our passage seems to be something different from a generic sense of 'beginning a speech' (which, after all, would sound like a flat repetition after two very similar phrases, which both articulate this idea): here, the main focus seems to be on the notion of recovery and subsequent re-inauguration of a fundamental human faculty, which seemed to have been lost for-

ever, namely the human language. But for *auspicor* in the sense of 'to inaugurate' an accusative is needed (Apuleius normally uses the verb with an accusative object, which is the standard Latin construction at all periods, cf. 8,8,9 *noli parricidio nuptias auspicari*; 8,12,1 *futuras tenebras auspicantes*; *apol.* 73,9 *uirilis togae usum auspicaretur*). Of course the object needed could also be *sermonem*, which in fact is the reading given by some recent manuscripts and printed by Hildebrand 1842, but the emendation suggested by Van der Vliet offers both an easier syntax and a stronger sense, as well as a neat emphasis on the crucial issue: Lucius' recovery of his lost voice.

felicis auspicarer: for the religious connotations of beginning a speech in such a way that it is auspicious, cf. *flor.* 18,37 (the opening of the hymn to Aesculapius) *nunc quoque igitur principium mihi apud uestras auris auspicatissimum ab Aesculapio deo capiam, qui arcem nostrae Carthaginis indubitabili numine propitius tegit* (*F strepit*; see Lee 2005 ad loc.). There, the auspicious nature of the speech is derived from the power of Aesculapius, which is manifest in the success of *Carthago* (*propitius*); here, Lucius is looking for words to aptly express his incredible luck (cf. 11,14,1), which reflects the power of Isis. What is more, he is finding words to inaugurate his reborn language in such a way that it brings luck for the future, i.e. both *felicis* and *auspicarer* refer to the good omen that the opening of Lucius' speech should express; *ThLL* s.v. *felix* (*feliciter*) 451,65-66 compares our passage to the language of votive inscriptions, cf. *CIL* III 13734 *Tropeensium ciuitas auspicato fundamentis feliciter ... constructa est*. In Book 11, the adjective *felix* is frequently used to refer to Lucius' new blessings; cf. 11,16,4 *felix hercules et ter beatus* with comm. ad loc.

11,14,3 Sed sacerdos utcumque diuino monitu cognitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis, quamquam et ipse insigni permotus miraculo, nutu significato prius praecipit tegendo mihi linteam dari laciniam; But the priest, who had learned through some divine revelation of all my sufferings from the start, though he was deeply moved himself by that extraordinary miracle, first gave a signal with a nod, ordering that a linen cloth should be given to me, to cover me up;

Sed sacerdos: the adversative seems to point to the behaviour of the other protagonist of this scene, the priest, who, in contrast with Lucius' immobility, takes the initiative without hesitation.

utcumque diuino monitu: for the element of divine hints and warnings, frequently mentioned in this book, cf. 11,6,1; 11,19,2; 11,24,6; *utcumque* is to be understood as a synonym of *utique*, a frequent use in late Latin, cf. Callebat 1968, 322 with many good Apuleian parallels and *LHSz* 2,635. Lucius had already revealed earlier that he was perfectly aware of the way the goddess had alerted her priest (11,13,1 *At sacerdos, ut reapse cognoscere potui, nocturni commonefactu oraculi*).

significato: an ablative absolute of the same kind as *cognito, explorato, auspicato* (*LHSz* 2,141-142), with *nutu* used as an instrumental ablative. This construction, which is normal in Classical Latin, is supported by 10,30,5 *nutu significans*; Rohde's (1885, 107) conjecture *nutus significatu* is therefore unnecessary.

prius: opposed to the following *quo facto*, cf. below, 11,14,5.

praecipit ... dari: praecipio (with imperative meaning, ‘i.q. iubeo’) governing a passive infinitive is not common but certainly found also in Classical Latin, see *ThLL* s.v. *praecipio* 449,27-32, quoting Val. Max. 5,5,3; Curt. 6,6,15; Colum. 2,14,6 (and other passages); Plin. *nat.* 15,62 (and other passages); Suet. *Aug.* 99,1; *Tib.* 65,2; *Lex colleg. salut. Dian. et Antin.* (CIL XIV 2112) 1,6 *praecipit legem ... perscribi*.

linteram ... laciniam: this is not some ordinary piece of cloth, as the hyperbaton aims to emphasize. The first garment given to Lucius, in a sort of silent, first rite of integrating Lucius into the community, is made of white linen (cf. 11,15,4 *sume iam uultum laetiolem candido isto habitu tuo congruentem*). White linen was the typical clothing of Isiac devotees and a symbol of purity, as we know very well from many literary and iconographic sources (see comm. on 11,10,1 *linterae ... luminosi* and on 11,23,4 *linterae*). *laciniam* is an easy conjecture, already found in some *recentiores* for F’s reading *liciniam*, a clear ‘vox nihili’.

11,14,4 nam me cum primum nefasto tegmine despoliauerat asinus compressis in artum feminibus et superstrictis accurate manibus, quantum nudo licebat, uelamento me naturali probe munieram. for, from the moment that the ass had deprived me of its dreadful skin, I had tried to cover myself carefully – so far as a naked man could – with a kind of natural protection, by keeping my thighs tightly closed and pressing my hands properly over them.

me ... despoliauerat asinus: the anastrophe aims to isolate the personal pronoun *me*, throwing, as a result, Lucius’ restored human figure into sharp relief. The construction itself turns out to emphasise the distance between the man and the *asinus*, the latter of which is actually the subject of the phrase, viewed as a real ‘extraneous body’; a similar idea, though observed from the opposite perspective, is found in 3,25,3 *exibis asinum statimque in meum Lucium postliminio redibis*, which occurs immediately after the metamorphosis. It is not necessary, therefore, to follow Van der Vliet 1897 in deleting *me*: the reflexive use of *despoliauerat*, which is incidentally very rare, would spoil the visual effect of this elaborate phrase. A similar interpretation is given also by Fredouille 1975, 82, who guesses that the initial *me* has a proleptic value picked up by the next *me* (object of *munieram*). All these hypotheses do not seem to be very economical; the evidence of Apuleius’ rhetorical strategy in this passage is rather confirmed by passages like the one quoted above (3,25,3) and also elsewhere (cf. for instance 11,16,5 *locum quo pridie meus stabulauerat asinus peruenimus*).

nefasto: some manuscripts classified in Robertson’s Class I (U, S and the *editio princeps*) read *nefando*, but this could be due to an ancient attempt to normalize *nefastus*, since *nefandus* is more frequent in Apuleius’ works; for the same reason, as Hildebrand 1842 ad loc. informs us, some older editors also preferred to print *nefario*. F’s reading is to be retained: although it is an Apuleian hapax, this adjective is nevertheless very common in Latin at all periods and is also preferable for semantic reasons (*nefandus* and *nefarius* seem to have a specifically moral nuance, i.e. ‘wicked’, ‘impious’), while *nefastus* can more frequently express the meaning that fits this context (Lucius’ feelings of hatred for the animal form that had entrapped him), cf. also

11,2,4 *quadrupedis diram faciem*; 11,6,2 *mihī ... iam dudum detestabilis beluae* and see *OLD* s.v. *nefastus* 2 ‘abominable’, ‘dreadful’.

cum primum ... despoliauerat: the construction of *cum primum* with pluperfect indicative is not classical (cf. LHSz 2,626; the standard construction requires either indicative present, perfect, or future simple and perfect), and it is found only here in Apuleius, but it becomes more frequent in imperial Latin; this is perhaps due to analogy with the construction of *ut primum* + indicative past perfect, which, on the other hand, is found several times in *met.* (cf. e.g. 3,10,2 and 9,15,2), although it is not very common in Classical Latin either.

in artum: Hildebrand 1842, 1035 rightly commends this brilliant correction by Beroaldus (1500) of the transmitted text *in altum*, which gives no sense; he also mentions Pricaeus’ (1650) emendation *in multum*, but there can simply be no doubt that *in artum* is much more economical: apart from the paleographical resemblance, it is far more attractive in sense and, above all, a very common Latin idiom at all periods (as already observed by Hildebrand 1842, who also pointed out the frequent confusion between *altum* and *artum* in manuscripts). In a more general context, see LHSz 2,276 for *in* + neuter accusative with adverbial value, which is common in late Latin (e.g. *in obliquum, in rectum, in longum*, etc.).

superstrictis: superstringo, an Apuleian hapax, remains very rare even after Apuleius (found only once in Sidonius Apollinaris); it appears to be one of those compounds taken from spoken language to add colour and vividness of expression to the narrative (Bernhard 1927, 121-122).

quantum nudo licebat: most translators and commentators take *nudo* as an adjective modifying *mihī* (cf. e.g. Fredouille 1975, 82; Griffiths 1977, 87; Kenney 1998, 203), which is easily inferred from the immediately following pronoun *me*; in our view, it seems more probable that *nudo* is used as a substantive here (= *homini nudo*), as in 1,15,3 *an ignoras ... nudum nec a decem palaestritis despoliari posse?*

nudo: according to Van der Poppen 2008, 171-172 and Beer 2011, 82-85, the model of Odysseus covering his manhood in front of Nausicaa and her companions in Scheria (Hom. *Od.* 6,128-129) may underlie this comic scene.

uelamento me naturali probe munieram: the hero’s feeling of shame is a feature of humanization, which is absent from the *Onos*, whereas it occurs several times in Apuleius’ novel (cf. 8,29,5; 10,34,5); for comic resonances in Lucius’ ‘act of *pudor*’ with relation to the loss of his huge asinine genitals, see Van Mal-Maeder 1997a, 108-109, who interprets the scene in terms of a ‘castration’ experience. The adverb *probe* may convey a double meaning here, a literal one, ‘i.q. accurate, curiose’ as well as a moral one, ‘secundum integritatem morum’, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *probe* 1490,17-25, which lists our passage in the latter category. For an in-depth analysis of this scene see also Keulen 2014 (forthcoming), according to whom Lucius’ act of *pudor* at the religious end of the novel symbolises the protagonist’s new moral and religious spirit.

11,14,5 Tunc e cohorte religionis unus inpigre superiorem exutus tunicam supertexit me celerrime. Quo facto sacerdos uultu geniali et hercules inhumano in aspectum meum attonitus sic effatur: Then one of the sacred troop, without hesitation, took off his outer tunic and quickly threw it over me. At that point the priest, staring in astonishment at me with a joyous and, I swear,

truly divine expression on his face, spoke the following words:

cohorte religionis: for the use of military imagery in religious language see comm. on 11,15,5 *da nomen sanctae huic militiae*.

unus ... superiorem exutus tunicam supertexit me: Schlam (1992, 60 and 121) points to the parallel with 1,7,2, where Aristomenes finds his long-lost friend Socrates half-naked and living in squalor and covers him with one of his garments (cf. *celer-rume* with 1,7,2 *propere*). The gesture is symbolic and underlines Lucius' return to humanity; moreover, it is a proleptic sign that anticipates Lucius' initiation into the cult (cf. 11,23,4 *amicimine contectum*) and his future priestly status, which are both connected with religious clothing (see comm. on 11,10,1 *linteae ... luminosi*; 11,17,2 *pastophorum*). For a similar gesture cf. also *Hist. Apoll.* 12 and see Panayotakis 2012, 196-197 ad loc. for further comparative discussion.

hercules: on Apuleius' many uses of the exclamation (*me*)*hercules*, see Krabbe 2003, 219-251.

inhumano: this is F's original reading, which a second hand changed into *perhumano* by modifying the prefix; however, *inhumano* was retained by both ϕ and the I Class mss. The correction is evidently a banalization made by a scribe who was used to interpreting *inhumanus* in a negative sense ('not human' = 'monstrous') instead of the positive sense required here. In this passage, however, Apuleius is playing with the ambiguity created by the very prefix *in-*, aiming to re-semanticize the adjective by imparting the new meaning of 'divine' to it (starting from the opposition 'divine' – 'human'). The non-pejorative sense had been already introduced at 5,8,1 *inhumanae mensae*, but here one can additionally observe a sort of *gradatio* of the adjectives (*genialis* from *genius*, *inhumanus* i.q. 'divinus'). On Apuleius' penchant for re-interpreting prefixes see Nicolini 2011a, 85-86.

Arguing along the same lines as Oudendorp's (1786) proposal *humanum*, Griffiths 1975 regrettably prefers to print *perhumanum* (to be taken with *aspectum*), chiefly because he invokes the *auctoritas* of some recent manuscripts as a real alternative to F (cf. Griffiths 1975, 240: "the occurrence of the prefix in the textual tradition demands its retention"). However, even if it is considered a conjecture, this reading raises another question of method, since it changes an Apuleian word already found elsewhere (with the same meaning) into an absolute semantic hapax (moreover, the reading is also difficult regarding word-order). For further arguments in defence of the transmitted text see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 18-19.

in aspectum meum attonitus: here, *aspectum* seems to have an unusual active meaning, which tends to become more frequent in late Latin (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *aspectum* 801,48-70 'de aspiciendi actu'); the object is expressed by the adjective *meum* (= *mei*). The construction of the adjective *attonitus* with *in* + accusative (meaning 'intent on' or 'astounded in front of') is found only in Apuleius, for instance at 2,26,5 *in aureos refulgentes ... attonitus* and 11,20,3 *in prouentum prosperiorem attonitus*; cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1154,74; more standard usage are constructions with *ad* + accusative or *in* + ablative (e.g. 4,12,7 *in prospectu alioquin attonitum*; see *OLD* s.v. *attonitus* 5).

effatur: this verb is distinctly poetic and conveys a solemn connotation, probably due to the fact that it is often used in sacral language, cf. *ThLL* s.v. (*effor*), 198,27-28 ('vox inprimis poetarum et augurum est').

CHAPTER XV

The priest addresses Lucius.

1. A key to the interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*?

This crucial chapter, placed more or less in the middle of *met.* 11, reflects a shift from the quasi-epic wanderings and hardships in *met.* 1 – 10 (in this chapter: 11,15,1 *laboribus*; 11,15,2 *pessimis periculis*; 11,15,3 *asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae*; 11,15,4 *aerumnis*) to the arrival and reception by Isis in Book 11 (11,15,1 *uenisti*; 11,15,3 *in tutelam iam receptus es*), resulting in a state of bliss (*religiosa beatitudo*), and in a final metamorphosis into a jubilant Isiac devotee. Consequently, the present chapter is often regarded as a key to the reading of the whole novel. Depending on interpretative preferences it suggests a serious larger unity of the novel (e.g. Berreth 1931, 101-106; Wittmann 1938, 77-90; Tatum 1969, 489-490; Penwill 1975, 49 and 74-75), points to an unsuccessful joining of *met.* 1 – 10 and *met.* 11 together (e.g. Heine 1962, 142; Perry 1967, 242), draws attention to issues of interpretation as such (e.g. Winkler 1985, 8-11 and 209-215), or leads up to a comic reading (e.g. Harrison 2000, 244). The last two options are linked with the question of the audience of and its reaction to this speech, for which see introduction to Ch. XVI (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?).

2. Structure and motifs

The speech is neatly divided into three parts, concerning Lucius' past (11,15,1-3 *Multis ... profuit*), present (11,15,3-4), and future (11,15,5). In the first part the priest criticizes Lucius' lack of self-restraint which resulted in his transformation into an ass, in the second he plays off Lucius' past blind Fortune against a new, seeing, Fortune, equivalent to Isis, and in the third part he exhorts Lucius to serve Isis. The question of Lucius' personal responsibility for his past actions and his present salvation has been answered differently. Some take their cue from the priest's scolding and think of personal guilt (e.g. Wittmann 1938, 77-90), others put Lucius' misadventures down to (blind) Fortune (e.g. Lesky 1941, 72-74; generally on Fortune in *met.* cf. e.g. Monteduro Roccavini 1979; *GCA* 1981, 91-92 on *caecam et ... exoculatam*; Kajanto 1981, 551-552; Fry 1984; Schlam 1992, 58-66). A variant of the second approach is the idea that blind Fortune and seeing Fortune are one and the same Isis in two different manifestations, which would imply that Lucius' saviour in *met.* 11 was also responsible for his suffering in *met.* 1 – 10 (e.g. Berreth 1931, 104-105; Merkelbach 1962, 5-6, 32; id. 2001, 279; 285; 269 n. 5; Fry 1984, 167 and 170; cf. the criticism of Drews in *AAGA* 3). But this is not warranted by the text. Isis in her manifestation as Isityche (cf. comm. on 11,15,3 *Fortunae, sed uidentis*) is represented as blind Fortune's opponent. The antagonism between two Fortunes, one seeing, the other blind, is a witty concept of Apuleius', partly inspired by the stereotypical antagonism of bad

Fortune and rescuing deity in the Greek novel (cf. comm. on 11,15,4 *de sua Fortuna triumphat*). It is predicated upon the central image of slavery (e.g. 11,15,1 *seruiles uoluptates*; 11,15,2 *in seruitium*; 11,15,5 *cum coeperis deae seruire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis*): Lucius is asked to exchange his old *seruitium Fortunae* for a new *seruitium Isidis*, paradoxically conceived as truly liberating (cf. e.g. Fitzgerald 2000, 103-104; Ávila Vasconcelos 2009, 42-53). Another prominent metaphor in this chapter is that of Isis' 'army' which Lucius is expected to join (cf. comm. on 11,15,5 *sanctae huic militiae*; for other instances of military language in *met.* 11 see introduction to Ch. VI [Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity]; comm. on 11,7,1 *numen inuictum* and 11,27,7 *inuicti Osiridis*; 11,14,5 *e cohorte religionis* and 11,23,1 *religiosa cohorte*; 11,16,2 *agmini religioso*; generally for military metaphors in *met.* Bernhard 1927, 195-196; *GCA* 1977, 208-209). Moreover, elements from philosophy (apart from Platonism, note esp. Stoic accents in the discussion of *prouidentia* and *fortuna*, cf. Graverini in *AGA* 3, 99-102) and poetry (e.g. epic, cf. on 11,15,1 *magnisque ... procellis* and 11,15,3 *asperrimorum ... reciprocae*; love elegy, cf. on 11,15,2 *uitas in seruitium ... uindicauit*) contribute to a rich literary texture.

3. Style

The present chapter is also a set piece of Apuleius' elevated style (cf. e.g. on 11,15,1 *Multis ... procellis*; 11,15,3 *quid ... profuit*). On the one hand, it shares a number of characteristics with similar instances of carefully composed speech in *met.* (Bernhard 1927, 255-257 compares the narrator's description of the robbers' preparation for their meal in 4,8, the speech of a robber in 4,13, and the speech of Jupiter among the gods in 6,23, all providing examples of formal features such as tricola, parallelisms, anaphoras, and alliterations). On the other hand, the exclusive focus on ethics and religion makes the tone of our chapter particularly dignified. Solmsen (review of Griffiths 1975 in *Gnomon* 51 [1979], 557), argues that chapter XV belongs with chapters II, V-VI and XXV, to "four 'liturgical' sections ... stylistically in a class of their own"; see Introduction, 7.1.1.

11,15,1 'Multis et uariis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis, ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, uenisti. Nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, uel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit, sed lubrico uirentis aetatulae ad seruiles delapsus uoluptates, curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti. 'After enduring many and different toils, and after being driven by Fortune's great tempests and her heaviest stormwinds, finally, Lucius, you have reached the harbour of Rest and the altar of Mercy. Not your birth, nor yet your rank, nor even the education in which you excel has been of any help to you; but on the slippery path of your green youth you plunged into slavish pleasures and gained the grim reward of your unlucky curiosity.

Multis ... uenisti: the image of storms is a *Leitmotif* of the first half of Book 11, cf. 11,5,5 *sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus*; 11,7,5

Magnoque procellarum sedato fragore ac turbido fluctuum tumore posito, mare quietas adluuies temperabat. Here the image is used on a metaphorical level; see Introduction, 4.1.3.

Multis ... procellis: an elaborate tricolon, building a climax with the alliterating introductions *multis ... magnis ... maximis* and drawing heavily on grammatical rhymes in *-is* and *-ibus*, sets the lofty tone for the speech of the priest.

exanclatis: on this archaic verb in *met.* see comm. on 11,2,4 *exanclatis casibus*; on the Odyssean paradigm behind Lucius' hardships see comm. on 11,12,1 *tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus* and see Introduction, 6.3.

magnisque ... procellis: the image is taken from navigation, fittingly considering that we are in the midst of a description of the Ploiaphesia (*met.* 11,8-17), the festival which marks the beginning of the seafaring season; cf. the phrasing of Isis' announcement of this festival in 11,5,5 *sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus*; also see 11,25,2 *Fortunae tempestates*. The metaphor of life as a sea-voyage is one of the best-known and most consistent in Western culture (cf. e.g. Blumenberg 1979; for classical antiquity esp. Kahlmeyer 1934, 26-39; cf. Bonner 1941a, 88). The association with Fortune is easy as she is often imagined as steerswoman and the rudder is one of her standard attributes (cf. e.g. Villard 1997 and Rausa 1997 *passim*; for literary examples also Bonner 1941b, 64-66). Isis' similar representation as Isityche (cf. below on 11,5,3 *Fortunae, sed uidentis*) and her role of mistress of the sea (cf. below on *portum Quietis*) provide the shared ground between Fortune and Isis on which the present chapter builds. Beer 2011, 92 and Graverini in *AGA* 3, 95 n. 24 suggest that – within a larger web of epic allusions, especially to the *Odyssey* – the image of seastorms evokes the sufferings of an epic hero (see Introduction, 6.3).

Fortunae: cf. 11,12,1 (*quod ... adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superare*), where Fortune is similarly associated with Lucius' past sufferings.

portum ... et aram: a familiar juxtaposition, cf. e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,126 *Hic locus igitur est unus quo perfugiant, hic portus, haec arx, haec ara sociorum*; *Mil.* 90 *aram sociorum, portum omnium gentium*; *Ov. Pont.* 2,8,68 *uos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae*; *epist.* 1,110 *tu citius uenias, portus et ara tuis*; *Plin. nat.* 6,110 *ibi portus Macedonum et arae Alexandri in promunturio*.

portum Quietis: the metaphor from navigation is continued (cf. above on *magnisque ... procellis*); the metaphorical use of 'haven' for a place or state of tranquillity was widespread in Graeco-Roman literature, cf. e.g. Kahlmeyer 1934, 34-35 and Bonner 1941b (esp. regarding religious connotations). The image is very suitable since Lucius is in actual fact in a harbour (Cenchreae; see Introduction, 4.2.1); moreover, Isis was venerated as mistress of the sea (cf. e.g. Bricault 2000 and 2006) and she is prominently presented in this role in *met.* 11 (cf. above on *magnisque ... procellis*). Isidorus in his 4th *Hymn* (Totti 24,6) calls a temple built for Isis 'a most just haven' (*ἄρμον ... δικαιοτάτον*); the *Invocation of Isis* transmitted in *P.Oxy.* 1380 (early 2nd cent. A.D.; Totti 20) refers to the goddess as *ὀρμίστρια* ('bringer to the harbour', lines 15-16 and 74); cf. *ibid.* *στολαρχεῖδα* ('commander of the fleet', lines 8-9), *πελάγους κυρεῖαν* ('mistress of the sea', lines 61-62) and *κυβερνήτιν* ('steerswoman', lines 69-70). Griffiths' (1975, 245 ad loc.) suggestion that Apuleius here revives an ancient Egyptian idea of the ship of the soul is unlikely considering the easy avail-

ability of similar metaphors in the Graeco-Roman tradition. On Isis Pelagia see Introduction, 4.2.1.

Quietis: the personification is not strictly necessary (*ThLL* s.v. *portus* 63,18-21 reads *quietis* here). It is suggested, however, by a parallelism with the following *Misericordia* and can be defended on the grounds of a Roman cult of Quies, attested in Liv. 4,41,8 (*iam consul uia Labicana ad fanum Quietis erat*); cf. W. Eisenhut s.v. ‘Quies’ in *RE* XXIV (1963), 877-878.

aram Misericordiae: the veneration of personified Ἐλεος is known from ancient Greece and in particular from the famous Altar of Mercy at Athens (cf. Pausan. 1,17,1 and Diod. Sic. 13,22,7; Waser s.v. ‘Ἐλεος’ in *RE* V.1 [1905], 2320-2321), often referred to because of the rights of asylum connected with it, a notion presumably implied in our passage. Seneca the Elder (*contr.* 10,5,10) calls the Athenian altar precisely *aram Misericordiae*. For the personification of *miseriordia* in general cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1128,59-62. The attribution of mercy to Isis flows naturally from her sympathy (e.g. 11,15,1 *adsum ... commota*; 11,5,4 *adsum ... miserata*), her role as saving goddess (e.g. 11,15,4 *deae sospitatrix*; 11,25,1 *humani generis sospitatrix perpetua*) and her characterization as a loving mother (e.g. 11,25,1 *dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis*); for some Egyptian background to this cf. Griffiths 1975, 246 ad loc.

tandem ... uenisti: the phrase seems to echo Anchises’ famous *uenisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti* from Verg. *Aen.* 6,687, already parodied in *met.* 8,26,6 *Venisti tandem miserrimi laboris uicarius* (cf. *GCA* 1985, 232 ad loc.). See Introduction, 6.3 for the important role of the *Aeneid* as an intertext in Book 11.

nec ... profuit: cf. the similar terms (*natales, dignitas, doctrina*) in Photis’ clearly corresponding ‘initiation into the wrong mysteries’ (cf. Schmidt 1982, esp. 271) at 3,15,4 *Sed melius de te doctrinaque tua praesumo, qui praeter generosam natalium dignitatem, praeter sublime ingenium, sacris pluribus initiatus profecto nosti sanctam silentii fidem*. Our passage does not imply that the cult of Isis was generally opposed to high social position and learning – these qualities are just not sufficient to earn religious salvation (cf. Griffiths 1975, 247 ad loc.). The qualities mentioned here partly coincide with the so-called ‘extraneous aspects’ (*aliena*) described in *Socr.* 23 p. 174, such as ‘nobility of birth’, ‘ancestry’, and ‘distantly stretching lineage’ (*generositatem ... prosapiam ... longos natales*), which belong to the world of *fortuna* (cf. Drews 2009, 582) and which are set in contrast with true internal values. Along these lines, the ideological framework of the priest’s sermon also has a Platonic dimension (cf. Keulen 2006, 194-195).

natales: for this post-classical plural noun meaning ‘origin’, ‘extraction’, cf. e.g. *OLD* s.v. *natalis* 7; Callebat 1968, 152. For Lucius’ prominent family cf. 1,2,1 *originis maternae nostrae fundamenta ... gloriam nobis faciunt* with *GCA* 2007, 93-95 ad loc.; 1,23,3 *generosa stirpe proditum*; 3,11,1 *Neque tuae dignitatis uel etiam prosapiae tuorum ignari sumus ... Nam et prouinciam totam inclitae uestrae familiae nobilitas complectitur* with Van der Paardt 1971, 87-88 ad loc.

dignitas: judging from the parallels in 3,11,1 and 3,15,14 (cited above under *nec ... profuit* and *natales*), Lucius’ *dignitas* is seen as a consequence of his noble extraction. Cf. James and O’Brien 2006 for the various associations of *dignitas*, e.g. with male physical beauty, and for the relation of the present instance of *dignitas* with the

descriptions of Lucius’ inner and outer being (cf. 2,2,8 *generosa probitas*) before the humiliation at the Risus Festival and before the metamorphosis – it is to this *dignitas* that the priest is referring.

flores: apart from the obvious literal meaning, *florere* here may also be read in a metaliterary fashion. On the one hand, it could allude to the literary and rhetorical fame of the author, who lurks behind Lucius especially in Book 11 (but cf. already 2,12,5 *gloriam satis floridam*, with a possible additional hint at the *Florida*); see Introduction, 3.2 with n. 61. On the other hand, it evokes Verg. *georg.* 4,564 *studiis florentem* and, with that, a larger tradition of authorial ‘sphragis’ in Roman literature (cf. Smith in *AAGA* 3, 207-208 and see introduction to Ch. XXVII [3. History and autobiography]).

uel: for *uel* instead of *aut* in *met.* cf. comm. on 11,6,4 *nec ... uel*.

doctrina: for the significance of learning for Lucius (and Apuleius) cf. comm. on 11,30,4 *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*.

lubrico uirentis aetatulae: for the frequent use of the neuter forms of *lubricus* as substantive cf. *ThLL* s.v. *lubricus* 1688,69-1689,33. *lubricus* is often used of youth and its passions, cf. e.g. Cic. *Cael.* 41 *multas uias adulescentiae lubricas* (more passages in Griffiths 1975, 247 ad loc.). For ‘slippery roads’ associated with the hardships and reversals of Fortune (cf. in the same context 11,15,3 *asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae* with comm. ad loc.) see 1,2,2 *lubrica uallium* with *GCA* 2007, 98 ad loc. and 1,6,4 *lubricas ambages* with *GCA* 2007, 171 ad loc. Zimmermann 2002, 86-89 points out that the moral use of *lubrica uia* becomes a favourite expression for the ‘road of sin’ in the Fathers of the Church.

For the poetic phrase *uirentis aetatulae* cf. *met.* 10,29,4 *uirenti florentes aetatula* with *GCA* 2000, 362 ad loc.

seruiles ... uoluptates: the metaphor from slavery strongly suggests referring Lucius’ ‘pleasures’ to his affair with the slave girl Photis, where similar metaphors occur, cf. *met.* 3,19,5 *in seruilium modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas uolentem*; 3,22,5 *tuumque mancipium*. Lucius himself thinks likewise about the Photis episode as the starting point of his sufferings, cf. 11,20,6 *cum me Photis malis incapistrasset erroribus*. For another reference in the present chapter to this episode see also above on *nec ... profuit*. Neither Lucius nor (probably) the priest, however, condemns the erotic adventures with Photis as such, but the fact that they ‘enslaved’ Lucius in a more inclusive sense, soon to be punningly balanced by a particular *seruitium Isidis* (cf. below, 11,15,2 *uitas in seruitium ... uindicauit* with comm. ad loc.). Lucius’ *seruitium amoris* in the Photis episode (cf. e.g. Sandy 1974; Hindermann 2009, 155-176) is inextricably bound up with other forms of servitude, his ‘slavish’ (i.e. not self-controlled) curiosity (cf. the following phrase in our sentence), and his ‘slavish’ appearance as an ass, the slave animal *par excellence* (for the range of the slave metaphor in *met.* cf. e.g. Annequin 1998; Gianotti 1986, 11-52; Versnel 1990, 88-90; Bradley 2000; Fitzgerald 2000, 103-104; Ávila Vasconcelos 2009, 42-53). Note also Plato’s general condemnation of uncontrollable pleasures and especially the phrases δούλαις ... ἡδοναῖς, assigned to the immoderate soul of the tyrant in *rep.* 587c, and ἡδοναὶ ... ἀνδραποδώδεις, used of corporal pleasures in *Phaedr.* 258d-e (cf. e.g. Keulen 1997, 225; Graverini 2007, 129-132 [= 2012, 115-118]). It is easy, therefore, to make the ‘slavish pleasures’ given by Photis a symbol of all things

opposed to the liberating slavery (see below) provided by Isis. This symbolism is probably the reason why Mithras inverts the narrative order of events: in Book 3, Lucius is first overcome by his curiosity and only then and because of this starts his affair with Photis. Sandy's (1974) focus on our passage as connected only with magic, not with eroticism, is too narrow; cf. *apol.* 12,2 *serua corpora* associated with the lower of two forms of Venus (picking up on Plato's division between Aphrodite Pandemos and Aphrodite Urania). In many ways Photis is modelled on that lower form of Venus and contrasts with Isis, who represents higher love (cf. e.g. Singleton 1977; Alpers 1980). Bradley 2000, 124-125 is sceptical about any connection with eroticism or magic and suggests that *seruiles uoluptates* simply compares Lucius' past behaviour with that of bad slaves, prone to sensual pleasures. James 1983 thinks that the phrase should be taken not as an allusion to Lucius 'fall' but as a sarcastic reference to his suffering as an ass.

delapsus: the use of *delabi* ('to slip') is connected with/caused by the slippery roads on which Lucius was walking before (cf. above *lubrico* with comm. ad loc.). For (*d*)*elabi* as a synonym of *lubricare* in ancient glossaries see *ThLL* s.v. *lubrico* 1685,74-75; s.v. *delabor* 413,79; cf. 7,18,2 *si ... limo caenoso ripae supercilio lubricante ... prolapsus deruissem*. For the use of *delabi* in the moral sense of 'to sink', 'to slip (into)' see *OLD* s.v. 4; after Apuleius cf. e.g. *Aug. gen. c. Manich.* 2,14,21 *ad peccatum*.

curiositatis inprosperae: on the crucial idea of *curiositas* in *met.* see introduction to Ch. XXIII (2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader). *GCA* 1995, 372 argues that "the combination *curiositatis inprosperae* need not imply that *curiositas* as such has resulted in grief, but a *curiositas* qualified by a limitative *inprospera*." Even if it is only the context, however, which determines the negative meaning of *curiositas*, all three occurrences of this noun in *met.* 11 are clearly negative: cf. 11,22,8 *a curiositate profanorum lectione munita* and 11,23,5 *temerariae curiositatis* with comm. ad loc.

sinistrum praemium: note the contrast of this oxymoron with 2,6,2, where Lucius abandons himself to magic *ampla cum mercede*, as he thinks. For the use of *sinister* in *met.* cf. comm. on 11,27,5 *sinistri pedis*.

11,15,2 Sed utcumque Fortunae caecitas, dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam beatitudinem inprouida produxit malitia. Eat nunc et summo furore saeuat et crudelitati suae materiem quaerat aliam; nam in eos quorum sibi uitas <in> seruitium deae nostrae maiestas uindicauit, non habet locum casus infestus. But the blindness of Fortune, while torturing you with the worst of dangers, has somehow brought you in its unforeseeing malignity to this blessedness. Let her go now and rage in her wildest fury and seek some other object for her cruelty; for hostile chance has no power over those whose lives the majesty of our goddess has emancipated into her servitude.

Fortunae caecitas: for the stock literary image of 'blind' Fortune cf. *met.* 7,2,4 *subibatque me non de nihilo ueteris priscaequae doctrinae uiros finxisse ac pronuntiassse caecam et prorsus exoculatam esse Fortunam* and *GCA* 1981, 91-92 ad loc; further 8,24,1 *Sed illa Fortuna mea saeuissima ... rursum in me caecos detorsit*

oculos; *ThLL* s.v. *fortuna* 1186,22-25; Otto 1890, 694; Häussler 1968, 103; 164, and 236. Here the blindness of Fortune is emphasized for contrast with the seeing Fortune introduced in 11,15,3 *Fortunae ... uidentis* (cf. comm. ad loc. below).

pessimis periculis: the unusual conjunction is probably motivated by the alliteration, as observed by Médan 1925a ad loc. *OLD* s.v. 6 suggests the meaning 'harmful'. Perhaps *pessimis* here reflects a characteristic of Fortune (transferred, as it were, to the *pericula* she causes), cf. her cult epithet *mala* (e.g. *Cic. leg.* 2,28; *Apul. met.* 1,7,10 with *GCA* 2007, 198 ad loc.). Cf. also *pessimus* used of circumstances and misfortune (cf. 5,26,5 *casu ... pessimo*), *OLD* s.v. *pessimus* 7.

religiosam ... beatitudinem: in her prophecy, Isis promised Lucius that he would live as *beatus*, cf. comm. on 11,6,6 *beatus ... gloriosus*, including references to further occurrences of the adjective *beatus* in Book 11. Before Apuleius, the noun *beatitudo* is attested only in Cicero (*nat. deor.* 1,95; referred to in Quint. *inst.* 8,3,32) and Petronius (38,6). Apuleius uses it frequently, five times in *met.* and eight times in his philosophical writings, where it denotes a state of philosophical happiness (e.g. *Socr.* 3 p. 123 *ingenio ad summam beatitudinem perfecto*; similarly *met.* 10,33,3 *cum nunc etiam egregii philosophi ... summo beatitudinis studio iurent in ipsius [sc. Socratis] nomen*). The related idea of religious beatitude, highly significant in later Christian authors (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *beatitudo*), is first clearly expressed in our passage (cf., however, *met.* 5,3,1 *Sensit Psyche diuinae prouidentiae beatitudinem* and *GCA* 2004, 127 ad loc.).

inprouida: 'not foreseeing', as can be expected from blind Fortune; the play on words is carried on later when we hear of the *prouidentia* (11,15,4; cf. comm. ad loc. below) of *Fortuna uidens* (cf. 11,15,3).

produxit: Lucius is 'promoted' to religious beatitude, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *produco* 1637,42-70 ('qui promoventur, adiuantur, foventur') and e.g. *Iuv.* 6,609 [*sc. Fortuna quosdam fouet*] ... *utque suos semper producit alumnos*; for the preposition *ad* e.g. *Cic. fin.* 3,52 *ut ... nemo dicit ... regem ipsum quasi productum esse ad dignitatem*.

eat nunc et: cf. e.g. *Sen. dial.* 11,1,2 *eat nunc aliquis et singulas compleret animas*; generally *ThLL* s.v. *eo* 632,37-56 ('formulae irridantium vel exprobandium *i (ite, eat) nunc*'); *LHSz* 2,471 (esp. for the conjunction *et* as part of the formula).

crudelitati ... materiem quaerat: the poetic and archaic form *materies* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *materia* 448,29-36) is preferred to the more ordinary form *materia*, presumably because of the ceremonious tone of Mithras' speech. The only other instance of *materies* in Apuleius' oeuvre is in *Plat.* 1,7 p. 194 (but a number of manuscripts have *materia*). The metaphorical use of *materia/materies* for various 'subjects' is familiar in Latin just as with English 'matter'. Here the word could also be interpreted as a synonym of *locus*, *occasio*, *facultas* (cf. *non habet locum casus infestus* in the same sentence, which would give us the sense 'let blind Fortune seek some other occasion/opportunity for her cruelty'). *ThLL* s.v. *materia* 461,39-40 points out the affinity between the two notions. The sense 'subject' may also reflect the paradigm shift from 'Milesian' to Isiac subject matter dealt with in this context (see introduction to this chapter [1. A key to the interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*?]). For a Platonist reading of *materia* cf. Drews in *AAGA* 3, 125-126.

uitas in seruitium ... uindicauit: the preposition *in*, absent in the transmission, was supplied by Lütjohann 1873, 457 n. 1 (followed e.g. by Helm 1955 [1907], Robertson 1945 and Zimmerman 2012). Oudendorp 1786 (followed e.g. by Koziol 1869, 64-65; Griffiths 1975; Augello 1977, 230-231) athetizes *seruitium* as an intrusion from the next sentence (cf. *quid seruitium* in 11,15,3); Koziol 1869, 64-65 tentatively suggests *uitas ac seruitium* as an alternative. Walter 1917, 42 (cf. id. 1934, 1327) proposes the supine *seruitum*. The transmitted text is defended by Hildebrand 1842 ad loc., who argues for *seruitium* as an apposition (which reads harshly). Zimmerman 2012, 19-21 gives a succinct account of the textual problem.

Apuleius is playing with the well-known legal phrase *in libertatem uindicare*, used either of claiming freedom for people wrongly held in slavery or of the act of manumission (cf. *OLD* s.v. *uindico* 3a; generally for the use of legal *uindicare* in *met.* Summers 1967, 140-142). Apuleius' pun reverses this phrase (cf. e.g. Fitzgerald 2000, 111): Isis emancipates Lucius 'into' a new, religious, form of slavery, which in Lucius' view amounts to true freedom (cf. 11,15,5 *nam cum coeperis deae seruire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis*). The idea is reminiscent of the Greek practice of sacred manumission, in which a slave was consecrated to a divinity to gain freedom (cf. Bömer 1960). The Egyptian gods Sarapis and Isis were popular for this act, especially in imperial times when their general influence was on the rise (cf. Bömer 1960, 61-75 and 129-132). However, Greek sacred manumissions did not normally imply that the former slave became a δούλος θεοῦ and was bound to life-long religious servitude (cf. Bömer 1960, 127-129, who contrasts oriental traditions). The most prominent parallels for the pointed and paradoxical concept of liberating religious slavery can be found in the New Testament (cf. e.g. *Rom.* 6,22 ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ). There does not seem to be anything similar in Isiac contexts before Apuleius. Fitzgerald 2000, 111-114 discusses the parallels between the New Testament and Apuleius and suggests, with reference to Bowersock 1994, 'points of overlap and interchange between Christian and pagan literature' (114). Note, however, that the idea of liberating slavery has been a philosophical topos at least since Seneca (cf. e.g. *epist.* 8,7 *philosophiae seruius oportet, ut tibi contingat uera libertas*; generally Kirichenko 2010, 93-100). Versnel 1990, 91-92 adds the literary motif of *seruitium amoris*, best known from Roman love elegy, as a potential factor in the development of a *seruitium Isidis* – the idea is elaborated on by Hindermann 2009, 189-198. Versnel (88-94) also draws attention to the political context of the Roman Empire, in which a paradox already implied in Hellenistic rulership – political power felt as both enslaving and liberating – was compounded and paved the way for the stark *coincidentia oppositorum* we see in the New Testament or in Apuleius.

deae nostrae maiestas: the periphrasis for Isis is perhaps a trait of official ('priestly') language; cf. *CIL* XIV 352 (Ostia) *iudicio maiestatis eius [sc. Isidis]*. Cf. the metonymical use of *maiestas* in the poetic language of prayer, *Prec. Terr.* 25 *herbas, quascumque generat maiestas tua*; *Prec. herb.* 1-2 *nunc uos potentes omnis herbas deprecor exoro / maiestatemque uestram*. In Christian Latin, *maiestas (dei)* is used as a periphrasis for God, cf. e.g. *Vet. Lat. Exod.* 33,22 (*Aug. gen. ad litt.* 12,27 p. 421,6-7) *ut transiet mea maiestas*. Moreover, the periphrasis *deae nostrae maiestas* balances the periphrasis *Fortunae caecitas* above.

11,15,3 *Quid latrones, quid ferae, quid seruitium, quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae, quid metus mortis cotidianaef nefariaef Fortunae profuit? In tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed uidentis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat. What did robbers, wild beasts, slavery, the returning windings of the harshest journeys, what did the daily fear of death help wicked Fortune? Now you have been taken under the protection of a Fortune who can see, and who with the radiance of her light illumines even the other gods.*

quid ... profuit: anaphoric *quid* followed by *prodesse* is common in poetic language since Verg. *Aen.* 7,302-303 *quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid uasta Charybdis / profuit?*; cf. later e.g. *Ov. am.* 3,9,21-22 *quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo, / carmine quid uictas obstipuisse feras?*; *Ov. fast.* 5,591-592 *quid tibi nunc solitae mitti post terga sagittae, / quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi?*; *Mart.* 7,96,5 *quid species, quid lingua mihi, quid profuit aetas?* (cf. Galán Vioque 2002 ad loc. on this use of anaphora). Apuleius expands on the poetic uses, usually limited to a tricolon, by a quintuple repetition of *quid*. Generally on repetition of interrogatives in Latin poetry cf. Wills 1996, 85-88.

latrones: Lucius was with the robbers in 3,28-7,12.

ferae: Lucius is beaten up by jealous stallions in 7,16,4-7,17,1 and terrified by a bear in 7,24,4-5. In 8,17,1-8,18,5 he and his group of travellers are attacked by dogs; in 10,34,5 he fears that the wild beasts in the theatre of Corinth will tear him apart together with the condemned murderer.

seruitium: the reference could be to Lucius' service as beast of burden throughout his asinine existence (e.g. 4,1,3-4; 7,15,3), but cf. also his *seruiles uoluptates* criticized in 11,15,1 with comm. ad loc. For the frequent association of (domestic) animals and slaves in ancient imagination cf. e.g. Fitzgerald 2000, 99-102.

asperrimorum ... reciprocae: a poetic paraphrase of Lucius' (mock-)epic wanderings (cf. Introduction, 6.3); for the general idea cf. Lucius' comparison of himself with Odysseus in 9,13,4 *multarum ciuitatum obitu et uariorum populorum cognitu summas adeptum uirtutes*. The phrasing evokes the descriptions of the labyrinth of Daedalus in Pliny (*nat.* 36,85 *itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet*) and Ovid (*met.* 8,160-161 *lumina flexa / ducit in errorem uariarum ambage uiarum*). Also see Socrates' answer to Aristomenes in 1,6,4 *ne tu fortunarum lubricas ambages et instabiles incursiones et reciprocas uicissitudines ignoras* (cf., in addition to *ambages* and *reciprocas*, also *fortunarum* with *Fortunae* in our sentence and *lubricas* with *lubrico* in 11,15,1; see comm. ad loc. above); a similar phrase is used in 10,29,5 *discursus reciproci multinodas ambages*, referring to the choreography of the Pyrrhic dance.

metus mortis cotidianaef: enallage, instead of *cotidianus metus mortis*. For various instances of Lucius' fear of death cf. 4,5,4-5 (Lucius watches the robbers kill his fellow ass and decides to cooperate); 6,26,1-5 and 6,31,1-6,32,4 (the robbers plan to kill Lucius); 7,22,2-4 (the herdsmen plan to kill Lucius); 8,30,2-3 (the priests of the Dea Syria plan to kill Lucius); 8,31,1-9,2,6 (Lucius is to be butchered to replace a stolen

thigh of venison; after an attempted escape he is believed rabid and is going to be slaughtered for this reason); cf. also the passages cited on *ferae* above.

nefariae Fortunae: the attribute *nefarius* for Fortune is unparalleled in Latin literature; it is usually used for criminal persons and actions (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1) which are justly opposed. Thus *nefarius* ties in with the theme of fighting bad Fortune, cf. 11,12,1 *quod ... adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superarem*; 11,15,4 *Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*; 11,15,5 *da nomen sanctae huic militiae*.

in tutelam ... receptus: this formal phrase seems to be paralleled only in Plin. *paneg.* 94,3 (Jupiter is thanked for taking care of the *princeps* Trajan and for rescuing him from Domitian's clutches): *tu enim iam tunc illum in tutelam recepisti, cum praedonis auidissimi faucibus eripuisti*.

tutelam: for Isis' *tutela* cf. 11,6,6 *uiues in mea tutela gloriosus*. There we have a similar context of lifelong service to the goddess, cf. 11,6,5 *mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula ... uadata and ei totum debere, quod uiues with 11,15,2 quorum sibi uitas in seruitium deae nostrae maiestas uindicauit*; see also 11,21,6 *Nam et inferum claustra et salutis tutelam in deae manu posita*. While *tutela* in *met.* 1 – 10 occurs in various contexts, its use in *met.* 11 is restricted to Isis and the protection she offers. This use and our passage in particular are reminiscent of a discussion of providence (cf. 11,15,4 *Isidis magnae prouidentia* and comm. ad loc. below) in *De Platone* 1,12 p. 205, where the supreme god entrusts the minor gods with the *tutela* of the world (*et primam quidem prouidentiam esse summi exsuperantissimique deorum omnium, qui ... deos caelicolas ordinauit, quos ad tutelam et decus per omnia mundi membra dispersit, ... reliquarum dispositionem ac tutelam rerum ... diis ceteris tradidit*); slightly different is *mund.* 32 p. 361, where the all-embracing god himself takes care of the world (*cui [sc. deo] tutela mundi huius et cura est*). The proximity of *tutela* to *fortuna* in our text might echo their proximity in cult: personified *Tutela* was a goddess venerated often together with *Fortuna*, with whom she shared a number of characteristics (cf. Ehlers in *RE* VII A.2 [1948], 1599-1600; Calabria 1986; Ganschow in *LIMC* VIII,1 [1997], 112-113). For the use of *tutela* for divine protection cf. Hor. *carm.* 2,17,23 *te Iouis impio / tutela Saturno refulgens / eripuit* with Nisbet – Hubbard 1978 ad loc. Also note the possible legal connotation of *tutela* as guardianship over minors or women (cf. e.g. Summers 1967, 44-47).

Fortunae, sed uidentis: a paradoxical reversal of the current image of blind Fortune, cf. 11,15,2 *Fortunae caecitas* and comm. ad loc. The attribute *uidens* for Fortune is unique, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *fortuna* 1187,84 (with the single reference to *met.* 11,15). Perhaps 'Fortuna Videns' reminded ancient readers of *Fortuna Respiciens*, first attested in Cic. *leg.* 2,28, according to whom she is invoked *ad opem ferendam* (see also *ThLL* s.v. *fortuna* 1193,58-62; Otto s.v. *Fortuna* in *RE* VI.2 [1910], 12-42, at 31). Strazzulla in Anselmino, Ferrea, and Strazzulla 1990-1991, 233-262 suggests that the cult of *Fortuna Respiciens* was linked with military activities and the celebration of triumphs. If this is right, *Fortuna Respiciens* could also have inspired the military language in the present chapter, cf. 11,15,4 *Lucius de Fortuna sua triumphat*; 11,15,5 *da nomen sanctae huic militiae*. It is clear from the context of our passage that *Fortuna Videns* is identified with Isis. Isis-Fortuna or *Isityche* was a familiar syncretistic goddess in Apuleius' time (cf. for the origins and development of Isis-Fortuna e.g. Coarelli 1994; for visual representations Tran Tam Tinh 1990, 784-786, nos. 303-

318; comm. *ibid.* 794-795; for Isis' epicleses 'Tyche' or 'Fortuna' Bricault 1997, 71-72 and 82). Surely Apuleius is alluding to Isis-Fortuna (the scepticism of Kajanto 1981, 520 and 552 with n. 124 is unfounded). For the antagonism between bad Fortune and good Isis-Fortune cf. introduction to this chapter (2. Structure and motifs) and comm. on 11,15,4 *de sua Fortuna triumphat*.

suae ... illuminat: for the power of Isis' light cf. her appearance as moon in 11,1,2 (*nec tantum pecuina et ferina, uerum inanima etiam diuino eius luminis numinisque nutu uegetari*) and Lucius' invocation to her in 11,1,1-3 (*Regina caeli ... solis ambagibus dispensans incerta lumina*).

11,15,4 *Sume iam uultum laetorem candido isto habitu tuo congruentem, comitare pompam deae sospitaticis inouanti gradu. Videant inreligiosi, uideant et errorem suum recognoscant: en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magna prouidentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat. Put on a happier face now, to match that bright garment of yours. Join the procession of the saving goddess with jubilant step. Let the unbelievers see; let them see and recognize their error. Look, there is Lucius, freed from his former tribulations and rejoicing in the providence of great Isis, triumphing over his Fortune!*

sume ... uultum: a poetic phrase, well-suited to the priest's solemn exhortation; cf. *OLD* s.v. 13 and especially Ov. *trist.* 5,8,17 *sed modo laeta nitet, uultus modo sumit acerbos [sc. Fortuna]*. Lucius is similarly told to cheer up in 11,29,4 *laetus capesse gaudium* and 11,29,5 *animo gaudiali rursum sacris initiare deis magnis auctoribus*.

candido ... habitu: the reference is to the dress of an initiate with which the naked Lucius was covered in 11,14,5 (*e cohorte religionis unus impigre superiorem exutus tunicam supertexit me celerrime*). For the shining white of the robes of the Isiacs cf. 11,10,1-2 *linteae uestis candore puro luminosi ... candido linteamine* with comm. ad loc. The combination of unusual dative forms (cf. on *isto* and *habitu* below) is striking. If it were regarded as a corruption it could be remedied by the insertion of *cum* before our phrase, making the dative ablative. However, the unusual dative forms fit the solemn tone of the speech. Moreover, while the ablative is well attested with the construction *congruo cum, congruens in met.* always takes the dative (cf. for another irregular dative e.g. 4,33,5 *luctuque publico confestim congruens edicitur iustitium*).

isto: very rare dative form of *iste*, first attested in Apuleius (cf. *met.* 5,31,2; 6,17,3 with *GCA* 2004, 495-496 ad loc.; 7,26,5 with *GCA* 1981, 259 ad loc.; furthermore N-W 2, 427). As with the other instances of this form in *met.*, it seems to be chosen for the sake of the grammatical rhyme in -o (*candido isto ... tuo*).

habitu: datives in -u instead of -ui occur mostly in poetic language, cf. N-W 1, 541-546; in *met.* 6,23,1 *coetu* with *GCA* 2004, 538 ad loc. *ThLL* s.v. *habitus* 2482,3-4 on the dative form in -u cites only our passage.

isto ... tuo: for the emphatic and elevated combination of two (or more) pronouns, frequent in *met.*, cf. on 11,22,3 *ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem*.

pompam deae sospitaticis: cf. for the phrase 11,9,1 *sospitaticis deae peculiaris pompa* and comm. ad loc.; for the Apuleian coinage *sospitatrix* also 11,25,1 *sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua*.

inouanti: F reads *innouandi*. U, E, S, and a second hand in ϕ have *innouanti*, which could, at a stretch, refer to Lucius' new human gait, but does not make good sense. *Inouanti*, not attested otherwise, is read in A, the *editio princeps* and Beroaldus 1500 (i.e. in his text; in the commentary he suggests reading *in ouanti*). The *Iuntina posterior* (1522, Philomathes) has it as well as the *editio Aldina* (1521). It is firmly defended also by Pricaeus 1650. Oudendorp 1786 ad loc. draws attention to Apuleius' fondness for compounds with *in-* (cf. *met.* 5,20,3 *intrahens* and 11,23,3 *intrahebat*; 8,26,2 *intollunt*; 11,27,3 *inunita* and comm. ad loc.). While each of these instances could in itself be dismissed, the emerging pattern suggests a conscious choice by Apuleius (*pace* Griffiths 1975 ad loc., Oudendorp's idea of an Africanism lacks the necessary evidence). The adoption of *inouanti* by most modern editors (e.g. Helm 1955 [1907], Robertson 1945, Zimmerman 2012) is therefore reasonable. Perhaps *in-* has a directional sense here to express Lucius' jubilant 'joining in', i.e. his mingling with the procession (*pompa*) of the initiates. The allusion to the *ouatio*, a minor form of triumph (cf. Versnel 1970, 165-171), underlines the idea of triumph spelt out in the following sentence (*Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*); cf. Val. Fl. 2,545-546 *ouanti ... gradu* (of Hercules after having freed Hesione).

uideant ... cognoscant: the priest wants other people to draw a lesson from what has happened to Lucius. The warning is reinforced by the gemination of *uideant* (a quasi-epanalepsis, cf. Bernhard 1927, 234; generally LHSz 2,811-812), which points forward to the subject of amazement (described in the following phrase introduced by *en ecce*). The instruction to *see* could play with the concepts of blind Fortune (characterized by *inprouida ... malitia*, 11,15,2) and seeing Fortune (characterized by *prouidentia*, 11,15,4). For the phrasing cf. 10,9,5 *Videat et suum sigillum recognoscat*; for the larger topos of seeing as believing e.g. Otto 1890, 251 no. 9; *Jn.* 20,8 εἶδεν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν. As the audience in the present scene is not made up of *inreligiosi*, but of participants in an Isiac procession, it is unlikely that the priest's address is directed to the actual bystanders. Rather, it is a more general message for those outside the Isiac cult. Smith 2009, 68 even suggests that it is meant for Lucius' ears alone. For the question of the audience cf. introduction to Ch. XVI (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?). The missionary call to repentance and conversion is paralleled in a number of religious texts of the first centuries A.D., cf. e.g. Norden 1913, 3-12 (discussing Vulg. *act.* 17,22-31; *Corp. Herm.* 1,27-28; *Odes of Solomon* 23; *Kerygma of Peter*; *Sermon of Barnabas*). Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 101 draws attention to the Senecan topos according to which the man who bravely battles with fortune becomes an example for others.

inreligiosi: this adjective is very rare before Apuleius (apart from the adverbial form in Tac. *ann.* 2,50,2 cf. Plin. *epist.* 4,1,5 and 9,35,1). According to *ThLL* (s.v. *irreligiosus*), Apuleius is the first to refer it to persons. It implies a general lack of respect for the gods or, especially in Christian authors, for God. Given the strong Isiac context in our passage, Apuleius seems to anticipate the Christian monotheistic use.

errorem: here the basic meaning of physical 'wandering' (as in 9,11,3 *ut ... uagarer errore certo*) clearly gives way to the meaning 'mistake' (as in 9,15,6 *suscensens errori Photidis*; 4,12,5 *certus erroris*). Singularly in *met.*, our context even suggests a strong moral disapproval of the mistake in question, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *error* 817,58-818,17 ('metonymice de actione peruersa ex ignoratione recti orta

[culpa, peccatum, interdum prorsus i.q. crimen]'). The *error* of the *inreligiosi* could consist of three things: a) they are, like Lucius, prone to *seruiles uoluptates* (cf. 11,15,1 and comm. ad loc.); b) they do not believe that Lucius could be saved; c) their lack of respect for the gods (*inreligiosi*) is in itself an *error*.

en ecce: see Introduction, 7.2.2 on this special case of *en ecce* as a visual imperative. The combination *en ecce* is rare in Latin literature except for *met.*, where it occurs four times. Cf. *GCA* 2000, 164 on 10,9,4 and *GCA* 2007, 84 on 1,1,1, stressing the pathos and solemnity with which the phrase attracts the attention of the audience.

pristinis aerumnis absolutus ... gaudens: for a similar polarity between former *aerumnae* and present *gaudium* cf. 11,19,1 *narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis*, and see Introduction, 4.2.1 (final paragraph); for the association of *aerumnae* with bad fortune cf. 11,2,4 *tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste, tu fortunam conlapsam adfirma*. While *aerumnae* is one of Apuleius' favourite words to describe Lucius' hardships throughout *met.* (cf. *GCA* 2007, 175 on 1,6,5), it is only in Book 11 that it is set in a consistent ideological framework: *aerumnae* now belong with bad fortune to the past and have been overcome by Isis. For the epic connotations of *aerumnae* see Introduction, 6.3.

magnae: for *magnus* as Apuleius' favourite attribute of gods cf. comm. on. 11,27,2 *magni*.

prouidentia: all major manuscripts and the *editio princeps* have *prudentia*. Against this a number of reasons suggest *prouidentia*: a) the statistical evidence for the distribution of the terms *prudentia* (15 times in *met.* 1 – 10, one time [our passage] in *met.* 11) and *prouidentia* (18 times in *met.* 1 – 10, ten times in *met.* 11) in the manuscript tradition points to a (virtually?) exclusive use of *prouidentia* in *met.* 11 (cf. Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 89-90; for some conclusions from this evidence see further below); b) *prouidentia* is generally the more common term for gods, and it is particularly associated with Isis in *met.* 11 (cf. Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 96-97 and esp. the similar context of *met.* 11,12,1: *quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus, tot emensis periculis, deae maximae prouidentia adluctantem mihi saeuissime Fortunam superarem*); c) Isis' *prouidentia* establishes a nice contrast with the preceding *inprouida ... malitia* (11,15,2) of blind Fortune and a parallel with *Fortuna uidens* (cf. 11,15,3); perhaps it even plays with the *uideant* referred to the *inreligiosi* in the preceding sentence (cf. comm. on *uideant* above). Add to this the more speculative but intriguing point that, if we accept the conjecture, the term *prouidentia* would occur exactly eleven times in *met.* 11 (observed by Drews in *AAGA* 3, 117; for Apuleius' penchant for similar numerology cf. e.g. Heller 1983).

The mistake could have slipped in because of the notorious confusion in manuscripts between *prouidentia* and *prudentia* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *prouidentia* 2318,64-65 and s.v. *prudentia* 2377,29-30), due to the same origin of the words in *prouidere* and to similar uses in many contexts. Beroaldus 1500 keeps *prudentia* in the text, but suggests *prouidentia* in his comm. ad loc. Coluius 1588 seems to be the first to adopt *prouidentia* in the text. Most modern editors follow this conjecture (e.g. Helm 1955 [1907]; Robertson 1945; Zimmerman 2012) – *prudentia* is favoured by Hildebrand 1842 and Martos 2003 (cf. also Smith 1972, 526, who argues that Isis' divine *prudentia* contrasts with Lucius' own folly). However, the decision for *prouidentia* is not easy because *prudentia* has the authority of the transmission and is plausible in

itself. While *providentia* is more familiar in the realm of the divine, *prudencia* can be used as a synonym (cf. Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 88-89) and there are examples of *prudencia* applied to gods (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2381,10-31; e.g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,162 *deorum prudentia*; Petron. 18,3 *adiuuaturos nos diuinam prudentiam*; in Apuleius e.g. *Socr.* 15 p. 153 *tantum eos deos appellant, qui ... iuste ac prudenter curriculo uitae gubernato ... uulgo aduertuntur*).

It turns out that *Fortuna uidens* is the same person as *Isis providens*. Generally on *Isis' providentia* in *met.* 11 cf. comm. on 11,1,2 *providentia* and Graverini in *AAGA* 3, who draws attention particularly to philosophical (Stoic) and political (imperial) aspects. For a Platonic view cf. Drews in *AAGA* 3.

gaudens: for the significance of *gaudium* in *met.* 11 cf. 11,30,5 *gaudens* and comm. ad loc. Although slightly less balanced, *gaudens* might also be taken with *triumphat*, with *providentia* being a causal/instrumental ablative dependent on *absolutum*. Either way, ancient readers could have understood *gaudere* almost as a synonym of *triumphare*, cf. Paul. Fest. p. 98 *gaudium*: ἀπὸ τοῦ γαυριᾶν dictum (LSJ s.v. 'bear oneself proudly', 'prance') and see Maltby 1991, 254. This 'performative' meaning of *gaudens* may also be relevant for the final picture of Lucius in 11,30,5 *gaudens obibam*.

de sua Fortuna triumphat: the final triumph over bad Fortune or Tyche, owed to the help of guiding divinities, is a standard feature of the Greek novel, whose generic pattern Apuleius here seems to follow (cf. e.g. Mason 1978, 8-9; Sandy 1994, 1557-1562). A particularly striking parallel can be found at the programmatic beginning of Chariton's last book (8,2-3), where Aphrodite, the patron goddess of Chariton's heroes, prevents a final blow from Tyche and thus introduces the happy ending of the story (see Introduction, 6.2 with nn. 211-212). However, Apuleius radicalizes the generic convention through his use of pointed concepts and language (as in the polarity of *Fortuna caeca* and *Fortuna uidens*) and by his military metaphors (as here in *triumphat*). Note the contrast with Fortune's triumph over Socrates at the beginning of *met.* (1,7,1 *fruaturs diutius tropaeo Fortuna quod fixit ipsa*; cf. *GCA* 2007, 177-178 ad loc.) and the hint of triumphal context when people are milling around *discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali* in 11,7,2 (cf. comm. ad loc.). Isis herself is called *triumphalis* in a Roman inscription from the imperial period (cf. *RICIS* 501/0152).

sua: for *Fortuna* going with a possessive pronoun cf. 8,24,1 *illa Fortuna mea saeuissima*; also see 8,20,1 *Per fortunas <uestras> uestrisque Genios* with *GCA* 1985, 174 ad loc. The possessive indicates the attachment to a particular person, stressed here because it is Lucius' *personal* case which is emphatically discussed.

11,15,5 Quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabar, teque iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium. Nam cum coeperis deae seruire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis.' But to be safer and better protected, enlist in this holy military service, for whose oath of allegiance you were asked not long ago, and dedicate yourself now to obedience to our cult and submit yourself to the voluntary yoke of service; for once you begin to serve the goddess you will better realize the profit of your freedom.'

tutior ... atque munitior: the coordination of (near) synonyms is a hallmark of Apuleius' style (cf. Bernhard 1927, 164-170); here, the latter adjective specifies the meaning of the former (cf. *ibid.* 166-167). *Tutior* may allude to Isis' *tutela* (11,15,3), *munitior* evokes fortification and meshes with the military metaphors in the preceding and following phrases. For similar metaphors of inner fortification in Seneca cf. e.g. *epist.* 82,5 (*Philosophia circumdanda est, inexpugnabilis murus, quem fortuna multis machinis lacessitum non transit. In insuperabili loco stat animus qui externa deseruit et arce se sua vindicat; infra illum omne telum cadit*) with Hamacher 2006, 133-140 ad loc.

da nomen: given the military language in the context, *nomen dare* here means 'to have oneself enrolled as a recruit' cf. *OLD* s.v. *nomen* 21b.

sanctae huic militiae: the idea of military service to Isis is not known otherwise from the Egyptian cult, although Isis herself can assume military aspects (cf. the attribute στρατία ['she who goes into battle'] in *P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20], 102-103). Here the *militia* is against bad Fortune. Griffiths 1975, 254 ad loc. suggests an evocation of the mythological conflict between Isis, Osiris, and Horus on the one hand and Seth on the other, but this is not necessarily implied. Military metaphors are generally widespread in moral and religious contexts (cf. Emonds 1938 for pagan philosophy; Harnack 1905 for early Christianity). In classical culture, the idea of spiritual *militia* is first expressed by Plato in discussions of suicide: in *apol.* 28d Socrates refuses to leave the rank (τάξις) assigned to him by God (τοῦ θεοῦ τάρτοντος); in *Phaed.* 62b Socrates draws on secret teachings of the Pythagoreans saying that humans, being a property (κτῆμα) of the gods, are as on a guard duty which they must not leave on their own account (ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν – the same teaching is paraphrased in Cic. *Cato* 73 *uetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione uitae decedere*). The ideas of chattel slavery and military service, both prominent in our chapter, converge in these passages and it might well be that Apuleius took a cue from his own philosophical school. He could also have been influenced by the Stoic idea of life as military service, prominently and extensively discussed by Seneca (cf. e.g. *epist.* 96,5 *uiuere, Lucili, militare est*; 65,18 *Velut sacramento rogatus hoc quod uiuit stipendium putat [sc. sapiens]*; 107,9 *Optimum est pati quod emendare non possis, et deum quo auctore cuncta proueniunt sine murmuratione comitari: malus miles est qui imperatorem gemens sequitur*; generally e.g. Lavery 1980, 147-151; Sommer 2002). For other instances of *militia* as a philosophical metaphor see *ThLL* s.v. *militia* 958,64-74 (including our passage). For examples of Christian military images cf. Vulg. *Eph.* 6,10-18, *I Th.* 5,8; *II Cor.* 6,7; *Rom.* 6,13-14 and 13,12; *apoc.* 12,7-8. *Miles* was also the term for one of the seven grades of initiation into the cult of Mithras (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *miles* 944,62-66). There is furthermore an implied contrast of Lucius' *sancta militia* served under Isis with the *amatoria militia* (cf. *met.* 2,18,2) served under Photis (cf. Harrauer 1973, 102 ad loc., who sets this in the larger context of a reaction of Apuleius against the elegiac topos of *militia amoris*; for the antithesis Photis-Isis generally cf. comm. on 11,15,1 *seruiles ... uoluptates*). Hindermann 2009, 185-203 extensively discusses elegiac *militia amoris*, but argues for comic continuity

rather than serious change: in her view, Isis is pictured as an elegiac *puella* not substantially different from Photis (195).

sanctae: in Book 11, this adjective is reserved for Isis (11,25,1 *sancta* ... *sospitatrix*; 11,25,6 *numen* ... *sanctissimum*) and her service (here).

non olim: for the use of this phrase as a litotes meaning ‘only recently’ cf. *GCA* 2000, 159 on 10,9,1 *non olim*. The reference seems to be to Isis’ prophecy and instructions in Lucius’ dream at Ch. VI (e.g. 11,6,5 *plane meminervis* ... *mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula* ... *uadata*), even though no military language is used in that passage (but cf. introduction to Ch. VI [Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity] for the general use of military language there; cf. comm. on 11,6,1 *in procinctu pompae*). The priest knows of Isis’ earlier speech because she instructed him in a parallel dream, cf. 11,6,3 *hoc eodem momento quo tibi uenio, simul et ibi praesens, quae sunt sequentia sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio*.

sacramento ... *rogabaris*: *sacramento rogare* is idiomatic for asking soldiers to take the oath of loyalty (cf. *OLD* s.v. *sacramentum* 2a; generally on the *sacramentum militare* Campbell 1984, 19-32). Starting with Augustus, it was sworn to the *princeps* (cf. Tac. *hist.* 1,55; Plin. *epist.* 10,52 with Sherwin-White 1966 ad loc.; also Apul. *met.* 9,41,2 *militaris* ... *sacramenti genium* with *GCA* 1995, 341 ad loc.), which could have influenced the metaphorical use for the service in the troops of the highest goddess, Isis. In the earlier books of *met.* the military oath is most prominent in the martial self-representation of the robbers, cf. 4,11,4 *adhortatur per dexteram Martis, per fidem sacramenti, bonum commilitonem ... liberaremus*; 4,14,7 *instanti militiae disponimus sacramentum*; 4,21,2 *neque clamore ac ne ululatu quidem fidem sacramenti prodidit*. For philosophical uses cf. e.g. Sen. *epist.* 65,18 (quoted above under *sanctae huic militiae*) and Apul. *Socr.* 22 p. 170: *inuenias in rationibus multa prodige profusa et in semet nihil, in sui dico daemonis cultum, qui cultus non aliud quam philosophiae sacramentum est*. There does not seem to be a close model in the Isiac cult. The Greek oaths of Isiac priests and initiates adduced by Griffiths 1975 ad loc. (*P. Wash. U. Inv.* 138; *PSI* 1162 and 1290; cf. Merkelbach 2001, 170-172) do not use military language and are different in phrasing and ideas. The only use of *sacramentum* in a religious context before Apuleius appears to be Plin. *epist.* 10,96,7, on Christian customs: ... *seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent* (cf. on this passage e.g. Micunco 2006 with further lit.). Christian authors after Apuleius use the term frequently, but often with a shift in meaning towards the ‘Holy Sacrament’ (cf. e.g. De Ghellinck et al. 1924).

teque ... *obsequio religionis nostrae dedica*: in contrast with *met.* 1 – 10, where *obsequium* occurs in a number of different contexts, religious ‘obedience’, is a consistent concept in *met.* 11, where it exclusively refers to service to Isis and Osiris (cf. 11,6,7 *sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis*; 11,9,2 *uenienti deae obuium comonstrarent obsequium*; 11,19,3 *difficile religionis obsequium*; 11,22,5 *debitum sacris obsequium*; 11,28,5 *germanae religionis obsequium diuinum*). Cf. *ThLL* s.v. *obsequium* 183,16-38 (‘in rebus sacris; a) praestatur deis, deo’), citing before *met.* 11 only Val. Max. 1,1,3 *laudabile duodecim fascium religiosum obsequium*, and Plin. *epist.* 10,100 (*sc. benignitatem deorum*) *sanctitate, obsequio, deorum honore meru-*

isti. After Apuleius (cf. also *Socr.* 14 p. 149 *sacerdotum officia, sacrificantium obsequia*), religious *obsequium* is frequent in Christian authors.

ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium: cf. 11,30,1 *inanimae* ... *castimoniae iugum subeo* and 11,6,7 *sedulis obsequiis et religiosis ministeriis*. Given the context of slavery, *iugum subire* evokes the common metaphor of the ‘yoke of slavery’, cf. e.g. *ThLL* s.v. *iugum* 641,43-642,7. Cf. the similar idea of *Matt.* 11,29-30 ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ... ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς μου χρηστός. There is also the similar formula *sub iugum intrare* in the African cult of Saturn (*ThLL* s.v. 2. *intro* 60,80-61,4 with comparison with our passage; furthermore e.g. Le Glay 1966, 385-386; for potentially related rites in the Old Testament e.g. Benichou-Safar 1993). Perhaps a certain irony is intended in using the metaphor of the yoke for an ex-ass.

nam ... *libertatis*: for the paradox of liberating servitude cf. 11,15,2 *uitas in seruitium* ... *uindicauit* with comm. ad loc. The paradoxical juxtaposition of servitude and freedom can also be found in Stoic contexts, e.g. Sen. *dial.* 7,15,7 *deo parere libertas est*. Griffiths 1975 ad loc. compares the larger Stoic idea that inevitable fate should be followed voluntarily (cf. Seneca’s translation of the celebrated prayer of Cleanthes in *epist.* 107,11, ending in the sententious line *Ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt*), but the emphasis in Book 11 is different: the focus is not on suffering through but on spiritual joy (cf. comm. on 11,30,5 *gaudens*); Isis seems to be above fate (cf. 11,6,7 *scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia uitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere* with comm. ad loc.; 11,25,2 *Fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retracta licia*); and the alternative of not following the gods is never seriously considered.

CHAPTER XVI

The whole community of Cenchreae marvels at Lucius as the worthy recipient of Isis' miraculous blessings and celebrates the purification of the ship of Isis.

Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?

This chapter is crucial for comic readings of the Isis Book, in which the real or apparent contrast between the Cenchreans' positive view of Lucius (praising his *fides* and *innocentia*) and the priest's words of reproach (*serviles uoluptates; curiositas improspera*) is taken as a proof of the people's 'misreading' of Lucius' past. According to Winkler (1985, 211-212), the people's interpretation of Lucius' preceding life is an "unofficial and incorrect interpretation" of Books 1 – 10, which Apuleius juxtaposed with the official (and presumably correct) interpretation represented by the speech of the priest. Arguing against this view, Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 101 observes no real disagreement between the view of the priest (who pointed to Lucius' *natales*, *dignitas*, and *doctrina*) and the perspective of the people on the *innocentia* of Lucius' preceding life; both views confirm the idea (found in Seneca's *De Providentia*, dial. 1,4,7) that Fortune only puts good men to the test. For a similar view see Sandy in *AAGA* 1, 127 ("the History of a Wicked Life' plays no part whatsoever in the temperamental preparation of Lucius for conversion") and 131 ("on the whole, he appears to be a decent young man"). For a slightly different approach see James 1987, 245, who points out that the crowd's speculations are not to be taken at face value, although this does not mean that their inferences should be interpreted in a satirical way: through his re-transformation, Lucius reclaims his original *dignitas*, and after suffering so many false accusations, the crowd's hymn of praise to his innocence means a restoration of his fortunes. This positive view of Lucius before his transformation into an ass seems to be confirmed by the priest in 11,21,8, who concedes to Lucius at the end of his admonition (rendered in indirect speech by Lucius) that he has long (*iam dudum*) been regarded by Isis as a candidate for service to her.

However, the predominant part of that speech is a warning against Lucius' rashness and impatience (e.g. 11,21,3 *instantiam*), which can be considered, in a way, a continuation of his *curiositas improspera*, and may develop into dangerous sacrilegious behaviour (11,21,6). Even if Isis has long regarded him as a candidate (in spite of his immoral inclinations, one could add), Lucius can still spoil everything, if he continues to fail to hold himself in check. The main point of Mithras' sermon in 11,15 is that Lucius' good characteristics (*dignitas*, *doctrina*, etc.) did not prevent him from becoming bad. As the reader knows, Lucius' behaviour in Hypata was hardly characterised by *fides* and *innocentia* – his experiences with magic were not imposed from without, but his conscious decision.

A key to the function of the two contradictory views of Lucius' past behaviour is provided by readings of the crowd's reaction in terms of a miracle topos, as if they are telling stories about the divine miracles they have witnessed (*Wundergeschichten*;

see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 81; Theissen 1974, 57-82 with parallels in the Gospels, e.g. *Luc.* 18,43; *Matt.* 9,33); for miracles and the amazement of a crowd of witnesses as aretological elements that can be found at the endings of Greek novels (e.g. Xen. *Eph.* 5,15,3-4) see Edsall 2000-2001, 116-118; 125-126. By staging the Cenchreans' reaction in full agreement with the topos of a crowd's emotional response to a divine miracle, a miracle cure, or an epiphany (cf. 11,7,3; 11,13,6), the author underscores that the people do not know all the facts from Lucius' past (see below on 11,16,3 *fabulabantur*). The people's response to Lucius may also reflect Isis' influence: in 11,6,4, Isis had foretold Lucius that nobody would interpret his re-transformation in a negative way or would raise any accusations against him. The reaction of the crowd here can be read in contrast with the hostile attitude of the bystanders in *Onos* 54, who respond to Loukios' re-transformation with a disapproving kind of astonishment (see Introduction, 6.1 on the relation of Book 11 with the *Onos*).

According to Graverini 2007, 69 [= 2012, 62], the Cenchreans have not even heard the speech of Mithras, since it was addressed to Lucius alone (similarly Smith 2009, 66-71); yet, some people may indeed have heard it (as it happened in public), although not everyone may have understood, with the exception of the elected few. See also comm. on 11,13,6 *populi mirantur*. For possible aspects of irony see below on 11,16,3 *fabulabantur*; 11,16,4 *scilicet*; 11,16,4 *innocentia fideque* (also on the irony of the possible autobiographical allusion to Apuleius' questioned innocence).

11,16,1 Ad istum modum uaticinatus sacerdos egregius fatigatus anhelitus trahens conticuit. After the illustrious priest had uttered his divinely inspired prophecies in this manner, he fell silent, drawing long tired breaths.

For the state of frenzy in which the priest utters his speech, cf. 11,14,5 *quo facto sacerdos uultu geniali et hercules inhumano in aspectum meum attonitus sic effatur*. This is interpreted by Winkler (1985, 211) as one of the tokens of authority attributed to the priest by the text (see also below on *egregius*); the frenzy points to the 'higher source' of divine inspiration (coming from Isis, the highest authority), from which his words derive. See also Graverini 2007, 66-70 [= 2012, 59-64].

Ad istum modum: see comm. on 11,3,1 *Ad istum modum*.

uaticinatus sacerdos: cf. Tib. 1,6,43-44 (on Bellona's priestess) *sic fieri iubet ipse deus, sic magna sacerdos / est mihi diuino uaticinata sono*, with Maltby 2002 ad loc., pointing out that the act of prophecy is carried out in a state of physical and mental agitation (which explains *fatigatus* in our passage; see below); cf. the etymology in Varro *ling.* 6,52 *dicti ... uaticinari, quod uesana mente faciunt*; Ov. *met.* 6,159 (Tiresias) *diuino concita motu uaticinata*; Liv. 39,13,12 (on the Bacchanalia) *uiros, uelut mente capta, cum iactatione fanatica corporis uaticinari*. The authentic divine inspiration of the Isiac priest can be read in contrast with the fake prophecies of the priests of the Dea Syria, which they contrived to make money (e.g. 8,29,2 *factae uaticinationis mendacio*). See Appendix 2.9.1 in *GCA* 1985, 292.

egregius: here, *egregius* is one of the adjectives stressing the special authority of the high priest; see below on 11,16,6 *summus sacerdos*. Another prophet in *met.* is also called *egregius*, *kat'antiphrasin*: 2,14,1 *Diophanes ille Chaldaeus egregius*. In

the preceding books of *met.*, *egregius* is often used with irony; see Graverini 1998, 128 and cf. 5,9,1 with *GCA* 2004, 164 ad loc.

fatigatos anhelitus trahens: the ‘tired breaths’ of the priest Mithras are the positive counterpart of the histrionic sighing of the frenzied priest of the Dea Syria in 8,27,6 *de imis praecordiis anhelitus crebros referens, uelut numinis diuino spiritu repletus* (see *GCA* 1985, 242 ad loc.). For the panting breath of possessed prophets cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,48-49 (on the ecstasy of the Sibyl) *sed pectus anhelum / et rabie fera corda tument*; Sen. *Ag.* 713 (on Cassandra) *anhele corda murmure incluso fremunt*; Lucan. 5,190-192 *spumea tum primum rabies uaesana per ora / effluit, et gemitus et anhele clara meatu / murmura*.

The combination *fatigatos anhelitus* is striking, and depicts the priest’s deep sighs or his difficulty in breathing (for *anhelitus* rendering Greek ἄσθμα cf. Gloss.); cf. also 10,2,7 *quid fatigatus anhelitus*, describing symptoms of passion (*GCA* 2000, 77 ad loc.: ‘laborious breathing’). *fatigatos* is to be interpreted by enallage (cf. 9,39,7 *anhelitu languido fatigatus*), meaning that the priest is exhausted by the prophetic possession by the deity; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,79-80 (on the Sibyl) *tanto magis ille fatigat / os rabidum*; Lucan. 5,216-217 *nec fessa quiescunt corda*.

trahens: cf. *OLD* s.v. 7b ‘to draw breath’; but here the verb *trahere* has an additional connotation of producing long, deep sighs, underlining the fatigue of the frenzied priest. Cf. 8,15,1 *longos trahens suspiritus* (see *GCA* 1985, 141 ad loc.); Plaut. *Truc.* 600 *trahit ex intumo uentre suspirium*.

11,16,2 Exin permixtus agmini religioso procedens comitabar sacrarium totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis. Thereupon, having joined the holy column, I moved forward and accompanied the sacred shrine, being well-known to and attracting the interest of the whole town, becoming the centre of attention through the people’s finger-pointing and nodding.

The sentence is redolent with terms that express public recognition and fame (*notus*; *conspicuus*; *notabilis*); *totae ciuitati* and *hominum* emphasise that Lucius is the object of the public gaze. Lucius is the talk of the whole town: the whole community of Cenchreae (*totae ciuitati*) talks about his re-transformation and salvation (11,16,3 *omnes in me populi fabulabantur*). Below, the people confirm Lucius’ outstanding status, as they describe him as someone who evidently deserved a *praeclarum de caelo patrocinium* (11,16,4). The rumours, the gestures, and the *makarismos* (see below on 11,16,4 *felix hercules et ter beatus*) are significant also on a metaliterary level, as they reflect Lucius’ own (future) status as a literary celebrity, who is known and recognised by everybody in the province; see Introduction, 3.2 with n. 61 on references to the literary success of the *Metamorphoses* and its author in Book 11; see also Introduction, 6.1 on the Greek model as a background for the connections between Apuleius and his literary work.

permixtus agmini: Lucius’ mingling with the faithful in a physical sense visualises him as now ‘lined up’ in the procession as one of the ‘soldiers’ of Isis (cf. 11,15,4 *comitare pompam*); for a different situation see comm. on 11,30,4 *gregi cetero*

permixtus. For the dative construction cf. Sil. 1,428 *permixtus utrisque Hannibal agminibus*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. 1544,50-71.

agmini religioso: for the use of *agmen* with reference to religious processions, cf. *Socr.* 14 p. 149 *pomparum agmina, mysteriorum silentia, sacerdotum officia, sacrificantium obsequia*. For a possible military connotation of the term *agmen* see introduction to Ch. VI (Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity).

comitabar sacrarium: for this use of *comitari* cf. Florus, *epit.* 1,13,12 *uirgines ... ex sacerdotio Vestae ... fugientia sacra comitantur*. Here Apuleius uses *sacrarium* with particular reference to the sacred objects carried along in the procession (possibly a portable ‘shrine’; cf. 11,10,4 *altaria*), and not with reference to a sacred place or sanctuary (cf. 11,23,4 *ad ipsius sacrarii penetralia*); see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 159.

totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus: for similar descriptions of public recognition cf. 7,6,2 (on Plotina’s husband) *fuit quidam multis officiis in aula Caesaris clarus atque conspicuus, ipsi etiam probe spectatus*; Hist. Aug. *Maximin.* 3,2 *susplicatus barbarus et notum se esse principi et inter multos conspicuum* (cf. 3,6 *hinc igitur factus conspicuus, inter milites clarus*).

totae ciuitati: cf. 11,16,3 *omnes ... populi*; 11,16,9 *cuncti populi*.

totae: for the form *totae* instead of *toti* (cf. also 11,17,3 *toto ... Romano populo*), cf. Plaut. *frg. inc.* 120 and see Callebat 1968, 126 and *GCA* 2000, 342 on 10,28,1 *toto* (with further lit.), noting that such forms are not archaisms but originate from spoken language.

digitis ... nutibusque notabilis: cf. 2,30,8 (Thelyphron) *directis digitis et detortis nutibus praesentium denotor*, with *GCA* 2001, 393 ad loc.; 3,12,6 *omnium oculis nutibus ac denique manibus denotatus*. In a similar way, our sentence, which is marked by sound effects (*nutibus ... notabilis*), may contain some pseudo-etymological hint (*nut-/not-*). The sound effects may explain the peculiar use of *notabilis* (expanding, as if, the preceding *notus*), which Apuleius probably preferred to *denotatus* or a similar verb for phonetic reasons. Yet, if we take *notabilis* in the usual sense of ‘noteworthy’, ‘worthy to be noticed’ (*OLD* s.v. 1), the people’s gestures are not a consequence of Lucius’ celebrity status, but rather produce it (the pointing and nodding makes Lucius into a prominent person, because it makes everybody look at him); cf. Hanson 1989: ‘I was the centre of attention as people pointed their fingers and nodded at me’. Whereas Lucius at the Risus Festival (3,12,6) is the object of laughter and public derision (like Thelyphron in 2,30,8), the re-transformed Lucius is the object of public admiration, since he was chosen to be saved by Isis’ divine grace (cf. also 11,13,6 with comm. ad loc.).

The gestures performed by the Cenchreans are the typical gestures of recognising a celebrity: they recognise the hero of this story, cf. Mart. 6,82,3 *uultu digitoque subnotasset* (me), where Martial reveals his own pride as a poet; Grewing 1997 ad loc. compares several passages where a famous person is being recognised in the street due to his (artistic) success (e.g. Hor. *carm.* 4,3,22-23; Ov. *am.* 3,1,19-20; Lucian. *somn.* 11). Cf. also Pers. 1,28-30, noted by Thomas 2011 on Hor. *carm.* 4,3,22 *monstror digito praetereuntium*, pointing out that the same situation may imply both admiration and envy; cf. Hor. *epod.* 4,9-10 and the definition of true fame by Lucian, *Harm.* 1 καὶ τὸ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐν πλήθει καὶ δεῖκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ (‘be-

ing noticed in a crowd and being pointed at’); Thomas 2011 also compares the Greek compound δακτυλοδεικτέω/ος, implying admiration or envy. See above, introd. note.

11,16,3 Omnes in me populi fabulabantur: ‘Hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformauit ad homines’. All the people were talking about me: ‘Today, the venerable divinity of the almighty goddess has reshaped him to rejoin the human race.’

The people of Cenchræe express their recognition of Lucius with significant gestures (finger-pointing and nodding, 11,16,2), by blessings (11,16,4), and by talking about him (*fabulabantur*). With *hunc* they underscore their gestures, pinpointing Lucius as the famous protagonist of the miraculous story about his salvation, which is apparently circulating everywhere. Thanks to Fama, as we learn later, stories about Lucius’ metamorphosis are on everybody’s lips and even reach his *patria* (cf. 11,18,1 *adorabile beneficium meamque ipsius fortunam narrauerat passim*; 11,20,6 *cognitis ... fabulis meis*).

in me ... fabulabantur: here, the prepositional construction with *in* plus accusative connotes benevolence (*in = erga*); cf. Plaut. *Most.* 239 *si quid tu in illum bene uoles loqui*; Anton. *Cic. Att.* 14,13^A,2 *si ... amabiliter in me cogitare uis*; *ThLL* s.v. *in* 747,24-52 ‘i.q. erga (de animo et factis beneuolis)’. In other contexts, especially those related to false inventions and slander, *in* means ‘contra’ (cf. e.g. *Cic. Verr.* 1,15 *crimina ... in istum fingere*; Apul. *apol.* 3,6 *multa in me proprie conficta*).

fabulabantur: here, *fabulari* primarily means ‘sermones conferre’, used of people talking and gossiping in the streets, as in Plaut. *Cist.* 774 *omnes homines fabulantur per uias mihi esse filiam inuentam*. For the related notion of *fabulae* = ‘rumores’, ‘sermones’ (not necessarily in a negative sense) cf. Sen. *benef.* 3,23,3 *sic seruata (domina) nobilis fabula et exemplum ... fuit*; *nat.* 6,25,3 (*terrae motus*) *impleuit fabulis orbem*. According to Schlam (1992, 121), who observes a different connotation of *fabulabantur* (‘they tell tales of me’), the verb *fabulari* (due to its associations with fiction and false invention) ironically underscores the fact that the people’s miracle tales about Lucius (*Wundergeschichten*) are discordant with the priest’s account of Lucius’ sinful fall into an asinine state. Other scholars, however, see no fundamental opposition between the priest’s view and the people’s view of Lucius; see introduction to this chapter (Contrasting readings: Lucius the Sinner or Lucius, long favoured by the Gods?). For *fabulari* meaning ‘to invent a story, make up a fable’ see *OLD* s.v. *fabulor* 2; *ThLL* s.v. 36,37-52; cf. Plin. *nat.* 29,3 *ictum fulmine Aesculapium fabulata* (ars medica). For religious storytellers in *met.*, who tell wonder stories of the gods whose miracles had been seen (*aretalogi*), see Winkler 1985, 233-238; *GCA* 2007, 40-42. Against this background, *fabulabantur* may obliquely reflect ‘the *fabulae* about Lucius’ on a metapoetical level; for *fabula* in this metapoetical sense cf. 2,12,5 *incredundam fabulam ... me futurum*, with *GCA* 2001, 216-217 ad loc.; cf. also *met.* 5,31,2 *domus meae famosa fabula*, referring both to the ‘rumours’ that are circulating about Cupid’s affair and, on a metaliterary level, to the famous ‘love story’ of Cupid and Psyche. On metaliterary aspects of Book 11 see Introduction, 3.2.

hunc ... numen ... reformauit ad homines: the Ovidian verb *reformare* (see also comm. on 11,13,6 *reformationis*) is primarily used here in the sense of *undoing* magical metamorphosis (‘re-shaping’, as in *Ov. met.* 9,399 *ora reformatus primos Iolaus in annos*; 11,254). When indicating metamorphosis proper, the verb is usually construed with *in* + accusative (e.g. 2,5,7 *minus morigeros ... in saxa et in pecua et quoduis animal puncto reformat*). Here, the use of *ad* + accusative indicates a movement/direction back to an original starting point, a ‘relocation’ by means of re-transformation (cf. 11,6,5 *redieris ad homines*; 3,23,5 *quo dicto ... rursum ... ad meum redibo Lucium?*), with the word *homines* pointing to ‘men’ as a symbolic place (*OLD* s.v. *homo* 1, plur.: ‘the world of men, the living’; cf. also 1b for the distinction from animals). Hence, the people of Cenchræe would imply that Lucius is ‘back in their midst’, among his fellow human beings; cf. below, where they call Lucius *renatus*.

For a religious use of the verb, in the sense of a ‘conversion’, cf. Min. Fel. 1,5 *ad ueram religionem reformauit*; both Fausch 1966 ad loc. and *GCA* 1995, 39 on 9,1,5 *reformari* compare our passage for this religious use of the verb. In Minucius Felix, however, *reformare ad* rather seems to express transformation in line with a certain ideal or paradigm (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ad* 35-36).

omnipotentis ... deae: this passage is the only attested use of the adjective as an epithet of Isis (see Bricault 1996, 88); Apuleius chose it to render the Isiac epithet παντοκράτειρα (*P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20], 20; Isidorus’ 1st *Hymn to Isis*, [Totti 21], 2), which fits the religious context of the *makarismos* expressed by the whole community of Isiac worshippers (as observed by Pasetti 2007, 133). The only other occurrence of the epithet in Apuleius is in 8,25,3 *omnipotens et omniparens dea Syria*.

Compounds containing participles like *omnipotens* (probably modelled on παγκρατής; see Schubert 1984, 370) are poetical; the first example before Ennius, who uses e.g. *bellipotens*; *sapientipotens*; *altitonans*, is *arquitens* attested in Naevius (*carm. frg.* 30 Morel = 24 Blänsdorf). *omnipotens* is first found in Plaut. *Poen.* 275; from Ennius onwards, it is especially used as an epithet of Jupiter (see Pasetti 2007, 107 and cf. Enn. *ann.* 447 Skutsch; Catull. 64,171; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. 604,73-605,12). Before Apuleius, Val. Max. 1,6,12 is the only attestation in classical prose; it becomes more frequent from Tertullian onwards. The adjective is also frequent in inscriptions; cf. *CIL* X 1479 *omnipotenti deo Mithrae*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. 605,24-29.

hodie: the solemn reference to the specific day of today, significantly framed by the paraphrasis of Isis (*omnipotentis ... deae*), to whom this day has been dedicated (cf. 11,5,5), emphasises the connection between the exact date of celebrating the Ploiaphesia (and the beginning of spring) and the day on which Lucius’ rebirth is celebrated (11,16,4 *renatus quodam modo*). For the significant parallelism between the official calendar festivities and Lucius’ personal experiences in Book 11 see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 52-55.

numen augustum: cf. 11,22,5 *numen augustum*, with comm. ad loc.; 11,1,3 *augustum specimen deae praesentis*; 6,4,4 *sese Iuno cum totius sui numinis augusta dignitate praesentat*.

11,16,4 Felix hercules et ter beatus, qui uitae scilicet praecedentis innocentia fideque meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium, ut renatus quodam modo statim sacrorum obsequio desponderetur.’ Fortunate, by Hercules, he is, and thrice blessed, who has earned – evidently because of the innocence and the trustworthiness he displayed in his past life – such a glorious patronage from heaven, that he was somehow reborn and at once pledged to service in her rites.’

Lucius’ return to ‘mankind’ is interpreted by his rejoicing fellow humans as a miraculous rebirth; a similar reaction can be found in 11,18,2, where Lucius’ relatives, who earlier had believed rumours about Lucius’ death, now believe that he has been brought back from the Underworld (*repentino laetati gaudio uarie quisque munerabundi ad meum festinant ilico diurnum reducemque ab inferis conspectum*). The crowd presents Lucius’ servitude to Isis as a reward of divine grace, which proves his status as a chosen devotee; cf. 11,19,3 *sacris suis me iam dudum destinatum*; 11,29,4 *quod alii uel semel uix conceditur, teque de isto numero merito praesume semper beatum*, and see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 443.

felix hercules et ter beatus: for the μακαρισμός, cf. 11,22,5 ‘o ... Luci, te felicem, te beatum, quem propitia uoluntate numen augustum tantopere dignatur’; 2,7,6 *felix et ter beatus cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere*; more examples from *met.* in GCA 2004, 234-235 on 5,17,2 *felix et ... beata* (with lit.). For the threefold benediction and Apuleius’ use of the number three in a religious context see also introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?). Here, *felix* not only refers to the happy outcome of Lucius’ story represented by his re-transformation (for the reverse, cf. 3,24,6 *miseriae reformationis*), but also to his protection by his guardian deity Isis (cf. 11,21,8 *felici ministerio*), which means a successful and blessed future life, also on a professional level (cf. 11,6,6 *uiuēs autem beatus, uiuēs in mea tutela gloriosus*). For *felix* as an adjective that can be interpreted on a metaliterary level, alluding to Lucius’ future literary success (as the author and protagonist of a famous novel) see GCA 2007, 73-74 and cf. 2,14,6 *sis ... felix*; see Introduction, 3.2 with nn. 61-62.

scilicet: *scilicet* is here part of the direct speech, maintaining the perspective of the people, who infer from the fact that Isis saved Lucius that he evidently deserved this salvation (see also below on *tam praeclarum ... patrocinium, ut*) due to his preceding virtuous life (see OLD s.v. *scilicet* 3, qualifying a presumption or inference). See also Dowden 1982a, 422 on speculative *scilicet* functioning as perspective-maintainer, listing this passage as one of the non-ironic examples that “genuinely seek to offer information at the same time as qualifying the narrator’s claim to knowledge”; cf. also 11,1,3 *Fato scilicet iam meis tot tantisque cladibus satiato*; 11,20,6 *cognitis scilicet fabulis meis*. For a different view see Schlam 1992, 121, who maintains that *scilicet* (‘no doubt’) here expresses irony, for the story of Lucius’ fall into asininity illustrates that his preceding life was not so innocent.

innocentia fideque: for a reader who views Lucius as someone hardly characterised by *fides* and *innocentia* in his life before his rescue by Isis, this observation by the crowd can contain some irony. Possibly, the irony is even heightened by an oblique autobiographical reference, nudging at the fact that not everyone agreed that

Apuleius was justly acquitted of the charge of magic; in the *Apology*, Apuleius presents innocence also as a chief virtue of his own (*apol.* 5,3 *innocentiam eloquentiam esse*; 11,6 *natura uox innocentiae ... distributa*). For a more straightforward reading of these characteristics see Tatum 1979, 60, who compares Lucius with Psyche: both are ‘innocent’ (cf. Psyche’s *simplicitas*, 5,18,4; 5,24,3), but in their eagerness to discover a kind of supernatural power, both are nearly destroyed by an evil force.

tam praeclarum ... patrocinium, ut: Lucius patently proves to deserve Isis’ grace and embodies the glory derived from it; two connotations of *praeclarum* intermingle here. On the one hand, that of ‘egregius’, ‘illustis’ (*ThLL* s.v. 485,72-74), which describes Lucius’ salvation in terms of the fame and glory that befall him, with the *ut*-clause explaining his ‘celebrity status’. On the other, the connotation of ‘manifest’, ‘evident’ (*ThLL* s.v. 489,4-5), presenting Isis’ patronage as something which becomes evident to everybody in the person of Lucius, with the *ut*-clause explaining why Isis’ special protection is so manifest here; cf. 11,13,6 *tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam*; 11,21,8 *perspicua euidentique magni numinis dignatione*.

patrocinium: this is the first attestation of the word *patrocinium* (in the sense of ‘patronage’, cf. OLD s.v. 1) used as a legal metaphor for divine protection; after Apuleius, *ThLL* s.v. 776,14-23 quotes especially examples from Tertullian (e.g. *spect.* 10,8 *est ... in artibus quoque scaenicis Liberi et Veneris patrocinium*). For legal terms used of divine protection cf. 11,15,3 *tutelam* with comm. ad loc. For deities represented as *patronus* (-a), cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 259 (the speaker is a priest of Venus) *qui sunt, qui a patrona preces mea expetessunt?*; 262; Catull. 1,9 *o patrona uirgo* (sc. Musa; the text is disputed here), *plus uno maneat perenne saeclo* (libellus); *CIL* III 1948 *Ioui op<t>imo maximo celesti patrocinio*.

ut ... statim sacrorum obsequio desponderetur: for Lucius’ servitude to Isis, see introd. note on 11,6,5; for the use of *despondere* see comm. on 11,28,1 *desponsus sacris*. Here, the use of *statim* in the alliterating combination *statim sacrorum obsequio* may indicate that the people see a special role for Lucius in the upcoming rites (*sacrorum*) of the *Ploiaphesia*; his privileged position in the service of Isis is underlined by immediate deployment.

renatus quodam modo: the Festival of Isis is also a joyful festival of rebirth, which replaces the spectacle of the ass copulating with the condemned woman (Schlam 1992, 124) with a spectacle that “places both humankind and animals within an ordered cosmos under divine governance” (ibid., 112). Here, *renatus* also refers back to *reformauit ad homines* (11,16,3) and interconnects the important themes of metamorphosis and rebirth. Cf. Isis’ emphasis on Lucius’ future life dedicated to her, which is the start of a new, true life as a human (11,6,6 *uiuēs ... uiuēs*). This suggests a parallel of our passage with the spiritual rebirth indicated in almost identical terms in 11,21,7 *sua prouidentia quodam modo renatos*: the people see Lucius’ re-transformation into a human being in terms of a spiritual rebirth. See also comm. on 11,14,2 *renatam linguam*. Lucius will be spiritually ‘born again’ during the initiatory rites, which are presented as a kind of ‘voluntary death’ (11,21,7 *ad instar uoluntariae mortis*); one of these rituals is a kind of enactment of a journey to death’s threshold and back again (11,23,7 *calcato Proserpinae limine ... remeauit*; see Shumate 1996, 318).

Lucius’ rebirth is part of a thematic pattern in *met.*, where cases of rebirth from apparent or real death occur throughout (e.g. 1,17,2 *experrectus Socrates exsurgit*;

3,9,8; more examples in *GCA* 2000, 23 with n. 83; Van der Paardt in *AAGA* 1, 83); in Book 11 it corresponds to the celebration of the reborn spring, which is itself a season of rebirth in nature (Schlam 1992, 116; Shumate 1996, 315-316; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 54).

sacrorum obsequio: cf. 11,22,1 *culturæ sacrorum ministerium*; 11,22,5 *sacris obsequium*; *Socr.* 14 p. 149 *sacrificantium obsequia*. For the consistent concept of religious obedience in Book 11 see comm. on 11,15,5 *te ... obsequio religionis nostræ dedica*.

11,16,5 Inter haec et festorum uotorum tumultum paulatim progressiam ripam maris proximamus atque ad ipsum illum locum, quo pridie meus stabulauerat asinus, peruenimus. During these conversations and amid the clamorous confusion of the festive prayers we gradually moved forward and already approached the seashore, and we reached that very place, where on the day before my ass had found its stall.

festorum uotorum tumultum: the general rejoicing of the crowd in response to the procession and to Lucius is loud and exuberant; cf. 11,17,4 *populi clamor* and *gaudii delibuti populares*. The rejoicing crowds in Book 11 (cf. also 11,7,2) visualise cultic activity in its use of space (in the open air, in the streets etc.), movement, and sound; their uncontrolled movements and loud cheers (cf. *OLD* s.v. *tumultus* 6 ‘muddle, confusion [in an activity, performance, etc.]’) present a contrast with the solemn dignified behaviour of the priests (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 252).

proximamus: as *GCA* 2004, 384-385 (on 6,3,3 *proximat*) points out, the first certain attestation of this verb is in Apuleius (confirmed by *ThLL* s.v. *proximo* 2368,31), who uses it frequently in *met.* and possibly adopted it from spoken language (Callebat 1968, 140). For the construction with accusative, cf. 6,8,5 *fores eius dominae proximanti occurrit* (ancilla). After Apuleius, it occurs frequently in *Vetus Latina* and other Christian texts.

meus ... asinus: for this expression, unparalleled outside *met.*, cf. 7,15,2 *honoribus ... plurimis asino meo tributis*, with *GCA* 1981, 178 ad loc.; 9,13,5 *gratas gratias asino meo memini*; see also comm. on 11,2,4 *redde me meo Lucio*.

stabulauerat: for intransitive *stabulare* used of wild and domestic animals see *GCA* 2004, 403 on 6,6,2 *stabulant*; Apuleius uses the verb in a more literal sense in 3,26,4 *in stabulum concedo, ubi alium etiam Milonis quondam hospitis mei asinum stabulantem inueni*. Here, the beach becomes in retrospect the last ‘stall’ of Lucius: the verb *stabulare* (combined with the use of the third person) functions in underlining the distance between the present human being and the former ass. In the corresponding part of the earlier narrative, where Lucius is still an animal, the narrator describes his accommodation rather in ‘human’ terms (10,35,4 *in quodam mollissimo harenæ gremio*), anticipating his imminent ‘rebirth’ as a human (see *GCA* 2000, 415 ad loc. on the function of that description as the transition to another world); cf. also 11,3,1 *in eodem cubili*.

11,16,6 Ibi deum simulacris rite dispositis nauem faberrime factam picturis miris Aegyptiorum circumsecus uariegatam summus sacerdos

taeda lucida et ouo et sulphure, sollemnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore, quam purissime purificatam deae nuncupauit dedicauitque. After the effigies of the gods had been arranged according to the due religious procedure, the high priest uttered the most solemn prayers from his holy mouth, and consecrated and dedicated to the goddess a ship, after it had been purified as purely as possible by a shining torch and with egg and sulphur, a ship that was constructed with great craftsmanship and was adorned round about with wonderful Egyptian paintings.

Ibi deum simulacris: here, we follow the reading in A, U and S *ibi deum simulacris* (also printed by Robertson 1945; Brandt – Ehlers 1958; Hanson 1989; Zimmerman 2012); as in 11,17,1, *simulacris* refers to the effigies of the deities. Other editions follow the reading in F, *ibidem simulacris rite dispositis*; in that case, the word *simulacra* would rather denote cult objects in general (cf. above, 11,16,2 *sacrarium*), which are being carried along in the procession (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 156). Notably, in F, a *u* was erased above the *e* of *ibidem*. The reading of φ is *ibi dum*, and E has *ibi demum*.

simulacris rite dispositis: cf. 11,17,1 *disponunt rite simulacra spirantia*; 6,10,3 *singulis ... granis rite dispositis* with *GCA* 2004, 436-437 ad loc., noting that before Apuleius the combination *rite disponere* is only attested in Colum. 12,2,5 and Stat. *Theb.* 7,390-391. Nicolini 2011a, 65 n. 179 observes that Apuleius uses *rite* (which received the larger sense of ‘properly’ very early in Latin literature) in contexts, which ‘activate’ its literal, original meaning of ‘with correct religious procedure’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1). Cf. below, 11,16,10 *simili ritu*.

nauem ... picturis miris Aegyptiorum ... uariegatam: for wonder-inspiring pictures on a ship cf. Val. Fl. 1,129 *picturae uarios super addit honores* (the only earlier attestation of *picturae* with reference to a decorated ship), followed by an *ekphrasis* of three pictures of a proleptic and prophetic nature (see Galli 2007 ad loc.), which inspire the Argonauts with wonder (cf. 1,149 *miranda*, which alludes to the reaction of Aeneas while admiring the decorated temple doors in Carthage, Verg. *Aen.* 1,494). In our passage, the Egyptian *mirae picturae* recall on a programmatic level the Apuleian Prologue (another link is the word *praefatus*), promising the readers that reading the *papyrus Aegyptiam* will bring them variety (cf. *uariegatam* with 1,1,1 *uarias fabulas*) and amazement (cf. *miris* with 1,1,2 *ut mireris*); on the desire for *mira* in *met.*, felt especially by its protagonist, see *GCA* 2007, 72-73; Graverini 2010, 75-82; cf. also 11,13,6 *populi mirantur*, the people’s reaction of wonder at the *spectaculum* of Lucius’ metamorphosis. For the prominent role of Egyptian art in Apuleius’ literary representation of the Isis cult cf. 11,11,4 *miris extrinsecus simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata*, and see Introduction, 5.2 with n. 162.

Apuleius unfortunately leaves the reader in doubt as to what exactly was represented in the *picturae mirae* (possibly scenes from the myths of Isis and Osiris). Lucius does not seem to have a clue. For ancient ships decorated with paintings (usually on the stern; cf. below on 11,16,8 *puppis ... bracteis aureis fulgebat*) see Husson 1970 on Lucian. *nav.* 5 αἱ γράφαι; Fantham 1998 on Ov. *fast.* 4,275-276 *picta coloribus ustis / caelestum Matrem ... puppis habet*; Casson 1971, 211-212; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8,93 *pictasque innare carinas*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *pingo* 2157,14-17.

faberrime factam ... picturis ... circumsecus uariegatam: as in *flor.* 23,1 *bene intrinsecus compactam, extrinsecus eleganter depictam*, the two parallel participial constructions indicate that this ship was characterised by both a solid construction and by outward splendour, represented by the paintings. Although *factam* significantly precedes *uariegatam*, the parallel construction underlines that both characteristics of the ships are presented as important positive qualities. By contrast, Roman moral discourse often presented these as two mutually exclusive qualities, showing a distrust of outward splendour (cf. e.g. *Sen. epist.* 76,13; *Lucan.* 3,510-513). Connected to this moral discourse is the allegorical interpretation of the ship as ‘the Ship of State’; cf. *Hor. carm.* 1,14,14-15 *nil pictis timidus nauita puppibus / fidit* with Nisbet – Hubbard 1970 ad loc.; cf. *Quint. inst.* 8,6,44 (referring to Horace’s poem) *nauem pro re publica* and see Cucchiarelli 2004 and 2005 for a detailed reassessment of traditional interpretations of Horace and Alcaeus.

faberrime factam: for the superlative adverb *faberrime*, first attested in Apuleius, cf. 11,11,4 *urnula faberrime cauata*, with comm. ad loc. The present alliterative idiomatic combination (cf. *flor.* 23,1 *nauem bonam, fabre factam*), which was probably inspired by *figura etymologica*, occurs from Plautus onwards (e.g. *Cas.* 861 *ut haec est fabre facta ab nobis*; *Men.* 132 *hoc factumst fabre*), and is even attested as a compound verb, especially in the passive form *fabrefio*, at least from Livy onwards (cf. 37,27,5 *celeritate superabant leuioribus et ad id fabrefactis nauigiis*). See Nicolini 2011a, 41 n. 87.

circumsecus: all editions print Stewech’s emendation (found in Oudendorp 1786) *circumsecus* of F’s reading *circūfectūf*. This adverb is only attested in Apuleius’ *met.* (also in 5,17,4 and 2,14,5), and was formed by analogy with adverbs like *extrinsecus* (cf. 11,11,4), *intrinsecus* (cf. *flor.* 23,1 *intrinsecus compactam, extrinsecus ... depictam*), or *altrinsecus* (before Apuleius only attested in Plautus, see *GCA* 2001, 281 on 2,18,5). In other ancient descriptions of painted ships, the decorations are often on the stern only (see above on *faberrime factam ... picturis ... circumsecus uariegatam*).

uariegatam: this is the clever emendation by Beroaldus (1500) of *uarie grecam* in the manuscripts. For the Apuleian verb *uariegare* cf. *flor.* 3,11 *lyra ... auro fulgurat, ebore candicat, gemmis uariegat* (where it is used intransitively; see Facchini Tosi 2000, 134); 9,19 *habebat cinctui balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus uariegatam*; 15,8 *tunicam picturis uariegatam*; *Socr.* 23 p. 172 *ex auro et argento et gemmis monilia uariegata*. The verb recurs in Ausonius’ preface to the *Cento Nuptialis*, p. 147,49-50 Green (figurae), *quae alius alio scientius uariegant* and in *Vet. Lat. psalm.* 44,10 (regina) *in ueste aurata et uariegata* (Greek πεποικιλμένη).

summus sacerdos: for the designation cf. also 11,20,1 *summus sacerdos*; similar designations are *sacerdos maximus* (11,17,1), *primarius sacerdos* (11,21,2), and *sacerdos praecipuus* (11,22,3, with comm. ad loc. on the question of his identity). Winkler (1985, 210 n. 5) points out that *sacerdos* is actually the official title, and that the lofty adjectives (see also above, 11,16,1 *egregius*) actually refer to his actual authority rather than to his title. On the hierarchical question of the different priestly designations (*sacerdos, pastophorus, grammateus*), see Vidman 1970, 51. Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2000, 407 and 444) points out that the high priest’s task is exclusively limited to cultic activities, such as preaching (cf. 11,15) and performing holy rites, as here.

taeda lucida et ouo et sulphure: for the use of torches, eggs and sulphur for rituals of purifying ships see Wachsmuth 1967, 307-309 with nn. 1333-1336; for *taeda lucida* cf. 1,12,3 *lucernam lucidam*, of a lantern in a context of magic (see *GCA* 2007, 254 ad loc.); *Hor. carm.* 3,26,6 *lucida funalia*; *Petron.* 97,1 *facem ... fumosam magis quam lucidam*. The use of sulphur (and, to a lesser extent, of egg, cf. e.g. *Lucian. dial. mort.* 1,1) in purification and (magic) healing rituals is a literary commonplace going back to *Hom. Il.* 16,228; cf. *Tib.* 1,5,11 *ipse ... te circumlustrauit sulphure puro*; *Cels. frg. Pelagon.* 31; *Ov. ars* 2,329-330; *met.* 7,261. Cf. also *Plin. nat.* 35,177 (sulphur) *habet et in religionibus locum ad expiandas suffitu domos*. For more examples see Fantham 1998 on *Ov. fast.* 4,739-740, with lit.

de casto ... ore ... quam purissime purificatam: the moral purity of the priest matches the purity of the ship, achieved through the purification rituals. Here, *castus* is used in the specific sense of ‘purity dis (deo) gratus’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3a ‘unstained’, ‘holy’, ‘pure’), which can be applied to humans (esp. priests), their lives, and parts of their body, as in *Ov. met.* 15,675 *castos euinctus uitta crines ... sacerdos*; *fast.* 2,26 *casta sacerdotum tempora* (*ThLL* s.v. 565,35-45). With one exception, *purus* is always used in *met.* in connection with the cult of Isis (e.g. 11,10,1 *candore puro luminosi*), or ironically with reference to the cult of the Dea Syria (cf. 8,29,6 *ridicule sacerdotum purissimam laudantes castimoniam* and see Appendix 4.2.3 in *GCA* 1985, 289 with n. 11). For the moral purity of the high priest cf. also 11,21,3 *uir ... grauis et sobriae religionis obseruatione famosus*. For the significance of purity in religion and prophecy, cf. *Cic. nat. deor.* 2,71 *cultus ... deorum est optimus idemque castissimus ... , ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et uoce ueneremur*; *div.* 1,121 *castus animus purusque ... ad ... ueritatem est paratior*.

de ... ore: the construction of *de* with ablative having instrumental value is frequent in *met.* (probably under the influence of spoken language, see Callebat 1968, 202-203); this is the first attested instance with the ablative *ore*, later examples are found in Tertullian and the *Vetus Latina* (*ThLL* s.v. *os* 1080,9-12).

quam purissime purificatam: here, the verb *purificare* is used in the sense of ‘to make ceremonially pure’ (*OLD* s.v. *purifico* 2), as a synonym of *lustrare* or *expiare*. Such rituals can have an apotropaic function, protecting the purified object from danger (cf. *Plin. nat.* 30,82 *domus totius ... purificatae ... contra omnia mala medicamenta*) or function in obtaining divine favour in view of an imminent ceremony or other kind of undertaking. In the present situation, the more sinister aspects of removing some form of pollution (miasma) or bad omen from the ship are not evident, but Apuleius may refer to more general notions of contamination related to ships (Wachsmuth 1967, 305): every ship, in a way, shares the very first ship’s (the Argo) quality of being *improba* (cf. *Sen. Med.* 340 *illa ... improba*), *insana* (*Val. Fl.* 1,605 *insana ratis*) or *impia* (*Hor. carm.* 1,3,23-24 *impiae ... rates*), as it violates the taboo of a divine boundary by entering the sea.

The idea of a polluted ship is more explicit in e.g. *Petron.* 105,1 *ut sciam quorum capitibus debeat nauigium lustrari* (cf. 105,4 *ut tutela nauis expiaretur*); see Habermehl 2006 ad loc. for the connections with the Roman *lustratio classis* (with lit.). During the *lustratio classis* (cf. *Liv.* 36,42,2, with Walsh 1990 ad loc.; see also Wachsmuth 1967, 305-306), the Roman ceremonial purification of the fleet (including animal sacrifice), performed in order to obtain divine favour before a major expe-

dition, part of the sacrifice was thrown into the sea (this aspect is also reflected in our chapter, see below on 11,16,9 *insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum*).

Here, the emphatic phrase *quam purissime purificatam* underlines the importance of attaining purity through an elaborate religious ceremony performed by the priest (using various materials, etc.). The etymological figure is possibly a calque on a Greek expression; Griffiths 1975 ad loc. records the Mithraic formula ἀγίους ἀγιασθεὶς ἀγιάσασσι, ‘purified by pure purifications’ (ed. Dieterich 1910, p. 4,22-23); see also Nicolini in *AGA* 3, 36-37 on Apuleius’ playful re-invention in Latin of an expression from another religion expressed in another language.

The present ceremony actually forms part of a series of rites that establish and strengthen the sense of community; the whole society celebrates the transition from the dark winter season with dangerous storms to the ‘pure’ season of spring, the season of navigation. Cf. *SEG* 19,427, where people ask the oracle of Dodona whether their suffering from heavy storms is caused by a form of pollution. The purification of the ship of Isis, with all its symbolic associations, has a religious significance in a festival that includes concerns about the welfare of the State and the Roman people (political stability etc.); cf. 11,17,3. For similar purification rites in Greece that strengthened the community, cf. the ceremonial lustration that purified the Pnyx before opening the assembly (Aristoph. *Ach.* 44; Aeschin. *schol. ad or.* 1,23); also, before religious processions took place, the streets and the theatre were purified (Suda s.v. Καθάριστον; *IG XI*² 203A,38 [269 B.C.]; more references in Cole 2004, 47-50).

deae nuncupavit dedicavitque: for *nuncupare* with the dative in the sense of ‘nominating specifically (for)’, ‘consecrating (to)’ (*OLD* s.v. 4c), cf. 11,5,5 *diem ... mihi aeterna nuncupavit religio*; 11,21,8 *felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque*. For the dedication of a whole ship to a deity see Wachsmuth 1967, 133 with n. 225; the oldest example is the Argo, dedicated to Poseidon (cf. Dio Chrys. 37,15, who quotes the votive inscription attributed to Orpheus).

11,16,7 Huius felicitatis alvei nitens carbasus litteras intextas progerebat: eae litterae uotum instaurabant de noui commeatus prospera nauigatione. The gleaming sail of this fortunate bark bore an embroidered inscription in front: that inscription renewed the prayer for a prosperous sailing in the new trade season.

The notion of good fortune and success that was central to everybody’s blessings for Lucius (11,16,4) is now transferred to the ship that is about to be launched, a *felix alueus*; for a comparison between the Ploiaphesia and Lucius’ re-launching on his new life see Frangoulidis 2008, 217-232. In this context, we also refer to the idea in Finkelppearl 1998, 214-215 that the ‘launching of the ship’ refers to the notion of ‘embarking on a literary journey’ known from Augustan poetry (notably, the sail of the ship displays letters, see Finkelppearl 1998, 213).

felicitatis aluei: for *felix* used of ships cf. Ov. *epist.* 10,65 *rate felici*; Lucan. 5,422 *felices ... proras*; Stat. *silv.* 3,3,84 *in ... omni felix tua cumba profundo*; Petron. 76,5 *feci maiores et meliores et feliciores* (sc. naues). A ship that is *felix* will have a prosperous journey (cf. Greek εὐπλοῦς; cf. below, *prospera nauigatione*). The notion of

felicitatis related to a ship that has Isis as a guardian deity especially reflects the connection between Isis Pelagia and her identification with Fortuna (see Schlam 1992, 65); in an inscription from Delos (2153, from the 2nd cent. B.C.), Isis is called Εὐπλοία (see Bricault 2006). Lucius himself, who is now under the *tutela* of Isis, is also called *felix* (above, 11,16,4). The opposite, ‘unfortunate’ ships, belong to the realm of magic in *met.*; cf. Pamphile’s laboratory, containing *infelicitium nauium durantibus damnis* (3,17,4); cf. also the unfortunate ship of the Chaldean prophet Diophanes (2,14,2-3).

aluei: the noun *alueus* (litt. ‘the hull of a ship’) is one of the two poetic terms for ‘ship’ (with synekdoche) used here; cf. *carina* below (11,16,8). For *alueus* cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6,412; Prop. 3,7,16; Ov. *fast.* 3,592; in prose, e.g. Liv. 10,2,12; Tac. *ann.* 14,29,3.

nitens carbasus ... progerebat: for ‘*carbasus*’ (linen) as a poetic word for sails (*uela*) see Barratt 1979 on Lucan. 5,421 *languida ... carbasa*. For gleaming sails cf. *flor.* 23,1 *splendentibus uelis*; as they were mostly made of linen, the colour was usually left white (cf. Hom. *Od.* 2,426 ἰστία λευκὰ; Catull. 64,235 *candida ... uela*) or they were dyed purple (in the case of royal vessels); see Casson 1971, 234. Alternatively, it is possible that *nitens* refers to the resplendence of the (golden) letters embroidered on the sail (see below); see *OLD* s.v. *niteo* 3a ‘to be brilliant or resplendent (with rich colouring, ornaments)’ and cf. Curt. 3,2,12 (exercitus) *nitet purpura auroque*.

The present use of *progerere* (‘carrying in front [of oneself or of someone else]’, *OLD* s.v. 2) is only attested in Apuleius’ *met.*; cf. *progestans* (6,28,6), an Apuleian hapax. Since the other two Apuleian passages describe activities in a religious *pompa* (cf. 11,17,1 *diuinas effigies progerebant*; 4,31,7 *dominae [sc. Veneri] speculum progerit*), we may have a form of personification in our passage. For *carbasus* used with personification cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,417 *uocat iam carbasus auras*, which is listed as an Ennian imitation by Norden ⁴1957, 433 with n. 4. However, *carbasus* does not appear before Catullus and Vergil, since Enn. *ann.* 573 V. *carbasus alta uolat pandam ductura carinam* is now listed as spurious by Skutsch 1985, 786-787.

litteras intextas: the transmitted participle in F, *ingestas*, is corrected by most recent editors to *intextas*, following Oudendorp 1786 (acknowledged by *ThLL* s.v. *intexo* 11,27-28); see also Lütjohann 1873, 492. Some early editors printed *ingestas* (e.g. Wowerius 1606: *litteris uotum ingestans progerebat*), following the reading by a second hand in F (which put a stroke above the *a*), which is found in manuscripts of the first (A) and second class and in the *editio princeps*. Only Médan 1925a proposes to retain *ingestas*, followed by Augello 1977, 231, who considers this the simplest solution. However, the use of *ingerere* in this context is unlikely; moreover, as Murgia 1980, 178 points out, *-gest-* could easily have arisen under the influence of the following *progerebat* (Murgia suggests *ingentes* as an alternative possibility; cf. Pricaeus 1650, who proposed *litteris uotum ingentibus progerebat*).

Probably due to a *saut du même au même* (for similar cases cf. 5,1,4 [*magnae artis*]; 5,30,4 [*adhibendum est*]), the scribe of F wrote the phrase *litterae uotum* (which occurs in its proper place a few lines below) after *carbasus*, where the original word must undoubtedly have been the accusative form *litteras*. Most editors therefore follow Colvius 1588, who excluded *uotum*. It appears that the *Vorlage* of F was al-

ready problematical (the *prima manus* noted ‘d’ in the margin, indicating that the text is dubious); see Helm, praef. *flor.* xxxiv-xxxv.

Giarratano 1929 and Robertson 1945 assumed that the letters embroidered on the sail were made of gold. Thus, Giarratano conjectured *litteras <aureas> intextas*, followed by Griffiths 1975; for Apuleius’ predilection for this adjective cf. 4,8,2 *uestis ... sericae et intextae filis aureis*, and below, 11,16,8 *bracteis aureis*. Inspired by Giarratano’s conjecture, Robertson reads *litteras [uotum] <auro> intextas*, followed by Brandt – Ehlers 1958 and Hanson 1989. The use of golden letters on the sail is paralleled in a passage of Arrian (*Parthica*, frg. 67): Trajan’s flagship on the Tigris bore at the top of the sail the imperial name and other titles, lettered in gold (ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ τῷ ἰστίῳ τὸ βασιλικὸν ὄνομα καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις βασιλεὺς γεραίρεται χρυσοῦ ἐγκεχαρμένον); see Casson 1971, 235 n. 49.

However, various arguments can be proposed against these conjectures. Given the fact that *uotum* is part of the *saut du même au même*, there may be no need for a conjecture like *auro* (or *aureas*) at all. For similar scepticism see Augello 1977, 231; like Helm 1955, Zimmerman’s OCT (2012) prints only *litteras intextas*, following Haupt 1872, 262. Possibly, the ancient reader took it for granted that gold was used for the embroidered letters; cf. 11,4,1 *per intextam extremitatem ... stellae dispersae coruscabant*, where probably gold was used too for the embroidered stars. Although there are many parallels for the combination *auro intextus* (see *ThLL* s.v. *intexo* 11,79-12,2), all those examples refer to the cloth itself, which is embroidered with gold, whereas here the *litterae* are *intextae* (for *intexere* with *litterae* as object, cf. *Plin. nat.* 13,73 *adhuc malunt Parthi uestibus litteras intexere*).

uotum ... de ... prospera nauigatione: see below on 11,16,9 *deuotionibus faustis* on the ancient practice of votive offerings for the safe journey and return of the ship.

commeatus: ‘sea trade’ or ‘trade season’; cf. 11,5,5 *commeatus*, with comm. ad loc.

11,16,8 *Iam malus insurgit pinus rotunda, splendore sublimis, insigni carchesio conspicua, et puppis intorta chenisco bracteis aureis uestita fulgebat omnisque prorsus carina citro limpido perpolita florebat*. Already a round pine rises up functioning as the mast, outstanding in its splendour, attracting attention by its conspicuous mast-head, and the stern, curved in a gooseneck, was shining bright, covered with gold leaf, and the ship was gleaming just all over, finished off with clear citrus-wood.

malus insurgit pinus: masts of ancient ships are usually made of the fir tree or the pine, both straight; for *pinus* used of a mast cf. *Lucan.* 2,695-696 *dum iuga curuantur mali dumque ardua pinus / erigitur*. *ThLL* s.v. *pinus* 2182,26-28 makes a cross-reference to *Petron.* 123,233-236 *cum ... inhorruit auster ... , ligat alter pondera pinus, alter tuta sinus ... quaerit*, where *pinus* may refer by synecdoche either to the ship or to the mast.

malus ... insigni carchesio: the Latinised form *carchesium* (Greek καρχήσιον) in the sense of the main-top of the mast is a poetic word, before Apuleius (cf. also *flor.* 23,1 *nauem ... procero malo, insigni carchesio*) always used in the plural; the first attestations are *Lucil.* 1309 *tertius hic mali superat carchesia summa* and *Cinna* frg. 2

FLP / 2 FRP (of the *Propempticon Pollionis lucida quom fulgent alti carchesia mali*, where *fulgent* (referring to St. Elmo’s fire, according to Courtney 1993 ad loc.) is a possible explanation for the emphasis on the conspicuousness of the main-top (*insigni ... conspicua*) in our passage. Other attestations of *carchesium* (-a) in this sense before Apuleius are *Sen. Oed.* 456; *Lucan.* 5,418. Rather than borrowing from the sailors’ language of his age (thus Callebat 1968, 59), Apuleius’ use of *carchesium* shows a combined interest in poetic diction and (ancient) technical vocabulary. Cf. *Servius’* comment on *Aen.* 5,77 (where the word is actually used in the sense of ‘drinking cup’) *carchesia ... dicitur autem et summitas mali per quam funes traiciunt*. The poetic use of the nautical term goes back to *Pind. Nem.* 5,51 ἀνὰ δ’ ἰστία τε νον πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου (see Pfeijffer 1999 ad loc. on the special affinity of poetic diction with specific words); cf. also *Eur. Hec.* 1261 ἐκ καρχῆσιον; in imperial times, cf. *Plut. Them.* 12,1; *Athen. deipn.* 11,474e-475b, where a detailed description of a καρχήσιον by Asclepiades of Myrlea is quoted.

splendore sublimis, insigni carchesio conspicua: F has *insignis carchesio conspicua*; moreover, the combination *splendore sublimis* has puzzled scholars, for the ablative *splendore* cannot be taken as causal here (cf. 9,22,6 *splendore conspicuus*), to match *carchesio conspicua*. Oudendorp 1786 tried to solve the problem by reading *splendore insignis, sublimi carchesio conspicua*; before Elmenhorst 1621, in v the reading *splendore sublimi insignis, carchesio conspicua* is found. All recent editions follow *Salmasius’* correction *insigni*, which is supported by *flor.* 23,1 *insigni carchesio*; the mistake is easily explained by the following *carchesio* (c and s are frequently confused in the mss.). The ablative *splendore* is probably instrumental, with *sublimis* used as an expression of excellence, connoting ‘outstanding’ (*Hildebrand* 1842: ‘de rei praestantia intelligendum esse apparet’), by analogy with *illustris, insignis*, or *excellens* (cf. *KSt* I,398); as often, Apuleius combines the concrete and metaphorical connotations of an expression.

puppis intorta chenisco: this is the only occurrence of the word χηνίσκος in the Latinised form; compare the ship named Isis described in *Lucian. nav.* 5 ὡς δὲ ἡ πρόμνα μὲν ἐπανεστήκεν ἡρέμα καμπύλη χρυσοῦν χηνίσκον ἐπικειμένη (‘how gently the poop curves up, with a little golden goose below!’; see *Husson* 1970 ad loc.); cf. also *ver. hist.* 2,41 and *Iupp. trag.* 47. In *Artemid. oneir.* 2,23, the stern ornament appearing in a dream is said to symbolise the helmsman. For the goose-necked stern as the decoration *par excellence* of merchantmen, which was often gilded for added effect (cf. *bracteis aureis uestita*), see *Casson* 1971, 347-348, and for depictions see especially Plate 144 (a famous relief found at Portus, representing a cargo vessel; now in the Torlonia Museum; around 200 A.D.); *Casson* 1994, 111, Plate 83 (a mosaic from Rome, now in the Antiquarium of the Capitoline Museum, around 200 A.D.), where the gooseneck is white with dark red stripes.

puppis ... bracteis aureis fulgebat: in poetic descriptions of the stern of a ship, the verb *fulgeo* is especially used to refer to the *tutela* (Greek ἄφλαστον), the (gilded) wooden statue of the guardian deity of the ship; cf. *Verg. Aen.* 10,171 *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis*; *Lucan.* 3,511 *fulgens tutela*; *Val. Fl.* 1,301. Cf. *Aristoph. Ach.* 547 Παλλαδίων χρυσοῦμένων; *Eur. Iph. A.* 239-240. Accordingly, the gold leaf (*bractea/brattea*), with which this *puppis* is covered, may very well have been used for such a gilded statue or for an emblem (παράσημον) referring to the name of the

ship (cf. Lucian. *nav.* 5 ἡ πρῶρα ... τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεῶς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν Ἴσιν ἑκατέρωθεν, with Husson 1970 ad loc.; Ov. *trist.* 1,10,1-2 with Luck 1977 ad loc.). For another ship in Roman fiction sailing under Isis' *tutela* cf. Petron. 105,4 *itaque ut tutela nauis expiaretur*, with Habermehl 2006 and Vannini 2010 ad loc. (the latter rightly points out that the name of this ship was probably 'Isis' too; for the earliest pictorial representation of a ship with the name Isis, found in Ostia, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 210). For the use of gold leaf for covering statues of gods cf. Iuv. 13,150-152 *minor exstat sacrilegus qui / radat inaurati femur Herculis ... , qui bratteolam de Castore ducat*. Elsewhere, the use of *bractea*/*brattea* underlines the illusory and glamorous aspects of the thing covered by it; see GCA 2000, 372 on 10,30,5 *malum ... bracteis inauratum*, quoting e.g. Ov. *ars* 3,231-232 *aurea quae pendent ornato signa theatre / inspice, contemnes: brattea ligna tegit*. On the significance of gold in Book 11 see comm. on 11,7,2 *aureus*.

fulgebat: in F, above the *eb* of *fulgebat*, three now hardly legible letters were added (*ura*). Did Apuleius write *fulgebat* or *fulgurabat*? The reading *fulgebat* produces a neat parallelism with *florebat* at the end of the sentence. The use of the verb *fulgeo* in this context follows poetic diction usually found in descriptions of a stern of a ship, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10,171 (see above on *puppis ... bracteis aureis fulgebat*) and of *signa* and *simulacra* in general (*ThLL* s.v. *fulgeo* 1509,72-81 and cf. also Plin. *nat.* 12,3 *auro fulgentia atque ebore simulacra*). Cf. 11,11,3 *fulgente auro figuratum*. On the other hand, the reading *fulgurabat* is supported by φ and by all mss. of Class I (it is also found in the Dorvillianus). Possibly, it was an original variant noted by the scribe of F. Another possibility is that the superscript *ura* is a self-emendation of the writer of F, correcting *fulgebat* to *fulgurabat* after checking the *Vorlage*. The reading *fulgurabat* can be considered *lectio difficilior* and would fit Apuleius' preferred use of *fulguro* in ekphrastic descriptions; cf. e.g. *met.* 2,19,2; 5,1,6 *ipsae ualuae fulgurant* (where GCA 2004,121 ad loc. notes the rhyme with the preceding *coruscant*); *flor.* 3,11. Zimmerman 2012 prints *fulgurabat*.

citro limpido perpolita florebat: cf. 2,19,1 *opipares citro et ebore nitentes*; 5,1,3 *laquearia citro et ebore ... cauata*; the citrus-wood referred to here came from Mauretania in North Africa, and was considered as the pinnacle of luxury for the construction of furniture or architectural elements (GCA 2004, 117, with lit.); the first attestation of *citrum* is in Cato *orat.* 139 *uillae atque aedes ... expolitae ... citro atque ebore* (see Sblendorio Cugusi 1982, 362 on the uncertain etymology of *citrum*, possibly a Graecism going back to κέδρος). For *limpidus* used of shining surfaces cf. 11,10,1 *illae limpido tegmine crines ... obuolutae*.

perpolita: as *ThLL* s.v. *perpolio* 1654,52-59 observes, the verb does not describe a process of removing roughness by smoothing or polishing (cf. Hanson 1989: "with highly polished, pale citrus-wood"), but a technique of coating a construction with a material, which is applied to it. Possibly, pigments or paint were applied to the wood, which was not only done for the sake of decoration (above, 11,16,6 *picturis miris ... circumsecus uariegatam*), but also for the sake of solidity. The paint was burnt in with wax (cf. Hipponax frg. 46); see Bömer 1958 on Ov. *fast.* 4,275 *picta coloribus ustis*. If we take *citro limpido* as causal/instrumental with *florebat*, with *perpolita* referring by enallage to *citro*, a possible translation could be 'the hull shone just all over with coated gleaming citrus-wood'. A more attractive possibility is that the cit-

rus-wood itself is applied as a shining (*limpido*) veneer to the underlying basis material of the ship, which would make *citro* an instrumental ablative with *perpolita*. Cf. Cato *orat.* 139 *uillae atque aedes ... expolitae ... citro*, cited in the previous note (cf. *OLD* s.v. *expolio* 1b).

florebat: as *florebat* goes with the vegetative *citro*, something of the original sense of 'blooming' is present. Moreover, Apuleius uses a poetic metaphor, which, according to Servius' note on Verg. *Aen.* 7,804 *florentes aere cateruas*, goes back to Ennius and Lucretius. Servius quotes Lucr. 5,1442 *florebat nauibus pontus* (his quotation deviates from the transmitted text of this line, which is corrupt after *tum mare ueliuolis florebat*). For the literary image of the sea 'shining' with ships cf. Cato, *orat.* 17 *mare uelis florere uideres*; see Sblendorio Cugusi 1982, 165-166 ad loc., comparing Xen. *Cyr.* 6,4,1 ὄσπε ἤστραπτε μὲν χαλκῶ, ἦνθει δὲ φοινίκισι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά. Apuleius transfers *florere* here to the (material of the) ship itself, which shines because of its glossy surface (note the parallelism *fulgebat ... florebat*). For *floreo* in the metaphorical sense of 'to be bright, shine, glow (with colours, metalwork etc.)' (*OLD* s.v. 2a), cf. also *met.* 6,11,5 *oues ... auri ... colore florentes*; Gell. 5,5,2 *exercitum insignibus argenteis et aureis florentem*.

11,16,9 Tunc cuncti populi tam religiosi quam profani uannos onustas aromatis et cuiusce modi supplicii certatim congerunt et insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum, donec muneribus largis et deuotionibus faustis completa nauis, absoluta strophis ancoralibus, peculiari serenoque flatu pelago redderetur. Then all the people, both the initiates and the non-initiates, competed to pile up winnowing-baskets laden with spices and offerings of all kind, and on the waves they poured a libation of a mash made with milk, until the ship, filled with bountiful offerings and vows of good omen, and loosened by raising the anchor-cables, was handed over to the sea by a special and serene breeze.

The scene recalls the chapter describing the beginning of spring and the rising sun (Ch. VII), celebrated by the rejoicing masses in the street, early in the morning of the same day – a scene evoking associations with panegyric descriptions of the arrival of a new ruler and the beginning of a new era (see Introduction, 4.1.3 with n. 99). Here, we have a similar marking of a new important era for the whole community, underlined by the participation of the whole population in the religious festival. See also above on 11,16,6 *quam purissime purificatam*. On the role of crowds in Book 11 see Introduction, 5.1 with nn. 128-130.

cuncti populi tam religiosi tam profani: similarly to the descriptions above (11,16,2 *totae ciuitati*; 11,16,3 *omnes ... populi*), it is emphasised that the whole community participates in the ritual activities; note the contrast with 11,23,4 *semotis procul profanis*. For the meaning of *religiosi* see comm. on 11,13,6 *religiosi*.

uannos: see comm. on 11,10,6 *auream uannum laureis congestam ramulis* for *uanni* and their aromatic contents.

aromatis: for the ablative plural form (before Apuleius only in Colum. 12,25,4), cf. also 3,17,4 (Pamphile's laboratory) *omne genus aromatis*; *flor.* 19,4 *membra*

omnia aromatis perspersa; later examples in *ThLL* s.v. *aroma* 628,27-30. For similar examples in Apuleius of Graecisms in *-ma* in the ablative plural form in *-is* see Facchini Tosi 2000, 121, who observes that Apuleius' usage is not consistent (the form *-ibus* occurs as well) and that the form in *-is* can sometimes be explained for phonetic reasons (here, cf. the homoeoptoton *aromatis ... suppliciiis*). This is the first instance of *aroma* with a sacrificial function (as a substance used to fumigate) quoted by *ThLL* s.v. 629,21-36, adding many examples from Christian texts. For the role of oriental spices in Isis' identity cf. 11,4,3 *spirans Arabiae felicia germina*, with comm. ad loc.

cuiusce modi: although it is possible to retain the reading of F *huiusce modi*, as most editors do, including Zimmerman 2012 (with a small misprint, *huiusce modis*), we prefer to follow Brantius' correction (found in Elmenhorst 1621) *cuiusce modi*, which gives better sense (it gives a sense of abundance, which is congruous with *cuncti* and the idea of *certatim*) and matches Apuleian usage (cf. 11,7,3 *pecua etiam cuiusce modi*, with comm. ad loc.). Cf. 10,13,6 *cuiusce modi pulmentorum largissimas reliquias*.

suppliciiis: for *supplicium* in the sense of 'a thing offered (or an act performed) to propitiate a deity' (cf. 11,20,4 *supplicamentis sollempnibus* with comm. ad loc. for the connotations of the related noun *supplicamentum* with 'incense, spice'), see *OLD* s.v. 2; cf. Paul. Fest. p. 308 *supplicia ueteres quaedam sacrificia a supplicando uocabant*. In Apuleius, cf. Plat. 2,7 p. 229 *religiositas deum honori ac suppliciiis diuinæ rei mancipata est*.

insuper fluctus libant intritum lacte confectum: this recalls an aspect of the Roman ceremonial purification of the fleet, the *lustratio classis* (see above on 11,16,6 *quam purissime purificatam*), where part of the sacrifice was thrown into the sea (cf. Liv. 29,27,5). Here, the sacrifice consists of an *intritum*, which is perhaps reminiscent of the throwing of barley-grains during the lustral sacrifice to Apollo in Apollon. Rhod. 1,425 (cf. 1,409), before embarking on the Argo; those barley-grains, however, were probably cast on the altar and on the victim. Mention of milk was also made at 11,10,6 *aureum uasculum ... de quo lacte libabat* (see comm. ad loc.). The form *intritum* (referring to a substance made from grain, which becomes like a kind of porridge or mash by the addition of liquid) is only attested here; for this ritual practice of using a paste for libation *ThLL* s.v. *intritum* 2238,31-34 compares a text from late antiquity, where the more common feminine noun *intrita* is used, *Conc. Tur. a. 567* (23,463-465 de Clercq) *sunt ... qui in festiuitate ... intrita mortuis offerunt et ... ad gentiliū reuertuntur errores*.

insuper fluctus: here, *insuper* is used as preposition, as in 8,5,7 *iaculum quod gerebat insuper dorsum bestiae contorsit*; more examples in Callebat 1968, 238. For the adverbial use see *GCA* 2007, 450 on 1,25,4 *insuper pisces inscendere*.

libant intritum ... donec ... nauis ... pelago redderetur: for the past tense of the subjunctive in the dependent clause with a historical present in the main clause cf. 10,34,2 *capellas ... perpluit ... donec ... mutarent*; although this is not uncommon in Classical Latin as well (see *GCA* 2000, 86 on 10,3,2 *unde ... caperet ... decunctatur*), Apuleius has a clear preference for the past tense, which Callebat 1968, 360-361 (with more examples from *met.*) views as a vivid characteristic of the *sermo cotidianus*.

deuotionibus faustis: elsewhere in *met.* and in other Latin works, *deuotiones* means 'curses' or 'incantations' ('in malam partem'); see *GCA* 2007, 228-229 on 1,10,3 *deuotionibus*. Here, *deuotiones* is used 'in bonam partem', possibly meaning 'expiations', 'vows' (cf. Gloss. *deuotiones. ἀφοσιώσεις. εὐχαί. ἐπὸδαί*), which have a concrete form. According to Fredouille 1975, they are votive objects; see Wachsmuth 1967, 131-142 on the votive offerings for a safe return of the ship (*uota pro reditu*), which could have very different forms and shapes. Possibly, we should picture the *deuotiones* as leaden or bronze tablets inscribed with solemn prayers or vows addressed to Isis, to whom the whole ship was dedicated (11,16,6 *deae nuncupauit dedicauitque*), by analogy with the *Tabulae deuotionum siue defixionum* (ed. Audolent 1904) or the *Tabulae Aquis Sulis* (found in Bath, in the temple of Sulis Minerva). Cf. Tac. *ann.* 2,69,3 *reperiebantur ... carmina et deuotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum* (Goodyear 1981 ad loc.: "versified curses on lead tablets").

The adjective *faustis* here qualifies *deuotionibus* (cf. Tac. *ann.* 4,9,1 *precationibus faustis*; Suet. *Otho* 6,3 *faustas adclamationes*), but indicates their desired outcome, i.e. the safe return of the ship from its journey; cf. 11,16,7 *uotum ... de ... prospera nauigatione*. The adjective (used in the context of a ship called *felix*) recalls the traditional Roman formula *quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset* (parodied by Apuleius in 2,6,8; cf. 11,29,5 *quid felix itaque ac faustum salutareque sit*, with comm. ad loc.), which in imperial times was still used as an *omen* in the Arvals' proclamation of a sacrifice (see Wardle 2006 on Cic. *div.* 1,102); expressions with *faustus* were often used at the beginnings of actions, such as the beginning of a new year (here: spring and the new trade season), or the accession of an emperor, who is hailed as the bringer of salvation (for which see below on 11,17,3 *fausta uota praefatus principi*).

absoluta strophiiis ancoralibus: as often, Apuleius challenges the reader with a tantalising expression, which, on the one hand, seems to produce a clear sense (the anchors are raised and the ship sets sail), but, on the other hand, makes it difficult to visualise what exactly happens. Here, *absoluo* is used of the launching of the ship, in the sense of the simplex (*OLD* s.v. *soluo* 4b, 'to cast off [a vessel]', 'to set sail', cf. e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 288 *e portu nostra nauis soluitur*). Apuleius often uses a composite verb, where classical authors use the simplex form; see Bernhard 1927, 120 (for a similar case of *absoluo* = *soluo* see comm. on 11,7,1 *somno ... absolutus*). As a result, the ablative *strophiiis ancoralibus* gains an instrumental function, since the releasing of the ship from its position is performed by the *strophia ancoralia* raising the anchor.

Translators generally render *strophiiis ancoralibus* as a separative ablative with *absoluta*, e.g. Griffiths 1975 "... was freed from its anchor cables" or Hanson 1989 "it was untied from its anchor ropes" (cf. 9,30,7 *eum ... nodo ceruicis absolutum*). However, the anchor ropes (στροφεῖ α; Lat. *ancoralia*; see next note) were used to lower and raise the anchor, not for mooring a ship (for this function they used the *retinacula*, used in a transferred sense in 11,24,6 *uix ... abruptis ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis*). The bow of the ship was headed seaward and held by anchor cables, the stern was attached to the shore by shore cables (*orae*), which could be 'unfastened' (*soluere*: cf. e.g. Quint. *inst.* 4,2,41 *sublatae sunt anchorae, soluimus oram*) or simply

cut (Liv. 28,36,11 *oras ... et ancoras ... praecidunt*). If we consider the possibility that the anchor cables were cut in the present situation (something which would otherwise only happen in a case of emergency), a possible explanation would be that this is not the launching of a real ship with a real destination, but an offering to the sea (cf. above, *pelago redderetur*).

strophiiis ancoralibus: this unique expression, with the adjective *ancoralis* (hapax) and the noun *strophium*, both derived from Greek nautical terms, is a poetic periphrasis for the ‘anchor-cables’, for which the more prosaic neuter noun *ancorale* is attested in e.g. Liv. 22,19,10 and Plin. *nat.* 16,34 (see *OLD* s.v. *ancorale*). The noun *strophium* is only here the Latinised form of στροφεῖον, a nautical term for ropes used to lower and raise the anchor (‘windlass’, ‘capstan’), attested in Lucian (*nav.* 5 αἱ ἄγκυραι καὶ στροφεῖα καὶ περιαγωγεῖς, see Husson 1970 ad loc.); στροφεῖα were also used in the theatre for stage machinery (see LSJ s.v.).

strophiiis: for the normalised spelling *strophiiis* (F: *strophiiis*, retained by Helm 1955 [1907]) see Note to the Text.

pelago redderetur: the new ship is ‘handed over’ (see *OLD* s.v. *reddo* 11d) to the sea for the first time (cf. 11,5,5 *naugabili iam pelago rudem dedicantes carinam ... libant ... sacerdotes*). The phrasing recalls the topos of condemning the inventor of navigation (cf. Hor. *carm.* 1,3,11 *qui ... commisit pelago ratem primus*; Stat. *silv.* 3,2,61-63 *quis ... aequor fecit iter ... pelagoque immisit hianti [homines]?*, with the comm. of Laguna 1992 ad loc.), with the word *pelagus* emphasising the contrast between the immense sea (*pelagus*) and the vulnerability of the new man-made ship. The choice of the verb *reddo* (for handing over to a positive condition, cf. 1,26,7 *optatae me quieti reddidi*) instead of *committo* or *credo* (cf. Ov. *epist.* 12,118 *credere me pelago*) reflects Apuleius’ positive transformation of elements from the ψόγος ναυτιλίας in the context of his ‘eulogy of navigation’.

11,16,10 Quae postquam cursus spatio prospectum sui nobis incertat, sacrorum geruli sumptis rursus, quae quisque detulerant, alacres ad fanum reditum capessunt simili ritu pompae decori. And after the ship almost disappeared from our sight because of the distance she had covered, the bearers of the sacred objects took up again what each of them had brought with them, and joyfully they started on their way back to the temple, looking graceful in following the same religious procedure of the procession.

quae ... incertat: cf. Hanson 1989: “after its course had taken it so far we could no longer clearly make it out”.

prospectum sui ... incertat: for the archaic verb *incertare* (‘to render uncertain’, ‘to blur’), attested in comedy and tragedy and resuscitated by Apuleius, see *GCA* 2004, 197 on 5,13,1 *singultu lacrimoso sermonem incertans*. For the genitive with *prospectus* ‘view’ cf. Cic. *Att.* 12,9; Liv. 37,23,1; Plin. *nat.* 6,28.

sacrorum geruli: these carriers of sacred objects can be paralleled with the *hieraphoroi* mentioned by Plutarch in *de Isid. et Os.* 3 (*Mor.* 352B); see Griffiths 1970, 50-51 and 265-266, pointing out that the most important item carried by these cult superintendents were the statues of the gods. Cf. 11,17,1 *qui ... diuinas effigies progerebant et qui uenerandis penetralibus pridem fuerant initiati, intra cubiculum*

deae recepti disponunt rite simulacra spirantia. The word *gerulus* is generally favoured by Apuleius for its archaic colour (see *GCA* 2004, 521 on 6,20,6 *diuinae formonsitatis gerula*), but is here aptly used in combination with *sacrorum* as a calque on the Greek technical term *hieraphoros*, in a context where their main activity is described with the verb *progero* (11,17,1).

sumptis: for the normalised spelling (F: *sumtis*) see Note to the Text.

reditum capessunt: cf. 2,31,4 *domuitionem capesso*; 9,8,5 *proelium capessiturus*; Plaut. *Capt.* 776 *cursum capessam*.

simili ritu: the reading transmitted in F (and in φ) is *simili strictu*. It was emended to *structu* in v; this reading has been adopted by Helm 1955 [1907] and by Robertson 1945. The noun *structus* is hapax legomenon. Cf. 4,33,4 *iam feralium nuptiarum miserrimae uirgini choragium struitur*, where *struere* not only conveys the notion of ‘arranging’, but also of ‘preparing for a special celebration’ (see *GCA* 2004, 93 ad loc.). The predecessor of the Class I mss. appears to have offered a clearer reading here than the one of F: a quite different reading, *simili ritu*, is found in A and U, as well as in the *editio princeps* (the Dorvillianus also has *ritu*). This reading is also adopted by Zimmerman 2012. Cf. 11,22,7 *rituque sollempni apertionis celebrato minsterio*; 11,23,4 *tum ecce confluunt undique turbae sacrorum ritu uetusto uariis quisque me muneribus honorantes*, 11,24,5 (with gen.) *dies etiam tertius pari caerimoniarum ritu celebratus*; 2,27,2 (mortuus) *ritu ... patrio ... pompa funeris publici ductabatur*. The participants of the *pompa* are proceeding in exactly the same way (*simili*) as during the procession that took the sacred objects to the shore. Taken as a causal/instrumental ablative with *decori* (nom. plur.), the phrase *simili ritu (pompa)* probably refers to the formation of the *pompa*, with the participants proceeding in the arrangement that makes them look graceful.

CHAPTER XVII

The *grammateus* proclaims the opening of the navigation season; after the rites, the other people go home but Lucius lingers with the statue of Isis.

The *navigium Isidis* in other texts and sources

The festival of the launching of the Ship of Venus, which celebrates the opening of the sailing season, was known in antiquity under the name of *navigium Isidis* or *Ploiaphesia* (see below on 11,17,3 πλοιαφέσια), see Vidman 1970, 76-78; Dunand 1973, vol. III, 223-230; Bricault 2006, 134-150 (with more references on p. 137 n. 15); Rüpke 2011, 153. Inscriptions with lists of *nauarchoi* (viz. members of the crew of the ship to be launched at the festival), e.g. from Eretria, indicate that the festival was celebrated at least from the first century B.C. onwards (Bricault 2006, 138-139). Although there are no certain representations of the *navigium Isidis* in pictorial art (mosaics, paintings; see Bricault 2006, 140-143), at least two items show possible connections with the Festival. According to Johannes Lydus, *De mensibus* 4,45 (6th cent. A.D.; Hopfner 1923, 698) and the calendar of Philocalus (*CIL* I p. 338; middle 4th cent. A.D.; Hopfner 1923, 523), this festival took place on March 5th (11,5,5 *diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur*); the *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum* (*CIL* I p. 358) also places it in March and uses the name *navigium Isidis*. This name is also found in the calendar of Philocalus and in a hymn attributed to Claudian (*de Isidis nauigio* = nr. 11 in the ‘Appendix carminum vel spuriorum vel suspectorum’ in Hall [ed.] 1985). Ausonius in his eclogue on the Roman festivals (14,16,24 Green: *de feriis Romanis*) speaks of *natalem ... ratis Isiacae*; cf. Veg. *mil.* 4,39,8-9 *post natalem uero, ut ita dicam, nauigationis, qui sollempni certamine publicoque spectaculo multarum urbium celebratur, plurimorum siderum ipsiusque temporis ratione usque in Id. Mai. periculose maria temptantur*. On the importance of calendar dates of religious festivals for the temporal setting of Book 11, see Introduction, 4.1.2.

Both Lactantius (*inst.* 1,11,21) and Fulgentius (*myth.* 1,20) connect the *navigium Isidis* with the myth of Io, who was transformed into a white heifer by the jealous Hera, because Zeus had fallen in love with her (Lact. *inst.* 1,11,21 *quo igitur argumento probari potest nec Europam in tauro sedisse nec Io bouem factam? Quod certus dies habetur in fastis quo Isidis nauigium celebratur; quae res docet non transnataste illam, sed nauigasse*). The connection with Io is also present in earlier literary texts, where the *navigium Isidis* is not mentioned, but where Isis appears in connection with seafaring and trade, as in Statius’ lengthy prayer to Isis in her capacity as protectress of seafarers (*silv.* 3,2,101-126; cf. *Ov. am.* 2,13,7-8 and *met.* 9,773-781 for Isis’ connection with Pharos, where she was worshipped as protectress of seafaring and trade).

11,17,1 At cum ad ipsum iam templum peruenimus, sacerdos maximus quique diuinis effigies progerebant et qui uenerandis penetralibus

pridem fuerant initiati, intra cubiculum deae recepti disponunt rite simulacra spirantia. And as we arrived at the temple itself, the high priest and those who carried the divine images in front of them and those who had already been initiated into the awesome innermost part of the sanctuary, were admitted to the goddess’ sanctuary and put the life-like effigies in their proper places.

The polysyndetic tricolon with elements of increasing length (*sacerdos maximus quique diuinis effigies progerebant et qui ... pridem fuerant initiati*) probably reflects increasing numbers (one high priest – a small group of priests who carry the effigies – a larger group of initiates).

sacerdos maximus: the title *sacerdos maximus* is attested in inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis (3rd cent. A.D.), which probably belong to the cult of Sarapis (*SIRIS* 780 and 781; see Vidman 1970, 51). See comm. on 11,22,3 *sacerdotem praecipuum* for the question of the identity of the high priest.

qui ... progerebant: these are the *sacrorum geruli* mentioned in 11,16,10 (see comm. ad loc.).

progerebant: cf. 11,16,7 *progerebat* with comm. ad loc.

uenerandis penetralibus ... initiati: the *penetralia* are the equivalent of the *adytum*, the innermost part of the temple (cf. 11,23,4 *ad ipsius sacrarii penetralia*); *penetralibus* is local ablative. Yet, in this context the sense of *penetralia* almost verges on ‘secret knowledge’ (a common sense, cf. e.g. Quint. *inst.* 12 prooem. 3 *ex ipsis sapientiae penetralibus*); cf. Isid. *orig.* 15,4,4 *penetralia secreta sunt oraculorum*. Griffiths 1975 combines the two senses in his translation (“initiated into the mysteries of the awful sanctuary”); a similar ambivalence occurs in e.g. Sil. 3,21 *fas ... adyti penetralia nosse*. Compare the phrase *operta adyti*, which in a similar way indicates both the sacred place and the sacred knowledge that can be learned there (cf. 11,22,8 *de opertis adyti*, with comm.). In line with this, the verb *initiare* connotes both a local ‘entering into’ (cf. *inire*) and a spiritual initiation. Only to those who are initiated and to the staff of the cult is entrance to the innermost, sacred part of the temple allowed, which enables the learning of the religious lore in the sacred books stored in that place (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 158).

uenerandis: cf. 11,3,2 *uenerandos... uultus attollens emergit diuina facies*; 11,11,3 *summi numinis uenerandam effigiem*; 11,30,3 *suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est*. Apart from one occurrence in the tale of Cupid and Psyche (4,34,3 *ora ... ueneranda*, of Psyche’s parents), *uenerandus* is only used with reference to deities (especially Isis).

fuerant initiati: see comm. on 11,7,4 *fuerat insecutus* for the augmented pluperfect (*verschobenes Plusquamperfectum*).

intra cubiculum deae: here, *cubiculum* is used ‘de adytis deorum’ (*ThLL* s.v. 1268,68-72); cf. Hyg. *fab.* 190,5 *iubet sacerdotem includi in cubiculum*; *CIL* X 6423 *matri deum ... porticum et cubiculum*. For *cubiculum deae* as an unusual term for the temple *cella* see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 160; possibly, the secluded and private nature of the ‘bedroom’ made the term *cubiculum* attractive as a term for the temple *cella*, to which the goddess only admits initiates, like a lady of the house, who receives only very special guests in her private chambers (ibid., 449 with n. 24). Compare

Hindermann's (2009, 198) reading of Isis as Lucius' elegiac *puella*, interpreting this passage in terms of a paraklausithyron (Lucius, as it were, is still excluded from the *cubiculum* of the goddess). For *cubiculum* used of a *cella* of priests (11,22,4), cf. Hier. *epist.* 23,3; *ThLL* s.v. *cubiculum* 1268,61-63.

intra cubiculum ... simulacra: for divine statues *inside* the temple cf. 11,17,5; 11,20,4. Compare the statue of Diana placed inside the house of Byrrhaena (in her atrium, cf. 2,4,3).

disponunt rite simulacra spirantia: cf. 11,16,6 *simulacris rite dispositis*, with comm. ad loc.

simulacra spirantia: Apuleius uses a Vergilian phrase here, cf. *Aen.* 6,847 *spirantia ... aera* (cf. *georg.* 3,34 *spirantia signa*), referring to the making of artistic images which appear life-like. For *spirans* used of artistic representation see *OLD* s.v. 1c; cf. also Gell. 6,5,7 (describing authentic rather than fake performance) *Polus ... oppleuit omnia non simulacris neque imitamentis, sed luctu atque lamentis ueris et spirantibus*. Following Griffiths 1975, Finkelpearl in *AAGA* 3, 189-190 argues that Apuleius adds an Egyptian interpretation here, related to the belief that the gods were present in their statues (see also above on *diuinus effigies*). For a similar case cf. 11,11,1 *dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere*, describing humans (priests) wearing masks of gods, where, according to Griffiths 1975, it could be implied that actual gods did walk with human feet in this procession. That a god could be present in his statue is also a topos in Greek and Roman literature; in Platonic texts, physical statues, when shaped with appropriate human craftsmanship, can be ensouled almost like a real animate body of an animal (cf. Apul. *apol.* 61; Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 23-24, More-schini 1991, 63-65). For the meaning of *simulacris* see on 11,16,6 *ibi deum simulacris*.

11,17,2 Tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti grammatea dicebant, pro foribus assistens coetu pastophorum – quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est – uelut in contionem uocato, Then one of these, whom all called the holy scribe, took his position in front of the temple and summoned the gathering of the *pastophori* – this is the name of a sacrosanct college – as if calling them to the assembly,

quem ... grammatea dicebant: taken as an explanatory phrase directed by the narrator to the Roman reader, the relative clause indicates that the term *grammateus* is not usual in the Roman contexts (cf. also '*quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est*'); at the same time, the explanation underlines that Lucius as actor does not belong to the local cult yet and has to acquire his information as an outsider from those who are involved in the rituals (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 136). Indeed, this is the only instance of the Latinised form *grammateus* in a literary work, the other (few) attestations coming from inscriptions and ancient glossaries. One of the functions of this religious official is that of 'scribe' (a scholar of religious texts). In Greek, we have parallels for the γραμματεὺς as a religious office; an inscription from Delos mentions twice the γραμματεὺς of an Isiac community: *IG XI⁴* 1228, lines 2 and 24. Cf. also *IG IX²* 1109,21 (about the procedures of the oracle of Apollo Koropaios) γραμματέα τοῦ θεοῦ, where the γραμματεὺς registered those who wished to consult the oracle and introduced them into the sanctuary; see Robert 1883, 468. A comparable official, the

ἱερογραμματεὺς ('custodian of sacred books', 'sacred scribe') is represented as carrying a book and writing materials by Clement of Alexandria in his description of an Egyptian religious procession (*strom.* 6,4,36,1). Cf. also Diod. Sic. 1,87,8. References to the γραμματεὺς in the New Testament point to a kind of religious scholar and teacher among the Jews, who explains (religious or legal) texts (cf. *Matt.* 2,4 and *Marc.* 1,22). The *grammateus* is not to be confused with the *educator* ('tutor') mentioned in an Isiac inscription from Ostia, as proposed by Pellegrino 1988, 233-235 (inscr. no. 1); see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 215 for a convincing refutation.

pro foribus assistens: see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 144 on the precision of visual details used by Apuleius in his depictions of the temple as the scene of sacred events, which is a form of 'description of action' (*Aktionsschilderung*); cf. also 11,20,4; 11,24,2. The *grammateus* is sitting or standing on a platform (cf. below, 11,17,3 *de sublimi suggestu*) in front of the temple, with his back to the doors from which he has just come out; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 3,27 *sedens pro aede Castoris*; Verg. *Aen.* 8,653 *stabat pro templo*. For this local use of *pro* in the sense of 'ante' with ablative cf. 4,18,7 *pro domus limine*; 9,20,4 *pro limine*; more examples (also from classical authors) in *ThLL* s.v. 1419,13-40.

foribus: Apuleius uses Roman terms for the description of temple architecture (*foribus*); see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 154 for more examples, and cf. also below, 11,17,4 *gradibus*.

coetu pastophorum ... sacrosancti collegii: at the end of the novel, Lucius will become a member of this *collegium*, cf. 11,30,4 *collegium ... pastophorum*.

pastophorum: on *pastophori* see e.g. Schönborn 1976; the *pastophori* have among their possible tasks the carrying of images and of other sacred objects (cf. above, 11,17,1 *sacerdos maximus quique diuinus effigies progerebant*); for the contrastive parallel with the role of the ass in the cult of the Dea Syria as carrier of the image of the goddess see *GCA* 1985, 239 on 8,27,3 *mihī gerendam imponunt*. The Greek term is already attested in papyri from the 3rd century B.C. (e.g. *Pap. Hib.* 1,77). Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012, 157 suggests that *pastophorus* should not be translated as 'shrine-bearer', as has often been done, but as 'robe-bearer in the service of the deity' (παστοφόρος = 'carrying a παστός'). Although there is no exact parallel for the noun παστός in the sense of a sacred robe, it is attested in the meaning of a kind of (embroidered?) fabric, which is used as a cover or a canopy (in marriage and non-marriage contexts); in a ritual context, the word is attested in Herodas 4,56 (where it means the curtain separating the inner temple) and *ISmyrna* 753 (see LSJ, revised supplement 1996, s.v. παστός); more examples from a ritual (mystic) context in Burkert 1987, 98 with n. 44. Written as παστός, the noun occurs in the *Hymn to Isis from Andros*, 1st century B.C. (Totti 2,109), according to LSJ s.v. in the sense of 'embroidered bed-curtain', but the text is mutilated in context.

pastophorum ... uelut in contionem uocato: the structure of the *collegium* of the *pastophori* is described in terms of a Roman *contio*, which is one of the typical Roman elements of Apuleius' representation of the Festival of Isis (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 155); cf. also 11,9,5 *Camenarum fauore*; below, 11,17,3 *principi magno ... totoque Romano populo*.

pastophorum: for the solemn connotation of the genitive in *-um* (also in 11,30,4 *pastophorum*), see comm. on 11,5,1 *inferum*.

– *quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est* –: for the explanatory comment, made to instruct the Roman reader about cultic details and religious terms, cf. above, *quem cuncti grammatea dicebant*, and 11,10,4 *id est auxilia*, with comm. ad loc.

sacrosancti collegii: the adjective *sacrosanctus* can mean ‘inviolable’ (e.g. of magistrates and offices, like the *sacrosancta potestas* of the *tribuni plebis*; OLD s.v. 1) and ‘sacred’, see comm. on 11,26,2 *sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo*. A *collegium pastophorum* (cf. 11,30,4) is also mentioned in CIL V 7468,7 *collegium pastophorum Industriensium*.

11,17,3 *indidem de sublimi suggestu de libro [de litteris] fausta uota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo, nauticis, nauibusque quae sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur, renuntiat sermone rituum Graeciensi τὰ πλοιαφέσια*. And from there, from an elevated platform, reading from a book, he first expresses vows of good omen for the great Emperor and for the Senate and for the Knights and for the entire Roman people and for seamen and ships, which are steered by the rule of our world-empire, and proclaims in the Greek language and with Greek ritual the Launching of the Ship.

The performance of the *grammateus* repeats several elements from the preceding rituals, such as a preliminary prayer (*praefatus*; cf. 11,16,6), the expression of public vows (*uota*; cf. 11,16,5 *festorum uotorum*; 11,16,7 *uotum*; 11,16,9 *deuotionibus faustis*) and blessings for navigation (*nauticis nauibusque*; cf. 11,16,7 *de noui commeatus prospera nauigatione*).

The wide spectrum covered by the list of addressees of the vows reflects, on the one hand, the global and universal range of Isiac religion (cf. Isis’ hymn-style self-revelation in Ch. V), and emphasises, on the other hand, its legitimacy as an official cult of the Roman Empire. In Statius, Isis’ appearance in her role as protectress of seafarers (*silv.* 3,2,101-126) can be viewed against the background of the association of Flavian Emperors (particularly Domitian) with the goddess (Hardie 1983, 189). In Apuleius’ account of the *navigium Isidis*, the Emperor is even explicitly mentioned (*principi magno*); although we can only guess to what extent Apuleius pays attention to contemporary imperial predilections, it is obvious that he expresses an awareness of the significance of Isiac cult on an imperial scale, which is highlighted here by the connection between seafaring and imperial rule (cf. the keyword *imperio* and see comm. on *nauticis nauibusque quae ... reguntur*).

As Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 130-132 points out, the *uota*, which embrace all classes of society and are a fixed part of the ritual, integrate the local cult of Cenchreae into the all-embracing context of Roman imperial religion (also *ibid.*, 69); moreover, Isiac religion itself can be viewed as a stabilising factor in the Roman value system. The integrative nature of the local Isiac festivities is also relevant on an individual, personal level for Lucius, who is not only becoming a member of the local Isiac community, but also destined to become a member of a group of important cult officials in

the capital of the Roman Empire, whose presence is explicitly mentioned here (see comm. on 11,17,2 *coetu pastophorum ... sacrosancti collegii*).

de libro ... uota praefatus: the *uota* are recited verbatim from the book, which underlines the importance of keeping exactly to the religious ceremony; cf., in a legal context, *flor.* 9,11 *proconsul ipse moderata uoce rareret et sedens loquitur et plerumque de tabella legit*. The preposition *de* is used here in the sense of ‘ex’; cf. *apol.* 57,2 *testimonium ex libello legi audisti*; *Romul. fab.* 48,7 rec. gall. *iudex iudicauit ... et de libello sententiam legit*. For *praefari* with prayers and sim. as object, which are uttered in the context of a solemn ‘preface’ to an undertaking, cf. 11,16,6 *sollemnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore*; *Cic. div.* 1,102 *maiores nostri ... ‘quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset’ praefabantur*.

de libro [de litteris]: we follow Zimmerman 2012, who brackets *de litteris* as a gloss. Although they print the transmitted *de libro de litteris*, Helm 1907 and Robertson 1945 both express their doubts as to whether the text should be retained or whether *de libro* (Helm) or *de litteris* (Robertson) should be bracketed as a gloss. Helm’s original idea to delete *de libro* was followed by Frassinetti 1960. In the latter case, Robertson plausibly argues that *de litteris* could have been a gloss to elucidate *grammatea*, which slipped into the text at the wrong place.

Others try to explain *de litteris* as a correct reading, but none of these interpretations can be supported with parallels (Hanson 1989: “verbatim”; Griffiths 1975: “using the writings in a book”; Brandt – Ehlers 1958: “wortgetreu nach einem Buch”). Augello’s (1977, 231-232) defence of the text as a tripartite expression inspired by sacred texts (*de sublimi suggestu de libro de litteris*) is not very convincing, as *de sublimi suggestu* expresses something quite different.

fausta uota praefatus principi: the role of *uota* in the *navigium Isidis* is prominent; cf. the writing displayed on the sail of the ship (11,16,7). For *faustus* used in acclamations and vows for the Emperor, cf. *Tac. ann.* 4,9,1 (on Tiberius) *precationibus faustis*; *Suet. Otho* 6,3 *a praesente comitatu imperator consalutatus inter faustas adclamationes ... ad principia deuenit*; *Amm.* 21,10,1 (on the *adventus* of Julian) *cum lumine multo et floribus uotisque faustis*. See also comm. on 11,16,9 *deuotionibus faustis*.

principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo: the order reflects *r. gest. div. Aug.* 35 *senatus et equester ordo populus<que> Romanus uniuersus*, a striking modification of the traditional phrase *senatus populusque Romanus*, used in the context of Augustus’ being proclaimed *pater patriae* (see Cooley 2009 ad loc.). Cf. also *Cic. Sest.* 122; more examples of such enumerations in *ThLL* s.v. 1. *populus* 2727,16-27. The long syndetic phrase indicates that the religion of Isis has become an established and universal Roman cult; see Belayche 2000, 574-575, who compares *Min. Fel.* 22,1 *haec tamen Aegyptia quondam nunc et sacra Romana sunt*. Prayers for civil authority are at home in a Roman rather than in an Egyptian context; *uota publica* were the core of a New Year’s festival on January 1st and 3rd (see Winkler 1985, 307). For the Roman nature of the cult see also above, 11,17,2 *coetu pastophorum ... uelut in contionem uocato*.

equiti: for the collective singular (often juxtaposed with *senatus* and *populus*) cf. Hor. *sat.* 1,10,76 *satis est equitem mihi plaudere*; Suet. *Nero* 12,3 *senatui quoque et equiti oleum praeiuit*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *equus* 713,67-714,6.

nauticis, nauibusque quae ... reguntur: F transmits *nauticis nauibus quaeque*, retained by Hildebrand 1842, Helm 1931, and Frassinetti 1960. For *quisque* in the sense of *quisquis* or *quicumque* ('all those who are under the rule of our world-empire'), cf. 7,9,4 *arbitror latrones, quique eorum recte sapiunt, nihil anteferre lucro suo debere*, with *GCA* 1981, 141 ad loc. (with lit.); there, however, *quique* can arguably be interpreted as 'et qui' ('at least those robbers, who ...'). This use of *quisque* is attested in Plautus (*Mil.* 460), in early inscriptions, and in archaising contexts (Liv. 1,24,3, in a legal formula), and becomes after Apuleius more frequent in late Latin authors.

However, with Helm 1907, Robertson 1945, Brandt – Ehlers 1958, and Zimmerman 2012, we prefer to follow Oudendorp's (1786) correction *nauticis nauibusque quae*, which smoothly continues the syndetic structure of the sentence. In the religious context of these vows (the Ploiaphesia), the specific sense of *regere* of steering the course of or managing a ship (see *OLD* s.v. *rego* 4a) is more appropriate as the primary meaning of *reguntur*; see also Jacobson 2007, 800. Significantly, sailors and ships are mentioned as the last and most elaborately described part of the series of addressees of the vows. In a narrow sense, *reguntur* refers to the guidance of the fleet; yet, interpreted in the wider context, the verb's connotations of 'imperial rule', 'government' are suggested as well in this sentence; cf. *OLD* s.v. *rego* 10 and compare the figurative use of *gubernare* ('to govern'). For this more general importance of the prayer see Augello 1977, 232, who is in favour of retaining *nauticis nauibus quaeque*.

nauticis nauibusque: for the use of *nauticus* as a masculine plural substantive ('seamen', 'sailors'), cf. *Bell. Alex.* 16,5 *ut neque maritimis nauticisque sollertia ... praesidium ferret*; *OLD* s.v. *nautici* only mentions examples from prose (Livy, Curtius, Seneca).

quae sub imperio mundi nostratis ... reguntur: the explicit mentioning of the word *imperium* in the context of public vows for the Emperor and other political authorities and for ships and sailors associates navigation with functions beyond commerce (which is not mentioned here), especially military ones, since ships played a decisive role in what became the Roman Empire, e.g. in the battle of Actium; cf. Apollo's exhortation to Augustus to fight in Prop. 4,6,41-42 *solue metu patriam, quae nunc te uindice freta / imposuit prorae publica uota tuae* (see Hutchinson 2006 ad loc. on the ship's metaphorical cargo of the prayers of the whole nation). For the use of *imperium* in the sense of 'dominion, government, sway' (*OLD* s.v. 5), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento; r. gest. div. Aug.* 30 *Pannoniarum gentes ... imperio populi Romani subieci*; *CIL* III 75 (Egypt, a. 203) *primitur sub imperio populi Romani*. More examples in *ThLL* s.v. 574,82-575,44.

mundi nostratis: the *mundus nostras* is usually taken as a reference to the Roman Empire, i.e. the tract of the world that is 'ours' (in contrast with the world of e.g. the Parthians); for this sense of *mundus* cf. Lucan. 8,335-337 *quid transfuga mundi terrarum totos tractus caelumque perosus auersosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris?*; Claud. 17,51 *nostro diducta Britannia mundo* (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. 3. *mundus* 1638,21-30 'de orbe Romano'). Dowden in *AGA* 3, 159-160 argues that *mundus nostras* also refers to 'our world' in the sense of our whole known world (*kosmos*),

which presents a contrast with a different kind of world in a philosophical-religious context (cf. the *mundus alter* in the decoration of the *stola* in 11,24,3).

sermone rituque Graeciensi: according to Bricault 2006, 136, this phrase implies that there are other ways (rites, languages) in which this ceremony could be held.

renuntiat: for *renuntiare* in the transferred meaning of 'proclaiming solemnly', 'declaring', see *OLD* s.v. *renuntio* 5; cf. Cic. *rep.* 2,70 (with acc. c. inf.) *adsentior ... renuntioque uobis, nihil esse quod adhuc ... dictum putemus ... nisi erit confirmatum*.

Πλοιαφέσια: F reads *ita aoiαφεσια*, which Van der Vliet corrected to τὰ Πλοιαφέσια. For Mommsen's earlier reconstruction *ita Πλοιαφέσια* see *CIL* I p. 387; recent editions generally follow Haupt's (1872, 262) correction Πλοιαφέσια (Haupt convincingly argued that the ITA is a erroneous rendering of ΠΑ). There are two other attestations of this name, the earliest one in an inscription from Byzantium (*SIRIS* 130 = *RICIS* 114/0703) from the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (reconstructed by Deubner 1912), the other one in Johannes Lydus, *de mensibus* 4,45 (middle 6th cent. A.D.). The name Πλοιαφέσια corresponds to the name *navigium Isidis* found in Roman calendars, on which see introduction to this chapter (The *navigium Isidis* in other texts and sources). As a rule, Apuleius transliterates Greek terms (e.g. above, 11,17,2 *grammatea*), but here the Greek letters can be explained from the immediate context of the cultic activity and by the fact that the use of Greek language and ritual is explicitly mentioned (*sermone rituque Graeciensi*).

11,17,4 *Quam uocem feliciter cunctis euenire signauit populi clamor insecutus. Exin gaudio delibuti populares thallos uerbenas corollas ferentes, exosculatis uestigiis deae, quae gradibus haerebat argento formata, ad suos discedunt lares. The following shout of approval of the people emphasised that this utterance had a fortunate outcome for everybody. Thereafter the citizens returned to their homes overflowing with joy, carrying green boughs, leafy branches, and small garlands, after they had kissed the feet of the goddess, who, shaped in silver, was firmly attached to the temple steps.*

feliciter ... euenire: an expression often applied in prayers and wishes, often in combination with *bene* or *fauste*; cf. Cic. *Mur.* 1; Caes. *Gall.* 4,25,3; Petron. 117,11. Here, the expression is not part of a prayer, but of an affirmative utterance expressed by the people's shouting; one might consider it a kind of indirect speech. For the language of prayer cf. 2,6,8 *quod bonum felix et faustum itaque*; above, 11,17,3 *fausta uota*.

populi clamor: for the loud acclamations of the people cf. 11,16,5 *festorum uotorum tumultum*, with comm. ad loc.

gaudio delibuti: 'drenched/soaked in joy'; cf. 7,13,1 (in the context of a procession) *procurrunt parentes, affines, clientes ... laeti faciem, gaudio delibuti*; 10,17,1 *magno ... delibutus gaudio*. As Van der Paardt 1971, 83 on 3,10,1 *laetitiae delibuti* observes, the metaphor goes back to Terence, *Phorm.* 856 *delibutum gaudio*, and is taken from the field of body care; see Isid. *orig.* 10,70 *delibutus, de oleo unctus, ut athletae solent, uel in cereumate pueri. Hinc et 'delibutum gaudio', id est perfusum uel plenum*. The metaphor is also found in a letter of Fronto, with reference to a speech of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (*epist. ad Ver. imp.* 2,25 [p. 132,13-14] *uerba*

delenifica pietate et fide et amore et desiderio delibuta), and in an inscription from 391 A.D. referring to the Mithras cult (*CIL VI 736,9 delibutus sacratissimis misteriiis*).

gaudio: the atmosphere of Book 11 is suffused with joy; see e.g. 11,7,1 *gaudio*; 11,30,5 *gaudens*, with comm. ad loc.

thallos uerbenas corollas ferentes: note the asyndeton. Griffiths 1975 compares the θαλλοφόροι, old men carrying young olive shoots in the Panathenaic procession (cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 544; Xen. *Symp.* 4,17 with Huss 1999 ad loc.). For garlands in *met.* see Appendix V in *GCA* 1995, 383; see comm. on 11,6,1 *roseam ... coronam*.

exosculatis uestigiis deae: for the passive use of *exosculor* cf. 4,26,1 *manu ... eius exosculata*, with *GCA* 1977, 191 ad loc. (with lit.), noting more examples of this use in later Latin (e.g. Hier. *Vita Pauli* 12,4 *exosculatis eius oculis manibusque*; Amm. 22,7,3). This use seems an Apuleian innovation; similarly, the passive use of the simple verb first occurs in Apuleius (cf. 2,6,7 *osculato tuo capite*, with *GCA* 2001, 140-141 ad loc.).

For the poetic usage of *uestigia* for ‘feet’ cf. Catull. 64,162; Ov. *met.* 1,536; 8,571 (in Greek, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1134 ἵχνοϛ). Here, the *uestigia* indicate the feet of the silver statue of the goddess. Cf. 11,24,7 *facie meae diu deteris uestigiis eius*; 6,2,3 *fletu rigans deae uestigia*. Dunbabin 1990, 96 proposes that the *uestigia* are literally the footprints on the temple steps (thus translating the ἵχνη, attested in inscriptions), which indicate the presence of the goddess. However, such footprints often indicate the presence of worshippers instead of deities, as Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 157-158 points out; moreover, kissing the feet of a deity is a common cult practice (cf. e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,94).

quae gradibus haerebat: the prominent steps (*OLD* s.v. *gradus* 3a) at the front of the temple, leading up to the *pronaos*, reflect the influence of Roman temple architecture on oriental cults in the Roman world; see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 154. See *ibid.*, 194 for a comparison with the Iseum in Pompeii; cult statues could be temporarily placed on top of the temple steps or in one of the lateral niches on special occasions.

argento formata: ‘shaped of silver’; cf. 8,7,7 *imagines defuncti, quas ad habitum dei Liberi formauerat*, with *GCA* 1985, 83-84 ad loc; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *formo* 1107,75-1108,18.

11,17,5 Nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intentus <in> deae specimen pristinos casus meos recordabar. Yet, my mind did not allow me to go away from there any further than a nail’s width, but keenly intent on the statue of the goddess I recalled my former tribulations.

ungue latius: for the proverbial expression see *GCA* 2000, 329 on 10,26,5 *ungue latius*; cf. 2,18,2 *inuita quod a se ungue latius digrederer*, where Photis does not allow Lucius to remove himself from her *ungue latius*.

intentus in deae specimen: most recent editors, including Helm 1955 [1907], Griffiths 1975, Fredouille 1975, Hanson 1989, Nicolini 2005, and Zimmerman 2012, follow Wowerius’ correction <in>, which is the normal construction, cf. 2,22,2 *oculis semper in cadaver intentis*. Robertson’s more drastic *intentus <in praesentis> deae specimen* is attractive, as it is paralleled in 11,1,3 *augustum specimen deae praesentis*

(cf. 11,6,3 *praesens*) and offers a meaningful contrast (with word-play) between *praesens dea* and *pristini casus*. Pricaeus 1650 printed *intentus deae specimini*. Brakman 1907, 107 puts *specimen* between brackets as a gloss (cf. 11,1,3), and defends *intentus deae* by comparing Tac. *hist.* 4,82,1 *ingressus intentusque numini*. Baehrens 1912, Armini 1928 and Giarratano 1929 retain F’s *intentus deae specimen*. Baehrens’ argument (1912, 339) that we have an accusative of direction here is not convincing, since *intendere* does not express any movement (like e.g. *incidere* or *inuolare*). The only parallel for the construction of *intentus* with the bare accusative, from a *carmen epigraphicum* (*CIL III suppl.* 2,14529 *pater ... lumen intentus dolet*), is probably an example of an entirely different phenomenon, viz. a neuter noun (*lumen*, ‘eye’) combined with a masculine adjective (*intentus*); for more examples see *ThLL* s.v. *lumen* 1810,54-59; Galdi 2004, 298-303.

deae specimen: cf. 11,1,3 *augustum specimen deae*, with comm. ad loc.

pristinos casus meos recordabar: the emphatic position of the verb *recordabar* at the end of the sentence (and of the chapter) draws attention to the importance of rethinking these former tribulations as an interpretive background to Lucius’ present situation, both for Lucius and for the reader. Whereas Lucius rethinks his former life while contemplating the goddess, to whom he owes his new life, the reader is implicitly invited to rethink his stance as a reader, after reading the first ten books of the novel, and to evaluate – with hindsight, as it were – what kind of novel s/he has read so far, or will have read, in case s/he will read, remember, and rethink (for a reading of this phrase as a hint to the reader, in the same vein as ‘*lector intende*’, see Drews 2009, 445-448).

CHAPTER XVIII

Thanks to flying Rumour, Lucius is reunited with his household, friends and relatives.

Lucius' account of his daily life at the temple of Isis before his initiation – chapters XVIII-XX – contains two scenes of reunion. The first one, found in this chapter and reported from the perspective of Lucius-narrator, occurs between the hero and his friends and connections from his hometown; it is said to have been realised with the agency of personified Rumour. The reunion has been anticipated since Lucius' prayer to the Moon goddess at 11,2,4 *redde me conspectui meorum*, and contributes to his reintegration into human society: it provides him both with the means to prepare himself for the demands of his future life (11,18,3), and with the opportunity to talk about his past and present (11,19,1). For the second reunion scene, anticipated by a dream, and reported from the perspective of Lucius-actor, see introduction to Ch. XX.

11,18,1 *Nec tamen Fama uolucris pigra pinnarum tarditate cessauerat, sed protinus in patria deae prouidentis adorabile beneficium meamque ipsius fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim.* But flying Rumour had not dallied with sluggish slowness of wings; on the contrary, she had immediately narrated all over the place in my hometown the venerable service of the provident goddess and my very own remarkable fortune.

'Rumour' in *met.* figures prominently in the inserted tales of Cupid and Psyche and of Charite and Tlepolemus (see Hardie 2012, 115-123, with a detailed discussion of the epic background of *fama* in the Apuleian tales). In the main narrative, *fama* and *rumor* occur with reference to Lucius in the last two books of the novel; thus, in Book 10 the rumour about the ass' exceptional human-like behaviour had already spread when the hero, in the company of Thiasus, arrives in Corinth and becomes a major attraction (10,17,6; 10,19,1; cf., of Psyche, 4,28,4; 4,29,1). In our passage the abstraction is clearly personified and epic-proportioned (as at 8,6,4; see *GCA* 1985, 69), and relates to the circulation of the story of the hero's salvation through Isis (see Introduction, 6.3). In this *Fama* combines her traditional role as a swift messenger through a city (cf. Tilg 2010, 269) with the function of a storyteller (see comm. on *fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim*; Hardie 2012, 121 n.142), not without a comic effect (see comm. on *protinus in patria*).

Nec tamen ... cessauerat, sed ... narrauerat: according to both Médan 1925a, 47 and Harrauer 1973, 120, *nec* applies to *pigra*, *tarditate*, and *cessauerat*, while *tamen*, Harrauer additionally argues, is used in a weakened sense ('doch') and resumes the narrative, which was interrupted by the description of the marine festival. Rather, we see continuity, not rupture, in the text: *nec tamen* (followed by *sed*) belong together (as often in *met.*: e.g. 4,24,3; 5,8,4; 5,15,3; 6,27,2), introduce a change of focus (entrance of *Fama*), and draw a distinction between the swift Rumour and Lucius as a

static worshipper of Isis, also described by means of *nec tamen ... sed* (11,17,5 *Nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intentus ... deae specimen pristinos casus recordabar*). The use of the pluperfect tenses (*cessauerat*, *narrauerat* vs. *sinebat*, *recordabar*) suggests that Rumour had already spread the news about the hero's adventures, while he was recollecting his sufferings near Isis' statue.

Fama uolucris pigra pinnarum tarditate: Rumour's characteristic speed is emphasized by the contrast of the juxtaposed *uolucris* and *pigra ... tarditate* (itself an abundant expression), and by the sound effect (*pi-pi-*). The image of the flying *Fama* is originally Vergilian (e.g. *Aen.* 4,173-188: *pernicibus alis* [180] ... *uolat* [184]), and *uolucris* is a poetic epithet attributed to *fama*, first attested in *Ov. epist.* 17,207 *non ... contemno uolucris praeconia fama*. For the wings of Rumour in particular, which underline the element of personification, see *Verg. Aen.* 9,473 *pauidam uolitans pennata per urbem nuntia Fama ruit*; *Petron.* 123,210 *uolucer motis ... pinnis Fama uolat*. For *pinnarum tarditas* contrast *pinnata celeritas* at 6,30,5 (of Pegasus).

protinus in patria: *patria* in *met.* denotes a person's native city (e.g. 1,26,5; 2,19,5; 7,2,3; 10,18,1), and Corinth as Lucius' hometown is probably meant here; cf. 2,12,3 *et Corinthi ... apud nos* (with *GCA* 2001, 209 ad loc.); 7,2,3 *in patriam Luci* (with *GCA* 1981, 89 ad loc.); 10,19,1 *Corinthum accessimus* (with *GCA* 2000, 259 ad loc.), and see Introduction, 4.2.1 with n. 105. The identification of *patria* with Corinth brings out a comic element in this context: the epic-proportioned *Fama*, flying from Cenchreae to Corinth, covers a distance of only six kilometers (cf. 10,35,3; Fredouille 1975, 93), while Lucius, already the talk of the town of Cenchreae (cf. 11,16,2 *totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis*), remains a local celebrity (*contra* Harrauer 1973, 120, who views Lucius as becoming world famous). Compare rumour travelling near Psyche's home at 4,28,4 *proximas ciuitates et attiguas regiones fama peruaserat*. For other interpretations of the passage see Fick-Michel 1991, 150-151, 351-352, and Krabbe 2003, 61-62, who argue that Lucius' *patria* is intentionally unspecified and should not be identified with Corinth. Less convincingly, Griffiths 1975, 270, based on the statement about Lucius' Attic, Isthmian and Spartan connections (1,1,3), argues that *patria* refers to the whole of Greece.

deae prouidentis ... beneficium meamque ... fortunam memorabilem: the happy outcome of an adventure and divine providence are celebrated together also in the account of Charite's escape from the robbers' den (6,29,2 *memoriam praesentis fortunae meae diuinaeque prouidentiae perpetua testatione signabo*), and in the tale of the amorous stepmother (10,12,5 *et illius quidem senis famosa atque fabulosa fortuna prouidentiae diuinae condignum accepit exitum*). For Isis as Lucius' benefactress see on 11,6,5 *cuius beneficio redieris ad homines*.

meamque ipsius: for the genitive of *ipse* reinforcing the possessive pronoun see e.g. *Cic. Verr.* 2,3,7 *ad tuam ipsius amicitiam*; *fam.* 9,11,1 *meo ipsius interitu*; *Liv.* 30,20,7 *suum ipsius caput*; *Apul. apol.* 86,4 *tuam ipsius epistulam*.

adorabile beneficium: cf. 11,13,6 *tam inlustre ... beneficium*. *Adorabilis* is an Apuleian neologism and a rare term, attested only here and in 5th/6th cent. literature (*ThLL* s.v. 812,31-32). The term may have been formed because of the rhyme-effect with the following *memorabilem* (Harrauer 1973, 120; Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 32).

fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim: Rumour's account is presented in terms of storytelling; compare Lucius' metanarrative comment at 8,22,1 (*facinus oppido memorabile narrare cupio*), introducing a tale of family tragedy. Lucius himself, like an epic hero narrating his own adventures, performs a similar role in front of his servants and relatives; see on 11,19,1 *narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis*. For the adverb *passim* in the context of communicating information in *met.* cf. 1,5,2 *passim per ora populi sermo iactetur quae palam gesta sunt*; 6,8,1 (*Mercurius*) *per omnium ora populorum passim discurrens, sic mandatae praedicationis munus exequatur*.

11,18,2 *Confestim denique familiares ac uernulae quique mihi proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant, luctu deposito quem de meae mortis falso nuntio susceperant, repentino laetati gaudio uarie quisque munerabundi ad meum festinant ilico diurnum reducebant ab inferis conspectum*. So, without delay, the people of my household and young home-born slaves and those joined to me by the closest ties of blood abandoned the state of mourning, which they had assumed because of the false news of my death, and, delighted at the unexpected source of joy, each severally bringing gifts, at once hastened to see me in daylight and back from the dead.

Confestim ... festinant ilico: both adverbs qualify *festinant*, and, in addition, *confestim*, in first position, formally balances the preceding word *passim* and underlines the effectiveness of Rumour's activity, described at the end of the previous sentence. On the other hand, both these adverbs and the verb *festinant* emphasize the element of speed with which the events take place. A similar arrangement of temporal adverbs in the same sentence occurs at 4,3,5 *Sed ilico mulier quaequam ... ad eum statim prosilit*, and *GCA* 1977, 40-41 explain the phenomenon as a 'functional redundancy'; see also *GCA* 2000, 187 on 10,12,1 *itur confestim magna cum festinatione*. For the motif of 'haste' in *met.* see e.g. *GCA* 2000, 95 on 10,4,1 *repentino*. Fredouille 1975, 94 interprets *ilico* differently, in a local sense ('on the spot').

denique: = *ergo, igitur*, although the sense of 'finally, at last', or even a transitional function, may also be understood. The semantic range of *denique* in *met.* is discussed by Callebat 1968, 325-326; Van der Paardt 1971, 42-43 on 3,3,5.

familiares ac uernulae quique mihi ... cohaerebant: Lucius' visitors are described in a polysyndetic tricolon (for the figure cf. 5,17,4 *et multi coloni quique circumsecus uenantur et accolae plurimi*; 11,17,1 *sacerdos maximus quique diuinas effigies progerebant et qui ... pridem fuerant initiati*), with ascending order of intimacy, namely household, favourite slaves, and blood-relations; for this classification compare, in Charite's lament, 4,24,4 *an ego ... misera tali domo, tanta familia, tam caris uernulis, tam sanctis parentibus desolata*. The *familiares* are also mentioned below, probably in a different sense (see on 11,18,3 *mihi familiares*). The home-born slaves (*uernae*), presented here (as at 4,24,4; 5,29,5) by means of an affective diminutive, traditionally enjoy their master's indulgence (see *GCA* 2007, 459 on 1,26,3 *Quid uernaculi?*). The third group is described by an elaborate phrase that conceals the exact identity of Lucius' next of kin (see next lemma).

quique ... proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant: the phrase describes close relatives; see *OLD* s.v. *proximus* 7, and cf. Petron. 116,8 *proximas necessitudines*; *Stat. silv.* 2,1,85 *non omnia sanguis proximus ... alligat*; *Tac. Germ.* 20,5 *si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres*. Apuleius favours the use of *nexus* in the sense of 'tie of kinship'; see also 5,20,1 *originis nexus* (with *GCA* 2004, 254 ad loc.); *Socr.* 15 p. 151-152 *ut eae preces ... coniunctionem nostram nexumque uideantur mihi obtestari*. The expression *nexus sanguinis* is also found in Tacitus (*Germ.* 20,3). For *cohaerere* in the context of family relationships cf. *Val. Max.* 2,7,5 *communioni nominis ac familiae ueteris propinquitatis serie cohaerenti (fratri)*; *Quint. inst.* 8,3,75 *etiam si nobis sanguine cohaereant (perniciosi)*.

At the end of the *Onos* the hero, having regained his human shape, is reunited with his brother, who brings money and gifts: 55 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀφίκετο ἀργύριον καὶ ἄλλα μοι πολλὰ κομίζων; for the similar behaviour of Lucius' visitors cf. 11,18,2-3 *uarie quisque munerabundi ...; mihi ... quod ad cultum sumptumque largiter succederet, deferre ... oblationes honestas*. Apuleius is perhaps following and developing the original Greek text here and perhaps adds other relatives to Lucius' intertextual brother; for another possible reference to *Onos* in *met.* 11 see Graverini 2007, 211 n. 67 [= 2012, 187 n. 67]; see also Introduction, 6.1.

luctu deposito, quem de ... nuntio susceperant: both *luctum deponere* and *luctum suscipere* are first attested in Cicero (respectively, *Phil.* 14,34; *Sest.* 145), and the former expression occurs (outside the two literary passages) only in inscriptions (e.g. *CE* 1208,4; *CIL* VI 11262,4). The causal *de* occurs only rarely in early Latin and in Classical poetry, and becomes frequent in late Latin (Harrauer 1973, 121); for its use elsewhere in *met.* see *GCA* 2007, 408 on 1,23,3; *GCA* 2004, 250 on 5,19,3.

de meae mortis falso nuntio: according to the robber's report on the events at Milo's house, Lucius is believed to have escaped on his horse, and is not declared dead but missing (7,1,3-7,2,3). *GCA* 2007, 165 on 1,6,2 observes the parallel between Lucius and Socrates in Aristomenes' tale, who are both, after a long absence, officially dead to their relatives; see also Frangoulidis 2008, 58-59 for the contrast between Lucius' reunion with his family and the fate suffered by Socrates and Aristomenes. There is no textual evidence supporting Harrauer's argument that *Fama* has spread the false news of Lucius' death (1973, 120). For the gender of *nuntius/nuntium* in *met.* see *GCA* 1981, 81-82 on 7,1,2 *tale ... nuntium*, and for parallels with *falsus/m*, *Val. Max.* 7,7,1 *cum de morte filii falsum ... nuntium accepisset*; *Gell.* 3,15,4 *is nuntius (sc. de morte filii) non uerus fuit*.

repentino laetati gaudio: the expression *laetari gaudio*, describing excessive joy, has been interpreted as either an example of figura etymologica (Callebat 1968, 525; Harrauer 1973, 121) or a pleonasm (Bernhard 1927, 178; Fredouille 1975, 94). We prefer to take *gaudio* as an ablative of cause in the sense of 'a source of joy' (*OLD* s.v. 1b). The expression is elsewhere attested in *Paul. Fest.* p. 369 *uitulans laetans gaudio, ut partu*; *Vulg. III Rg.* 1,40 *populus ... laetantium gaudio magno* (LXX εὐφρανόμενοι εὐφροσύνην μεγάλην). For *repentinum gaudium* cf. 11,14,1 *animo meo tam repentinum ... non capiente gaudium*.

munerabundi: the adjective *munerabundus*, formed after *munerari*, is a hapax legomenon (*ThLL* s.v. 1640,39-40). For Apuleius' predilection for the construction of

poetic adjectives in *-bundus* see *GCA* 2001, 115 on 2,5,1 *haec ... rimabundus*, and comm. on 11,6,2 *osculabundus*.

ad meum ... conspectum: the use of the possessive adjective instead of the personal pronoun is frequent in *met.*; see e.g. 11,14,5 *in aspectum meum attonitus*; and for the phrase in general see comm. on 11,19,1 *ad deae gratissimum mihi refero conspectum*.

diurnum reducemque ab inferis: the adjective *diurnus* should be understood in the peculiar sense of ‘in die luceque’ (*ThLL* s.v. 1641,15) or ‘belonging to the land of the living’ (*OLD* s.v. 1; cf. *OLD* s.v. *dies* 2 ‘daylight’). The former explanation goes back to early commentators (Modius in Oudendorp 1786), and produces a *hysteron proteron*; contrast the description of Psyche’s return from the realm of the dead at 6,20,4-5 *longe uegetior ab inferis recurrit. Et repetita atque adorata candida ista luce. Diurnus* in the usual sense of ‘occurring in the daytime’ (*OLD* s.v. 1) is found at 4,27,5 *quietis*; 8,1,5 *potationibus*. It is not necessary to emend the text to e.g. <in lucem> *diurnam reducem* (Van der Vliet).

reducem ... ab inferis: the expression suggests restoration to life (cf. above *de meae mortis falso nuntio*); for similar terminology see, in the context of necromancy, 2,28,1 *reducere ... ab inferis spiritum*; in the context of apparent death, *flor.* 19,8 *uelut ab inferis postliminio domum rettulit*; cf. *Stat. Theb.* 10,379 *ceu reduces uitae saeuaque a morte remissos*. Similar expressions, of a proverbial character, describing escape from serious trouble or a hellish experience, are attested as early as Terence (*Hec.* 852 *ab Orco mortuom me reducem in lucem feceris*; see also *GCA* 1981, 238 on 7,24,1 *mediis Orci manibus extractus*), and Apuleius uses *ab inferis emergere* (3,10,3) to describe Lucius’ condition after the Risus Festival; see Panayotakis (forthcoming). The metaphor here may additionally anticipate Lucius’ spiritual regeneration through the ritual of initiation (Fick-Michel 1991, 527-528); cf. 11,23,7 *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine ... remeauri*. Compare 11,16,4, where the people of Cenchreae celebrate Lucius’ return to ‘mankind’ in terms of a rebirth.

11,18,3 *Quorum desperata ipse etiam facie recreatus oblationes honestas aequi bonique facio, quippe cum mihi familiares, quod ad cultum sumptumque largiter succederet, deferre prospicue curassent. Their appearance, of which I had given up hope, restored me as well, and I deemed their honourable offerings right and good: for my friends had with forethought taken the trouble to grant me means abundantly sufficient for personal care and expenses.*

Quorum ... facie recreatus: the sight of a dear person functions as a means of recovery also at 5,13,4 *germani complexus indulge fructum et ... Psychae animam gaudio recrea* (see *GCA* 2004, 203 ad loc.); for the notion in general see e.g. *Cic. Planc.* 2 *uester ... conspectus et consessus iste reficit et recreat mentem meam*.

oblationes honestas: the technical legal term *oblatio* (found also at 11,20,3 *partium oblatione*) is introduced into literary prose by Apuleius (*GCA* 2004, 272 on 5,22,2 *luminis oblatione*). Here *oblationes* is ‘abstractum pro concreto’ (Bernhard 1927, 97); for the concrete sense see also *Ulp. dig.* 24,1,5,12 *si maritus ad oblationem dei uxori donauit*; *Cod. Theod.* 6,2,25 *oblationem ... amplissimi ordinis ... promissam*. In Christian texts *oblatio* becomes a frequent term for ‘an offering, sacrifice’ (e.g. *Ambr. Cain et Ab.* 2,6,18; *Vulg. Eph.* 5,2). For *honestus* applied to gifts see *Hor.*

epist. 2,2,32 *donis ornatur honestis*; the adjective also has connotations of abundance (see *GCA* 2001, 244 on 2,15,5 *cenae totius honestas reliquias*).

aequi bonique facio: a colloquial expression denoting detached approval, used also at 1,5,1 *istud ... quod polliceris aequi bonique facio* (see *GCA* 2007, 145-146 ad loc.); elsewhere the phrase is attested, with slight variations in the form of the genitive, in Plautus (*aequi*), Terence, Livy (*aequi bonique*), and Cicero (*aequi boni*) (*ThLL* s.v. *aequus* 1041,60-61). *Aequi bonique* are genitives of price (*KSt* I 459) rather than partitive (as suggested by Médan 1925a, 48).

familiares: the *familiares*, who are given a prominent role in providing for Lucius’ expenses, should best be understood as his friends (Vallette) or relatives (Griffiths), rather than members of his household (for this general meaning of *familiares* see above 11,18,2). The plural *familiares* in *met.* denotes relatives, friends, and servants (2,26,6; 4,26,8; 8,7,6; 8,10,3; 8,14,3), close friends (2,26,4; 7,1,6), or family-slaves (9,2,1; 9,21,2; 9,31,2; 9,38,7).

quod ad cultum: F and A have *quoad*, φ has *coad*, v *quo ad*. We print *quod ad*, found in the margin of φ, and proposed by Stewechius; the reading is also adopted by e.g. Giarratano 1929, Fredouille 1975 and Zimmerman 2012, making *quod* the subject of an otherwise difficult to construct *succederet*. Helm 1955 [1907] and Robertson 1945 print *quo ad*, interpreting *quo* as an ablative of means with the verb *succederet* to be taken impersonally.

ad cultum sumptumque: the phrase is usually taken as a kind of hendiadys that refers either to Lucius’ costs for personal care and maintenance, or to his expenses for the cult of Isis. However, the phraseology allows for a double interpretation; see, with earlier literature, Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 38-39, who observes that, while *sumptus* is more commonly found in combination with *uictus* (e.g. *Gell.* 15,8,1 *sumptus atque uictus*), *cultus* as a variant of *uictus* facilitates the interpretation of the phrase in a religious context (cf. *OLD* s.v. *cultus* 4 and 10). For *sumptus* within the cult of Isis see comm. on 11,21,4 *sumptus*. The expression may also convey a Ciceronian colour; cf. *rep.* 2,10 *res ad uictum cultumque maxime necessarias*; *off.* 1,12 *quae suppeditent ad cultum et ad uictum*; *Att.* 14,11,2 *ut ei suppeditetur ad usum et cultum copiose*.

succederet: here *succedere* appears to function as a synonym of *subuenire*, *subministrare* (Helm 1907), or *suppetere*, *suppetitare* (Harrauer 1973, 121; Fredouille 1975, 94); *OLD* s.v. 4c translates *succedere* in our passage as ‘to be advanced to fill a deficiency’. Löfstedt 1936, 102 n. 1 discusses the uncommon use of *succedere* against the background of Apuleius’ stylistic feature of ‘re-etymologising’ (*Umdeutung*); for a similar example cf. 11,2,4 *tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste*, with comm. ad loc. Stewechius’ conjecture *suppeteret* is attractive, because *suppetere* gives good sense and is found with the adverb *large* (cf. here *largiter*); see e.g. *Cic. Tusc.* 5,89 *ut cotidianis sumptibus copiae suppetant*; *Liv.* 5,26,9 *cum frumentum copiaeque aliae ... largius ... suppetarent*.

deferre ... curassent: *deferre* is a technical legal term for the conferring of benefits or gifts (*OLD* s.v. 11; cf. above on *oblationes honestas*), but in a financial context also suggests a transfer of money; cf. *Apul. apol.* 75,4 *amplam stipem mulieri detulerunt*; *OLD* s.v. 7a. For the construction of *curare* with the infinitive, which is frequent in poetry, see Van der Paardt 1971, 45 on 3,3,8 *eum curauit perducere*.

prospicue: this adverb is attested twice and only in Apuleius, here and at 1,21,8 *benigne ... et prospicue ... in me consuluit* (see *GCA* 2007, 385; for the related adjective *prospiciuus*, also an Apuleian invention, see Nicolini 2011a, 134). The adverb emphasises the perspective of Lucius-narrator, who is well aware of the financial problems ahead for Lucius the hero (cf. above on *ad cultum sumptumque*).

CHAPTER XIX

Lucius shares a life with the priests of Isis; his dreams and hesitations.

11,19,1 *Adfatis itaque ex officio singulis narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis, me rursum ad deae gratissimum mihi refero conspectum, aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi larem temporarium mihi constituo, deae ministeriis adhuc priuatis adpositus contuberniisque sacerdotum indiuiduus et numinis magni cultor inseparabilis.* When therefore each one had been dutifully addressed and after I had described both my previous misfortunes and my present joys, I went back again to the sight of the goddess, which gave me great pleasure, and, having rented a house within the precinct of the temple, I established a temporary home for myself; I was assigned services to the goddess which were still private and could not be parted from the lodgings of the priests as an inseparable worshipper of the great deity.

Adfatis ... singulis: sc. friends, domestic servants, and relatives (cf. 11,18,2). The deponent *adfari* is a solemn and mainly poetic verb, which is also found at 5,24,2; 10,3,4; 10,18,4; it is used here in a passive sense (cf. *adfatis ... narratisque*), for which see also e.g. *Sen. nat.* 2,38,2 (*hoc ... adfatum est*), *Stat. Theb.* 6,51 (*adfatus*); *ThLL* s.v. *affor* 1245,42-43; Flobert 1975, 363.

ex officio: a polite and formal expression, elsewhere attested with certainty in Gell. 14,2,17 *an ex usu exque officio sit ... rem ... ita exprimere*, and in legal Latin (*Venul. dig.* 48,11,4; *Tryph. dig.* 5,2,22,1); see *ThLL* s.v. *officium* 526,69-70. For a similar expression see 2,3,5 *officiis integris*, with *GCA* 2001, 89 ad loc.

narratisque meis et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis: elsewhere in *met.*, Lucius as a donkey contemplates his happy past and his miserable present (7,2,4 *ueteris fortunae et illius beati Lucii praesentisque aerumnae et infelicis asini facta comparatione*), and as a human again, he recollects his earlier sufferings (11,17,5 *pristinios casus meos recordabar*). Lucius' present account of his change of fortune takes place in front of his relatives and near the temple of Isis; for these reasons Griffiths 1975, 271 and Merkelbach 1997, 136 argue that it has the value of a confessional statement by a devotee and/or is an equivalent of Isiac 'aretalogy', a statement about the great deeds in which the deity manifests her power. But if Lucius functions as a 'confessor' here (cf. Winkler 1985, 238-240), he is also (and primarily) a storyteller, who authenticates the double announcement of the news made earlier in Book 11, namely by the priest of Isis at 11,15,4 (*en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae prouidentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*), and by *Fama* at 11,18,1 (*protinus in patria deae prouidentis adorabile beneficium meamque ipsius fortunam memorabilem narrauerat passim*). Moreover, a recapitulation of past events by the main character at the end of the story is both an epic and a novelistic motif (see *Hom. Od.* 23,300-343 and *Charit.* 8,7-8, respectively), to which Apuleius may be alluding here (see Introduction, 6.3 with n. 239). Still, the account of the hero's adven-

tures, in the hero's own voice, is withheld from the reader (for its nearest form see the priest's speech at 11,15), and Lucius immediately proceeds with the continuing story of his life with Isis. For storytelling in Book 11 see also comm. on 11,16,3 *omnes in me populi fabulabantur*.

[*pro*]: after *meis* F has *pro* (in abbreviated form), which makes no sense in the context. With the exception of Oudendorp 1786, who deletes *pro*, previous editors of *met.* believe that either an adjective to be taken with *meis*, or an adverb to be taken with *narratis*, or yet another word, is missing here. For the list of conjectures see the appar. crit. ad loc. in Helm 1931 and Jacobson 2007, 800. Helm 1931 and Robertson 1945 print *propere* (Kronenberg), also approved by Harrauer (1973, 122), who argues that the adverb underlines Lucius' haste to return to his beloved goddess. However, Lucius' alleged haste is at odds with his formal way of addressing every single visitor (*adfatis ex officio singulis*). We agree with Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 21-22 that the compendium for *pro* should best be deleted: it may have been stimulated by *prospicue* in the preceding sentence.

et pristinis aerumnis et praesentibus gaudiis: polysyndeton, alliteration, and homoeoteleuton. For the contrasting pair *aerumna* - *gaudium* compare 1,6,3 *domus infortunium nouarum nuptiarum gaudiis*, while for the juxtaposition of *pristinus* and *praesens* see e.g. Cic. *Balb.* 61; Liv. 30,13,8; 33,16,8; 39,49,11. The archaic noun *aerumna* is one of Apuleius' favourite words to describe Lucius' misfortunes; see *GCA* 2007, 175 on 1,6,5. The plural *gaudia* is probably poetic (*GCA* 2007, 168 on 1,6,3) and here has a stylistic function (*aerumnis ... gaudiis*); *gaudium* and *gaudens* with reference to Lucius' inner joy occur at *met.* 11,14,1; 11,15,4; 11,29,4; see also on 11,30,5 *gaudens*.

me rursus ad deae gratissimum ... refero conspectum: for the reverse situation expressed in similar terms see 10,4,2 *statimque se refert a noxio conspectu nouercae*. The redundant use of *rursus* with *re-*compound verbs in *met.* is discussed by *GCA* 2000, 64 on 10,2,2 *rursus ... reparauerat*.

deae gratissimum mihi ... conspectum: *conspectus* 'sight, view' may additionally denote 'contemplation' in this context; *conspectus (deae)* does not describe mental perception at 11,20,4 *deae uenerabilem conspectum adprecamur*, and 11,24,7 *Prouolutus ... ante conspectum deae*. The superlative *gratissimus* recurs with regard to viewing and delight in *apol.* 72,6 *prospectum maris, qui mihi gratissimus est*; *met.* 10,29,3 *spectaculi prospectu gratissimo* (Krabbe 2003, 591). For Lucius' fixation with (the image of) the goddess see also 11,24,5 *inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar*; Festugière 1954, 80-84 explains the phenomenon in terms of religious psychology, and Fick-Michel 1991, 481 compares it with the attitude of the lover in Plato's *Phaedrus* 255b, who is so attracted by his beloved that the friendship of his other friends and relatives mean nothing to him. Compare also 5,22,4 (Psyche gazing at the sleeping Cupid) *dum saepius diuini uultus intuetur pulchritudinem, recreatur animi*, with *GCA* 2004, 275-276 ad loc.

aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi: commentators on *met.* as early as Oudendorp (1786), based on both literary and archaeological evidence for temples of Egyptian deities in Italy, Greece, or Egypt, specifically identify Lucius' lodgings within the temple-precincts as the *pastophorion* or similar accommodation, in *quibus uel aeditui uel hi, quos appellabant ἄρνεύοντες, id est qui se castificant, commanere*

soliti erant (Rufin. *hist.* 11,23, describing the Serapeum in Alexandria, on which see McKenzie et al. 2004, esp. 106); see e.g. Griffiths 1975, 271; Fredouille 1975, 95; Merkelbach 1995, 285. On the other hand, Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 144 and 363 points to the vagueness of the vocabulary (cf. the general expression *aedes conducere*) and to the absence of details concerning Lucius' temporary home. For an interesting situational correspondence from the Greek novel, cf. Heliod. 2,33,7 (of a female devotee of Artemis) *καὶ οἰκησιν οἰκεῖ ... ἐνταῦθα, ἐντὸς ... τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ περὶ τῶν νεῶν*. For the use of *templum* and *aedes* elsewhere in *met.* 11 see on 11,17,1 *ad ipsum iam templum*; 11,22,7 *ad ipsas fores aedis amplissimae*.

intra conseptum: for *conseptum* referring to the enclosure around a sacred area see e.g. *CIL* III 586 *quae est infra consaeptum consecratum Neptuno*; *ThLL* s.v. *consaeptio* 357,78-358,14. Apuleius uses *intra conseptum*, both literally and figuratively, also outside a cultic context; see, respectively, 8,30,5 *intra conseptum domus*; 3,15,5 *haec intra conseptum clausa custodias, oro*. The same phrase is found in Columella (8,17,1 *intra conseptum*; cf. 1 praef. 17 *qui in uillis intra consaepta morarentur*).

larem temporarium mihi constituo: cf. 7,6,5 *quam (sc. Zacynthum) sors ei fatalis decreuerat temporariam sedem. Lar temporarius* is a remarkable phrase, as Médan 1925a, 49 points out, since *lar* 'home' has connotations of duration and stability (cf. 11,26,1 *patrium larem*); for its use in *met.* see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 160-161; Krabbe 2003, 139-141; *GCA* 2007, 383 on 1,21,6 *exiguo lare*; comm. on 11,27,4 *lares*. The adjective *temporarius*, before Apuleius, is attested with the meaning 'temporary' in the Elder Pliny, in Quintilian, and in the Younger Pliny (*OLD* s.v. 3; *GCA* 1981, 125 on 7,6,5 cited above).

deae ministeriis adhuc priuatis adpositus: *ministeriis* is a dative of function with *apponere* 'to assign, appoint' (*OLD* s.v. *appono* 7); cf. Liv. 23,16,14 *turba custodiae impedimentorum adposita*; Tac. *ann.* 1,6,1 *tribuno custodiae adposito*; Ambr. *Isaac* 4,13 *adpositas sacro ministerio potestates*. Here its meaning is 'service' (cf. 11,15,5 *te ... obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium*), and its number may suggest a variety of duties (which, however, are not specified). *Ministeria adhuc priuata*, according to Fredouille 1975, 95, and Griffiths 1975, 272, reflects the status of Lucius who, being a novice, is not yet allowed to participate in public rites. Rather, we think that the adjective *priuatus* may express an exclusive or special status (*OLD* s.v. 4), and could point to Lucius' wish to differentiate himself from the many non-initiated worshippers of the goddess.

contuberniisque sacerdotum indiuiduus: Lucius thinks of himself as being inseparable from the priests of Isis, without actually sharing either lodgings or status with them (see also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 449). We take *contubernium* in the concrete sense of 'a lodging, apartment' (*OLD* s.v. 4), for which, in a religious context, see Tac. *hist.* 3,74,1 *disiecto aeditui contubernio*; yet, a second interpretation of *contubernium* as 'fellowship' (*OLD* s.v. 2a) is also in play (for the plural *contubernia* cf. the parallelism with *ministeriis* above). Another interpretation is advanced by *ThLL* s.v. *contubernium* 793,28-29, according to which *contubernium* refers to a 'collegium' of priests ('abstractum pro concreto'); parallels for this meaning (in the singular) are found in inscriptions: e.g. *CIL* III 5790 *contubernium ... cultorum*; XIII 6324 *contubernio nautarum*. For the use of *contubernium* elsewhere in *met.* see *GCA*

2000, 204 on 10,13,4 *unico illi contubernio communem uitam sustinebant*; Krabbe 2003, 176-177.

indiuuus ... inseparabilis: a striking pair of alliterating synonyms (for their juxtaposition, cf. *Socr.* 16 p. 156, quoted below). The adjectives describe Lucius' persistent proximity (and devotion) to the priests and the goddess respectively. Lucius' feelings of passionate devotion for Isis and the priest Mithras can also be evidenced after his first initiation (in 11,24,5-11,26,1).

indiuuus: originally a Ciceronian coinage employed in the context of the atomic theory of Democritus (cf. Gr. ἀμέριστος, ἄτομος), *indiuuus* acquires the sense of 'inseparable' first in Seneca the Younger (*dial.* 1,5,9; *epist.* 67,10 *illic est indiuuus ille comitatus uirtutum*), and is used with reference to friends or companions first in Tacitus (*ann.* 6,10,2 *Flaccus ac ... Marinus ... e uetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas indiuuidi*). Elsewhere in Apuleius the term qualifies Socrates' genius in *Socr.* 16 p. 156 *adsiduus obseruator, indiuuus arbiter, inseparabilis testis* (cf. in our passage *cultor inseparabilis*). Compare the expressions *indiuuio contubernio* or *nexu* (*apol.* 53,10; *met.* 4,26,4; 11,4,1).

numinis magni: for Isis as *numen magnum* see 11,21,8 *magni numinis*; 11,13,6 *maximi numinis*. Isis is called *magna* at 11,15,4. See also comm. on 11,27,2 *magni*.

cultor: the term *cultor* (= θεραπειντής; Harrauer 1973, 123; Burkert 1987, 39) recurs at 11,21,9 *nec secus quam cultores ceteri cibus ... temperarem*; 11,26,3 *eram cultor ... adsiduus*, while Apuleius presents himself as a religious man by means of the same term in *flor.* 18,38 *sum enim non ignotus illi (Aesculapio) sacricola nec recens cultor*.

inseparabilis: although this rare adjective is attested in Seneca (*epist.* 66,10) and in Gellius (1,9,12), it is Apuleius who first uses it (exclusively) of persons or personified notions; see also 9,15,4 *anus ... cotidie inseparabilis aderat*; 9,17,5 *adsidebat*; *Socr.* 16 p. 156 (cited in previous note).

11,19,2 *Nec fuit nox una uel quies aliqua uisu deae monituque ieiuna, sed crebris imperiis sacris suis me, iam dudum destinatum, nunc saltem censebat initiari.* Not a single night or any other time of rest passed which was not filled with the sight and the advice of the goddess, but by constant commands she recommended that, since I was destined for it some while ago now, I should at this moment at last undergo initiation.

As is common with Hellenised Egyptian deities (Alvar 2008, 334 and comm. on 11,7,1), Isis communicates her will and instructions to Lucius and/or her priests through dreams (see Introduction, 5.1 with n. 127), but the frequency of Lucius' visions at this point of the story is remarkable (cf. Harris 2009, 30-31 n. 36), and is perhaps related to incubation practice (Griffiths 1975, 272) or could be intended as a parody of the dream dimension in religious narratives such as Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales* (Harrison in *AAGA* 3, 80-81). The invitation to initiation through a dream agrees with Isiac practice: Pausanias (10,32,13) on the temple of Isis at Tithorea in Phocis reports that people were admitted only if summoned beforehand by the goddess herself in dream-visions (see comm. on 11,21,5 *neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare*; Festugière 1954, 79).

Nec fuit ... sed: the construction aims at creating a strong impact, with *sed* both reinforcing the previous statement and introducing an additional idea; compare 2,1,3 *Nec fuit in illa ciuitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem quod esset, sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata*.

Nec ... nox una uel quies aliqua: the phrase suggests a lapse of narrative time, which is otherwise unspecified but felt to be long. *Quies* elaborates on *nox* as a time or state of sleep and dreams; differently at 11,25,2 *nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum ... tenue*. For *aliqua* 'some such, some other' (*OLD* s.v. *aliqui*¹ 7) see e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 382 *pater exspectat aut me aut aliquem nuntium*; Scaev. *dig.* 19,1,52 *empti iudicio uel aliqua actione*; according to Harrauer 1973, 124, this use of *aliqua* is found in Apuleius only here. For *nec ... uel (= aut)* see on 11,6,4 *nec ... perhorrescet uel ... criminabitur*.

uisu deae monituque ieiuna: F has *eiuna*, φ: *ei una*, and Robertson 1945 wonders whether it might be possible to read *eius ieiuna*, rather than *ieiuna*, which is found in v and is adopted by all modern editors. We take *deae* with both *uisu* (as objective genitive) and *monitu* (as subjective genitive). The adjective *ieiunus* is attested in figurative use already in Cicero (*orat.* 106 *ieiunas igitur huius multiplicis ... orationis auris ciuitatis accepimus*), and, since it originally conveys the notions of hunger and emptiness, here the imagery nicely anticipates and contrasts with Lucius' worries about abstinence (11,19,3); cf. Heath 1982, 66 with 76 n. 31. The construction of *ieiunus* 'vacuus, expers' (*ThLL* s.v. 252,19-20) with the ablative is also found in Lucr. 2,845 *sonitu sterila et suco ieiuna (corpora prima)*; Val. Max. 4,4,9 *pecunia tam ieiunus penates*.

uisu ... monituque: in *met.* 11 *monitus* always has a divine origin (11,6,1 *meo monitu*; 11,14,3 *diuino monitu*; 11,24,6 *deae monitu*). In this sense the term is first attested in Vergil (*Aen.* 4,282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum*); cf. here *crebris imperiis*). For the juxtaposition of *uisus* and *monitus* in the context of dedications see *CIL* XII 659 *siue uoto siue uisu siue monitu posuit* (where, however, the deity is not specified), while for similar expressions related to the Isiac cult see Courtney 1980, 329 on Iuv. 6,526 *iusserit* and *RICIS* e.g. 501/0138, 514/0401, 515/0501.

crebris imperiis: the term *imperium* for a divine command occurs first in Vergil (see previous lemma) but is also common in inscriptions; the formula *ex imperio* is attested many times in dedicatory inscriptions related to the Isiac cult, e.g. *RICIS* 113/1007, 503/0901, 113/1012 (cf. the Greek equivalent κατά πρόσταγμα).

sacris suis ... initiari: *initiari* is used in *met.* 11 either absolutely (11,21,4; 11,26,4) or with various nouns in the ablative: 11,10,1 *sacris diuinis*; 11,17,1 *uenerandis penentralibus*; 11,21,2 *noctis sacratae ... arcanis*. For the combination with *sacris* see also Cic. *leg.* 2,36 *quibus (sacris) ... initiati sumus*; Liv. 39,11,7 *obscenis ... sacris*; but of greater importance are Photis' statement about Lucius' initiation into many mysteries at 3,15,4 (*sacris pluribus initiatus*) and Apuleius' own statement in *apol.* 55,8 *sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participauit*.

me ... censebat initiari: Isis (heard in Lucius' sleep) uses *censeo* like a member of the senate or a supreme magistrate; compare 6,11,6 (of another goddess, Venus addressing Psyche) *de coma pretiosi uelleris floccum mihi ... afferas censeo*. The construction of *censere* with accusative and passive infinitive, instead of the gerundive, is

also found at 6,31,1 *ut primus uiuam cremari censeret puellam* (GCA 1971, 69 ad loc. point to Plaut. *Aul.* 528 *aes censet dari*; see also e.g. Liv. 2,5,1 *de bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant*); according to Callebat 1968, 308, this construction has hortative value; as such it certainly modifies the strong effect of *crebris imperiis*.

iam dudum ..., *nunc*: *iam dudum* in *met.* can be used to indicate not only a recent but also a distant past (see GCA 1981, 106-107 on 7,4,5; GCA 1995, 226 on 9,26,1; GCA 2001, 368 on 2,28,1). This vagueness is tantalizing when *iam dudum* refers to Isis' plan of Lucius' initiation, but the contrast of *iam dudum* and *nunc* probably suggests that Lucius has been chosen 'long ago'; for *nunc* used 'in contrasting a past occasion with a still earlier one' (OLD s.v. 3a) see e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2,3,47 *quos ego campos antea ... nitidissimos ... uidissem ...*, *hos ... uastatos nunc ... uidebam*. For this interpretation of *iam dudum* see also Drews 2009, 606 n. 711, and comm. on 11,21,8 *iam dudum felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque*, with discussion of the meaning of *iam dudum* elsewhere in *met.* 11.

11,19,3 At ego quamquam cupienti uoluntate praeditus, tamen religiosa formidine retardabar, quod enim sedulo percontaueram difficile religionis obsequium et castimoniorum abstinentiam satis arduam, cautoque circumspectu uitam, quae multis casibus subiacet, esse muniendam. Haec identidem mecum reputans nescio quo modo quamquam festinans differebam. But although I was possessed of an eager will, I was nevertheless discouraged by reverent dread, because, of course, I had been informed through careful inquiry that compliance with the religion is difficult and that restraint consisting of abstinent practices is quite arduous, and that life, which lies exposed to many accidents, must be safeguarded with careful circumspection. As I was reflecting on these again and again, in some strange way I procrastinated, in spite of my impatience.

At ego: for the use of *at* in *met.* see e.g. GCA 2007, 258 on 1,12,6; comm. on 11,13,1 *at sacerdos*. The combination with the first person personal pronoun is also found, in *met.* 11, at 11,14,1; 11,25,5.

quamquam cupienti uoluntate praeditus ... retardabar: a similar opposition between eagerness and hesitation occurs also before Lucius' second initiation at 11,28,1 *contra uotum meum retardabar*, where, however, Lucius' procrastination is due to his financial situation (*sumptuum tenuitate*) rather than his religious convictions (cf. here *religiosa formidine*). Apuleius may be playing with ancient etymology, which associated *uoluntas* and *uelle* with speed (*uolatus* and *uelocitas*; see Maltby 1991, 654); see also, at the end of this section, *quamquam festinans, differebam*. The oscillation between rash eagerness and anxious inhibition in Lucius' emotions, according to Keulen 2009, 103 with n. 57, indicates the hero's immature, intemperate character (cf. 11,21,5). On the other hand, Festugière (1954, 79), based on documents relating to the cult of Asclepius, explains Lucius' uncertainty as a literary convention, whereas Griffiths (1975, 272-273 and 1982, 195) argues that Apuleius is bringing to the description "the stamp of genuine personal experience" (p. 195). Lucius' dilemmas also contribute to the narrative delay (see Introduction, 4.1.1), and the reader might wonder if this story will ever come to an end.

cupienti uoluntate praeditus: we take *cupienti uoluntate* as a pleonasm (cf., in this section, *cauto circumspectu*, and *religiosa formidine*; elsewhere in this book, 11,3,3 *elocutilis facundiae*; 11,18,1 *pigra tarditate*). For *cupiens* = *cupidus* see 10,21,4 *tam formonsae mulieris cupientis amplexus*. Fredouille 1975, 96 wonders whether *cupiens uoluntas* alternatively reflects Apuleius' intention to denote both a rational (*uoluntate*) and an affective (*cupienti*) aspect in Lucius' attitude. *Cupiens uoluntas* as a characteristic of Lucius appears also at 11,13,2 (when he is still an ass) *auido ore susceptam cupidus promissi deuorauit* (sc. *coronam*); 11,21,2 *magis magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat*.

religiosa formidine: the pleonastic expression suggests a kind of religious awe; for this sense of *formido*, first attested in Vergil (*Aen.* 7,608), see OLD s.v. 1b. For *religiosus* meaning 'reverent', applied to feelings, see e.g. Ps. Quint. *decl.* 5,6 *communium fortuitorum religiosus horror*; and OLD s.v. 6.

retardabar: according to Helm 1955 [1907] and Robertson 1945, F (originally) and φ have *retabar*; while a second hand in F added *rda* above *aba*. For the notion of procrastination see, in this section, above (*quamquam cupienti uoluntate praeditus ... retardabar*) and below (*quamquam festinans, differebam*), and on 11,28,1 *contra uotum meum retardabar*.

quod enim: 'weil nämlich' (LHSz 2,575-576; cf. 508); the explicative use of *enim* in the *quia/quod*-clause, first attested in Varro (*rust.* 1,13,4) is colloquial (Callebat 1968, 534). Apuleius uses it four times in *met.*, including e.g. 9,11,5 *quod enim rebar*; 10,23,3 *quod enim ... relinquebat* (see GCA 2000, 296 ad loc.).

sedulo percontaueram: the source of the information that discourages Lucius is not disclosed, and its reliability cannot be tested. The adverb *sedulo* emphasises the attentiveness of Lucius' investigation, while the verb *percontari* underlines its intense (*per-*) and inquisitive aspects (see GCA 2004, 161 on 5,8,3 *satis scrupulose curioseque percontari*). Active forms of the deponent *percontari* are rare and archaic (Flobert 1975, 296); Apuleius uses also the passive participle *percontatus* (see GCA 2007, 431 on 1,24,4 *percontato pretio*).

difficile religionis obsequium et castimoniorum abstinentiam ... arduam: chiasmic word-order; for the combination of *difficilis* and *arduus* see also e.g. Liv. 24,22,9; Apul. *apol.* 48,9 *id uero multo arduum et difficile est*; *flor.* 9,5; 16,45. For *obsequium religionis* (objective genitive) in the Isiac cult see comm. on 11,15,5 *teque ... obsequio religionis nostrae dedica*; 11,28,5 *germanae religionis obsequium diuinum frequentabam*. The rare noun *castimonium*, *-ii* 'an abstinent practice' (OLD s.v.) is attested first in Apuleius (here and probably at 11,6,7 *tenacibus castimoniis*); for its use in late Latin see Ambr. *Abr.* 1,2,9; 1,5,39; Max. Taur. *serm.* 56,8; Gloss. *castimonium*: ἀρνεῖα (Callebat 1968, 123-124).

castimoniorum abstinentiam: emendations of *castimoniorum abstinentiam* (e.g. Oudendorp 1786: *castam morum abstinentiam*) are not necessary. The genitive plural functions as a defining (not an objective) genitive with *abstinentia* (Griffiths 1975, 273); *castitas* and *abstinentia* are practically synonyms in Sen. *contr.* 1,2,13 *utrum castitas tantum ad uirginitatem referatur, an ad omnium turpium et obscenarum rerum abstinentiam* (see Watt 1991, 315, who considers Gronovius' emendation *abstinentiam* of the transmitted *aestimationem* essential), and Ernout-Meillet s.v.

castus point to the use of *castus* with *ab*. Apuleius uses the standard form *castimonia*, -ae at 11,30,1 *inanimae ... castimoniae iugum subeo*.

Abstinentia, elsewhere in *met.*, refers specifically to restraint in eating (1,26,1; 10,34,5; *GCA* 2007, 454), and this notion applies here as well, since Lucius in *met.* 11 is specifically required to abstain from meat and wine for short periods, cf. 11,21,9 (abstinence from *cibi profani et nefarii*); 11,23,2 (abstinence from meat and wine for ten days); 11,28,5 and 11,30,1 (abstinence from meat alone, *inanimae castimoniae*); see comm. ad locc., and Arbesmann 1929, 13; Fugier 1963, 29; Bergman 1972a. Yet, *castimonium* may additionally suggest chastity and purity (cf., of the priests of *dea Syria*, 8,29,6 *ridicule sacerdotum purissimam laudantes castimoniam*; Krabbe 2003, 184-187), which was a highly controversial issue in Roman literary discussions of Isiac and other Oriental religions (Dunand 1973, 192-193; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 109-110, and e.g. *Ov. am.* 1,8,74 *quae causas praebeat, Isis erit*, with McKeown 1989, 240; *Iuv.* 6,535 *abstinet concubitu*, with Courtney 1980, 331). Plutarch, too, in his description of the discipline demanded in the Isiac cult (*de Isid. et Os.* 2, *Mor.* 351E-352A) mentions abstinence from both ‘many foods’ and ‘sexual pleasures’ (βρωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀποροδισίων ἀποχαΐς); see Griffiths 1970, 261-262 ad loc.; Betz 1972, 351. Fredouille 1975, 96 remarks that compulsory chastity for Isiac devotees is required before initiation and during festivals; he is probably right in arguing that the phrase *castimniorum abstinentiam* may additionally refer to the whole spectrum of asceticism and self-restraint belonging to the Isiac life, but it is important to notice the use of the plural *castimniorum*, which ‘suggests ritual rules, not a permanent condition’ (Schmeling and Montiglio 2006, 39 n. 35).

satis arduam: this, perhaps, echoes 11,6,3 *nec quicquam rerum mearum reformides ut arduum* (Krabbe 2003, 101). For the emphatic *satis* see Callebat 1968, 540-541; in *met.* 11, both with adjective and adverb, see also 11,22,4 *satis lucida*; 11,24,1 *religioso satis*; 11,23,5 *satis anxie*; 11,24,6 *tardam satis*.

cauto ... circumspectu: an alliterative and pleonastic phrase; cf. *Amm.* 14,2,7 *circumspecta cautela*. The noun *circumspectus* is Classical but rare, and suggests a visual examination or a commanding view. Here both the meanings of ‘contemplation, observation’ and ‘caution, care’ (*OLD* s.v. *circumspectus*² 1b and 2) seem to apply.

circumspectu uitam, quae uariis casibus subiacet, esse muniendam: the priest had reassured Lucius that, in a life dedicated to Isis, hostile chance has no opportunity (11,15,2 *non habet locum casus infestus*), while enrolment guarantees greater protection (11,15,5 *quo ... tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae*); still, Lucius seems to realise here that even the life of a devotee is exposed to constant danger and requires protection. The *uarii casus* may refer either to the short period before initiation (cf. 11,21,5 *auiditati contumaciaeque summe cauere et utramque culpam uitare ac neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare*), or the longer perspective of an Isiac priest’s life, for which literary tradition is divided, with accusations including avariciousness and immorality (see above on *castimniorum abstinentiam*). In other words, it is up to Lucius to entrust his life to Isis so that he can experience her divine guidance and assistance; still, his decision has consequences, which might not always be easy, and involve effort and caution on his part (see also Drews 2009, 601).

nescio quo modo: this adverbial phrase, attested from early Latin (Plaut. *Rud.* 608; Ter. *Ad.* 605) and often used by Cicero (e.g. *Verr.* 2,3,94; *Phil.* 2,78; *de orat.* 1,74; *Tusc.* 1,24; *Att.* 12,35,1) anticipates the following expression.

quamquam festinans, differebam: the final phrase of the chapter, expressing a tantalizing feeling of hesitation by means of an oxymoron, epigrammatically rephrases the beginning of the section. Fredouille 1975, 97 points to the similar phraseology in the account of Augustine’s conversion (*conf.* 6,11,20 *cum haec dicebam ... transibant tempora et tardabam conuerti ad dominum, et differebam de die in diem uiuere in te et non differebam cotidie in memet ipso mori*; 8,11,25), and claims that Apuleius is here adapting a literary cliché (see above on *quamquam cupienti uoluntate praeditus ... retardabar*). Lucius’ inner torment, importantly, echoes and mirrors Psyche’s emotional situation just before she discovers the identity of her husband: 5,21,4 *festinat differt, audet trepidat, diffidit irascitur*.

Apuleius seems to be fond of the construction of *quamquam* with *festinare*; see also *met.* 6,20,5 *quamquam festinans obsequium terminare, mentem capitur temeraria curiositate*; and in discussing reasons for delay, *flor.* 1,2 *quamquam oppido festinem, ... inhibenda properatio est*; 21,5-6 *quamquam oppido festinent, tamen ... cohibent cursum*. A verbal parallel for this is Hor. *carm.* 1,28,35 *quamquam festinas, non est mora longa*.

CHAPTER XX

Lucius regains ‘a slave named Candidus’.

Unlike the previous chapter, which mentions repeated admonitory dreams occurring over several nights, this one focuses on a meaningful apparition that occurs during a single night and anticipates events of the near future. The chapter, comprising another scene of reunion (see introduction to Ch. XVIII), is neatly structured in two thematically related sections, namely the content of the dream and its possible meanings (11,20,1-3), and the fulfilment and explanation of the dream (11,20,6-7); these are separated by an interlude of religious practice, featuring the opening of the temple and the early morning ceremonies (11,20,4-5). The experience is crucial for Lucius’ religious progress: it arrives at a moment of anxiety and hesitation (11,19,3) and fills the hero with stronger zeal and hope for a prosperous future (11,21,1).

11,20,1 Nocte quadam plenum gremium suum uisus est mihi summus sacerdos offerre, ac requirenti quid utique istud respondisse partes illas de Thessalia mihi missas, seruum etiam meum indidem superuenisse nomine Candidum. One night I dreamed that the high priest was offering me the folds of his robe full of something; when I asked what exactly this was, he answered that these portions had been sent to me from Thessaly, and that, moreover, my slave named Candidus had arrived from the same place.

Nocte quadam: the temporal marker occurs also at 9,33,1 (*Nocte quadam paterfamilias quidam de pago proximo ... ad hortulum nostrum ... deuterterat*), where it introduces a new episode in Lucius-the-ass’ adventures. Here, rather differently, we have both the continuation of a thematic sequence (cf. 11,19,2 *nec fuit nox una ... uisus deae monituque ieiuna*) and the focus on a specific occasion.

plenum gremium suum: the content of the full lap is unspecified, and the high priest in the dream describes it by means of a term whose significance is appropriately unclear (see below on *partes*). The ambiguity is lost with the proposal by Shackleton Bailey 1988, 176-177: *plenum <edulium> gremium*. Nevertheless, the notion of abundance is strongly suggested and reinforced by literary parallels such as Petron. 60,4 (Priapus) *gremio ... satis amplo omnis generis poma et uuas sustinebat*; Mart. Cap. 1,88 (Sors) *gremio largiore totius orbis ornamenta portabat* (*ThLL* s.v. 2319,79-80). For *gremium* as the fold of an outer garment in which objects are carried cf. 11,9,2 (*mulieres*) *quae de gremio ... solum sternebant flosculis*, with note ad loc.

uisus est mihi summus sacerdos offerre: in Lucius’ previous dreams Isis herself instructs the hero; here, by contrast, a male priest of the highest order functions as a bearer of gifts and a messenger. The high priest (*summus sacerdos*) is a familiar figure to Lucius after the ceremony of the *πλοιαφέσια* (11,16,6); he is possibly the same priest who performs a leading role in his initiation (see comm. on 11,22,3 *Mithram illum suum sacerdotem praecipuum*); for the foreshadowing effect compare the ap-

pearance in a dream and the role of the priest Asinius Marcellus in the hero’s second initiation (11,27,4-7). According to Vasconcelos 2009, 199, *offerre* conveys religious connotations, and both the *partes* and the *seruus* mentioned below have the value of a sacred offering. In our view, the terminology primarily suggests legal connotations; see on 11,20,3 *partium oblatione*. The gesture of the offering in the nocturnal vision duplicates Lucius’ earlier experience in daylight, when he has been offered gifts and financial support by his household members and friends (11,18,3 *oblationes honestas aequi bonique facio*).

offerre ac ... respondisse: the use of the perfect infinitive without past force (a feature of spoken language) is rare in Apuleius (*GCA* 2004, 177 on 5,10,8 *uidisse paenituit*). The phenomenon in late Latin especially occurs with verbs of seeing (Callebat 1968, 315; here *uisus est mihi*), for which see also 1,4,2-3 *circulatorem aspexi equestrem spatham ... deuorasse; ac mox ... condidisse*. Harrauer 1973, 128 explains the use in our passage with reference to the rhyme *respondisse ... superuenisse*.

quid utique istud: sc. *eset*; the ellipse of *esse* in indirect questions is rare in *met.*, and contributes to the vividness and density in the narrative (Callebat 1968, 447; Harrauer 1973, 129). Médan 1925a, 50 finds the ellipse unusual and prints the question in direct style (“*Quid utique istud?*”). The expression *quid istud* in questions suggests astonishment and surprise (see 1,6,2 *hem ... quid istud?*; 1,24,7 *sed quid istud?*, with *GCA* 2007, 166 and 437, respectively), while *utique*, adding precision to questions, is first attested in Apuleius, and becomes an equivalent of *ergo, igitur* in such contexts (*LHSz* 2,493; *GCA* 1995, 205 on 9,23,3 *cur utique*).

partes illas de Thessalia mihi missas: Fredouille 1975, 97 takes *illas* as a demonstrative pronoun (cf. above *istud*) that functions as the subject of an implied *esse*, and is attracted into the gender of the predicate *partes* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ille* 11c): *partes illas (esse) de Thessalia mihi missas*. We understand the passage differently: *illas* has a deictic sense, ‘these portions, or: the portions that you see’ (*OLD* s.v. *ille* 4a), and qualifies *partes*, the subject of *missas (esse)*; we find a parallel construction in *partes illas* (subject) *de Thessalia* (origin) *missas* sc. *esse* (verb) and *seruum ... meum* (subject) *indidem* (origin) *superuenisse* (verb). According to Harrauer 1973, 127, *illas* refers to the fact that the *partes* were left back in Thessaly.

partes: the noun is found also at 11,20,3 *partium oblatione*. Apuleius uses the plural *partes* for both ‘pieces of food’ (e.g. 7,11,3 *partisque subreptas clanculo ... offerebat hilaris*; 10,14,2 *partes opimas quasque deuorabam*; 10,15,2) and ‘food portions’ (e.g. 2,24,6 *cenae et partes requiris*; 9,38,9 *caseum atque alias prandii partes diuiserat*); *pars* with the latter meaning, attested as early as Plautus (*Men.* 479; *ThLL* s.v. 460,46-47), corresponds to the Gr. *μοῖρα, μερίς*. The image of the loaded lap suggests that the *partes* are probably ‘food portions’, while, in a symbolic interpretation, they may stand for ‘shares of property’ or ‘allotted possessions’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. *pars* 8a ‘that part of a thing which is allotted or belongs to a person, one’s share, portion’), since the *partes ... de Thessalia mihi missas* turn out to be *quos ibi reliqueram famulos* (11,20,6); the symbolic interpretation squares with the legal terminology in the chapter (see below, *oblatione, agnitione*). The notion of a ‘share in life, fortune’ may additionally be in play here, given that Lucius is offered the *partes* by the high priest of Isis before his initiation; for this notion of *partes* see Cic. *Phil.* 2,74 *in suis*

partibus, id est in suis fortunis; Apul. *mund.* 38 p. 372 *fatum μοῖραν uocant, quod ex partibus constet* (Gr. 401b12 ἀπὸ τοῦ μεμερίσθαι). According to Merkelbach 1995, 287, the *partes* might be sacred objects of symbolic significance, evoking Lucius' status as an initiate (cf. Apul. *apol.* 56,8 *tot sacrorum signa et memoracula custodire*). Other scholars take the term in an abstract sense: 'ces différentes choses qui avaient été tirées d'un tout, de chez moi' (Médan 1925a, 50), 'Teile seiner selbst' (Harrauer 1973, 134); 'parts bénéficiaires, actions' (Fredouille 1975, 97, with reference to Cic. *Rab. Post.* 4; *Vatin.* 29).

seruum ... meum ... nomine Candidum: the original reading in F, *seruus meus*, which is also the reading in φ, was changed by another hand to *seruū meū* (= *seruum meum*). For the significance of the proper name, which appears for the first time here in literature, see on 11,20,2 *nullum ... habuisse me seruum isto nomine nuncupatum*; 11,20,7 *argumento serui Candidi equum ... colore candidum*.

indidem superuenisse: *indidem* is a favourite adverb with Apuleius, who uses it 17 times in *met.*; see GCA 2007, 340 on 1,19,1 *indidem sumo*. Here (and at 11,17,5) the adverb is used in the sense of 'from the/that same place' (*OLD* s.v. 1). The verb *superuenire*, denoting a new arrival on the scene (*OLD* s.v. 2b), is also found at 11,20,6 *et ecce superueniunt ... quos ibi reliqueram famulos* (these passages correspond thematically too), and perhaps at 7,1,1 *quidam de numero latronum superuenit* (Vulcanius, Robertson: *peruenit* F, retained by Zimmerman 2012).

11,20,2 Hanc experrectus imaginem diu diuque apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam quid rei portenderet, praesertim cum nullum umquam habuisse me seruum isto nomine nuncupatum certus essem. When I awoke, I kept going back, in my thoughts, over the significance of this vision, especially since I was sure that I had never possessed a slave called by that name.

diu diuque: first and almost exclusively attested in Apuleius (LHSz 2,809), the gemination *diu diuque* here underlines the aspect of psychological time; for other instances of gemination of adverbs in Apuleius see GCA 1981, 87 on 7,2,1 *procul ac procul* and GCA 2004, 254 on 5,20,1 *uiam ... diu diuque cogitatam*.

apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam, quid ... portenderet: compare Lucius' reflection after the instructions for a third initiation at 11,29,2 *mecum ipse cogitationes exercitium cogitabam, quorsus ... se caelestium porrigeret intentio*. Lucius does not consider asking a dream-interpreter (ὄνειπολίτης), who should have been available at the temple (see Merkelbach 1995, 210-211 and *RICIS* e.g. 101/0206, 101/0221 for the evidence in inscriptions; and Cic. *div.* 1,132 *Isiacos coniectores*).

apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam: the expression *apud cogitationes reuoluere* is unparalleled; similar expressions include *in cogitatione (-ibus) uersari* (Cic. *Cluent.* 69; *rep.* 1,35; Quint. *decl.* 329,17), and *secum or in animo reuoluere* (Tac. *Agr.* 46,3; *ann.* 4,21,1). Apuleius seems to prefer *apud* for *in* in this type of expression (cf. 11,27,1 *ac dum religiosum scrupulum ... apud meum sensum disputo*); Harrauer 1973, 129 argues that the specific use of *apud* originates in everyday language (cf. Non. p. 522,20 *error consuetudinis 'apud' pro 'in' utitur*).

quid rei portenderet: the subject of the verb is implied from the main clause (*hanc imaginem*). The expression *quid rei* recurs at 1,12,2 *ac dum ... quid rei sit ... opperior*;

11,26,4 *mirabar, quid rei temptaret, quid pronuntiaret futurum* (Callebat 1968, 190), but here *res* 'fact' may underline the distance between dream and reality (Fredouille 1973, 97). The verb *portendere* (found also at 10,17,5) belongs to the religious sphere; for its use in the context of dreams see e.g. Plaut. *Curc.* 272 *magnum malum, quod in quiete tibi portentumst*; Plin. *epist.* 1,18,2 *mihi reputanti somnium meum, istud, quod times tu, egregiam actionem portendere uidetur*.

nullum ... habuisse me seruum isto nomine nuncupatum: the statement may reflect historical reality; according to *ThLL* Onom. s.v., *Candidus* is a common *cognomen* in the Roman Empire, but belongs primarily to members of the nobility or the military. For the significance of the name in the context of Lucius' story see below.

11,20,3 Ut tamen sese praesagium somni porrigeret, lucrum certum modis omnibus significari partium oblatione credebam. Sic anxius et in prouentum prosperiorem attonitus templi matutinas apertiones opperiebar. But in whatever way the portent of the dream might be directed, I believed that the offer of the portions indicated, in all circumstances, sure profit. In this manner, impatient and intent on the successful outcome, I was waiting for the early morning opening of the temple.

Ut tamen ... sese ... porrigeret: for the use of the reflexive with *porrigere* cf. 11,29,2 *quorsus ... se caelestium porrigeret intentio*. The reading in F, *ut*, is difficult to explain in the context; it is emended by Pricaeus 1650 to *utut* 'in whatever way' (thus, e.g. Helm 1907, Robertson 1945, Zimmerman 2012), which gives good sense, and is an archaism (LHSz 2,635; Callebat 1968, 496). However, Fredouille (1975, 98) argues that in late Latin *ut* may stand for *utut* (Waszink 1947, 534); this seems to occur at *apol.* 43,4 *uerum enim uero, ut ista sese habent (ut F : utut Coluius)*; *Socr.* 20 p. 165 *uerum enim uero, ut ista sunt (ut F : utut Stewechius)*. The *utut*-clause always takes the indicative; the use of the (potential) subjunctive here is exceptional, and, according to Harrauer 1973, 129 and Fredouille 1975, 98, underlines the uncertainty of the future event. Alternatively, *ut* may here stand for *utcumque* 'in whatever manner', which can take the subjunctive; see Suet. *Claud.* 16,2 *nec quemquam nisi sua uoce, utcumque quis posset, ... rationem uitae passus est reddere*.

praesagium somni: the noun *praesagium* (also found at 10,17,5 *rati scaeuum praesagium portendere*) is elsewhere constructed with the subjective genitive *somni* twice in Statius: *Theb.* 5,620 (Hypsipyle) *o dura mei praesagia somni*; *Ach.* 1,22 (Paris) *plena ... materni referens praesagia somni*. For the syncopated form *somni* cf. 11,20,7 *sollertiam somni*; 6,7,1 *Mercuri*; see LHSz 1,268-269.

lucrum certum ... significari: Lucius, importantly, views his dream as allegorical and explains it in favourable terms, although *lucrum* in *met.* has been associated with non-exemplary characters, including Thelyphron (2,26,5), the robbers (6,26,1; 7,9,4), the priests of the Syrian Goddess (9,8,4), Myrmex (9,19,1), and Thiasus (10,19,4); Lucius' analysis perhaps reflects his financial anxieties after his re-transformation (cf. 11,18,3), but also suggests that he is still thinking in terms of the material world. On the other hand, it should be noted that profit (κέρδος) is a standard feature in ancient dream and oracle interpretation, to which Apuleius may humorously be alluding here through his credulous hero; the *sors* of the deceitful Syrian priests at 9,8,2 was ex-

plained in many ways, including *lucrum* (9,8,4). In any case, Lucius in human form seems to have forgotten about the theory of contraries in dreams, which, in the form of an ass, he had heard outside a cave some time ago: 4,27,6-7 *Denique flere et uapulare et nonnumquam iugulari lucrosum prosperumque prouentum nuntiant* (cf. in this chapter, *lucrum ... prouentum prosperiorem ... lucrosae pollicitationis*); *contra ridere et mellitis dulciolis uentrem saginare uel in uoluptatem ueneriam conuenire tristitie animi, languore corporis, damnisque ceteris uexatum iri praedicant* (see also Krabbe 2003, 361). The events at the end of this chapter and of Book 11 seem to prove him right.

modis omnibus: perhaps, = *omni modo* ‘in every case’ (Fredouille 1975, 98), but the plural may refer to different contexts or levels of dream interpretation. The same expression (in the same word order) is found at 10,7,6 *illum ... seruum ... sisti modis omnibus oportere* (there, however, the ablative = ‘by all means’).

partium oblatione: the correction of *patrium* (F) to *partium* is found in v. For the technical legal term *oblatio* (cf. 11,20,1 *offerre*) see on 11,18,3 *oblaciones honestas*, where the noun is used in a concrete sense (‘a gift, present’); here its meaning is abstract (‘an offering’), for which see also Ulp. *dig.* 5,2,8,10 *si forte ... oblatio ei fiat eius, quod relictum est*; *Paneg.* 6,16,2 *qui* (sc. *militis*) *te ... omnibus honorum oblationibus praetulerunt*. For another term with legal connotations in the chapter cf. 11,20,6 *agnitione*.

anxius et in prouentum ... attonitus: the alliterative combination of the same adjectives is found again at 9,12,2 *familiari curiositate attonitus et satis anxius* (see *GCA* 1995, 117 for other instances of *attonitus* in Apuleius), and *attonitus* in both passages means ‘intent (on)’ (*OLD* s.v. 5). The construction of *attonitus* with *in* and the accusative is found only in Apuleius (see *GCA* 2001, 351 on 2,26,5 *in aureos refulgentes ... attonitus*; and comm. on 11,14,5 *in aspectum meum attonitus*), but here the prepositional construction with the ablative might also have been expected, given the meaning of the adjective; cf. 4,12,7 *in prospectu alioquin attonitum*. For *anxius* ‘impatient’ rather than ‘worried’ – a sign of curiosity – see *GCA* 2001, 54 on 2,1,1 *anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi*.

prouentum prosperiorem: see above on *lucrum certum ... significari*.

templi matutinas apertiones: the opening of the temple was taking place on a daily basis (cf. Tib. 1,3,31-32 *bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes / insignis turba debeat in Pharia*, with Murgatroyd 1980, 110; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 62 and 471), and was related to an old concept, according to which Egyptian gods need daily refreshment for their preservation (Cumont 1956, 95); Porphyry’s account of the opening (or the consecration) of the temple of Sarapis features both fire and water (cf. 11,20,4 *de penetrali fontem petitum ... libat*) as essential elements in the ceremony (*abstin.* 4,9,5). For discussion of the literary evidence, and of a ritual fresco from Herculaneum that probably depicts an *apertio templi* see Cumont 1956, 95-96 and 236 n. 65; Griffiths 1975, 274-275; Merkelbach 1995, 150-151.

apertiones: the abstract noun *apertio* occurs before Apuleius only in Varro *rust.* 1,63,1 *recenti apertione*. Apuleius, who also uses it at 11,22,7 *ritu ... sollemni apertionis celebrato ministerio*, first employs the term in a religious context for the solemn opening of a temple; for the same use cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4,301 *moueri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa*

... *hoc uulgo apertiones appellant*. The plural in our passage, according to both Har-rauer 1973, 130 and Fredouille 1975, 98, denotes the series of solemn acts during the ceremony.

11,20,4 *Ac dum, uelis candentibus reductis in diuersum, deae uenerabilem conspectum adprecamur, et per dispositas aras circumiens sacerdos, rem diuinam procurans supplicamentis sollemnibus, deae de penetrali fontem petitum spondeo libat*. And while, after the shining curtains were drawn back on either side, we were invoking the venerable appearance of the goddess, a priest goes the round of the altars placed in order, attending to the religious rite with solemn propitiatory offerings, and from a vessel pours a libation of spring water fetched from the inner shrine.

Ac dum ..., *et*: apparently abundant *et* after a secondary clause occurs with certainty from Gellius onwards (*ThLL* s.v. 896,51-52). In Apuleius see *met.* 7,26,4 *Interim dum puerum ... parentes ... querebantur, et ... ecce*, with *GCA* 1981, 258, who argue that the phenomenon may recall Plautine usage and add vividness; compare a similar case at 5,28,1 *Interim dum ...*, *at*, with *GCA* 2004, 324 ad loc.

uelis ... reductis in diuersum: cf. 11,24,4 *me ... in uicem simulacri constituto, repente uelis reductis, in aspectum populus errabat*. The drawing of the curtains, according to Fredouille 1975, 98, is performed by a *pastophorus* (cf. 11,17,2). Griffiths 1975, 275 argues that the worshippers are now inside the temple in front of the *cella*, but we find no strong evidence in the text for a precise localisation. For the use of *uelum* in a sacred context see e.g. Tert. *apol.* 16,4 *solis enim sacerdotibus adire licitum; etiam conspectui ceterorum uelo oppanso interdicebatur* (sc. *simulacrum*); Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 154 n. 284. For the prepositional phrase *in diuersum* meaning ‘in a different direction (from one another)’ see e.g. Curt. 4,8,8 *in diuersum euaserant*; Sen. *dial.* 5,21,3 *in diuersum fluentibus aquis* (*OLD* s.v. 4b).

uelis candentibus: Apuleius uses *candens* in the sense of *albus* at 5,16,2 *canitie*; 7,16,4 *dentium*; 8,22,7 *ossa*. The adjective is used with (indirect) reference to curtains at Val. Fl. 2,447 *candentia uelis castra*, and provides a touch of brightness and sparkle in the middle section of a chapter focused on Lucius’ dream about a slave named *Candidus*. For the emphasis on white in the Isiac cult see Donalson 2003, 34.

deae uenerabilem conspectum adprecamur: conspectus here means ‘appearance, aspect’ (*OLD* s.v. 2); for the contemplation of the divine image see Porph. *abstin.* 4,6,3 (of the Egyptian priests) ἀπέδοσαν ὄλον τὸν βίον τῆ τῶν θεῶν θεωρίᾳ καὶ θεάσει; Cumont 1956, 236 n. 69; and comm. on 11,19,1 *deae gratissimum mihi ... conspectum*. *Adprecari* is a rare and poetic verb, favoured by Apuleius; it occurs also at 4,29,4; 6,3,4; and 11,1,4 (where it introduces, in direct speech, a prayer to a divinity). The plural in our passage draws the reader’s attention to the fact that Lucius is not the only worshipper attending the ceremony (Médan 1925a, 51).

per dispositas aras circumiens sacerdos: compare the arrangement of sacred space at the Iseum in Pompeii, where different *arae* and *aediculae* in the cult area are preserved; see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 187 (main ara), 194 (other ara), and the sketch of the sanctuary = Abb. 6.

rem diuinam procurans: the original reading in F, *procurat*, which is also the reading in φ, was corrected by the same hand, which added (probably) the letters *ns* above the final *-at*; moreover, another hand changed the reading to *procurant*. The verb *procurare* occurs often with reference to the performance of sacred rites (e.g. Nep. *Them.* 2,8 *sacra procuranda*; Liv. 10,8,4 *diuinis ... rebus procurandis*), and Apuleius uses it not only in the context of the Isiac cult (11,22,3 *quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis*), but also about rituals of magic (1,10,3 *deuotionibus sepulchralibus ... procuratis*, with *GCA* 2007, 228 ad loc.), and as a technical term ‘in prodigiis expiandis’ (9,34,4 *quid magis quid minus numinum caelestium leniendis minis quot et qualibus procuraretur hostiis*, with *GCA* 1995, 291 ad loc.; Graverini 1997, 254-259). For *res diuinae* = ‘religious rites’ see *OLD* s.v. *diuinus* 2, and below comm. on 11,20,5 *rebus ... rite consummatis*.

supplicamentis sollemnibus: an alliterative phrase. The noun *supplicamentum* ‘a propitiatory offering or ceremony’ (*OLD* s.v.) is very rare and first attested in Apuleius (here and at 11,22,3, again in the plural). In Biblical and Christian Latin, *supplicamentum* is attested in the specific sense of ‘incense, spice’: cf. Vet. Lat. *Is.* 1,13 (Tert. *adv. Iud.* 5,6) *uanum supplicamentum execrumentum mihi est* (LXX θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοι ἔστιν, Vulg. *incensum abominatio est mihi*); Barnab. 2,5 *supplicamentum exsecratio mihi est*; Vet. Lat. *apoc.* 8,3 (Primasius) *data sunt ei supplicamenta multa*. Cf. also Arnob. *nat.* 7,21 *generis certi hostias certis ius est consecrare numinibus certaue et supplicamenta praestari*, where *supplicamenta* possibly has similar connotations. According to Heer 1908, L-LI (in the Prolegomena to his edition of the *Letter of Barnabas*), the fact that earlier Christian writers used *supplicamentum* in this sense before the noun *incensum* became the standard term can be explained against the background of Apuleius’ use of *supplicamentum* in Book 11 (cf. also Plaut. *Aul.* 23-24 *ea mihi cottidie aut ture aut uino aut aliqui semper supplicat*, with Stockert 1983 ad loc.; Plin. *epist.* 10,96,5 *cum ... imagini tuae ... ture ac uino supplicarent*; Apul. *apol.* 63,3). Compare Apuleius’ use of the related noun *supplicia* at *met.* 11,16,9 *cuncti populi ... uannos onustas aromatis et huiusce modi supplicii certatim congerunt*; see comm. ad loc. Fredouille 1975, 99 interprets differently: “en récitant les prières rituelles”, while Griffiths 1975, 276 takes *supplicamentum* as an equivalent of *supplicatio*.

de penentrali fontem: the passage has two textual problems: F has *deae*, which is syntactically problematic; *de* (or *deae de*) is the reading in v, which gives good sense and is adopted by all modern editors. *Fontem* is the emendation by Lipsius of the reading *fonte* in F. Early editors attempted to retain F by means of such emendations as e.g. *deae e* (Hildebrand), *deae <litat, laticem de>* (Van der Vliet). These are not necessary; for the substantive *penentrale* = ‘the innermost part of a temple’, a primarily poetic use, see *OLD* s.v. 2. Poetic too is the use of *fons* in the sense of ‘water from a spring, the waters of a river’ (*OLD* s.v. 1e). Wild 1981, 44-45 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 187 and 332-333 discuss water supply in Isiac sanctuaries.

foniem petium ... libat: for the water libation during the morning service see on 11,20,3 *templi matutinas apertiones*; Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume (p. 554). The holy water (cf. the sacred *urnula* at 11,11,4) is supposed to have been taken from the Nile; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 2,116 *nam et in templo Isidis aqua sparsa de Nilo esse dicebatur*; Cumont 1956, 95 and 236 n. 64; Merkelbach 1995, 152; Donalson 2003, 37-38;

Courtney 1980, 329-330 on Iuv. 6,527-529 (an exaggeration) *ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas / a Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede / Isidis*. For *petere* complemented with a noun for ‘water’ in a ritual context see Ov. *fast.* 3,12 *Vestalis ... sacra lauaturas mane petebat aquas*. Krabbe 2003, 494 points to the verbal similarity between our passage and 9,4,1 *uas immane ... aquae perlucidae de proximo petitae fonte*, where water is used to test Lucius’ sanity.

spondeo: *spondeum*, a loanword from the Greek (σπονδεον), refers to a libation vessel (used especially for wine-libations). Médan 1925a, 52 identifies it with the object described at 11,10,6 *idem gerebat et aureum uasculum in modum papillae rotundatum, de quo lacte libabat*; cf. comm. on 11,10,5 *quartus aequitatis indicium ostendebat*. The term is also attested in *CIL* XIV 2215 (= *RICIS* 2,503/0301); for its use in the Isiac cult see Bricault 2005, 425 and 575; Wild 1981, 111.

11,20,5 *Rebus iam rite consummatis inchoatae lucis salutationibus religiosi primam nuntiantes horam perstreput*. The rites were already duly completed and the religious devotees, announcing the first hour, make a loud noise with their greetings of the start of the morning light.

rebus iam rite consummatis: the same word-order in Verg. *Aen.* 4,555 *Aeneas celsa in puppi ... carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis*. *Res (diuina)* = ‘a religious rite or ritual’ is very rare before Apuleius; *OLD* s.v. 8b cites only Naev. *carm. frg.* 28 Morel (= 32 Blänsdorf) *res diuas edicit*. Cf. 3,19,4-5 (of magical rites) *sum ... magiae noscendae ... cupitor, quamquam mihi nec ipsa tu uideare talium rerum rudis*. The noun alliterates with *rite*, here probably used in the sense of ‘properly, duly’ (*OLD* s.v. 3a); Fick-Michel 1991, 552 discusses the use of *rite* and *ritus* in *met.*, and observes that the terms occur especially in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, and in the book of Isis. For *consummare* used of religious rites see e.g. Sen. *Herc. f.* 1039 *consumma sacrum*.

inchoatae lucis salutationibus: greetings of the morning light are again mentioned at 11,27,6 *deae matutinis perfectis salutationibus*. Harrauer 1973, 128 argues that the cry χαίρε νέον φῶς, or a similar formula was used for addressing the rising sun. The ritual, involving the singing of a morning hymn to the accompaniment of music, is possibly referred to in Sen. *epist.* 95,47 *uetemus salutationibus matutinis fungi et foribus adsidere templorum*; Arnob. *nat.* 7,32 *Quid sibi uolunt excitationes illae quas canitis matutini conlatis ad tibiam uocibus?*; see also, for morning hymns of worship in the Isiac cult, Merkelbach 1995, 91 and 151 n. 4; Donalson 2003, 39. The verb *incohare* used of the beginning of a new day occurs also in Fronto *epist. ad Antonin. imp.* 1,5,3 (p. 93,15) *cum serenus dies inluculascit lumine incohato*; Aug. *gen. c. Manich.* 1,14,22 *sol inchoat ... diem*; see also on 11,5,3 *inchoantibus ... radiis*.

religiosi ... perstreput: for the *religiosi* (masc. as subst.) ‘religious devotees’ see 11,13,6 *populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur*; *CIL* VI 2262 L. *Vettio ... religioso a Matre Magna capillato* (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. 11,15,4 *uideant inreligiosi*; 11,16,9 *cuncti populi tam religiosi quam profani*. Before Apuleius the verb *perstreperere*, whether applied to humans, animals, or abstract notions, often conveyed pejorative connotations (*ThLL* s.v. 1754,25-30): Ter. *Eun.* 600 (*ancillae*) *abeunt lauatum, perstreput, ita ut fit, domini ubi absunt*; Sen. *dial.* 4,35,5 (the personified *Ira* is compared to animals)

sibilo mugituque et gemitu et stridore ... perstreptem. Apuleius continues the tradition at *met.* 5,9,1 (Psyche's sisters); *flor.* 12,8 (*psittacus*) *conuiciabitur diebus ac noctibus perstreptens maledictis*, but seems to adopt a more neutral attitude here and at 2,26,1 *noctis indutias cantus perstrepebat cristatae cohortis*. The *religiosi* singing a *capella* a hymn to the rising sun may (to Lucius' ears) sound like roosters announcing daylight.

primam nuntiantes horam: for *nuntiare* of announcing time cf. *Mart.* 8,67,1 *horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat*; *Tac. ann.* 15,30,1 *initia uigiliarum per centurionem nuntiare*; *Plin. epist.* 3,1,8 *ubi hora balinei nuntiata est* (*OLD* s.v. 5). The priests called ὀρολόγοι or ὀροσκόποι (mentioned by Harrauer 1973, 132) were concerned with astronomy and astrology rather than the rite of announcing hours (Griffiths 1975, 276; Donalson 2003, 50).

11,20,6 Et ecce superueniunt Hypata quos ibi reliqueram famulos, cum me Photis malis incapistrasset erroribus, cognitis scilicet fabulis meis, nec non et equum quoque illum meum reducentes, quem diuerse distractum notae dorsualis agnitione recuperauerant. And behold, there arrive on the scene from Hypata the servants whom I had left there, when Photis had bridled me through her unfortunate errors; they had obviously heard about my stories, and were also bringing back that horse of mine, which was sold elsewhere, but which they had recovered thanks to the recognition of a mark situated on the animal's back.

Et ecce superueniunt: initial *et ecce* is popular with Apuleius (*GCA* 2007, 315 on 1,17,1); here it introduces both a change of focus and the fulfillment and explanation, in daylight, of the night vision. For the use of *superuenire* see on 11,20,1.

Hypata: F has *de patria*, which is difficult to retain, since *patria* in *met.* is always used for a person's native city (see note on 11,18,1 *in patria*); Bursian's *Hypata* is adopted by all editors of the text. For the city of Hypata, Lucius' (and Aristomenes') destination at the beginning of the story, see *GCA* 2007, 154 on 1,5,4 *Hypatae, quae ciuitas cunctae Thessaliae antepollet*. Its explicit mention here at the end of the story brings "some sense of closure to the novel by ring composition" (Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 157).

quos ibi reliqueram famulos: it stands for *famuli quos ibi reliqueram* ('attractio inversa'). The servants were mentioned as *pueri* at 2,15,5 (see *GCA* 2001, 242 ad loc.). A different account of the number and the whereabouts of Lucius' servants is provided by the robber at 7,2,2; see *GCA* 1981, 88 ad loc.

cum me Photis ... incapistrasset erroribus: the last reference in the novel to (the name of) the slave-girl Photis is marked by a textual problem: the original reading in F, *Fotidis*, which is also the reading in φ, was changed by another hand to *Fotis*; the nominative is also found in v. Scholars who want to retain the genitive have proposed to supplement either <*factum*> *Photidis* (Walter), or *Photidis* <*scelus*> (Leo), or *Photidis* <*malitia*> (Brakman 1928; according to Robertson 1945, 'fortasse recte'). The genitive could find support from 9,15,6 (again with *error*) *quamquam grauius suscensens errori Photidis*, but an abstract notion as subject seems unsatisfactory in view of (*malis*) *erroribus*. It might be possible to retain the genitive, if we emend *incapistrasset* to *incapistrassem*: *cum me Photidis malis incapistrassem erroribus* (a

voluntary act; compare *Verg. georg.* 3,188 (*equus*) *det mollibus ora capistris inualidus*; (figur.) *Iuv.* 6,42-43 *moechorum notissimus olim stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro*), although, it should be acknowledged, Lucius would thereby take upon himself part of the blame for his transformation, something which he has never done in the past (see below on *incapistrasset*). The nominative form *Photis* (found in F and in v) seems the least problematic solution.

malis ... erroribus: the phrase is originally Vergilian (*ecl.* 8,41 [of the madness of love] *ut uidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!*; *Aen.* 10,110 [of the deception of the Trojans by unreliable prophecies in coming to Italy] *siue errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris*, with Harrison 1991 ad loc.) and, outside Apuleius, exclusively poetic (*Ciris* 430; *Ov. trist.* 2,109). The plural *mali errores* may apply either to Photis or to Lucius; with regard to Photis it suggests both her deceptions and mistakes (mixing up the ointments), of which Lucius was eventually the victim (cf. 3,17,1-2; 3,25,2), and her expertise in *malae artes*; with regard to Lucius, it alludes to the hero's wanderings and his 'sin' (cf. 11,15,4); for this double meaning of *error* see Smith in *AAGA* 3, 218-219.

incapistrasset: the verb *incapistrare*, a hapax legomenon and an Apuleian neologism (Nicolini 2011a, 133), is applied here both in literal and figurative sense: Photis is repeatedly held responsible by the hero for his metamorphosis; see 7,14,2 *quas ego condignas Photidi diras deuotiones inprecer* (with *GCA* 1981, 171); 9,15,6 *quamquam grauius suscensens errori Photidis* (with *GCA* 1995, 149). For the figurative sense cf. 3,19,5 *in seruilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas uolentem*; contrast the robber's account of the amorous liaison between Lucius and Photis at 7,1,6 *falsis amoribus ancillae Milonis animum inrepens*.

cognitis scilicet fabulis meis: Van der Vliet's emendation of *famulis* (F; difficult with the preceding *famulos*, which no doubt aided the corruption) to *fabulis* is supported not only by verbal parallels such as 9,17,2 *nosti totam ... fabulam?*, but also by Diophanes' prophecy (now fulfilled) at 2,12,5 *historiam magnam et incredulam fabulam ... me futurum*. The meaning of the plural *fabulae meae* would be 'the stories of my adventures' (cf. *GCA* 2001, 216; see also Krabbe 2003, 3). It is interesting that Lucius does not acknowledge Isiac intervention (although the dream at 11,20,1 suggests otherwise); rather, he seems to credit *fama* (cf. 11,18,1).

nec non et ... quoque: *nec non et* is a type of 'strengthened litotes' that underlines the emotional character of the passage; see *GCA* 1985, 252 on 8,28,5. *Quoque* reinforces the effect; cf. 8,5,11 *nec non tamen ipsam quoque bestiam*.

equum ... illum meum ... diuerse distractum: Lucius' horse was last seen at 6,25,3 in the hands of the robbers (together with Lucius-the-ass), and was last mentioned by Lucius at 7,3,5. For an account of the presence and the significance of the white horse throughout the *met.* see *GCA* 1981, 28 on 6,25,3 *me et equum meum*; *ibid.* 87-88 on 7,2,1 *equum ... candidum*, and *comm.* on 11,20,7. Here *diuerse distractum* may be interpreted with reference to a change of both owners and places (cf. 'diuersis emptoribus et locis' *ThLL* s.v.; 'he had been sold on from one owner to another' Kenney), and may recall Lucius' own adventures in the form of an ass. The adverb *diuerse* is rare in Classical Latin and occurs with *distrahere* also in Plaut. *Trin.* 409-410 (*pecunia non hercle minus diuorse distrahitur cito, / quam si tu obicias fornicis*

papauerem; cf. *Merc.* 470 *quo pacto ego diuorsus distrahor*. The local sense of *di-* in *distrahere* is discussed in *GCA* 2007, 155-156 on 1,5,4.

notae dorsualis: the term *nota* refers either to a physical sign on the horse's back (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,87-88 [of a snake] *caeruleae cui terga notae, maculosus et auro / squamam incendebat fulgor*) or an artificial mark; the latter indicates a branded sign of ownership (cf. Verg. *georg.* 3,158 *continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt*; *Isid. orig.* 20,16,7 *Character est ferrum calorum quo notae pecudibus inuruntur: χαρακτήρ autem Graece, Latine forma dicitur*), and functions as a sign of recognition (cf. Dio Chrys. 14,22 ὥσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς βοσκήμασι χαρακτήρας ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ δεσπότες, ὅπως ἐπίσημα ἔσται; Colum. 7,9,12 *qui si memoria deficitur, quo minus agnoscat cuiusque progeniem, pice liquida eandem notam scrofae et porcis inponat*); see Jones 1987, 151; Hyland 1990, 83 (with evidence for brands on the horse's thigh and shoulder). Harrauer 1973, 133 argues that the *nota*, uncommonly located on the horse's back, represents a sacred mark or a religious σφραγίς that suggests Lucius' status as a candidate for initiation; a similar suggestion is made by Merkelbach 1995, 287 n. 1. The adjective *dorsualis* is elsewhere found only in Ammianus (22,15,18) and Solinus (12,4), with reference to beasts and birds, respectively.

agnitione recuperauerant: *agnitio* 'recognition', a term first attested in declamation (Sen. *contr.* 9,3,4), is also employed at 3,26,5 *agnitione ac miseratione quadam inductum equum*; here the noun governs the objective genitive (*notae*), for which cf. Quint. *inst.* 1,1,25 *obstat hoc agnitioni earum* (sc. *litterarum*). The term may convey legal connotations here, as it can be used in the sense of 'an avowal (of possession)' (*OLD* s.v. 2). The use of *recuperare* for the recovery of Lucius' property also reflects the hero's 'restoration' to his human form and to his status as an owner of an animal.

11,20,7 Quare sollertiam somni tum mirabar uel maxime, quod praeter congruentiam lucrosae pollicitationis argumento serui Candidi equum mihi reddidisset colore candidum. Therefore, I was then quite amazed at the subtlety of the dream, because, apart from the consistency of the lucrative promise, it had restored to me a horse bright white in colour by means of the symbol of the slave called Candidus.

sollertiam somni: for the syncopated genitive *somni* see on 11,20,3 above. Apuleius' preference for abstract nouns with a genitive is discussed in *GCA* 2007, 253 on 1,12,2 *grabattuli sollertia munitus*. Symbolic representation (cf. below *argumento*) combined with resourcefulness and subtlety has already been praised in the description of the sacred *urnula*: 11,11,3 *summi numinis uenerandam effigiem ... sollerti repertu reuerendam, altioris ... religionis argumentum ineffabile*.

congruentiam lucrosae pollicitationis: Lucius, of course, interprets as *lucrum* the recovery of his slaves. The noun *congruentia* is attested before Apuleius only in Suetonius (*Otho* 2,2) and Pliny the Younger (*epist.* 2,5,11), who use it in the sense of 'similarity' and 'symmetry', respectively; in Apuleius it is given the meaning of 'consistency' and describes the match between dream and reality in *met.* 11; see also 11,13,1 (*sacerdos*) *miratus congruentiam mandati muneris*, with comm. there. For the expression *lucrosa pollicitatio* cf. 9,8,4 (of a *sors*) *lucrum promitti*, and comm. on 11,20,3 *lucrum certum ... significari*.

argumento serui Candidi equum ... colore candidum: for *argumentum* 'symbol' see comm. on 11,11,3. For the significant name see Maxim. *eleg.* 4,7 *uirgo fuit, facies dederat cui candida nomen, Candida*. The correspondence between a slave and an animal is not difficult to perceive in the world of *met.* (cf. Fitzgerald 2000, 99-102; Ávila Vasconcelos 2009, 201-205), and the horse is acknowledged as a fellow-slave at 7,3,5 *cum meo famulo meoque uectore illo equo factum conseruum*. Plaza 2006, 68-71 discusses the episode of the horse *Candidus* in terms of Apuleius' device of 'turning words into flesh'.

equum ... colore candidum: the adjective *candidus* (stronger than *albus* and also liable to figurative use) occurs of horses first in Ovid (*met.* 8,373; 12,403); in *met.* it is always used with reference to the realm of the divine, expressing both colour and splendour (Krabbe 1989, 138-139; Fick-Michel 1991, 266-267). Lucius' white horse reflects his former identity as a young aristocrat (*GCA* 2007, 100 on 1,2,2-3 *equo ... peralbo uehens*); through its comparison with the white horse of the two-horse chariot in Plato's myth of the Soul (*Phaedr.* 253d), it has received a prominent place in allegorical interpretations of the novel, viewed as a symbol of the hero's immortality of the soul or of the higher life of philosophy (Thibau 1965, 102; Drake 1968; Harrauer 1973, 134; but see the criticism of this view in Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 160-161). The recovery of the horse *Candidus* squares with the atmosphere in *met.* 11, in which Lucius is surrounded by bright and shiny objects (see on 11,7,5 *candebat*), but the horse is not mentioned in Lucius' journey to Rome.

CHAPTER XXI

The priest admonishes Lucius, who is anxious to be initiated, to submit to Isis' commands.

At the opening of this chapter, Lucius seems to comply with the *seruitium deae* demanded by both the goddess (11,6,7) and the priest (11,15,5), driven by a hope for future *beneficia* in his life (11,21,1 *spe futura*; 11,21,3 *spei melioris*; see Graverini 2007, 79 [= 2012, 71-72]); perhaps he even dreams of more *lucrum* (cf. 11,20,3 *lucrum ... prouentum prosperiorem*; 11,20,7 *lucrosae pollicitationis*; below, 11,21,5 *auuditati*). As a result, Lucius feels a burning desire to be initiated into the secrets of the cult (11,21,2 *magis magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat*). The priest responds again with warning words regarding possible sacrilegious behaviour and an attempt to moderate Lucius' youthful intemperance. Lucius' impatience reflects continuity in his characterisation as an enthusiastic and curious young man (see Introduction, 5.2 with n. 170), who needs guidance by a paternal figure (on the characterisation of Lucius and the priest in their mutual interaction see Introduction, 5.1).

11,21,1 Quo facto idem sollicitius sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium, spe futura beneficii praesentibus pignerata. After this event I assiduously performed the same diligent service of worship even more attentively, because my hope for the future was assured by the pledge of my present blessings.

Quo facto: for the transitional expression *quo facto* (also in 11,14,5), which is especially frequent in historiography, see *GCA* 2007, 340 on 1,19,1.

idem: most probably to be taken with *ministerium*; cf. *OLD* s.v. *idem* 4b '(continuously) the same, unchanged'; together with *frequentabam*, it underlines Lucius' assiduous, incessant devotion in the service (cf. 11,19,1 *cultor inseparabilis*). Scholars have observed a problem in the enclosing hyperbaton *idem ... sedulum ... ministerium*: whereas translators often do not translate *idem*, other scholars suggest changing the text, e.g. Kroll, who proposed *pridem*, which is problematic in view of *quo facto*. Possibly, Apuleius wrote *identidem*. If *idem* is correct, the word order with the contrasting juxtaposition of *idem* and *sollicitius* may underline continuity and change: Lucius celebrates the same service, but with greater diligence than before.

sollicitius: all editions follow the emendation of F's *sollicitus* found in Pricaeus 1650 (who compares *apol.* 3,2). Although *sollicitus* is more possible than editors have considered it, the context requires a comparative (cf. 11,21,2 *nec minus ... magis magisque*). Here, the notion of *sollicitudo* should have the more positive connotation of 'attentiveness', as in 11,5,4 *imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum* (see comm. ad loc.). This connotation of *sollicitus* is underlined by alliteration with the following word *sedulum*, which is almost a synonym. In other contexts in Book 11, Lucius rather appears *sollicitus* in the sense of 'troubled' or 'anxious' (cf. e.g. 11,29,2

nec leui cura sollicitus; for this connotation of the adjective compare also Isis' reassurance in 11,5,5 *nec sollicita ... mente*); note also the opening of the book, where Lucius is characterised by *pauor*. The present context shows how thin the line between these various emotional states is, for Lucius' diligent attentiveness soon develops into a *gliscens cupido* (cf. below, 11,21,3 *alioquin anxium animum*). After the calming words of the priest, Lucius' concentration becomes more peaceful (11,22,1 *intentus miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate*).

sedulum colendi ... ministerium: cf. 11,22,1 *sedulum ... culturae sacrorum ministerium*.

frequentabam: for *frequento* in the sense of 'performing assiduously (a service or sim.)' see *OLD* s.v. 6b.

spe futura: see below on 11,21,3 *spei melioris*.

pignerata: whereas Apuleius frequently uses *pignero* metaphorically to describe relations of personal obligation (cf. e.g. 11,24,5 *inremunerabili ... beneficio pigneratus*, with comm. ad loc.), this is the first attested instance of the verb where it refers to guaranteeing a thing by a *pignus* in a metaphorical sense (*ThLL* s.v. *pigneror/pignero* 2120,4-7 quotes two further instances, Tert. *bapt.* 6,2 and Novatian. *trin.* 21,8).

11,21,2 Nec minus in dies mihi magis magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat summisque precibus primarium sacerdotem saepissime conueneram, petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret. What is more, my desire to receive the rites of initiation increased more and more, and with urgent entreaties I approached the high priest time and time again, asking him to initiate me at long last into the secret mysteries of the holy night.

See Introduction, 5.2 with n. 170 for the parallels with Lucius' anxiety to be initiated by Photis into the mysteries of magic; see also below on 11,21,9 *arcana ... secreta*. The adverbs in this sentence express Lucius' lack of inhibition (*magis magisque*), nagging insistence (*saepissime*) and childish anxiety and yearning (*tandem*: 'when will my big day finally come?'). The sentence is rich in sound effects such as assonance (*accipiendorum sacrorum*) and alliteration (*minus ... mihi magis magisque; precibus primarium; sacerdotem saepissime*). Note also the frequent a-sounds in *ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret*.

Nec minus ... magis magisque: for Apuleius' use of geminations like *magis magisque* (also at 3,9,4; 8,3,1), cf. 11,20,2 *diu diuque*, with comm. ad loc. Note the additional pun here with *nec minus* (= *item*, see LHSz 2,480), underlined by alliteration. This is the only instance in *met.* where *nec minus* opens a sentence; in the other three instances *nec minus* connects two adjectives (cf. 1,11,1 *mira ... nec minus saeua*, with *GCA* 2007, 236 ad loc.).

in dies ... cupido gliscebat: for the expression, cf. Lucr. 4,1069 *inque dies gliscit furor atque aerumna grauescit*, in the passage describing the dangers, sufferings and illusions of Love. Lucius' devotion to Isis is passionate; cf. e.g. 11,24,6 *ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis*.

accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat: for Lucius' burning desire to be initiated into secret mysteries, cf. 3,19,4 *sum namque coram magiae noscendae ardentissimus cupitor*.

gliscebat: as it is already found in Plautus, Turpilius, Pacuvius and Accius (Lucretius uses it four times), but rarely in Classical prose (Cicero and Sallust use it only once), Moussy 1975, 50 considers the verb *glisco* archaic. From its primary sense, which is related to fire (Serv. *Aen.* 12,9 '*gliscit' crescit et latenter ... ueteres 'gliscit' incremento ignis ponebant*), the transferred use of the verb developed, related to passions (love, desire, anger, envy; cf. Lucr. 1,473-474 *conflatus amore / ignis ... sub pectore gliscens*); see Moussy 1975, 53-54, with further examples (Vergil, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Silius Italicus, Statius, Tacitus, Marcus Aurelius). For Apuleius' use of the verb for abstract notions like passion or affection (e.g. 8,3,1 *gliscentis affectionis*) see GCA 2004, 164 on 5,9,1 *gliscentis inuidiae*. Here, the imagery of increasing flames may reflect Lucius' juvenile, impulsive character (cf. 11,15,1 *lubrico uirentis aetatae*); cf. Cic. *phil. frg.* V 74 (= 85 Grilli) *<si accessit> ad iuuenilem libidinem copia uoluptatum, gliscit illa, ut ignis oleo*.

summisque precibus ... petens: cf. 11,21,3 *instantiam*; 11,22,2 *diem mihi semper optabilem*; 11,22,3 *maximi uoti*; 11,22,6 *dies uotis adsiduis exoptatus*, where the priest refers back to Lucius' ceaseless demands to be initiated. Lucius' insistent requests recall 3,19,3 *praesta quod summis uotis expostulo*.

primarium sacerdotem: for the various designations of the high priest see comm. on 11,16,6 *summus sacerdos*; for the problem of his identity see comm. on 11,22,3 *sacerdotem praecipuum*. Here, *primarius* (not a technical term) is probably chosen for reasons of sound effect (*precibus primarium*).

noctis sacratae: the secret rites are nocturnal; cf. 11,23,3 *sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam*; 11,23,7 *nocte media*.

tandem: the adverb marks the focalisation of the young Lucius-actor (see Introduction, 3.1).

11,21,3 At ille, uir alioquin grauis et sobriae religionis obseruatione famosus, clementer ac comiter et ut solent parentes inmaturis liberorum desideriis modificari, meam differens instantiam, spei melioris solacii alioquin anxium mihi permulcebat animum. But he, in general a serious man and famous for his conscious observance of a sober religious practice, putting off my insistence in a mild and kind manner and in the way parents usually restrain the premature desires of their children, kept soothing my mind, which was anxious anyway, with the solace of hope for a better future.

uir alioquin grauis ... alioquin anxium ... animum: here, the word *alioquin* (OLD s.v. 2a 'in general', 'anyhow'), one of Apuleius' favourite adverbs (cf. 1,2,6 *sititor alioquin nouitatis*, with GCA 2007, 110 ad loc.), occurs twice within one sentence, pointing to the contrasting characterisations of the priest and Lucius. The adverb presents their characterisation as a general given fact, not unlike the comparison with the contrasting roles of parent and child.

sobriae religionis obseruatione: for the combination of *obseruatio* (in the sense of 'the observance of a certain practice', OLD s.v. 3) with the objective genitive

religionis, cf. Gell. 1,12,12 *saluis religionum obseruationibus*; similarly Gaius *inst.* 2,55 *quorum (sacrorum) ... summa obseruatio fuit*. Yet, the notion of *obseruatio* can also be interpreted as metonymy (OLD s.v. 4 'observance, usage, practice'), thus becoming almost synonymous with 'mos', 'ritus' or even 'religio' itself (cf. Apul. *met.* 9,14,5 *confictis obseruationibus*; *mund.* 33 p. 363 *communis mos et hominum obseruationes*). In this light, the genitive *religionis* (or *religionum* in Gell. 1,12,12) may alternatively be interpreted as epexegetic or subjective ('famous for his conscientious practice, pertaining to/consisting of a sober performance of religious rites'). Cf. Gell. 4,9,3 '*religiosus' pro casto atque obseruanti cohibentique sese certis legibus finibusque dici coeptus*. Compare the verb *obseruo* used by Juvenal in an Isiac context related to religious abstinence, 6,535-536 *ille petit ueniam, quotiens non abstinet uxor / concubitu sacris obseruandisque diebus*. Cf. below, 11,21,5 *obseruabili patientia*, where the priest draws Lucius' attention to the importance of *obseruatio*.

sobriae religionis: the sober habits indicated by *sobria religio* possibly point to the original meaning of *sobrius*, 'not in a state of intoxication' (for abstemiousness as a part of the religious observance in Isiac cult cf. 11,23,2 *inuinius*; 11,30,1 *sobrietate*).

parentes ... liberorum: the relationship between Lucius and the high priest is likened to the relation between parent and child; this has an educational dimension (Lucius is 'raised' and educated by the priest; see Keulen 2014, forthcoming) and possibly an astrological dimension (cf. 11,24,4 *festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum* with comm. ad loc.).

inmaturis liberorum desideriis: for the use of *inmaturus* in a context of desire, cf. 5,29,3 *licentiosis et inmaturis ... amplexibus*, with GCA 2004, 336 ad loc. For the association of the notion of immaturity with haste, cf. Gell. 10,11,4 *ea, quae praeter sui temporis modum properata sunt, 'inmatura' uerius dicantur*. Here, the word order may invite the reader to combine *inmaturis* and *liberorum* by enallage. Whereas *tandem* in 11,21,2 reflects the perspective of the naïve Lucius-actor, *inmaturis* reflects the perspective of other characters in the narrative, who view Lucius' behaviour in this situation as immature (see Introduction, 3.1).

meam differens instantiam: in this context, the notion of *instantia* appears as one of the 'sins' that Lucius should avoid in the eyes of the priest (cf. 11,21,5 *auiditati contumaciaeque*). Cf. 8,7,6 *Thrasyllus instantia peruicaci ... extorquet*. At 11,28,2 *identidem numinis premebar instantia*, the tables have been turned and the deity is pressing Lucius to be initiated again (see comm. ad loc. on Apuleius' fairly frequent use of *instantia* in *met.*).

spei melioris solacii ... mihi permulcebat animum: the prominent use of *permulceo* in the Prologue (1,1,1), which foreshadows the occurrences of the notion of 'soothing' the ears of an audience with voice or music throughout the novel (see GCA 2007, 67), gives this phrase a programmatic character. For the theme of *permulcere* cf. 2,25,1 *animum meum permulcebam cantationibus*, with GCA 2001, 340 ad loc.; Schlam 1992, 46-47; Graverini 2007, 17; 28-41 [= 2012, 15; 25-36]. Cf. 11,7,4 *blando mulcentes adfamime*.

spei melioris solacii: Merkelbach 1962, 31 compares the expression with the passage where Psyche approaches the temple of Juno, 6,3,3 *nec ullam uel dubiam spei melioris uiam uolens omittere*, and invokes the ἀγαθή ἑλπίς of the Eleusinian Myster-

ies; Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 149-150 quotes this comparison with approval, but nevertheless doubts whether Apuleius in these allusions is deliberately pointing to the mystic hope. Indeed, *spes bona* frequently occurs in both religious (cf. e.g. Plaut. *Persa* 253 *Ioui ... spes bonas ... commodanti*) and non-religious contexts. Fulfilment of 'hope for the better' depends traditionally on gods (Pind. *Ol.* 13,104-105); cf. the epithet Ἐλπίδων of Zeus (see *RE Suppl.* XV, 1033) and common phrases like *di meliora* (e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 1400; cf. Apul. *met.* 3,13,5 *dii mihi melius*). Cf. 6,5,1 *spe salutis*; 11,21,1 *spe futura*.

11,21,4 nam et diem quo quisque possit initiari deae nutu demonstrari, et sacerdotem qui sacra debeat ministrare, eiusdem prouidentia deligi, sumptus etiam caerimoniis necessarios simili praecepto destinari. For he told me that the day, on which each person could be initiated, was indicated by the nod of the goddess, and that the priest, who was to administer the sacred rites, was chosen by the providence of the same goddess, and that even the expenses necessary for the ceremonies were determined by a similar command.

The sentence is artfully composed with a triple (accusative with) passive infinitive construction with composite *de*-verbs (*demonstrari ... deligi ... destinari*); note also *deae ... demonstrari*. The three subject accusatives (*diem ... sacerdotem ... sumptus*) indicate three vital aspects of the initiation, which have to be decided by the goddess (1. when; 2. by whom; 3. for how much); they are defined by a relative clause in the first two cases (*quo ... qui*), and, with *variatio*, modified by an adjective (*necessarios*) in the third case. The three ablatives (*nutu ... prouidentia ... praecepto*) present three aspects of the power of Isis, theological-mythological (*nutu*), astrological-deterministic (*prouidentia*), and military-commanding (*praecepto*).

diem ... nutu demonstrari: for the idea of Isis as the goddess who governs the whole cosmos with her *nutus*, including the heavenly bodies, and hence is also mistress of time, cf. 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... nutibus meis dispenso* (see comm. ad loc. for the cosmic connotations). See also next note. Isis also determined the *dies salutaris* of Lucius; cf. 11,5,4.

sacerdotem ... eiusdem prouidentia deligi: for the relation of the divine selection procedure of ministers to astrology and divination, cf. 11,22,3 *diuino quodam stellarum consortio ... mihi coniunctum*, with comm. ad loc. In the Isis Book, all human affairs, including initiations, are ruled by the *prouidentia* of the supreme divinity (see comm. on 11,1,2 *prouidentia*); cf. below, 11,21,7 *sua prouidentia* and see Gravini in *AAGA* 3, 97.

sacra ... ministrare: for the priest's duty as a *sacrorum minister* see comm. on 11,22,3 *sacrorum ministrum*.

sumptus ... simili praecepto destinari: it is the goddess herself (the priest claims) who decides how much initiates should spend for their initiation. Cf. 11,24,6 *deae monitu*, where Isis gives instructions to Lucius regarding the offerings of gratitude due to her (*gratis persolutis*). For the *praecepta* of Isis cf. 11,21,8 *caeleste ... praeceptum*; 11,22,4 *ceteris beneuolis praeceptis summatis deae*; another goddess in *met.*, whose orders should be heeded, is Venus (cf. e.g. 5,24,3; 5,29,2; 6,21,4).

sumptus: the noun *sumptus*, which Apuleius uses only in Book 11, always refers to the costs of Lucius' living as a devotee of Isis and Osiris; here it means in particular the expenses that are necessary for the initiation, as in 11,22,3; 11,28,1; 11,30,2. The use seems to be different at 11,18,3 *ad cultum sumptumque*. Isis and Osiris in Book 11 expect their devotees to put their *pietas* on display by lavish expenditure (*sumptus*), which is probably related to cultic meals; cf. 11,24,4 and 11,30,1 with comm. ad loc.; Tilg 2011. Here, the term is used neutrally; in other contexts, which are quite different and describe *luxuria* or other forms of immorality, the pregnant use of the term *sumptus* has clearly negative connotations, such as the description of the miller's wife in 9,14,4 *in sumptibus foedis profusa, inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae*; Sall. *Cat.* 13,5 *profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat* (*OLD* s.v. *sumptus* 1c). The theme of money is an important argument used in favour of a comic interpretation of the Isis Book as a satire on the mercenary spirit of Isiac priests (see Harrison 2000, 245; Introduction, 1.3); for the costs of Lucius' initiations see introduction to Ch. XXVIII (1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation).

11,21,5 Quae cuncta nos quoque obseruabili patientia sustinere censebat, quippe cum auiditati contumaciaeque summe cauere et utramque culpam uitare ac neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare deberem. And he ruled that we initiates should also submit to all these things with due patience, because I should guard most carefully against greediness and obstinacy, and avoid both sins, so as not to delay when summoned nor to hasten unbidden.

cuncta nos ... sustinere censebat: for *censeo* with accusative and passive infinitive construction, instead of the gerundive, see comm. on 11,19,2 *crebris imperiis sacris suis me ... nunc saltem censebat initiari* (Isis); Callebat 1968, 508. According to Callebat 1968, 159, *sustinere* should mean 'to expect' here (he compares 2,15,6 *calices ... solam temperiem sustinentes*; see also Waszink 1947 on Tert. *anim.* 56,3 for examples in Tertullian); this sense is in accordance with *patientia* in the religious sense of 'awaiting future things with confidence' (see below), which is in the foreground here. Yet, the present use is also very similar to 11,21,8 *me quoque oportere caeleste sustinere praeceptum*. In both cases, Lucius is admonished to submit to Isis' rule (and warned of the consequences if he does not). Hanson 1989 therefore translates our passage with 'to endure all these regulations' (cf. 11,21,8 *ministerium subire*). For *sustinere* in the sense of 'to submit to' (in later texts sometimes in a weakened sense = 'to undergo') see *OLD* s.v. 7a. See also comm. on 11,29,1 *cogor tertiam quoque teletam suscitare*, where most editors read *sustinere*.

nos quoque: the *nos* here has an inclusive function: Lucius and all the other *initiandi* should show the same *obseruabilis patientia* as the priest (cf. the translation of Walsh 1994: "that I, like the others, should observe ...").

obseruabili patientia: the use of the rare adjective *obseruabilis* in this passage is usually explained with an active sense, e.g. *ThLL* s.v. 192,61-62 'active, i. quod observat, sc. tolerando'; *OLD* s.v. 4 'observant, punctilious' (Hanson 1989 'respectful'; Walsh 1994 'reverent'). However, *patientia* is pointed out here as one of the important virtues related to correct religious comportment; accordingly, the adjective

obseruabili could also be interpreted passively in the sense of ‘observandus’ (*OLD* s.v. 3 ‘such as ought to be respected, recognized, or observed’); cf. Sic. Flacc. *grom.* p. 115,24 *quae ... alia obseruabilia in finibus sunt*. Cf. 11,22,1 *probabili taciturnitate*, where *probabili* (‘worthy of approval’) similarly indicates a religious norm or standard that has to be met by demonstrating a certain virtue, which qualifies for approval. For the importance of correct religious behaviour for one’s reputation in the cult, cf. 11,21,3 *obseruatione famosus*. Additionally, it is possible to observe in *obseruabili* a pun with Lucius’ status as the *seruus* of Isis.

patientia: for *patientia* as a virtue of the wise man, cf. Apul. *Plat.* 2,20 p. 247 *abstinentia atque patientia*; here, it has the specific sense of awaiting future things with confidence (cf. 11,21,3 *spei melioris solaciis*), without undertaking anything precipitately (*ThLL* s.v. *patientia* 714,38-53). For a close parallel from Christian literature cf. Cypr. *epist.* 19,1 *ut temeraria festinatione deposita religiosam patientiam deo praebeant*. There is some resemblance to the religious *patientia* in Jewish and Christian texts related to the awaiting of divine judgment (Gr. ὑπομονή); cf. Aug. *serm.* 157,2 *patientiam ... sine qua non potest custodiri spes futurae uitae*. Lucius will indeed prove his ‘*obseruatio patientiae*’, cf. 11,22,1 *nec inpatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum*, with comm. ad loc. discussing *festinatio* as an important characteristic of Lucius in *met*. Just as *patientia* is a religious virtue (see Wlosok 1969, 81-82 [= 1999, 154]), *impatientia* and *festinatio* are religious vices; cf. Cypr. *patient.* 19 p. 411,12 *impatientia ... haereticos facit*; Moys. *Cypr. epist.* 31,8,2 *nimiam impatientiam ... et intolerabilem festinationem*.

auditati: for the contrast between Lucius’ eagerness and the sobriety of the priest see above on 11,21,3 *sobriae religionis*. Here, the word is associated with *festinatio* (cf. *festinare* below) and is more or less synonymous with *cupiditas* (cf. 11,21,2 *accipiendorum sacrorum cupido*).

contumaciae: the obstinacy shown by not duly appearing for the initiation; *ThLL* s.v. *contumacia* 797,5-8 compares this to the legal use of *contumacia* for those who fail to appear in court. Yet, this is also *contumacia* in the sense of contempt of the gods, a refusal to accept their authority (cf. *apol.* 56,8 *ob hanc diuini contumaciam*); for an extreme representative of this sin cf. the description of the miller’s wife in 9,14,4-5 *peruicax pertinax ... spretis atque calcatis diuinis numinibus*. For *contumacia* as a religious sin punished by priests, cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 126 *maximus pontifex ... uindex ... contumaciae priuatorum magistratumque*. This religious sense of *contumacia* is also frequently found in Christian texts (e.g. as a synonym of ἀπειθεια, *incredulitas*); see *ThLL* s.v. 796,63-81.

neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare: as Jacobson 2007, 800 points out, Apuleius plays with the cultic polar expression ‘*uocatus ... non uocatus*’, where the reference is to the god who provides a service to his devotee (cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 2,18,40 *uocatus atque non uocatus*). In Apuleius’ version, the reference is to the attitude of the worshipper towards the god. Harrauer 1973 compares Pausanias 10,32,13 (on a shrine sacred to Isis) οὔτε ἔσοδος ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἄλλοις γε ἢ ἐκεῖνοις ἐστὶν οὗς ἂν αὐτῇ προτυμήσασα ἢ Ἴσις καλέσῃ σφᾶς δι’ ἐνυπνίων, ‘and no one may enter the shrine except those whom Isis herself has honoured by inviting them in dreams’.

morari: for the ‘religious offence’ of hesitating when action is expected cf. 11,22,6 *quid ... iam nunc stas otiosus teque ipsum demoraris?*

festinare: for the vice of *festinatio* see comm. above on *patientia*.

11,21,6-7 ⁶Nec tamen esse quemquam de suo numero tam perditae mentis uel immo destinatae mortis qui, non sibi quoque seorsum iubente domina, temerarium atque sacrilegum audeat ministerium subire noxamque letalem contrahere. Nam et inferum claustra et salutis tutelam in deae manu posita, ⁷ipsamque traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis et precariae salutis celebrari, quippe cum transactis uitae temporibus iam in ipso finitae lucis limine constitutos, quis tamen tuto possint magna religionis committi silentia, numen deae soleat eligere et sua prouidentia quodam modo renatos ad nouae reponere rursus salutis curricula. But he said that no one from his unit was of such reckless mind, or rather so determined to die, that he would dare to undertake this ministry in a rash and sacrilegious spirit – unless also his mistress would command him in particular – and thus to inflict a deadly guilt on himself; for both the gates of the Underworld and the guardianship of life were in the hands of the goddess, and that the initiation itself was celebrated in the manner of voluntary death and of salvation received through grace – as is natural when the will of the goddess is wont to select the ones who can be safely trusted with the silent secrets of the great religion, from those who have been put on the threshold of their last days after their span of life has finished, and is also wont to set those people back, after they have been reborn in some way through her providence, upon the course of a renewed life.

The first part of the sentence is marked by a cluster of terms describing sacrilegious behaviour (*perditae*; *temerarium*; *sacrilegium*); cf. also 11,21,5 *contumaciae*. The second part of the sentence is rich in sound effects, such as alliterations (*transactis ... temporibus*; *lucis limine*; *renatos ... reponere rursus*) and repetitions of vowels (*rursus salutis curricula*): note also rhyme *uoluntariae ... precariae*. The central notion of divine selection in this part (*quis ... eligere*) foreshadows Lucius’ future as a member of the *collegium pastophorum*, chosen by Osiris (11,30,4 *adlegit*), and generally reflects what everybody in Cenchreae observes in him, that he is lucky because he was chosen by Isis (cf. 11,16,3-4; also below, 11,21,8).

numero: the word may have a military connotation here, ‘unit’, ‘cohort’, see *OLD* s.v. 9; cf. 11,15,5 *sanctae ... militiae*, with comm. ad loc.

perditae mentis: before Apuleius, the combination *mens perditae* is found in Cic. *har. resp.* 53 ‘*deteriores, repulsos ... hos appellant* (subject = *haruspices*), *quorum et mentes et res sunt perditae longeque a communi salute diiunctae*’; after Apuleius, it continues to be used in Christian texts as an expression for sacrilegious or superstitious behaviour, cf. Min. Fel. 24,13 *male sanos et uanae et perditae mentis in ista* (sc. *superstitiosa*) *desipere*; Cypr. *epist.* 59,5 *nisi si ita est aliquis sacrilegae temeritatis ac perditae mentis, ut ...* (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *perdo* [*perditus*] 1276,25-33).

destinatae mortis: the phrase *destinata mors* in the sense of a consciously incurred death occurs in historical texts before and after Apuleius; cf. Flor. *epit.* 2,18,12 *ut destinata morte in proelium ruerent*; Iust. 20,3,4 *omissa spe uictoriae in destinatum*

mortem conspirant; see Den Boeft et al. 1987 on Amm. 20,11,22 *destinatam ruebant in mortem*.

seorsum: for the adverb *s(e)orsum*, also *s(e)orsus*, cf. 10,19,2 *singulis eorum seorsus admissis*. The adverb is avoided in Classical authors (see Callebat 1968, 176).

domina: for *domina* as a cult title of Isis see comm. on 11,7,4 *orbisque totius dominam*.

temerarium atque sacrilegum audeat ministerium subire: cf. 5,23,5 *audax et temeraria lucerna et amoris uile ministerium*, with GCA 2004, 290-291 ad loc. on the use of *audax* and *temerarius* there, in the context of Psyche's 'sacrilegious curiosity' (5,6,6; cf. 6,20,5 *temeraria curiositate*). A similar combination occurs in 2,29,6 *uxor egregia capit praesentem audaciam et mente sacrilega coarguenti marito resistens altercat*. Cf. 11,23,5 *temerariae curiositatis*, with comm. ad loc.

sacrilegum: this is the only instance of the adjective *sacrilegus* in Book 11; on *sacrilegus* as a calque on Greek ἱερόσυλος see Benveniste 1956, 49-51.

ministerium subire: cf. 11,15,5 *ministerium tugum subi*.

noxam ... letalem contrahere: *letalis* is used here in a legal context of 'capital guilt'; see ThLL s.v. 1185,3-8, quoting this passage as the first instance of the combination *noxam letalis*, and comparing e.g. Amm. 22,3,12 *poenae letalis*. Cf. Liv. 3,55,5 *capitalis noxae* and see GCA 2000, 148 ad 10,8,1 on *noxam* in the sense of 'injurious behaviour, wrongdoing'. In this context, the legalistic flavour of *noxam letalis* is underlined by Isis' role as a judge over life and death. ThLL (ibid.) compares the recurrence of *noxam letalis* in Prud. cath. 1,75, where it means 'deadly guilt' in a spiritual sense (*iam culpa furua obdormiat / iam noxa letalis suum / perpessa somnum marceat*), a religious sense of the expression, which is probably already relevant here (thus also Harrauer 1973: "eine Sünde, die den spirituellen Tod bringt"). The story of Psyche's *temeraria curiositas* with the *pyxis* of Proserpina illustrates that *audacia* can have literally deadly consequences (cf. 6,21,1 *infernus somnus*; cf. below, *inferum claustra*).

The expression *noxam contrahere* is also used at 11,23,5 *parem noxam contraherent*, where *noxam* refers to wrongdoing in a religious context (see comm. ad loc.). For the priest's emphatic warnings against religious sins, cf. above, 11,21,5 *utramque culpam uitare*. For *contrahere* in the sense of 'committing (crimes, mistakes)' see OLD s.v. *contraho* 8c, quoting mostly legal texts; for the use of committing religious offences cf. e.g. Liv. 5,15,10 *nefas contrahi*; for Christian examples see Blaise s.v. *contraho* 4. Cf. 1,8,2 *noxam contrahas*, where *noxam contrahere* is also used in a context of offending a goddess, but means more specifically "bringing harm on oneself"; see GCA 2007, 204 ad loc., noting that the only occurrence of the expression before Apuleius is Colum. 6,27,8.

inferum claustra: cf. 11,2,4 *Proserpina ... terraeque claustra cohibens*; on the form *inferum* see comm. on 11,5,1 *inferum*.

salutis tutelam: the combination contains a verbal play between two words that have semantic elements in common. Although Apuleius uses exactly the same combination in 9,1,2 (where Lucius tries to save his own life by escaping imminent butchery, *cursu me proripio totis pedibus, ad tutelam salutis crebris calcibus uelitatus*), we do not share the view of GCA 1995, 34 ad loc. that our passage contains an allusion to the earlier passage, as if Apuleius invites his reader to compare the two occurrences of the expression in order to discover that the only 'real' and

permanent *tutela salutis* rests with Isis (Lucius' effort to save his own hide turns out to be only a *momentaria salus*, 9,1,6).

The word *salus* occurs three times in this chapter (cf. below, 11,21,7 *precariae salutis ... nouae salutis curricula*), underlining a central theme in Book 11 (see comm. on 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*). For the *tutela* of Isis, cf. 11,6,6 *uiuere in mea tutela gloriosus*; 11,15,3 *in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed uidentis*. Here, *tutela* also has legal connotations (especially in combination with *manu* below), expressing the order of the religious law that is put on Lucius.

in deae manu posita: for the expression *in manu positum* (with *manus* in the sense of *potestas*), cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 6 *omnes quorum in alterius manu uita posita est*; Liv. 30,30,19 *haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est*; Sen. *dial.* 10,9,1 *quod in manu fortunae positum est disponis, quod in tua dimittis*.

traditionem: the noun also occurs in 11,29,2; 11,29,5. The term *traditio* (Gr. παράδοσις) is usually translated as 'the act of initiation'; differently OLD s.v. 2 'the transmission of knowledge, teaching', quoting 11,29,5; Helm – Krenkel 1970 "Unterweisung". The underlying sense of *traditio* is that of 'imparting', 'passing on' *sacra* or *initia* to Lucius (cf. *committi* in the same sentence), which means that Lucius is admitted to the secret knowledge of the cult (cf. above, 11,21,2 *ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret*). Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1,29 *reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis*.

ad instar: the combination of *instar* (indeed originally a noun) with the preposition *ad*, first attested in the 2nd century poet Septimius Serenus, is very frequent in Apuleius (and continued to be used by Tertullian, Augustine, etc.). The phrase probably originated in spoken language, by analogy with *ad exemplar* (Callebat 1968, 137-138), and was criticised by ancient grammarians (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 2,15; Agroec. *gramm.* VII 118,6). Here, *ad instar* is connected with both *uoluntariae mortis* and *precariae salutis*, underlining the antithesis of death and life.

uoluntariae mortis: for the conjunction *uoluntaria mors* as a term for suicide cf. Cic. *prov.* 6; Plin. *epist.* 1,22,9; 3,9,5; Liv. 8,6,12; more examples in ThLL s.v. *mors* 1507,36-37. Isis' rule over both the upper world and the Underworld is reflected in the spiritual journey undertaken by the initiate (see 11,23), which includes symbolic death and rebirth.

precariae salutis: the adjective *precarius*, which has a legal origin, is used here in a non-technical sense, connoting something received upon asking a favour from someone else (cf. *precor*) or something depending on someone else's mercy. Hence, as observed by GCA 1981, 265 on 7,27,5 *licet precariam uocis usuram sumeres*, it also connotes an uncertain or temporary dimension – in this case the frailty of human life (cf. Val. Max. 3,5,1 *beneficio precarium spiritum obtinere*; Tac. *hist.* 4,76,3 *precariam uitam*), which is saved and renewed by the mercy of Isis (cf. 11,21,8 *nouae ... salutis*). For the idea that the length of Lucius' life depends on Isis' mercy cf. also 11,6,7. Here, the parallelism *uoluntariae mortis* – *precariae salutis* suggests a determined activity on the part of the initiate, showing both a readiness to die (*uolle*) and the wish (expressed by prayer, *precari*) to live. Cf. Hanson 1989: "in the manner of salvation obtained by favour".

in ipso finitae lucis limine constitutos: this use of *constitutos* is usually compared to passages where the participle is deployed as a substitute for the non-existent parti-

cept of *esse*, which is widespread in late Latin and is possibly of legal origin (Callebat 1968, 156; *GCA* 1977, 86; *GCA* 1981, 136); cf. e.g. 4,11,1 in *incipiti periculo constituti*; 7,8,2 *quamquam semitrepidus iuxta mucrones Martios constitutus*; *Plat.* 2,5 p. 227 *ratio in regni sui solio constituta*; *Aur. Fronto epist. ad M. Caes.* 2,8,1 p. 28,7-8 *in ea fortuna constitutum*; *Tert. anim.* 18,4 *ueritatem ... apud pleroma constitutam* (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *constituo* 523,45-524,21).

Yet, in other cases (such as 10,29,3 *ante portam constitutus*), a more concrete, local sense of *constituere* ('aliquem alicubi ponere') shines through, for which cf. 11,23,2 (me) *ante ipsa deae uestigia constituit*; 11,24,4 (me) *in uicem simulacri constituto*. In the present case, a more concrete use of *limen* adds to the ambivalent use of *constitutos*; part of the image may be that the goddess puts those who are at the end of their lives on the 'doorstep' of death (cf. *reponere* below in the same sentence), which is not only the 'limen mortis' in a metaphorical sense (cf. *Sil.* 13,548 *turbæ ... in limine lucis ... extinctæ*; *ThLL* s.v. *limen* 1407,63-1408,7), but also the very entrance to the Underworld (11,23,7 *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine*), where Isis/Proserpina rules (11,21,6 *inferum claustra*). See also next note.

fnitæ lucis limen: the phrase primarily indicates the very last moment of life, with a mixture of two metaphors, viz. *limen* used in a metaphorical sense (cf. *Rufin. hist.* 5,1,60 *qui iam uitæ huius limen excesserant*) and *lux* as a metaphor for '(the last day of) life' (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1911,13-22). Compare the expression *postliminio mortis* for someone 'returning to life' (10,12,2).

quis ... eligere: with Helm 1955 [1907], Griffiths 1975, and Zimmerman 2012 we follow Beroaldus' emendation *eligere* which is semantically far better than F's reading *elicere* (the confusion between the two verbs is frequent in mss., see *ThLL* s.v. *eligo* 376,50-52). Robertson 1945, Brandt – Ehlers 1958, Fredouille 1975 (who compares *apol.* 34,6; *Cic. Vatin.* 14; *Tib.* 1,2,48) and Hanson 1989 retain *elicere* (cf. Vallette's translation "la puissance de la déesse les attire à elle"; Hanson: "were frequently drawn forth by the goddess's power"). For *eligere* in a religious context, referring to the divine selection of a human candidate for a certain task or for salvation (cf. below, 11,21,8 *nuncupatum destinatumque*), cf. *Tac. hist.* 4,81,2 *diuino ministerio principem electum* (viz. *Vespasian*); *ILS* 4935 *Claudianæ ... a diis electa, merito sibi talem antistitem numen Vestæ reseruare uoluit*; 4316 *quos elexit I (Iupiter) ... sibi seruire*; 6149 (Ostia) *iudicio maiestatis eius* (sc. *Isidis*) *electo Anubiaco*. For the similar use of the verb in Christian Latin see *ThLL* s.v. *eligo* 380,70-381,36 ('de eis, qui a deo ad salutem, munus diuinum sim. eliguntur'). In our passage, the relative clause with final subjunctive (*possint*) expresses both the aim and the criterion of the selective procedure; for the construction, cf. *Tac. dial.* 28,4 *eligeretur ... maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis ... moribus ... suboles committeretur*. For Isis' selection procedures cf. above, 11,21,4 *sacerdotem ... eiusdem prouidentia deligi*.

tuto ... magna religionis committi silentia: cf. 3,15,4 *nosti sanctam silentii fidem*; 3,20,2 *rei tantæ fidei silentiumque tribue*. Here, *silentia* is used in the unique concrete sense of 'arcana', 'secreta', things one should keep silent about (cf. *Gr.* ἄρρητος, e.g. with reference to the rites of Demeter and Persephone, *IG* III 713 ἄρρητων θεσµῶν); cf. 11,27,4 *tacenda* with comm. ad loc. *OLD* s.v. 2b sees in this use a proximity to *silentium* in the sense of 'the fact of not uttering secrets', 'reticence';

cf. *Hor. carm.* 3,2,25 *est et fidei tuta silentio merces*. For *magna ... silentia* cf. 11,11,3 *magno silentio*; for the hyperbaton cf. 11,21,9 *arcana ... secreta*. For *committere* in the sense of entrusting (religious) secrets see *OLD* s.v. 13a; cf. 3,15,5 *quæcumque itaque commiserò huius religiosi pectoris tui penetralibus*. Lucius will prove himself worthy of his election in this respect: cf. 11,23,5 with comm. ad loc.

sua prouidentia: the providence of the supreme goddess controls all human affairs (see comm. on 11,1,2), including everything regarding Lucius' initiation (see above on 11,21,4 *sacerdotem ... eiusdem prouidentia deligi*) and regarding the selection procedure for those who deserve to be 'reborn'; for a similar thought cf. below, 11,21,8 *iam dudum felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque*, and see Drews in *AAGA* 3, 127.

quodam modo renatos: here, *renatos* applies to those who experience a spiritual rebirth, whereas 11,16,4 *renatus quodam modo* applied to Lucius, who, thanks to Isis, had been re-transformed into a human being after his misfortunes as an ass (see comm. ad loc. on the theme of rebirth in *met.*). Yet, the identical terminology suggests a strong link between the two passages: thanks to Isis' grace, Lucius is 'born again', and in the eyes of the Cenchræan people he becomes one of the *quodam modo renati*, who are privileged to enter a new, higher stage in their lives. The use of *renascor* as an image for spiritual rebirth continues in Christian Latin, where baptism is similarly connected with the image of spiritual death and rebirth; cf. Paul's letter to the Romans (*Rom.* 6,1-14, especially 6,8 εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ). Cf. *Aug. grat. Christ.* 38,42 *qui instaurati per Christi gratiam et in meliorem hominem renati sumus*; *fid. et symb.* 1,1 *qui in Christo renati sunt*.

nouæ ... salutis curricula: cf. 11,6,5 *mihi reliqua uitæ tuæ curricula ... uadata*, with comm. ad loc. on the connotations of *uitæ ... curricula* there, related to the opportunities for Lucius to display his talents in a successful future career. Here, such connotations are less obvious, since the element of fame (cf. 11,6,6 *uiuēs ... gloriosus*) is not mentioned explicitly and the focus is not on Lucius in particular but on initiates in general. Nevertheless, the context is similar, with Isis as a patron goddess (11,21,6 *tutelam*) who chooses those who deserve to be (spiritually) 'reborn' and to continue their lives in a new, better phase. The reader is invited to think of two different phases of Lucius' 'biography', the past in Greece (his studies in Athens, his relationship with the patron figure Demeas in Corinth, his journey to Thessaly) and the future in Rome.

11,21,8-9 ⁸Ergo igitur me quoque oportere caeleste sustinere praeceptum, quamquam perspicua euidetique magni numinis dignatione iam dudum felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque, ⁹nec secus quam cultores ceteri cibis profanis ac nefariis iam nunc temperare, quo rectius ad arcana purissimae religionis secreta peruaderem. So, therefore, he said, I too should await the heavenly instruction – although through a conspicuous and obvious favour of the great deity I had been long since specifically nominated and destined for the blessed service – and just like the other worshippers I should now already exercise moderation in polluted and immoral

foods, in order that I might penetrate by a straighter route to the secret mysteries of the purest faith.

The structure of the sentence, with two infinitives (*sustinere ... temperare*) depending on *me ... oportere* (see below on *nec secus quam ... temperare*), imitates the structure of 11,21,4 (a series of infinitives depending on a *verbum dicendi* implied in *permulcebat*) and of 11,21,5-7 (a series of infinitives depending on *censebat*). For the alliterating effects with *c-* (*nec secus quam cultores ceteri cibis*) cf. (in a similar context) 11,23,2 *decem continuis illis diebus cibariam uoluptatem coercerem*. The sentence ends with a tendency for *a-*sounds (*ad arcana purissimae religionis secreta peruaderem*), which is very similar to 11,21,2 (again, the context and content are very similar as well): *ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret*.

ergo igitur me quoque oportere: the pleonastic combination *ergo igitur* (see comm. on 11,5,4 *ergo igitur*) emphasises the conclusion of the things pointed out above (all the things ordained by Isis), and draws attention to the only two things that Lucius is allowed and supposed to do (see below). For *me quoque* cf. 11,21,5 *nos quoque* with comm. ad loc.; here, *quoque* expresses the same inclusion as *nec secus quam*: Lucius should behave just like the other worshippers of Isis, even if he is the goddess' favourite.

caeleste sustinere praeceptum: for *sustinere* = 'to submit to', 'to endure', see above on 11,21,5 *cuncta nos ... sustinere censebat*, where one can observe the sense 'to await' as being more in the foreground.

nec secus quam ... temperare: whereas most editors follow Helm's (1907) emendation *temperarem*, only Hanson 1989 retains F's reading *temperare*. It is not necessary to correct F's reading, which is perfectly satisfactory on a syntactical level, and gives good sense from a logical point of view. The only two things Lucius is supposed and allowed to do are expressed with two coordinate infinitives depending on *oportere*: *sustinere praeceptum nec secus quam (= et non secus quam ...) ... temperare*. The punctuation should be changed accordingly; whereas most editors (including Hanson) print a semicolon after *destinatumque*, we follow older editors (e.g. Eyssenhardt 1869), who do not print any punctuation between *destinatumque* and *nec secus quam*.

perspicua euidenticque magni numinis dignatione: the synonymous pair *perspicua euidenticque* reflects the formal and solemn tone of the sentence (similarly below: *nuncupatum destinatumque*); cf. 2,8,3 *in aperto et perspicuo*. Here, the combination is marked by etymological play that underlines the visibility (*perspicere, uidere*) of the deity's approval, a clear reference to Lucius' re-transformation, which was publicly witnessed and interpreted as the 'proof' of the divine grace enjoyed by him. Cf. 11,13,6 *tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam*; 11,16,4 *felix ..., qui ...meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium, ut ...*

perspicua: F has *praecipua*, but the first hand probably wrote *perspicua* (which was erased), the reading which is also found in ϕ and in Class I mss. and is generally adopted by editors. For the confusion between *praecipuus* and *perspicuus* in mss. see *ThLL* s.v. *perspicuus* 1746,42.

magni numinis dignatione: cf. 11,19,1 *numinis magni*. Apuleius uses the word *dignatio* twice in Book 11, both times with reference to divine blessings received by Lucius; cf. 11,29,4 *adsidua ista numinum dignatione*. Cf. also 11,4,3 (sc. Isis) *diuina me uoce dignata est*; 11,11,1 *nec mora cum dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt*. Here, *dignatio* refers back to the central notion of divine selection discussed by the priest in 11,21,7.

iam dudum: cf. also 11,19,2 *iam dudum destinatum*, with comm. ad loc. on the tantalising ambiguity of the term, which can indicate both a recent and a distant past. It obviously indicates a distant past in 11,6,2 and 11,26,4, whereas in 11,27,8 it means 'some time ago'. Here it appears that Isis has indeed long regarded Lucius as a candidate for her service, which in a way confirms the commendation by the people of Cenchreae of Lucius' innocence and the faith of his preceding life (11,16,4). As Isis' choices are guided by her *prouidentia* and associated with astrology (cf. above, 11,21,4), Lucius' privileged role as Isis' devotee does not seem to be a short-term turn of fate: his blessed destination was long 'written in the stars'. According to Sandy in *AAGA* 1, 127 (see also 130), this is a sign that Isis saves Lucius from the sufferings caused by his enslavement to magic, not from a sinful life lived by an immoral man. Yet, this interpretation ignores the obvious contrast between two different perspectives on Lucius presented earlier in Book 11, i.e. on the one hand the reading of his story as a narrative of fall and redemption (voiced by the priest in 11,15), and on the other hand his reputation as someone who long deserved to be favoured by the gods through his innocence and reliability (the naïve perspective of the people in Cenchreae in 11,16,4). Here, the ambiguity of the expression allows for both perspectives.

felici ministerio nuncupatum destinatumque: cf. 11,16,6 *nauem ... deae nuncupauit dedicauitque*, with comm. on the use of *nuncupare* with the dative. The word *destinare* (*destinatus*) can be used in many different ways (for a completely different use see above on 11,21,6 *destinatae mortis*); here, we have the specific use of *destinare* with the dative, in the positive sense of selecting someone for a high office or honourable task, cf. 10,18,1 *quinquennali magistratui fuerat destinatus*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *destino* 759,30-40 (e.g. *Ov. met.* 15,3 *destinat imperio ... Numam*). Moreover, this passage belongs to a pattern in Book 11 that presents Lucius' life and career as something that is determined by a divine plan, cf. e.g. 11,19,2 *iam dudum destinatum*.

cibus profanis ac nefariis ... temperare: for the construction cf. 1,18,5 *quod poculis uesperis minus temperaui*. On abstinence as an important prerequisite of the cult cf. 11,6,7 *tenacibus castimoniis*; 11,19,3 *castimiorum abstinentiam*. This general warning precedes the more specific instructions to refrain from meat and wine (11,23,2 *decem continuis illis diebus cibariam uoluptatem coercerem, neque ullum animal essem et inuini essem*; 11,28,5 *decem rursus diebus inanimis contentus cibis*; 11,30,1 *inanimae ... castimoniae iugum subeo*).

In Plutarch's *de Isid. et Os.* (5-6, *Mor.* 352F-353B), the rejection of meat (from sheep and pigs, which produces surplus fat) by the Isiac priests is explained against a philosophical background, viz. by their loathing for the growth of surplus matter; they refrain from meat in order not to oppress the divine part of their souls with a heavy 'mortal' element. Similarly, their refraining from wine during periods of purification

enables them to investigate, learn and teach concerning divine matters. Cf. Juvenal's 15th satire (on the strange religious customs of the Egyptians), especially 15,11-12 *lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis / mensa, nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae*. The topic of abstinence from meat and wine suggests a Pythagorean background (Griffiths 1970, 275); Pythagoras' name is mentioned in Book 11 in the context of (different) purificatory rituals (11,1,4, with comm. ad loc.).

cibus profanus: in the context of the priest's warnings, *profanus* connotes a direct conflict with the holy rituals of pagan religion (which, as the context implies, demand *cibi sacri*), and is therefore almost a synonym of *nefarius*. Cf. the use of *profanus* in a similar religious context Ov. *fast.* 6,640 *flagrabant sancti sceleratis ignibus ignes, / mixtaque erat flammae flamma profana piae*; Tac. *ann.* 2,85,4 *ceteri cederent Italia nisi ... profanos ritus exuissent* (cultores sacrorum Aegyptiorum Iudaicorumque); more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *profanus* 1665,15-25.

quo rectius ... peruaderem: the verb *peruadere* often has military connotations (e.g. Liv. 7,36,4 *praesidium Romanum obuiis custodibus caesis ad castra consulis peruadit*; cf. *ThLL* s.v. *peruado* 1834,40-43), and is here used in a figurative sense, referring to Lucius' 'making his way' to the mysteries of the pure religion, surmounting difficulties by obeying the rules (*rectius*, indicating both moral 'correctness' and following a straight, 'unerring' route), without yielding to the temptations of unlawful food. Both the figurative use and the military connotations can be observed in Ps. Sall. *rep.* 1,6,3 *capesse ... rem publicam et omnia aspera ... peruade* (where *omnia aspera* indicate the difficulties that have to be surmounted by Caesar to reach his goal).

purissimae religionis: the adjective *purus* is nearly always used with reference to the Isis cult in *met.*, see comm. on 11,16,6 *de casto ... ore ... quam purissime purificatam*. See also *GCA* 2000, 276 on 10,21,2 *pura atque sincera* on the use of *purus* in *met.*, with references. The notion of purity in Book 11 is not related to sexual abstinence, as in other Isiac passages from Latin literature (especially elegy, cf. Tib. 1,3,26 *dum sacra [Isidis] colis ... te ... puro secubuisse toro*; Prop. 4,5,34 *ubi ... uenerem promiseris ... fac simules puros Isidis esse dies*), but to abstinence from food and to moral purity (cf. above, 11,21,3 *uir ... grauis et sobriae religionis obseruatione famosus*). See also Appendix 4.2.3 in *GCA* 1985, 288-289 on the relation between the desire for cleanness and purity (κάθαρις) and baldness.

arcana ... secreta: the chapter ends with a chiasmic expression; cf. for a similar hyperbaton above, *magna religionis ... silentia*; in both cases, the words for 'unspeakable secrets' symbolically frame and enclose the term *religio*, which becomes visibly protected and veiled by the 'secret mysteries' surrounding it and keeping it pure. The phrase *arcana ... secreta* is one of the expressions that point to the thematic correspondence between magic and Isiac mysteries (see Introduction, 5.2 with n. 163); here, the expression reflects the contrast between the pure mysteries of Isis and the discredited mysteries of magic; cf. 3,15,3 *paueo ... et formido ... arcana dominae meae reuelare secreta*, and see Sandy in *AGA* 1, 135 with n. 53, comparing also 3,15,7 *miranda secreta* and 3,20,1 *huius modi secreta*.

CHAPTER XXII

A dream announces to Lucius and Mithras that the moment for Lucius' initiation has come. The priest tells Lucius what is necessary for the rite.

The beginning of this chapter again describes Lucius' very zealous and frequent attendance of the religious rites, like the beginning of the previous one (11,21,1 *quo facto idem sollicitius sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium*; 11,22,1 *intentus miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate sedulum quot dies obibam sacrorum ministerium*). However, what is really pointed out here is Lucius' different attitude: *nec impatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum*, where *impatientia* summarizes Lucius' behaviour criticised by the priest in Ch. XXI. His excessive eagerness was pointed out by various keywords occurring throughout: 11,21,2 *cupido* and *saepissime*; 11,21,3 *instantiam*; 11,21,5 *auiditati contumaciaeque* and *festinare*; 11,21,6 *temerarium atque sacrilegum*. Now, the mention of *mitis quies* and *probabilis taciturnitas* puts Lucius' unchanging zeal in a very different and contrasting light. Nevertheless, his usual insistence has not completely disappeared: cf. comm. at 11,22,5 *solito constantius* and *uelut debitum sacris obsequium*.

11,22,1 *Dixerat sacerdos, nec impatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum, sed intentus miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate sedulum quot dies obibam culturae sacrorum ministerium*. So said the priest, and my obedience was not marred by impatience. Rather, all concentrated in humble peace and commendable silence, I zealously performed, day by day, the services connected to the religious rites.

Dixerat: an *incipit* recalling an epic speech-formula, cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2,152; 621; 705 etc., and see Harrison 1991, 138-139 on *Aen.* 10,246-247. However, in Latin epic tradition *dixerat* in first position normally follows direct speech, while all the priests' recommendations in the previous chapter are reported by the narrator. Similar epicizing turns of phrases are found in the tale of Cupid and Psyche: see 4,31,4 and 5,31,1 *sic effata*; 6,23,1 *sic fatus* with *GCA* 2004 ad locc.

sacerdos: probably Mithras: see below, comm. at 11,22,3 *Mithram*.

nec impatientia corrumpebatur obsequium meum: on Lucius' newly found composure see introduction to this chapter and comm. on the *obseruabilis patientia* the priest recommends to Lucius at 11,21,5; a similar concept is expressed in 11,19,4 *quamquam festinans, differebam*. This composure and circumspection (induced by the priest's admonition here, but arising from an act of introspection and reflection at 11,19,4) were certainly not typical of Lucius in the previous books: see e.g. 2,6,3 *festinus denique et uecors animi ... ad Milonis hospitium perneciter euolo*, an interesting comparison because that is the moment when Lucius takes the decision to approach Photis in order to satisfy his curiosity about magic. Lucius intends to be careful on that occasion too (2,6,4 *o Luci, euigila et tecum esto*), but he soon contradicts

himself (2,6,6 *Photis famula petatur enixe*); Dowden 1993, 102 points out that *festinatio* also plays a role at 3,25,2 as the main cause of Photis' mistake resulting in Lucius' transformation into an ass. See Introduction, 5.2 with n. 170 on the continuity and change reflected in Lucius' emotions in Book 11.

intentus: one of Apuleius' favourite expressions to describe Lucius' religious concentration in this book: cf. 11,5,4 *ergo igitur imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum*; 11,7,1 *magnisque imperiis eius intentus*; 11,17,5 *intentus <in> deae specimen*. An analogous effort of concentration is twice requested from the reader in the previous books: cf. 1,1,6 *lector intende* and 8,3,3 *spectate denique, sed oro sollicitis animis intendite*.

miti quiete et probabili taciturnitate: these cannot be the object of Lucius' *intentio* as some translations imply (e.g. Relihan 2007), since the adjective *intentus* does not usually govern the ablative (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *intendo* 211,52-59); they are rather to be understood as modal ablatives, either with *intentus* or, more likely, with *obibam*.

probabili: on Apuleius' frequent use of adjectives in *-bilis* see comm. on 11,24,5 *inexplicabili*.

probabili taciturnitate: Lucius stops pressing the priest to be initiated (cf. 11,21,2); his keeping silent here might be connected either with the typical secrecy of Isiac cult, the *magna ... silentia* of 11,21,7 (cf. 11,11,3 *magno silentio tegendae religionis*), or with Lucius' newly acquired restraint (for his previous insistence cf. 11,21,2 *saepissime*). The adjective *probabili* can have both active and passive meaning, perhaps with deliberate ambiguity.

sedulum quot dies obibam culturae sacrorum ministerium: the same attitude and similar verbal expressions at 11,21,1 *idem sollicitus sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium*; see introduction to this chapter.

quot dies: F has *quod*; the correction to *quot*, accepted by most modern editors, is found in v. However, *quot* in the meaning of 'all, each, every' usually has the ablative and not the accusative (cf. *OLD* s.v. *quot* 3): for this reason Griffiths 1975 accepts Van der Vliet's (1897) *aliquot* ('fortasse recte' according to Robertson 1971) and, since "in similar contexts Apuleius gives the number of the days" (cf. 11,23,2 *decem ... diebus*; 11,28,5 *decem rursus diebus*), he also considers *quinque* attractive, suggested by Eyssenhardt 1869. On the one hand, a fixed number like *quinque* does not seem appropriate here, because of the imperfect *obibam* (nor does the number five seem to have any particular significance in this book); on the other, *aliquot* appears to be too indeterminate given the parallels mentioned by Griffiths himself and quoted above, where religious practices always have a well-defined duration. While critical editions usually normalize it, *quot* + accusative is found sometimes in manuscripts (Hildebrand 1842 and Fredouille 1975 mention Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,130 *quot annos* → *quotannis*). Prisc. *gramm.* III 334,7-10 *illi ὁσημέραι καὶ ὅσα ἡμέραι ... hinc Romani cotidie uel quotidie pro quot dies, et quotannis pro quotquot eunt anni* might support the transmitted *quot dies* as well, although it is not clear if Priscian considers *quot dies* as a genuinely used expression, or only as a hypothetical two-word calque on a Greek expression. Jacobson 2007, 800 points out that *quot dies* would usually require the supplying of a verb (that is, it introduces relative clauses as e.g. in Cic. *Tusc.* 1,119 *cras autem et quot dies erimus in Tusculano agamus haec*), and therefore suggests reading *quotidie*. The emendation is indeed attractive and very easy, but unne-

essary if *quot dies* is equivalent to *quot diebus* and *quotidie*, as suggested above, that do not introduce subordinate clauses.

culturae: this is the first instance of this word in the sense of 'observance of religious rites', which becomes frequent in Christian authors: cf. *ThLL* 1324,31-46 (and the parallelism with *colendi* at 11,21,1 quoted above).

11,22,2-3 ²Nec me fefellit uel longi temporis prolatione cruciauit deae potentis benignitas salutaris, sed noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis euidenter monuit aduenisse diem mihi semper optabilem ³quo me maximi uoti compotiret, quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis, ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem praecipuum, diuino quodam stellarum consortio, ut aiebat, mihi coniunctum, sacrorum ministrum decernit. However, the powerful goddess' saving benevolence did not disappoint or torture me with a long postponement. In the darkness of night she gave me clear orders and manifestly warned me that the day I had always desired had come, the day on which she would grant me my greatest wish. She also determines how much I had to spend to provide for the public ceremonies; and that Mithras himself, that high priest of hers who was joined to me, as she said, by a divine astral conjunction, would carry out the ritual.

Nec me fefellit: Isis' trustworthiness is expressed with the same words at 11,13,3 *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum* (the key passage describing Lucius' re-transformation).

Nec ... cruciauit: the verb *cruciare* in this context suggests that Lucius' feelings of torment are associated with his impatience to be initiated; thanks to the short waiting period, this impatience does not reappear. Cf. 11,28,2 *cruciabar ... premebar*, where Lucius' frustration is caused by the delay of his initiation caused by the slenderness of his means.

deae potentis: for Isis' *potentia* cf. 11,7,1 *miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam* (with comm. ad loc.).

benignitas salutaris: Isis' benevolence is repeatedly pointed out in this book: cf. below 11,22,4 *beniuolis*, and 11,6,2 *uolentia* with comm. ad loc. with references to further passages. Here, the goddess' benevolence is said to be 'saving': this implicitly puts the initiation on a par with Lucius' previous 'salvation', his re-transformation into human shape (see comm. on 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*).

Fredouille 1975 ad loc. (cf. also his comm. on 11,6,5 *beneficio*) unnecessarily connects the idea of *benignitas* to Stoic philosophy. It is a virtue normally attributed to the gods (*ThLL* s.v. 1899,51-67), and naturally enough it also became typical of the *princeps* (*ThLL* s.v. 1900,71-85); it might contribute to the 'imperial' aspect of Isiac religion, on which see below on 11,22,5 *augustum*.

There is apparently no trace in Book 11 of the irony that often accompanied the mention of *benignitas* in the previous books: cf. 1,21,8 *benigne ... Demeas meus in me consuluit*, and the *benignus comes* of 6,30,6.

noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis: for Apuleius' frequent use of polyptoton to create puns and stylistic effects see Nicolini 2011a, 44-46: here, the same adjective is used first in literal, then in figurative sense.

euidenter: the adverb reinforces the previous *non obscuris*. Isis' presence and acts are always clearly manifest: cf. 11,13,6 *tam euidenter maximi numinis potentiam*; 11,21,8 *perspicua euidenterque magni numinis dignatione*. On the sacral value of *euidens* (= *propitius*), possibly active in this passage too, see comm. at 11,13,6 *tam euidenter maximi numinis potentiam*.

monuit: together with *imperii*, the verb emphasizes Lucius' subordinate position in relation to Isis, on which see 11,15,5 *nam ... libertatis* with comm. ad loc. Here we can point out a paradoxical interaction with the idea of Lucius who 'becomes master' of his wish in the following paragraph (see comm. on *compotiret* there).

aduenisse diem mihi semper optabilem: Isis' announcement is confirmed almost verbatim by the priest's words at 11,22,6 *adest tibi dies uotis adsiduis exoptatus*.

optabilem: *optabilis* is a solemn adjective, attested in Plautus, but also found in Classical authors like Cicero (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 816,61-87). According to Harrauer 1973, 146 ad loc., the adjective is chosen here (against the more common *optatus*) because of the rhyme with *diem* and, most of all, to give the prophecy a sublime character by using an archaizing word. It might also be noted that it provides a good clausula (spondee + iambus).

compotiret: Lipsius' conjecture (in Valpy 1825, 2797) for *cōpeteret* in F (a *uox nihili*) is accepted by all modern editors. The active form of this rare verb is found in Plautus (*Rud.* 911, with the ablative of what is granted) and twice in Apuleius (here and in *prol. Socr.* 4 p. 111, in both cases with the genitive); the combination with *uoti* can be considered as an easy extension of the common expression *compos uoti facere* (for which see e.g. Liv. 7,40,5). The image of Lucius who 'becomes master' of his wish creates a paradoxical contrast with his 'servile' condition emphasized in the previous paragraph (see comm. on *monuit* there).

monuit ... decernit: note the chiasmic position of the two verbs, framing the entire long sentence. The passage from perfect to present points out the difference in duration between the two implied utterances: the first, almost instantaneous ('here comes the day you have been waiting for'); the second, extended, with a presumably rather long series of detailed instructions of which the clause *quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis* is only a summary (cf. 11,22,4 *quis et ceteris ... praeceptis*). On variation of tenses, see comm. at 11,1,1 *uideo*. There is no reason to think of an anacoluthon here, *pace* Fredouille 1975, 106 ad loc., who would expect a *se decreuisse* depending on *monuit*.

quantoque sumptu deberem procurare supplicamentis: the interrogative clause depends on the final *decernit*, together with the infinitive *Mithram ... ministrum (fore)*. *Contra* Fredouille 1975, 106 ad loc., who coordinates the interrogative with the previous infinitive *aduenisse diem*, both depending on *monuit*. Both interpretations produce a syntactical *uariatio*, with either *monuit* or *decernit* governing an interrogative and an infinitive clause (in the case of *decerno*, a simple double accusative would also be acceptable, so it is not strictly necessary to understand *fore*: cf. *ThLL* s.v. 141,17-22). However, the former solution seems preferable as it provides a differentiation between the functions of the two verbs (parallel to their difference in tense: see above on *monuit ... decernit*), with *monuit* giving the long awaited announcement that the initiation day is finally arrived, and *decernit* specifying the details about it (Lucius' expenses and the name of the officiant).

quantoque sumptu: on the important theme of the expenses Lucius has to meet in order to be initiated into Isis' mysteries see introduction to Ch. XXVIII (1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation); for the fulfilment of the priest's prescription cf. 11,23,1 *aliquanto liberalius ... coemenda propro*.

procurare supplicamentis: Apuleius appears to be the first author to use *propro* with the dative of what is taken care of (a construction which is rather common in Tertullian), instead of the more normal accusative (as e.g. at 11,20,4 *rem diuinam procurans*): cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1584,47-69.

supplicamentis: a very rare word, apparently confined to a few African authors: see comm. at 11,20,4 *supplicamentis sollemnibus*.

Mithram: at this point the name of the priest who made Lucius' re-transformation possible at Ch. XV (and who had been already mentioned by Isis at 11,6,2-3) is finally revealed. Another possibility, though rather unlikely, is that this Mithras is *not* the same priest who offered Lucius the saving garland of roses; on this see below on *sacerdotem praecipuum*. Apuleius frequently delays the revelation of a character's name, either to give more emphasis to it, or because it was not necessary to name the character when he was first introduced: in this book, cf. e.g. the goddess Isis herself, for whose name we have to wait until 11,5,3. The most striking case in the novel is certainly that of Charite, introduced at 4,23,3 but only named at 7,12,2 when her fiancé addresses her with affectionate words. For a general treatment of this literary technique in *met.* see Nicolini 2000, 74-85, with further literature. It might also be pointed out that not only the priest's name, but also his advanced age has never been mentioned before: cf. below at 11,22,7 *senex commissimus*.

Indeed, the delay between the first appearance of Mithras and the disclosure of his name is rather long, and it is clearly not due to the limited perspective of the first-person narrator: Lucius is already well familiar with the priest (cf. comm. below on *illum suum*), and it is not likely that he was unaware of his name before this dream. The fact that we are given the name at this point might be meant to highlight the increasing familiarity between Lucius and Mithras, since we now come to know that the priest is joined to Lucius "by a divine astral conjunction", and he will even become a father-figure for him at 11,25,7 (*meum iam parentem*).

The choice of a Persian god's name comes as a surprise, since Mithras is a priest of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Several explanations have been offered; we have ultimately no way to know what was the 'real' reason why Apuleius chose this name, but these explanations are important since each of them stems from, and provides support to, a particular view on the novel and its religious involvement (the circularity is evident here). Here is a list:

1) The choice bears no particular significance: so Wittmann 1938, 218 and n. 545. Religious syncretism was so common that the same person could hold priesthoods in different cults (see e.g. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 35, *Mor.* 364D-E for Clea, priestess of both Dionysus and Isis); the name Mithras itself can lose precise religious connotations, since we find it used for Christians too. Naturally enough, the name might have been chosen simply for its oriental and exotic 'sound', without any reference to specific religious connotations: the same might be true, for example, for other Egyptian-sounding names as Zatchlas at 2,28,1 (see Stramaglia 2003, 73), or for Mithrobarzanes in Lucian's *Menippus*.

2) Other scholars believe that the name is indeed significant, even in a syncretistic context, and that it would be meant to highlight some particular aspects of the Egyptian gods or of their cults. According to Griffiths 1975, 282 ad loc. (following Reitzenstein 1927, 228), the name is an instance of “syncretistic borrowing” between the two cults, since Mithras is often identified with Hermes *psychopompos* (see e.g. Vermaseren 1963, 113; more literature in Griffiths 1975, 282), and “the High Priest is equated with Mithras as the guide of the souls”. Hermes/Thoth himself was not unrelated to Isis: he was her father according to Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 3 (*Mor.* 352A) and 12 (*Mor.* 355F). Vidman 1970, 155, while emphasizing the “Selbstständigkeit” of the Isiac religion, also points out that recent studies reveal more and more connections with other cults, and with Mithraism in particular; see also Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 47-48. For Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 165 “the last book may embrace other cults than that of Isis, particularly if the cult of Isis is not the teleological target but, at best, an *exempli gratia* representation of that target for a religiously inclined hero”; the book contains several “Mithraic signals”, including of course the name of our priest, that “serve to remind us that these religions are all striving after a common philosophical truth” (p. 166; cf. also points 3 and 5). Beck 2000 also finds some other elements in the novel that can be connected to Mithras’ cult, even if they do not force us to imagine that Apuleius was “a full-blown Mithraic initiate” (p. 563).

3) In a syncretistic context, of course the name Mithras can also hint at a more specific connection with solar cults, since Mithras is also addressed as ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἡλίου Μίθρας (*PGM* IV,481). So, Berreth 1931, 109 points out that Lucius’ first initiation actually involves the sun (cf. 11,23,7 *uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*); and Harrauer 1973, 147 ad loc. suggests that the priest’s name might hint at Isis’ power over other gods (cf. 11,15,3 *quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat*). The name Mithras would be an aspect of the increasing ‘solarization’ of the last chapters of the novel according to Beck 2004, 317 and 2006, 93-94 (cf. 11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* and 11,24,4 *ad instar Solis exornatus*, with comm.; and see the previous point on the ‘mithraic signals’ in this book); it also provides an idea of religious completeness, since “there is no Isis without Osiris/Sarapis, no Moon without Sun, no lunar time without solar time” (Beck 2006, 94). Cf. also Witte 1987, 47-49.

4) Syncretism, however, does not mean complete homology. The contrast between “maternal Isis” and “militaristic Mithras” is exploited by Winkler 1985, 245-247 to suggest that “to give the name Mithras to the high priest of Isis, whose role is to reveal to the first-reader a startling new meaning for *The Golden Ass*, is like introducing the pope in the last chapter of a detective novel and calling him Martin Luther”. For Winkler, the revelation of Mithras’ name is delayed to mitigate the ‘shock’ it could produce in the reader, who all of a sudden, and rather unexpectedly, could realize that the religious atmosphere of the last book of the novel is actually a satiric fiction. Some arguments against Winkler’s theory are offered by Graverini 2007, 70-76 [= 2012, 64-69], who re-evaluates the available evidence and concludes that there was more complementarity than opposition between Persian and Egyptian cults, often practiced together: a literary testimony is e.g. Statius *Theb.* 1,718-720, where Osiris and Mithras are both mentioned in a list of names that can be used to address Apollo. In this context, the name Mithras could simply be meant to prevent the reader from

interpreting the novel as a propaganda text of Isiac religion *tout court*: its ‘meaning’ must be more general, and not limited to a single religious cult (cf. also Dowden in *AAGA* 2, 3, and see above n. 2) – and possibly not only to religion itself.

5) If Coarelli 1989 is right in suggesting that the L. Apuleius Marcellus who owned a *domus* in Ostia was our writer, and that a Mithraeum close to that *domus* is also contemporary with it and the property of the same Apuleius, then we have a biographical connection between Apuleius and the cult of Mithras: therefore the choice of the priest’s name could be due to Apuleius’ personal religious beliefs. However, according to D’Asdia 2002 the Mithraeum is much later than the *domus*, and its dating is not compatible with Apuleius’ biography; Rieger 2004, 75-78 is also sceptical about Coarelli’s suggestion.

illum suum: the two words are frequently combined by Apuleius: according to Callebat 1968, 280 this allows the writer to combine emphasis with affection (but sometimes irritation is more to the point: cf. *GCA* 2007, 298 on 1,15,4 *conuectore illo tuo*). As Fredouille 1975, 106 ad loc. points out, Apuleius sometimes combines *ipse* and *ille* as well (cf. Callebat 1968, 281-282), but this hardly seems to be the case here: *ipsum* clearly goes with *Mithram* and *illum suum* with *sacerdotem*.

sacerdotem praecipuum: cf. 11,16,6 *summus sacerdos*, with comm. on the various designations for the Isiac priest; 11,17,1 *sacerdos maximus*; 11,20,1 *summus sacerdos*; 11,21,1 *primarium sacerdotem*. In all likelihood, the same person is meant in all these cases, the priest who pronounces the speech at Ch. XV and is simply addressed as *sacerdos* at 11,6,1 and 11,14,5, and as *sacerdos egregius* at 11,16,1. We can think that Mithras’ rank in the Isiac hierarchy becomes clearer as Lucius’ intimacy with him increases, or more simply that his generic high standing is only mentioned on some occasions and without too much attention to formal correctness, since different adjectives are used: in this chapter, indeed, the same person is *sacerdos praecipuus* here, but simply *sacerdos* at 11,22,1 and 11,22,4. *Contra* Vidman 1970, 51, who thinks that different priests are referred to when Lucius uses different titles; however, on various occasions we have seen that Apuleius does not seem to be deeply concerned with realistic details of Isis’ cult (cf. e.g. comm. at 11,11,2 *cista* and see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 40). In any case, the fact that in this book only one priest is mentioned would not contrast with Vidman’s primary contention, that in the larger temples in Imperial age there could be several priests. On the organization and sacerdotal hierarchy in the cult of Isis see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 407-446, with 444-446 on the rank and duties of Mithras in Book 11.

diuino quodam stellarum consortio ... mihi coniunctum: for the idea, cf. Hor. *carm.* 2,17,21-22 *utrumque nostrum incredibili modo / consentit astrum*. Isis’ choice of Mithras as the minister of Lucius’ initiation does not come as a surprise if he really is, as it seems, the same priest who offered Lucius the saving roses (see previous note); however, the text also points at astrological reasons. There was a close connection between Oriental cults and astrology: see Griffiths 1975, 283 on 11,22,3 *stellarum consortio*; and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 47-48. Isis herself, as universal goddess and *Fortuna uidens* (11,15,3), directs and governs the paths of the stars: cf. comm. on 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso* and 11,25,2 *Fortunae tempestates ... mitigas et ... cohibes*. Beck 2006 suggests an astrological interpretation of this and other passages of Book 11; the horoscope Lucius and Mithras share “is

what is called a catachric horoscope: it delineates astrologically some new undertaking” (Beck 2006, 95). Therefore Lucius’ salvation and initiations, that are plainly narrated in the book, would also be foreshadowed by a hidden astrological pattern.

Astrology is mentioned on two other occasions in the novel, in both cases humorously: 2,12,3-5 (the prophecies of the Chaldaean Diophanes) and 8,24,3 (the donkey’s horoscope mentioned by the auctioneer).

stellarum consortio: similar expressions occur in Aug. *c. Faust.* 2,5 p. 260,12-13 *consortium siderum* and *c. Pelag.* 2,6,12 *per stellarum temporale consortium*.

coniunctum: a technical astrological term according to Beck 2006, 94, modelled on the Greek συνζυγία (“conjunction” but also “opposition” of astrological signs).

sacrorum ministrum: possibly a ‘technical’ definition for a priest who (also) performs this kind of duties, if Griffiths 1975, 283 ad loc. is right in thinking that *minister* is to be understood with *sacrorum* in some Latin Isiac inscriptions. Cf. 11,21,4 *sacra ... ministrare*.

decernit: see above on *monuit ... decernit*.

11,22,4 Quis et ceteris beniuolis praeceptis summatis deae recreatus animi, necdum satis luce lucida, discussa quiete protinus ad receptaculum sacerdotis contendo atque eum cubiculo suo commodum prodeuntem continatus saluto. I was refreshed in spirit by these and other benevolent orders of the supreme goddess. The light of day was not yet fully shining, but I shake off my sleepiness and immediately go to the priest’s lodgings; I meet him just as he is coming out of his room, and I give him my greetings.

quis: for *quibus*, archaic and poetic (LHSz 1,473).

beniuolis: on the concept see above, 11,22,2 *benignitas*. The adjective is connected to deities also at 6,1,5 *omnium* (sc. *deorum*) *beniuolam misericordiam* and 10,13,5 *beniuolam Fortunam*.

recreatus animi: cf. 2,11,5 *recreabar animi* (Lucius contemplating Photis’ beauty) and 5,22,4 *recreatur animi* (Psyche contemplating the divine face of Cupid). All the three passages describe a state of deep spiritual beatitude: this is evident in the case of Psyche contemplating Cupid (a passage that also has philosophical implications: for connections with Plato’s *Phaedrus* see Graverini 2010, 78-79); as for Lucius contemplating Photis, *GCA* 2001, 203 ad loc. suggests that “Photis possède ... un pouvoir divin sur l’âme de Lucius”.

Callebat 1968, 489 considers this kind of expression involving the genitive *animi* “une imitation concertée de la langue des comiques”, but *GCA* 2001, 203 correctly points out that Eth 56 and LHSz 2,75 also provide many examples from Cicero, Livy, and poetry (cf. e.g. Verg. *georg.* 3,289 *animi dubius*).

summatis deae: cf. 11,1,2 *summatem deam* with comm. ad loc.; 11,10,4 *deae summatis*.

luce lucida: a pleonastic combination, with alliteration and etymological play: see Bernhard 1927, 229; Nicolini 2011a, 40.

discussa quiete: cf. 11,1,4 *discussa ... quiete* with comm. ad loc.

receptaculum sacerdotis: commentators usually take it for granted that Lucius had a lodging within the temple (and therefore, his room was arguably close enough to the

priest’s), in the so-called *pastophorion*. This might certainly be the case, but see comm. at 11,19,1 *aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi* on the vagueness of the vocabulary and the absence of details concerning Lucius’ residence.

receptaculum ... cubiculo: the word *receptaculum* is equated with *cubiculum* also at 1,23,5; *GCA* 2007, 414 ad loc. points out that “in both the present passage and in 11,22,4 ... *cubiculum* and *receptaculum* underline the limited nature of the space available”. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 160 attributes the use of the two different nouns either to a simple search for *uariatio*, or to Apuleius’ wish to emphasize the tight personal relationship between Lucius and Mithras with the usage of the more ‘private’ term *receptaculum*; cf. also pp. 251-252 on “Raumwahrnehmung und Raumbeschreibung bei Apuleius”; 155 and 449 for the description of the priest’s room.

commodum: cf. 11,1,1 with comm. ad loc. on Apuleius’ preference for this adverb to indicate temporal coincidence.

continatus: a more recent hand added *u* over *na* in F; however, *continatus* (printed by all modern editors) rather than *continuatus* must be right here, both because of the meaning and the construction with the accusative: see comm. at 11,6,2 *continare pompam*.

11,22,5 Solito constantius destinaueram iam uelut debitum sacris obsequium flagitare. At ille statim ut me conspexit, prior: ‘O’ inquit ‘Luci, te felicem, te beatum, quem propitia uoluntate numen augustum tantopere dignatur’; I had already decided to demand more resolutely than usual that I should be initiated into the sacred rites, as if it was something due to me. But as soon as he saw me the priest spoke first: “Lucius, how lucky and blessed you are! you, who are deemed so worthy by the venerable godhead’s gracious will.”

solito constantius: for Lucius’ insistence cf. 11,21,2 *accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat, summisque precibus primarium sacerdotem saepissime conueneram petens ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis initiaret*.

uelut debitum sacris obsequium: like almost all the other commentators and translators we take *debitum* with *uelut* in the meaning of “as if it was something due (to me)”, and make *sacris* depend on *obsequium*. Fredouille 1975, 107 ad loc. observes that *obsequium* always governs the genitive in Apuleius (cf. 10,23,4 and 6; 11,16,4; 11,19,3; 11,28,5; one might add that *ThLL* s.v. does not provide any example of *obsequium* + dat.), and therefore *sacris* must depend on *debitum*, meaning “le service dû (= que je devais, qui m’était imposé) à la religion” (for similar expressions, cf. 10,3,1 *uxori patris matrique fratris ... debitum ... obsequium*; 10,13,2 *tribuni sui praecepto debitum ... obsequium*). Similarly, Brandt – Ehlers 1958 freely translate *debitum sacris* with “heilige Pflicht” (and *obsequium* with “Aufnahme als Jünger”, for which no parallels can be found).

However, it does not seem to make much sense here to highlight the fact that Lucius’ *obsequium* was *debitum* to the cult, since his acceptance of the Isiac faith is always described as enthusiastic. The passage makes it clear that after Isis’ nightly apparition Lucius has suddenly fallen back into his previous state of agitation and impatience (see introductions to Ch. XXI and to this chapter), and it is no surprise that

he thinks he should finally be given what he has always thought was due to him. In the end, it seems better to understand *mihi* with *debitum*, and therefore take *sacris* with *obsequium*: it is in contrast with the normal usage, but this can be justified by the fact that the verb *obsequor* is commonly constructed with the dative, and it would be easy for the noun to borrow the construction of the verb. This also reinforces Lucius' characterization expressed by *solito constantius*.

Alternatively, the easy emendation *sacri[s]* might be considered, taking *obsequium sacri* in the same meaning as *sacrorum obsequium* at 11,16,4 (although the plural *sacra* is normally used in the sense of 'religion' or 'initiation' which seems to be required here, cf. e.g. 11,21,2 *accipiendorum sacrorum cupido*; the singular occurs as 'ceremony' at 11,5,5 and in the examples provided by the *OLD*, but *obsequium* is only used of celebrations and festivities in late and Christian authors according to *ThLL* s.v. 183,47-53).

at ille ... prior: the unexpected words of the priest are arguably due to the fact that Isis has appeared to him too: another 'double dream', like at 11,6,3; see also comm. at 11,13,1 *nocturni commonefactus oraculi*. The pleonastic *statim* reinforces the idea of immediacy and surprise. *Statim ut* (also used at *met* 9,15,2) is probably an instance of familiar language: Cicero uses it sometimes in his letters (e.g. *Att.* 5,12,2 *statim ut audiui*) but avoids it in his other works.

te felicem, te beatum: another *makarismos* ("one of the main characteristics of mysteries" according to Burkert 1987, 93) like that at 11,16,4 *felix hercules et ter beatus*; both of them mark a sort of rebirth of Lucius, promoted first from animal to human form, and now from simple follower of Isis to initiate (for the idea of rebirth connected to the initiation, see comm. at 11,23,7 *accessi confinium mortis ... remeavi*). See comm. at 11,16,4 for the religious meaning of *felix* and further references.

propitia: cf. 11,5,4 *propitia* with comm. ad loc.

numen augustum: cf. 11,1,3 *augustum specimen deae praesentis*. Of course, the adjective is often used in connection with gods (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *augustus* 1380,73-1381,27; 1393,46-1402,58; in Apuleius, cf. 6,4,4 *numinis augusta dignitate*, said of Juno); here, it might also reinforce the idea of 'imperial' aspects of Isis' cult, on which see 11,17,3 *principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo* and Introduction, 4.2.3 with nn. 121-122. See Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 102-103 on evidence for the association of the emperor and the empress with Sarapis and Isis. For the combination cf. *met.* 3,29,2 *nomen augustum Caesaris*.

dignatur: on the Egyptian gods' *dignatio* or condescension, a recurrent theme in this book, cf. 11,11,1 *dignati* with comm. ad loc. For the indicative in a relative causal clause see Callebat 1968, 342: it can be understood as an archaism or as a concession to common language.

11,22,6 et 'Quid' inquit 'iam nunc stas otiosus teque ipsum demoraris? Adest tibi dies uotis adsiduis exoptatus, quo deae multinominis diuinis imperiis per istas meas manus piissimis sacrorum arcanis insinueris.' He also added: "Why are you standing idle now, why are you keeping yourself waiting? There has come for you the day you have always desired in your constant prayers, in which you will be introduced to the holiest secrets of our sacred

rites, by means of the divine commands of the goddess with many names and through these hands of mine."

Quid ... demoraris: the priest's reproach, though gentle, sounds rather undeserved given Lucius' swift reaction to the goddess' orders (cf. 11,22,4 *discussa quiete protinus ... contendo*). This is due to the limited perspective of the two characters, since neither Lucius nor Mithras knows that the other is fully aware of Isis' prescriptions.

te ... demoraris: this is the only example of reflexive use of the verb *demoror* provided by *ThLL* s.v. At 11,21,5 the *primarius sacerdos* (probably Mithras: cf. above 11,22,3 *Mithram* with comm. ad loc.) had warned Lucius that he should *neque uocatus morari nec non iussus festinare*.

adest tibi: cf. the repeated *adsum* with which Isis promises to be a helpful presence for Lucius (cf. comm. on 11,5,1 *adsum ... commota*). After the re-transformation, the initiation further fulfills the goddess' prophecy.

dies uotis adsiduis exoptatus: cf. above, 11,22,2 *aduenisse diem mihi semper optabilem*.

multinominis: the adjective is hapax legomenon, a calque on the Greek compounds such as *πολυώνυμος* and *μυρτώνυμος* possibly after the model of *binominis*, found three times in Ovid, then in Silius Italicus and Statius (and in an uncertain Plautine fragment): cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1998,55-63. On the multiple forms and names of Isis see comm. at 11,5,1 *multiformi specie, ritu uario, nomine multiuigo*.

diuinis: an emphatic pleonasm after *deae*.

istas meas: on this and similar combinations, frequently occurring in dialogue contexts, see comm. at 11,5,1 *imperii istis meis*.

piissimis: in *Phil.* 13,43, Cicero polemically points out that this superlative used by Antony did not exist at all. It is never found before Cicero (except in a conjecture at Catull. 29,23), but it is not infrequent in later texts and in inscriptions: see *ThLL* s.v. *pius* 2230,10-54.

11,22,7-8 ⁷Et iniecta dextera senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores aedis amplissimae ritumque sollempni apertionis celebrato ministerio ac matutino peracto sacrificio, ⁸de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos, partim figuris cuiuscumque modi animalium concepti sermonis compendiosa uerba suggerentes, partim nodosis et in modum rotae tortuosis capreolatimque condensis apicibus a curiositate profanorum lectione munita. Indidem mihi praedicat quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda. That most kind old man lays his right hand on me and immediately takes me in front of the very portals of the great temple. After celebrating the service of the opening of the temple with a solemn ritual and officiating at the morning sacrifice, from a hidden and inner part of the temple he produces some rolls written in unknown characters. Some of those rolls bring to mind, through drawings of animals of all sorts, concise versions of solemn formulae; others have their meaning protected from the curiosity of the uninitiated by letters that are intricate, twisted into themselves like a wheel, and thickly knotted like vine-tendrils. Reading from

them, the priest announces to me what must be prepared so that I can enjoy my initiation.

iniecta dextera senex ... ducit me: cf. 11,23,4 *me ... arrepta manu sacerdos ducit*; both passages indicate the leading role of the priest in Lucius' initiation (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 444 with n. 306). According to Harrauer 1973, 149 ad loc., with this gesture (derived from legal language: see *GCA* 1995, 262 ad 9,30,4 *manu ... iniecta*) the goddess, acting through the priest, takes possession of Lucius and leads him to *salus*; the same symbolic value would be expressed by *arrepta manu* at 11,23,4. However, Fredouille 1975, 10-11 rightly warns against the danger of attributing a mystical value to expressions that are probably only meant to provide the text with a certain solemnity. Similarly, according to Griffiths 1975, 284 ad loc., who compares 11,25,2 *salutarem porrigas dexteram* (said of Isis), "the basic gesture involved seems to be *dexteram dare*, with the sense of a profession of trust and friendship". On other occurrences of this and similar expressions in the novel see *GCA* 2007, 456 on 1,26,2 *iniecta dextera clementer*, where the adverb "suggests an appearance of polite behaviour"; in our case, the same idea of paternal kindness is conveyed by the fact that Mithras is defined as a *senex comissimus*.

senex comissimus: on Mithras' friendly and even fatherly attitude to Lucius see 11,21,3 *clementer ac comiter et ut solent parentes*; 11,25,7 *meum iam parentem*. As well as his name (see above at 11,22,3 *Mithram*), the fact that Mithras is a *senex* is another personal detail about the priest that is offered to the reader only at this point. The word is arguably meant to convey the idea of respectability and wisdom that go together with old age (cf. e.g. Socrates, *diuinae prudentiae senex* at 10,33,3).

aedis amplissima: emphatic expression according to Fredouille 1975, 107 ad loc., who points out that Isiac sanctuaries are usually not large: for example, the *cella* of the Iseum at Pompeii is just 4,82 x 3,04 m. The hyperbole nicely represents the subjective perspective of the awe-struck Lucius.

aedis: on the (usually synonymic) usage of *aedes*, *templum*, and *fanum* in this book see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 152-153.

rituque sollemni apertionis: on the ceremony of the morning opening of Isis' temple see comm. at 11,20,3-5 (and cf. 11,27,6 *matutinis ... salutationibus*). See Fugier 1963, 306-321 for a study of the religious usage of the adjective *sollemnis*.

de operis adyti: objects from the innermost part of the temple were required during the morning *apertio* too: see 11,20,4 *de penetrali fontem petitum spondeo libat*. The expression might be slightly redundant, since *opertum* and *adytum* have close meanings ('concealed' and 'inaccessible'); according to Griffiths 1975, 284 ad loc. it refers to small crypts connected to the *cella/adyton*, "where a selection of papyrus rolls were kept in readiness for particular rites". See also comm. on 11,17,1 *uenerandis penetrabilibus ... initiati*. For the noun *operta*, almost a technical term in mystery religions, see *ThLL* s.v. *operio* 688,81-88 and comm. at 11,11,2 *operta*.

adyti: a transliteration from the Greek as old as Accius (*trag.* 624 [92 Dangel]). It appears in prose (Caesar and Columella), but it is predominantly a poetic word before Apuleius (who possibly uses it also at *met.* 2,28,3, but the text is uncertain: see *GCA* 2001, 372 ad loc.). After him, it is not infrequent in Christian authors, starting with Tertullian.

litteris ignorabilibus: a script both unknown and unknowable. Secrecy is required both in mystery cults and in magic: at 3,17,4 Pamphile's magical tools are described, and they include *tabellae defixionum* written in incomprehensible script (*feralem officinam, omne genus aromatis et ignorabiliter lamminis litteratis*: see Van der Paardt 1971, 132 ad loc.). Cf. 11,16,7 for another probably undecipherable (since Lucius does not read its text for us) and possibly Egyptian inscription.

Winkler 1985, 306-321 claims that Apuleius, as well as some of his readers, possessed a good knowledge of Isiac mythology and the Egyptian language. He notes that such a knowledge is attested in Imperial culture, and that there is tangible evidence that "some in Italy (the Latin-speaking community envisioned for the *AA*) could read and write sacred Egyptian script" (p. 309). Generally speaking, "by the reign of Caligula we can observe unmistakable signs of a virtual Egyptomania", and there are several signs "of a general fascination with the Egyptian styles of art, ceremony, dress, and language" (pp. 307-308; on Egyptian influences in Roman art, see also Curl 1994, and many of the essays in Beck, Bol and Bückling [edd.] 2005).

Indeed, 2nd century 'Egyptomania' (for the term, see also Introduction, 1.1 with n. 3) offers an important context for this passage and for the whole of Book 11 (and of course for the Prologue to the novel: see *GCA* 2007, 68-69 on 1,1,1 *Aegyptiam ... Nilotici*, pointing out that not only fascination, but also contempt for Egyptian and more generally Oriental culture was commonplace in Greek and Roman literature). However, hieroglyphs are probably misinterpreted as ideograms here (see below on *partim ... partim*), and this would suggest that Lucius, and probably Apuleius as well, had no deep knowledge, if any, of the Egyptian writing system, or at least that Apuleius did not suppose that his readers had it. Actually, there is absolutely no need, for the reader of *met.*, to be able to understand hieroglyphs and/or hieratic script (this is also true at least for the external circles of Isis' followers, as Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 180 points out), and Apuleius himself might use the need for secrecy (also) to cover his own ignorance of what might be written in a secret liturgical book of the Isiac cult (see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 40). The reference to the book and to other Egyptian and exotic elements (see e.g. comm. on 11,11,1 *horrendus ... Anubis*) can simply be due to the narrative need to create an appropriate context for Lucius' initiation and to the wish to titillate the 'Egyptomaniac' tastes of a contemporary public. In fact, something similar happened in real life. The Isiac temple in Pompeii displayed Egyptian objects, among which was an early Ptolemaic inscription (described as n. 6.1 in De Caro 1992, 78) which, although religious in nature, has nothing to do with Isiac cult: it must have gained its prominent place on the outer wall of the *cella* because the hieroglyphics themselves "would have seemed intriguing, the script both sacred and allegorical. The prominent display of the inscription acted as an advertisement of the cult's exotic origins" (Swetnam-Burland 2007, 128). See also the Essay by Egelhaaf-Gaiser in this volume, with n. 6 on the so-called *Aegyptiaca*.

ignorabilibus: a rare adjective, only attested in Cic. *inv.* 2,99 before Apuleius (cf. also *met.* 3,17,4 *ignorabiliter lamminis litteratis*, on Pamphile's *feralis officina*). In Apuleius' time it is also found in Gell. 9,12,3; later, it has a certain diffusion in post-classical authors. On adjectives in *-bilis* and their frequent active meaning possibly originating from an ancient instrumental function see Leumann 1917, 95-127, and on their frequency in Book 11 see comm. on 11,24,5 *inexplicabili*.

praenotatos: the compound is not attested before Apuleius, who uses it ‘vi praeverbii fere evanida’ (*ThLL* s.v. *praenoto* 737,7); cf. *GCA* 2000, 163 on 10,9,3 *praenota* and Callebat 1968, 139. In this case we can safely assume it simply means ‘written’ and not ‘entitled’, both because of the context (Lucius sees Mithras reading the roll, so he can probably see its pages as well and not only its title) and the comparison with such passages as 6,25,1 *dolebam ... quod pugillares et stilum non habebam qui tam bellam fabellam praenotarem* (cf. also 2,24,2 and 10,9,3). See *contra* e.g. Walsh 1994, who translates “books headed with unfamiliar characters”.

partim ... partim ...: the description is divided into two sections; it is usually assumed that the first part, that refers to animal figures, describes rolls written in hieroglyphics (wrongly interpreted by Apuleius or Lucius as ideograms instead of phonograms), while the second part describes rolls written in the more abstract hieratic script (see esp. Griffiths 1975, 285 ad loc.).

The structure *partim ... partim* must refer to *libros*, and not to *litteris*: otherwise, in the second colon, *apicibus* (a synonym of *litterae*: see comm. below) would not make sense. Here is a representation of the structure of the phrase, that highlights the parallelisms between the two *partim* clauses:

profert quosdam **libros** litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos,

partim	partim
<u>figuris</u> cuiusce modi animalium	nodosis et in modum rotae tortuosis capreolatimque condensis <u>apicibus</u>
concepti sermonis compendiosa uerba suggerentes	a curiositate profanorum lectione munita

See *contra*, for example, the translation by Walsh 1994, that is necessarily rather free in order to avoid the problem (“Then from a hidden recess in the shrine he extracted some books headed with unfamiliar characters. Some were in the shapes of every kind of animal, and served as summaries of formulaic phrases. Others were knotted and twisted into wheel-shapes ...”). The same is true for Griffiths’ translation, who also mentions in his commentary the possibility that the animal figures were small vignettes accompanying texts written in hieratic script: but again, the text apparently refers to different rolls written in different scripts, and not different scripts or figures coexisting on the same page. Fredouille 1975, 108 ad loc. suggests another interpretation, *libros suggerentes compendiosa uerba concepti sermonis, partim figuris ..., partim nodosis ...*, that however disrupts the structure *partim ... partim* by extracting *concepti ... suggerentes*.

concepti sermonis: an original *variatio* on the common expression *concepta uerba*, which allows Apuleius to create a more complex and elegant circumlocution by adding *compendiosa uerba*. On *concepta uerba* = “solemn formulae” cf. *GCA* 2001, 332 on 2,24,2 *uerba concepta*. The expression is especially common in juridical language (e.g. Gaius *inst.* 4,30 *per concepta uerba, id est per formulas*; 4,139

formulae autem et uerborum conceptiones), but Servius thinks it has a popular origin: *Aen.* 12,13 *concepta ... uerba dicuntur iurandi formula, quam nobis transgredi non licet: nam et sarcinatores concipere dicuntur uestimenta, cum e diuerso coniungunt et adsuunt*. Petronius uses the superlative *conceptissimis uerbis* twice, of course ironically (113,13; 133,2).

compendiosa uerba: the formulae are probably ‘concise’ because they are written (or, better, Lucius thinks they are written; cf. above on *litteris ignorabilibus*) in ideograms, that allow several words to be expressed by a single figure. The adjective, in the meaning of ‘compendio, abbreviatione utens, breuior’, appears in Apuleius for the first time (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *compendiosus* 2036,60-2037,27), here and at 6,30,2 *compendiosum ... iter*. *GCA* 1981, 64, commenting on the second passage, suggest that “*compendiosum* contains a typically Apuleian ambiguity: it means not only ‘shortened’ ... but also ‘advantageous’”. That ambiguity seems appropriate to this context too.

capreolatim: the adverb is a hapax legomenon, and means ‘(contorted) like a vine-tendrill’; cf. e.g. Varro *rust.* 1,31,4 *capreolum. Is est coliculus viteus intortus, ut cincinnus*.

apicibus: instrumental and corresponding to the previous *figuris*, *apex* must have the rare meaning of ‘letter’ here, which is clearly attested only after Apuleius: cf. *ThLL* s.v. 227,70-81 and Rolfe 1927, 3-4. One of the clearest instances is Macrobius, *somn.* 1,6,70 *apud quos (Latinos) tamen, si sonos uocalium, non apices numeraveris, similiter septem sunt*; Fredouille 1975, 108 ad loc. mentions Gell. 13,31,10 and 17,9,12, but in those passages *apex* is a part of a letter or the strokes that form it, and not the letter itself.

a curiositate profanorum lectione munita: the last two words can be considered either as an ablative of quality describing the second group of rolls, parallel (with *variatio*) to the previous *suggerentes* and governing the ablative *apicibus*; or as an ablative absolute, with Fredouille 1975, 108 and Griffiths 1975, 285 (who considers it “syntactically irregular” as a parallel expression to *suggerentes*).

A smoother text, also providing a more direct parallelism to *suggerentes*, can be obtained at the price of two small corrections: *a curiosa profanorum lectione munitos* (Harrison): *curiositate* instead of *curiosa* can be the result of an easily misinterpreted compendium, and after that a scribe could have tried to restore some meaning to the corrupted text changing *munitos* into *munita*.

curiositate: on the important theme of *curiositas* in *met.* see comm. at 11,15,1 *curiositatis improspere*, and introduction to Ch. XXIII (2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader); a comparison with 11,23,5-6 is particularly apt if, as it seems, the reader of the novel is to be considered as one of the *profani* for whom the comprehension of the sacred text is precluded. On secrecy in Isiac cult cf. above on *litteris ignorabilibus*; cf. also 11,27,4 *tacenda* with comm. ad loc.

lectione: here in the less common and later meaning of ‘interpretation, comprehension’ rather than ‘reading’; cf. *ThLL* s.v. *lectio* 1083,1-17.

mihi praedicat quae forent ... praeparanda: on the free use of tenses against the normal sequence see Callebat 1968, 361, with several other examples. However, these examples can simply be considered as a consequence of the historic present in the governing clause, rather than instances of familiar speech.

quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda: no details are provided, either here or at 11,30,1 *instructum teletae comparo*, about what exactly was necessary to prepare for the initiation. Provisions for a cultic meal were probably included: cf. 11,23,1 *coemenda procuro* with comm. ad loc.

teletae: transliteration of the Greek τελετή ('mystic rite, initiation'). Apuleius is the first Latin author to use the word (here and at 11,24,5; 11,26,4; 11,27,3; 11,29,1; 11,30,1). Later, cf. e.g. Aug. *civ.* 4,31 (*Graecos teletas ac mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse*); 10,9 (*consecrationes theurgicas, quas teletas vocant*); 10,23. On the use of the term in Isiac context, and on the 'narration' involved in these mystic rites see e.g. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 27 (*Mor.* 361D-E): ἡ ... Ὀσίριδος ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ ... ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἀναμείξασα τελεταῖς εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μιμήματα τῶν τότε παθημάτων εὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ δίδαγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίων καθωσίωσεν ("the sister and wife of Osiris ... intermingled in the most holy rites portrayals and suggestions and representations of her experiences at that time, and sanctified them, both as a lesson in godliness and an encouragement for men and women who find themselves in the clutch of like calamities"; tr. Babbitt 1936). In several Greek aretalogies, Isis claims to have founded the initiation-rites of the Mysteries; this appears to be an innovative element in comparison with the Egyptian tradition, where no similar statement can be found – indeed, it is also questionable whether Mysteries in the proper sense of the term were known to Egyptian religion (on this question see e.g. Griffiths 1970, 390-391; Junge 1979; Assmann 2002).

CHAPTER XXIII

Lucius' first initiation.

1. The description of the rites

The long awaited day of Lucius' initiation finally comes. The rite is described at some length, together with the preliminary ceremonies and preparations: even without taking into account Ch. XXIV, where some more public aspects of the complex rite are described, and considering the rather general nature of Lucius' report (on which see below), we are much better informed about this initiation than about the following two, which are only briefly mentioned at 11,28,5 and 11,30,1. This might be due to the need to avoid repetitions; on this narrative difference, see introduction to Ch. XXVI (A new narrative mode) and comm. on 11,27,3 *discrimen maximum*.

The initiation proper is described in 11,23,5-7. It is presented as a mystery rite that of course should stay secret and hidden from all the non-initiated – among them, most notably, the readers/listeners of Lucius' account (on the subtle shift from 'reading' to 'listening to' see below on 11,23,5 *audire*). There is a specific focus in this passage on the unstable relationship between reticence and loquacity on the narrator's part, and between respect for secrecy and desire to know on the reader's part: this is a key text in the debate on the question of curiosity, one of the most important unifying themes of the entire novel.³

2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader

It is a matter of fact that Lucius is *curiosus*. One of the clearest passages on this aspect of his personality is 2,1,1-2: after his first night in Hypata, still excited because of Aristomenes' fantastic tale, Lucius wakes up *anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt*, and he finally admits *curiose singula considerabam*. In the first ten books *curiositas* is usually qualified by unbiased adjectives, like *familiaris* (3,14,1 and 9,12,2), *ingenita* (9,13,3), and *genuina* (9,15,3). Apparently, it is nothing else than a desire for knowledge; one can argue that it is misdirected towards improper objects (*quae rara miraque sunt*; or *cuncta uel certe plurima* at 1,2,6) and therefore does not lead to real wisdom (see Montiglio 2007, 97-105; Graverini 2007, 158-165 [= 2012, 141-146]), but it does not appear to be dangerous or censurable *per se*. It is only the new perspective of the last book (and of *Cupid and Psyche*) that explicitly casts a suspicious light on *curiositas*: in Book 11 it is *inprospera* in Mithras' words at 11,15,1; Lucius himself calls it *temeraria* here; at 11,23,5, and at 11,22,8 it characterizes the *profani* who, like the *studiosus lector* of

³ There is a vast literature on the subject; good starting points in Van der Paardt 1971, 208-209; B.L. Hijmans in *GCA* 1995, 363-379; DeFilippo 1999; *GCA* 2000, 20-21; Nicolini 2005, 38-44; Kirichenko 2008a.

this chapter, would like to know what is forbidden to them; in the *Cupid and Psyche* tale it is *sacrilega* at 5,6,6 and *temeraria* at 6,20,5.

What is new in this chapter is that *curiositas* is attributed not to Lucius, but to the reader: a role-reversal that reinforces the pattern of identification between the *ego*-narrator and his audience that emerges throughout the novel.⁴ This role-reversal is not unexpected, though. Lucius' reader/listener wants to 'know more' on two other occasions at least: in the Prologue, when he is imagined interrupting the speaker with the question *quis ille?*; and at 9,30,1, when he (the *lector scrupulosus*) is doubtful about how Lucius could know what he is narrating.⁵ In this chapter, the reader's curiosity is also characterized by a deep emotional involvement (11,23,5 *anxie*; 11,23,6 *angore*), and again this is a trait the reader shares with the main character: Lucius is *anxius* at 11,20,3 and has an *anxium animus* at 11,21,3 where he is eager to be initiated; as we have seen, he was already *anxius ... et nimis cupidus cognoscendi* at 2,1,1 where he expects to see traces of magic all around himself.

So, the intended reader is constructed as being as curious as Lucius, and this curiosity, that previously appeared to be simply an innocent narrative means to provide Lucius with occasions to motivate and expand the account of his adventures, abruptly becomes a very questionable attitude in the world of Egyptian mysteries. Nevertheless, the *temeraria curiositas* of 11,23,5 is swiftly changed into a *desiderium forsitan religiosum* at 11,23,6, that Lucius feels he has to satisfy at least to some extent: in this way, he gets an opportunity to expand his narrative and introduce some details about his supposedly secret initiation rite.

3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?

Of course, this brings us to a crucial interpretive problem: is Lucius breaking the secrecy of Isis' mysteries or not? If he is, we are naturally led to think that his acceptance of the Egyptian religion is only superficial, and that he is still the same indiscreet and foolish character he was at the beginning of the novel (so Harrison in *AAGA* 3, 82-83). The reader himself, as the narrator represents him, is at risk of being punished, together with Lucius, for his sacrilege (11,23,5 *parem noxam contraherent*): almost at the end of the novel, the reader is implicitly threatened with the possibility that he has to go through the same vicissitudes as the main character, who was changed into an ass as a consequence of his improper curiosity and reckless behaviour – and who did not become any wiser after regaining his human shape.

However, it is debatable whether Lucius is actually divulging any real secrets here: most of what he says was probably common knowledge about the initiation rites not only of Isiac religion, but also of other mystery cults (see comm. at 11,23,7 *passim*). The fact that he concludes by saying that the reader must pretend to ignore

⁴ See Graverini 2007, 173-185 [= 2012, 154-164] and 2010, 71-75. The reader is in fact characterized as curious also in the previous books, but never explicitly: cf. *GCA* 2000, 20-21; Kirichenko 2008a, 361 even elevates the reader's curiosity to the status of "one of the central themes of the novel".

⁵ Cf. also *GCA* 2000, 21: "the narrator of the *Met.* constantly makes the reader, too, guilty of curiosity. This changes at the end of Book 10: Lucius refuses to cooperate any longer in the theatre performance and flees. One might also say that the narrator disappoints those readers who, like the audience in the theatre, are eagerly awaiting (the description of) the promised Pasiphae pantomime".

what he has just heard can be interpreted as a narrative strategy designed to make it easier for the reader to look at things from the perspective of Lucius, with whom he now shares an important 'secret'; ultimately, it helps the reader to let himself be absorbed in the narrative world. Like Lucius, the reader is presented as being eager to know and to experience everything about Isis' mysteries; however, he only receives a very general and unsatisfactory report of what happened during the initiation rites and not a detailed answer to his question *quid deinde dictum, quid factum*. Lucius' narration can be considered as an appetizer, something that is intended to tantalize his audience's curiosity, but not to satisfy it completely: it puts the reader in more or less the same situation as Lucius *before* his initiation – one might even say that Lucius is 'initiating' his reader, elevating him from the state of *profanus* implicitly attributed to him at 11,22,8.

Indeed, there can be either a large or a small distance between *temeraria curiositas* and *desiderium forsitan religiosum*, and one might even say that the possibility of different interpretations is almost provocatively pointed out by the adverb *forsitan*. As we have seen, they are both 'anxious' states of mind, a desire for knowledge that is not only rational but involves deep emotions: this might be seen as pointing out the depth of Lucius' and his reader's involvement with the Egyptian religion, but it is also true that this 'anxiety' is always liable to lead to reckless actions (hasty and untimely initiation or illicit revelations in this book, dangerous connections with magic in Book 2). However, once again there are some differences between the reader's *curiositas* described here and Lucius' inquisitiveness in the first books of the novel: namely, the objects of their yearning (*cuncta uel certe plurima* at 1,2,6 and *quae rara miraque sunt* at 2,1,1; *quae uera sunt* here at 11,23,6) and their reaction to the fulfilment of their 'anxious' desires (astonishment or aesthetic/hedonistic appreciation vs. faith: see below on 11,23,6 *sed crede*). Again, both continuity and change can be advocated, and one can only decide between these two options in the larger frame of an interpretation of the whole novel.

11,23,1 Ea protinus nauiter et aliquanto liberalius partim ipse, partim per meos socios coemenda procuro. Iamque tempore, ut aiebat sacerdos, id postulante stipatum me religiosa cohorte deducit ad proximas balneas et prius sueto lauacro traditum, praefatus deum ueniam, purissime circumrorans abluit, I immediately make the necessary purchases industriously and somewhat more liberally than required, both in person and through my friends. When the priest said the moment had come, he led me to the baths nearby together with a crowd of disciples, and consigned me to the normal bath. Then, after asking for the gods' blessing, he sprinkled water over me and thoroughly purified me, ...

protinus nauiter et aliquanto liberalius: a series of adverbs strongly marking Lucius' enthusiasm. They also point out how large are the expenses Lucius meets in order to get what is necessary for the initiation; Mithras himself had already determined how much Lucius was supposed to spend (cf. 11,22,3 *quantoque sumptu*), but here Lucius almost seems to overdo it out of enthusiasm.

nauiter: Apuleius is particularly fond of this adverb (11 occurrences in the novel, 1 in *de Platone*), which is not very common elsewhere. It might be regarded as an archaism (Harrauer 1973, 151: it is found in Sisenna, *Miles*, fig. 4, and cf. Ter. *Eun.* 51) or more likely as an instance of *sermo familiaris* (so *GCA* 1981, 46 on 6,27,6, following Callebat 1968, 175). Cupaiuolo 1967, 35 lists a great number of adverbs with suffix *-ter*, which mostly occur in the poetry of the archaic period and reappear in later authors, such as *ampliter*, *auiditer* or *largiter*. For the archaizing adverb *decoriter* see comm. on 11,3,5 *decoriter confluctuabat*. The case with *nauiter* is slightly different: although the form with suffix *-ter* is usually found in archaic authors, and replaced by the form in *-e* in classical times (e.g. *ignauiter* – *ignae*), the earliest form in our case is *naue* (Plaut. *Friv. frg.* 6), whereas *nauiter* is also used by classical authors (e.g. Cic. *fam.* 5,12,3; Liv. 10,39,6; 43,7,3).

socios: probably referring to Lucius' fellow initiates, the *sacрати* with whom he shares his doubts at 11,27,1; or maybe the *familiares* who join Lucius at 11,18,2.

coemenda procuro: Apuleius is the first to use *procurare* with a gerundive construction. Cf. also *apol.* 15,5 where the verb governs one or more final clauses. The other examples mentioned by *ThLL* s.v. *procuro* for the use of the verb with any verbal construction (1584,10-46: final clause, gerund., acc. or nom. + inf., inf. alone), are all later than Apuleius, except Hor. *epist.* 1,5,21. Verbal constructions are more common with the simple *curo* (*ThLL* s.v. 1498,46-1500,24).

On Lucius' expenditures before each of the three initiations and their relevance for the general interpretation of the novel see introduction to Ch. XVIII (1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation). Lucius' main expense was probably the cultic meal: cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 273-274 and 424-425; on cultic meals and banquets in Book 11 see also Tilg 2011; in the cult of Isis and other mystery religions, Burkert 1987, 109-110. See also comm. on 11,24,4 *suauis epulae et faceta conuiuia*.

religiosa cohorte: cf. 11,14,5 *e cohorte religionis unus*. On such military language applied to Isis' cult see comm. on 11,6,1 *in ipso procinctu pompae*.

ad proximas balneas: the Isiac temples had small baths and sources of water, used for ritual practices (cf. 11,20,4 *de penetrali fontem*), but external public baths are probably intended in this passage: this is suggested by the phrase *ad templum reductum* in the next paragraph, by the common meaning of the phrase *ad balneas* (cf. e.g. *met.* 1,5,5, or 3,12,5 *ad lauacrum proximum*), and by the fact that these baths are said to accommodate a large crowd. Cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 358-359, who also points out that this is the only literary text where the use of baths is mentioned in the context of preparation for an initiation.

prius sueto lauacro ... abluit: a rite of purification in two phases: first a preliminary 'proper washing' (it is not clear whether by full immersion or not), and then a sprinkling of (presumably holy) water. On the sacral value of water in Isiac cults see comm. at 11,11,4 *urnula*; for parallels to these ablutions in Egyptian cults and other religions see comm. on 11,1,4 *marino lauacro trado*; cf. also below on *circumrorans*.

It was sometimes natural for Christian authors to compare these pagan purification rites to baptism: cf. Tert. *bapt.* 5,1 *uiduis aquis sibi mentiuntur. nam et sacris quibusdam per lauacrum initiantur Isidis alicuius aut Mithrae*. However, it is debated whether this 'pagan baptism' is to be interpreted as a rite of death and resurrection: it is true that "Isis and Osiris ... were essentially funerary deities", as Griffiths 1975,

289 states, but Apuleius seems to separate rather clearly this purification in the water from the death and resurrection rite mentioned below at 11,23,7, which takes place ten days later (11,23,2). On the whole, it seems that Burkert 1987, 101 is right in warning that – despite the polemical passage by Tertullian quoted above and similar texts, and some undeniable similarities in the rituals – “such procedures should not be confused with baptism proper – immersion into a river or basin as a symbol of starting a new life”. However it may be, we only point out, here as well as on several other occasions (see Introduction, 1.4), that there is no need to demand a strict adherence to ritual practices and theological precepts in each and every aspect of Apuleius' narration, though confirmations of specific aspects can be found sometimes in other more historically dependable sources. In general, on the use of water, fountains and water basins in Isiac rituals, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 330-354.

praefatus deum ueniam: a varied and shortened form of the traditional formula *pacem ueniamque deorum petere* (cf. e.g. Liv. 1,31,7; 39,10,5; Cic. *Font.* 30; *Rab. perd.* 5. For the pagan use of asking the gods for *pax* in prayer see *ThLL* s.v. 'usu pagano' 866,37-40). According to Fugier 1963, 297-301 *pax*, a notion that implies a sort of 'contract' between men and gods, is omitted as incompatible with Isis' almighty transcendence. Fredouille 1975, 109 ad loc. points out that indeed there is a sort of 'contract' between Lucius and Isis; however, the lifelong commitment that is expected from Lucius goes well beyond the normal requirements of contracts with the gods in traditional Roman religion. In any case, one of the premises of Fugier's suggestion, that the idea of *pax deorum* is absent in Book 11 (p. 300), is not entirely true. At 11,2,4 Lucius asks the Moon goddess *tu ... pausam pacemque tribue*: we have a looser and less 'contractual' meaning of *pax* there as compared to the traditional (and old, by Apuleius' times) usage, a meaning that is not so far from that of *uenia* (see below). So, the abbreviation of the traditional formula *pax et uenia* might owe more to the vanishing difference between the two terms than to sophisticated theological concerns. A good example of this vanishing difference is provided by Servius, *Aen.* 1,519 where Vergil's *orantes ueniam* is glossed *pacem propter incendium nauium*; Servius even feels he needs to provide some religious-historical background (*et proprie uerbum pontificale est*) for an expression that, at least in his times, was probably no longer current. He also says that *uenia* is usually requested because of a previous *culpa*; but in the present case it only means *beneficium* – *uenia* is more or less the same as *beniuolentia* (on this concept in Apuleius see comm. at 11,22,4 *beniuolis*). As regards *pax*, *ThLL* s.v. 866,28-33 observes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish whether *pax* in the context of 'pax cum deis' means the *uenia* or the *beniuolentia* that is to be given by the gods, or rather its effect, i.e. *salus* or the end of a war.

Secularised usages of the formula *pax et uenia* are frequent in historians: see e.g. Tac. *hist.* 5,24,1 *Cerialis ... Batauis pacem, Ciuili ueniam ostentans*; cf. Amm. 14,10,9; Eutr. 6,14,1; etc. According to Harrauer – Römer 1985, 361 and n. 29, this is also the case in the Prologue, 1,1,5 *praefatur ueniam*: see *GCA* 2007, 84 ad loc. for a discussion.

praefatus: a standard term in religious invocations, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *praefor* 649,63-650,21. In Apuleius, see also 11,16,6 *sollemnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore* and 11,17,3 *fausta uota praefatus*; a religious meaning might also be implied at 11,14,2 *quid potissimum praefarer primum* (cf. comm. ad loc.). The verb points

out that the goddess' *uenia* is the first and most important prerequisite for the initiation. Griffiths 1975, 287 ad loc. rightly states that this "stress on forgiveness is in accord with the central spiritual experience of the work: Lucius is saved through the grace and mercy of Isis". However, 'forgiveness' might not exactly be the point here: see below on *ueniam*.

deum: the plural respects the traditional formula (see above), but here only Isis is probably meant – unless both Isis and Osiris are addressed together, as it happens sometimes in chapters XXVIII-XXX: cf. introduction to Ch. XXIX (1. The third initiation) and comm. on 11,29,1 *deum*. *Contra* Bradley 1998, 326, according to whom "the priest offers a prayer seeking the favour of the gods, in the plural ... and it is all these gods who adore Isis".

ueniam: Griffiths 1975, 287 ad loc. compares 11,25,7 where Lucius also asks for forgiveness (*complexus Mithram ... ueniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem*). However, the situation appears to be rather different: in that passage Lucius asks for forgiveness for a very specific 'sin', while in this context a more general meaning of *uenia* seems appropriate, such as 'kindness, indulgence, favour' (as e.g. in the passages quoted above at *praefatus deum ueniam*, where Cicero uses the traditional formula *pacem ac ueniam petere*). For the religious use of *uenia* in the sense of 'favour' see OLD s.v. 1 and cf. *met.* 5,6,5 *sic ille nouae nuptae precibus ueniam tribuit*, with GCA 2004, 147 ad loc., offering more parallels from *met.* The *uenia* Lucius is asking for here closely recalls other fundamental qualities of Isis and the Egyptian gods: *miserecordia* (11,15,1), *dignatio* (11,4,3; 11,11,1; 11,21,8; 11,22,5; 11,29,4), and *beniuolentia* (see above on *praefatus deum ueniam*).

purissime: emphatic superlative, cf. 11,16,6 *quam purissime purificatam*.

circumrorans: Apuleian hapax. Griffiths 1975, 288 suggests that the action of sprinkling water implies the use of the *aureum uasculum in modum papillae rotundatum* mentioned at 11,10,6. However, this breast-shaped vessel is explicitly said to be used for libations with milk; the *urnula* of 11,11,4 might fit better, as Griffiths himself seems to admit, but there is no need to think that a specific, already mentioned vessel is used on this occasion.

11,23,2 *rursumque ad templum reductum, iam duabus diei partibus transactis, ante ipsa deae uestigia constituit secretoque mandatis quibusdam, quae uoce meliora sunt, illud plane cunctis arbitris praecipit: decem continuis illis diebus cibariam uoluptatem coacerem neque ullum animal essem et inuinius essem. And the priest led me back to the temple. When two-thirds of the day had already passed he made me stand before the very feet of the goddess, and in private gave me certain orders that are better not related here. This however he commanded loud and clear, for all to witness: that for the following ten days, with no interruption, I should abstain from the pleasures of the table, eating no meat and drinking no wine.*

ad templum reductum: for the location, see above on 11,23,1 *ad proximas balneas*.

duabus diei partibus transactis: after either two-thirds of the day (cf. Isid. *nat.* 1,2 *partes ... diei tres sunt: mane, meridies et suprema*) or half the day (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 2,268 *sunt ... solidae noctis partes secundum Varronem hae (...); diei: mane ortus*

meridies occasus). In any case, this is the third part of the day; on Apuleius' use of the 'sacred' number three in Book 11 see introduction to Ch. XXIX (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?).

deae uestigia: for *uestigia* = 'feet' (a poetic usage: cf. OLD s.v. 3) cf. 11,17,4 *exosculatis uestigiis deae*; 6,2,3 *tunc Psyche pedes eius aduoluta et uberi fletu rigans deae* (sc. *Cereris*) *uestigia*.

uoce meliora: a Greek expression, common both in poetry and in prose (cf. e.g. Eur. *Suppl.* 844-845 κρείσσον' ἢ λέξαι λόγῳ τολμήματα; *Iph. T.* 837-838; *Alc.* 964; *Med.* 965; Xen. *Mem.* 3,11,1; Thuc. 2,50,1; Plut. *Rom.* 27,6, etc.) but unparalleled in Latin. In Greek, it is normally used to say that something is beyond description, as in Charit. 8,6,8 θέαμα λόγου κρείττον; in this Apuleian adaptation instead it implies the usual obligation to secrecy in Egyptian rites, also pointed out by the previous *secreto*.

plane: the adverb has more adversative than intensifying value here, and structures the opposition between the two clauses *secretoque ... sunt* and *illud ... praecipit*: cf. *ThLL* s.v. *plane* 2345,76-2346,52. Fredouille 1975, 110 ad loc. takes it, rather pleonastically, with *cunctis*.

cunctis arbitris: ablative absolute. In contrast with the previous secret commands, the common precept of abstinence needs no secrecy.

praecipit ... coacerem neque ... essem et ... essem: for *praecipio* governing clauses both with and without *ut/ne*, cf. e.g. Ov. *ars* 3,197-198 *quid si praecipiam ne fuscus inertia dentes, / oraue suscepta mane lauentur aqua?*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *praecipio* 448, 58-61.

decem continuis illis diebus: the same period of ten days of fasting before an initiation is mentioned at 11,28,5 *decem rursus diebus inanimis contentus cibus* and 11,30,1 *praescriptis illis decem diebus spontali sobrietate multiplicatis*; on dietary restrictions and abstinence in the Isiac cult see also comm. on 11,19,3 *castimoniorum abstinentiam*. While Propertius repeatedly laments that his beloved Cynthia has to observe ten days of sexual abstinence in connection with Isiac rituals (see 2,28,62 *uotiuas noctes et mihi solue decem* and 2,33a,1-2 *tristia iam redeunt iterum sollemnina nobis: / Cynthia iam noctes est operata decem*, and cf. Tib. 1,3,23-26 with Maltby 2002 ad loc.), in Apuleius' Isis Book sex is conspicuously absent (cf. comm. on 11,21,9 *purissimae religionis*), although *uoluptas* remains a characteristic of Lucius: see below on *cibariam uoluptatem* and 11,24,5 *inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar* with comm. ad loc. For his part, Propertius clearly does not care about the alimentary abstinence so frequently mentioned in the novel.

It has been suggested that the pattern 'initiation after ten days' bears some meaning for the structure of the novel, reinforcing the 'saving' nature of Book 11 (cf. Lavagnini 1923, 37-38; Bergman 1972a; Heller 1983, 334-335; Frangoulidis 2008, 192); however, it is very debatable that the first ten books can be interpreted as a sort of preliminary purification necessarily leading to Lucius' re-transformation. Bergman 1972a suggests that the period of ten days corresponds to the ten lunar months of gestation, and that therefore it is a sort of a prelude to the 'rebirth' that awaits the initiate (cf. e.g. 11,21,7 *renatos*). However, Apuleius never implies such a day-month correspondence: this is pointed out by Griffiths 1975, 356, who argues that this time span has a more likely origin in the Egyptian ten-day week. Bergman also discusses the possibility of a Pythagorean influence, since that philosophy considered ten as a per-

fect number and promoted vegetarianism; however, the abstinence from meat is only temporary in the rites described by Apuleius. It should be noted that a ten-day period of purification is also required in other non-Egyptian mystery cults; for example, in Livy 39,9,4 P. Aebutius' mother describes her son's future initiation into the Bacchanalia by saying that *decem dierum castimonia opus esse: decimo die cenatum, deinde pure lautum in sacrarium deducturam*. Of course, the number ten is important in Judaism as well (the ten commandments, etc.). It also had a mystical value for Plato, influenced by Pythagoras (see the importance of numbers 10, 100 and 1000 in Book 10 of the *Republic*: e.g. 615a-b); but Vitruvius 3,1,5 testifies to its significance in less directly philosophical contexts too, and to its natural connection to the number of fingers in two hands.

On the whole, it is not necessary to look for a specific origin of the period of ten days of fasting mentioned by Apuleius in peculiar features of Egyptian culture – or at least, there is no need to think that this Egyptian origin has any significance for the novel. The sources quoted above make it clear that this length was traditional and even expected for periods of purifications in Isiac and other mystery cults; and that the number ten *per se* had an air of mysticism.

cibariam uoluptatem coercerem: a repetition of what had already been ordered at 11,21,1 *cibis profanis ac nefariis temperarem*. On *uoluptas* see comm. on 11,24,5 *inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar*; on Lucius' immoderate appetite before the re-transformation see Tilg 2014b (forthc.), who also points out that Lucius is more interested in the pleasures of food than in those of sex.

neque ullum animal essem: on the precept of vegetarianism see also 11,28,5 *inanimis contentus cibus* and 11,30,1 *inanimae ... castimoniae iugum subeo*; cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 4 (*Mor.* 352C) and 6 (*Mor.* 353B-C) on abstinence from wine and some kinds of meat for Egyptian priests. It is to be noted that abstinence from animal food was only temporary in Egyptian cults, which did not enforce total vegetarianism. Dietary restrictions were imposed on priests, but the meat of some animals was allowed (e.g. oxen and geese in Herodot. 2,37): see Griffiths 1975, 290-291 ad loc., who rightly points out that the religious practices described by Lucius also include rich banquets on some occasions (cf. 11,24,5 *ientaculum religiosum et teletae legitima consummatio* and see above at 11,23,1 *coemenda proculo*).

neque ullum animal essem et inuinius essem: the transposition *essem inuinius* by Médan 1925a ('fortasse recte' for Robertson 1945) is unnecessary: Apuleius is obviously fond of chiasmus, but this does not mean that all simple parallelisms must be emended away, and the transmitted text forms a clausula that is certainly not uncommon in *met.* (dact. + troch.: 78 in total, nine in Book 11, cf. Bernhard 1927, 251). The transmitted word order appropriately distances the two occurrences of *essem* and softens the effect of paronomasia or repetition (see below).

essem et ... essem: the first from *edo*, the second from *sum*. It is also possible that the second *esse* is also from *edo*: "eating wineless", with *inuinius* having adverbial value (see Griffiths 1975, 291 ad loc.). Whether a repetition or a paronomasia, this is certainly one of those turns of phrase that Norden 1909, 600-605 so fiercely abhorred as facetious and sickly.

inuinius: hapax legomenon, probably a calque on Greek ἴστωος (*ThLL* s.v. 214,32-33): a very poetic and literary word in classical Greek (cf. e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 107 and

860; Soph. *O.C.* 100; Xen. *Cyr.* 6,2,26 and 27; Plato, *Phil.* 61c), it later became more commonly used and was possibly found by Apuleius in Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 6 (*Mor.* 353B).

11,23,3 *Quis uenerabili continentia rite seruatis, iam dies aderat diuino destinatus uadimonio, et sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam*. So, I duly carried out these orders with reverential self-restraint, and then came the day when I would have to appear in front of the goddess. The declining sun was bringing in the evening.

quis: archaic and poetic for *quibus*, cf. LHSz 1,473.

uenerabili: here probably with the less common active meaning, as in Val. Max. 1,1,15 (*quanto nostrae ciuitatis senatus uenerabilior in deos!*) and 2,4,4 (*uenerabilibus erga deos uerbis*; see Leumann 1917, 121-122), and probably Iuv. 15,143 (*uenerabile soli / sortiti ingenium diuinorumque capaces*). The more common passive sense of *uenerabilis* is found e.g. at 11,7,1 and 11,20,4. On some occasions, the situation is uncertain: for example, at 10,23,6 *arcanis domus uenerabilis silentii custodiae traditis* the adjective has an active sense and agrees with *silentii* according to *GCA* 2000, 301 and *OLD* s.v. *uenerabilis* 2 ('showing veneration or respect, reverential'), but it is quite possible that it has a passive sense and agrees with *domus*. A similar ambiguity is at 11,21,5 *obseruabili patientia* (see comm. ad loc.). A case can be made for a passive (or deliberately ambiguous) meaning here as well; however, both the adjective *uenerabilis* and the verb *ueneror* are usually connected to divinities or have very dignified objects in all the examples provided by the *OLD*, and therefore the act of *uenerari* seems better applied to Isis as object than to Lucius. On the adjectives in *-bilis* see comm. at 11,24,5 *inexplicabili*.

diuino destinatus uadimonio: note alliteration and assonance. The term *uadimonium* has a legal origin, and indicates a summons to appear in court at the appointed time. Lucius is going to comply with Isis' 'injunction' of 11,6,5 *penita mente conditum semper tenebis mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula adusque terminos ultimi spiritus uadata*; on this and other legal metaphors see comm. ad loc. and Keulen 1997. Cf. also 11,21,1 *spe future ... pignerata*.

et sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam: an elaborate periphrasis to mark the end of the tenth day of fasting and purification. Cf. 5,21,4 *uespera ... iam noctem trahente* – another important moment, when Psyche decides to kill her monstrous husband. In both places, the language is highly poetical: cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 1,219 *traherent cum sera crepuscula noctem*; Germ. 434 *hic caelo ornatus trahitur noctemque diemque* (of constellations). The same meaning of *traho*, 'to draw behind one, trail... to leave as a trail or wake' (*OLD* s.v. *traho* 14) is in Verg. *Aen.* 4,701 *Iris... mille trahens uarios aduerso sole colores*.

curuatus: the verb is often used to describe the orbit of the sun or of other stars: see *ThLL* s.v. *curuo* 1548,49-56.

intrahebat: the verb is never found before Apuleius (again at 5,20,3, but the text is suspect: see *GCA* 2004, 258 ad loc.): cf. *ThLL* s.v. *intraho* 45,84-46,9.

11,23,4 Tum ecce confluunt undique turbae sacrorum ritu uetusto uariis quisque me muneribus honorantes. Tunc semotis procul profanis omnibus linteo rudique me contectum amicimine arrepta manu sacerdos deducit ad ipsius sacrarii penetralia. And then, there flowed together from everywhere the crowds that, according to the ancient usage of the ceremony, honoured me, each one of them with his own present. Then all the non-initiated were sent away. I was dressed in a new linen garment, and the priest took my hand and led me to the innermost part of the temple.

confluunt ... turbae sacrorum ritu uetusto ... me ... honorantes: we take *sacrorum* as neuter, meaning ‘ceremonies, rites’, and depending on *ritu*; there is no pleonasm since *ritu* = *more* here (cf. e.g. Liv. 30,16,4 *more adulantium* – *accepto, credo, ritu ex ea regione ex qua oriundi erant* – *procubuerunt*; OLD s.v. 2c).

Others interpret *sacrorum* as masculine, synonymous with *sacrorum* (cf. 11,27,1 *sacrorum consiliis*) and depending on *turbae*: so Vidman 1970, 89 and Harrauer 1973, followed by Walsh 1994 who translates “crowds of initiates gathered from every side, and in accord with ancient custom they each paid me honour”. Two objections can be made to this interpretation: 1) the *turba* still contains the *profani*, who will be sent away only after the ceremony of the gifts, and therefore can hardly be defined as a “crowd of initiates”; 2) it is difficult to find exact parallels for *sacri* = ‘initiates, devotees’. Vidman 1970, 88-89 mentions several inscriptions (*CIL* VI, 2277-2282) where the name of an initiate is followed by *sacrorum* or *Isidis sacrorum*, but Griffiths 1975, 292 rightly observes that *sacrorum* is always better understood as neuter plural there; the *CIL* itself interprets those inscriptions as referring to “sacerdotes viri et feminae, qui vel *patres sacrorum* vel simpliciter *sacrorum* dicuntur”. Griffiths adopts Brant’s conjecture *sacr<at>orum* (in Elmenhorstius 1621), but the transmitted text flows well and is easily understandable. Interpreting *sacrorum* as neuter also improves prose-rhythm, providing a sequence of two three-word cola *confluunt undique turbae / sacrorum ritu uetusto*.

confluunt undique turbae: for the metaphor of the stream cf. 11,10,1 *tum influunt turbae*, with comm. ad loc.; for the presence of a large crowd of spectators at the public part of Lucius’ initiation cf. 11,24,4 *in aspectum populus errabat*.

semotis procul profanis omnibus: as the conclusion of the procession in 11,17,1, the following part of the ceremony (the initiation proper, taking place inside the temple) is forbidden to the general public of non-initiates, who are only admitted inside the temple precinct; a vivid testimony of this is the bilingual inscription n. 63 in Fraser 1960, 118-120, (found near the entrance to the inner chamber of the Samothracian Anaktorion), *deorum sacra qui non acceperunt non intrant. ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσιέναι*. Note the rather pleonastic *procul* and the sound-play with *profanis*. The phrase has a faint Vergilian colour: cf. *Aen.* 6,258 *procul, o procul este profani ... totoque absistite luco* where Vergil’s diction, for once, seems to be more rhetorically charged than Apuleius’.

lintheo rudique ... amicimine: cf. 2,28,2 where the Egyptian prophet Zatchlas is *lintheis amiculis iniectum*. Isis herself wears a linen tunic at 11,3,5 (*tunica ... bysso tenui pertexta*); her devotees are *lintheae uestis candore puro luminosi* at 11,10,1; and the first garment Lucius wears after his re-transformation is a *linthea lacinia* (11,14,3).

See comm. at 11,10,1 for the religious symbolism of purity implied in white linen. In this context, where abstinence from animal food is prominent, it is also important to note that linen is a vegetable, non-animal fabric: cf. *apol.* 56,2 *lana ... pecori detracta iam inde Orphei et Pythagorae scitis profanus uestitus est; sed enim mundissima lini seges inter optimas fruges terra exorta non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque rebus sacris usurpatur*.

rudi: here in the sense of ‘new, never used before’ rather than ‘raw, unpolished’: cf. 11,5,5 *rudem ... carinam* with comm. ad loc.; *GCA* 2007, 126 on 1,3,3 *noua ... rudia*; OLD s.v. *rudis* 7. Apuleius is not the first author to use *rudis* in this sense, cf. e.g. the *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor* in Hor. *sat.* 1,10,66, and *rudis Argo* in Lucan. 3,193; cf. also Plin. *nat.* 35,44 *rudibus medicamentis*. According to Callebat 1968, 154, this is a trace of familiar language; he also points out that this use is later attested in several Christian authors.

me ... arrepta manu sacerdos deducit: for a similar description of the leading role of the priest in Lucius’ initiation cf. 11,22,7 *iniecta dextera senex ... ducit me*; see comm. ad loc. on the question, whether such gestures merely have solemn connotations or convey a deeper symbolic meaning.

amicimine: only in Apuleius, here and at 11,9,2 *mulieres candido splendentis amicimine* (*ThLL* s.v. *amicimen* 1890,43-45); for the word see comm. ad loc. Griffiths 1975, 293 ad loc. unnecessarily interprets it as a funereal garment.

penetralia: the innermost part of the temple, where only the initiates are admitted (cf. 11,17,1 *qui penetralibus pridem fuerant initiati*) and from where Mithras fetches the libation cup at 11,20,4.

11,23,5-6 ⁵Quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum. Dicerem, si dicere liceret, cognosceres, si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contraheret <et> aures et lingua[e], <illicitae intemperantiae ista>, illae temerariae curiositatis. ⁶Nec te tamen desiderio forsitan religioso suspensum angore diutino cruciabo. Igitur audi, sed crede, quae uera sunt. At this point you, my zealous reader, might keenly ask what was said and done afterwards. I would tell you, if I were permitted to tell, and you would hear, if you were permitted to hear. However, both your ears and my tongue would commit an equivalent sin: my tongue for its forbidden talkativeness, your ears for their reckless curiosity. Yet, I will not torture you with a prolonged torment, since you might be anxious because of a religious yearning. Therefore listen – but believe, since what I am going to tell you is true.

quaeras ... studiose lector: for the expression cf. Ovid’s address to his reader at *trist.* 5,1,1 *nostri studiose*: Apuleius is constructing for himself the same devoted and keen audience as Ovid. This is one of the few, but important passages where the narrative fiction is broken and the reader/listener is directly addressed by the narrator. For a thorough list see Zimmerman 2001; here we only mention 9,30,1 *sed forsitan lector scrupulosus reprehendens narratum meum sic argumentaberis*, which provides a particularly good parallel for our passage: in both places the narrator anticipates, with an *occupatio*, possible challenges from his audience and defines his *lector* as particularly attentive, one who, for some reason, is not satisfied with what he is told

but wants to know more; and in both cases, his expectations are partially frustrated (cf. *GCA* 1995, 13). There are also differences, of course. At 9,30,1 the *lector scrupulosus* wants to know more about how Lucius came to know what happened, while here the *studiosus lector* wants to know more about what happened and there is no question about how Lucius knows that; the present passage clearly implies a reader interested in religion and religious practices, who aspires to a more substantial form of knowledge. The former reader is more inquisitive and challenging (cf. *GCA* 1995, 257-258 ad loc.), while the latter might be appropriately defined as ‘curious’: he shares the same *curiositas* of the *profani* who are precluded from reading the sacred books at 11,22,8 (cf. *GCA* 1995, 371-372, and introduction to this chapter [2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader]). These qualities of the *lector* as defined in the text (see Introduction, 5.3) are of course meant to shape the reading practice of the concrete reader, who is expected to play an active role in the act of narration (cf. *GCA* 1995, 8-9 and 12-14).

anxie: Callebat 1968, 167 lists this adverb among other typical words of spoken language, avoided or ignored by Classical authors. However, it first appears in Sall. *Jug.* 82,3; and the adjective *anxius* is very well attested in both Classical prose and poetry. On the concept, cf. also *angore* below at 11,23,6. On the anxiety and impatience to know more that characterizes both Lucius and his fictive reader see introduction to this chapter (2. The *curiositas* of Lucius and of the reader).

lector: Callebat 1968, 37 points out that this term was certainly usual in common language, but it is also very frequent in literary texts; this marks it as a standard and obvious term in metanarrative or metapoetical contexts. However, it might also be noted that explicit addresses to the reader are not common in Latin poetry on the whole; the most notable exceptions are Catull. 14b,2, and especially Ovid (e.g. *trist.* 1,7,32; 1,11,35; 3,1,2 *lector amice*; 4,1,2; 5,1,66), Phaedrus (2 pr. 11; 4,7,21 *lector Cato*) and Martial (e.g. 1,1,4 *lector studiose*; 10,2,4); cf. e.g. Kay 1985 on Martial 11,16,1 and Howell 1980 on 1,1,4; Spisak 1997. A reader who can interact with the narrator is clearly not a standard book-reader (see also Introduction, 5.3): on the ambivalence between ‘reading’ and ‘listening to’ see below on *audire*.

dicerem, si dicere liceret, cognosceres, si liceret audire: the structural parallelism in this clause is mitigated by the chiasmus *dicere liceret ... liceret audire*, and by the replacement of the expected *cognoscere* with *audire* that also serves to prepare for the following pairing *et aures et lingua*.

audire: note the subtle shift from *lector* to *audire*, confirmed by *audi* in the next paragraph. Similar ambiguities are not infrequent in *met.* (starting with the Prologue), and several examples can be found throughout Latin literature: cf. *GCA* 2007, 13 and n. 34; Graverini 2007, 179-185 [= 2012, 158-164]; Drews 2009, 420. A verbal, rather than bookish, means of communication reinforces the impression of a direct and personal dialogue between the narrator and his audience, and therefore makes it easier for the reader to experience a full immersion in the narrative world.

et aures et lingua: chiasmic arrangement with the previous *dicere ... audire*.

noxam contraherent: on this expression see comm. at 11,21,6 *noxam ... letalem contrahere*.

<et> *aures et lingua[e]*, <illicitae intemperantiae ista,> *illae temerariae curiositatis*: this is the text proposed by Nicolini 2010a, 152-154 (the <et> was first

suggested by Lütjohann 1873). The proposal was adopted by Zimmerman’s OCT (2012); it is an improvement, both for its higher palaeographical plausibility (*saute du même au même* from *illicitae intemperantiae* to *illae temerariae*) and for its use of typically Apuleian language (cf. Socrates’ words at 1,8,2 *parce ... in feminam diuinam, ne quam tibi lingua intemperante noxam contrahas*) over the text established by Van der Vliet 1897, <et> *aures et lingua[e]*, <ista impiae loquacitatis,> *illae temerariae curiositatis*. Most modern editors print the text transmitted by F, *aures et linguae illae temerariae curiositatis* (so Helm 1931, Fredouille 1975, Griffiths 1975, and Martos 2003; the first three accept Lütjohann’s <et>, that has no substantial consequences for the meaning). However, there are four different problems with this reading:

(1) Both *linguae* and *aures* commit the ‘sin’ of *temeraria curiositas*, which is therefore connected to both the acts of talking and of hearing (cf. e.g. Griffiths 1975, 294 ad loc.: “the teller also is involved in the guilt of curiosity since he is attempting to satisfy it in another”): a rather awkward idea, unprecedented although maybe not impossible in Apuleius. However, it must be noted that *parem noxam* does not necessarily support this interpretation: *par* does not mean ‘identical’ (e.g. Martos 2003: “la misma pena”; Relihan 2007: “the same contagion”), and here it is to be taken in the meaning of ‘equal in degree’ (*OLD* s.v. 7b).

(2) The plural *linguae* is unwarranted, since Lucius is the only speaker here. Some explanations have been suggested, although they seem rather weak. Hildebrand 1842 states that the plural might simply be due to the influence of the previous *aures*; or that it might be meant as a generalisation, implying all those who could spread the secrets of Isis’ cult. Griffiths 1975, 294 ad loc. also suggests that the readers/listeners could be imagined as repeating the information they eventually got from Lucius. This problem is addressed by Frassinetti 1960 and Harrauer 1973 by accepting, of Van der Vliet’s (1897) restitution of the text, only the part regarding *lingua[e]*: a very easy emendation, since the error could have been generated by the interference of the following *illae*.

(3) *illae* can be considered:

(a) nominative plural, with *aures et linguae*: so explicitly Fredouille 1975, who gives the pronoun an emphatic force (thus enhancing the oddity of the ‘curious tongues’), or considers it equivalent to an article. However, Callebat 1968, 275 and 283, quoted by Fredouille to support his assumption, does not actually agree that *ille* already has the function of an article in Apuleius.

(b) a genitive agreeing with *temerariae curiositatis*; of course, this is the only option available to those who, like Frassinetti 1960 and Harrauer 1973, print *lingua[e]*. The form *illae* instead of *illius* is attested by the grammarians Charisius and Virgilius, but there are no unquestionable instances of it in literary texts according to *ThLL* s.v. *ille* 340,80-85 (“ap. scriptores non exstare videtur; nam Cato *iur. civ. Fest.* 157,4 M. *forma ... eius est ... adsimilis -ae dat. esse potest; dub. trad. vel coniect.* Gell. 1,12,12; Apul. *met.* 11,23”); LHSz 1,480 is more restrictive than N-W 2,427 (quoted by Helm 1931 to back F’s reading) in supporting its real existence. It is true that, even without parallels, a genitive *illae* could be accepted as a heteroclitite form originating in spoken Latin (cf. 11,16,2 *totae ciuitati*; Callebat 1968, 125-126). However, it should be pointed out that, had Apuleius really meant to use *illae* as a genitive (only

here out of all possible places), he would have made a really poor choice with regard to the clarity of the clause; and that a colloquialism appears to be out of place in this context. As regards the meaning, Lucius would be making an implicit but very direct reference to his own past experiences ('that reckless curiosity I have been guilty of so many times, as you know'), which seems superfluous here.

(4) There is also some ambiguity in *temerariae curiositatis*, which can either be governed by *noxam*, explaining what would be the sin involved by the revelation of the rites; or by *ures et linguae* as a genitive of quality ("both those ears and tongues of reckless curiosity").

All in all, the sentence as a whole is understandable but very awkward: both possible interpretations of *illae* are unsatisfactory, and the oddities at nn. 1 and 2 are difficult to accept. Nicolini's emendation makes the phrase very clear, is paleographically very easy, and it extends the previous antitheses creating (in a very Apuleian way, it might be said) a triple semantic chiasmus *dicere/audire, aures/lingua, intemperantia/curiositas* (the last pair would be *loquacitas/curiositas* with Van der Vliet's [1897] text).

A different emendation that requires smaller (although multiple) interventions in the text is suggested by Harrison: <et> *ures et lingua[e]*, <ex> *illa temeraria curiositate*.

For the 'parallel' sins of talkativeness and curiosity cf. 1,12,8 *faxo eum sero, immo statim, immo uero iam nunc, ut et praecedentis dicacitatis et instantis curiositatis paeniteat*.

illicitae intemperantiae: for *illicitus* used with nouns of negative value cf. *met.* 8,29,4 *ad illicitae libidinis extrema flagitia*. For the 'sin' of *intemperantia* cf. 1,8,2 *lingua intemperante*, quoted above.

temerariae curiositatis ... desiderio forsitan religioso: see introduction to this chapter (3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?), for an analysis of these two concepts.

forsitan: Apuleius only uses *forsitan* in *met.*, and only *fortasse* in *apol.* and *flor.*: cf. *GCA* 1995, 257 and 2004, 169. Callebat 1968, 355 attributes this distribution to the 'freer' style of the novel; however, *forsitan* is not avoided at all in higher literature and poetry – for example, Ovid has 94 examples of *forsitan* against 12 of *fortasse*, and Charisius even (too boldly) states *forsan et forsitan poetis relinquemus* (*gramm.* 2,1,185,16). Personal preferences also must play some role in this choice: for example, *ThLL* s.v. 1138,27-28 points out that *forsitan* is surprisingly absent in Pliny the Elder.

sed crede: *sed* does not have a simple reinforcement value here (*pace* Fredouille 1975, 112 ad loc.), but modifies the role of the audience as implied by the preceding *audi*: together with the imperative *crede*, it describes a new mode of reception the audience needs to adopt here, which is absolutely different from other modes of reception previously encouraged in the novel. See below on *quae uera sunt* and introduction to this chapter (3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?).

quae uera sunt: an opposition seems to be implied here between what was offered to the reader's attention in the previous books (what is wonderful and pleasurable) and now (what is true, or is supposed to be true): see previous note. The emphasis on

the truthfulness of the testimony is comparable, according to Griffiths 1975, 294 ad loc., to what we find in the New Testament, and especially in Johannine literature (cf. e.g. *Io.* 5,31-36).

11,23,7 *Accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia uectus elementa remeui; nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine; deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adorauit de proximo. Ecce tibi rettuli quae, quamuis audita, ignores tamen necesse est. Ergo quod solum potest sine piaculo ad profanorum intellegentias enuntiari, referam. I approached the boundaries of death, and trod the threshold of Proserpina; through all the elements I was carried, and came back. In the middle of the night I saw the sun, brilliant with white light; I drew close to the gods below and the gods above, and in that close proximity I adored them. There, I told you things that, even if you have heard them, you cannot really understand. Therefore, I will only report what can be disclosed to the intellects of the uninitiated without committing a sin that requires expiation.*

The short passage describing in very general terms the ceremony of initiation is characterized, as Griffiths 1975, 296 points out, by a "sophisticated simplicity". Sound effects are clearly sought: note the alliteration and assonance of gutturals, such as *accessi confinium, calcato coruscantem, accessi*; and the subtle wordplay, softened by distance but present all the same, between *limine* and *lumine*. The word choice is not particularly sophisticated (see below on *confinium*), but *corusco* certainly has a strong poetic tradition. The first two *cola* appear to be carefully constructed, the first words standing in a studied correspondence with the last ones (*accessi – remeui; nocte media – lumine*) and conveying the idea of circular completeness and universality. The structure is varied in the last colon, that privileges parallelisms and leaves the place of honour to the adverbs (*coram* and *de proximo*), highlighting Lucius' newly acquired closeness to his gods. The repetition of *accessi* qualified by *coram* and expanded by the following *adorauit* seems to imply that the ending of Lucius' mystical voyage is somehow similar to its beginning, but at the same time marks some kind of progress. The final clause, introduced by *ecce tibi*, goes back to the more colloquial register of the dialogue between narrator and audience.

Other similarly simple, brief and reticent reports of initiates about the rites they performed are mentioned by Griffiths 1975, 294-296: they are short liturgical sentences also used as *synthemata*, passwords through which initiates could recognize each other (e.g. the *synthema* of the Eleusinian Mysteries in Clem. Al. *protr.* 2,21,2: "I fasted, I drank the kykeon, I took from the box. After handling (them) I removed (the objects) to the basket and from the basket to the box"; cf. also Firm. *err.* 18,1 on the mysteries of Attis; *PGM* IV,719-722 (the end of the Mithras-liturgy); Burkert 1987, 94). There are some similarities with Lucius' account, but Griffiths rightly rejects Dibelius' suggestion (1917, 40) that Apuleius' short description has a liturgical nature too, and can be interpreted as a *synthema*: no gods are named except Proserpina, and no ritual actions are carried out. Griffiths himself, however, takes Lucius' account too much at its face value when he states (p. 296) that "the rite at Cenchræe

must have been conducted in the main in Greek, so that in any case the words of Apuleius cannot have preserved their original form”: it must be emphasized that there is no compelling reason to think that Lucius’ account is realistic and faithful, or based on the direct experience of the author (see Introduction, 1.4 on our reading of the *Isis Book* as a literarisation of religion in the form of a fictionalised, rhetoricised narrative). No other sources that represent or describe Isiac initiation in any form are available; we are much better informed, for example, on Mithraic initiation, thanks to the paintings in the Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere (on which see Vermaseren 1971, esp. 24-51). See Bremmer 2014, 110-141 for a survey of the Mysteries of Mithras and Isis.

accessi confinium mortis: the initiation rites were already described as a pattern of death and resurrection at 11,21,7 *ipsam ... traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis et precariae salutis celebrari, quippe cum ... numen deae soleat ... sua prouidentia quodam modo renatos ad nouae reponere rursus salutis curricula*, on which see comm. ad loc. Of course, a process of death-rebirth is also attested for initiations into several other mystery cults; in the context of the Egyptian religion, it obviously had a deep resonance with the death and resurrection of Osiris, with whom it is possible that the initiate identified to some extent. On all this see Griffiths 1975, 296-297 ad loc. with further literature and several sources, among which we quote Plut. fig. 178 (in Stobaeus 4,52b,49; see Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 163 for a fuller account of this text and a comparison with Lucius’ experience), on the affinity between death and initiation: when the time of death comes, the soul *πάσχει πάθος οἷον οἱ τελετα ς μεγάλας κατοργιαζόμενοι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥήμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελεῆσθαι προσέεικε*. The details of this ritual death-and-resurrection process, how it was actually performed, and how the initiate took part in it, are left to the speculation of the reader. For some references and hypotheses (including the possibility that the initiated was hypnotized or drugged, and even shut up in a box, before being reawakened and ‘resurrected’) see Griffiths 1975, 298-300; Burkert 1987, 89-114.

There are two other passages in the novel where a ‘resurrection from the dead’ is narrated. At 10,12,2-4 a young boy is ‘resuscitated’, but he was simply drugged and not really dead. More important, since the comparison involves the relationship between magic and religion, is the ‘real’ resurrection performed by the Egyptian priest Zatchlas at 2,28-30, on which see Stramaglia 2003.

confinium mortis: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4,615 and Lygd. 7,70 *confinia mortis*; the less poetic singular (cf. *GCA* 2001, 272 on 2,17,5 *ad confinia lucis usque*) *confinium mortis* occurs in Ps. Quint. *decl.* 8,19.

calcato Proserpinae limine: after *accessi confinium mortis*, the clause further emphasizes the religious value of border-crossing (on which see *GCA* 2007, 156-167 on 1,5,5 *sinistro pede*, with further references; Meister 1925); Seelinger 1986, 366-367 considers this passage as an example of how Apuleius uses spatial imagery to demonstrate Lucius’ religious progress in the cult of Isis. On Hades as Proserpina’s house cf. 6,19,3 *atria Proserpinae*; 6,20,2 *domum Proserpinae* (Psyche’s katabasis: an apt parallel for this part of Lucius’ initiation) with *GCA* 2004, 517 ad loc. As Harrauer 1973, 155 ad loc. suggests, there might be a faint echo of Aeneas’ entry into the Ely-

sian fields: Verg. *Aen.* 6,635-636 *occupat Aeneas adytum ... / ... ramumque aduerso in limine figit*.

calcato: see *GCA* 2004, 72 on 4,31,4 *uibrantium fluctuum summo rore calcato* on the (mainly poetical) use of *calcare* (‘to trample’) in the sense of ‘to tread or set foot on (esp. unusual surfaces)’ (*OLD* s.v. 4). As *GCA* 2004, 335 points out, this use of *calcare* is always related to things of the highest value, both in a concrete (cf. 5,9,5 *quantum ... passim calcatur aurum*) and in an abstract sense (10,8,4 *calcata numinum religione*). Here, the verb has positive connotations related to triumph; cf. Luc. 10,2 *ut primum ... diras calcauit Caesar harenas*.

Proserpinae: the name of the goddess simply stands for ‘Hades’ here, but it is worth remembering that Isis was identified with Hecate-Proserpina (see comm. on 11,5,3 *Hecatam* and cf. 11,5,2 *Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam ... appellant*) and reigns over the Underworld (cf. 11,6,6 *me ... Acherontis tenebris interlucentem Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem*; 11,21,6 *et inferum claustra ... in deae manu posita*; 11,25,3 *te ... obseruant Inferi, tu ... calcas Tartarum*). See Panayotakis (forthcoming).

per omnia uectus elementa: *elementa* are possibly the four cosmic regions here (heaven, earth, sea and underworld): see comm. at 11,5,1 *elementorum omnium domina*. Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 164 more precisely connects this passage to *De Mundo* 2-4, where the universe is described as consisting of various layers: aether (where the Moon is located), fire (stars and comets), atmosphere, earth, and seas. Collomp 1912 understands *elementa* as ‘stars, planets’ (cf. also Scazzoso 1951, 121 and Merkelbach 1995, 270 n. 9; 292), but Fredouille 1975, 113 points out that *elementum* never has this meaning in Apuleius, and it is only found in later authors (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 346,83-347,8, and add Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 10 *ex elementis superioribus inscendere posse uideatur in caelum*; but of course it does not happen rarely that Apuleius anticipates later linguistic usages, and there is only an easy semantic shift between the two meanings). Drews 2009, 611 instead sees in this passage a reference to the four Platonic elements (fire, water, air, and earth: *Tim.* 48b).

Again, it is very uncertain how this ‘journey’ through the cosmic regions was actually enacted; Griffiths 1975, 301 ad loc. suggests that the regions were depicted on the walls of the crypt where the initiation took place and that the initiate contemplated them in sequence. However, there are also testimonies to more ‘spectacular’ stagings of the initiate’s divine rapture through the cosmos: cf. Liv. 39,13,13 (on Bacchic mysteries) *raptos a dis homines dici quos machinae inligatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant*. Griffiths 1975, 302 also discusses the possibility that the initiation implied trials by water, fire, and air, which the initiate must survive, but he sensibly concludes that what is described in our text mostly seems to imply a state of ecstasy, union with cosmic powers, and contemplation of the infinity of Isis’ realm.

In any case, the idea of ‘survival’ or ‘rebirth’ of the initiate from this journey, which must be understood as dangerous in some sense since it involves a passage through the realm of the dead, seems to be implied by the following *remeau*. Collomp 1912 offers some parallels in Mithraic religion for similar ‘astral voyages of purification’ (see also Eitrem 1926-1927; and cf. below on *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* for further similarities in the Mithraic and Isiac initia-

tion rites); nevertheless, he also points out that the liturgical details of this heavenly voyage remain hidden, since Lucius does not break the mystic secret here.

remeau: marks the conclusion of the first, general description of Lucius' mystic journey. The verb implies the idea of survival and return here, since Lucius also goes through the Underworld in a journey that symbolizes his death and resurrection (cf. above at *accessi confinium mortis*). For the expression cf. 10,11,3 *remeabit ad diem lucidam*, with *GCA* 2000, 183 ad loc. for a discussion, with further literature, of the 'apparent death' theme in *met.*: the present passage on Lucius' mystic voyage can be considered the last and most meaningful instance of this motif.

nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine: there are several Egyptian ritual sources mentioning the sun shining in the dark of the night (see Griffiths 1975, 304-307): the basic idea is that the sun-god at some point enters the realm of the dead and, identified with Osiris, journeys through it. However, Isis might be implied instead, if one looks back to 11,6,6 *me ... Acherontis tenebris interlucentem ... adorabis*; the generic idea of a light shining in the dark occurs implicitly during the second initiation: 11,28,5 *principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus*. Again, in the light of these internal parallels, we must note that looking for 'orthodox' Egyptian parallels might be going well beyond Apuleius' intentions and culture; see Introduction, 1.4. This is also true because similar ideas recurred in other mystery cults as well, and are attested in Greek texts (see e.g. Pindar, frg. 129 τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἁελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω; Dio Chrys. 12,33 πολλὰ μὲν ὄρωντα μυστικὰ θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἐναλλάξ αὐτῶ φαινομένων). Vermaseren and Van Essen 1965, 144-145 point out that there is a close similarity between Isiac and Mithraic initiations: both included a voyage through the four elements, a symbolic death and rebirth, and a final vision of "the Sun shining with a bright light during the night" (see also Griffiths 1975, 305). There is also a Jewish-Christian background: cf. Vulg. *II Cor.* 4,6 ("God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness ..."), but also the later Christian tradition emphasizes Christ's journey in the underworld in similar terms; see e.g. Ps. Aug. *serm.* 140,2: *cumque tenebrarum terminum ... attigisset, aspicientes eum impiae ac tartareae legiones, territae ac trementes inquirere coeperunt dicentes: Quisnam est iste terribilis, et niueo splendore coruscus? ... Si eum aliqua peccata fuscarent, nunquam nostra tartara suo dissiparet fulgore ... nunquam huic coenolento loco et nigra semper caligine caecato iucundum lumen apparuit. Aut forte sol de mundo migravit?*

So, this detail – which can be considered as part of the progressive 'solarization' of Book 11, on which see comm. on 11,22,2-3 *Mithram* and 11,24,4 *ad instar Solis exornatus* – can indeed be viewed as common knowledge about more or less any mystery initiation ritual, and could be revealed to a *profanus* without too much remorse or fear for punishment.

On a philosophical level, one can compare Lucius' vision of the sun in the darkness to *Socr.* 3 p. 124, where Apuleius describes the 'flash of truth' which only wise men can perceive *in tenebris*, and that very rarely: *uix sapientibus uiris, cum se uigore animi, quantum licuit, a corpore remouerunt, intellectum huius dei, id quoque interdum, uelut in artissimis tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicare*. The consonances of both the passages from *met.* and *Socr.* with Platonic philosophy are emphasized by Drews 2009, 611.

nocte media ... candido ... lumine: for other high-contrast colour or black and white descriptions cf. 11,7,2 *noctis atrae fugato nubilo sol exurgit aureus*; 11,11,1 *nunc atra, nunc aurea facie* with comm. ad loc.

coruscantem: a poetic verb (five times in *Lucr.* and *Ov.*, 19 in *Verg.*, 27 in *Sil.*) rather frequent in Apuleius (six times in *met.*, eleven in total) who uses it for a similar contrast of darkness and light also at 3,28,2 *cuncti gladiis et facibus instructi noctem illuminant, coruscat in modum ortiui solis ignis et mucro* (cf. also e.g. *Verg. georg.* 1,328-329 *ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca / fulmina molitur dextra*); see previous note for *Socr.* 3.

deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adorauit de proximo: according to Griffiths 1975, 306, "the grouping of the categories is further proof that the whole description refers to the underworld": the *inferi* would of course include Osiris, but also Anubis and others, while the *superi* would be represented by the sun-god Re during his journey through the realm of the dead (see above at *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*). This might be pushing things too far: the conjunction of *dei superi* and *inferi* is a very common Graeco-Roman expression that simply means 'all the gods, above and below', and this is particularly evident when it is used to highlight Isis' omnipotence: cf. e.g. 11,25,3 *te superi colunt, obseruant inferi ... regis mundum, calcas Tartarum*; and 11,5,2 where Isis is *summa numinum, regina manium*. Therefore, this clause can more simply be interpreted as describing Lucius' contemplation of all the gods, all somehow connected to Isis. A more detailed identification of those gods and of the place where Lucius 'meets' them, in any case, is precluded here, either by Lucius' obligation to secrecy, or by Apuleius' lack of direct and detailed knowledge of the initiation rites (see also above, at *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*). It is true, however, that Apuleius pointedly (but certainly not without precedents: cf. e.g. *Liv. Andr. carm. frg.* 25 Morel [= 38 Blänsdorf]; *Liv.* 31,31,3; *Prop.* 2,1,37; *Sen. Ag.* 4) subverts the normal order, and mentions *inferi* before *superi*: the whole passage, beginning with *accessi confinium mortis*, has a special focus on the Underworld, and Isis herself is seen as a chthonic goddess here (cf. above on *Proserpinae*).

The main point here is the fact that Lucius is allowed to worship all the gods 'in close proximity': cf. *coram ... de proximo*, and the similar idea (in terms of time and not of space) expressed at 11,6,6 *frequens adorabis*. It is doubtful, however, that this adoration implies an *unio mystica* of the initiate with the god(s) he worships, as Griffiths 1975, 307 suggests; the idea does not seem to find much support in Apuleius' text.

de proximo: cf. 11,30,3 *coram suo illo uenerando ... adfamime*. For the adverbial expression, see comm. at 11,6,2.

ecce: on the use of rhetorical devices such as deictics and apostrophes to the reader to enhance the vividness of description and to attract the reader's attention see Introduction, 7.2.2. Here, *ecce* introduces the comment of the narrator, who interrupts the description by a direct address to the reader, with reference to judging his act of narrating such things.

tibi rettuli, quae, quamuis audita, ignores tamen necesse est: as we have seen in the previous notes to this section, Lucius has hardly revealed any detail that could only be known by an initiate: what he has actually given to us is a description, in very

general terms, of his religious experiences during the initiation (visit to the Underworld and journey through all the ‘elements’; contemplation of the ‘midnight sun’; worship of all the gods above and below in close proximity), which were also found in the context of other mystery cults and probably not unknown to those who had access to the relevant information. Therefore, this statement might be considered as a rhetorical device to capture the reader’s attention, giving him the false, or at least excessive, impression of being part of a restricted circle of privileged people (see also introduction to this chapter [3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?]).

sine piaculo ... referam: prelude to the description of the public rites in the next chapter (cf. 11,24,1 *effari de eo nullo uinculo prohibeor*). As we have seen, a subtle rhetorical strategy is used here by Lucius, who wants to give the impression of trespassing the limits of what can be safely narrated without actually committing a sacrilege – at least, not a big one. Lucius’ newly acquired restraint would be, according to Drews 2009, 417-418 and 611, one of the proofs that demonstrate the *Entwicklungsroman* aspect of the *Metamorphoses*.

Apuleius uses a similar rhetorical strategy combining loquacity and reticence in *apol.* 56,10 where, after narrating something about the religious significance of the linen cloth and the sacred objects he was accused of possessing, he suddenly invokes the rule of silence and refuses to say more: *nullo umquam periculo compellar, quae reticenda accepi, haec ad profanos enuntiare*. Cf. also 11,11,3 where the *urnula* carried in the procession is described in detail immediately after saying that it is *tegendae religionis argumentum ineffabile* (although the literary topos of *Unsagbarkeitsbeteuerung* is implied there, besides the religious precept of secrecy: see comm. ad loc.)

Magic, of course, also implied a high level of secrecy. Photis, however, easily overcomes her fear to divulge her mistress’ *arcana ... secreta* when she considers that Lucius should be able to keep his mouth shut, and the knowledge she promises is unlimited: *iam scies omnem domus nostrae statum, iam scies erae meae miranda secreta* (3,15,6).

piaculo: for *piaculum* = ‘act which demands expiation’ see *OLD* s.v. 3, where the best parallel is *CIL* I 756,10 (58 a.C.) *EAM REM SINE SCELERE SINE PIACULO <VENDERE LOCARE> ALIS NE POTESTO*. More examples in Anderson 1931 and Austin 1977 on Verg. *Aen.* 6,569. From the evidence collected in these studies, it would appear that this is the original usage of the noun, also attested in Plaut. *Truc.* 223 and Enn. *scaen.* 280 Jocelyn; the other meanings of ‘victim, expiatory offering’ and ‘rite of expiation’ (listed by *OLD* in the first and second places) are later developments. In Apuleius, cf. also *apol.* 13,8 *magis piaculum decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum profano uidere*.

ad profanorum intellegentias enuntiare: for *ad* with the accusative in place of the normal dative see Callebat 1968, 210-212; with *enuntio*, cf. also *met.* 10,7,4 *neque ad uos quae ignorari possum enuntiare* and *apol.* 56,10 *ad profanos enuntiare*.

referam: here and elsewhere (cf. 8,1,4 *referam uobis a capite quae gesta sunt*; 10,18,1 *sed prius est ut uobis ... uel nunc saltem referam quis iste uel unde fuerit*), Apuleius uses this verb to give his narrative the aura of an historical account (cf. e.g. Liv. 37,53,14 *illa potius, quae uetustissima domus nostrae uobiscum amicitia digna*

sunt, referam). This sometimes implies parody or humour (see Graverini 1997, 252-253), but that does not seem to be the case here, where an eyewitness is about to begin a reliable account of the external and ‘public’ features of the initiation rituals.

CHAPTER XXIV

Lucius is exposed to the public dressed up as a representation of Sol.

1. The public celebration of Lucius' new role and identity after the initiation

Within the narrative structure, the main function of Lucius' performance in this chapter should be seen in the context of his first initiation, which is now continued, as it were, in public space. The situation recalls other ancient descriptions of cultic initiation, in which the initiate is received and hailed by a crowd and praised for the blessed state he has reached, because he has 'seen' the mysteries or the 'divine' (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 2,480-482; Plat. *Phaedr.* 250b; see Burkert 1987, 93 with nn. 17-18). Similar public praise of Lucius as a blessed person because of his special relationship with the divine (but without reference to cultic initiation) occurred in 11,16,4 (see comm. ad loc.), where the *makarismos* element is much more explicit than here, and where the crowd refers to Lucius' rebirth (*renatus*) through the grace of Isis, which is reflected here through the reference to Lucius' spiritual birthday (11,24,4 *festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum*). According to Burkert 1987, 99, death and rebirth can be seen as the basic idea of initiation rituals in general; he also observes that the promise of the goddess to change Lucius' fate and grant him a new 'life after death' (11,6,7; cf. 11,21,7 *traditionem ad instar uoluntariae mortis et precariae salutis celebrari*) was to be turned into experience through the initiation (11,23,7 *accessi confinium mortis*); we may add that in this chapter the experience is celebrated in a special way by transforming it into a public spectacle.

Here, Lucius' public performance also gives expression to a superior state of freedom, attained after having been liberated from all bondage through experiencing the mysteries; the elements of the victorious wreath crowning his head (below, 11,24,4) and his superior position (11,24,2), from which he can look down upon the crowd, recall Plutarch's description of mystery initiation (used as a metaphor for the process of dying) in *περὶ ψυχῆς* frg. 2 (frg. 178 Sandbach, *Mor.* Vol. XV): "... and there the initiate, perfect by now, set free and loose from all bondage, walks about, crowned with a wreath, ..., and he looks down on the uninitiated, unpurified crowd in this world in mud and fog beneath his feet"; see Burkert 1987, 91-92. Lucius' 'divine' identity (11,24,4 *instar Solis*) reflects the fact that through his initiation experience he has transcended human hardships and reached a divine 'sphere'; we may compare the happy ending symbolised by Psyche's immortality after all her tribulations (6,23,5 *immortalis esto*), a state which was, to a certain extent, foreshadowed by the fact that she was earlier worshipped as a goddess by the people in the streets (4,28; see below for the parallel with the present scene); see Burkert 1987, 95 for possible symbolic interpretations of this tale in terms of an initiation experience ("a mythical sequence in the sense of the *psyche* becoming acquainted with *eros*").

Lucius' exposure to the crowd during this religious festival in a role that resembles a statue (11,24,4 *in uicem simulacri*) recalls to a certain degree his exposure dur-

ing the Risus Festival, where his virtuoso performance under the patronage of the God of Laughter attracts a large audience, and where his reputation is acknowledged by the Hypatans by the promise of a public statue, which is refused by Lucius (3,11). His comparison to a statue here recalls his reaction to the audience in the Hypatan theatre, where the crowd's laughter makes him freeze into a statue (3,10,2 *fixus in lapidem steti gelidus nihil secus quam una de ceteris theatri staturis uel columnis*), as he is "literally petrified by the startling events" (Too 1996, 137; see also Lateiner 2001, 247-248 on Lucius as *Tableau vivant* in Hypata and Cenchræae). An important contrast with the Risus Festival is that Lucius in Cenchræae experiences admiration instead of mocking laughter, and is successfully integrated into the religious community (11,23,4 *tum ecce confluunt undique turbae*; 11,24,4 *in aspectum populis errabat*; for a different situation with Lucius as the centre of public attention, cf. 10,19,1-2); see Habinek 1990; Frangoulidis 2002. Here, Lucius does not refuse the association with a statue, which is imposed upon him from above (note the passive construction in 11,24,4 *exornato me ... et constituto*); his representation as a statue does not imply a loss of identity, as the deadly initiation into the rites of Risus does (cf. 3,10,3 *nec prius ab inferis emersi ...*), but entails a public celebration of his new life as a celebrity in the province.

2. Lucius' statuesque embodiment of Sol/Apollo and metaliterary associations

The high frequency of the word *simulacrum* in this context (11,24,2; 11,24,4; 11,24,5) draws attention to the significance of statuesque embodiment on various levels. The public celebration of Lucius' religious triumph, symbolised by his representation of Sol, can be viewed as a part of the initiation, but can also be interpreted on a metaliterary level. Lucius' new outfit, admired by the crowd, not only visually embodies Lucius' new identity as an initiate of Isis and his new life as a *renatus*, but also contains allusions to his future public role as a literary and rhetorical celebrity under the patronage and through the providence of Isis and Osiris (cf. 11,6,6 *uiues in mea tutela gloriosus*; 11,27,9 *illi studiorum gloriam ... comparari prouidentia*). His crown of palm leaves representing the rays of the sun underlines Lucius' status as the goddess' favourite and contains associations with poetic victory, as do other insignia of Sol/Apollo, especially the long cloak with the Hyperborean griffins, which vividly suggests the iconography of Apollo in his role of musician with the lyre, and brings in associations with poetry and inspiration (11,24,2). The phrase *floride depicta ueste conspicuus* draws attention to Lucius' celebrity status (cf. 11,16,2 *totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis*), which is programmatically associated with his role as hero of his own story of salvation and with public recognition and fame. The passage can be compared with other passages that associate the hero of Apuleius' novel with a written, painted, or sculpted work of art, reflecting his future fame and success (cf. 2,12,5; 3,11,5; 6,29,2-4; Keulen 2006, 181).

The description of Lucius as a 'work of art' (a statue of Sol) can also be interpreted on the level of Apuleius' literary self-fashioning as a virtuoso literary artist, in which the motif of the statue occurs more than once. Through the associations with Apollo (below, 11,24,2), a reader who is familiar with Apuleius' rhetorical works would be reminded of a passage from the *Florida*, where Apuleius uses the mask of

Apollo, who is victorious in the musical contest against Marsyas (*flor.* 3), as a means to express certain aspects of his own identity (see Finkelpearl 2009). As there, the comparison is only indirect (11,24,4 *in modum ... ad instar ... in uicem*; the danger of equating oneself directly to a god like Apollo is an important topic in *flor.* 3, by the way) and is part of Apuleius' intricate and sophisticated technique of putting himself on display as a virtuoso literary artist through changing roles and *personae*, a technique we can observe in both *met.* and his rhetorical works. A poetic precedent for the author representing himself as an 'alter Apollo' can be found in Hor. *carm.* 3,30; Zgoll 2010 convincingly argues that the famous opening of this poem (*exegi monumentum aere perennius*) alludes to the colossus bronze statue of Helios/Sol on Rhodes and that the connection with *carm.* 2,20, where the poet compares himself to Apollo's bird, the swan, suggests that in 3,30 the poet becomes the 'representative' of his patron god Apollo in the form of a statue of Apollo/Sol.

The vignette of Lucius, publicly exposed as a statue in Isis' temple, also resembles Apuleius' description of the statuette of the *citharoedus* Bathyllus, looking at the statue of Juno (*flor.* 15,8), a resemblance which adds to the metaliterary allusions to the artistic success of Lucius/Apuleius under divine patronage (see below, introd. note on 11,24,2). Just as the statue of the lyre player is consecrated in the temple by the tyrant Polycrates, Lucius dressed as statue of Sol/Apollo has been placed in the temple by higher authorities in the cult; it is not an act of his own (contrast the *hybris* of Aesop, who puts himself as a statue of Apollo, leader of the Muses, in the middle of a group of divine statues, *Aesop Romance* 100; see Von Möllendorff 1994, 154), but a token of being accepted and acknowledged by the community. The theme of the statue admired by the crowd recalls another passage from the *Florida*, where Apuleius connects a subtle form of self-fashioning through comparison with other persons with the theme of being honoured by a public statue (*flor.* 16). The programmatic meaning of *floride* (sometimes interpreted as an oblique reference to Apuleius' *Florida*) is discussed below on 11,24,2; see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36 on parallels between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Florida*.

For further metapoetical associations of Lucius' religious *spectaculum* with 'victory' (cf. *Olympiacam stolam*), literary heroisation and a future blessed afterlife, see introd. note on 11,24,3. On metaliterary aspects of Book 11 see Introduction, 3.2 with nn. 61-62.

For the notion of triumph and victory in Book 11 as related to Lucius' victory over Fortuna, cf. 11,12,1 *superarem*; 11,15,4 *en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae providentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*. Both in the words of the priest (11,15,4) and in the present scene, Lucius' posture and physical expression are supposed to visually symbolise his triumph during a religious performance (*gaudens*; cf. also *inouanti gradu*); in both cases, he receives instructions by higher authorities about the way he is supposed to look and perform (cf. 11,15,4 *sume iam uultum laetiozem*; below, 11,24,2 *iussus*; 11,24,4 *exornato me ... et constituto*).

3. Lucius as spectacle and spectator: various aspects of the gaze

The topic of publicly admired statues involves another important Apuleian theme, the theme of the gaze. In his investigations of the gaze and of spectacles in *met.* (Slater

1998, 39-40 and 2003, 100), Niall Slater discusses the present scene as a crucial one in the dialectic of seeing and being seen in Apuleius' novel, as Lucius now voluntarily joins the spectacle, becoming object of the gaze instead of its owner, in contrast with the *ekphrasis* of the sculpture group in Byrrhena's atrium in 2,4-5. Standing in front of the statue of Isis, who looks down upon him, Lucius becomes part of a sculpture group with her, which is admired by a crowd of spectators (11,24,1 *uidere praesentes plurimi*; 11,24,4 *in aspectum populus errabat*; cf. 11,13,6 *populi mirantur* and cf. Lateiner 2001, 248 on Lucius as the object of the public gaze). On a different level, the reader becomes a spectator of Lucius too, kept spellbound by the illusionistic techniques of the author, who addresses the reader as if (s)he were part of the admiring audience present at the scene (11,24,3 *quaqua tamen uiseres*). The spectatorial paradigm underlying Lucius' statuesque embodiment of the Sun God is paralleled in the description of Psyche, whose beauty attracts throngs of people, admiring her like the goddess Venus (4,28,3 *ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem*; see GCA 2004, 42).

On the other hand, we can actually picture Lucius as a spectator here, looking down upon the crowd in his magnificent outfit of Sol/Apollo. The element of the triumphant initiate literally 'looking down on' the uninitiated crowd may bring in philosophical connotations (cf. Plutarch, fig. 178 Sandbach; cf. also Plat. *soph.* 216c and see Burkert 1987, 162 n. 11). Even after the public celebration, Lucius remains a spectator and gazes at Isis' statue for several days (11,24,5). Lucius' gazing at Isis' statue can be viewed as a religious version of his marvelling at the Diana statue in the Actaeon group (2,4,3); the connection between the passages is also significant because Isis includes Diana in her universal identity (11,5,2). See Introduction, 4.1.1 for the concept of narrative delay (retardation).

11,24,1 *Mane factum est, et perfectis sollemnibus processu duodecim sacratus stolis, habitu quidem religioso satis, sed effari de eo nullo uinculo prohibeor, quippe quod tunc temporis uidere praesentes plurimi. It became morning, and after completing the ceremonial rites I proceeded, marked out as a servant of the deity by twelve robes, which is quite a religious outfit, but I am not prevented from speaking about it by any restraint, because many people who were present at that time have seen it.*

mane factum est: in Book 11 we find a great variety in indications of time (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 41-42; 50 and 58), but the description of the first initiation is particularly detailed regarding narrated time (see Introduction, 4.1.1); cf. below, 11,24,5 *dies etiam tertius*. For the exact indication of the part of the day cf. 11,23,2 *iam duabus diei partibus transactis*. The description of *sol/Sol* at the beginning of a new day recalls 11,7,2 (on the symbolic associations of such time indicators see Introduction, 4.1.3).

duodecim ... stolis, habitu ... religioso: given the fact that Lucius is put on display as the statue of a god, the present phrase also alludes to the practice of dressing up cult statues (see below on 11,24,4 *sic ad instar Solis exornato me et in uicem simulacri constituto*). Clothing and decorating the statues of the gods belonged to the tasks of the stolists and hierostolists mentioned by Plutarch, see Griffiths 1970, 266-267 on Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 3 (*Mor.* 352B) ἱεροστόλοις and cf. 39 (*Mor.* 366F) οἱ

στολισταί; Griffiths also observes that women (*ornatrices*, see comm. on 11,9,2 *mulieres*) could be stolistes of some degree. A statue wearing more garments simultaneously seems uncommon; it recalls testimonies of an ancient gilded cult statue found in the temple of Fortuna on the Forum Boarium, which some sources view as a representation of king Servius Tullius (cf. Ov. *fast.* 6,570 *sed superiniectis quis latet iste togis?* with Littlewood 2006, 172-174 ad loc.), others as a statue of Fortuna (cf. Plin. *nat.* 8,194-197, following Varro; see Sehlmeier 1999, 77-78). Another example is the cult statue of Artemis Brauronia, around which the items of clothing donated by female worshippers were draped; the textiles and garments on display in the sanctuary were inventoried and listed in an inscription, *IG II/III*² 1514, ll. 34-39.

duodecim sacratus stolis: the phrase has two peculiar aspects, both on the level of language and on the level of content (the wearing of twelve robes at the same time). Here we have *sacratus* as a participle, encircled by the hyperbaton *duodecim ... stolis*, which visualises the covering of the consecrated Lucius by the twelve robes (cf. Hanson 1989: “wearing twelve robes as a sign of consecration”). For the verb *sacro* (‘to set apart for the service or honour of a deity, to consecrate’) used of persons see *OLD* s.v. 1; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,73 *lectos ... sacrabo, alma, uiros* (referring to the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*); Sen. *Oed.* 291 *sacrate diuis* (i.e. Tiresias), *proximum Phoebos caput*. Used as a substantive, the participial adjective *sacratus* means ‘initiate’ (below, 11,24,3 *hanc Olympiacam stolam sacrati nuncupant*; 11,27,1 *sacrorum consiliis*; see also comm. on 11,23,4, where Griffiths 1975 adopts Brant’s conjecture *sacr<at>orum*). Comparing 11,27,4 *uidi quendam de sacratis linteis iniectum*, Van der Vliet 1897 proposed to read *sacratīs stolis <iniectis stipatus>* here, an unnecessary change of the text, which also tries to solve the ‘problem’ of the wearing of twelve robes at the same time by making a completely different sense of the passage.

duodecim: the number twelve has been interpreted in various ways. Given the importance of time, astrology (cf. 11,22,3) and calendar in Book 11, the most plausible explanation seems to be that *duodecim* symbolically refers to the twelve signs of the zodiac, through which the sun moves (cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,52 *duodecim signorum orbem*; Apul. *mund.* 2 p. 292 *circulus ... signifer ... signis XII inluminatus*); see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 48; 136. According to Reitzenstein 1927, 226, who cites Manichean and Indian parallels, the Twelve Robes represent the twelve hours of the night, through which the sun-god has travelled. See also below on 11,24,3 *Olympiacam stolam*.

stolis: in a general sense, the noun *stola* (Gr. στολή) means ‘clothing’ (e.g. Enn. *scaen.* 281 Jocelyn); in a more specific sense, a ‘long robe’, used either for a special dress which could be worn only by *matronae*, or (in religious or mythological contexts) for a long cloak worn by men; cf. Varro *rust.* 3,13,3 (on Orpheus) *qui cum eo uenisset cum stola et cithara cantare esset iussus*; Ov. *fast.* 6,654. See Pothoff 1992, 178-181.

effari de eo: for the poetic verb *effari*, used in a sacral context of uttering words of a solemn nature, see comm. on 11,14,5 *effatur*; for the intransitive use cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,76 *incipit effari mediaque in uoce resistit*. In revealing the details of his religious outfit (*habitu*), Lucius does not have to worry about the ‘reticentia mystica’ (prevent-

ing the initiate from revealing his experiences to other people, cf. 11,23,5), because of the public nature of this part of the ceremony.

tunc temporis: cf. 10,13,1 *tunc temporis* with *GCA* 2000, 196 ad loc., noting that this combination, which is first attested in Apuleius (also in 3,4,2), was possibly a set formula in the *sermo cotidianus* of the 2nd century A.D.

11,24,2 *Namque in ipso aedis sacrae meditullio ante deae simulacrum constitutum tribunal ligneum iussus superstiti, byssina quidem, sed floride depicta ueste conspicuus. Et umeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamyda.* For at the very centre of the sacred temple I stepped, as I was ordered to do, on to a wooden platform placed in front of the statue of the goddess, attracting attention with my robe, which was made of fine flax, but embroidered with gay colours. And a precious cloak hung down my back from my shoulders all the way to my heels.

The description of Lucius placed in front of the goddess’ statue on a wooden platform and wearing a colourfully embroidered robe and a precious *chlamys* can be interpreted on various levels. On one level, it is possibly a literary reflection of a religious practice. Archaeological findings allow us to picture the structure for a ceremonial display of the new initiate; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 203 (with plate 7.1) gives the example of the Serapeum at Ostia, where the structure in the rear of the cella, accessible by steps, could serve as a platform on which the new initiate may have been displayed directly beneath and in front of the towering cult image. At another level, Lucius is here assimilated to a god (cf. 11,24,4). According to Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 53-58, this scene is one of the possible implicit manifestations of Osiris in Book 11; however, the description until 11,24,3 might also suggest the iconography of Apollo (the long cloak, the Hyperborean griffins), and entails a ‘surprise effect’ in 11,24,4 with the solar crown and the (deliberately postponed) explicit comparison to the statue of Sol. In ancient visual representations of Sol, the god often wears a *chlamys*, but those are usually cloaks of a much shorter type; see the catalogue in *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol [Letta], 596-624.

Here, the vignette can be additionally read on a metaliterary level, as Lucius strikingly resembles the statuette of the *citharoedus* Bathyllus in the temple of Juno, described by Apuleius in *flor.* 15,8 *deam conspiciens, canenti similis, tunicam picturis uariiegatam deorsus ad pedes deiectus ipsos, Graecanico cingulo, chlamyde uelat utrumque bracchium ad usque articulos palmarum*. Against this intertextual background, the vignette alludes to Lucius’ identity as a ‘rising star’, who will become famous under the patronage of the goddess (see also introd. note on 11,24,3 and introduction to this chapter [2. Lucius’ statuesque embodiment of Sol/Apollo and metaliterary associations]).

in ipso ... meditullio ... tribunal ligneum ... superstiti: see comm. on 11,17,2 *pro foribus assistens* on the visual precision used by Apuleius in depicting cultic space (temples) as the scene of actions.

in ipso aedis sacrae meditullio: cf. 3,27,2 *respicio pilae mediae ... in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae*. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 148

compares Apuleius' use of this complex phrase with other unusual or exotic words used by him to describe the temple *cella*, like *adytum* (11,22,8) or *penetralia* (11,23,4; cf. 11,17,4). Given the fact that *meditullium* here indicates the innermost part of a temple, which is a place of secret knowledge (cf. 11,17,1), it is interesting to note that an ancient gloss connects it with contemplation and teaching (Gloss.¹ IV Plac. M9 *meditullium dicitur locus, in quo aliqua meditantur siue ad docendum siue ad discendum*). Lucius as *sacratu* is now allowed to enter the innermost part of the *cella*, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 160. For *in meditullio* cf. also 7,19,4; 10,32,1 (with *GCA* 2000, 384 ad loc.); 5,1,2 *medio luci meditullio*.

aedis: as in 11,22,7, Apuleius uses the term *aedes* here, which denotes the building of the temple itself, in contrast with the wider use of *templum* for the cultic area, including the surroundings of the temple (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 153; 503).

tribunal ... superstiti: for Apuleius' transitive use of *supersisto* (the verb is not attested earlier) cf. 8,11,4 (Charite) *supersistit sicarium*, with *GCA* 1985, 117 ad loc., pointing out that the other uses of the verb are with the dative (Amm. 29,1,31) or absolute (Iul. Val. 3,28,1270 Rosellini). For *tribunal* as a word from Roman temple architecture cf. Vitruvius 4,8,1 *quae* (sc. *aedes rotundae*) *sine cella fiunt, tribunal habent*; *CIL* VIII 9026 (Mauretania, 241 A.D.) *Virtuti deae sanctae ... tribunal opere quadratarum ... fecerunt*; see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 152-157 (esp. 154 n. 284) on these and other examples of Romanisation in the Isis Book, and see *ibid.*, 549, for further attestations from literature and epigraphic sources.

byssina quidem, sed: the adjective *byssinus* is one of the many Latinised Greek terms (βύσσινος) in the description of Lucius' outfit, meaning 'made of fine flax'; cf. 11,3,5 *uestis multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta*, with comm. ad loc. The contrast between the original white colour of the linen fabric (Isid. *orig.* 19,27,4 *byssum genus est quoddam lini nimium candidi*) and the gay colours of the embroideries is underlined by *quidem, sed*.

floride depicta ueste: the use of *depingo* of embroidering clothes, textiles etc. (*ThLL* s.v. 573,50-54) is before Apuleius attested in Val. Fl. 6,226 *auro depicta chlamys* and Suet. *Cal.* 52 (accentuating Caligula's effeminate eccentricities in clothing) *depictas gemmatasque ... paenulas*; the verb usually occurs in a context where the delicate, expensive, oriental and luxurious nature of the fabric is emphasised, not always in a positive sense. Here, the phrase draws attention to the exotic and luxurious nature of Lucius' outfit; cf. 8,27,2 (the red and white striped tunics of the priests of the Dea Syria) *tunicas albas, in modum lanciolarum quoquoersum fluente purpura depictas*; 10,20,2 (the luxuriously embroidered blankets used for the erotic encounter of the ass and the *matrona*) *stragula ueste auro ac murice Tyrio depicta*.

floride: this is the first attestation of the adverb *floride*; *ThLL* quotes only two other instances, a verse inscription from 427 A.D. (*CE* 686,16) and, in the comparative, Lact. *mort. pers.* 3,4 p. 177,13 (ecclesia) *multo clarius ac floridius enituit*. The meaning of *floride* is here 'with bright, gay colours'; cf. the use of the adjective *floridus* in 10,29,2 *quod uer ... iam gemmulis floridis cuncta depingeret* and see *GCA* 2000, 355 on the double meaning of *floridus*, which not only literally refers to the flowers, but also to the bright colours of spring (cf. 4,13,5 *floridae picturae*). In this passage it is preferable to take *floride* in the transferred sense (whereas Hildebrand 1842 and Médan 1925a interpret it in a literal sense, 'decorated with flowers'). For

floridus used of multi-coloured fabric cf. also 7,8,1 *sumpta ueste muliebri florida*; 10,34,4 *torus ... ueste serica floridus*; cf. below, 11,24,3 *colore uario*. For the programmatic ambiguity of *floridus/floride*, perhaps also with relation to the title of Apuleius' work *Florida* (cf. the possible allusion in *met.* 2,12,5 *gloriam satis floridam*), see Nicolini 2011a, 167-168 with n. 524.

conspicuis: cf. 11,16,2 *comitabar sacrarium totae ciuitati notus ac conspicuus*. Here, the adjective points to the fact that Lucius is 'highly visible' due to the bright colours of the clothes, enhancing the visual effect of the scene (cf. *Ov. met.* 3,709 *spectabilis undique* with Barchiesi – Rosati 2007 ad loc.).

talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamida: see Pothoff 1992, 101-102 on the *chlamys*, the usual Latinised Greek term (χλαμύς) for a cloak which is normally relatively short, and often used in military contexts; in the *anteludia*, the soldier is *succinctum chlamide* (see comm. on 11,8,2, also on variation of declension as a feature of Apuleian style). Here we have the first declension noun *chlamida* (*chlamyda*), already attested in Varro *Men.* 212; Apuleius uses it also in 10,30,3 (the boy playing Mercury in the pantomime) *adest luculentus puer, nudus nisi quod ephebica chlamida sinistrum tegebat umerum*. Cf. *flor.* 15,8 *chlamyde uelat utrumque brachium ad usque articulos palmarum*. Like the *tunica* of Bathyllus' statue (see introd. note above), Lucius' *chlamida* hangs down all the way to his feet and is marked as a precious piece of clothing; here, *pretiosa* indicates the expensive quality of the embroidery (cf. 11,24,3) and underlines the exotic, non-Roman nature of the outfit (cf. *Cato orat.* 218a *neque mihi ... uestimentum ullum est manupretiosum*). The magnificent nature of the *chlamys* is stressed in Gloss. s.v. *chlamys*: *χλαῖνα. uestis quaedam regalis*.

11,24,3 Quaque tamen uiseres, colore uario circumnotatis insignibus animalibus; hinc dracones Indici, inde grypes Hyperborei, quos in speciem pinnatae alitis generat mundus alter. Hanc Olympiacam stolam sacrati nuncupant. But wherever you might let your eyes wander, I was marked by animals that were delineated all around with different colours; on one side there were Indian dragons, and on the other side there were Hyperborean griffins, which a world beyond ours begets in the shape of a winged bird. The initiates call this the Olympian stola.

The outfit with the designs of mythical animals and the solar crown (11,24,4) contains literary reminiscences that underline Lucius' heroic characterisation, e.g. from Vergil's *Aeneid* (the crown with twelve golden rays of King Latinus; see below on 11,24,4 *cinxerat ... in modum radiorum ... sic ad instar Solis*), and Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*: the shining god-made cloak worn by Jason is compared to the rising sun in 1,725-726, and Jason himself, a stranger-hero (who is compared to Apollo in *Arg.* 1,307-310 while moving through the throng of people; cf. Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 4,143-150), is attracting people's attention (especially that of women) wearing this brilliant cloak, and as such likened to a star in *Arg.* 1,774-781. Here, Lucius' beautiful outfit with the mythical creatures and the symbolic solar crown attracts a great crowd, longing to see this spectacle (11,24,4 *in aspectum populus errabat*); cf. Catullus 64, where the people curiously admire the *uestis*, the embroidered wedding coverlet (64,267-268 *quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes / expleta est*).

The Apuleian reader may be reminded of a tradition of literary *ekphraseis* of splendid cloaks, where there is an audience gazing upon the designs and responding with amazement and recognition, and may accordingly be challenged to read the signs displayed in this *ekphrasis* (see Hunter 1993, 52-59 on the *ekphrasis* of Jason's cloak, discussing Homeric allusions such as the cloak of Odysseus in *Od.* 19,225-235 and the Shield of Achilles). See below on 11,24,3 *quaqua ... uiseres*.

The representation of mythical animals on Lucius' clothes reflects a reversal in the relationship between myth/fiction and reality in Book 11. Whereas Lucius has now arrived in the 'real world' after his extraordinary re-transformation from animal into human (which also reflects a transition from Greek fictional material – the fabulous ass narrative – to a more reality-based narrative, with a much clearer geographical and temporal orientation), Lucius' clothes now reflect a mythical world which is thematically related to his present situation as an initiate and his future fame. On one level, the references to mythical creatures and countries seem to allude to Lucius' blissful 'afterlife' after his salvation from death and the Underworld (cf. *dracones Indici*) by Isis (cf. 11,6,6-7 and 11,21,7), which is also reflected in his initiation, where he visits a different world (cf. *mundus alter*) and contemplates the sun (11,22,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*). Here, on this new day, the clothes refer to this past experience of a journey to a different world (Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 57). On a different level, they refer to Lucius' future literary fame, which will surpass the limits of this world and of this life. On a metapoetical level, the associations with a victory in an athletic context (*Olympiacam*) reinforce the associations with literary heroisation and a future blessed afterlife, motifs from victory odes by Pindar, in Latin literature especially well-known through Horace *Odes* 2,20, where the poet makes his claim to literary immortality (see esp. below on *Hyperborei*).

Quaqua tamen uiseres: by the use of the second person, the narrator tries to involve the readers in the description, who become, in a way, part of the audience admiring Lucius' colourful outfit (cf. Apollon. Rhod. 1,725-726 and 765-767 and see DeForest 1994, 148-150 on the self-deception of the reader, addressed as viewer of Jason's cloak and cooperating with the author by believing in his illusionistic techniques). See Rosati 1983, 140-142 and 145 on Ovid's use of the apostrophe in contexts of *ekphrasis*, transforming the reader into a spectator (e.g. of metamorphosis, *Ov. met.* 4,559 *duratos subito digitos in crine uideres*; see also Wheeler 1999, 154-155). Compare Apuleius' description of the sculpture group of Actaeon and Diana, where the reader is allowed to look at the works of art along with the moving gaze of the narrator, wandering over the various details of the sculptures, and describing them as if they were moving themselves, e.g. 2,4,9 *credes illos ut rure pendentes racemos inter cetera ueritatis nec agitationis officio carere*. For this mode of address as a feature of *ekphrasis* in *met.* cf. also 7,13,2 *pompam cerneret*; 8,17,3 *cerneret ... spectaculum*; see *GCA* 2004, 116 on 5,1,3 *scies ab introitu primo* and *GCA* 2007, 140-141 on 1,4,5 *diceret*, with further references. For rhetorical devices used by Apuleius to enhance vividness see Introduction, 7.2.2.

tamen: the word *tamen* introduces a contrasting element in the *ekphrasis*: whereas the *chlamida* hangs down to Lucius' heels, the new element in the *ekphrasis* is a piece of clothing that covers a larger surface, perhaps flowing in many directions (cf.

next note). Possibly, *tamen* also underlines a change of focalisation after the opening, a shift to the perspective of the audience.

quaqua: cf. in a similar context of an *ekphrasis* of a wondrous robe 11,4,1 *quaqua tamen insignis illius pallae perfluebat ambitus*. In both cases, the relative adverb expresses the movement of the eyes of the spectator, wandering in all directions over the precious surface of the clothes (cf. *circumnotatis*); cf. Vallette's translation "sur toutes les faces" (wrongly Hanson 1989 "from whichever direction you looked" and Walsh 1994 "from whatever angle you studied it"). Cf. Varro *ling.* 7,7 *quaqua intuiti erant oculi, a tuendo primo templum dictum*.

colore uario circumnotatis: cf. 11,24,2 *floride depicta*. The verb *circumnoto* occurs only here; cf. *notare* in the sense of 'to express by pictorial means, delineate' (*OLD* s.v. *noto* 9c; cf. Stat. *silv.* 2,7,129 *uultus, qui simili notatus auro stratis praenitet*).

circumnotatis insignibar animalibus: i.e. by the animals embroidered on Lucius' *Olympiacam stola*; for *insignitus (insignire)* used with reference to characteristic clothes as an expression of identity, cf. *Ov. epist.* 9,101 *Sidonio ... insignitus amictu*; *Iul. Val.* 2,1,23-24 Rosellini *id temporis superuenerat quo insigniri uestis intextu purpureae coeperat* (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *insignitus* 1908,31-39); in a metaphorical sense (for 'clothing speech'), Tac. *dial.* 26,1 *orationem ... fucatis et meretriciis uestibus insignire* (used with depreciation of a style indulging in 'colour'). In meaning, *insignibar* also picks up *conspicuus* in 11,24,2.

dracones Indici ... grypes Hyperborei: India was notorious for its large, monstrous animals, as was Ethiopia; cf. Plin. *nat.* 8,35 *generat eos* (sc. *dracones*) *Aethiopia Indici pares, uicenum cubitorum* (cf. also 6,187), an account followed by Apuleius in *flor.* 6,4 *immensi dracones*. See Harrison 2000, 101-103 on perceptions of India and exoticism (the far edges of the world) in Apuleius and other writers of the Second Sophistic (Dio Chrysostom, Arrian, Lucian, Philostratus). Cf. 11,5,3 *Aethiopes*, where the Ethiopians illustrate the omnipresence of Isis in the known world, up to its remotest borders; here, in a similar way, the mythical animals, who come from the far East (*Indici*) and from a country beyond the known world (*Hyperborei*), illustrate the powerful presence of the goddess, not only in our world, but also in worlds beyond ours (cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 149). Snakes and similar animals are often mentioned as animals pulling the chariot of a deity (cf. 6,2,4 *draconum pinnata curricula*, the snakes drawing the chariot of Ceres; see *GCA* 2004, 376 ad loc. for more parallels); Philostratus (*Apoll.* 3,48) mentions griffins as animals sacred to Helios, which pull his chariot.

dracones Indici: for the *draco* as a creature from a world of fantasy (here: 'quos ... generat mundus alter') cf. 8,21,3 *immanem draconem*, in the tale about a shape-shifting *senex*-dragon who devours a slave belonging to a group of travellers (among whom is Lucius); *GCA* 1985, 183 ad loc. compares for Apuleius' use of dragons as fabulous creatures in *met.* two passages from the tale of Cupid and Psyche, where dragons and snakes belong to the mythical world of the gods, or appear in an unreal landscape associated with the Underworld, viz. 6,2,4; 6,14,4 *saeui dracones* (the dragons as guardians of the Styx). The connections with the Underworld or a world beyond our world are meaningful here on both a religious and a metapoetical level, related to the symbolism of besieging death and gaining immortality through the

grace of a god. Merkelbach (1962, 37-40) makes a much more radical equation between our passage and 6,14,4 in terms of mystic experience; his thesis that the dragons on the initiate's robe symbolise Lucius' difficult path to the Styx, threatened by dragons, is based on the assumption that Lucius, like Psyche, at his initiation had to fetch water from the Styx guarded by a dragon. For a different view on the thematic correspondences or 'structural link' with the other passages from *met.* where *dracones* appear see Scobie in *AAGA* 1, 53. On the word *draco*, which is often difficult to render ('serpent' or 'dragon'), see *GCA* 2004, 472 on 6,14,4. Here, Walsh 1994 translates *dracones* with "snakes"; Hanson 1989 with "dragons" (similarly Vallette 1956).

grypes Hyperborei: for the mythical nature of the griffin (or 'gryphon', Gr. γρύψ), a creature with the body of a lion and the head and wings of an eagle, cf. Verg. *ecl.* 8,27 *iungentur iam grypes equis*; Plin. *nat.* 10,136 *grypas aurita aduncitate rostri fabulosos reor*. Griffins were famous for digging gold out of mines and guarding it against the attacks of the Arimaspi; cf. Herodot. 3,116; 4,13; Plin. *nat.* 7,10 and see Healy 1999, 278 on animal gold-miners in Pliny the Elder. Their symbolic guardian function is also reflected in their presence in sepulchral art, where they are associated with demons of the Underworld. In Roman iconography from the 2nd century A.D. onwards, they become associated with Apollo (cf. Serv. *ecl.* 8,27 *Apollini consecratae*; 5,66, where the griffins together with the lyre and the arrows form the symbolic attributes of Apollo's triple power) and another god associated with light and the sun, Nemesis (see *LIMC* VIII,1 Suppl. s.v. *Gryps* [M. Leventopoulou], 609-611). The combination of the noun with the adjective *Hyperborei* is found here for the first time; it recurs in Claud. *carm. min.* 31,8, where griffins bring nuggets of gold as a wedding present to Orpheus (who symbolises the poet Claudian). Similar symbolic associations with poetry and inspiration are found in Sidonius Apollinaris' mention of griffins among the insignia of Apollo in *carm.* 2,307 and *epist.* 8,9,5 (where the poetic speaker compares himself in his role of a poet to a *novus Apollo*).

Hyperborei: in Greek myth, the country of the Hyperboreans, who were a favourite people of Apollo (according to Herodot. 4,33-36, the birth story of Apollo and Artemis involved the Hyperboreans; see Bridgman 2005, 27), is a remote and inaccessible place, a boundary beyond which mortals cannot pass; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 10,29-30 and see Nisbet – Hubbard 1978 on Hor. *carm.* 2,20,16 *Hyperboreosque campos*. In this context of religious and Olympic 'victory' and heroisation (cf. *Olympiacam stolam*), Apuleius probably alludes to the mythical association between the Hyperborean country and a blessed afterlife in another world (cf. *mundus alter*) after salvation by a god (cf. 11,6,6-7); for the motif of translation of victors by a god (Apollo) to the Hyperboreans as an equivalent of heroisation and immortalisation, cf. Bacchyl. 3 and Pind. *Pyth.* 10 and see Currie 2005, 4; 223; 237; 366; on the literary use of the Hyperboreans as a religious myth about a blissful people, embodying hope for a better life after death in an utopian other world, as a reward for those who achieved great things or lived a just life, see Bridgman 2005, 14-20.

hanc Olympiacam stolam: the demonstrative pronoun *hanc* probably refers to the *chlamys*. According to Fredouille 1975, *hanc* (through attraction to *stolam*) must refer to the whole *habitus religiosus* of 11,24,1, including the twelve *stolae*, the *byssina uestis* and the *chlamys*. Fredouille explains *Olympiacam* as an additional reference to

the twelve signs of the zodiac (cf. 11,24,1 *duodecim sacratus stolis*), which had been identified with the twelve Olympian gods (cf. Manil. 2,439). However, the adjective *Olympiacus* here rather refers to Olympic victory and heroisation. The choice of the adjective is apt in the triumphal vignette of Lucius' statuesque embodiment of the Sun god; see below on 11,24,4 *corona ... palmae*.

The interpretation of *Olympiacam* as a reference to Olympian gods has led in the past to some proposals to change the text. Kaibel 1900, 202-203 objected that Egyptian gods were opposed to Olympian gods and that this *stola* could therefore not be called *Olympiaca*; he proposed to change the transmitted text (F has *olīpiacā*) into *Osiriacam stolam*. Robertson 1945 commented 'fortasse recte' in his critical apparatus; Helm 1931 did not agree. For a detailed discussion of this issue see Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 23-24, who points out that the adjective *Olympiacus* refers to the Olympic games (the same goes for the Gr. Ὀλυμπιακός, see Dowden in *AAGA* 3, 160; by contrast, the Latin adjective *Olympius* can also refer to the Olympian gods), and should be interpreted here as the sign of initiate's victory over the fears that are inspired by the tests during the initiation.

sacрати: for the use of the adjective *sacratus* as a substantive, 'initiate', see *OLD* s.v. 1b and cf. 11,27,1 *sacraorum consiliis examino*. Lucius is now one of the *sacрати* (cf. 11,24,1 *duodecim sacratus stolis*).

11,24,4 At manu dextera gerebam flammis adultam facem et caput decore corona cinxerat palmae candidae foliis in modum radiorum pro-sistentibus. Sic ad instar Solis exornato me et in uicem simulacri constituto, repente uelis reductis, in aspectum populus errabat. Exhinc festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum, et suaues epulae et faceta conuiuia. And in my right hand I carried a torch which was aflame in full strength, and a crown with leaves of a brightly shining palm, which stuck out like rays, beautifully surrounded my head. After I had thus been adorned in the likeness of the Sun and had been set up there to serve as a statue, the curtains were suddenly drawn back and people wandered in to see the spectacle. Hereupon I celebrated the birth of my initiation into the mysteries, a most festive birthday, and there were delicious dinners and cheerful banquets.

Lucius' spectacular outfit visually marks him out as someone who enjoys the especial favour of the gods, particularly through the radiate crown (*foliis in modum radiorum pro-sistentibus*), which is not only the typical attribute of the Sun god but also a symbol of regality (see below on *cinxerat ... in modum radiorum ... sic ad instar Solis*). The suggestion of light and splendour (which may allude to the root *lux* of Lucius' name) connects the description of Lucius-Sol with other passages, where someone beholds the bright light of gods or god-like phenomena, such as the sun appearing in the middle of the night during Lucius' mystery experience (11,23,7 *solem candido coruscantem lumine*), or the radiant hair of Cupid, secretly observed by Psyche (5,22,5 *splendore nimio fulgurante*); see Dowden in *AAGA* 2, 12 and below on *palmae candidae foliis ... pro-sistentibus*. A metaliterary dimension is added to the vignette by allusions to the *corona* as a closural image of poetic achievement (see below on *caput ... corona cinxerat*). In imperial times, *Isiacae* had themselves repre-

sented as Isis on sepulchral monuments and in portrait statues (Eingartner 1991, 67-90), but we do not have any evidence about male worshippers being dressed as gods. Possibly, this is a creative analogy invented by Apuleius.

flammis adultam facem: since the use of *adolescere* with reference to light is especially found in descriptions of the waxing moon (cf. Gell. 20,8,7 *luna ... adolescente*; 14,1,3 *oceanus ... cum ea* [sc. luna] *simul senescit adolescitque*) and the sun (Petron. 122,148-149 *non solis adulti / mansuescit radiis* [sc. caelum]), the present use of *adolescere* with reference to the fully-grown flames of the torch (cf. Frontin. *strat.* 1,5,28 *ipso motu adolescente flamma*) gains a ‘cosmic’ dimension (cf. 2,11-12 on the future-telling *lucerna* of Pamphile, esp. 2,12,2 *modicum ... igniculum ... maioris et caelestis ignis*).

caput ... decore corona cinxerat: note assonance and alliteration. For the alliterating expression *caput corona cingere* cf. Lucr. 2,606 (on the mural crown of the Magna Mater) *murali ... caput summum cinxere corona*. For the crowning of statues of gods cf. 11,3,4 *corona* and Tiberinus’ crown of reeds in his epiphany to Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 8,43. For the use of *cingere* of crowning the head in a context of victory cf. Hor. *carm.* 3,30,15-16 *et mihi Delphica / lauro cinge uolens, Melpomene, comam*, with the note of Nisbet – Rudd 2004 on the symbolic meaning of crowning the poetic victor, a ‘closural’ image which suits the ‘sphragis’ poem of the third Book of Odes. For a similar metaphorical use of the combination of *corona* and *cingere* cf. Prop. 4,1,61-62 *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona; / mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua*; see Hutchinson 2006 ad loc. on *corona* as a metaphor for the successful Romanisation of Greek poetry, comparing Lucr. 1,117-119 and 928-930. For *cingo* referring to head-dress see *OLD* s.v. 1a.

corona ... palmae: the last item mentioned in the description of Lucius’ dress for the initiation is Lucius’ crown of palm leaves, representing the rays of the sun god. The combination of *corona* and *palma* here, both customary symbols of victory, may recall the garland of the goddess Victoria as described by Varro, who etymologically connects Victoria to *corona* by explaining this Latin word as a ‘binder of the head’ (*ling.* 5,62 *ideo haec cum corona et palma, quod corona uinclum capitis et ipsa a uinctura dicitur uieri, id est uinciri [...] palma, quod ex utraque parte natura uincta habet paria folia*). For statues of gods (esp. those of Victoria) wearing (golden) *coronae*, cf. Varro *ling.* 5,62; Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,84; Michel, *Recueil d’inscriptions gr.* [1900] no. 814, l. 41 *στέρφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*. For the association between Sol (who conquers darkness every morning; cf. 11,7,2) and Victoria in imperial times (also reflected in the epithet *Imuictus*; see *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol [C. Letta], 593), cf. Suet. *Cal.* 45,1 (in an Isiac context) *participes uictoriae nouo genere ac nomine coronarum donauit, quas distinctas solis ac lunae siderumque specie exploratorias appellauit* (Hurley 1993 ad loc. compares *Cal.* 22,4 for Caligula’s unsavoury interest in Isis, and comments: “whether or not Gaius awarded this crown either seriously or in jest, it is presented as an Isiac aberration”); *Paneg.* 7,14.

On the other hand, the combination of *corona* and *palma* also recalls the crown, with which victors in the Olympic Games were crowned (cf. above, *Olympiacam stolam*); cf. Verg. *georg.* 3,49 *Olympiacae ... praemia palmae* (a periphrasis for ‘victory at Olympia’); Suet. *Nero* 25,1 *coronam ... capite gerens Olympiacam*. According

to Griffiths 1975 in his addenda (p. 357), Lucius’ *corona* is associated with ‘the crown of justification’, conferred on the believer through the grace of Osiris. Appendix V in *GCA* 1995, 383 on the thematic function of garlands (see also comm. on 11,6,1 *coronam*) suggests that this final *corona* “is meant to be contrasted with, and carries the day against, the triumphal *corona aurea*” (cf. 9,16,3 *dignus solus coronam auream capite gestare*).

cinxerat ... in modum radiorum ... sic ad instar Solis: the radiate crown is one of the attributes of the Sun God, and Helios is so depicted in Greek art. Through the association of kings and emperors with the sun, the crown becomes an emblem of regality: in the final book of the *Aeneid*, Vergil represents King Latinus, who was descended from the Sun, with a similar crown (12,162-164 *cui tempora circum / aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt, / Solis aui specimen*); according to Suetonius (*Aug.* 94,6), Augustus appeared in a dream to his father with the attributes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and wearing a *radiata corona*. In imperial times, it becomes a *topos* of panegyric (Plin. *paneg.* 52,1 *radiatum caput; Paneg.* 10,3,2 *fulgor et illa lux diuinum uerticem claro orbe complectens*). For imperial coins with representations of the Emperor together with Sol (from Vespasian onwards) see *LIMC* s.v. Helios/Sol [C. Letta], 619-620; for representations on coins of the Emperor as Sol (Divus Augustus; Nero; Vespasian and Titus; Antoninus Pius), see *ibid.*, 621-622; the colossus of Nero that originally stood in front of the Colosseum was no doubt a representation of Nero as Sol. On third-century coins, Sol Invictus is represented with a radiate crown. See Introduction, 4.1.3 (last paragraph) for the associations of the Sun with the beneficial influence of a (divine) ruler. In Lucius’ case, the radiate crown underlines his status as a chosen person, the favourite of the gods; see introduction to this chapter (2. Lucius’ statuesque embodiment of Sol/Apollo and metaliterary associations).

in modum ... ad instar ... in uicem: Apuleius uses three more or less synonymous expressions (*uariatio*), in order to develop a complex visual comparison that simultaneously underpins the artificial, illusionistic nature of the representation on more than one level (Lucius looks as if he were Sol *and* as if he were a statue [of Sol]). For Apuleius’ use of *ad instar* see comm. on 11,21,7.

palmae candidae foliis ... prosistentibus: the adjective *candidus* here means ‘shining’, ‘light-coloured’, not ‘white’. The adjective here probably indicates the radiation of the light of the sun (and of the god Sol), which the palm leaves symbolically represent (*in modum radiorum*); for this use of *candidus*, cf. 11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* (cf. *Socr.* 3 p. 124 *uelut in artissimis tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicare*); 7,1,1 *candidum solis curriculum*. According to *GCA* 2004, 404 on 6,6,2 *candidae columbae*, the adjective can also refer to attributes of gods; however, in that passage *candidae* obviously refers to the white colour of the doves, since doves sacred to Venus were white, even if they had *picta colla*. For the *foliae palmae* as an attribute of Isis, cf. 11,4,3 *soleae palmae uictricis foliis intextae*.

prosistentibus: the verb *prosisto* (‘to stick out’) is a hapax legomenon; see *ThLL* s.v. 2200,32-36.

sic ad instar Solis exornato me et in uicem simulacri constituto: the phrase refers to the cultic practice of dressing up and adorning cult statues; see *ThesCRA* II (2004),

427-437 and especially 431 on literary and epigraphic sources on chitons and (golden) crowns for statues of Apollo.

exornato me: in F, the original reading appears to have been *exornatû*, with an *o* written by another hand in the place of the erased *û* (φ and some Class I mss. have *exornatû*). All editions print the emendation *exornato me* by Schickeradus, mentioned by Oudendorp 1786.

repente uelis reductis: for *uelum* as a term from Roman sacral terminology (also in 11,20,4 *uelis ... reductis in diuersum*), cf. *ILS 3727* (Tutela Candidiana) *caelum cum columnis et uelis et aram odoribus repletam*; *CIL XII 3134* (Victoria Augusta) *ex stipe uela et aram* (see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 154; 551).

in aspectum populus errabat: the spectacle of Lucius dressed up as Sol becomes the object of the admiration of the crowd (cf. 11,23,4 *tum ecce confluunt undique turbae*; 11,24,1 *uidere praesentes plurimi*). The description of a curious crowd gathering to see a spectacle belongs to a pattern in *met.*, of which there is a significant cluster in Books 10 and 11 (e.g. 10,19,1 *magnae ciuium turbae confluebant, ut mihi uidebatur, non tantum Thiasi studentes honori quam mei conspectus cupientes*). The most striking parallel to the present passage is 11,7,2, where crowds gather ‘*discursu ... triumphali*’ as the golden sun rises, which is victorious over the banished dark night. For crowds staring in admiration at Lucius cf. also 11,13,6; 11,16,2. Here, the crowd probably also gazes in admiration at Lucius’ outfit; cf. Apollon. Rhod. 1,782-784 and see introd. note on 11,24,3. For people gathering while the holy rites of the Mysteries are performed and disclosed cf. Plut. *de prof. virt.* 10 (*Mor.* 81E); cf. the contrast between the uninitiated crowd and the initiate, who has reached a blessed state, at Plut. frg. 168 Sandbach (see above, introduction to this chapter [3. Lucius as spectacle and spectator: various aspects of the gaze]).

For other cases, where a curious crowd gathers to see an interesting spectacle, cf. e.g. 4,28,3 (people come to admire Psyche) *multi ... ciuium et aduenae copiosi, quos eximii spectaculi rumor studiosa celebritate congregabat*; more examples are collected in the Appendix III on Curiositas in *GCA* 1995, 366; see also *GCA* 2007, 210 on 1,8,6 *in conspectu plurium perpetravit*. Whereas the crowds in other instances are explicitly characterised by *studium uisendi* or *studium uisionis*, or in some other way described as being curious, the description here is more neutral (see *GCA* 1995, 370-371); cf. the introduction to Ch. XXIII (3. Do Lucius and the reader commit a sacrilege because of their *curiositas*?) on the difference between *curiositas* and *desiderium religiosum*. For the characterisation of the crowds in Book 11 see Introduction, 5.1 with nn. 128-131.

in aspectum: for the active meaning of *aspectus* cf. 11,14,5 *in aspectum meum attonitus*, with comm. ad loc. For final *in* see Callebat 1968, 227. As Nicolini suggests in a forthcoming note, Apuleius possibly wrote also here *in aspectum <meum>*, since the crowd, which is represented as ‘*errans*’, is trying to focus on something particular.

exhinc: the adverb occurs for the first time in Apuleius, who uses it only here; after Apuleius, it is found in Christian literature, both poetry (e.g. Iuvenius) and prose (e.g. Fulgentius); see *ThLL* s.v. 1437,31-56.

festissimum celebraui natalem sacrorum: Lucius calls his first initiation his spiritual birthday. Given the connections between Lucius’ personal experiences in Book

11 and the Roman festal calendar (Witte 1997; cf. 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*; 11,5,5 *diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur*: the day of Lucius’ salvation coincides with the *navigium Isidis*; see Introduction, 4.1.2), scholars have observed significant parallels between Lucius’ first initiation and the *inuentio Osiridis* (the sequence of death, rebirth and festal joy, combined with a theatrical enactment in a ritual context), the most important religious celebration in the Roman Isis cult; see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 54-55 with further references. For the notion that the day of the initiation ritual was a new birthday see Burkert 1987, 99-100 with nn. 59-60 (giving parallels e.g. from Mithraic cult); for the associations with rebirth (11,16,4 *renatus*; 11,21,7 *renatos*; cf. also 11,6,7) see *ibid.*, 99 with n. 57. An initiation means acquiring a new (spiritual) birthday and a new horoscope, but also a new ‘parent’ (cf. 11,21,3 *parentes ... liberorum* and see Winkler 1985, 219 n. 26); Isis chose the priest because of the conjunction she observed between him and Lucius on the basis of the constellation of the stars (11,22,3).

suaues epulae et faceta conuiuia: for the important role of cultic meals in the initiation rites of Isis and Osiris/Sarapis cf. 11,27,4 *proxima nocte uidi quendam de sacratis linteis iniectum, qui ... religionis amplae denuntiaret epulas*, where the *epulae* stand by metonymy for the initiations themselves (see comm. ad loc.). Here, the meals do not form a central part of the initiation but are closely connected to it. In both literary (Tert. *apol.* 39) and non-literary evidence, it appears that ceremonial eating and drinking was important in the cults of Isis and Sarapis; dining rituals were important especially in the cult of Sarapis (the so-called *kline* of Sarapis); see Graf (forthcoming). For meals in a religious context see Burkert 1987, 109-110; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 272-278; Tilg 2011. The preparations for these festal meals were partly described in the previous chapters, where Lucius mentions lavish purchases, which possibly refer to the ingredients of cultic meals (cf. 11,22,8 *quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda*; 11,23,1 *ea protinus nauiter et aliquanto liberalius partim ipse, partim per meos socios coemenda procuro*).

11,24,5 Dies etiam tertius pari caerimoniarum ritu celebratus et ientaculum religiosum et teletae legitima consummatio. Paucis dehinc ibidem commoratus diebus inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar, inremunerabili quippe beneficio pigneratus. The third day too was celebrated with a similar ritual of ceremonies, and there was a sacred breakfast and the official conclusion of the initiation. After this, I lingered there for a few days and I fully enjoyed the immense delight of the divine statue, being pledged to the goddess by an act of kindness that cannot be repaid.

Here, Lucius’ lingering at the statue of the goddess and his worshipping her by endless contemplation seem to be his way of showing gratitude to the goddess for a *beneficium* that cannot be repaid by any *material* means (*inremunerabili*). For a similar gesture cf. 11,25,6. Similar feelings of inadequacy are expressed by Lucius in 11,25,7 *ueniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem*, and below, 11,24,6 *non plene, tamen pro meo modulo supplicie gratis persolutis*. The negative form of the adjectives *inexplicabilis* and *inremunerabilis* reflects the fact that the emotions felt by the initiate facing the deity can only be expressed in terms of

negation and shortcomings. Lucius' contemplative adoration of the goddess is a recurrent feature of the Isis Book, cf. 11,17,5 *intentus in deae specimen pristinos casus meos recordabar*; 11,19,1 *numinis magni cultor inseparabilis*; 11,20,4 *deae uenerabilem conspectum adprecamur*; 11,25,6.

dies ... tertius: the indications of narrated time are particularly precise in the description of the first initiation; see above on 11,24,1 *mane factum est* and see Introduction, 4.1.1 on narrated time in the Isis Book.

ientaculum religiosum: for the religious sense of *ientaculum* as a sacrificial meal offered to gods, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 155; cf. Plaut. *Curc.* 72-73 '*me inferre Veneri uoui iacentaculum.*' / '*quid? te antepones Veneri iacentaculo?*'; Fulg. *serm. ant.* 39 *ientaculum dicitur gustatio sicut Callimachus in Thesia 'ientaculum proferre Ioui'* (Helm prints *lentaculum*; according to his apparatus, Fulgentius himself must have written the wrong form *lentaculum* since all mss. transmit this).

teletae ... consummatio: for Apuleius' use of the noun *teleta* (Gr. τελετή), which is first found in the Isis Book, cf. 11,22,8 *quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda*, with comm. ad loc. Since *consummatio* is a Latin calque on the Greek term συντέλεια, the combination *teletae ... consummatio* sounds like translational wordplay. The noun *consummatio* only occurs in prose and becomes especially frequent after Apuleius; for *consummatio* used 'de actu vel effectu perficiendi' (with reference to non-material things), see *ThLL* s.v. 596,26-52, quoting many examples from later Latin, both religious and non-religious.

paucis dehinc ibidem ... diebus: this is one of the indications of time which throw some light on the narrated time of Book 11. After his initiation, a few days pass before Lucius travels home (cf. 11,24,6; 11,26,1), where he again stays only a few days (11,26,1 *paucis ... post diebus*), before he travels to Rome, where he arrives on December 12th. Some scholars have tried to reconstruct the date of the first initiation; see e.g. Van der Paardt in *AAGA* 1, 86-87, who argues that it must have taken place in November; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 58, who suggests it might have been the beginning of November.

commoratus: for Lucius' tendency to linger near Isis and her high priest cf. 11,26,1 *diu denique gratiarum gerendarum sermone prolixo commoratus*. The priest had already warned Lucius not to linger, in case the goddess calls for action (11,21,5 *neque uocatus morari*), which is what the goddess does in the following sentence (11,24,6 *sed tandem deae monitu*).

inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar: the scene recalls 2,5,1 *dum haec identidem rimabundus eximie delector*, where Lucius takes great delight in looking at the statue of Diana again and again. For a comparison between the Diana-Actaeon sculpture group and the 'Isis-Lucius sculpture group' in 11,24,1 see introduction to this chapter (3. Lucius as spectacle and spectator: various aspects of the gaze). On the one hand, the parallelism between the two situations can be viewed to indicate continuity in Lucius' characterisation, as argued by Keulen 2014 (forthc.). On the other hand, scholars have argued for a contrast between Lucius' contemplative and religious joy here and the *seruiles uoluptates* in Books 1 – 10 (e.g. the sexual *uoluptas* with Photis; cf. 2,10,1 *cruciatum uoluptatis eximiae*, with *GCA* 2001, 183 ad loc.); see also comm. on 11,15,1 *seruiles ... uoluptates* and Introduction, 5.2. Other

scholars interpret Lucius' *uoluptas* against the background of Apuleius' Platonism as the higher *uoluptas* resulting from the knowledge of good and bad (cf. *Plat.* 2,3 p. 223 *illa uoluptatis ac laudis*), experienced by Lucius after his initiation; see *GCA* 1995, 376 (Appendix III, 5.1 '*Curiositas* in the light of *De Platone*'); Griffiths in *AAGA* 1, 156. For connections with the theme of *curiositas* see Schlam 1992, 119. For Lucius' inexpressible joy cf. also 11,14,1-2 and for the joy permeating the Isis Book see Finkelppearl in *AAGA* 3, 197. Many scholars discuss the important theme of *uoluptas* in *met.*; see *GCA* 2001, 23 with further references.

uoluptate ... perfruebar: before Apuleius, the combination is mostly found in philosophical discourse, in both positive and negative contexts; cf. Cic. *fin.* 1,57 *perfrui ... maximis et animi et corporis uoluptatibus* (where a life of enjoyment is identified with a life of virtue); *off.* 1,25 *expetuntur ... diuitiae cum ad usus uitae necessarios, tum ad perfruendas uoluptates*; Sen. *dial.* 4,5,3 *uoluptate multa perfruuntur* (pleasure in killing as a sign of cruelty); more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *perfruo* 1410,40-44.

inexplicabili: the adjective *inexplicabilis* ('qui explicari non potest'), only occurring in prose, often means 'immensus', 'infinite', when applied to emotions, cf. e.g. Ps. Quint. *decl.* 5,4 (p. 89,3 H.) *inexplicabiles doloris aestus*; 18,2 (p. 355,7 H.) *inexplicabilis doloris aestus*; after Apuleius, cf. Amm. 30,1,18 *inexplicabile ... principis odium*; Faustin. *trin.* 23 (2,8) *inexplicabilis diuinae dilectionis*; Ennod. *opusc.* 3,154 (p. 371,1-2) *inexplicabilis ... uestri amor*; Cassiod. in *psalm.* 80,2 l. 42-43 *abundantissimam atque inexplicabilem laetitiam*. Here, the literal sense could be present too, since the joy of the devotee contains something irrational, which non-believers cannot grasp.

The use of adjectives in *-bilis* in Book 11 by far exceeds the use in earlier books, and many of them have solemn connotations; cf. 11,2,4 *inexorabili*; 11,5,5 *nauigabili*; 11,6,2 *detestabilis*; 11,7,1 *uenerabilis* (11,23,3); 11,11,3 *ineffabile*; 11,16,2 *notabilis*; 11,18,1 *adorabile ... memorabilem*; 11,19,1 *inseparabilis*; 11,20,4 *uenerabilem*; 11,21,5 *obseruabili*; 11,22,1 *probabili*; 11,22,2 *optabilem*; 11,22,8 *ignorabilibus*; 11,24,6 *inexplicabili ... inremunerabili*. See Introduction, 7.1.2 on Apuleius' frequent use of special words in the context of the religious closure of the novel.

inremunerabili ... beneficio pigneratus: here, *pigneratus* means 'pledged to (the goddess/ Isis)', although the dative is lacking; for the usual construction with the dative, cf. 3,22,5 *tuum ... mancipium inremunerabili beneficio sic tibi pignera*; 4,26,4 (sponsus) *caritatis adfectione mutua mihi pigneratus*; more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *pigneror/pignero* 2119,72-2120,3. In the passage 3,22,5 just quoted, the same combination *inremunerabili beneficio* occurs; these are the only two passages in which the Apuleian adjective *inremunerabilis* is attested (*ThLL* s.v. 400,8-11).

11,24,6 Sed tandem deae monitu, licet non plene, tamen pro meo modulo supplicue gratis persolutis, tardam satis domuitionem comparo, uix equidem abruptis ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis. But finally, at the instigation of the goddess, I rendered thanks with humble entreaty – if not in full measure, yet in keeping with my limitations – and I prepared for my home journey, which was delayed, after I had indeed reluctantly broken the bonds of my burning desire.

This is one of the passages where Lucius indicates his small financial means (*licet non plene* ...), which do not allow him to show his gratitude to Isis and to the priest in the measure he wishes (cf. 11,25,6 *religiosus quidem, sed pauper alioquin*; 11,25,7 *ueniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem*, both with comm. ad loc.). Cf. also above, 11,24,5 *inremunerabili*. The problem is possibly partly connected with the *sumptus* for the first initiation (11,21,4; 11,23,1 *liberalius*).

Sed tandem deae monitu ... domuitionem comparo: with *sed*, a clear rupture with Lucius' long (*tandem*) lingering is indicated (cf. 11,24,5 *commoratus*): the goddess demands new actions from Lucius. This implies that Lucius should stop worshipping her statue, and should make an effort to bring propitiatory offerings to thank the goddess (*gratis persolutis*) and make preparations for the home journey, which is rather late already (*tardam satis*, possibly reflecting a reproach coming from the goddess). Cf. 11,26,1 *tandem digredior*.

deae monitu: one of the instances where Lucius receives direct instructions from the goddess, presumably in his sleep (cf. e.g. 11,19,2 *uisu deae monituque*; see comm. on 11,22,2 *monuit*).

plene: for the use of this adverb in contexts of praying, thanking etc. cf. *flor.* 16,47 *plenius gratias canam*; Plin. *epist.* 9,21,4 *tanto plenius et effusius (precabor)*.

pro ... modulo: 'to the best of one's ability' (*OLD* s.v. *modulus* 5); before this passage, the expression is only found in *Epist. procur. de salt. Bur.* I (*CIL* VIII 10570) 2,17 *pro modulo mediocritatis nostrae*; for later examples, especially from Christian authors, see *ThLL* s.v. 1251,62-81.

supplicue: 'with humble entreaty' (*OLD* s.v.). The only two occurrences of this Apuleian adverb are this passage and 9,39,4 *tunc hortulanus subplicue respondit* (*GCA* 1995, 326 ad loc. additionally notes that there are no attestations of an adjective **supplicuus*). In *apol.* 94,3, Apuleius uses the more usual adverb *suppliciter*, which rather emphasises the gestures and behaviour of the suppliant (cf. below, 11,24,7).

gratis persolutis: for the expression, cf. Cic. *Planc.* 80 *qui meritam dis ... gratiam iustis honoribus ... persoluunt*; after Apuleius (who uses it only here), the combination is found in e.g. Mart. Cap. 2,142 (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. *persoluo* 1713,3-5); cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 1,600 *grates persoluere dignas* (more examples in *ThLL* s.v. 1713,10-12); Vell. 2,25,4 *Sulla gratis Dianae ... soluit*. It was possible to offer the saving goddess small presents in the form of votive tablets with pictures; cf. Iuv. 12,26-28; Tib. 1,3,27-32 and see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 423 on Isiac sanctuaries as a place where such tablets were sold; on votive practice related to mystery cults see Burkert 1987, 12-17.

tardam satis domuitionem comparo: Lucius prepares his journey back home (to Corinth or some place nearby), a journey which he considers 'quite late'; the same thought is expressed in 11,26,1, where the journey actually takes place (*tandem digredior et recta patrium larem reuisurus meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo*).

domuitionem comparo: the archaic word *domuitio* is before Apuleius only attested in Roman tragedy; on the Odyssean associations of the expression, alluding to Odysseus' homecoming, see Graverini 2007, 170 [= 2012, 151].

uix ... abruptis ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis: Lucius has great difficulty separating himself from Isis' statue, just as he finds it hard to say goodbye to the high priest (11,25,7; 11,26,1). His yearning desire can be interpreted in several ways, and may depict an inner conflict in Lucius as a devotee of Isis. On one level, it reveals continuity in Lucius' characterisation (cf. 3,19,4 *sum namque coram magiae noscendae ardentissimus cupitor*; 11,21,2 *cupido gliscebat*), as someone who has to struggle to obey the instructions of the goddess, who exhorted him to prepare his home journey. For Lucius' delight in gazing at the statue see above, 11,24,5 *inexplicabili uoluptate simulacri diuini perfruebar*. On another level, his behaviour may show his absolute devotion to the goddess, which was required by Isis (the *retinacula* may recall the strong bonds of servitude which tie Lucius to Isis: cf. 11,6,5; 11,6,7; 11,15,5; 11,16,4), and which Lucius expresses by gestures (see also below, 11,24,7).

11,24,7 *Prouolutus denique ante conspectum deae et facie mea diu detersis uestigiis eius, lacrimis obortis, singultu crebro sermonem interficiens et uerba deuorans aio*: Finally, after I had prostrated myself before the sight of the goddess and after rubbing her feet for a long time with my face, I spoke with rising tears, while strangling my speech with frequent sobs and stifling my words:

Lucius' ritual gestures correspond to the typical gestures of supplication (throwing himself at the feet of the deity; crying), and resemble Psyche's behaviour when praying to Ceres in 6,2,3 *tunc Psyche pedes eius aduoluta et uberi fletu rigans deae uestigia humumque uerrens crinibus suis, multiugis precibus editis ueniam postulabat* (see *GCA* 2004, 373-374 ad loc. with parallels and lit.); cf. also 6,3,4 (Psyche praying to Juno) *tunc genu nixa ... detersis ante lacrimis sic adprecatur*. Proskynesis before and kissing of the feet and hands of a god's statue during prayer (cf. 11,17,4 *exosculatis uestigiis deae*) are well attested in antiquity, cf. Plut. *Sulla* 29,11 and see Pulleyn 1997, 191-194; Korenjak 2000, 98. On tearful prayers cf. also 11,1,4 *deam ... lacrimoso uultu sic adprecabar*, with comm.; Lateiner 2009, 287.

ante conspectum deae: the phrase implies that the cult statue of the goddess is identified with Isis herself, as in 11,17,5 *intentus <in> deae specimen*; 11,19,1 *me ... ad deae gratissimum mihi refero conspectum* and 11,20,4 *deae uenerabilem conspectum apprecamur*. According to Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 156, this can be connected with the interpretation of *simulacra spirantia* (11,17,1) as statues enlivened by the actual presence of the gods.

facie mea diu detersis uestigiis eius: Lucius wipes the goddess' feet clean by rubbing his face, which is perhaps wet from tears (cf. 6,2,3 *uberi fletu rigans deae uestigia*). For the use of *detergeo* in this sense cf. *apol.* 59,1 *an parietes suos detergit*; Petron. 135,2 *detersis ... manibus*.

lacrimis obortis, singultu crebro sermonem interficiens ... aio: Apuleius uses similar phrasing when he describes Psyche's tearful plea to her husband, cf. 5,13,1 *suscipit Psyche singultu lacrimoso sermonem incertans*; GCA 2004, 197 ad loc. compares Ov. *rem.* 598 *ruptaque singultu uerba loquentis erant*.

lacrimis obortis ... aio: the combination of bursting out in tears simultaneously with the act of speaking is common; cf. 3,7,1 *haec profatus, rursus lacrimis obortis porrectisque in preces manibus ... tunc hos tunc illos deprecabar*. The use of the ablative absolute *lacrimis obortis* is poetic, often enclosing a verb of speech with hyperbaton; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,492 *lacrimis adfabar obortis*; 11,41 *lacrimis ita fatur obortis*; Ov. *met.* 1,350 *lacrimis ita Pyrrham adfatur obortis*; 7,689; Val. Fl. 7,258 *lacrimisque haec infit obortis* (see ThLL s.v. *oborior* 144,31-38); in prose before Apuleius, it is only found in Curtius Rufus (cf. e.g. 8,2,8).

sermonem interficiens: Cornelissen 1888 proposed *intercipiens* (according to Robertson 1945 'fortasse recte'), but the reading of F was defended by Löfstedt 1936, 102, who interprets it as a case of re-etymologising (*Umdeutung*), by analogy with *interpellare, interrompere*. For the use of *interficere* in the sense of 'interrupting (actions, words)', ThLL s.v. *interficio* 2192,32-37 cites our passage as the first instance and compares it with Socr. 17 p. 157 *interfectis sapientiae officii*; Cod. Theod. 4,22,2 *reparationem interfecti hoc pacto semel negotii ... postulare*. A lemma from a glossary from later antiquity (Gloss.¹ I Ansil. ME 100) comes very close to our passage in meaning: *medio sermone: interfecta oratione*.

uerba deuorans: Apuleius borrowed the image of 'swallowing words' as an expression of speechlessness from Ovid, who combines it with 'swallowing tears' in *met.* 13,539-540 *et pariter uocem lacrimasque introrsus obortas / deuorat ipse dolor* (cf. *fast.* 4,845-846 *lacrimas ... deuorat*); Hopkinson 2000 ad loc. proposes the translation 'stifled'. Cf. in English 'it took my breath away'. Here, rather than speechlessness, *uerba deuorare* indicates faltering speech and unclear pronunciation (Lucius' words are drowning in his sobs); for this connotation, ThLL s.v. *deuoro* 876,5-8 compares our passage with Quint. *inst.* 11,3,33 (on pronunciation as a part of delivery) *pars* (sc. *uerborum*) *deuorari, pars destitui solet* (opp. *dilucida uero erit pronuntiatio primum si uerba tota exierint*). The combination occurs in a quite different context (meaning 'choking back words', as a means of suppressing anger) in Sen. *dial.* 5,14,5 *potest dici merito deuorasse uerba*. Compare the use of the verb *deuoro* for repressing emotions in 2,15,2 *deuorato pudore*, with GCA 2001, 238 ad loc., comparing e.g. 9,19,3 *deuorato pudore* and Sen. *dial.* 6,1,2 *gemitus deuorasti*.

CHAPTER XXV

Lucius' Hymn to Isis.

With this elaborately structured prayer to Isis Lucius demonstrates his 'reborn tongue' (cf. 11,14,2 *renatam linguam*) for the first time. This is the first occasion after his re-transformation where he uses direct speech, at a crucial point in the structure of the narrative, which looks forward to the future use of his *noua uox* in the context of his glorious rhetorical career in Rome (11,28,6; 11,30,4).

After being initiated into Isis' sacred rites, Lucius is ready to go back home (Ch. XXIII-XXIV), but, before leaving, he wishes to express his gratitude to the saving goddess: notwithstanding the (traditional) claim of the inability to praise a deity appropriately with human speech (11,25,5), the result is a prayer that has rightly become famous, at least since Norden 1913, 156-157, who describes it as the perfect model of the kind of prose that was destined to become standard in both pagan and in Christian doxology, a rhythmic prose rigidly structured into *cola* and *commata* according to the rules of '*uerba concipere*'.

The prayer of thanks expresses therefore Lucius' feelings in the very same elevated style and terms in which he had already implored the goddess' help (cf. Ch. II with our stylistic analysis), viz. the style and terms of the hymnic genre (for Apuleius' technique of embedding hymns in a non-hymnic genre, according to a common Latin literary tradition, see Introduction, 7.1.1). After the opening invocation, a catalogue of the goddess' *δυνάμεις* follows; these are listed in a carefully elaborated, almost stanzaic structure, marked by *Du-Stil* in combination with anaphora, producing a strong rhythmical effect. Both on a lexical and a thematic level, several analogies with the so-called *Isislitanei* (*Invocation of Isis*) P.Oxy. 1380 (Totti 20) have been pointed out by Lafaye, who was the first to study the two texts in a synoptic comparison (cf. Lafaye 1916, 55-108; the closest similarities will be analysed in the individual notes).

All these traditional features of the hymnic prayer, in any case, are not passively received, but reworked and rhetoricised according to Apuleian fashion, by adding different elements from other Isiac aretologies and, even more importantly, by incorporating easily recognizable literary allusions. Many passages evoke Lucretius, or, at least, some Lucretian notions (see Introduction, 6.4, on the presence of Lucretius in the Isis Book): for instance, although Isis' relation with the winds is traditional (cf. below), the references to *flamina* and *nubila* (especially occurring in close proximity) in such a context easily bring to mind Lucr. 1,6 *te fugiunt uenti te nubila caeli*. In a similar way, the expression *tibi ... germinant semina crescunt germina* recalls the similar idea of Venus' life-generating power in Lucr. 1,7-8 *tibi ... tellus summittit flores*; and the statement *tibi respondent sidera* seems to be the result of a conflation of two concepts expressed in Lucr. 1,2-4: *caeli subter labentia signa ... concelebras* and the following *tibi ... placatumque nitet ... caelum* (the idea of the subsiding elements in this last verse is also present in Apuleius just a few lines below, even if in a

figurative sense, with regard to the *tempestates* of life and Fate). Furthermore, the expression *regis mundum* at 11,25,3 is analogous to Lucr. 1,21 *rerum naturam ... gubernas*, evoking Isis' absolute power over the universe.

Finally, a very important stylistic feature is present in both the prayers: the polypoton based on the second-person pronoun, introducing the goddess's different δυνάμεις (*Tu ... tuis ... te ... tu ... tibi ... tuo ... tuam ... tuis ... tua ... tuos*) is already found in Lucr. 1,1-24, immediately after the opening with the vocative, in the long sequence *per te ... te ... te ... te ... tuum ... tibi ... tibi ... te, diua, tuumque ... tua ui ... te ... nec sine te ... te ...* For this fundamental stylistic feature of the hymnic prayer (*Du-Stil*), however, see Norden 1913, 149-153. In general, as we have already observed (see comm. on 11,1,2-3), many typical features of hymnic language in fact coincide with some characteristics of the author's idiolect, and seem to be particularly stressed in virtue of a peculiar Apuleian inclination; among these features, which altogether make the piece particularly suitable for reading aloud, are abundant lexical and syntactical parallelisms, together with asyndetic sequences and marked sound effects (which can occasionally lead to unusual lexical choices). One can also notice an increased accuracy in the selection of certain *clausulae* in order to ensure prosodic symmetry (see also below).

This third episode of prayer (or 'liturgical passage'; see Introduction, 7.1.1), like the previous two (Ch. II and V), has been accurately analysed for style by Festugière 1958, 29-33 and Pasetti 1999, 262-271, offering a thorough analysis and a scheme of the prayer's structure. Here it suffices to say that the whole *laudatio* of the goddess can be divided into two main sections, with the first part (11,25,1-2 *tu quidem – cohibes*) developing the saving goddess theme, and the second (11,25,3-4 *te superi – ponto natantes*) celebrating Isis' role as mistress of the universe (on these features of Isis' cult, cf. Isis' hymnic self-revelation in Ch. V and see introduction to Ch. I [1. The Moon as a universal goddess]). As for the structure, after a first, complex hypotactic movement, a long paratactic sequence follows, strongly marked by asyndeton, in which very short *cola* are linked like lines in brief separate stanzas. A third section (11,25,5-6) serves as a sign-off passage before the narration is resumed: as the subject of this last part we have presented the devotee who, in a way no less paradoxical than traditional, claims to be inadequate to sing the majesty of the divinity appropriately.

11,25,1 'Tu quidem sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua, semper fouendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis. 'You are indeed the holy and eternal saviour of the human race, ever generous in taking care of mortals, you offer a mother's tender love to the sufferings of the wretched.

Tu quidem sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua: Robertson 1945 proposes in his apparatus to supply <et deum> after *quidem* (apparently to be linked with *sancta* which otherwise seems to remain 'suspended'), but this is not necessary. Although the conjecture can be supported by Verg. *Aen.* 4,577 *sequimur te, sancte deorum, quisquis es*, and can also easily be explained paleographically (omission by a sort of haplography could have originated the error), it does not take into consideration the frequent absolute use of the adjective *sanctus*, for which we have several par-

allels, cf. e.g. Tib. 4,4,9 (*uel* 3,10,9) *sancte, ueni, tecumque feras ...*; 4,6,7 (*uel* 3,12,7) *at tu, sancta, faue*; Mart. 12,62,15 *at tu sancte ... iubeas*. See already Vallette 1945: "Sainte! toi qui veilles ... sur le salut"; Kenney 1998: "Hail, holy one and eternal saviour ...". Furthermore, one could also take *sancta* rather as one of the two adjectives modifying *sospitatrix* (the other one being *perpetua*), which is how Norden 1913, 157 would read it, rather than as an address. For our part, we prefer the latter possibility (cf. Nicolini 2005: "O tu davvero santa, ed eterna salvatrice ..."), given also the fact that *quidem* is very often used to reinforce a pronoun, as in 5,17,2 *Tu quidem felix et ipsa ... beata sedes incuriosa periculi tui* and, in a very similar structure, 4,23,4 *tu quidem salutis et pudicitiae secura breuem patientiam nostro compendio tribue*.

tu quidem ...: the *incipit* introduces the *Du-Stil*, a standard feature in sacral language, which we have already noted in Lucius' first prayer (to the moon goddess); see introduction to Ch. II (2. Religious rhetoric: structure and style of Lucius' invocation). Pasetti observes, however, that the *cliché* undergoes some variations here, which aim to structure the whole hymn in three different parts (for a thorough description of this play with the scheme, cf. esp. Pasetti 1999, 262).

sancta ... sospitatrix: Fredouille 1975, 118 compares the similar use of the adjectives ἱερὴν and ἁγίαν referring to Isis in several passages in *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20, respectively at 18; 110 and 34; 89); as to the concept of *sospitatrix*, he refers to another famous hymn (Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* = Totti 21), 4-5 παντοίων ἔργων ἐμέλησέ σοι, ὄφρ' ἀναδοίης, ἀνθρώποισι βίον τε καὶ εὐνομήν τε ἕπασι. Since these are traditional epithets, frequently found in prayers, Lafaye 1916, 101 rightly points out the striking analogy with *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20,55), where the compound substantive ἀνδρασώτεια is used. The noun *sospitatrix* (already at 11,9,1, with comm. ad loc., and at 11,15,4, always referring to Isis) seems to be an Apuleian coinage (like the masculine form *sospitator* found in *apol.* 64,7; *mund.* 24 p. 343; and in several passages in the novel, among which e.g. 6,28,6; 7,14,1) on the basis of a pre-existent *Sospita*, which has been re-etymologized by Apuleius and traced back to σῶζω (this connection, though, seems traditional, cf. Fest. p. 343 and see Nicolini 2011a, 143-144). Cf. Hickson 1993, 81 on the rare verb *sospito*, originating from archaic sacral language and used in petitions seeking preservation. The term *sospitatrix* does not occur elsewhere; the whole phrase *humani generis sospitatrix* is probably intended to render the Greek compound found in the papyrus (ἀνδρασώτεια), showing a preference to use a periphrastic expression instead of creating a lexical 'monstrosity'.

sospitatrix perpetua: Apuleius uses a similar combination at *apol.* 64,7 (*aeternum animantum sospitator*).

fouendis mortalibus munifica: the expression can be explained against the background of Isis' identification with *rerum naturae parens* (cf. for instance Plut. *De Isid et Os.* 53 [Mor. 372E] ἡ γὰρ Ἱσίς ἐστι μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θῆλυ, καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσης γενέσεως, καθὸ τὴν καὶ πανδεχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ... κέκληται), or, more precisely, with Ceres/Demeter. This identity has already been celebrated in Lucius' prayer to the *Regina caeli* (11,2,1 *miti commonstrato cibo nunc Eleusiniam glebam percolis*); for this notion, which is quite widespread in the Greek papyri, cf. comm. on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens* (with specific references to Isidorus' 1st *Hymn to Isis* [Totti 21],3 and the *Self-revelation from Kyme* [Totti 1],7). The adjective *munificus*

(also occurring in Apul. *apol.* 18,6) is rare, but was probably chosen for stylistic reasons, as it is very appropriate to the solemn tone of the speech.

dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis: a firm statement, reminiscent of Lucius' parallel cry for help at 11,2,4 (*tu saevis casibus pausam pacemque tribue*), which had already received a precise answer at 11,5,4 (with the goddess' explicit claim *adsum tuos miserata casus*). Lafaye 1916, 101 correctly remarks that some lexical choices (specifically the adjectives related to Isis' gentleness) look back to some passages of *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20,11 and 86 ἡπίαν; also 20,12 φιλόστοργον); in our opinion, this description emphasises Isis' maternal affection towards the sufferings of the wretched, much more than her generally mild or friendly nature. After all, the idea of Isis being a gentle and loving goddess, who had gone through sufferings and hence become the rescuer of the wretched, is a very peculiar feature of Isiac religion (Nicolini 2005, 49, and cf. for instance Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 27 [Mor. 361E]; this characteristic was later also attributed to Osiris). The idea is often found elsewhere in Latin literature, cf. for instance the famous claim by Isis in Ov. *met.* 9,699-700 *deasum auxiliaris opemque / exorata fero*. Finally, *adfectio* with the meaning 'love', 'affection' is remarkable (its use did not become established before later imperial Latin, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *affectio* 1178,25-1180,7); Apuleius uses it with reference to different forms of love, including feelings expressed by friends, lovers, brothers etc. (cf. *apol.* 85,3 and 96,4; *met.* 3,22,4; 5,9,6; 5,15,1, etc.). For Isis as a mother, see comm. on 11,7,4 *matrem siderum*.

11,25,2 Nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum quidem tenue tuis transcurrit beneficiis otiosum, quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis uitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua Fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes. Not a day, not a night, not even a brief moment passes, which is empty of your favours, in which you do not protect people on sea and land, and, calming the storms of life, hold out your rescuing hand; that hand which unravels the inextricably entangled threads of the Fates and calms the winds of Fortune and restrains the harmful courses of the stars.

The phrasing is meticulously elaborate, showing a complex syntactical structure characterized by three grades of subordination: the main verb *transcurrit* governs the subordinate clause *quin ... porrigas dexteram*, to which the second-grade subordinate *qua ... retractas ...* is attached; the latter is, in turn, connected to a double coordination (*et mitigas ... et cohibes*); special attention is also given to lexical choice, which very often appears to produce sound effects (on this, cf. individual notes).

Note the significant interplay of concrete (literal) and abstract (metaphorical) levels of interpretation within this one sentence. On a concrete level, Isis (Pelagia) protects humans on the sea and on land (*mari terraque protegas*); this can be symbolically interpreted on the abstract level of the 'storms of life' (*uitae procellis*) and the 'winds of Fortune' (*Fortunae tempestates*), where the *nauigium* becomes a symbolic *nauigium*, which refers in particular to Lucius' wretched misfortunes (for these symbolic connotations see Introduction, 4.1.3).

nec dies nec quies: the choice for *quies* instead of the more common *nox* is easily explained by the search for assonance in an antithetical pairing (cf. Traina 1989, 161 and Pasetti 1999, 263-264); this term, commonly used in the novel in its standard meaning of 'sleep', 'rest', occurs only here in this sense. Pasetti 1999, 250 rightly remarks that alliterating or rhyming combinations like this one are often adopted, sometimes even regardless of normal Latin usage, in an effort to reproduce a typical characteristic of the ancient *carmina* (among the examples quoted by Pasetti, cf. *pausam pacemque at met.* 11,2,4).

otiosum: the figurative sense of *otiosus* ('i.q. vacuus') occurs only here in Apuleius; it seems to be somewhat artificial, as indicated by the lack of parallels (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1170,6-23); its construction with the ablative is also rare (the adjective is normally followed by the genitive), but could be due to analogy with adjectives like *uacuum* or *carens*.

beneficiis: alludes to a typical feature of Isis, the aid of the goddess in granting her favours to mortal beings, for which cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 13 and 68 δότεια and 10 χαριτοδότεια. In the last book, the term *beneficium* occurs very often and always with the same meaning of 'favour' received by mortals and/or granted by the gods (*ThLL* s.v. *beneficium* 1882,74-1883,22), cf. already 11,13,4 with comm. ad loc.

Fatorum retractas ... licia: for Isis' power over fate, see 11,6,7 *ultra statuta fato tuo spatia*, with comm. ad loc.

inextricabiliter contorta ... retractas: the adverb, found here for the first time and only occurring once again in Cassian (*ThLL* s.v. *inextricabiliter* 1335,66-70), is evidently formed on the base of the adjective *inextricabilis*, which is common from very early Latin onwards, though generally used in a figurative sense ('i.q. inexplicabilis'); the literal sense is particularly appropriate here, since the context refers to *licia*. The link with *contorqueo* is peculiar too, especially if one considers that the two roots are very likely to be related (cf. Walde – Hofmann, 704-705). It is possible that even **tric-* and *tracto* were erroneously considered by ancient authors to be closely related; the use of *retracto* with the meaning 'unravel' should not be taken for granted, on the contrary – it is a semantic hapax without any parallels, founded on an etymological reconstruction of the word, as Apuleius combines a concrete sense of *tracto* ('to subject to the action of the hands, to handle, to work materials', cf. *OLD* s.v. 2) with a possible spatial meaning of the prefix *re-*, which usually has a temporal meaning with this verb (cf. Nicolini 2011a, 145, and Pasetti 1999, 264).

Fortunae tempestates ... mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes: the attribution of these qualities seems natural, considering Isis' identity as Τύχη Ἀγαθή (cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20,51]; see Lafaye 1916, 101); the link between *Fortunae* and *tempestas/-tes*, found already at 11,15,1, and perhaps a feature of *Umgangssprache*, is also found in Vitruvius 6, *praef.* 2; Gellius 20,1,22; Arnobius *nat.* 2,45 (p. 118,12-13 Marchesi); the phrase *noxios meatus* seems to look back to Lucius 1,128 *solis lunaeque meatus*, and refers to the harmful influence of the stars, which the goddess is able to prevent in virtue of her supreme power and control over nature and fate (on this cf. 11,6,7 *ultra statuta fato tuo spatia*, with comm. ad loc.); the whole tricolon *retractas ... mitigas ... cohibes* expresses therefore three different manifestations of the same cosmic power.

11,25,3 Te superi colunt, obseruant inferi, tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. Tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa. The gods above revere you, the spirits below pay you homage; you rotate the earth, you give light to the sun, you govern the universe, you trample Tartarus beneath your feet. The stars follow your will, at your will the seasons return; deities rejoice before you, the elements obey you.

A concern for highly rhetoricised prose, meticulously and almost geometrically structured, becomes more and more evident in this section: the complex hypotaxis of the previous part is followed by a rigid parataxis based on symmetrical asyndetic sentences collected in a tetracolon scheme (with a slight change from the tripartite structure used both in the hymn of Ch. II and in Isis' speech at Ch. V). A first dicolon marked by chiasmus (*superi colunt, obseruant inferi*) is in fact followed by four asyndetic *cola* characterized by a strong symmetry; in turn, those *cola* can be divided into pairs which enumerate the δυνάμεις of Isis in her identity as an omnipotent cosmic ruler. Another *tetracolon* follows, enumerating the various relationships of mortal beings with the goddess, again intertwining asyndetic sequences marked by the same strong symmetry and by lexical, semantic, and phonetic correspondences. Of course, this extreme care for stylistic embellishment as well as a certain obsession for symmetry lead to some forced lexical and/or syntactical choices, as we can observe for instance in the second tetracolon, where the dative *tibi* preceding and governing all the verbs actually fits the first and fourth verb only on a grammatical level, whereas it can be linked to the second and the third verb only in a loose way, governed by the constructed parallelism as provided by the tetracolon. Rather odd too is the presence of *numina* at the end of the tetracolon, since this noun, as already observed by Festugière 1958, 35, forms a kind of exception in the group of *sidera, tempora* and *elementa* (similar forced rhetorical choices are present in the following sequence as well, see comm. below on *nutriunt nubila*). Griffiths notes that this section and the next one present the closest parallels to the ancient Egyptian hymns (for detailed correspondences and specific bibliography on the subject, see the complete survey in Griffiths 1975, 324-325).

Te ... tu ... tibi: the apostrophe marked by anaphora and/or polyptoton of the second person pronoun is a well known feature of hymnic prayer (the earliest model in Latin being the Lucretian prologue to Book 1, together with the praise of Epicurus at Lucr. 3,3-13, which is modelled on the hymnic prayer itself); see Norden 1913, 149-153. Here, the variations on the *tu*-pronoun introduce each single group of units, producing a different construction that remains consistent within each group, even at the cost of forcing syntax (see above).

Te superi colunt, obseruant inferi: further small similarities, though less convincing, with the *Invocation of Isis* (*P.Oxy.* 1380 [Totti 20], 28, 109 and 127) have been pointed out in this phrase by Lafaye 1916, 101; on the other hand, note the internal reference to *met.* 11,5,2 where Isis is described as *summa numinum, regina manium* (and for *obseruant inferi*, cf. also 11,5,1 *inferum deplorata silentia ... dispenso*); for Isis' relationship with the Underworld, see comm. on 11,6,6 *Acherontis tenebris ...*

Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem. On a stylistic level, the phonetic resemblance between the opposites *superi* and *inferi* emphasizes the *variatio* produced by chiasmus; the pairing *colo + obseruo* is most frequent, one could say idiomatic, as is evident from several examples in Cicero and other authors of all periods (*ThLL* s.v. *obseruo* 212,51-66).

tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum: a series of alternate rhymes in the nouns and assonant verbs, combined with several prosodic features (the four *cola* are alternatively isosyllabic, and the first two are perfectly isoprosodic, both forming the clausula cretic + spondee) provide the tetracolon, which describes a kind of Isiac cosmology, with a strong rhythmic effect.

rotas orbem: if we assume that *orbis* here stands for 'the earth', the reference is to the belief that the universe turns on an axis formed by the earth itself; this doctrine, already part of Aristotelian cosmology, had been drawn on by Cicero and Pliny (cf. *Cic. rep.* 6,15-17; *nat. deor.* 2,115-116; *Plin. nat.* 2,10-11), and expounded in a more organic way by Apuleius in *mund.* 1-2 p. 289-293. For the possibility that *orbis* here means '(the sphere of) heaven', turning around the earth, see Griffiths 1975 ad loc.; cf. *Lucr.* 5,510 *magnus caeli si uortitur orbis*; *Manil.* 1,281 *sidereus circa medium quem uoluitur orbis*.

lumnas solem: perhaps a reference to Isis' power over the sun and its course, a characteristic celebrated in *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 157 ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρε[ις] and also present in the *Self-revelation from Kyme*, Totti 1,14 Ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνταξάμην; the verb *lumino*, already found at *met.* 9,12,4 as a synonym of *illumino*, is a neologism that dates back to the imperial age, and is not necessarily an Apuleian innovation, since we also read it in an inscription of the same period (an epigraphic *carmen* inscribed on one of the Memnon colossi, reading *Horam cum primam cumque horam sole secundam / prolata Oceano lumnat alma dies / uox audita mihi est ter bene Memnonia*, cf. *CE* 880, 134 A.D.); it will become more and more frequent in later authors (Médan 1925b, 116; *ThLL* s.v. *lumino* 1827,8-42).

regis mundum: cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 121 ἄνασσα τῆς οἰκουμένης; the calque *mundus* on the Greek κόσμος (with which Apuleius plays etymologically in *mund.* prol. p. 287 *mundus est ornata ordinatio dei munere*) can indicate since the Classical period both the earth and – as here and generally in Apuleius – the whole universe (cf. also *mund.* prol. p. 289 *cum mundum homines ... adire non possent, ut terreno domicilio relicto illas regiones inspicerent*; and some lines below *si terrarum orbem omnemque mundum contemplari pariter aliquando potuissent*; *mund.* 1 p. 289 *mundus omnis societate caeli et terrae constat et eorum natura quae utriusque sunt*); Dowden's study of this noun and its use in the Isis Book (in *AGA* 3, 161-162) reads this occurrence in the sense of 'sublunar sphere'.

calcas Tartarum: Isis' power over the Underworld (emphasized by the metaphor which possibly implies some connotations of military triumph; cf. introduction to Ch. VI [Isis, saving goddess with an autocratic identity]), is a direct consequence of her identity as Hecate/Rhamnusia (cf. 11,5,3 *Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi*, with comm.); this concept is also present at 11,23,7 and fully elaborated in 11,6,6 where it is explicitly said that Isis can even *ultra statuta fato ... spatia uitam ... prorogare*.

tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa: the elaborate and detailed catalogue of Isis' cosmic powers continues in this tetracolon in which many traditional elements of Isiac cult and doctrine merge (cf. the individual notes for many, even literal, correspondences with *P.Oxy.* 1380, already observed by Lafaye 1916). Isis' prerogatives are nonetheless similar to those belonging to any supreme deity (cf. Jupiter's cosmic claims at *met.* 6,22,3 *istud pectus meum, quo leges elementorum et uices siderum disponuntur*), and it is hardly surprising to find strong analogies with the range of powers traditionally attributed to the novel's witches, although they generally use their power in a contrary way, in subverting the natural order ruled and controlled by Isis: cf. the catalogue of Pamphile's powers at 3,15,7 *obaudiunt manes, turbantur sidera, coguntur numina, seruiunt elementa*; Meroe too – according to Socrates at 1,8,4 – reigns over all the spheres of the cosmos, as she can perform absurd and paradoxical things such as *manes sublimare, deos infimare, sidera extinguere, Tartarum ipsum inluminare* (it is not by chance that the two passages share their rhythmic and isocolic structure with the hymnic genre, a common feature of both magic and religious invocations, cf. Pasetti 1999, 266 n. 64 and Pocetti 1991, 203).

On a stylistic level, the sequence is most elaborate: in the first two *cola*, both the beginning and the last syllables correspond; the verbs are ordered on the basis of an alternating homoeoptoton; the first three nouns form an isosyllabic and isoprosodic series ending with homoeoteleuton: whereas the last one, *elementa*, on the one hand represents a variation on this scheme, it provides, on the other hand, a hexameter-rhythm ending immediately after *seruiunt*.

respondent sidera, redeunt tempora: we find the same association at 11,7,4 *matrem siderum, parentem temporum*, which is only natural, given the logical link between the two *cola*, the second of which expresses the direct consequence of the previous one.

tibi respondent sidera: Lafaye 1916, 101 compares *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 144 τὸ μεταίωρον κρατεῖς; but Isis' power over minor heavenly bodies (apart from the sun and the moon) is very frequently testified to by the aretalogies; on this subject, cf. comm. on 11,5,1 *caeli luminosa culmina ... dispenso*, with many references among which is the *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,13 Ἐγὼ ἄστρων ὁδοῦς ἔδειξα); the lexical choice, though, seems to be influenced by Lucretius (see next note).

respondent: this is F's reading; interesting but unnecessary is Rohde's (1885) conjecture *resplendent*, towards which Robertson 1945 seemed to be inclined in his apparatus (comparing Manil. 5,720 with Housman ²1937 ad loc.). *respondent*, though, is placed in a chiasmic structure with *seruiunt* and looks back to a Lucretian passage (cf. *Lucr.* 4,213 *sidera respondent*). Also with regard to the verb's meaning ('to obey'), we do not think (as Fredouille 1975, 120 does) that Apuleius has the legal use of *respondeo* in mind: in the *sermo forensis* the verb indicates the action of 'appearing in court', 'coming before a court', while here the whole context seems to imply a different semantic range, referring to a more general proper functioning of the stars and their well ordered motion in the cosmos: therefore, it suffices to think of one of the most common meanings of this verb, 'to correspond ... to' (*OLD* s.v. 14), viz. to the goddess' will (summed up by the pronoun *tibi*), used in a figurative sense that is eas-

ily found in medical language (see *OLD* s.v. 10 *pregn.* 'to act or react appropriately, function, respond', mentioning also our passage).

redeunt tempora: 'the seasons return' in keeping with the proper alternating movements of the stars. Compare *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 153-155 κατὰ ἀρετήν τῶν συνεστηκυῶν ἡμερῶν. For the more general notion that Isis is the mistress of time (based on the doctrine that the creator of the universe is also the creator of time) many sources and bibliography are listed in Griffiths 1975, 140-142 and 170, according to whom this concept is particularly relevant in Isiac cult in Rome; cf. also comm. on 11,5,1 *rerum naturae parens* and on the following lemma *saeculorum progenies initialis* (moreover, the goddess is called *parens temporum* at 11,7,4). On other possible associations between Isis and time (especially in the Greek definition φύσιν αἰῶνος), cf. Kákosy 1964, 23-25; see also the Essay by Drews in this volume. For the phrasing cf. *Lucr.* 3,1005-1006 *quod faciunt nobis annorum tempora, circum / cum redeunt*.

gaudent numina: cf. *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 159 εὐφραίνοντα[ι οἱ] θεοί.

seruiunt elementa: the traditional four elements composing the cosmos are meant, as already in 11,5,1 *elementorum omnium domina* (cf. comm. ad loc.); Festugière 1958, 31 notes the hexameter-rhythm ending (not present in the following *cola* and therefore probably not intentionally chosen). Lebek 1976, 82 discusses *seruire* in the sense of 'colere' (cf. *Lucan.* 1,35 *caelum ... suo seruire Tonanti*) and compares our passage, where he observes a stronger connotation of 'serving'.

11,25,4 Tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina. Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aues caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo labentes, beluae ponto natantes. At your nod, winds blow, clouds swell up, seeds germinate, seedlings grow. Your majesty is held in awe by the birds flying in the sky, the beasts wandering upon the mountains, the snakes slithering along the ground, the beasts swimming in the ocean.

The obsessive search for symmetry continues in this sequence of short paratactic units almost forming short stanzas: a strong tendency to an isosyllabic and even isoprosodic structure is evident especially at the end of each *colon* (cf. Festugière 1958, 31). The first four asyndetic *cola* continue the catalogue of Isis' powers over nature and natural elements. In the first group, the alternating rhymes of the endings *ant/unt/ant/unt*, marking a further possible division into two pairs, are combined into a quadruple series of dactylic substantives: the second pair stands out also for the figura etymologica inserted in the parallelism (*germinant – germina*). In this first tetracolon the enumeration *spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina* is a description of a temporal cycle, illustrating the power (*nutu*) of Isis over the alternating seasons (characterised by atmospheric phenomena like winds, rain, etc.); cf. *redeunt tempora* above. The second tetracolon narrows the view to the animal world: based on the traditional Aristotelian partition of the main groups of animals, it is formed by symmetrical three-element clusters marked by additional sound effects such as alliteration and rhyme.

tuo nutu: cf. above 11,1,2 with comm. on *luminis numinisque nutu*; especially for *nutus* used in a cosmic context see also 11,5,2 *nutibus meis dispenso cuius numen* (with comm. ad loc.).

spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina: a very refined sequence, also regarding its prosodic structure: the two internal pairs formed by cretic + dactyl are framed (in a kind of prosodic chiasmus) between the other two elements, which both form a spondee + dactyl sequence (the substantives ending in *-men* are particularly suitable in such a case), as already observed by Pasetti 1999, 266.

spirant flamina: cf. 11,16,9 *sereno ... flatu*; Isis' power over the winds is a topos in the aretalogies, as shown by a comparison with *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 237, or with the inscription of Kyme (Totti 1,39), already quoted along with some other passages in our comm. on 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina*. The theme is also present in literary works (cf. for instance the dialogue between Zeus and Hermes in Lucian. *dial. deor.* 3, in which Zeus attributes the power of sending the winds to Io-Isis).

nutriunt nubila: no exact parallels can be found for the absolute, seemingly intransitive use of *nutrio*. The choice seems to be due to euphonic and prosodic reasons: the sequence of intransitive verbs, the alternating rhymes and an attractive alliteration with the noun *nubila*, have evidently motivated the use of this particular verb, which gives little sense if understood in its first meaning ('to feed', 'to give nourishment'); what we have here is probably a kind of re-semanticization, which transforms the verb into a synonym for 'to swell up'. The problems of interpretation regarding this verb (for which see already Médan 1925b, 8 and 147; Fredouille 1975, 120; Callebat 1968, 301), which led to numerous, sometimes clumsy, conjectures (e.g. *nutriuntur* Oudendorp 1786, *mugiunt* Wowerius 1606, *nubilant* Damsté 1928, *ingruunt* Castiglioni 1938), have convincingly been solved by Traina 1994, 217, whose explanation starts from ancient weather theory: according to this doctrine, clouds are produced from an accumulation of material caused by the wind (hence also the rain and the life cycle of plants: *germinant semina, crescunt germina*). Cf. also *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 227-228 δι' ἣν τὸ πᾶν κ[αὶ τ]ὸ ἐν καίρ[ι]ον ἔστιν διὰ παντὸς ὄμβρου. The absolute, reflexive use of the verb, which is at odds with standard use, seems to be necessitated by the sheer impossibility of finding an alternative that is equally satisfying on both a semantic and a euphonic level. On the phonetic features of this phrase further observations can be found in Facchini Tosi 1986, 116-117 and Pasetti 1999, 267.

nubila: again an unusual word choice; *nubila* is preferred to the more common *nubes* (about 30 occurrences in Apuleius, against only two *nubila*), in virtue of the rhythm and the sound effects of the whole passage: cf. Facchini Tosi 2000, 136 (on Apuleius's use of dactylic plural nouns, very common in poetry, see Harrison 2005a, 281).

germinant semina, crescunt germina: this idea is widespread in the Isiac aretalogies, where Isis claims to be the discoverer of corn; cf. Diod. Sic. 1,14,1; the Isiac *Self-revelation from Kyme* (Totti 1,7) Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὐροῦσα; Isidorus, 2nd *Hymn to Isis* (Totti 22,3). Griffiths 1975 ad loc. compares *P.Oxy.* 1380 (Totti 20), 170 τὴν γῆν σπορίμην / [ποιήσ]ασα with the attribute of Isis as the land fructified by the Nile (= Osiris) mentioned in Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 32 (*Mor.* 363D).

The identification of Isis with Demeter/Ceres is probably important for these associations; cf. 11,2,1 *frugum parens originalis*.

aves ... ferae ... serpentes ... beluae: all living beings are subject to the goddess' will; this concept, already present at 11,1,2 *nec tantum pecuina et ferina, uerum inanima etiam* (see comm. ad loc.), is clarified in more detail here, perhaps in reminiscence of Lucr. 1,12-20 (even if in the Lucretian hymn the living beings celebrating the goddess' power are simply divided in three more general categories such as *uolucres ... ferae* and *pecudes*); classifying the snakes in a separate group is not unusual, since they are terrestrial but not walking animals (our classification is based on the way animals move), cf. for instance Cic. *Tusc.* 5,38 *namque alias bestias nantis aquarum incolas esse uoluit, alias uolucres caelo frui libero, serpentis quasdam, quasdam esse gradientis*; and see also Cypr. *testim.* 3,47; *Demetr.* 9; *Ambr. hex.* 6,2,4; *Arnob. Iun. in psalm.* 148,15; *Aug. gen. c. Manich.* 1,23,39-40. Apuleius' division seems to derive from Aristotle's four group classification of blooded animals (τὰ ἔναιμα), cf. *Aristot. part. an.* 4,10, p. 685b and 4,11, p. 690b, but it is also possible that the choice is influenced by Isiac iconography and symbolism, where the snake was of great importance, for which see comm. on 11,3,4 *sulcis ... uiperarum* (useful material also in Bömer 1977 on *Ov. met.* 9,694, and McKeown 1998 on *Ov. am.* 2,13,13).

labentes: F's original reading is *latentes*; we print Hildebrand's (1842) economical conjecture *labentes* (not included in the apparatus by Helm 1955, but mentioned by Robertson 1945 with 'fortasse recte', approved by Brandt – Ehlers 1958, Griffiths 1975, Augello 1977, 236, and printed by Zimmerman 2012). Although hiding is a typical, even proverbial, feature of snakes, at least starting from the famous Vergilian verse *latet anguis in herba* at *ecl.* 3,93 (as already observed by Fredouille 1975, 120: "traditionnellement une *lucifuga bestia*", quoting *Tert. adv. Val.* 3,1), it could have been this very idea, which was widespread in the Middle Ages, that misled the scribe into replacing a less common link with a very familiar one. *labor* (and its compound *elabor*), though, is only seemingly strange and, on closer inspection, turns out to be almost a technical term, found in both poetry and in prose of all times to indicate a serpent's winding movements: cf. Cic. *Cato* 52; *Prop.* 3,22,27; *Ov. am.* 2,13,13 (with McKeown 1989, 284-285 ad loc.), *met.* 4,493 and 15,721; *Val. Max.* 1,8,2; *Ambr. epist.* 1,6,5; and note the relevant remark by Serv. *Aen.* 2,225 *labi proprie serpentum est*. Furthermore, *latentes* entails a grammatical difficulty: since the noun *solum* specifically indicates the ground, i.e. the topmost layer of the earth (see for instance Varro, *ling.* 5,22; and cf. the phrase *solum terrae* in *Lucr.* 5,1289; *Verg. georg.* 1,63), a different construction would be expected (such as *in solo, sub solo*). The choice of *latentes* would also spoil one of those semantic symmetries which Apuleius is so fond of, since all the other verbs in the tetracolon describe the animals by their way of moving (as already observed by Griffiths 1975, 324); hence *latentes* would turn out to be the only verb indicating a different characteristic, whereas *labentes* would complete the sequence consistently, just as in Hier. *in Eccles.* 1,9-10 ll. 228-230 *et ne plura percurram, et auibus uolare, et natare piscibus, et terrestribus ingredi, et serpentibus labi, deo artifice concessum est*. Finally, note the sibilant *serpentes solo labentes*, a particularly effective and mimetic sound effect, when speaking about snakes.

beluae ponto natantes: not necessarily ‘monsters’ (though the term is well attested in this special sense, cf. *OLD* s.v. *belua* 2) as many translators, among whom Griffiths 1975, 103 and Walsh 1994, 236, interpret it, but simply ‘marine creatures’ (*OLD* s.v. 1) as suggested by a comparison with Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,100 *At uero quanta maris est pulchritudo, ... quae amoenitates orarum ac litorum, quot genera quamque disparia, partim submersarum, partim fluitantium et innantium beluarum, partim ad saxa natiuis testis inhaerentium.*

11,25,5 At ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio et adhibendis sacrificiis tenuis patrimonio; nec mihi uocis ubertas ad dicenda, quae de tua maiestate sentio, sufficit nec ora mille linguaeque totidem uel indefessi sermonis aeterna series. As for me, my spirit is too feeble to sing your praises, my patrimony is too meagre to offer you sacrifices; no richness of the voice is enough for me to express what I feel about your majesty, it would not even be enough if I had a thousand mouths or as many tongues or an endless flow of inexhaustible speech.

At this point of the prayer, the hymnic dimension is enriched with a votive dimension, characterised by reciprocity (‘do ut des’). As Lucius realises he is not able to offer Isis what he should offer her in material terms (*adhibendis sacrificiis*), he offers her the words of a mortal being, and constructs a mental image of himself, venerating Isis in his heart (below, 11,25,6). The votive prayer confirms and reinforces the message of the hymn, as it emphasises the contrast between the greatness of the goddess and the insignificance of a mortal being, who is unable to give what he should give.

At ego ...: the combination adversative + personal pronoun marks an antithetical correspondence with the opening of the hymn *tu quidem* (11,25,1), introducing Lucius’ concluding statements. The division into two sections, the first one containing the real *laudatio* and the second one functioning as a sign-off passage, corresponds to the traditional structure of the Greek hymn (Festugière 1949, 226); it hardly needs saying that the disparity between the two parts (a very long first part opposed to a very short *χαίρει* of the devotee) is in full proportion with the status difference of the speaker and his addressee. On the characteristic features that mark the sign-off passage (viz. humbleness of the devotee, the ineffable nature of the divinity, elements of personal religion, cf. Turchi 1924, 128-152; Serra Zanetti 1967, 13-80; 46-48; Pighi 1967, 569-675).

referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio ... adhibendis sacrificiis tenuis patrimonio: the phrasing is very recherché: the enallage of the adjectives (*exilis ... tenuis*), separated from their natural complement (*ingenio ... patrimonio*) and agreeing with the subject, provides the two *cola* with a perfect parallelism, emphasized by the isosyllabism and homoeoteleuton. Ellipsis of the first person form of *sum* is unusual in Classical Latin, but it becomes more and more frequent in late Latin, both in poetry and in prose; it occurs several times in Apuleian works, especially in exclamatory or, as in our passage, particularly emphatic expressions (Bernhard 1927, 157-158).

exilis ingenio: *exilis* in this figurative sense (‘i.q. tenuis, humilis’) normally refers to style, to *sermo* (*ThLL* s.v. 1480,81-1481,39); the combination with *ingenium* is un-

usual and recurs in Cypr. *ad Donat.* 2 *exilis ingenii angusta mediocritas*; Rufin. *ymb.* 1; Sidon. *epist.* 4,3,4 *eloquium non exilis sed subtilis ingenii*; Vigil. Thaps. *c. Eutyph.* 3,13 *quantum exilis nostri ingenii facultate ualuimus* (*ThLL* s.v. 1482,41-43). Declaring one’s own intellectual inadequacy in praising a deity is, on the other hand, a typical formula of the *captatio benevolentiae*, widespread in both Classical and Christian literature (plenty of material in Curtius ¹¹1993, 93-95; 410-415).

nec mihi uocis ubertas ... sufficit: the poverty of human language, especially in combination with the ineffability of the divine, is a traditional element of the *laudatio*, which Apuleius also uses at 4,28,2, referring to Psyche’s divine beauty (*nec exprimi ... sermonis humani penuria poterat*) and at 11,3,3 with regard to Isis’ first appearance (*si ... mihi disserendi tribuerit facultatem paupertas oris humani*). According to Harrauer 1973, 18 this motif (even if not referring to a divine or superhuman object) is generally found either at the beginning or at the end of a laudatory speech. The *topos*, frequent in all periods, is not limited to pagan literature but becomes a common feature of Christian literature as well, cf. for instance Arnob. *nat.* 1,31 *de quo* [sc. Deo] *nihil dici et exprimi mortalium potis est significatione uerborum*. Moreover, the very redundancy of the expression, which is redoubled by the following phrase (a variation on the most common *adynaton* of having many mouths and tongues, on which see next note), reveals how literarised and rhetoricised this claim is. On the *topos* of inexpressibility (*Unsagbarkeitstopos*) cf. Laird 1997, 72-73 and Finkelppearl 1998, 197-198; their observations have to a great extent inspired the discussion of the *topos* in *GCA* 2004, 41 (with a very useful distinction between this theme and the very close motif of the *patrii sermonis egestas*, with which it is sometimes erroneously conflated). An excellent survey of the *topos* has been provided already by Curtius ¹¹1993, 159-162.

In our passage, though, there could be something beyond a simply traditional theme: the ineffability of the divine is in fact almost unknown as a concept in Egyptian religion (which has, on the contrary, as its most typical expression the full praise of the deity); the idea that the Supreme Deity is ineffable, deeply connected with the complementary idea that the divine is unknowable, had been introduced by Plato (*Tim.* 28c; *Parm.* 142a), and was a central theme in Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism (it has been described, for instance, by Albinus *intr.* 10,1 and 10,3-4, but it also occurs in Maximus of Tyre, Numenius, Plotinus). Apuleius alludes to this doctrine several times in various works (cf. *apol.* 64,7 *paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*; *Socr.* 3 p. 124 *cum Plato caelesti facundia praeditus, aequiperabilia diis immortalibus disserens, frequentissime praedicet hunc solum maiestatis incredibili quadam nimietate et ineffabili non posse penuria sermonis humani quauis oratione uel modice comprehendere*; *Plat.* 1,5 p. 190-191 *indictum, innominabilem ... cuius naturam inuenire difficile est; si inuenta sit ... enuntiari non posse*).

An in-depth examination of the theme can be found in a range of studies starting from Festugière 1960, 126-130; Moreschini 1966, 31-32; Portogalli Cagli 1992, 73; Beaujeu (ed.) 1973, 211 n. 5, and *ibid.* 256-257 (with further bibliography); further observations on the subject in Drews 2009, 530-531 (with further references), who points out that Apuleius alludes to this problem in his novel by presenting a ‘way out’ in the form of the divine assistance of Isis, which enables Lucius to articulate his praise of the goddess in a way that mere human rhetorical faculties would not have

allowed him (*met.* 11,3,3 *si ... ipsum numen eius dapsilem copiam elocutulis facundiae subministraverit*).

nec ora mille linguaeque totidem: the archetype of this famous motif is the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad* (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2,488-490 *πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μῦθῆσαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, / οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴεν, / φωνῆ δ' ἄρρηκτος*), but it becomes most familiar in Latin literature, where it ubiquitously occurs with many variations on the theme: the original hyperbole of ten mouths/tongues that Ennius and Caecilius faithfully copied from Homer (cf. Enn. *ann.* 469-470 Skutsch *non si lingua loqui saperet quibus ora decem sint / in me, tum ferro cor sit pectusque reuinctum*; Caecil. *com.* 126-127 *si linguas decem habeam uix habeam satis te qui laudem, Lache*), is irreverently re-used by Ovid (*ars* 1,435-436 *non mihi sacrilegas meretricum ut persequar artes / cum totidem linguis sint satis ora decem*); the motif appears again, based on the number of a hundred mouths, in Vergil (cf. *georg.* 2,42-44 *non ego cuncta meis amplecti uersibus opto / non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum / ferrea uox*; *Aen.* 6,625-627 *non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum / ferrea uox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas / omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim*, with Norden ⁴1957 ad loc.) and subsequent poets (cf. for instance Ov. *met.* 8,533-536; *Pers.* 5,1-4 with Kibel 1990 ad loc.; *Stat. Theb.* 12,797-799; *Sil.* 4,525-527; *Claud.* 1 = *paneg. Olybr. Prob.* 55-57). Servius records also an occurrence in Lucretius (*Lucr. frg.* 1 = *Serv. Aen.* 6,625 *NON MIHI SI LINGUAE CENTUM SINT: Lucretii uersus sublatus de Homero, sed 'aerea uox' dixit*). Less frequent is the usage of the same topos with the number of a thousand, found in any case already before Apuleius (cf. Ov. *fast.* 2,119-121 with Bömer 1958, 89-90 and Val. Fl. 6,36-37), or with a generic number (*plures*), for which cf. Ov. *trist.* 1,5b,9-12.

An interesting treatment of this motif, with relevant observations on the difference between *topos* and allusion, is found in Finkelppearl 1998, 197-198 and Hinds 1998, 34-47 (who uses this 'many-mouths' motif as an example of this distinction). Particularly important are Hinds' observations (45-46) about the capacity of a *topos* to produce different 'subset-topoi' in different situations, which is precisely what we can observe in our context, where the more generic theme of the inability to express oneself is conflated with the theme of the ineffability of God. Further observations on the history of this famous *adynaton* in Latin literature can be found in Pascucci 1983, 575-597 and Courcelle 1955, 231-240.

sermonis ... series: a traditional and very popular etymological association, for which cf. Varro, *ling.* 6,64 *sermo ... a serie*; for examples of other forms of etymological wordplay on *sermo*, cf. *GCA* 2007, 63 on 1,1,1 *tibi sermone ... fabulas conseram* and Nicolini 2011a, 48 n. 113.

indefessi: the adjective is rare in Classical Latin and apparently attested only in poetry; it becomes much more frequent in post-classical Latin, also in this figurative sense 'i.q. perpetuus' (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *indefessus* 1131,8-25); although the link with *sermo* has no parallels, it is interesting to observe that in Christian Latin the phrase *indefessa uox* becomes almost an idiom (cf. among many occurrences Ambr. *spir.* 3,16,110; 3,21,164; Hier. *epist.* 17,2,2 and, in a context which sounds very close to ours, Hil. *trin.* 3,7 *quem archangeli ... aeternis et indefessis ... uocibus laudant*).

aeterna series: the adjective *aeternus* here almost becomes a synonym of *indefessus* in the sense of 'perpetuus', as it describes the unceasing, never-ending flow of eloquence, which would not even be sufficient to express what Lucius feels about Isis' majesty. The 'everlasting' aspect of *aeterna series* can be explained on more than one level: on a religious level, it refers to eloquence that sings the praises of an eternal religion and an eternal goddess (cf. 11,5,5 *aeterna ... religio*; 11,25,1 *humani generis sospitatrix perpetua*); it belongs to the 'eternal' activities of a follower of Isis (cf. below, 11,25,6 *perpetuo custodiens imaginabor*; 11,26,3 *cultor adsiduus*), because worship of Isis continues after death (cf. 11,6,6); possibly, this is the divinely inspired eloquence referred to in 11,3,3 *si ... ipsum numen eius dapsilem copiam elocutulis facundiae subministraverit*. On another level, *aeterna* can refer to the immortality and fame gained by words which remain in people's memory forever; cf. 1,1,3 *glebae felices aeternum libris felicioribus*.

11,25,6 Ergo quod solum potest religiosus quidem, sed pauper alioquin, efficere curabo: diuinos tuos uultus numenque sanctissimum intra pectoris mei secreta conditum perpetuo custodiens imaginabor. And so I shall do the only thing a devotee, though a poor one in other respects, can do: I shall always keep and preserve your divine countenance and your holy divinity in the secret recesses of my heart and there I shall gaze on it with the eyes of the mind for ever.

Although the structure of the prayer's closure is very different from the highly rhythmic and symmetrical movement of the first part, the real hymn, it contains several sound and rhythm effects as well: note, in particular the sequence of decreasing tricola ending with rhyme (a scheme is provided by Pasetti 1999, 268), and the solemn *explicit* (*perpetuo custodiens imaginabor*) marked by a trochaic trimeter clausula.

religiosus: it is not clear whether the adjective means 'pious man', as it usually does in Apuleius (this sense occurs e.g. in a kind of *dicolon abundans* in 8,30,5 *uir ... religiosus et eximie deum reuerens*; the opposite *inreligiosus* occurs at 11,15,4 *uideant inreligiosi*), or whether it is used in the narrower sense of 'devotee', 'initiate' (for which cf. 11,13,6 with comm. on *populi mirantur, religiosi uenerantur*); the latter seems the more probable solution, considering Lucius' following promise, a mystical contemplation of the goddess presented as the only possible response to the ineffability of the divine, which is certainly more appropriate to an initiate than to an ordinary religious person. See also comm. below on *perpetuo custodiens imaginabor*.

sed pauper alioquin: the reference is entirely consistent with the famous revelation *Madaurensem sed admodum pauperem* (11,27,9); the theme of Lucius' poverty and scarcity of means occurs several times in the last book, especially in the last chapters (cf. also 11,28,1 *sumptuous tenuitate*; 11,28,2 *duritia paupertatis intercedente*); see our comm. on the famous passage at 11,27,9 (lemma *admodum pauperem*) and on 11,28,1 *uiriculas patrimonii*.

efficere curabo: although rare in Cicero, the construction *curo* + infinitive is attested in Latin of all periods; similar infinitive constructions with verbs of attempt,

intention or will are especially frequent in poetry, but probably were primarily a feature of spoken language.

intra pectoris mei secreta: cf. 11,6,5 *plane meminervis et penita mente conditum semper tenebis*. The phrase *pectoris mei secreta* seems one of those combinations Apuleius has a predilection for (it also occurs at 8,8,3).

perpetuo custodiens imaginabor: the solemn conclusion requires particular attention, and Apuleius accordingly chooses to emphasize it by using a special clausula in the form of a trochaic trimeter. Not very common, though attested in late Latin, is the use of the verb *imaginor* in this particular sense ‘i.q. in corde considero’ (Augustine uses this sense in the passive form, cf. *c. Fel. 2,7* p. 835,14 *deus uester ... in corde uestro imaginatus*). The phrase could refer to some kind of spiritual contemplation, which is different from the adoration of Isis’ statue referred to at 11,17,5 and 11,19,1 (but Festugière 1960, 82 is of a different opinion, inferring that a statue is involved here also). However, the sense and ultimate purpose of the claim is more or less the same: confronted with the impossibility of appropriately celebrating the divine, the follower has no other choice than to resort to a silent, total devotion (which seems to be the essence of Lucius’ religious zeal, at least at its first stage, cf. also *met. 11,26,3 cultor adsiduus* and 11,19,1 *numinis magni cultor inseparabilis*). This form of religion is practically the only way for the devotee to get to know the deity (on this doctrine, which can again be attributed to Neoplatonism, cf. Festugière 1960, 80-84 and 133-144). Cf. similarly Turchi 1924, 150, according to whom this phrase expresses “il desiderio di unione mistica con la divinità che rappresenta l’ultimo gradino della scala d’orazione”. On the metaphor by which the newly initiated cult follower becomes a sort of shrine in which he (be)holds the sacred image of the goddess, cf. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Os. 3 (Mor. 352B)* and see Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 54-55 with n. 42.

11,25,7 Ad istum modum deprecato summo numine complexus Mithram sacerdotem et meum iam parentem colloque eius multis osculis inhaerens ueniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem. Such was my prayer to the highest deity. Then I embraced Mithras, the priest who was by now my very own father, and clinging to his neck, and kissing him repeatedly, I apologized for not being able to recompense him worthily for such great favours.

deprecato summo numine: the participle of a deponent verb used in a passive sense, though against general classical practice, is attested at least from Livy onwards and widespread in the late period (LHSz 2,139); in this book we have already observed several examples (cf. *exosculatis uestigiis deae* at 11,17,4 and *adfatis ... singulis* at 11,19,1; many other instances in Apuleius are listed by Callebat 1968, 297-298). Apuleius seems to be the first to use *deprecor* in such a way, but after him the verb is attested with a passive sense several times (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *deprecor* 598,36-40); as is the case with many other verbs, it is actually possible that both the deponent and the active form coexisted in everyday language (on this, further observations in Callebat 1968, 300).

meum iam parentem: cf. 11,21,2 *ut solent parentes ... desiderii liberorum*. While it is true that in mystery cults the mystagogue was a sort of ‘spiritual father’ of the initiate (Harrauer 1973, 168), the term *parens*, on the other hand, could also express simply an affectionate nuance, as has been rightly observed by Fredouille 1975, 122, who compares a similar situation in Cic. *Brut. 1,1* (speaking about Hortensius who had introduced him into the *collegium augurum*) *ex quo augurum institutis in parentis eum loco colere debebam*.

quod eum condigne: a very easy correction of F’s wrong reading *quod dm* (= *deum*), which is already found in the Aldine edition and adopted by Beroaldus 1500.

condigne ... beneficiis: already found at 7,9,6, the construction *condigne* + ablative is very rare, and could be a feature of spoken language (based on the analogy with the adjective); it is attested only once before Apuleius, in Plaut. *Cas. 131*, and reappears only very rarely in late Latin (*ThLL* s.v. 142,14-16).

munerari nequirem: cf. 11,24,5 *inremunerabili beneficio pigneratus*.

CHAPTER XXVI

Lucius returns home and soon departs for Rome, where he is urged to undergo a new initiation.

A new narrative mode

With this chapter, *met.* 11 takes a curious turn: the narrative speeds up (cf. e.g. the large amount of time and space reported in the first two sentences [11,26,1-2] and the indications of speed given in 11,26,2 *celerrime ... peruolauit*); see Introduction, 4.1.1. Some precise references to dates (cf. 11,26,2 *dies ... Decembrium*; 11,26,4 *transcurso ... compleuerat*) and locations (cf. 11,26,2 *Augusti portum*; 11,26,3 *Campensis*) bring an air of history to the account (see Introduction, 5.1 [p. 38]). Embedded in this shifted narrative mode we find a subverted homecoming and at least one false ending. For the character of this new narrative mode as an epilogue and various ways to interpret it see Introduction 2.2.

11,26,1 *Diu denique gratiarum gerendarum sermone prolixo commoratus, tandem digredior et recta patrium larem reuisurus meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo. Paucisque post diebus deae potentis instinctu raptim constrictis sarcinulis, naue conscensa, Romam uersus profectionem dirigo, Then, having remained there a long while for a lengthy extension of thanks, I finally leave and hurry straight to visit my ancestral hearth again after a good long time. A few days later, at the instigation of the powerful goddess, I hastily pack my little bags, board a ship, and set out towards Rome,*

diu denique: this combination of adverbs, exclusive to *met.*, is always part of – and probably motivated by – a larger pattern of alliteration (cf. 3,26,2 *Diu denique ac multum mecum ipse deliberaui*; 8,3,1 *Diu denique deliberauerat*), here together with *gratiarum gerendarum* (cf. comm. below).

gratiarum gerendarum: the idiomatic phrase would be *gratias agere*, not *gerere*, which seems to be used uniquely in this passage (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *gratia* 2225,56-57). The phrase is chosen for the sake of alliteration (cf. comm. on *diu denique* above).

patrium larem: Lucius' *patrius lar* (for *lar* as 'home' cf. comm. on 11,27,4 *lares*) is probably in Corinth or some place nearby. In 11,18,1 Rumour spreads Lucius' story in his native town or country (*Fama ... in patria ... narrauerat*). The following visit by his friends, household slaves, and relatives seems to be quick and effortless, which suggests a place near Cenchreae. For the question of Lucius' origin cf. *GCA* 2007, 394-395 on 1,22,4 *litteras ei a Corinthio Demea scriptas*; *GCA* 2001, 209 on 2,12,3 *Corinthi ... apud nos*; and *GCA* 2000, 251 on 10,19,1 *Corinthum accessimus*. For the larger question of the setting of *met.* 11 in Corinth and Cenchreae see Introduction, 4.2.1. Cocchia 1915, 236, arguably misled by the brief account of Lucius'

homecoming, refers *patrius lar* to Rome. Veyne 1965, 249 n. 3 tentatively paints an autobiographical scenario in which Lucius' *patrius lar* is Madauros – after a brief stay there, Lucius would sail to Rome via Hippo. Merkelbach 1969, 89 believes that Lucius' home town in *met.* is Patras, just as in the *Onos*. At the same time he argues for an allegorical sense of *patrius lar* as a spiritual home, which Lucius finds after his first initiation, but in which no mortal can remain forever (Merkelbach 2001, 297-298 more consistently focuses on the latter idea only). But no link between initiation and Lucius' home can be found in this passage, nor is there any suggestion that staying at home would be Lucius' preference.

aliquam multum: first attested in Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,56, Apuleius is the only writer to use this rare construction with some frequency (according to *GCA* 2004, 312 on 5,26,1 *cum aliquam multum*, it is probably an archaism).

deae potentis instinctu raptim: the irresistible bidding of Isis is emphasized in three ways: by her attribute *potens*, 'powerful' (see comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis*); by the characterization of her order as *instinctus*, 'instigation' (typically used for higher forces like gods and demons, cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1983,63-84); and by the adverb *raptim*, 'hastily', which focusses on the sudden change of things prompted by her command. Cf. comm. on 11,26,2 *tutusque prosperitate*.

sarcinulis: for the affective value of the diminutive cf. Callebat 1968, 378. The smallness of Lucius' luggage also prepares for the motif of Lucius' poverty in Rome (cf. 11,27,9 *sed admodum pauperem* with comm. ad loc.). Apuleius likes to use *sarcinula* in connection with the idea of moving on (cf. e.g. *Iuv.* 6,146: *collige sarcinulas ... et exi*). Four out of five occurrences of *sarcinula* in *met.* fall within this category (apart from our passage 1,14,7; 1,17,8; 8,21,2 [cf. *GCA* 1985, 181 ad loc.]).

naue ... dirigo: as becomes clear from Lucius' following landing at Portus, he takes the sea route from Corinth to Rome; cf. Casson 1974 (²1994), 150-152, according to whom a sea-voyage from Rome to Corinth or back took one to two weeks.

11,26,2 *tutusque prosperitate uentorum ferentium Augusti portum <potitus sum> celerrime ac dehinc carpento peruolauit, uesperaque quam dies insequatur Iduum Decembrium, sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo. with the favour of following winds, I arrive safely and very quickly at the Port of Augustus. From there I speeded along by carriage, and in the evening followed by the day of the Ides of December I reach that holy, inviolable city.*

tutusque prosperitate uentorum: the construction of *tutus* with instrumental ablative is familiar (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1a) and should be kept in the text. Pricaeus 1650 tentatively suggests *adiutus*, Wasseus (cf. Oudendorp 1786 ad loc.) *itutus*; Oudendorp 1786, though adopting *tutus* in his text, considers *fruitus* or *usus*. Noting that a journey has been safe is common enough, but here there is a specific reason to do so because of the unusual season (see below on *uesperaque ... Decembrium*). Navigation in the Mediterranean was mostly interrupted by the winter months because of storms and impaired visibility (cf. Hesiod. *op.* 663-686; *Cod. Theod.* 13,9,3,3; *Veg. mil.* 4,39). However, sea-voyages in winter are far from unparalleled, cf. the examples collected in Friedländer 1919-1921, I, 334. It seems doubtful, therefore, that this mo-

tif in itself – as virtually all commentators hold – implies that it was Isis in her role as sea goddess (Isis Pelagia) who kept Lucius safe from harm (cf. 11,25,4 *tuō nutu spirant flamina*). For the motif of favourable winds for seafaring (and the thematic opposition with storms) in Book 11 see Introduction, 4.1.3 with nn. 93-96.

prosperitate ... portum: as part of his larger argument about Apuleius' use of the *horologium Augusti* as a literary 'template' (see below on 11,26,4 *Ecce ... compleuerat*), Beck 2004, 315 argues that both talk of winds and reference to an engineering work of an Augustus (here the emperor Claudius; cf. comm. on *Augusti portum* below) draw attention to the sundial in the Campus Martius: not only was this sundial constructed by and associated with an emperor (Augustus), it also marked the cessation of the Etesian winds, a significant date for navigation.

Augusti ... peruolauī: pace Hildebrand 1842 and Dowden 1980, 225-226, an elliptical construction, with *peruolauī* first referring to the object *Augusti portum* and then being an absolute verb accompanied by the ablative *carpento*, seems impossible. Koziol 1869, 66 thinks that the object *campos* was lost before *carpento* because of the similarity of these words. Most editors supply a verb to go with *portum*. The reading *hausi* instead of *Augusti* can be found in U and the *editio princeps* (*hausi* in S) and was widely adopted in older editions (for the difficulty of the resulting phrase *hausi portum* cf. Hildebrand 1842 ad loc.). For more recent suggestions of a verb to go with *portum* cf. below on *potitus sum*.

Augusti portum: the outer harbour of Portus, an artificial port created under the emperor Claudius (A.D. 41-54) and enlarged under Trajan (A.D. 98-117), c. 3 km northwest of Ostia (cf. e.g. Meiggs 1973, 149-171; esp. 166 n. 7 with reference to our passage). The earlier, outer, harbour was called 'portus Augusti' (with Augustus referring to Claudius), the later, inner, harbour 'portus Traiani'. This specific meaning of *portum* in our passage notwithstanding, readers could also be reminded of 11,15,1 *ad portum Quietis ... tandem, Luci, uenisti* (cf. comm. ad loc. for the metaphorical use of *portus* as spiritual haven). In fact, Rome will be Lucius' final haven both in geographical and in religious terms (see Introduction, 4.2.1).

potitus sum: Zimmerman's supplement. For *potiri* with accusative cf. KSt II, 283 and *ThLL* s.v. *potior* 334,11-62; the construction is familiar from archaic poetry, but occurs also in later poets and prose writers, e.g. six times in Caesar; for Apuleius cf. *met.* 10,35,2 *portam ... potitus* with *GCA* 2000, 413 ad loc.; *flor.* 15,12 *Samum potiebatur*; *carm. frg.* 3,4 [FLP] *hasce duas flammās dum potiar patiar*. For the object designating a place cf. *ThLL* s.v. *potior* 333,22-40 ('loca petenda'). In the model of F, *potitus sum* could have looked like *potit; sū* and could have been overlooked, coming after *portū*. A number of other conjectures have been made: *peruenio* Rohde 1888, 468 (followed by most recent editors, e.g. Helm 1907, Robertson 1945, Hanson 1989); *cepi* (Brakman 1907, 110, pointing out the alliteration with *celerrime*); *tango* (Walter 1928); *appello* (Helm in the addenda to his 1955 edition); cf. Augello 1977, 236. Zimmerman herself considers *accessi* in her apparatus criticus. Leo (in the proofs of Helm's edition) combines the ideas of supplying a verb to go with *portum* and a separate object to go with *peruolauī*: building on Oudendorp's (1786) proposal to change *ac* to *nactus*, he proposes *nactus Latium*, with *Latium* being the object of *peruolauī*. This makes for a smooth reading but leaves F unnecessarily far behind.

peruolauī: the perfect tense varies the historical presents in the surrounding context, cf. a similar sequence of tenses in *met.* 11,11: *accedunt ... adpropinquat ... proripui ... inrepto*; generally on Apuleius' variation of tenses Bernhard 1927, 152-153; Callebat 1968, 427-432 (429 on our passage).

uesperaque ... Decembrium: the Ides of December are the 13th, so Lucius arrives in Rome in the evening of 12th December (see Introduction, 4.1.1 on narrated time in Book 11). The indication of the precise date would be gratuitous if Apuleius had not associated something with it. Merkelbach 1969 (cf. 2001, 300-301) argues that the author here 'plants' a countdown to Lucius' second initiation, which according to Merkelbach would coincide with the Isiac feast of the Kikellia, celebrated on 25th December (for the leap of one year probably implied in this cf. comm. on 11,26,4 *transcurso ... compleuerat*). The stages noted in this countdown would be 12th/13th December (Lucius learns in a dream that a further initiation is needed, cf. 11,26,4); 13th/14th December (in the following night he dreams of the limping priest, Asinius Marcellus, cf. 11,27,4-5); 14th/15th December (Lucius is ordered to sell his clothes to pay for his initiation, cf. 11,28,3-4); 15th December (Lucius does sell his clothes) – the remaining ten days would be taken up by Lucius' fasting, cf. 11,28,5. The calculation is problematic in detail (cf. esp. on 11,28,3 *saepicule*), but Merkelbach himself (1969, 90) is happy with an approximate figure. A date near the winter solstice is not unlikely. The question remains if Apuleius alludes exactly to the Kikellia or if a more diffuse symbolism associated with winter solstice is intended. In fact, our source for the Kikellia, the Πανάριον εἴρων Κιβώριον (*Medicine Chest*) by the ascetic and priest Epiphanius of Salamis (A.D. 310/320-402/403), discusses the broader issue of feasts celebrated at the winter solstice and says that the relevant festivals are known as Saturnalia in Rome, Kronia in Egypt, and Kikellia in Alexandria (*Panarion haer.* 51,22; II, p. 284,10-13 Holl). In the light of the Roman scenery and the significant theme of slavery in *met.* (cf. e.g. Ávila Vasconcelos 2009; Fitzgerald 2000, 93-114; introduction to Ch. XV [2. Structure and motifs] and comm. on 11,15,1 *seruiles ... uoluptates*; 11,15,2 *uitas in seruitium ... uindicauit*), allusions to the Saturnalia, in which slavery was famously suspended, seem worth considering. For potential associations of the Saturnalia with the festival of the *inuentio Osiridis* cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 55. On the calendric dimension of Book 11 see Introduction, 4.1.2.

sacrosanctam: the adjective has two basic meanings: 'invulnerable' and 'sacred' (*OLD* s.v. 1;2), expressed by two words in the translation given above. From the two other instances of *sacrosanctus* in *met.* it becomes clear that its referent is treated with the utmost respect (cf. 5,13,2, of Cupid's visual image, cf. *GCA* 2004, 200 on *Sacrosanctus*; 11,17,2, of the college of pastophori). As capital of the Roman empire, Rome was also the single most important centre of religion(s). Ammianus Marcellinus (17,4,13) describes it as *templum mundi totius*.

The reference to Rome as 'sacrosanct' in our passage is closely paralleled by *flor.* 1,2 *mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam ciuitatem*. Since presumably all the orations collected or excerpted in the *Florida* were performed in Africa, an African city, perhaps Carthage (e.g. Scotti 1988, 126 n. 2) is meant there (but cf. Hunink 2001 ad loc., who does not exclude Rome; Harrison 2000, 94 with n. 15 argues against Carthage because Apuleius was living there and *flor.* 1,2 seems to be composed in transit). Carthage would be a good fit in view of its *sanctissima curia* (*flor.* 16,41), a cen-

tre of learning (cf. *flor.* 18,8-9 with La Rocca 2005, 265-266 ad loc.). See Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36 on parallels between *met.* 11 and *Florida*.

istam: the sense of presence conveyed by the demonstrative pronoun hints at a Roman audience of the novel; cf. the parallel in *flor.* 1,2 *mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam ciuitatem* (see comm. above), where *istam* probably refers to an African city. Rohde 1885, 80-81 goes a step further and regards *istam* as one of a number of clues suggesting that Apuleius wrote *met.* during his stay in Rome (sometime in the late 140's - mid 150's AD). Hesky 1904, 79-80 objects that in this case *hanc*, not *istam*, should be expected; but the traditional difference between these pronouns has clearly collapsed in Apuleius (cf. Bernhard 1927, 115 and 170-171; Callebat 1968, 269-275). Cocchia 1915, 240-242 rightly points out that here presence to the mind is more significant than actual presence (cf. similarly Vallette 1908, 19).

11,26,3 Nec ullum tam praecipuum mihi exinde studium fuit quam cotidie supplicare summo numini reginae Isidis, quae de templi situ sumpto nomine Campensis summa cum ueneratione propitiatur. Eram cultor denique adsiduus, fani quidem aduena, religionis autem indigena. Thereafter I had no more important desire than praying daily to the supreme godhead, queen Isis, who from the site of her temple took the name Campensis and is propitiated with the greatest reverence. From then on I was a constant worshipper, a stranger to the shrine but a native of the cult.

summo numini: cf. 11,1,2 *summatem deam* with comm. ad loc.

reginae Isidis: for Isis' cult title *regina* cf. comm. on 11,5,3 *reginam Isidem*.

Campensis: Beroaldus 1500 restored this form from F's unintelligible *compensis* by associating it with his information about the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius, the most famous of Isis' Roman temples (for this conjecture as an outstanding example of Beroaldus' historical methodology cf. Krautter 1971, 147-148). The word *Campensis* is not attested before Apuleius; after him, and unrelated to deities, it occurs in some Christian writers from the 4th century onwards (*ThLL* s.v. *campensis*); cf., however, the reference to a variety of divinities as *campestres* in inscriptions, mostly from the 2nd century A.D. (*ThLL* s.v. *campester* 210,7-27). Hildebrand 1842 ad loc. argues that some of the divinities addressed as *campestres* (esp. Nemesis and Fortuna) are in fact Isis; for Nemesis cf. also 11,5,3 *Rhamnusiā* with comm. ad loc.; for Fortuna see introduction to Ch. XV (2. Structure and motifs) and comm. on 11,15,3 *Fortunae, sed uidentis*.

A first temple of Isis in the Campus Martius existed as early as the reign of Tiberius, who ordered the shrine to be demolished after a scandal in which the priests were involved (Joseph. *ant. iud.* 18,65-80; cf. Tac. *ann.* 2,85,4; Suet. *Tib.* 36). A second temple, probably built under Caligula, was destroyed by a fire in the Campus Martius in A.D. 80 (D.C. 66,22,1-2). The temple which Apuleius saw in Rome and which is here referred to is the third construction, dating to the reign of Domitian and situated near the public voting area of the Ovile (Iuv. 6,528-529 *in aede / Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ouili*; cf. generally on the Iseum Campense e.g. Lembke 1994; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 175-185).

cultor: cf. the similar contexts of 11,19,1 *cultor inseparabilis*; 11,21,9 *nec secus quam cultores ceteri cibis ... temperare*. Apuleius himself is a *cultor* in *flor.* 18,38 *sum enim non ignotus illi [sc. Aesculapio] sacricola nec recens cultor*.

aduena ... indigena: on the basis of this opposition, Reitzenstein³ 1927, 193-194 and Bergman 1972b, 22-23 argue for a certain nationalism in the sacral language of the otherwise international Isis cult and the mystery religions in general (cf. also Griffiths 1975 ad loc.). At least as far as our passage is concerned, Turcan 2003 emphasizes that Lucius here finds a religious, not a national home. The genitive *religionis*, as it were, 'de-nationalizes' the nominative *indigena* (p. 555). Turcan's view is supported e.g. by Isis' identification with goddesses from many countries in Ch. V and by Lucius' reference to her as a 'saviour of the human race' in *met.* 11,25,1 (*humani generis sospitatrix perpetua*). It is questionable whether *aduena* here has the precise meaning of (religious) 'proselyte' or 'newcomer', as Reitzenstein suggests by comparing the use of Greek προσήλυτος or ἐπηλύτης in religious contexts. The focus is on Lucius as a newcomer to a particular shrine in a foreign country; any foreignness to the cult itself is precisely denied. Note also that the opposition between *aduena* and *indigena* is frequent in many contexts (cf. e.g. Liv. 21,30,8; Tac. *hist.* 2,2,2; Plin. *nat.* 8,229; Curt. 8,2,14; Serv. *Aen.* 8,328). The most significant parallel here is the Prologue of *met.*, where the foreign Greek speaker cultivates the native language of Rome (1,1,4 *mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem ... excolui*; cf. *GCA* 2007, 81-82 ad loc.). For an interpretation of this correspondence as a sign of a false closure see Introduction, 2.2.

indigena: according to *ThLL* s.v. 1170,48-49, this is the only metaphorical use of *indigena* for a person. It seems to be motivated by the wish to pick up on the opposition *aduena ... indigenam* expressed in the Prologue (cf. above on *aduena ... indigena*).

11,26,4 Ecce transcurso signifero circulo Sol magnus annum compleuerat, et quietem meam rursus interpellat numinis benefici cura peruigilis, et rursus teletae, rursus sacrorum commonet. Mirabar quid rei temptaret, quid pronuntiaret futurum. Quidni? Plenissime iam dudum uidebar initiatus. And look, the great Sun had run through the circle of the zodiac and completed a year, and the ever watchful care of the beneficent deity again interrupts my sleep, and again reminds me of initiation, again of rites. I wondered what she was trying, what event she was proclaiming to come. Of course, it seemed to me I had already been initiated in the fullest way for a long time.

Ecce ... et: Apuleius often coordinates temporal adverbs with *et* where classical use would have a *cum inversum* (Bernhard 1927, 49-50; Callebat 1968, 433-436, esp. 434). Even so, there is only one further example of this exact construction *ecce ... et*, i.e. in the similarly astrological paraphrase of the passage of time in 9,32,2 (cf. *GCA* 1995, 274 ad loc. and here below).

Ecce ... compleuerat: the astrological dimension of the passing of time gives the passage a poetic touch (cf. Bernhard 1927, 216). This together with the suddenness of *Ecce* serves to introduce a change of fortune in the narrative, just as in 9,32,2 *Sed ecce siderum ordinatis ambagibus per numeros dierum ac mensuum remeans annus*

post mustulentas autumni delicias ad hibernas Capricorni pruinas deflexerat, et ... (cf. comm. on *Ecce ... et* above). In Book 9, however, the change (a deterioration in the daily life of the ass) introduced by the construction is less dramatic and surprising than here, where neither Lucius nor (probably) readers of *met.* would expect further initiations to come.

transcurso ... compleuerat: for Apuleius' penchant for astrological images, especially in the Isis Book, cf. 11,22,3 *diuino quodam stellarum consortio* and 11,25,2 *stellarum noxios meatus cohibes* with comm. ad loc. Beck 2004 (cf. comm. on 11,26,2 *prosperitate ... portum* above) suggests that Apuleius' mental 'template' for this passage was the sundial of Augustus in the Campus Martius, near the Iseum Campense (cf. the way in which the word *Campensis* in 11,26,3 is sandwiched between two remarkable indications of time, 11,26,2 *uespera quam dies insequatur Iduum Decembrium* and the cycle of the sun here): "The phrase *transcurso signifero circulo* is peculiarly apt, for the shadow point literally 'runs across' the 'circle of signs', in that each day it sweeps at right angles across the meridian line on which the zodiac and its signs were marked" (Beck 2004, 313). The association of the *horologium Augusti* with Lucius' Roman initiation(s) would have been easy because sundials and 'time-telling' were integral parts of the Isiac cult (ibid., 316). The larger implication of our reference to solar time would be the preparation for the appearance of Osiris, compared to the sun, among other things, through his attribute *inuictus* in 11,27,2 (cf. comm. ad loc.; similarly already Oudendorp 1786 in his comm. on *Sol magnus*).

How much time is described here? Most interpreters think, probably correctly, that a) a full year after Lucius' arrival in Rome is meant (e.g. ³Nilsson 1967-1974, II, 637 [first ed. 1950, 611]; Fugier 1963, 325; Merkelbach 1969 [cf. above on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium*]; Fredouille 1975 ad loc.; Beck 2004), but other readings are possible: b) a year since Lucius' re-transformation and his first initiation (cf. Griffiths 1975 ad loc.), c) the end of the current calendar year (e.g. Wittmann 1938, 123 and 223 n. 634; Van der Paardt 1978, 86), or indeed d) the end of the calendar year following the one in which Lucius arrived at Rome (Van der Nat in Van der Paardt 1978, 94 n. 98). Option b) does not seem to be defended by anyone and was suggested to Griffiths only by the idea that the completion of a year since Lucius' first initiation 'would be reasonable'; c) finds some support in Van der Paardt's argument that in this case, and with a hypothetical date of the final third initiation in March, Book 11, just like Books 1 – 10 taken together, would incorporate exactly one year of narrated time. In the text of *met.*, however, there is no indication of time for the third initiation, and if it is really thought to be performed in March, then option a) would give us a ratio of narrated time of 1:2. This could be meaningfully interpreted, too (e.g. as Book 11 trumping Books 1 – 10). What is more, Lucius' constant worship in 11,26,3 points to a longer period than just two weeks from his arrival at Rome to the end of the calendar year (cf. Fredouille 1975 ad loc. and Van der Nat in Van der Paardt 1978, 94 n. 98). Finally, d) is more of a theoretical possibility, missing the attractive sides of both a) and c) and gaining very little. With b), c), and d) the precise date given in 11,26,2 would seem to be meaningless.

Sol magnus annum: Beroaldus' (1500) conjecture *Sol magnum annum* (based on Verg. *Aen.* 3,284 *interea magnum sol circumuoluitur annum*) was adopted in some

older editions and created uncertainty about the attribute *magnus* as late as in Griffiths' (1975) comm. ad loc. In fact, *magnus* is a fairly conventional epithet of the Sun, cf. e.g. Ov. *met.* 13,852-853 (*non haec omnia magnus / Sol uidet e caelo?*) and the passages listed in Bömer 1969-1986, VI ad loc. Moreover, *magnus* is Apuleius' favourite attribute of gods in general (cf. comm. on 11,27,2 *magni*).

rursus ... rursus ... rursus: the triple iteration of *rursus*, unique in Apuleius, emphasizes the unexpectedness of and Lucius' amazement about a second initiation.

peruigilis: word order and the fact that *numinis* already has an attribute (*benefici*) make it clear that *peruigilis* is a nominative form going with *cura*. It is therefore an alternative to the standard form *peruigil* normally used by Apuleius. The nominative *peruigilis* is not attested before and rarely afterwards (Petr. Chrys. *serm.* 177,2; Serv. *Aen.* 4,201).

teletae: for the neologism cf. comm. on 11,22,8 *teletae*.

mirabar: cf. *mirum* (with comm. ad loc.) in 11,27,1, and Lucius' even stronger reaction when hearing about the need for a third initiation in 11,29,2-3. His amazement builds up to a psychological climax.

quidni: Robertson's (1945) conjecture *quidni?* <*qui*>, based on certain occurrences in *met.* of *quidni* followed by the relative pronoun, seems unnecessary (cf. Augello 1977, 237; Fredouille 1975 ad loc. defends Robertson's reading). *Quidni* occurs with curious frequency in the last chapters of *met.*, apart from here in 11,28,6 and in 11,30,2 (each time without a following relative pronoun). The highest figure for occurrences outside *met.* 11 is in Book 9 with two passages, in 9,9,1 and 9,17,2. In Books 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8 we find one instance each (cf. Callebat 1968, 424-425). The reason for the frequent use of *quidni* in the 'epilogue' of *met.* might be that Apuleius wishes to draw particular attention to the final surprises he has in store for his readers, with *quidni* making a strong rhetorical pause to build up momentum and place emphasis on a particular idea (cf. Callebat 1968, 425): here the unexpectedness of a second initiation, in 11,28,6 and 11,30,2 Lucius' success in the forum under the auspices of Osiris. In our passage the rhetorical effect of *quidni* is magnified by its assonance with the preceding interrogative pronouns *quid ... quid*.

iam dudum: on the somewhat ambiguous meaning of *iam dudum* in *met.* (recent/distant past) cf. comm. on 11,6,2 *iam dudum*; here it clearly means 'a long time ago'.

CHAPTER XXVII

Lucius learns about the meaning of the second initiation and receives a prophecy from the priest Asinius Marcellus, known to him from a dream.

1. Osiris and Sarapis

This chapter is dominated by the upcoming second initiation of Lucius, this time into the cult of Osiris, whose name is first mentioned in 11,27,2 (for the issue of repeated initiations in *met.* see introduction to Ch. XXIX [2. Religious seriousness or comedy?]). The overwhelming majority of our Graeco-Roman documents for the cult of Isis' consort know him as Sarapis, not Osiris. Sarapis is the name of the god in 11,9,6 (cf. comm. on *Sarapi* there), and Sarapis was venerated in the Sarapeum of the Iseum Campense at Rome (cf. Lembke 1994, 23 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 176-177). Even granted the considerable overlap of these gods (but cf. e.g. Merkelbach 2001, 82-83 for their difference), it seems remarkable that Apuleius insists on making Lucius a devotee of Osiris. This may reflect a historical cult practice otherwise unknown to us (cf. some potential clues in Nilsson 1967-1974, II, 125 n. 5 and 638-639). Another explanation would be that Apuleius is here inspired by literary, philosophical and mythical models (e.g. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*) rather than by contemporary cult. Surely he did not sharply distinguish between the two gods, and in our commentary we often refer to Sarapis to provide historical background for Apuleius' literary Osiris.

2. Osiris and Rome

It is hardly a coincidence that, after some allusions to Osiris e.g. in Lucius' first initiation (cf. comm. on 11,24,4 *ad instar Solis*), the supreme god of *met.* enters the stage precisely at Rome, the centre of imperial power. In the narrative of *met.*, the most powerful god is to some extent modelled on the most powerful man on earth, the Roman emperor (see Introduction, 4.2.3). By Apuleius' time, the Egyptian deities had long been adopted into official Roman cult, and they enjoyed particular veneration from Hadrian onwards. Takács 1995, 19-20 argues that Sarapis and Isis were often seen as representatives of the emperor and the empress, and that dedications made to these gods would have been a token of adherence to the *domus Augusta* and to the Roman order of the world. Among the Roman epithets of Sarapis and Isis can be found *Augustus* and *Augusta* (Vidman 1970, 115; Bricault 1996, 76-78 and 122-123). Further on the political dimension of the Egyptian gods cf. Graverini in *AGA* 3, 102-103 dealing with imperial *providentia*. Apuleius was probably a priest of the imperial cult in Africa (*flor.* 16,38; *Aug. epist.* 138,19; cf. Harrison 2000, 8 with n. 30). For philosophical and literary aspects of Apuleius' Osiris see introduction to Ch. XXX [2. The lack of detail]) and comm. on 11,30,4 *gloriosa in foro ... patrocinia*.

3. History and autobiography

Osiris himself, however, will not appear to Lucius until the very end of the novel (see introduction to Ch. XXX [2. The lack of detail]). The focus here shifts swiftly to his priest, Asinius Marcellus. Providence seems to have linked Asinius with Lucius for the second initiation just as Mithras and Lucius were paired for the first (cf. the parallel dream in 11,27,8 *iam dudum consimili praecepto ... commonefactum* with the astrological conjunction in 11,22,3 *Mithram ... diuino quodam stellarum consortio ... mihi coniunctum, sacrorum ministrum decernit*). With the name of Asinius Marcellus the historical element in the Roman 'epilogue' of *met.* makes itself strongly felt (see introduction to Ch. XXVI [A new narrative mode]; see also Introduction, 5.1 [pp. 37-38]). Regardless of the question of whether or not Apuleius had a particular person in mind, he and his audience could hardly *not* think of the prominent Roman family of the Asinii or even of a notable contemporary of Apuleius called precisely Asinius Marcellus (cf. below on *Asinium Marcellum*). The historical dimension of Asinius Marcellus seems even more significant considering that later in 11,27,9 he will be closely linked to an equally historical 'man from Madauros' (*Madaurensem*; cf. comm. ad loc below).

This reference to a Madauran is, the Prologue apart, likely to be *the* most discussed single passage of *met.* in modern scholarship. The main issues are similar to those of the Prologue and concern the apparent confusion between author and protagonist. The *Madaurensem* of 11,27,9 not only names the author by the adjective form of his home town; the phrase also comes near the end of *met.* as kind of a literary 'sphragis' (cf. for the term here e.g. Lesky 1941, 44; Tatum 1979, 88; Finkelppearl 2004, 335; generally Kranz 1961). It has accordingly often been taken as the main piece of evidence for autobiographical readings of *met.* However, if indeed an identification of author and protagonist is intended (cf. comm. ad loc.) it is temporary and incomplete. It is Lucius, not Apuleius who in *met.* 11,29,5 (*exuias deae quas in prouincia sumpsisti*) is reminded of his first initiation in Cenchreae. While there may well be autobiographical elements in the last chapters of *met.*, they seem tightly bound up with fictional, metafictional and generic aspects (Tilg 2014a, 107-131). It should also be taken into account that ancient fiction often includes seemingly autobiographical allusions to make statements about genre and poetics and to guide its reception by its readers (cf. e.g. Werner 1918 for wonder tales; Kofler 2003 for epic poetry; Korenjak 2003 and Payne 2007 for pastoral poetry).

11,27,1 *Ac dum religiosum scrupulum partim apud meum sensum disputo, partim sacrorum consiliis examino, nouum mirumque plane comperior: And while I partly ponder these nagging religious doubts in my own mind, partly examine them with the advice of initiates, I clearly discover something novel and amazing:*

religiosum scrupulum: cf. Lucius' 'religious anxiety' (*religiosa formido*) before his first initiation in 11,19,3 (misgivings about abstinence and chastity) and his grave concerns before the third in 11,29,2 (see introduction to Ch. XXIX [The third initiation]).

apud meum sensum disputo: for similar constructions combining a term of deliberation with a noun denoting the mind cf. Callebat 1968, 274. The intensity of introspection and mental consideration is stressed. In Book 11, comparable phrases are used before each of Lucius' three initiations as a reaction to puzzling divine announcements (cf. 11,20,2 *diu diuque apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam quid rei portenderet* with comm. ad loc.; 11,29,2 *mecum ipse cogitationes exercitium cogitabam, quorsus noua haec et inaudita se caelestium porrigeret intentio* with comm. on *cogitationes ... cogitabam*).

nouum mirumque: cf. the similar phrase in the similar situation of 11,29,2 (*noua haec et inaudita ... intentio* with comm. ad loc.), referring to news of a third initiation. For the marvellous in *met.* 11 cf. 11,3,3 *mirandam speciem*; Heiserman 1977, 161-166; Graverini 2010, 75-76.

plane comperior: the usual form in Apuleius is *comperio*, but the deponent occurs in 2,21,6 *Quid hoc ... comperior* (cf. *GCA* 2001, 314 ad loc.) as well as in some passages of *apol.* and *flor.* (cf. Callebat 1968, 299). The deponent may imply here that Lucius makes the discovery by himself, in his own mind (cf. *apud meum sensum disputo*), by mulling over the significance of Isis' nocturnal appearances; cf. *Diom. gramm.* I 377,16-18 *comperior (est) ex mea opinione colligo et compertum habeo, pro explorato didici ... comperio est ab alio cognosco* (cf., however, Flobert's [1975, 200] scepticism concerning this distinction). In the 'indirect speech' following in 11,27,2-3, Lucius would then report his own discovery rather than the news he received or what he was told to do by others (*sacratorum consiliis* is only advice, Lucius is the one who examines). Harrauer 1973 suggests that Apuleius here opts for the – generally rare and archaising – deponent to mark the significance of the divine message. For the combination with the adverb *plane* cf. Lucius' formula of authentication in 10,7,4 *quae plane comperi ad istas litteras proferam*. In our phrase, too, there is a note of authenticating a perplexing circumstance.

11,27,2 *deae quidem me tantum sacris inbutum, at magni dei deumque summi parentis, inuicti Osiris, necdum sacris inlustratum*; I had been initiated only into the mysteries of the goddess, but I had not yet been enlightened by the mysteries of the great god and supreme father of the gods, the unconquered Osiris;

inbutum: the metaphorical use of *imbui* for 'being initiated' (into a cult or something similar), later widespread in Christian authors, is first attested in Apuleius (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *imbuo* 429,7-19; also see the similar case of *inlustratum* below). A singularly philosophical variant of the metaphor can be found in *Apul. Plat.* 1,2 p. 185 *Heracliti secta fuerat inbutus*.

magni ... inuicti: taken together, the attributes *magnus, summus parens deum* and *inuictus* suggest the common identifications of Sarapis with Zeus/Jupiter and Helios/Sol, perhaps even the influence of the widespread formula Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπις (cf. for both e.g. Merkelbach 2001, 77-79; Bricault 1996, 101-104 and 126-127), most frequently attested in inscriptions of Rome and Ostia (including Portus, the harbour where Lucius arrives in Italy at 11,26,2; cf. Vidman 1970, 124). For more details see the individual entries below. Despite Griffiths 1975 ad loc. it is unlikely

that the phrases in this passage depend on Egyptian sources. Apuleius' religious ideas are firmly based on the reception of the Egyptian deities in the Graeco-Roman world.

magni: *magnus* is a frequent attribute of gods (cf. e.g. *ThLL* s.v. *deus* 892,47-48 and 906,84-907,3; for Sarapis e.g. Bricault 1996, 102-107 and 124-127) and *the* favourite one of Apuleius in *met.*: apart from Osiris (cf. 11,27,3; 11,27,9 and 11,30,3; cf. Sarapis in 11,9,6), Cupid (e.g. 5,22,7), Isis (e.g. 11,15,4), Jupiter (e.g. 4,30,3), Sol (11,26,4), and Venus (e.g. 6,5,3) are called *magnus* or *magna* (cf. Bernhard 1927, 214).

parentis: there are numerous Roman examples of gods as *parentes*, and especially of Jupiter as 'father of the gods' (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *parens* 363,5-63 [Jupiter 36-47]; cf. *ibid.* s.v. *pater* 685,27-66). The identification of Sarapis with Zeus/Jupiter was the single most important one beside that with Helios/Sol (cf. e.g. Merkelbach 2001, 77-79; Bricault 1996, 101-105 and 125-127). Note also Isis as *parentem temporum* in 11,7,4.

inuicti: cf. 11,7,1 *numen inuictum* [sc. Isis] (with comm. ad loc.); *inuictus* is well known as a title of gods (*ThLL* s.v. 187,11-64; for Sarapis cf. Bricault 1996, 97; 104; 124-125), especially of Mars, Jupiter, Hercules, and Mithras/Sol. But victorious military leaders and emperors were also sometimes called *inuictus* (cf. Weinstock 1957, discussing among the emperors Caesar, Domitian, and Trajan). However, it is only with Commodus (sole emperor A.D. 180-192) and his veneration of *Hercules inuictus* that the epithet became a regular part of the official representation of the Roman emperors (cf. Weinstock 1957, 241-242). The attribute *inuictus* in our passage may be influenced by this use for emperors, but could also (and not mutually exclusively) have been transferred from the cult of Mithras/Sol, where it is attested in inscriptions from the mid-second century A.D. onwards (cf. Halsberghe 1972, 45; *ThLL* s.v. 187,26-44; for later attestations of this transfer in cult history Vidman 1970, 144). A solar aspect of *inuictus* in our passages is likely considering that Osiris is thought as the counterpart of the 'moon goddess' Isis (generally for Isis' associations with the moon see introduction to Ch. I [1. The Moon as a universal goddess]; for her as a counterpart of the 'sun god' Osiris e.g. Beck 2004, 317-318). Cf. furthermore Lucius' vision of the sun when passing through the Underworld during his first initiation (11,23,7 *nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* with comm. ad loc.), his presentation in a garment *ad instar Solis* (11,24,4 with comm. ad loc.) after this initiation; the name of Lucius' spiritual father, Mithras (11,22,3 with comm. ad loc.; 11,25,7 *Mithram sacerdotem et meum iam parentem*); and the solar time indication in 11,26,4 *transcurso signifero circulo Sol magnus annum compleuerat* (with comm. ad loc.). All this seems to prepare for the appearance of the ultimate source of religious light and enlightenment, Osiris (cf. the presumed date of Lucius' second initiation at the winter solstice; comm. on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium*). The identification of Sarapis with the sun was fairly common from the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. onwards (cf. the evidence in Bricault 1996, 101-107 and 126-128, and e.g. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 52, *Mor.* 372B-D). As far as our evidence goes, it is only from the time of Caracalla (emperor A.D. 198-217), one of the great promoters of the cult of Sarapis, that the emperors combined solar symbolism and the epithet *inuictus* in their official representation (cf. e.g. *CIL* XIII 7399 *Soli inuicto imperatori* [sc. Caracallae], from A.D. 213; Vidman 1970, 144). It is not unlikely, however, that Apuleius anticipated

the association of Sarapis, emperor cult, and solar symbolism in literary form (see Introduction, 4.1.2, last paragraph). Remarkably, the attribute *inuictus* for Osiris in the present passage predates our first historical evidence for *Sarapis inuictus* (in the shape of a number of inscriptions from the time of Caracalla) by some decades (cf. Vidman 1965, 391-392).

Osiris: the first of two instances in which the great god of the Roman ending of *met.* is referred to by name. In both instances the name is introduced by an elaborate concatenation of praising attributes (cf. 11,30,3 *deus ... Osiris* with comm. ad loc.). In this manner it is made clear that Osiris is above all other deities, even if these are sometimes given similar (but not so elaborately combined) attributes.

inlustratum: cf. 11,28,5 *principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus*. According to *ThLL* s.v. *illustro* 399,21-36, these two passages of *met.* are the first to lend *illustrare* the notion of spiritual enlightenment, a meaning later frequently found in Christian writers (cf. the parallel case of *imbutum* above). Illumination by sunlight being one of its basic meanings (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *illustro* 398,27-30; *met.* 11,5,3 *qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus inlustrantur radiis Aethiopes*), *illustrare* is a very suitable verb for the presumed solar aspect of Osiris (cf. comm. on *inuicti* above). Reitzenstein³ 1927, 264 suggests that *illustrari* here corresponds to the Greek $\varphi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ in cultic contexts.

11,27,3 *quamquam enim conexa, immo uero inunita ratio numinis religionisque esset, tamen teletae discrimen interesse maximum; prohinc me quoque peti magno etiam deo famulum sentire deberem.* Although the nature of the godheads and the cult was connected, indeed even unified, there was still the greatest difference in the rites of initiation. Therefore I should understand that I, too, was being asked to become the servant of the great god as well.

conexa ... esset: cf. 11,28,5, where the cult of Osiris is called *germana religio*.

inunita ratio: Zimmerman's (2012) text. F seems to have had *munit artio* (which is also the reading of φ , A, and E) before a second hand corrected to *munita ratio*. The reading *unica artio* can be found in U and the *editio princeps* (S has *unica arcio*). Beroaldus 1500 conjectured *ratio* for *artio* and *unica ratio* is thereupon the reading most frequently adopted in early modern editions. While *ratio* is clear and universally agreed, there has been considerable dispute over the adjective. Helm 1955 (1907) and most modern editors (e.g. Robertson 1945, Hanson 1989, Martos 2003) adopt Lipsius' suggestion *unita* (found in v). Brantius' *inunita* (in Elmenhorst 1621) is defended by Oudendorp 1786, Hildebrand 1842, Rohde 1885, 104, Van der Vliet 1897, and Fredouille 1975 ('contestable' according to Callebat's review of Fredouille in *Latomus* 35 [1976], 607-610, at 609). It is based on a rare and somewhat hypothetical verb *inunire*, 'unite' (all instances can be challenged, cf. *ThLL* s.v.). A parallel chronologically close to Apuleius is provided by Tert. *adv. Val.* 29,1 (gnostici) *triformem naturam* (sc. hominis) *primordio professi et tamen inunitam* (*PM, unitatiem F*) *in Adam*. The form *inunita* is not unlikely in itself and constitutes the easiest palaeographical corruption of *munita*; cf. the discussion of the similar issue in *met.* 8,14,3 *inunita* [Helm 1907: *unita*] *sepultura* in *GCA* 1985, 135 ad loc.

teletae: for the neologism cf. comm. on 11,22,8 *teletae*.

discrimen ... maximum: separate initiations into the cult of Isis and Osiris (or else Sarapis) are not historically attested. It is curious that the alleged 'huge difference' between the rites of Isis and Osiris is not specified in any detail. The narrative procedure is somewhat similar to the extremely brief description of the second initiation in 11,28,5 (see introduction to Ch. XXVIII [2. The second initiation]) and the non-existent description of the third (see introduction to Ch. XXX [1. Where is the third initiation?]), both in contrast with the detailed account of the first (cf. 11,23,5-11,25,7). There is a sense that Apuleius' in his 'Romecoming' is through with cultic details and redefines his narrative priorities (for the potential nature of these priorities see introduction to Ch. XXVI [A new narrative mode]). Perhaps this change also reflects a more psychological development of Lucius-actor towards a more introspective religious attitude, cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 143.

prohinc: a rare word, according to *ThLL* s.v. used only in *met.* (apart from the present passage in 3,8,6; 3,12,4; 5,2,3) and later by Boethius (*subst. bon.* 11). The meaning is practically the same as *proinde*.

quoque ... etiam: pace Bernhard 1927, 172-173 and Callebat 1968, 531, the combination of these two adverbs is not strictly pleonastic in our passage: *etiam* refers to *magno deo*, but *quoque* to *me* (as it usually refers to the preceding word); Lucius, *too* (like the other initiates, cf. 11,27,1 *sacrorum consiliis*), should be initiated *also* into the cult of Osiris.

famulum: for 'famulus deorum' meaning 'priest' cf. *ThLL* s.v. *famulus* 267,61-73. Lucius has been represented as Isis' servant ever since 11,5,4 (*imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum*); for the careful use of slave-imagery in *met.* 11 see introduction to Ch. XV [2. Structure and motifs] and comm. on 11,15,2 *in seruitium deae nostrae*. Now that Lucius is initiated into the cult of Isis' consort and counterpart, Osiris, it is only consistent that the metaphor of slavery is carried on.

sentire deberem: the reason for the subjunctive *deberem* in this indirect speech is not completely clear. Given that the clause starting with *prohinc* is an affirmative clause one would expect an accusative and infinitive with *debere* (Helm's apparatus refers for this reading to the Basel edition of Apuleius' works of 1560; cf. furthermore Robertson 1910, 225 n. 4). On the other hand, this clause could be linked more 'paratactically' with the rest, as sort of hortative conclusion and not only as simple part of the revelation. In this case the subjunctive in the indirect speech would reflect a presumed hortatory subjunctive in the direct speech; cf. the subjunctives in Lucius' report of divine messages at 11,23,2 (*cibariam uoluptatem coercerem, neque ullum animal essem et inuinius essem*) and 11,30,4 (*gloriosa in foro redderem patrocinia, nec extimescerem maleuolorum disseminationes*). Leo (in the proofs to Helm 1955 [1907]) suspects a *lacuna* before *sentire*.

11,27,4 *Nec diu res in ambiguo stetit. Nam proxima nocte uidi quendam de sacratissimis linteis iniectum, qui thyrsos et hederas et tacenda quaedam gerens ad ipsos meos lares collocaret, et occupato sedili meo religionis amplae denuntiaret epulas.* The matter did not remain long in doubt, for next night I saw one of the initiates clad in linen garments, carrying thyrsus-rods and ivy and certain objects that must not be spoken of. These he placed in my lodging and, taking my seat, he announced a banquet of great sanctity.

in ambiguo stetit: for this use of *stare* see *OLD* s.v. *sto* 14 ‘to be placed or established (in a particular situation, condition, etc.)’, and cf. Lucan. 7,247 *mens stetit in dubio*; Iuv. 1,149 *omne in praecipiti uitium stetit*. With *ambiguus*, the more idiomatic phrase would be *in ambiguo esse* (cf. the examples given in *ThLL* s.v. *ambiguus*, esp. 1845,7-13). There does not seem to be another instance of *in ambiguo stare* in Roman literature.

uidi: here only the context, not the verb itself, suggests a dream; usually a passive form is used for introducing dreams (cf. 11,20,1 *uisus est mihi*; 11,27,9 *sibi uisus est*; 11,30,3 *per quietem ... uisus est*). Lucius’ later reference to his vision as *nocturna imago* (11,27,7) settles the question. The choice of the first person active verb may reflect an intention to stress the authenticity of the dream experience (I saw it *myself*). This could be relevant in view of the (partly) autobiographical reading invited in the following sections (cf. comm. on 11,27,9 *Madaurenses*).

quendam ... iniectum: the initiate is characterized in words similar to the description of the Egyptian priest Zatchlas in 2,28,2 *iuenem quempiam linteis amiculum iniectum* (cf. *GCA* 2001, 369-370 ad loc.); cf. also 11,10,2 *antistites ... qui candido linteamine ... iniecti*.

quendam de sacratis: with the indefinite pronoun *quidam* Apuleius mostly uses partitive *de* + ablative instead of the partitive genitive (cf. Callebat 1968, 191-192; below 11,27,6 *de pastophoris unum*).

linteis: for the religious significance of linen garments cf. comm. on 11,10,2 *linteamine*.

thyrsos et hederas: poetic plurals, with *thyrsi* (as poetic plural) here being used in prose for the first time (Geisau 1912, 17 and 25). The ‘thyrsus’ was a wand tipped with a fir-cone, tuft of ivy, or vine-leaves. Given that ivy was often part of a *thyrsus*, the phrase *thyrsos et hederas* may just pick out two aspects of the same object. More importantly, the thyrsus was characteristically carried by worshippers of Dionysus/Bacchus, which suggests an identification of Osiris with this god in our passage. This identification (cf. the summary in Merkelbach 2001, 71-72) can be traced back as far as Herodotus (2,42), who says that the Greek name for Osiris is Dionysus (cf. furthermore e.g. Diod. Sic. 1,13-22; Tib. 1,7,27-48; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 35-37, *Mor.* 364E-365F). Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch report that ivy is consecrated to Osiris in Egypt and to Dionysus in Greece (Diod. Sic. 1,17,4; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 37, *Mor.* 365E). There is no evidence, however, for the use of ivy in the cult of Osiris before Roman times. It was probably borrowed from the cult of Dionysus (cf. Griffiths 1970, 440-441 on Plutarch’s passage). The reason for this reference to emphatically ‘Dionysian’ objects may simply be their actual relevance in contemporary rites of Sarapis/Osiris. Considering potential (meta)literary aspects of the Roman ‘epilogue’ of *met.* (see Introduction, 4.2.3 with n. 123), however, it could also be relevant that the thyrsus is a well-known symbol of poetic inspiration (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b; add Prop. 3,3,35 *haec [sc. Musa] hederas legit in thyrsos*; for Dionysus himself as source of literary inspiration cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 2,19,1-8; Ov. *am.* 3,15,17; *fast.* 3,714; 3,789-790; Tib. 2,1,3-4). Lucius/Apuleius would not be the first writer to be ‘initiated’ into literature in a dream (cf. e.g. the beginning of Callimachus’ *Aetia*, a model for Prop. 3,3, and Ennius’ dream of Homer in the poem of the *Annales*; generally on ‘the dream as

inspiration to writing’ cf. Stearns 1927, 1-11; Kambylis 1965, esp. 104-109 and 196-197). There could also be autobiographical connotations: Apuleius’ knowledge about the nature of the secret knowledge of others in *apol.* 55,8 (*Liberi patris mystae qui adestis, scitis quid domi conditum celetis et absque omnibus profanis tacite ueneremini*) seems to imply that he himself was initiated into the cult of Bacchus.

tacenda: probably used like Greek ἄρρητος and ἀπόρρητος (cf. *LSJ* s.v.) of sacred things not to be divulged, in accordance with the secrecy of rites in mystery cults (cf. 11,11,2 *cista secretorum capax penitus celans operata magnificae religionis* with comm. ad loc.; 11,11,3 *magno silentio tegendae religionis argumentum ineffabile*; cf. also Lucius’ reluctance to report details of his first initiation in 11,23,5-7; *GCA* 2004, 186 on 5,11,6 *si texeris nostra secreta silentio*; *apol.* 55,8 [cited above on *thyrsos et hederas*]; *ibid.* 56,10 *nullo umquam periculo compellar, quae reticenda accepi, haec ad profanos enuntiare*). Merkelbach 2001, 298 suggests that the objects in question are various souvenirs of the initiation, e.g. rattles. Médan 1925a – followed by Wittmann (1938, 124 with n. 638 on p. 223), Harrauer 1973, and Fredouille 1975 – thinks that phallic objects may be meant. There is indeed evidence for phallic worship and phallic processions (φαλληφόρια) in the cult of Osiris (e.g. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 12 [Mor. 355E]; 18 [Mor. 358B]; the related rituals are based on the myth that Osiris’ phallus was the only body part lost for good after his dismemberment and that Isis fashioned an artificial phallus when reintegrating Osiris’ body). The evidence is particularly good for Dionysus-Osiris (Herodot. 2,48-49; Diod. Sic. 1,22,7; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 36 [Mor. 365B]; for the identification of Osiris with Dionysus see above on *thyrsos et hederas*), since the phallus was notoriously significant in the cult of Dionysus (cf. e.g. H. Herter s.v. Phallos, *RE* XIX.2 [1938], 1681-1748, at 1701-1710). Even so, it does not seem that cultic phalli were referred to as *tacendi*. There is little reason to identify the sacred objects in our passage precisely as phallic (cf. the scepticism of Griffiths 1975 ad loc. and the similar issue with the *cista secretorum* in 11,11,2).

lares: Apuleius always uses *lar* (1,19,12; 1,21,6; 1,23,6; 2,3,4; 2,30,9; 3,19,6; 3,23,4; 5,4,6; 5,7,6; 5,9,3; 8,23,2; 9,14,2; 9,24,1; 9,25,6; 9,26,1; 9,31,3; 11,19,1; 11,26,1) or *lares* (4,12,5; 5,10,9; 11,17,4) in the metonymical sense of ‘home’, never in the narrow, proper, sense of ‘household god(s)’. Although the word here may contribute to a general religious atmosphere, its translation as ‘household altar’ (Hanson 1989) or ‘household gods’ (e.g. Walsh 1994) is unwarranted. Note, however, that there is archaeological evidence for Isiac Lararia (cf. Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 106-109 with examples from Pompeii), and that the paintings of a certain room in the Isis temple of Pompeii have reminded researchers of a lararium (e.g. Hoffmann 1993, 103). This also invalidates Griffiths’ (1975) argument, that a reference to (potentially competing) household gods would be out of place since Lucius was probably living within the precincts of the Iseum Campense. For Lucius’ similar dwelling in Cenchreae cf. 11,19,1 *aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi* with comm. ad loc.

collocaret ... denuntiaret: the subjunctives seem to be prompted by a fairly normal, if implied, consecutive sense of the relative clause (cf. LHSz 2,558-559 and 560-561). Callebat 1968, 343, Fredouille 1975 ad loc., and Griffiths 1975 ad loc. expect the indicative in this passage.

occupato sedili meo: the sequence of three cretics (observed by Schober 1904, 17) may add to the ceremoniousness of the priest and his message; cf. comm. on 11,28,4 *ipsum praeceptum fuerat specialiter*: ‘An tu’; 11,29,4 *quod numerosa serie religionis quasi quicquam*. The image is curious and perhaps not fully understood. On current evidence, the most probable reading seems the literal one, which implies a humorous note: the priest comes to Lucius’ house and grabs the usual seat of his host (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *occupo* 383,73-84 for ‘taking a seat’) before making his announcement. It may be significant that the priest walks with a limp (cf. 11,27,5) and needs to sit down. Perhaps the image also alludes to frequent representation of gods sitting on thrones. Other readings have been tried, but they remain unconvincing: Lafaye 1884, 184 regards *sedile* as a metonymy for a cultic crypt or *megaron* – potentially equipped with benches – in which Isiac initiates would have slept and undergone divine incubation. Such crypts have been found in some Isiac temples (they are better known from other cults, e.g. that of Demeter), but their use remains a matter of dispute (cf. e.g. Salem 1936; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 34 for the Iseum at Pompeii). But even if Lafaye’s identification of the *megaron* with a sleeping room (not well supported by his source, Lanciani 1868, esp. 230) were correct, the situation in Apuleius is a poor fit: not to mention the difficult metonymy, what crypta would Lucius have at his house? And what would it mean that the priest rather than the god ‘occupies’ Lucius’ crypta? Dibelius 1917, 36-37 surmises that the scene is visionary in that Lucius sees the *site* of his future second initiation. According to Harrauer 1973 ad loc. our phrase implies that the priest symbolically takes possession of Lucius.

religionis amplae ... epulas: perhaps enallage, for *religionis amplas ... epulas*. The adjective *amplus* is more idiomatic with meals (cf. e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 6,28,6 in *amplissimis epulis*; Iuv. 14,170-171 *cena / amplior*) than with *religio* (no attestations apart from this passage). Cf., however, the frequent phrase *amplissimum sacerdotium* (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2,2,126-127; *Phil.* 13,8; *fam.* 3,10,9; *Att.* 8,3,2; Sen. *dial.* 6,13,2) and Liv. 45,28,5 *sacrificium amplius solito*. Considering that a priest is speaking and that Lucius himself is going to be a priest, *religio* and *sacerdotium/sacrificium* seem closely associated terms.

epulas: generally for Lucius’ cultic meals cf. 11,24,4 *suaues epulae* and 11,24,5 *ientaculum religiosum* with comm. ad loc. While the meals in 11,24,4-5 are part of the celebrations following upon the first initiation and do not appear to be a central part of it, the *epulae* here are most prominently placed: they stand metonymically for the second initiation itself. This focus on the constituent meal may reflect the historical significance of shared meals in the cult of Sarapis (cf. e.g. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 272-274; Merkelbach 2001, 165-166; Fotopoulos 2003, 100-114; Tilg 2011, 393; Graf, forthcoming), which far exceeds their role in the cult of Isis. For a survey of the archaeological evidence for and significance of kitchens and dining rooms in Roman sanctuaries cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 272-329.

11,27,5 Is, ut agnitionem mihi scilicet certo aliquo sui signo subministraret, sinistri pedis talo paululum reflexo, cunctabundo clementer incedebat uestigio. Evidently to aid my recognition of him by some sure identifying sign, the ankle of his left foot was slightly twisted and he trod gently with a hesitant step.

scilicet: according to Dowden’s examination of the use of *scilicet* in *met.* (1982, 422-425) this is an instance of ‘speculation to preserve perspective’ (p. 422 n. 17). But also some irony of the narrator concerning his authorial knowledge may be implied; for how could Lucius even suspect that the priest’s limp is a token of recognition? Cf. below 11,27,6 *tam manifestam deum uoluntatem* with comm. ad loc.

sinistri pedis: the use of *sinister* in *met.* is polyvalent and its implications here are difficult to pin down. A connection with *pes* occurs apart from our passage only in 1,5,5, where Aristomenes superstitiously refers to starting off his journey on the wrong, i.e. left, foot: *sinistro pede profectum me spes compendii frustrata est* (for the popular association of the left foot with bad luck cf. *GCA* 2007, 156-157 with comm. ad loc.; Häussler 1968, 200-201; Nicolini 2005, 107; and esp. the dedicated excursus in *GCA* 1981, 275-278). Two further instances of *sinister* carry negative meaning: in 1,13,4 Meroe (apparently) kills Socrates by plunging a sword into his neck *per iugulum sinistrum*, contrary to historical sacrificial ritual, in which the right jugular vein was cut (cf. McCreight 1993, 55); in 11,15,1 Lucius is reproached with the *curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium* he earned for his *seruiles uoluptates*. The occurrence in 6,25,5, where Lucius the ass is beaten on the right thigh (*crure dextero*) and left hoof (*ungula sinistra*) seems neutral, and the representation of a left hand carried as a symbol of justice in the procession of the Isis priests in 11,10,5 (*aequitatis ostendebat indicium deformatam manum sinistram*) is clearly positive (cf. comm. ad loc.). Krabbe 2003, 81 suggests a link of our passage at the end of *met.* with Aristomenes’ *sinister pes* at the beginning of *met.*, but she fails to define this link. It could imply either continuity (Lucius’ is bound to be as unlucky as Aristomenes) or change (in the Isiac context the left side bodes well, cf. 11,10,5). The fact that Lucius’ left hoof was hurt in 6,25,5 makes our limping initiate, later called Asinius (cf. 11,27,7), something of an *alter ego* of Lucius the ass (cf. on *sinistri ... uestigio* below). Literary play could also be involved: not only does *sinistri* in our passage conclude a sequence of four alliterating words beginning with *s*, Asinius’ limping left foot might be a humorous ‘narrative instantiation’ (cf. Plaza 2006) of the ancient belief that temples should be entered with the *right* foot first (cf. e.g. Häussler 1968, 200-201; *GCA* 1981, 275-277) – with a limping left foot no other way of entering seems possible. It can be seen as a consequence of that belief that lameness in the right (but not in the left) foot was generally considered a bad omen, cf. e.g. Plin. *nat.* 28,35, Lucian. *pseudol.* 17, the problematic *dexiocholos* (based on Gr. *δεξιόχολος, cf. *LSJ* rev. supplement 1996) in Mart. 12,59,9, and generally Wirth 2010, 64-68.

sinistri ... uestigio: lameness is a well-known motif in *met.* Mostly it concerns Lucius the ass who is beaten or tired (3,27,6; 4,4,2; 6,25,5; 6,26,1; 6,26,8; 6,30,4). Twice his masters are lame: in 9,27,1 Lucius’ driver is called a *senex claudus*; and in the final image of the *anteludia* of the Isis Book Lucius sees an ass led by an infirm old man (11,8,4 *Vidi ... asinum ... adambulantem cuidam seni debili*; cf. 3,27,6 *debilem claudumque reddam*). Most striking, however, is Psyche’s encounter with a lame ass *and* its lame driver in the Underworld (cf. 6,18,4 *continaberis claudum asinum ... cum agasone simili*; cf. *GCA* 2004, 502 introd. note and comm. ad loc. for various accounts). In 11,27,7 we learn that our limping priest is called Asinius and that the narrator himself associates this name with his transformation. Any precise

meaning of the motif of lameness in this connection has escaped scholars. There is no obvious element from the Egyptian – or indeed any – cult which would account for limping priests or initiates. Asinius' lameness may be seen as a loose and mischievously humorous variation of the motif of the lame ass (exploited for a comic reading by Harrison 2000, 248). Following Griffiths 1975 on *indiciū pedis* ("it seems doubtful whether lame or crippled persons were normally admitted to the priesthood of the Egyptian cults"), Winkler 1985, 218 speculates that Asinius' limp undermines his authority and contributes to the openness of the text. But the idea of incompatibility of physical handicaps with priesthood in Rome was challenged by Morgan 1974, and it is difficult to base anything on it here (see also Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 52 and Tilg 2014a, 112 n. 15). Finkelppearl 1990, 346, noting the positive associations of *clementer* (cf. e.g. 11,7,5 *clementi motu* and 11,29,3 *clemens imago* with comm. ad loc.), argues that Asinius' lameness favourably contrasts with that of Lucius' the ass and brings to mind that the ass-hide was ultimately 'a vehicle of enlightenment'. Merkelbach 2001, 299 with n. 1 compares Odysseus' lameness in the dream of the Egyptian priest Calasiris in Heliodorus 5,22,1 (οἶον ἐκ πληγῆς τινὸς μῆρὸν σκάζοντα παρέλκων, 'as if from a wound of some kind, he was lame in one leg') – a remarkable parallel in itself. The allusion in Heliodorus is to Odysseus' scar, resulting from a wound inflicted long ago by a boar (Hom. *Od.* 19,393). To Merkelbach this is also a hint at the myth of Adonis, who died of a boar-wound inflicted on his thigh. Similarly, he attempts to connect the limping gait of our priest with Osiris-Adonis (cf. Merkelbach 2001, 37-55 for this identification), but neither boar nor wound is alluded to in our passage, and Adonis did not limp. Cf. also below on *cunctabundo ... uestigio*. Not specifically related to our passage, Edwards 1997, 38 points out that limping was generally a convenient characteristic to identify people.

cunctabundo ... uestigio: considering that the lame driver encountered by Psyche in the Underworld (cf. above on *sinistri ... uestigio*) has sometimes been identified with the mythical Ocnus (from ὀκνεῖν, 'to hesitate', hence 'Hesitator'; cf. *GCA* 2004, 502 introd. note), it is noteworthy that the priest Asinius in our passage walks 'with a hesitant step'. On the theme of hesitation in Book 11 see also Introduction, 4.1.1 with n. 83.

11,27,6 *Sublata est ergo post tam manifestam deum uoluntatem ambiguitatis tota caligo, et ilico deae matutinis perfectis salutationibus summo studio percontabar singulos, equi uestigium similis ut somnium.* All the darkness of uncertainty was lifted, therefore, after this clear manifestation of the gods' will, and immediately after the morning salutations to the goddess were finished I began to enquire of each and everyone with the utmost eagerness whether there was anyone similar in gait to my dream image.

tam manifestam deum uoluntatem: in a linear reading it does not at all seem to be clear what Lucius' vision means. His confidence may be due to an ironic play with authorial knowledge or to (perhaps comic, cf. e.g. Harrison 2000, 246) autosuggestive religious tendencies. Cf. above 11,27,5 *scilicet* with comm. ad loc.

deum: for the plural cf. 11,29,1 *deum* with comm. ad loc.

caligo: on Apuleius' use of the polyvalent term *caligo* cf. comm. on 11,7,5 *nubilosa caligine disiecta*; for the present figurative sense *ThLL* s.v. 160,55-161,21 ('de animi obscuritate et ignorantia').

matutinis ... salutationibus: the ritual is described in detail in 11,20,3-5; cf. also 11,22,7. Each of these 'morning salutations' comes on the heels of a prophetic dream of Lucius.

ecqui ... somnium: Helm's (1955 [1907]) text, followed by all recent editors except Zimmerman 2012 (see below). It adheres closely to F (*et qui uestigium similis ut somnium*), with the single difference being Beroaldus' (1500) *ecqui* (cf. next lemma). There is a strange multiplication of unusual and difficult forms and phrases in this passage: a) the sole instance of the pronoun *ecqui* in *met.* (cf. below); b) *uestigium*, a poetic accusative of relation (cf. below); c) *similis* with comparing *ut*; generally rare (cf. Varro *ling.* 7,17; Lucr. 2,272; Gell. 3,12,3) and not otherwise in Apuleius; d) metonymic use of *somnium* for a specific detail in Lucius' dream (cf. below); e) elliptic expression omitting the verb(s). Each of these phenomena could have been intended, but the whole phrasing remains curious even by Apuleian standards. Prior to Helm a number of conjectures have been put forward, of which the most successful was Stewechius' (1586) *eccui uestigium simile sit [ut somnium]*, athetizing *ut somnium* as a gloss. Sequence of tenses militates against *sit* – after the past tense *percontabar, esset* should be expected. Zimmerman 2012 has *ecqui uestigium similis esset*, perhaps rightly. Eyssenhardt 1869 postulates a *lacuna* after *somnium*. Further readings include: *eccui uestigium simile sit somnii* (approved by Lütjohann 1873, 475 n. 1) or *ecqui uestigium similis sit somnio* Hildebrand 1842; *ecqui uestigio simili sit somnio* Haupt 1874, 16; *ecqui uestigio similis sit [ut] somnio* Van der Vliet 1897.

ecqui: Beroaldus' (1500) conjecture for F's *et qui*; cf. e.g. Plaut. *Stich.* 366 *percontor portitores ecquae nauis uenerit*. There is no parallel for the pronoun *ecqui* (in any of its forms) in *met.*, but cf. *ecquid* in *apol.* 48,3 and 56,6.

uestigium: poetic accusative of relation, as in 11,10,4 *secundus uestitum quidem similis* (cf. comm. ad loc.). For *uestigium* in the meaning 'step' or 'gait' cf. *OLD* s.v. 4.

somnium: here the term stands metonymically for a detail seen in a dream (the priest's characteristic gait which Lucius saw in his dream). Cf. Gr. ἐνύπνιον, 'thing seen in sleep'.

11,27,7 *Nec fides afuit. Nam de pastophoris unum conspexi statim praeter indicium pedis cetero etiam statu atque habitu examussim nocturnae imagini congruentem, quem Asinium Marcellum uocitari cognoui postea, reformationis meae alienum nomen. And confirmation did not fail to appear: I instantly caught sight of one of the *pastophori* who, besides the evidence of this foot, in his build and dress too precisely matched my nocturnal vision. Later I found out that he was called Asinius Marcellus, a name quite inconsistent with my transformation!*

nam ... congruentem: the situation is similar to Lucius' identification of the priest Mithras in 11,12,1, following a prophetic dream.

de pastophoris unum: with the pronominal adjective *unus* Apuleius mostly uses partitive *de* + ablative instead of the partitive genitive (cf. Callebat 1968, 191-192; above 11,27,4 *quendam de sacratis*).

pastophoris: for this term, the class of initiates referred to, and their office cf. comm. on 11,17,2 *pastophorum*.

praeter ... congruentem: cf. the similar phrase in 11,20,7 (*praeter congruentiam*), where Lucius refers to the – exactly predicted – outcome of a dream concerning the arrival of gifts and a ‘slave’ named Candidus; Mithras’ surprise about the congruence of dream and reality in 11,13,1 *miratusque congruentiam*.

examussim: before Apuleius, this adverb occurs only in Plautus (cf. *GCA* 1977, 138 on 4,18,4 *examussim* and Pasetti 2007, 72 and 80-81). For the original image of precision behind *examussim*, used by Apuleius in contexts of examining or looking at a person (cf. 2,2,8 *sed et cetera corporis execrabiliter ad amussim congruentia*), see Keulen 2006.

Asinium Marcellum: this is the only instance of *nomen + cognomen* in *met.*, which gives the name the impression of historical authenticity. Beroaldus’ (1500) suggestion *Asinium* for F’s *Asinum* is universally agreed. Beroaldus emphasizes that, unlike Asinus, Asinius was a Roman name, borne by a number of prominent persons like the historian and orator C. Asinius Pollio (c. 76 B.C. – A.D. 5). Oudendorp 1786 ad loc. first pointed to a certain Q. Asinius Marcellus (*PIR*² A 1236; cf. *ibid.* 1235; P. von Rohden in *RE* II.2 [1896], 1588 no. 20; W. Eck in *RE* S XIV [1974], 62 no. 19a) as a potential historical identification. Coarelli 1989, 40-42 argues that this Q. Asinius Marcellus, who came from a powerful consular family, was Apuleius’ real-life patron when staying in Rome (or Ostia) in the late 140’s A.D. (see further comm. on 11,22,3 *Mithram*). L. Herrmann (1972, 593-594) – who believes that *met.* is not written by Apuleius, but was rewritten in Latin by Loukios of Patras – proposes that our Asinius should be identified with M. Asinius Marcellus, consul A.D. 104 (*PIR*² A 1233). Historical identifications apart, also religious and comic readings have been put forward. Marangoni 1974-1975 thinks that both components of the name Asinius Marcellus allude to the Egyptian god Seth, represented as ass (cf. comm. on 11,6,2 *pessimae ... exue*) and perhaps sometimes identified with Mars (with ‘Marcellus’ going back to ‘Mars’, cf. Marangoni 1974-1975, 336 with n. 13). The name would hint at the nature of the second initiation, in which the priest would take the role of Seth and symbolically slay the initiate identified with Osiris. Ahl 1985, 151-152 suggests a comic reading of Asinius’ name, containing a “subversive implication that Lucius could now be making an ass of himself in a rather different way.”

postea: simple accounts for this delay would be a certain realism and narrative economy; since Lucius and Asinius already know each other from their dreams, they do not really need to exchange names – which would also be tedious to narrate. The significance of the name Asinius Marcellus in other regards would have prompted the narrator to slip it in this way. Marangoni 1974-1975, 334 and 336 suggests that the name is deliberately withheld by the priest until after the second initiation because it is an essential part of the secret ritual (cf. above on *Asinium Marcellum*).

reformationis ... nomen: a perplexing phrase at first sight; there is a sense that the name Asinius, clearly recalling Lucius’ past as an ass in one way or another, should not be ‘inconsistent with’ our hero. But a negative particle, as inserted by most edi-

tors (though not Zimmerman 2012), is not needed (cf. Hildebrand 1842 and Médan 1925a ad loc.; Marangoni 1974-1975; Martos 2003; see also Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 29-30, who suggests a different particle such as *iam*). Considering that Lucius is no longer an ass and that the last instance of *reformatio* in 11,13,6 referred to his re-transformation into a man (cf. below on *reformationis*), Lucius here seems surprised about the factual inconsistency of Asinius’ name with his present state. Hildebrand 1842 rightly notes that this does not preclude associations with the ass. An easy (but not the only possible) explanation for this ironic twist would be that the name Asinius Marcellus was not invented for Apuleius’ fiction but that it really belonged to a historical person whom Apuleius wished to include into his story (cf. above on *Asinium Marcellum*). Apuleius would have comically exploited the fact that the name of this person on the one hand recalled the ass and on the other hand did not quite fit in with the actual narrative situation. Marangoni 1974-1975, 336 thinks Asinius Marcellus’ name is ‘unrelated to’ Lucius’ transformation (into an ass) because it alludes to the ‘Sethian’ ritual of the second initiation (cf. above on *Asinium Marcellum*). Comic readings could argue that Lucius has misjudged the relevance of the name: although he *thinks* the ass is no longer relevant to him, he continues to be one precisely by undergoing the initiation led by Asinius Marcellus. Most editors old and new have adopted Beroaldus’ (1500) <non> *alienum* (cf. Augello 1977, 237). Robertson’s (1945) <minime> *alienum* (followed by Harrauer 1973 and Hanson 1989) provides an alliteration with *meae* and a potential account for the corruption: *minime*, abbreviated in the form *me* (with a dash over it), could easily have fallen out after *meae*. Plaza 2006, 81-82 suggests *reformationis meae* <in> *asinum nomen*.

reformationis meae ... alienum: according to Plaza 2006, 82 with n. 26 this is the only example in Apuleius’ oeuvre of *alienum* + genitive. This use is attested from Lucretius onwards and particularly frequent in later authors after Tertullian (cf. Callebat 1968, 187).

reformationis: a rare word, the four occurrences in *met.* constituting the bulk of our attestations; in 3,24,6 and 3,25,3 *reformatio* means the transformation into an ass; in 11,13,6 the re-transformation into a man. The meaning here depends entirely on our reading of the context and especially on how we respond to the question of the negative particle before *alienum* (cf. above on *reformationis ... nomen*). Editors who insert such a particle naturally read *reformatio* as ‘transformation into an ass’; those who follow the manuscript text understand ‘re-transformation’ or ‘transformation into a man’.

11,27,8 *Nec moratus conueni protinus eum, sane nec ipsum futuri sermonis ignarum, quippe iam dudum consimili praecepto sacrorum ministrandorum commonefactum. Without delay I went right up to him, and indeed he was not unaware of our following conversation, for he had been advised some time ago by an entirely similar order to administer the rites.*

nec moratus: for the frequency of this phrase in *met.* cf. *GCA* 1995, 78 on *Nec moratus*; also see comm. on 11,7,1 *Nec mora cum*.

conueni protinus eum: for the unhesitating approach cf. 11,22,4 *protinus ad repticulum sacerdotis contendo*.

sane ... ignarum: similarly, Mithras anticipates Lucius' speech in 11,22,5 (*At ille statim ut me conspexit, prior 'O' inquit 'Luci, te felicem ...'*).

sermonis: most translators take this as Lucius' speech rather than the conversation between Lucius and Asinius. This is an option, but contrary to the similar situation in 11,22,5 it is not clear just what Lucius would be going to say.

quippe ... commonefactum: cf. the parallel dreams of Lucius and Mithras referred to in 11,6,3; also Mithras' knowledge of Lucius' dream in 11,22,5 seems to imply a parallel vision.

iam dudum: on the somewhat ambiguous meaning of *iam dudum* in *met.* (recent/distant past) cf. comm. on 11,6,2 *iam dudum*.

11,27,9 Nam sibi uisus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat [et], de eius ore, quo singulorum fata dictat, audisse mitti sibi Madaurensis sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sua sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari prouidentia. The previous night he dreamed, while he was fashioning garlands for the great god, that he heard from the god's mouth, with which he dictates each person's fate, that a man from Madauros was being sent to him, one who was quite poor, and that he should at once administer his rites to him. For that man fame from his intellectual pursuits and for himself a great profit would be attained by the god's providence.

magno deo: cf. above on 11,27,2 *magni ... parentis*. The action of fashioning garlands suggests a statue.

coronas: the plural implies garlands rather than real crowns; cf. the *corona ... palmae*, worn by Lucius in 11,24,4 during his second initiation, which makes him an image of the Sun (cf. comm. ad loc.). In 11,3,4 and 11,4,1 Isis is adorned with *coronae* made of flowers (cf. comm. ad loc. for the widespread use of garlands in the Egyptian cult). The garland of roses, carried by the priest Mithras and providing Lucius with the 'antidote' to his ass-shape, seems to have served a cultic purpose too and can be connected with the Osirian 'crown of justification' (or 'victory'; cf. comm. on 11,6,1 *roseam ... coronam*).

exaptat [et]: in F an antecedent of *eius* is missing; the easiest way to emend the passage is the athetesis of *et*, proposed by Lütjohann 1873, 495 n. 1, who shows that *et* is often placed erroneously in the text of F. The construction is *sibi uisus est ... audisse*, 'he dreamed to have heard' or simply '... to hear'. Lütjohann is followed e.g. by Van der Vliet 1897, Robertson 1910, 223 (tentatively), Giarratano 1929, Terzaghi 1954, Frassinetti 1960, Augello 1977, 237-238, and Zimmerman 2012. Lütjohann's alternative suggestion *exaptaret* is adopted by Médan 1925a, Fredouille 1975, and Hanson 1989. A *lacuna* after *exaptat* is postulated by Helm 1955 (1907), Robertson 1945, and Griffiths 1975. Older editors until and including Eyssenhardt 1869 did not feel a need to change the text of F here. From the recent ones only Martos 2003 adopts it. In principle, *et* could make sense as emphatic 'even' going with *de eius ore* to stress the special privilege of receiving a message from Osiris himself. It seems still odd to read this *after* Osiris has already been introduced as *magnus deus*.

exaptat: 'to place on', a hapax legomenon, probably under the influence of Greek ἐξάπτειν (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *exapto*).

singulorum fata: the conjecture *fata* for F's *facta* is by Beroaldus (1500); cf. Min. Fel. 36,2 *singulorum ... fata determinat* [sc. deus]. For Sarapis as master over personal fate cf. e.g. Merkelbach 2001, 83-84. For Isis' similar power e.g. 11,6,7 *scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia uitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere* with comm. ad loc.; 11,25,2 *salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua Fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia*.

sibi ... sua ... sua: grammatically, the antecedent of these reflexive pronouns could be both Osiris and Asinius Marcellus. Context suggests referring *sibi* to Asinius and *sua ... sua* to Osiris. Harrison 2000, 231 takes the somewhat confusing ambivalence of these pronouns as a cue to a reading of our prophecy, in which identities are deliberately destabilized and confused (cf. below on *Madaurensis* 3e).

Madaurensis: Lucius is referred to as 'man from Madauros' (Apuleius' home town), although in the fiction of *met.* he is known to come from Corinth (cf. comm. on 11,26,1 *patrium larem*). The identities of author and narrator are blurred, and the interpretation of this fact constitutes a crucial part in any reading of *met.* The three basic options are clearly outlined in Van der Paardt 1981 (here partly supplied with additional material and arguments):

1) Apuleius made a mistake (cf. e.g. Oudendorp 1786 ad loc.: 'Turpiter vero hic sui oblitus est Appulejus'). Very few scholars have seriously considered this option, cf. apart from Oudendorp e.g. Médan 1925a ad loc. and Scobie 1969, 80-82. There are no parallels in classical literature for a slip of this dimension.

2) The text is corrupt. Various conjectures have been made: *mane Doriensem* (with 'Doric' alluding to Lucius' Corinthian origin; Goldbacher 1872, 414-417); *mandare se <religiosum>* (Robertson 1910); *<Isidi> me adentem* (Beyte 1925, 750-751); *<a deo fo>rensem* (Herrmann 1972, 589); *Corinthiensem* (Fredouille 1975, 15-20). But in terms of script and transmission, F's *Madaurensis* gives no reason to doubt the text. It should also be kept in mind that the reading of a historical name in our passage is supported by its historical or pseudohistorical counterpart 'Asinius Marcellus' (cf. comm. on 11,27,7 *Asinium Marcellum* and introduction to this chapter [3. History and autobiography]).

3) The blurring of author and narrator is intentional. This view is taken by the overwhelming majority of Apuleian scholars of all periods, but the nature of Apuleius' intention remains a matter of dispute. The following list attempts to categorize the most significant approaches (which, however, should – and sometimes even must – not be seen as mutually exclusive).

a) The autobiographical approach: Apuleius implies that the experiences of Lucius are in fact his own. This is easily the most successful reading of our passage in the history of scholarship. Biographical readings of the whole of *met.*, based on a wide-ranging identification of Lucius with Apuleius, were standard from Augustine (*civ.* 18,18) until well into the 19th century (cf. e.g. Krautter 1971, 56-60). Our passage provided a strong signal in favour of this reading (cf. e.g. Beroaldus' matter-of-fact identification of Lucius and Apuleius in his comm. ad loc.). After the comprehensive biographical reading of *met.* largely disappeared in the 20th century (but cf. e.g. Cocchia 1915; Hicter 1944), our passage has played a crucial role in arguments for *partly*

autobiographical readings, particularly of *met.* 11 and its Roman ending (cf. e.g. Hildebrand xix; Rohde 1885, 77-78; Wittmann 1938, 122-123; Veyne 1965; Griffiths 1975, 5; Tatum 1982, 1112-1113; Coarelli 1989, 40; Finkelpearl 2004, 333-335; Alpers 2006, 12).

b) The generic approach: Apuleius complies with a topos of *seeming*, fictionalized, autobiography, seen in various literary genres. A number of scholars have compared Apuleius' blurring of author and character with similar procedures in other genres: Kerényi ²1927, 161 argues that Apuleius' "falsche Aufhebung der Pseudonymität" ('falsch' because Apuleius presumably did not really have Lucius' experiences) is paralleled in other religious narratives and points to Rufinus' fictionalized life in his late-antique *History of the Egyptian Monks*. Chronologically more relevant is Kerényi's additional comparison with Vergil's *Eclogues* (cf. similarly Innes 2001, 112 n. 3). A brief reference to Theocritus' *Idylls* in this context is made by Gibson 2001, 75. Graverini 2005, 231-232 draws attention to the partial parallel in the *Onos*, where Loukios reveals his name only in ch. 55, near the end of the story (cf. Graverini 2007, 210-211 [= 2012, 186-187]; Introduction, 6.1 with nn. 200-201). Werner 1918, especially 249-251, suspects a similar narrative device in the original Greek ass story and suggests that it was part of a conventional authentication strategy of both profane and religious wonder tales in first-person narrative. Cf. also Iamblichus' autobiographical digression in his *Babyloniaca* (Phot. *bibl.* 94, 75b27-41; Stephens and Winkler 1995, 180-182). Still, as Scobie 1969, 82 remarks for some of these potential models, none of them is closely comparable to our passage because they either do not explicitly state the name of the author or the author is not identified with the protagonist of the fictitious story (unless we think that so-called 'Loukios of Patras' was both the real author and the fictitious protagonist of the original Greek ass story, and that he revealed his identity in a manner similar to *Onos* 55).

c) The metaliterary approach: Apuleius draws attention to his authorship of *met.* and his purpose in writing it. This approach has been anticipated by Van der Paardt 1981 as part of his own solution to the puzzle: Apuleius appears behind his character because the context of Osiris' prophecy seems to refer to an authorial agenda. When the 'man from Madauros' is promised *gloria studiorum*, this alludes to the hoped-for literary success of Apuleius rather than his protagonist Lucius. This self-reference is in line with similar instances of authorial prophecies in *met.* (cf. 2,12,5 *nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredulam fabulam et libros me futurum* with GCA 2001, 212-217 ad loc.; 4,32,6 *propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit* [sc. Apollo] with GCA 2004, 84-85 ad loc.). Smith 1972, 530-534 suggests that while Apuleius' self-reference in 2,12,5 is comic and self-effacing, he here seriously claims the literary glory bestowed on him by Osiris (cf. Smith in AAGA 3, 217-219 for the idea that *Madaurenses* confirms the move from a comic to a religious narrative). For *Madaurenses* as a metaliterary 'sphragis' to *met.* cf. furthermore Finkelpearl 1998, 216 and see Introduction, 3.2 with n. 66.

d) The postmodern approach: Apuleius draws attention to questions of interpretation. In line with his general reading of *met.* as an 'open' text, which raises questions of reading and misreading rather than answering them, Winkler 1985, 219 sees the point in our passage precisely in posing an interpretative riddle not meant to be solved. Penwill 1990, 15 argues that *Madaurenses* first and foremost hints at Asin-

ius' misreading of Osiris' prophecy (cf. similarly Harrison 2000, 230-231). Asinius mistakenly identifies hero and author, and the reader is warned not to make the same mistake.

e) The comic-sophistic approach: Apuleius plays ironically with the expectations of a sophisticated audience. Harrison 2000, 228-231 picks up on Penwill's argument and ties it into his own comic reading of *met.*: Lucius readily believes Asinius' misreading because he is a gullible religious maniac and obsessed with literary glory (seemingly promised to him). The play with narrative voice (cf. Harrison in AAGA 3, 83-85), increased by the confusing multitude of partly ambiguous personal pronouns in our passage, is seen as variant of a typically sophistic concern with the authority of the speaker (cf. the formulae of authentication in Dio Chrys. 7,1 and Lucian. *ver. hist.* 1,4). As with b) however, none of the examples given are easily comparable with our passage. Nicolini 2005, 11-17 argues that *Madaurenses* should be seen as a fairly 'normal' instance of playful self-referentiality in *met.*, which defies any serious ideological reading.

f) The cultural approach: Apuleius alludes to certain cultural conditions or conflicts. This approach focuses on the African implications of *Madaurenses* and can be divided into a religious and a political strain. According to Walsh 1968b, 153-154 (cf. Walsh 1970, 185-189) *Madaurenses* evokes the tense religious situation in contemporary Africa, transformed through the advance of Christianity, as well as Apuleius' pagan stance on the issue. Finkelpearl 1998, 216-217 (cf. Finkelpearl 2007, 271 and 273) and Graverini 2007, 211-212 [= 2012, 187-188] suggest that our passage negotiates issues of provinciality and centrality in the Roman empire, with Apuleius in one way or another giving a voice to the African province.

sed admodum pauperem: a strong adversative sense of *sed* does not seem appropriate in the context of our sentence – this would imply that Madaurans are normally rich, an idea unknown otherwise. The conjunction *sed* has therefore provided an additional reason for critics since Dee 1891 to suspect the preceding *Madaurenses* (cf. above). Van der Paardt 1981, 102, however, points out that *sed* in *met.* is often used in a copulative-cum-explicative sense (cf. e.g. 4,31,1 *uindictam tuae parenti sed plenam tribue*; generally Callebat 1968, 91 and LHSz 2,487). Griffiths' (1975) translation 'one who was quite poor' brings out this nuance. While the 'man from Madauros' implies both Apuleius and Lucius (cf. above on *Madaurenses*), his poverty seems to match Lucius' pennilessness in Rome rather than what we know about Apuleius' life (cf. 11,28,1 *sumptuum tenuitate* and *uiriculas patrimonii* with comm. ad loc.; furthermore 11,28,2 *duritia paupertatis*). Rohde's (1885, 78-79) worry that Lucius at the beginning of *met.* is characterized as the offspring of a noble and influential family (cf. e.g. 1,23,3 *generosa stirpe proditum*; 3,11,1 *neque tuae dignitatis uel etiam prosapiae tuorum ignari sumus, Luci domine. Nam et prouinciam totam inclitae uestrae familiae nobilitas complectitur*) seems little relevant here at the end of *met.*, not to speak of the fact that Lucius' family is never said to be rich. Even so, autobiographical connotations are not excluded: we know nothing about Apuleius' financial situation during his stay at Rome; later, the prosecutors in his trial for magic argued that he married his wife Pudentilla only because of her fortune and they specifically attacked him for his alleged poverty in *apol.* 18,1 (*Idem mihi etiam paupertatem obprobrait*); cf. comm. on 11,28,1 *uiriculas patrimonii*. Tilg 2014a,

124-131 argues that the stress on poverty plays up Apuleius' humble origins from a provincial region (Madauros) and that this motif is ultimately indebted to Augustan 'sphragides' (cf. e.g. Hor. *carm.* 3,30,10-12); see also Keulen 2013, 201-203. Generally on the question of Apuleius' poverty cf. Stok 1985 (with remarks on *met.* 11,27,9 on pp. 366-367 and 369-370). Graverini 2007, 211 [= 2012, 187] thinks that *sed* (in full adversative force) *admodum pauperem* plays with Apuleius' presumed wealth at the time of writing *met.*, i.e. probably after his marriage with Pudentilla. Another way to make sense of a full adversative force of *sed* would be to refer it not precisely to *Madaurenses* but to the larger context which implies that initiations were expensive (see introduction to Ch. XXVIII [1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation]). Lucius' poverty is no minor issue here but central to the question of whether he can be initiated.

et ... gloriam ... et ... compendium: the equal distribution of rewards is mirrored in the equal number of syllables (8) used for each clause.

studiorum gloriam: the fact that the glory talked about here refers to the 'man from Madauros' suggests an authorial claim, acknowledged by most scholars. Cf. the focus on *studia* in the similarly exposed passages at the beginning (1,1,4 Lucius as *aduena studiorum Quiritium*) and the ending (11,30,4 *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*) of *met.* For the idea of literary glory also see Diophanes' prophecy in 2,12,5 (cf. above on *Madaurenses*) and Charite's promise of *dignitas gloriosa* in 6,29,1. Graverini 2005, especially 231-242 on these and similar passages, argues that Apuleius' fame was in fact at least partly based on his prose fiction. Harrison 2000, 231 contends that the promise of literary glory in our passage should characterize Lucius' sophistic ambitions, which are ironically undermined by making him the subject, not the author, of a comic novel. A literary claim is also made in *Onos* 55, where Loukios introduces himself as a writer of history (ἱστοριῶν ... συγγραφεύς), and his brother Gaius as an elegiac poet (ποιητῆς ἐλεγείων; for the potential model of the *Onos* in our passage cf. above on *Madaurenses* 3b); see Introduction, 6.1. In the autobiographical scenario painted by Coarelli 1989, 40-41, *studiorum gloria* would refer to Apuleius' literary success in Rome thanks to the patronage of Asinius Marcellus (cf. above on *Asinium Marcellum*).

ipsi: used for Asinius Marcellus instead of *sibi* (cf. above *mitti sibi*) to emphasize the contrast with the preceding *illi*.

grande compendium: cf. 2,28,1, where the necromantic services of the Egyptian priest Zatchlas are contracted *grandi praemio*. The ambivalence of the mercenary interest noted in *GCA* 2001, 369 ad loc. *might* apply to our passage too, but Asinius' 'great profit' could also be the adequate reward for a high-profile mission. It is not completely clear that Asinius here is promised a *financial* profit (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *compendium* 2038,4-5: 'non solum de pecunia et possessionibus, sed etiam de mentis, aliarum rerum commodis'). This is the usual but not exclusive sense in *met.* (cf. the exception in 10,5,3 <in> *uindictae compendium*). Asinius could be rewarded, for instance, with a gain in reputation for carrying out such a significant order. Given that the closely related phrase *studiorum gloriam* seems to imply the literary glory earned through *met.* (cf. comm. ad loc. above) *grande compendium* might equally be read in a metaliterary fashion: Harrison 2000, 231 suggests that Asinius' 'great reward' lies in appearing as a character in *met.* If Asinius is in actual fact a historical person (cf.

comm. on 11,27,7 *Asinium Marcellum*), he might be rewarded with the immortalization of his name in Apuleius' work, or simply with an increase in reputation because of his literary patronage. More specifically, Coarelli 1989, 42 speculates about profitable trading activities with Africa, which Q. Asinius Marcellus (who was a producer of bricks) might have established with Apuleius' help.

providentia: for the general significance of *providentia* in Book 11, which is especially mentioned there in connection with Isis, cf. comm. on 11,1,2 *ipsius regi providentia*. Here, *providentia* is an attribute of Osiris (cf. Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 51, *Mor.* 371E and see Graverini in *AAGA* 3, 97 n. 33). See also comm. on 11,30,2 *providentia*.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Money is spent on the initiation into the cult of Osiris and money is earned in the Roman Forum.

The costs of Lucius' second initiation, the initiation itself and Lucius' rhetorical activities after the initiation are the main issues of this chapter.

1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation

There does not seem to be any source independent of *met.* for the actual costs of initiations in Apuleius' time (cf. e.g. Nock 1933, 56-57 extrapolating his information from *met.*). The rich offerings by devotees to Isis, referred to by Fredouille 1975, 12 (*RICIS* 503/0301 and 603/0101), do not say anything about initiates. Considering that initiations were a feature of elite culture, however, they were likely to be expensive (see e.g. Harrison 2000, 245; for the expenditures cf. also 11,18,3; 11,21,4; 11,22,3; 11,23,1). In any case Lucius struggles to meet the expenses; he is even scolded in a divine address to him for not doing enough to raise money. The speaker of this address is not identified in the text. The second initiation is into the cult of Osiris, but in 11,30,3 it is said that only then did Osiris himself appear to Lucius. There is no evidence to settle the question and it does not seem to have bothered Apuleius very much – he might have thought of any higher power close to Isis and Osiris (or indeed of one or both of these gods themselves); cf. 11,28,2 *numinis* and 11,29,1 *deum* with comm. ad loc.; also the similar issue surrounding the identity of the *clemens imago* in 11,29,3. The reproach directed to Lucius is curiously harsh, taking into account that he has not done anything obviously wrong and is worried himself about the delay of the initiation. Perhaps the somewhat moody tone is meant to emphasize the difficult and demanding nature of the second initiation. A parallel, though on a much larger scale, could be seen in the often seemingly absurd demands which Asclepius imposes on Aelius Aristides in the latter's *Sacred Tales* (for Apuleius as a reader of Aristides cf. Harrison 2000-2001). Lucius is put to the test. A more psychological account of the impoliteness of our address is put forward by Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 84: Osiris deliberately aggravates Lucius' dire straits in a drastic speech in order to remedy completely the latter's attachment to material belongings (Lucius' later material success would have to be judged differently, as it is due to the favour of Isis and Osiris).

2. The second initiation

The second initiation itself is related very briefly, which may have one or several of the following reasons: a) the extensive description of the first initiation (cf. 11,23,5-25,7) has satisfied the interest in cultic details (even though some information was teasingly withheld for religious reasons, cf. 11,23,5); b) Apuleius sets another, more rapid narrative agenda at the end of *met.* (see introduction to Ch. XXVI [A new nar-

rative mode] and comm. on 11,27,3 *discrimen ... maximum*); c) the abstract nature of Osiris did not lend itself to a detailed description of his rites (see introduction to Ch. XXX [1. Where is the third initiation?]). Apuleius' narrative haste seems reflected in the participial clauses of this section, which summarize, as it were, the preparations and the initiation itself, with the latter packed into a five word clause (*principalis ... inlustratus*). No indication of the place of the second initiation is given, but since Lucius' religious activity in Rome is centered on the Iseum Campense (cf. 11,26,3) and no other sanctuary is mentioned, the Iseum is the obvious guess. It housed a temple of both Isis and Sarapis (cf. e.g. Lembke 1994, 23 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 176-177).

3. Lucius' rhetorical activities

After the initiation and thanks to it Lucius rather abruptly develops rhetorical activities in Rome. There is almost universal agreement that he becomes a lawyer (or rhetor, cf. Helm 1910, xi-xv), but this is never clearly stated (Sinko 1912, 145-146 thinks of a philosophical sophist teaching Platonism in the Roman forum). Although Lucius has given some practical evidence of his rhetorical skills (cf. his – however, amusingly inappropriate and unsuccessful – defence at the mock trial for killing the wine skins in 3,4-7) his career as an orator remains extremely sketchy. There does not seem to be an intrinsically religious motive for taking up a rhetorical profession, and nothing is known about orators or rhetors in the cult of the Egyptian divinities. Perhaps Apuleius here brought a certain autobiographical note to the story and modelled Lucius' rhetorical career on his own career as a successful speaker. Such an intrusion of the author would not be surprising after the 'sphragis' of *Madaurensis* in 11,27,9. Even so, it remains to be asked if Apuleius just slipped in an autobiographical element for the sake of it or if he had a larger, literary, agenda (see introduction to Ch. XXVII [3. History and autobiography] and comm. on 11,27,9 *Madaurensis*).

4. The ending of the manuscript

An important textual characteristic emerging in our chapter should be noted: from about 11,28,5 onwards (cf. e.g. Robertson's [1945] apparatus and Pecere 1987, 107), the scribe of F begins to write in a smaller handwriting and to use more abbreviations than he previously did, probably to get the rest of the book on to one page (fol. 183v of F). This may account for some textual problems in the last chapters (cf. e.g. below on *deraso capite*; 11,30,1 *largitionibus*) and also bear on the issue of the ending of Book 11 (see introduction to Ch. XXX [3. Is our ending complete?]).

11,28,1 Ad istum modum desponsus sacris, sumptuum tenuitate contra uotum meum retardabar. Nam et uiriculas patrimonii peregrinationis adtruerant impensae, et erogationes urbanae pristinis illis prouincialibus antistabant plurimum. Though thus pledged to initiation, I was delayed against my wishes by the slenderness of my resources. The costs of travel had chipped away at the small means of my patrimony, and the expenses of living in the city were much greater than those earlier ones in the provinces.

ad istum modum: for this characteristically Apuleian phrase cf. comm. on 11,3,1.

desponsus sacris: Osiris' prophecy at the end of Ch. XXVII has 'engaged' Lucius to the former's cult, cf. 11,16,4 *ut renatus ... sacrorum obsequio desponderetur* and *ThLL* s.v. *despondeo* 750,60-64 ('i.q. dedere'). Harrauer 1973 and Griffiths 1975 think of a metaphor of betrothal, with the initiate becoming the 'spouse' of the deity. Cf. for *despondere* in the sense of 'promise (a woman) in marriage' e.g. *met.* 4,32,3 *procis regibus desponsae*, said of Psyche's sisters. The idea of marriage between Man and God is widespread in both pagan and Christian culture. Almost always Man takes the role of the female spouse, cf. Schmid 1954. If indeed Apuleius alluded to this concept here this might be thought to support readings of *met.* 11 as a variation of the happy ending of the ideal novels (cf. e.g. Schlam 1992, 21; Lateiner 2000, 326-327; McNamara 2003, 108-109 and 122-127): there we see marriage or reunion of the lovers, here a spiritual 'marriage' of Lucius with Osiris (or Isis in 16,4). However, there is no evidence for spiritual marriage in the Egyptian cult, and the relevance of the concept in mystery cults in general is questionable (cf. Schmid 1954, 537-538). More importantly, in our passage as well as in 11,16,4 Apuleius is not referring to Osiris and Isis themselves but to their rites (*sacra*) – not a good partner for marriage it seems. Therefore, *desponsus* in *met.* 11 is unlikely to imply an idea of mystic marriage. Cf. also the scepticism of A. Kehl in his review of Griffiths' commentary (*JbAC* 21, 1978, 178-182, at 181).

sumptuum: the word *sumptus* occurs in *met.* only in Book 11 (cf. 11,18,3; 11,21,4; 11,22,3; 11,30,2) and always refers to the costs of Lucius' living as a devotee of Isis and Osiris. In all other occurrences in *met.* 11 *sumptus* means 'expenses'. Here it is the 'resources allowed to a person to meet his costs' (*OLD* s.v. 3a), a meaning well attested from Terence onwards. On the question of Lucius' poverty at the end of *met.* 11 cf. 11,27,9 *sed admodum pauperem* with comm. ad loc.; below on *uiriculas patrimonii*.

tenuitate: *tenuitas* in the sense of 'scarcity', 'shortage', is rare; *OLD* s.v. 4 gives only one other instance apart from our passage (*Cic. div.* 2,30).

retardabar: cf. the parallel in situation and phrasing in 11,19,3: *religiosa formidine retardabar*. In both cases Lucius is about to undergo an initiation, but while in 11,19 he is delayed by his own worries, the delay here is due to the external obstacle of money.

uiriculas patrimonii: the diminutive form of *uis* is not attested before Apuleius; in later antiquity it occurs only in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (3,133 and 4,411). Cf. the similar phrase, without diminutive, in *met.* 4,13,7 *patrimonii uiribus*. In both passages *uis* means 'financial resources' (*OLD* s.v. 26b). In our case the diminutive places emphasis on the scarcity of means, a linguistic device continued further below (11,28,3 and 11,28,6) in the forms *paruula*, *summula*, and *quaesticulum*. Clearly this emphasis is ironic in part: at least *summula* and *quaesticulum* seem to imply a rather large sum of money (cf. comm. ad loc.). Rohde 1885, 78-79 argues that the information given here and in the subsequent reference to travelling abroad has an autobiographical character: we have not heard of an inheritance of Lucius' so far, but in the *Apology* Apuleius refers to his patrimony and confesses to have 'somewhat diminished' it during his long travels (*apol.* 23,1-2 *relictum a patre HS XX paulo secus, idque a me*

longa peregrinatione ... modice imminutum). According to Rohde, Lucius' comparatively greater pennilessness in *met.* 11 may have been intended to place emphasis on his sacrifices for the Egyptian gods. Cf. also Morelli 1913-1914, 100-102, who regards our passage (and the following ending of *met.*) as a fictional counterpart to Apuleius' trial for magic: there the prosecutors argued that Apuleius married his wife Pudentilla only because of her fortune and attacked his alleged poverty (*apol.* 18,1 *Idem mihi etiam paupertatem obprobrait*). Just as Apuleius there pointed out his considerable fortune, Lucius here will insist on the fortune he made in the Roman forum (cf. below 11,28,6 *quaesticulo forensi* with comm. ad loc.). For the question of Lucius' poverty also see comm. on 11,27,9 *sed admodum pauperem*.

peregrinationis ... impensae: this phrase could summarily refer to all the expenses incurred by the human Lucius during his travels away from his Corinthian home (the periods before his transformation into an ass and after his re-transformation in Cenchreae). Fredouille 1975 ad loc. has in mind a specific reference to Lucius' voyage from Corinth to Rome in *met.* 11,26,1-2. Although we do not have evidence for the actual costs of such a voyage, it seems unlikely that it could have consumed a *patrimonium*; also, the slow chipping away inherent in *atterere* suggests something more extended than a one-way journey from Corinth to Rome. A third option is that *peregrinatio* here does not primarily refer to Lucius' travels but to his Roman stay abroad (cf. comm. on 11,28,6 *peregrinationi meae*). The phrase *peregrinationis ... impensae* would then be more or less synonymous with *erogationes urticae* (for similar pleonastic expressions in *met.* cf. e.g. Bernhard 1927, 164-170). The instances of *peregrinatio* in 11,28 could be read as suggestive of Lucius' 'Odyssey' (cf. 2,14,1 *Vlixeam peregrinationem*) and, with that, of his novelistic rewriting of epic models (cf. also on 11,30,4 *laboriosa doctrina*). Merkelbach 2001, 299 n. 8 draws attention to the religious meaning of *peregrinatio* ('foreign travel/stay abroad') in later Christian authors, who speak, e.g. of the *peregrinatio* of monks leaving their home, and generally of persons in this foreign world as opposed to *that* home beyond (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *peregrinatio* 1302,45-57; *ibid.* 1303,13-61). Such a religious connotation of *peregrinatio* in our passage is not impossible, considering on the one hand that the concept of life as *peregrinatio* occurs before Apuleius (cf. *Sen. rem. fort.* 2,2 *peregrinatio est uita; cum multum ambulaueris, redeundum est*), on the other hand that *met.* 11 very much revolves around the idea of Lucius' finally finding a home after being buffeted by Fortune (cf. Mithras' speech in 11,15). But no religious stress is given to any instance of *peregrinatio* in *met.* or in the similar context of the *Apology* (cf. above on *uiriculas patrimonii*).

adtruerant: the metaphorical use of *attero* ('rub away') is widespread; cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1127,74-1128,33 (including e.g. the close parallels of *Curt.* 4,6,31 *atterebantur ... copiae* and *Suet. Aug.* 40,1 *attrito ... patrimonio*).

erogationes urticae: the costs of living were higher in Rome than in other parts of the empire (cf. e.g. Duncan-Jones 1974, 345-347). In a strict sense (and probably in its original meaning), *erogatio* refers to public expenses from the treasury (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 798,5-18); in a broader sense (*ibid.* 18-35) it is also used for private expenses, but mostly in formal, legal, contexts (e.g. *Scaev. dig.* 5,3,58 *erogationem in honorem filii ... fecit ex hereditate*). A certain 'official' ring seems intended here and is supported by the adjective *urticus* (for its formal use cf. e.g. *Suet. Aug.* 18,2 *annonae urticae*;

*CIL XI*² 5694 *impendis urbicis*), used in pointed contrast with *prouincialibus*. The phrase underscores the role of Rome as the administrative centre of the Empire and implies the solemn significance of living there. In addition, it may involve a hint that Lucius' lifestyle in Rome is somewhat extravagant (cf. 7,6,3 *urbicae luxuriae* with *GCA* 1981, 122 ad loc.). This would explain, among other things, how he can acquire a considerable sum of money by selling his wardrobe (cf. comm. on 11,28,3 *ueste*); Mart. 1,53,5 *urbica* ... *Tyrianthina*, our first attestation of the relatively rare adjective *urbicus*, refers to expensive clothing worn by smart city-dwellers. Cf. also comm. on 11,28,4 *uoluptati struendae*.

prouincialibus: for the political and/or geographical ideas behind this phrase cf. comm. on 11,29,5 *in prouincia*.

antistabant: here with the nuance of 'being greater' (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *antisto* 187,6-9), otherwise found only in Iulian. *Aug. c. Iulian. op. imperf.* 2,129 *quod eam* (sc. *gratiam Christi*) *affirmauit antestare delictis*.

plurimum: Van der Vliet (1897) was the first to put the full stop after *plurimum*, with *v* punctuating after *antistabant* and taking *plurimum* as start of the following sentence. The resulting separation of adverb and verb (*plurimum* ... *cruciabar*) seems impossibly harsh.

11,28,2 Ergo duritia paupertatis intercedente, quod ait uetus prouerbius, inter sacrum et saxum positus cruciabar; nec setius tamen identidem numinis premebar instantia. So the harshness of my poverty intervened and I was tortured 'between the altar and the flint,' as the old proverb has it. Nonetheless I was pressed again and again by the persistence of the deity.

duritia paupertatis: for *duritia* as material hardship cf. e.g. Tac. *ann.* 1,35,1 *duritiam operum* ... *incusant (milites)*; ibid. 13,35,4 *duritia caeli militiaeque multi abnuebant*; *ThLL* s.v. *duritia* 2292,21-33 ('de rerum iniquitate') with these passages as the earliest examples.

prouerbius, inter sacrum et saxum: F has *sacrumetosaxum*, corrected to *sacrum et saxum* by a second hand. This reading is adopted e.g. by Helm 1955 (1907), Giarratano 1929, Martos 2003, and Zimmerman 2012. Walter 1928, 317 suggests keeping *o* as an interjection, but transposing it after *sacrum* for euphony (*inter sacrum <o!> et saxum*). Robertson's (1945) conjecture *sacrum ego et saxum* is adopted by Griffiths 1975 and Hanson 1989. However, it is difficult to see how *ego et* would have been corrupted to *eto*. Only here and in 2,7,1 (*quod aiunt, pedibus in sententiam meam uado*) is a proverbial phrase explicitly labelled as such. This recalls the fact that Apuleius wrote a (lost) work *On Proverbs (De Proverbiis)*, attested by the grammarian Charisius (p. 314,4 Barwick-Kühnert; cf. Harrison 2000, 20-21). The present phrase may have been part of this collection. The literary authority of the proverb (cf. Otto 1890, 305 no. 1564) derives from Plaut. *Capt.* 617 *nunc ego inter sacrum saxumque sto, nec quid faciam scio* (cf. similarly *Cas.* 970). Livy 1,24,9 accounts for it by reporting a sacrificial tradition of concluding contracts: the priest entrusted with making the deal smashed the head of a pig, resting on the altar, with a flint-stone; hence: 'between the altar and the flint', and metaphorically: 'in a quandary'. Apuleius is clearly playing with religious language here (cf. Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 37-38 for his etymology).

gizing re-reading of the proverb); with Hildebrand 1842 ad loc. one could even argue that *sacrum* alludes to Lucius' second initiation and *saxum* to the 'hardness' of his *duritia paupertatis* (cf. comm. above). Schober 1904, 13 observes a hexameter ending in (*in*)*ter sacrum et saxum positus cruciabar*. If this text is right, the metre may contribute to the ceremoniousness of the *uetus prouerbius*. For the use of verse in ancient proverbs see conveniently Harrison 2000, 20 n. 83.

cruciabar ... *premebar*: there is a clear increase of terms of suffering, distress and torment towards the end of *met.* 11 (11,28,3 *non sine magna turbatione*; 11,29,1 *nec leui cura sollicitus, sed oppido suspensus animi*), culminating in the striking image of the waves of emotion describing Lucius' being tossed on the tide of his vehement doubts (11,29,3 *cogitationis aestu fluctuantem ad instar insaniae percitum*). This image, as pointed out in comm. on 11,29,3 *cogitationis aestu fluctuantem*, marks a juncture in the narrative, where the nocturnal epiphany of a *clemens imago* leads up to the joy felt by Lucius at the happy ending of the novel (11,30,5). Earlier, Lucius' feelings of torment were associated with his impatient waiting to be initiated (cf. 11,22,2 *nec me ... longi temporis prolatione cruciauit deae potentis benignitas salutaris*).

setius: on Apuleius' different use of *setius* and *sequius* cf. above on 11,6,4 *sequius interpretatus* and *GCA* 2000, 87 on 10,3,3 *sequius*: while *setius* always means *minus*, *sequius* is 'otherwise than expected' or 'badly'. Specifically on *nec setius* (as in our passage) cf. *GCA* 1995, 286 on 9,34,1 *nec eo setius*.

numinis: on the unclear identity of this *numen* see introduction to this chapter (1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius' second initiation). Cf. 11,29,3 *clemens imago*.

instantia: after isolated attestations in Nigidius, Cicero, Pliny the Younger (twice) and Gellius (twice), the word becomes frequent in Apuleius (who uses it in its original sense of 'urging', 'insistence', cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1966,45-46: 'spectat ad quemlibet impetum urgentem et assiduam') and later authors (e.g. Tertullian). Médan 1925a ad loc. translates 'prières instantes', which seems odd here and is not attested otherwise. Cf. 2,20,9 *instantia Byrrhena*; 7,12,3 *instantia validiore*; 8,7,6 *Thrasyllus instantia pervicaci*; in 11,21,3 Lucius' *instantia* concerning his initiation is moderated by his priest. Now that Lucius is financially embarrassed, the tables have turned and the deity is pressing him.

11,28,3 Iamque saepicule non sine magna turbatione stimulatus, postremo iussus, ueste ipsa mea quamuis paruula distracta, sufficientem conrasi summulam. And when I had been, not without great distress, quite frequently urged, and finally commanded, I sold off my own clothing, little as it was, and scraped together a small but sufficient sum.

saepicule: the diminutive of *saepe* can be found once in Plautus (*Cas.* 703) and seven times in *met.* (cf. Callebat 1968, 520; Mannheimer 1975, 51; 130; Pasetti 2007, 21); according to Hanssen 1951, 70, *saepicule* "must (...) have been a word very well suited for conversation in everyday life". There are no other occurrences in antiquity except for a passage in Donatus' commentary on Terence (*Eun.* 407, p. 360,15 Wessner); cf. *saepiuscule*, found in Priscianus' quotation of Plaut. *Cas.* 703 (*gramm.* II 104,11). On diminutive adverbs in Apuleius see Cupaiuolo 1967, 22-23; further references in *GCA* 1981, 47.

Merkelbach's (1969) chronological scheme (cf. comm. on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium* and 11,26,4 *transcurso ... compleuerat*) requires that Lucius' 'frequent urging' (*saepicula ... stimulatus*) refers to multiple dreams in a single night. This way of dreaming (if indeed dreaming is meant here) would be unparalleled in *met.*

turbatione: there are no attestations of *turbatio* in the abstract sense of 'disturbance of mind', 'perturbation' (*OLD* s.v. 1b) before Apuleius; cf. apart from this passage *met.* 9,20,4 *prae turbatione* and *Socr.* 13 p. 148 *turbationibus mentis*.

ueste: Lucius sells his wardrobe, not literally the shirt off his back. The collective sense of *uestis* (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2) is suggested by the situation (how could Lucius acquire a considerable sum of money by selling just one piece of clothing?) as well as by the meaning(s) of *distracta* (see comm. below). Marsili 1964 ad loc. cannot believe that even a wardrobe would be valuable enough and suggests hangings, drapery and the like (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3). But in this case one would have to wonder when and why Lucius received or possessed such valuable clothes. For a potentially high value of Lucius' wardrobe cf. comm. on 11,28,1 *erogationes urbicae*. Merkelbach 2001, 300 speculates that Lucius' selling his clothing has a symbolic meaning: the initiate takes off his old garment like his old life, and puts on a new one. Van Mal-Maeder 1997a, 102 takes very much the opposite view and assigns our passage a place in the comic reading of *met.* 11 (cf. similarly Hindermann 2009, 190-191): according to her, Lucius is stripped of his clothes just like Socrates by the witch Meroe in 1,7,10 *et ipsas etiam lacinias quas boni latrones contegendo mihi concesserant in eam contuli*. But it is easy to turn this argument around and to explain the seeming parallelism as an antithesis, Lucius' good, religious, experience as an inversion of Socrates' bad, magical, experience (cf. e.g. Graverini 2007, 86-87 [= 2012, 78]).

paruula: Lucius' wardrobe is 'quite small' or 'insignificant', i.e. it does not consist of many or very expensive clothes (which may involve ironic understatement; cf. above on 11,28,1 *uiriculas patrimonii*). The phrase *uestis paruula* would be more difficult if *uestis* referred to a single piece of clothing (cf. above on *ueste*). The latter idea seems to have prompted Bauer in *ThLL* s.v. *distraho* 1543,15 to suggest the ablative of price *paruulo* (cf. e.g. *met.* 1,5,4 *commodo pretio distrahi*; 7,9,5 *leui pretio distrahi*) instead of the transmitted *paruula*. The conjecture would also create a nice balance with *sufficientem*: however small the selling price was, it was enough to acquire the sum needed. *ThLL* s.v. *paruulus* 551,65-76 lists our passage under the heading 'accedente respectu pretii', together e.g. with Hor. *epist.* 1,18,29 *tibi paruula res est*.

distracta: on the various nuances of the verb *distrahere* in the meaning 'to sell' see *GCA* 2007, 155-156 on 1,5,4 *distrahi*; furthermore Schmalz 1893; *ThLL* s.v. *distraho* 1542,82-1543,32; *OLD* s.v. 4. From Tacitus onwards, *distrahere* was used in the meaning 'sell individually, piecemeal', sometimes with the negative notion of 'selling off', 'get rid of'. Over time, it gradually lost these nuances and could also be used plainly in the sense of 'to sell', as in some passages of *met.* (e.g. 7,9,5 cited above under *uestis*). Other passages, such as 1,5,4 (*caseum ... commodo pretio distrahi*) retain the idea of selling piecemeal. In our passage both the idea of selling Lucius' wardrobe piece by piece and a pejorative view of the insignificant value of the clothing can be felt.

conrasi: 'scrape' money together, a colloquial phrase (cf. Callebat 1968, 514), familiar from Roman comedy (Plaut. *Poen.* 1363; Ter. *Ad.* 242; *Phorm.* 40; *Haut.* 141), and a number of times employed in *met.* (7,8,2 *uiaticulum mihi conrasi*; 8,28,6 *conradentes omnia*; 9,8,6 *conraserant non paruas pecunias*; 10,19,2 *non paruas summulas diurnas corradere*).

summulam: the diminutive of *summa* (cf. comm. on 11,28,1 *uiriculas patrimonii*) is attested only twice before Apuleius (Sen. *epist.* 77,8 and Iuv. 7,174); in *met.* it occurs here and in 10,19,2, cited above under *conrasi*. In both cases it goes with *corradere* and with a certain irony (cf. *GCA* 2000, 261 on *non paruas summulas*): in 10,19,2 it is explicitly said that the *summula* was 'not small'; here Lucius' trouble suggests that it was at least considerable.

11,28,4 Et id ipsum praeceptum fuerat specialiter: 'An tu', inquit, 'si quam rem uoluptati struendae moliris, laciniis tuis nequaquam parceres; nunc tantas caerimonias aditurus impaenitendae te pauperiei cunctaris committere?' And exactly this had been my specific instruction: 'Surely,' he said, 'if you were arranging something for giving you pleasure, by no means would you spare your rags; now that you are about to approach such important ceremonies, do you hesitate to commit yourself to a poverty you will never regret?'

ipsum praeceptum fuerat specialiter: 'An tu': Schober 1904, 10 draws attention to the complete hexameter. This lends gravity to the divine order; cf. comm. on 11,27,4 *occupato sedili meo* and 11,29,4 *quod numerosa serie religionis quasi quicquam*.

praeceptum fuerat: instead of *praeceptum erat*. For this 'augmented pluperfect', frequent in *met.*, cf. on 11,7,4 *fuerat insecutus*.

an: goes with both following clauses, *si ... parceres*, and *nunc ... committere*.

inquit: the identity of the speaker is not completely clear. The preceding passive construction (*praeceptum fuerat*) avoids referring to a speaker and *numinis* in 11,28,2 is fairly distant. Nicolini 2010b suggests *qui* (cf. below on *si ... moliris ... parceres*), adopted by Zimmerman 2012.

si ... moliris ... parceres: conditional clause with imperfect subjunctive in the main clause and present indicative in the subordinate clause (where standard grammar would require another imperfect subjunctive). Although this specific construction seems unparalleled, 'mixed' conditional clauses are generally frequent in familiar language (cf. LHSz 2,660-663) and used by Apuleius in a number of places in *met.* (cf. Callebat 1968, 351-354; at 352 on our passage). The correction *molireris* can already be found in the *editio princeps* and is followed e.g. by Oudendorp 1786, Hildebrand 1842, and Van der Vliet 1897. All major recent editors retain *moliris*. In addition to Callebat's argument for a somewhat lazy, colloquial, construction which changes as the sentence progresses, one could also make a case for a deliberate use of the indicative in the protasis to present Lucius' alleged *uoluptas* as a matter of fact deserving of reproach (cf. the following entry). Nicolini 2010b argues that this nuance would be particularly well expressed if we replaced *inquit* (cf. above) by *qui*.

uoluptati struendae: what pleasure is referred to? One option is Lucius' *seruiles uoluptates*, criticized in 11,15,1 (cf. comm. ad loc.). In both this and our passage the criticism occurs in a solemn address and comes from an authoritative religious in-

stance, Mithras in 11,15,1, Osiris here. Another option is Lucius' potentially comfortable lifestyle at Rome as a man about town who wears expensive clothing and likes his meat (cf. comm. on 11,23,2 *cibariam uoluptatem coercerem* and 11,28,1 *erogationes urbicae*).

lacinae: for the different meanings of this noun in *met.* cf. comm. on 11,3,5 *lacinae* and 11,14,3 *laciniam*. Here it denotes 'garment', with a connotation of poor quality, derived from the basic meaning of 'fringe', 'rag'. This connotation amplifies Osiris' reproach: how scandalous that Lucius sticks to such shabby belongings! In the preceding sentence, Lucius' himself called his clothing more neutrally *uestis*. For a potentially high value of Lucius' clothes cf. comm. on 11,28,1 *erogationes urbicae*.

nequaquam: as always in Apuleius (cf. Callebat 1968, 420), *nequaquam* is not just a substitute for *non* but a marked intensive negation. While a simple *non* would do grammatically, *nequaquam* here stresses the readiness with which Lucius is pictured to sell his clothes for *uoluptas*.

aditurus: the predicative use of the future participle is frequent in the imperial period (cf. LHSz 2,390) and often occurs in *met.* (cf. e.g. *GCA* 1985 on 8,4,1 *indagaturus*). For the (frequent) religious meaning of *adire* cf. *ThLL* s.v. *adeo* 617,72-78 and 625,60-626,34.

impaenitendae: 'not to be repented of'. This is the first attestation of *impaenitendus* in Latin literature and the only certain one in Apuleius (see *GCA* 2004, 460-461 on 6,13,1 *paenitendo*). After Apuleius, the word is occasionally found in Christian texts (cf. *ThLL* s.v.). Cf. 11,30,2 *Nec ... laborum me sumptuumque quicquam ... paenituit*, where Lucius picks up on this promise from his own point of view.

pauperiei: on Apuleius' varying use of *pauperies* (here referring to a state of poverty) see *GCA* 2007, 296 on 1,15,3 *pauperie*.

cunctaris: Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012, 156-157 argues that Lucius' hesitation to sell his clothes contrasts with 3,24,2 (*abiectis propere laciniis totis*), where he happily threw them off in order to get 'initiated' into magic. On the theme of hesitation in Book 11 see also Introduction, 4.1.1 (last paragraph).

11,28,5 Ergo igitur cunctis adfatim praeparatis, decem rursus diebus inanimis contentus cibis, insuper etiam deraso capite, principalis dei nocturnis orgiis inlustratus, plena iam fiducia germanae religionis obsequium diuinum frequentabam. Therefore, when everything had been prepared in abundance, after I restricted myself for another ten days to inanimate food and, in addition, had shaved my head, I was enlightened by the nocturnal mysteries of the foremost god, and now in full confidence attended the holy service of this sibling religion.

Ergo igitur: a pleonastic phrase characteristic of familiar language, known before Apuleius only from Plautus (*Most.* 847 and *Trin.* 756) and Pacuvius (*trag.* 365c = 69 Schierl). It occurs 17 times in *met.* For further information see *GCA* 2007, 158 on 1,5,6 and *GCA* 2000, 80 on 10,3,1.

cunctis ... praeparatis: the narrative brevity of this section (cf. introduction to this chapter [2. The second initiation]) makes it impossible to ascertain exactly of what

these preparations consist. Perhaps the purchase of cultic utensils or food for a cultic meal is meant here as in 11,22,8-23,1 (*mihi praedicat quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda. Ea protinus ... procuro*); cf. comm. on 11,22,8 *quae ... praeparanda*. Another option would be that *cunctis ... praeparatis* proleptically includes the fasting and shaving of the head subsequently referred to in our text (*decem ... capite*).

adfatum: generally on this adverb cf. Callebat 1968, 475-476 and *GCA* 1977, 26 on 4,1,5 *adfatum*. Out of 11 occurrences of *adfatum/affatum* in *met.* only a single instance (9,28,4 *adfatum plagis castigatum*) is *not* associated with food and feeding. A relation to food, if only by a reference to abstinence from it (perhaps a playful contrast), is also present in our context, cf. below on *decem ... cibis*. Note also that Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 273-274 and 424-425 identifies Lucius' purchases for the first initiation (cf. 11,22,8-23,1 and commentary ad loc.) as food for a cultic meal. A similar procedure in the second initiation would lend our phrase *cunctis adfatim praeparatis* an immediate relation to food. The second initiation is even announced to Lucius by a reference to the constitutive meal (cf. 11,27,4 *uidi quendam ... qui ... religionis amplae denuntiaret epulas* with comm. on *epulas*).

decem ... cibis: the ten days of vegetarian diet are the only constant element referred to in all three initiations (cf. 11,23,2 for the first and 11,30,1 for the third initiation). Bergman 1972a, 334-337 argues that Lucius' fasting might have been the preparation for a cultic meal celebrating the successful initiation; cf. above on *adfatum* and comm. on 11,27,4 *epulas*. Generally on the motif of ten days of fasting and the potential number symbolism connected with it see comm. on 11,23,2 *decem ... essem*. For a possible time frame of the fasting before the second initiation cf. comm. on 11,26,2 *uesperaque ... Decembrium*.

inanimis: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 952 δὲ ἀνθρώπου βροῦς, referring to Orphic vegetarian diet (see Barrett 1964 ad loc.). In Roman literature the use of *inanimus*, 'lacking a soul', for vegetarian meals is unparalleled except for the similar context of 11,30,1 *inanimae castimoniae iugum*. Apuleius likes to play on words when it comes to Lucius' cultic fasting (cf. in 11,23,2 *cibariam uoluptatem* and especially the ingenious *animal essem et inuinius essem*).

insuper etiam: redundant phrase as in 7,23,2 and 9,21,6, cf. Callebat 1968, 239 (who misses our passage). It can be found before Apuleius in Plaut. *Merc.* 693, Ter. *Eun.* 1014, and Liv. 37,20,8.

deraso capite: F provides the meaningless words *deras capi*, perhaps an unusual abbreviation caused by a shortage of space in F (see introduction to this chapter [4. The ending of the manuscript]). Later manuscripts and prints correct to *de Serapis*. The resulting phrase *de Serapis ... orgiis inlustratus*, however, is hardly what Apuleius wrote. Hildebrand 1842 ad loc. points out that the preposition *de* here is grammatically impossible. Even if we drop this preposition (as Eysenhardt 1869 does in his text), *Serapis* would be surprising considering that the god of Lucius' second initiation is called Osiris (see introduction to Ch. XXVII [1. Osiris and Sarapis]). The only reference to *Sarapis* (not *Serapis*) in *met.* is at 11,9,6, where the flute-players in the procession of the devotees of Isis are called consecrated to this god (*Ibant et dicati magno Sarapi tibicines*). The emendation of Lütjohann 1873, 485-486 is certainly right: comparing *met.* 2,28,2 *deraso capite* (of the Egyptian priest Zatchlas),

11,10,1 *capillum derasi* (of the initiates of Isis), and 11,30,5 *raso capillo* (of Lucius' third initiation), he suggests *deraso capite* or *deraso capillo*. All later editors agree on *deraso capite*, probably because *capite* is slightly more economical and paralleled not only in *met.* 2,28,2 but also in Plin. *nat.* 29,109 *deraso capite nigritiam capilli adfert*. For the association of religious baldness with the Egyptian cult cf. comm. on 11,10,1 *capillum derasi*. For a fuller discussion of Lucius' baldness and its potential significance for a reading of *met.* cf. comm. on 11,30,5 *raso ... caluitio*. Our passage is the first to report Lucius' shaving his head. No mention of this religious act is made in the account of his first initiation in Cencreae (11,21-24), either because it was really absent or because the narrator skipped it for other reasons: Van der Paardt 1996, 75 suggests that the postponement of the account of Lucius' baldness helps to build a narrative and religious climax; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012, 156 argues that the focus on the *Olympiaca stola* in the earlier initiation (cf. 11,24,3 with comm. ad loc.) eclipsed any interest in religious baldness.

principalis: this epithet is exclusive to Osiris (cf. Bernhard 1927, 214) and underlines his top position in the hierarchy of gods (cf. 11,27,2 *magni dei deumque summi parentis, inuicti Osiris*; 11,30,3 *deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator, Osiris*).

nocturnis: just like the first initiation, the second one takes place at night; cf. 11,21,2 *noctis sacratae* with comm. ad loc.; furthermore 11,23,3 *sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam*; 11,23,7 *nocte media*.

orgia: similar to Greek ὄργια, Latin *orgia* is most often associated with the cult of Dionysus (for the identification of Osiris with Dionysus cf. comm. on 11,27,4 *thyrsos et hederas*), but can also mean the secret rites and mysteries of other cults or 'mysteries' in a general sense, without links to any specific cult (cf. *LSJ* and *OLD* s.v.). Apuleius here adapts the word for use in the cult of Osiris. An inscription from what remains of the supposed Iseum in Cencreae reads ΟΡΓΙΑ (cf. the brief discussion in Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 167-168). The cult name *Isis Orgia* is known from a single inscription from Thessaloniki (*IG X² 1,103*; cf. Bricault 1997, 57).

inlustratus: for the notion of spiritual enlightenment implied in this phrase cf. comm. on 11,27,2 *sacris inlustratum*.

germanae religionis: the cult of Osiris, Isis' brother/husband, is fittingly called the 'sibling religion'; cf. also 11,27,3 *inunita ratio numinis religionisque* about the unity of the two cults. Syntactically, the genitive *germanae religionis* is either dependent on *fiducia* ('in full confidence of this kindred faith') or on *obsequium* ([I attended the] 'service of this kindred faith'). Griffiths points out that a construction with *fiducia* would imply previous doubts about the 'sibling religion' of Osiris. No such doubts can be found in the text; the construction with *obsequium* is therefore more likely.

obsequium: for obedience as a significant concept in Lucius' religious service cf. 11,6,7 *obsequiis ... castimoniis* with comm. ad loc.

11,28,6 Quae res summum peregrinationi meae tribuebat solacium nec minus etiam uictum uberiozem subministrabat – quidni? – spiritu fauentis Euentus quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocina sermonis Romani. This afforded the greatest comfort for my living abroad, and it also provided a richer livelihood – of course, for thanks to the inspirational breeze of favour-

ing Success I was nourished by some small profits in the forum through the patronage of the Roman language.

peregrinationi meae: *peregrinatio* here seems to refer to Lucius' identity as *peregrinus* rather than his journey (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1303,7-8: 'respicitur status vel qualitas peregrinantis'). This sense is first found in Apuleius, here and in 2,18,4 *tibi uero fortunae splendor <inuidiam>, insidias contemptus etiam peregrinationis poterit adferre*. However, *ThLL* notes the ambivalence of our passage, as it could also relate to 'motus vel commoratio peregrinantis' (ibid. 1301,53). Perhaps a similar ambivalence is expressed in 11,28,1 (cf. comm. on *peregrinationis ... impensae* there).

tribuebat solacium: instead of simple *solari* – later Latin often uses verbs with objects for single verbs, cf. for Apuleius Bernhard 1927, 184-185; for *tribuere solacium* e.g. *met.* 4,7,2 *solacium ... tribues* and Van der Paardt 1971, 50 on 3,4,4 *audientiam ... tribuerit*; for *tribuo* with abstract or inanimate subject cf. *OLD* s.v. 2b; in *met.* e.g. 4,1,6 *ipsa solitudo iam mihi bonam fiduciam tribuebat*.

nec minus etiam: variant of *nec non etiam*, intensifying substitute for *et etiam* (cf. Callebat 1968, 418). Before Apuleius this phrase occurs only in Cicero's *Epistulae familiares* (12,16,1) and in the prescription book of Scribonius Largus (A.D. 47/48), ch. 121. It seems to belong to familiar speech.

uictum: both the narrower sense ('means of bodily sustenance, nutriment, food', *OLD* s.v. 1a; cf. *nutrito* in this sentence) and the wider ('necessaries of life', ibid. 1b) appear to be present. The former nuance ties in with Lucius' concern with food in his initiations, cf. comm. on 11,28,5 *decem ... cibis*. Drake 1969, 361 with n. 53 (cf. ibid. 354 n. 37) notices an echo of the theme of food known from several episodes of *met.* 1 – 10.

quidni ... quaesticulo forensi nutrito: phrasing and concept are closely echoed in the account of Lucius' success after the third initiation 11,30,2 *quidni? – liberali deum prouidentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum*. In both passages Lucius talks about his financial profit in the forum (see below on *forensi*) thanks to divine intervention. For the potential metaliterary implications of this image see below on *spiritu, forensi*, and *patrocina sermonis Romani*.

quidni: for the function of this adverb here cf. on 11,26,4 *quidni*.

spiritu fauentis Euentus: a brilliant play with the meaning of *spiritus* as 'wind', picked up on in *fauentis Euentus* (generally on such wordplay in Roman literature cf. Ahl 1985; specifically on our phrase Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 39-40). Even so, the meaning of *spiritus* here should not be reduced to 'wind', cf. below.

spiritu: this word here seems to imply both the ideas of inspiration and of navigation. The first one is often neglected in favour of the second. All recent English translators (and most others) focus on the well-known image of favourable wind, taken from navigation: "nourished by the breeze of favouring Success" (Hanson 1989); "I ... was attended by the wind of favouring success" (Walsh 1994); "the favouring breeze of Success" (Kenney 1998); "with the wind of favorable Fulfillment at my back" (Relihan 2007). The metaphor is widespread, cf. Grinda 2002, 431 ('Fahrtwind') and, for example, Hor. *epist.* 2,1,102 *hoc paces habuere bonae uentique secundi*; for the connection with money and fortune, each significant in our passage, Petron. 137,9 *quisquis habet nummos, segura nauigat aura / fortunamque*

suo temperat arbitrio. The image could have suggested itself because Lucius has been sailing in favourable winds from Greece to Rome (cf. 11,26,2 *tutusque prosperitate uentorum ferentium ... sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo*); for the motif of favourable winds for navigation see Introduction, 4.1.3. It might also be relevant that seafaring is a prominent theme throughout *met.* 11, set in large part in the harbour of Cenchreae (see Introduction, 4.2.1), and that Isis in her manifestation as Isis Pelagia (see introd. note on 11,5,5) is typically represented with a billowing sail in her hands (cf. e.g. Tran Tam Tinh 1990, nos. 269-302). At the same time a sense of *spiritus* as ‘inspiration’ can be felt (cf. *OLD* s.v. 5: ‘divine inspiration, esp. with reference to literature’, citing our passage); cf., for instance, Hor. *carm.* 4,6,29-30 *spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem / carminis nomenque dedit poetae*; Apul. *met.* 8,27,6 *uelut numinis diuino spiritu repletus*. Lucius’ *spiritus* comes from a deity, the personified ‘Success’ (cf. Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 40 on the double meaning of *spiritus* in our passage, “‘breath of god’ + ‘gust of wind’”). Note also that navigation itself is a familiar metaphor for the composition of literary works (cf. e.g. Lieberg 1969; for Apuleius Finkelppearl 1998, 212-214). Lucius’ successful inspiration bodes well for his activity in the forum. At the same time a metaliterary nuance seems implied in that the author Apuleius claims some part of Lucius’ inspiration for his own literary achievement in writing the *Metamorphoses* (cf. below on *patrocinia sermonis Romani*).

Euentus: the personified god of good outcome, Bonus Eventus, as invoked in vain by Lucius in *met.* 4,2,3 (where he is running towards what seems to him to be roses *inuocato hilaro atque prospero Euentu*; *GCA* 1977, 31-32 ad loc.). For the personification of *euentus* cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1019,56-1020,15; *ibid.* 1010,56-63 for examples lacking the attribute *bonus*. Both *prospero* in *met.* 4,2,3 and *fauens* in our passage seem to be deliberate variations of the standard phrase *bonus euentus*. Originally protecting the good outcome of agricultural labour and especially crops (Varro *rust.* 1,1,6), Bonus Eventus developed into a general bestower of success. His original role seems to be palpable in the vocabulary of nourishment chosen by Apuleius in this sentence (*uictum uberiorem*; cf. above on *uictum*, below on *nutrito*). Compare the coin portrayals of Bonus Eventus as a young man holding ears of grain in his hand (for issues of Apuleius’ time e.g. Lichocka 1975, 249-254). The association of Bonus Eventus with money is significant to our context since Lucius is talking precisely about his financial success as a devotee of the Egyptian gods. Bonus Eventus was not only frequently portrayed on coins, he could be regarded straightforwardly as god of profits and was held in particularly high esteem by traders (a natural extension of his role as god of the crops, cf. Domaszewski 1905, esp. 76-78). Furthermore, Domaszewski 1905, 78 argues that Bonus Eventus was a male counterpart of Fortuna and that both deities took a similar development from gods of agriculture to gods of money to gods of fate and good outcome. In this light, Bonus Eventus matches the new, positive Fortune of Lucius in *met.* 11 (cf. Mithras’ speech in 11,15). He and Fortune team up to bring Lucius happiness and financial success. A tight link between Bonus Eventus and Fortuna is suggested by the *interpretatio Romana* of a pair of statues by Praxiteles, erected on the Capitol, as Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna (cf. Plin. *nat.* 36,23). Cf. furthermore an undated relief from the Roman fortress Isca Augusta (near modern day Caerleon in Wales), showing Fortuna on the left and Bonus Eventus on the right (cf. Domaszewski 1905; Arias 1986, no. 1). On a coin from the time of An-

toninus Pius (Lichocka 1975, 254; Arias 1986, no. 14), Bonus Eventus is shown holding the *cornucopia*, usually an attribute of Fortuna. In sum, Bonus Eventus evokes at least three significant themes recurrent in Lucius’ new life as a devotee of Isis and Osiris: food, money, and Fortune.

quaesticulo: the diminutive form is a mark of familiar language (cf. Callebat 1968, 378); here it is used for slightly comic effect and does not need to imply that the amount was actually small (cf. comm. on 11,28,1 *uiriculas patrimonii* and 11,28,3 *summulam*). The idea that religious devotion brings financial success was not unusual in the Egyptian cult; cf. e.g. Aelius Aristides’ speech *On Sarapis* (*Or.* 45,18-21 [p. 358,8 Keil]): ‘the acquisition of money, this too he gives to men’ (τὴν ... ἀνθρώποις χρημάτων κτήσιν καὶ ταύτην Σάραπισ δίδωσιν). In the hymns to Isis by so-called Isidorus of the Fayum (2nd to 1st cent. B.C.), the goddess is characterized, among other things, as a bestower of personal wealth (Totti 21,1 *πλουτοδοτί βασιλεια θεῶν*; Totti 22,5-6 *ὅσσοι σοὶ εὐχονται ἐπ’ ἐμπορίην τε παρεῖναι, / πλουτοῦσ’ εὐσεβέες εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*; Totti 22,21 *πλοῦτὸν τ’ ἀνέδωκας*; Totti 23,4 *καὶ πλοῦτον ἔδωκας*).

forensi: the adjective may carry the same ambivalence here as in the Prologue (1,1,5 *exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor*), where it seems to mean both, ‘foreign’ and ‘of the forum’ (cf. *GCA* 2007, 85 ad loc.; Tilg 2007, 170-172). Lucius’ *quaesticulum forense* is earned abroad (cf. *peregrinationi meae* above), and at the same time it involves certain rhetorical activities (cf. *patrocinia sermonis Romani*). Cf. the similar case of 11,30,2 *stipendiis forensibus* (the forum is unambiguously referred to in 11,30,4 *gloriosa in foro ... patrocinia*). The idea that the image of the forum in the Prologue cannot be exclusively reduced to oratory proper, but also relates to literary questions (cf. *GCA* 2007, 9 and 85), could suggest a similar polyvalence of Lucius’ activities in the forum at the end of *met.* (see below on *patrocinia sermonis Romani*).

nutrito: dependent on *subministrabat*; sc. *mihi*. For the language of nourishment employed here cf. above on *uictum* and *Euentus*.

per: for the instrumental significance of *per* in Apuleius and his preference for this (classical) construction instead of simple ablative cf. Callebat 1968, 220-221.

patrocinia sermonis Romani: a crucial but difficult passage. *Patrocinia*, ‘defences’, are particularly associated with lawyers in courts, and in this context *patrocinium* means ‘pleading’. But if the meaning of our phrase should be that Lucius makes pleadings in the Roman language, then grammar is a problem. A genitive after *patrocinia* usually refers to a) who defends, b) who is defended, or c) what is defended, with c) being the most frequent option (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *patrocinium* 777,73-778,7). An attractive solution has been suggested by Ryle 1968 ad loc., who considers that the *sermo Romanus* could be seen as Lucius’ ‘patron’, enabling him to earn a living. Elaborating on this idea, we could say that Lucius would be successful ‘through the patronage of the Roman language’, i.e. the favour which the Roman language shows to him. In this reading, *sermonis Romani* would be a genitive of subject and fall under option a) above; *patrocinium* as ‘patronage’ would be more general than a ‘pleading in court’ – for the frequent general and figurative senses of *patrocinium* cf. *ThLL* s.v. 775,44-776,44 (‘laxius de qualibet actione defendendi, auxiliandi’) and e.g. *met.* 11,16,4 *qui ... meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium*; *apol.* 34,2 *eloquentiae patrocinium*. The whole phrase could still allude to pleadings in court,

but would be wide open to other interpretations too. It could mean that the Greek Lucius has been successfully Romanized and expresses his gratitude to Rome and its language. The emphasis placed on the Latin language can be accounted for by ring composition with the Prologue, where the Greek speaker similarly comes to Rome and learns Latin (although we do not hear of a learning process in our passage). Moreover, since the transition from Greek to Latin in the Prologue clearly alludes to the Latin adaptation of the Greek ass story, something similar could also be hinted at in the patronage of the Latin language here; cf. for a related metaliterary reading Tilg in *AGA* 3, 155, who, conversely, holds that Lucius/Apuleius is here patron of the Roman language – option c) above; also see comm. on 11,30,4 *gloriosa ... patrocina* for the metaliterary potential of the image of Lucius delivering *patrocina* in the forum, vindicated by Osiris against his rivals (note that in 11,30,4 it is clearly Lucius who takes the role of the ‘patron’). If we hold on to the literal meaning of *patrocina* as pleadings in court, the genitive *sermonis Romani* is difficult to explain. Griffiths 1975 ad loc. compares the genitive of inherence *castimoniorum abstinenciam* in 11,19,3, but it is hard to see how the Roman language would be inherent in the idea of *patrocina*. Alternatively Griffiths suggests a genitive of description, but normally one expects with a genitive of description (generally e.g. LHSz 2,67-71) an animate subject as in *met.* 4,13,4 *Gladiatores isti famosae manus, uenatores illi probatae pernicitatis*; cf. also *CE* 1251 praescr. *d(is) m(anibus) M. Romani Iouini rhetoris eloquii Latini*; Sidon. *carm.* 23,145-146 *quid uos eloquii canam Latini [sc. homines] / Arpinas, Patauine, Mantuane*.

CHAPTER XXIX

Lucius learns about a third initiation. His doubts are dispelled in a dream.

1. The third initiation

Lucius’ third initiation is presented as a religious and psychological climax. Compare Lucius’ distress in 11,29,2-3 at the news of this final rite with his comparatively mild doubts when facing the first (11,19,3) and the second initiations (11,26,4-11,27,1; generally on Lucius’ religious doubts cf. Festugière 1954, 77-80, who draws attention to literary parallels [but these do not include repeated initiations] and to psychological verisimilitude; Griffiths 1975, 53 concurs with the psychological argument). On the increase of terms that describe Lucius’ feelings of distress and torment towards the end of Book 11 see Introduction, 5.2 (p. 41). The third initiation is explained by the notion that Lucius can no longer wear the auspicious robe which he received in the shrine of Cenchreae and left in storage there. The implication seems to be – although this is not clearly stated – that he obtains a new robe during the third initiation. One wonders why the missing robe was not a problem in the second initiation. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2012 argues for a mainly narrative purpose of Lucius’ cultic robe(s). While the robe of the first initiation made him an image of Osiris, the robe of the third initiation should be read as a mark of distinction suggestive of his future office as *pastophorus*.

Whereas it is clear that the first initiation is into the cult of Isis and the second into the cult of Osiris (cf. 11,27,2 *deae ... tantum sacris inbutum, at magni ... Osiris necdum sacris inlustratum*), the nature of the third initiation is not specified. The relatively frequent reference to deities (in the plural) in 11,28-30 (cf. on 11,29,1 *deum*) may imply that the third initiation concerns both Isis and Osiris; but the fact that only Osiris appears to Lucius in 11,30,3-4 hints rather at another initiation into the cult of Osiris. Some mystery about his identity (cf. 11,29,3 *clemens imago*) could be motivated by the ineffable nature of Apuleius’ highest deity (see introduction to Ch. XXX [2. The lack of detail]).

2. Religious seriousness or comedy?

Although repeated initiations into the cult of Isis and Osiris are not historically attested, the second initiation into the cult of Osiris was comparatively well motivated in Apuleius’ fiction. This cannot be said of the third initiation (the argument about the old and the new robe in 11,29,5 remains obscure). Religious readings make sense of the sequence of three initiations by the interpretation offered by the text itself: the reiteration of initiations is seen as a distinction, not least because the number three is particularly fortunate (cf. 11,29,4 *ter futurus ... teque de isto numero merito praesume semper beatum*; see comm. ad loc.). Apuleius shows a predilection for threefold concepts throughout *met.*, cf. e.g. Hildebrand 1842, xxxvii; Bernhard 1927, 116-118; *GCA* 2004, 39 on 4,28,1 *tres numero filias*, with further references. In Book

11 this shows in the threefold benediction in (11,16,4 *ter beatus, qui ... meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium*); Isis' instructions for the initiation, put forward in the third third of the day in 11,23,2 (*iam duabus diei partibus transactis*); and the confirmation of the rites on the third day after the initiation in 11,24,5 (*Dies etiam tertius pari caerimontiarum ritu celebratus*). Other passages featuring the number three are 11,4,2 *trigeminus* and 11,5,2 *trilingues*. It seems perfectly possible that Apuleius invented the series of three initiations for the sake of the 'holy' number three and to convey a religious aura (for a similar religious significance of the number seven cf. comm. on 11,1,4 *septiesque summerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum ... Pythagoras prodidit*). Comic readings try to read the text subversively and argue that the (historically not attested) multiplication of costly initiations exposes Lucius' gullibility at the hands of rapacious priests (cf. Fredouille 1975, 13; Winkler 1985, 215-223; Van Mal-Maeder 1997a, 104; Harrison 2000, 245-247; Finkelpearl 2004, 338-339; also see Introduction, 1.3). Criticisms of such comic readings have been put forward e.g. by Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 84-91, who argues for the significance of the three successive initiations in Lucius' psychological development; Graverini 2007, 76-83 [= 2012, 69-75], who points out that Lucius, in actual fact, makes both spiritual and financial profit from the three initiations; and Tilg 2014a, 116-131, who stresses the serious (meta)literary dimension of Lucius' Roman initiations and regards notions of comedy as side effects. For the repetitious structure of the manifold initiations (11,29,2 *iteratae ... traditioni*) as a possible 'moment of irritation' for the reader see Introduction, 5.3. On Lucius' multiple initiations see also Gragg 2010.

11,29,1 Et ecce post pauculum tempus inopinatis et usquequaque mirificis imperiis deum rursus interpellor et cogor tertiam quoque teletam suscitare. And see, after a very short time I was again accosted by unexpected and thoroughly astonishing commands from the gods and compelled to arrange yet a third initiation.

Et ecce: for the surprise effect after the second 'false closure' of *met.* see Introduction, 2.2. For initial *et ecce* cf. also 11,20,6 *et ecce superueniunt ... quos ibi reliqueram famulos*, where a change of focus is indicated. For Apuleius' general liking of *et ecce* as a rhetorical and stylistic device see also Introduction, 7.2.2.

pauculum tempus: variant of the phrase *pauculi dies*, used three times in *met.* (cf. *GCA* 1995, 83 on 9,8,1 *pauculis ... diebus* and *GCA* 2004, 378 on 6,2,6 *uel pauculos dies*). The use of *pauculus* with an uncountable noun is peculiar to Apuleius (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 800,48-49).

usquequaque: here in the meaning 'wholly', 'altogether' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), in which it lends the following adjective the force of a quasi superlative; expressive synonym of *prorsus*, cf. Callebat 1968, 539-540.

mirificis: according to *ThLL* s.v. *mirificus* 1061,45-56 this is the first attestation for *mirificis* specifically related to miracles. Cf., however, the similar use for a prodigy already found in Accius (*praetext.* 27 [661 Dangel] *in caelo contueri maximum ac mirificum facinus*; also quoted in *ThLL*). Note also Greek θαυματοποιός used of dreams as in Lucian. *somn.* 14 and comm. on 11,29,2 *noua ... inaudita*.

deum: perhaps the gods in general, perhaps Isis and Osiris in particular (as suggested e.g. by Festugière 1954, 164 n. 43); cf. the plurals in 11,23,1 *praefatus deum ueniam*; 11,27,6 *deum uoluntatem*; 11,29,2 *caelestium ... intentio*; 11,29,4 *numinum dignatione*; 11,29,5 *deis magnis auctoribus*; 11,30,2 *deum prouidentia*. Fugier 1963, 297 n. 7 argues that the plural *dei* in *met.* 11 should not usually be taken literally and almost always refers to Isis. Similarly, Fredouille 1975 ad loc. thinks that the plural in our passage refers to Isis in her multiple selves; but there is no evidence for this idea and since the preceding chapter talked only about Osiris such a surreptitious switch to Isis would be surprising. Cf. below on 11,29,3 *clemens imago*.

rursus interpellor: cf. the preceding divine instigations in 11,28,2 *identidem numinis premebar instantia* and the reproach in 11,28,4 *An tu ... committere*. The verb *interpellor* in our passage is particularly reminiscent of the nightly disturbance by the deity in 11,26,4 *quietem meam rursus interpellat numinis benefici cura*. Cf. the same use of *interpellor* in 8,8,6 *umbra ... quietem pudicam interpellat uxoris*.

teletam: for the neologism cf. comm. on 11,22,8 *teletae*.

suscitare: Lucius is ordered to prepare the things necessary for a third initiation, hence the meaning of *suscitare* here is probably 'start', 'arrange'. This meaning is paralleled in 2,30,5 *uicariam pro me lanienam suscitauit*, where Hanson 1989 and Zimmerman 2012 rightly retain the manuscript reading (cf. approvingly B.L. Hijmans' review of Hanson 1989 in *Gnomon* 67 [1995], 117-122, at 118; and see *GCA* 2001, 391 ad loc.). Floridus 1688 seems to have anticipated the idea of an active sense of *suscitare* in our passage by providing in his comm. ad loc. the paraphrase *tertium sacrificium instruere*. Among the modern editors only Terzaghi 1954 (cf. Carlesi's facing translation "fui costretto a promuovere una terza ordinazione") and Zimmerman 2012 keep the manuscript reading. Most editors have changed F's *suscitare* because they thought Lucius was told to 'undergo', 'suffer' a third initiation (see introduction to this chapter [1. The third initiation]; for the emphasis on Lucius' suffering see below, 11,29,3). Wowerius 1606 corrected to *susceptare* (adopted by Oudendorp 1786, Hildebrand 1842, Van der Vliet 1897, Médan 1925a, Giarratano 1929 and Frassinetti 1960), which makes sense in itself but is not attested in Roman literature. Most recent editors (Robertson 1945, Fredouille 1975, Griffiths 1975, Hanson 1989) write *sustinere* with Helm 1955 (1907), supported by parallels for a passive 'suffering' of divine will (11,21,5 *Quae cuncta nos ... patientia sustinere censebat [pace* Callebat 1968, 158, who argues that *sustinere* here means *expectare*; cf. *GCA* 2001, 244 on 2,15,6 *solam temperiem sustinentes*); 11,21,8 *caeleste sustinere praeceptum*; cf. the image of Lucius under the yoke of Isis in 11,15,5 *ministerii iugum subi uoluntarium*). But Lucius was explicitly told to busy himself in the preparations for the first and second initiations (cf. Pizzica 1979, 97 who points out that the term *teleta* almost always implies some active participation of the initiate): in 11,22,8 he is informed about *quae forent ad usum teletae praeparanda*; in 11,23,1 he then takes action and procures the things needed; in 11,28,4 he is told to sell his clothes and acquire the sum needed for the initiation. In a similar fashion he responds to the present call by arranging the things needed (cf. *quod usus foret* and *instructum teletae comparo*). Cf. also F's otherwise not attested *decitantes* in 2,4,2 (defended in *GCA* 2001, 96 on 2,4,2 *instabile uestigium ... decitantes*), which Helm replaces with *detinentes* (alii alia). Löfstedt 1936, 102-103 n. 4 justly remarks that the emendation

of the consistent manuscript forms of *-citare* in as many as three cases does not inspire confidence (cf. Augello 1977, 58-60, who calls our passage the ‘most thorny textual problem of the *Metamorphoses*’). Armini 1928, 327 (id. 1932, 69-70) and Lausdei 1983, 239-242, comparing the cases of *met.* 2,4,2 and 2,30,5, present arguments accounting for a hypothetical semantic development of *suscitare* (‘stir up’) towards the passive notions of ‘undergo’, ‘suffer’ or ‘face’. Heraeus, in a review of Armini 1928 in *PhW* 52, 1928, 79-80, recommends keeping *suscitare* in the text as an Apuleian peculiarity but feels that another account is needed. For uses of *suscitare* similar to the suggestion made here (the combination with *teletam* is unparalleled) see *OLD* s.v. *suscito* 4, referring to conditions and events like war (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 12,498-499 *caedem / suscitāt*) and things like fire (cf. 11,10,3 *flammulam suscitans*); Lucretius uses the verb for ‘erecting’ temples (5,1166 *delubra deum*). Pizzica 1979, 99 n. 21 adduces some passages from the Vulgate which fit our context even closer, e.g. Vulg. *Ez.* 16,60 *suscitabo tibi pactum sempiternum*; *II Rg.* 23,3 *ut ... suscitarent uerba foederis*.

11,29,2 *Nec leui cura sollicitus, sed oppido suspensus animi mecum ipse cogitationes exercitius cogitabam, quorsus noua haec et inaudita se caelestium porrigeret intentio, quid subsiciuum quamuis iteratae iam traditioni remansisset. I was not just a little disturbed, but quite doubtful in my mind, as I was anxiously considering these considerations with myself: whether this novel and unheard-of design of the gods, what was left over in that bestowal of rites despite its having been repeated twice?*

oppido: this adverb is characteristic of familiar speech and occurs frequently in Apuleius (cf. Callebat 1968, 519 and 536; *GCA* 2001, 214 on 2,12,5 *oppido mira et satis uaria*). Probably it had an archaising tone in Apuleius’ time: Quint. *inst.* 8,3,25 refers to it as obsolescent. It is also often used by Gellius.

suspensus animi: formed on the model of the frequent collocation *pendere animi* (‘to be uncertain about’, cf. e.g. Plaut. *Merc.* 128 *Ego animi pendeo*; Cic. *Tusc.* 4,35 *exanimatusque pendet animi*). A parallel can be found in Liv. 8,13,17 *tot populos inter spem metumque suspensos animi habetis*. For the use of the ‘genitivus animi’ in this phrase cf. LHSz 2,75.

mecum ... cogitabam: cf. comm. on 11,27,1 *apud meum sensum disputo*.

cogitationes ... cogitabam: F’s *cogitabam* (also found in almost all other manuscripts) is retained. The figura etymologica in the phrase *cogitationes ... cogitabam* evokes intensive deliberation and matches the content (perhaps supported by the repeated *k*-sounds in *mecum ... cogitationes exercitius cogitabam*; cf. Marsili’s [1964 ad loc.] impression that one almost perceives the pulse of thinking here). This fits in with the pleonastic *mecum* and the unusual intensifying adverb *exercitius* (on which see below). Pricaeus 1650 emends to *consulebam* (comparing *met.* 6,5,1 *sic ipsa suas cogitationes consuluit*); Oudendorp 1786 adopts *agitabam* found in the lost Codex Fuxensis (known from excerpts made by Pithou in the margin of Colvius’ 1588 edition). Oudendorp is followed by Helm 1955 (1907), Giarratano 1929, Robertson 1945, Griffiths 1975 and Hanson 1989. Hildebrand 1842 argues for *cogitabam* and is followed by Médan 1925a, Fredouille 1975, Martos 2003, Nicolini in *AAGA* 3, 37,

and Zimmerman 2012. Médan points out that *cogitationes ... cogitabam* constitutes a play on words characteristic of Apuleius’ style; Nicolini recalls Apuleius’ etymologizing tendency. While there is no other example of an etymological accusative in *met.* (cf. Bernhard 1927, 178-179) – which is probably the major reason why recent editors have been reluctant to adopt the manuscript reading – numerous other figurae etymologicae occur (cf. Nicolini 2007, 131-138; ead. 2011a, 39-55), e.g. 1,8,1 *scortum scortum*; 1,20,2 *fabula fabulosius*; 4,11,6 *suadens persuadere*; 8,7,1 *nimum nimum*; 8,24,1 *fugiens effugere*; 8,27,1 *deformiter ... formati*; 11,16,6 *purissime purificatam*; 11,22,4 *luce lucida*. What is more, the etymological accusative can be found in *Socr.* 17 p. 157 *praecauenda praecauit et praemonenda praemonuit*; cf. also the conjecture in *met.* 11,30,4 *disseminationes, quas ... doctrina ... serebat* (with comm. ad loc.). Griffiths’ argument that the context here is too serious to suggest wordplay fails to appreciate Apuleius’ way of talking lightheartedly even about serious things (cf. the examples in 11,16,6 and 11,22,4 cited above; Nicolini in *AAGA* 3 on wordplay in *met.* 11; Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 132-137 on Apuleius’ inclusive ideal of lighthearted style). Cf. for a similar deliberation about a prophetic vision 11,20,2 *imaginem diu diuque apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam* and the painful climax of Lucius’ rumination in 11,29,3 *me cogitationis aestu fluctuantem ad instar insaniae percitum* (see comm. ad loc. below).

exercitius: comparative form based on an unattested adverb *exercite* (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *exerceo* 1379,31-46, providing the meanings ‘sollicitus’, ‘studiosus’, and ‘efficacius’); Apuleius is the first Latin writer to use this form, apparently as an alternative to *exercitatus* (from *exercitate*, cf. *ThLL* s.v. *exercito* 1389,61-66).

noua ... inaudita: the phrase ‘novel and unheard of’ is particularly familiar from rhetorical contexts, cf. many examples in *ThLL* s.v. *inauditus* 837,60-838,34 (‘de eis quae tempore noua vel insolita sunt’) and especially from Cicero’s speeches, (cf. e.g. *Pis.* 48 *noua quaedam et inaudita luxuries*; *Quinct.* 56 *Vulgaria et obsoleta sunt, res autem noua atque inaudita*; *S. Rosc.* 82 *inaudita nobis ante hoc tempus ac noua obiecit*; *Verr.* 2,5,117 *noua postulat, inaudita desiderat*). Usually this phrase conveys indignation, hence here it may involve Lucius’ annoyance about what seems to him unfair treatment. Cf. the similar phrase in the similar situation of 11,27,1 *nouum mirumque*; cf. also 11,3,3 *mirandam speciem*. Our passage is also reminiscent of Lucius’ self-characterization as *sititor ... nouitatis* in 1,2,6 and of his defence of *auditu noua* in 1,3,3. The difference here is that Lucius is not actively looking for marvels and that they are exclusively related to religion. For the marvellous in Book 11 see Introduction, 5.2 with n. 162 and 5.3 with n. 176.

se ... porrigeret: ‘aim at’, ‘lead to’. The only – but close – parallel for a metaphorical use of *se porrigerere* appears to be *Ov. trist.* 3,11,5-6 *quis gradus ulterior, quo se tua porrigat ira, / restat?* Like Ovid, Lucius launches into a (quasi) complaint about unfair treatment; in both cases, the impersonal phrase *se ... porrigerere* underlines that the speaker faces an unassailable higher power (an anonymous detractor in Ovid; the gods in Apuleius).

caelestium ... intentio: for the plural cf. above on 11,29,1 *deum*. According to *ThLL* s.v. *intentio* 2120,65-2121,43, the meaning ‘aim’, ‘purpose’, ‘intention’ occurs before Apuleius only in Pliny the Younger. In *paneg.* 69,6 it is used of a higher authority, the emperor (*cuius haec intentio est, ut nobiles et conseruet et efficiat*).

subsiciuum: originally a technical term of the *agrimensores* to designate odd plots of land left over at the end of an allotment. The metaphorical use is usually confined to spare time (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2). A broader metaphorical use is first attested in Apuleius (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3 and 4; *met.* 3,8,5 *una tantum subsiciua sollicitudo nobis relicta est*; 8,23,3 *me relictum solum ac subsiciuum*) and is rare after him, cf. e.g. Arnob. *nat.* 5,30 *subsiciuis ... laudibus*; Lact. *opif.* 12,15 *subsiciua suboles*. Also see *GCA* 1985, 198 on 8,23,3 *subsiciuum*.

traditioni: cf. on this term comm. on 11,21,7 *ipsamque traditionem ... celebrari*.

11,29,3 ‘Nimirum perperam uel minus plene consuluerunt in me sacerdos uterque.’ Et hercules iam de fide quoque eorum opinari coeptabam sequius. Quo me cogitationis aestu fluctuantem ad instar insaniae percitum sic instruxit nocturna diuinatione clemens imago. ‘Doubtless both priests advised me wrongly, or at least incompletely.’ And, by Hercules, I already began to think negatively even about their good faith. While I was tossed on this tide of speculation and excited to the point of madness, a kindly nocturnal apparition instructed me thus:

‘Nimirum ... consuluerunt ... uterque’ ... *coeptabam*: editors prior to Helm 1955 (1907) put neither quotation marks around *nimirum ... uterque* nor a punctuation mark after *uterque*. In a ‘normal’ historical account one would in this case expect the anteriority of the priests’ advice to be marked by a pluperfect – hence Blümner’s (1894, 312) conjecture *consuluerant* (adopted by Van der Vliet 1897). However, Helm saw that the phrase (*nimirum ... uterque*) is vividly focalized: the narrator talks as if he is in the narrated situation right now. This gives to each of the two clauses a different status and accounts for the fact that their tenses do not relate to each other. Helm’s punctuation makes any further speculation unnecessary (as Robertson 1945 points out in his apparatus).

nimirum: the adverb is used with a certain irony here (cf. *OLD* s.v. c): the narrator now knows better.

perperam: cf. generally *GCA* 2000, 155 on 10,8,4 *perperam*; in our passage there seems to be a solemn connotation of moral wrongdoing and breaking trust implied, reminiscent of uses of this adverb in formal and juridical language (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1621,29-1622,9; our passage in 1621,64-65; *ibid.* 1622,56-1623,12 for juridical contexts).

consuluerunt ... sacerdos uterque: the sense-construction, generally frequent with the pronoun *uterque* (cf. *LHSz* 2,437), is avoided in classical prose when the verb precedes the subject as in our passage (cf. Callebat 1968, 336; *LHSz* 2,439). The two priests are Mithras and Asinius Marcellus.

opinari ... sequius: for Lucius’ doubts see introduction to this chapter (1. The third initiation); for the phrase 11,6,4 *nec ... figuram tuam repente mutatam sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur* with comm. ad loc.

cogitationis aestu fluctuantem: the image of the ‘waves of emotion’ is a particular favourite of Apuleius. It occurs a number of times in *met.* (cf. *GCA* 1977, 28 on 4,2,1 *Ergo igitur cum in isto cogitationis salo fluctuarem*), but also in *Socr.* 12 p. 146 (*motu cordis et salo mentis ad omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare*) and *apol.* 31,9

(*ab aestibus fretorum ad aestus amorum*). As often in *met.* (cf. 4,2,1 cited above; also e.g. 7,4,1 *Talibus cogitationibus fluctuantem subit me illa cura ...*), the image marks a juncture in the narrative and leads up to new events, here the address of the *clemens imago* and the following happy ending. Harrison 2005b (172 on our passage) draws attention to the model of epic poetry (esp. Vergil’s *Aeneid*) and to the comic incongruity of the image in *met.* against this backdrop. In a religious reading, the dignified metaphor could be said to correspond to the significance of the subject at stake, i.e. religious happiness. Generally on the image of ‘waves of emotion’ in Apuleius see Schmeling and Montiglio 2006. For the ‘waves of emotion’ as a feature of Lucius’ characterisation in Book 11 see Introduction, 5.2 and 6.2 with nn. 223-224.

ad instar: cf. for this prepositional phrase comm. on 11,21,7 *ad instar uoluntariae mortis*.

insaniae: for other instances of *insania* in *met.* cf. 3,18,5 *in insani modum Aiakis armatus* (cf. Van der Paardt 1971, 140 ad loc.); 9,36,4 *ad extremam insaniam uecors*. Generally on madness in *met.* cf. Hilton 2009, who argues that Lucius’ fits of insanity correspond to the progressive breakdown of his social world. Our passage is adduced as evidence that Lucius’ reconciliation with this world at the end of *met.* is not total (cf. *ibid.* 102 with n. 47).

percitum: for Apuleius’ frequent use of the participle *percitus* cf. *GCA* 1985, 63 on 8,5,10 *percito*. It is here used for a feeling of panic, similar to 8,5,10.

clemens imago: the identity of this *imago* is as unclear as the identity of the apparition in 11,28,4 (see comm. there on *inquit* and see introduction to Ch. XXVIII [1. The costs and difficulties of Lucius’ second initiation]). Griffiths 1975 ad loc. argues that since *imago* in 11,20,2 (*Hanc experrectus imaginem diu diuque apud cogitationes meas reuoluebam*) refers to a priest, a priestly figure is referred to here as well. Others (cf. e.g. *ThLL* s.v. *clemens* 1332,35; Festugière 1954, 164 n. 143; Fugier 1963, 297-298 n. 7) suggest Isis, but this is very unlikely considering that the *imago* refers to the goddess in the third person (11,29,5 *exuias deae*) and that she has not appeared in the immediate context; nor is Osiris an easy option, for only in 11,30,3 it is said that he himself appeared to Lucius. Cf. 5,4,1 *clemens quidam sonus aures eius accedit*, where Psyche is similarly addressed by an unknown voice (*pace GCA* 2004, 131-132, F’s *demens*, corrected by most editors, seems improbable here). Perhaps Apuleius wished to create a similar sense of mystery in our passage (see introduction to this chapter [1. The third initiation]). In classical literature, *clemens* is not a frequent attribute of gods, but cf. already Plaut. *Trin.* 827 *placido te* [sc. Neptune] *et clementi ... usus sum*. It is more often used for the Christian god (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1332,38-46). Note also some uses of emperors (Cic. *fam.* 6,6,8 *in Caesare ... mitis clemensque natura*; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 6 *uirutis clementiaeque iustitiae et pietatis causa*; Quint. *inst.* 5,13,6: *clementi* [sc. principi], referring to the emperor’s role as a mild judge), which could have facilitated associations of Osiris with the first man at Rome (see introduction to Ch. XXVII [2. Osiris and Rome]). By the 4th century A.D., *clemens* has become a frequent and solemn attribute of emperors (*ThLL* s.v. 1332,48-57).

For *imago* relating to dreams or dream visions cf. *ThLL* s.v. 409,3-22; in *met.* 1,18,5; 8,9,3; 11,13,6; 11,20,2 (cited above); 11,27,7. The relatively high frequency of the term in *met.* 11 matches the high frequency of dream visions in this book (cf.

comm. on 11,3,2 *uenerandos diis etiam uultus attollens emergit diuina facies*). The adjective *clemens* ('mild', 'calm', 'gentle') is not found with *imago* otherwise in Roman literature. Here it provides a marked contrast with Lucius' previous agitation and anticipates the reassuring content of the following speech. For other instances of *clemens* in Book 11 see 11,7,5 *clementi motu* and 11,27,5 *sinistri ... uestigio* with comm. ad loc.

11,29,4 'Nihil est' inquit 'quod numerosa serie religionis, quasi quicquam sit prius omisum, terreare. Quin adsidua ista numinum dignatione laetus capesse gaudium, et potius exulta ter futurus quod alii uel semel uix conceditur, teque de isto numero merito praesume semper beatum. 'There is no reason', it said, 'to be frightened by the numerous series of rituals, as if something had been omitted before. Be happy and take joy instead in this constant appreciation by the gods. Exult, rather, in the fact that you are going to be three times what is hardly even once permitted to another, and from that number you should rightly consider yourself to be forever blessed.

quod numerosa serie religionis quasi quicquam: Schober 1904, 12 observes a sequence of four choriambics, beginning with *quod* and ending with *quic(quam)*; this might play on the semantics of *numerosa*, for the original meaning of this word is related to metre (cf. *OLD* s.v. *numerosus* 5 'harmonious, rhythmical'); only in the imperial period did it take on the general meaning 'numerous', in which sense it is used six times in *met.* (cf. Callebat 1968, 154 and *GCA* 1977, 76 on 4,9,2 *numerosa*). In any case the choriambics vividly bring out the notion of seriality indicated by the phrase *numerosa serie*. Cf. comm. on 11,27,4 *occupato sedili meo* and 11,28,4 *ipsum praereceptum fuerat specialiter: 'An tu ...'*.

religionis: the abstract singular *religio* stands for a specific set of rites; cf. for this use of *religio* *OLD* s.v. 8b 'religious practice, custom, ritual'. A related use can be found in 1,13,6 *a uictimae religione* (cf. *GCA* 2007, 272 ad loc.) and a number of times in Book 11 (cf. 11,1,4 *eum numerum praecipue religionibus aptissimum* with comm. ad loc.; 11,12,2 *ne ... religionis quietus turbaretur ordo*; 11,21,7 *magna religionis ... silentia*).

terreare: Hildebrand 1842 adopts the indicative *terrere* in the belief that *terreare* was a scribal 'normalization' of the manuscript reading *trere* in F and other early manuscripts, resolved into the subjunctive *terreare* in the *editio princeps* and v. But Hildebrand's case (tentatively defended by Marsili 1964 ad loc.) is weak. Not only does the *ε* in F suggest the letter *a* in the original word, but the cases of indicative after general negative expressions like our *nihil est* are extremely rare (cf. the few references in Hildebrand ad loc.). There is no parallel for such a construction in Apuleius. Add to this that the connection of phrases like *nihil est* with subjunctive verbs of fear is idiomatic (cf. just a number of instances from Plautus and Cicero: Plaut. *Amph.* 1132 *nihil est quod timeas*; *Capt.* 741; *Pseud.* 1066; Cic. *Verr.* 2,2,180; *Rab. Post.* 11; *fam.* 9,26,4; 11,13,3; *Att.* 2,17,1).

Quin: the intensifying use of *quin* is characteristic of familiar speech and frequent in Apuleius (cf. LHSz 2,676-677; Callebat 1968, 92-93). In *met.* it usually goes with

an indicative, but the imperative in our passage is not unconventional either (cf. *OLD* s.v. A1b).

numinum dignatione: for the plural cf. above on 11,29,1 *deum*. The reference to the divine favour enjoyed by Lucius suggests that here Isis and Osiris are meant. Cf. the singular phrases in 11,21,8 (*magni numinis dignatione*) and 11,22,5 (*quem ... numen augustum tantopere dignatur*), where Isis is referred to. For the idea of *dignatio* by the gods, characteristic of *met.* 11, see comm. on 11,4,3 *diuina me uoce dignata est*.

laetus ... gaudium: while Helm 1955 (1907) notes *laetus* as his own conjecture, Robertson 1945 and Martos 2003 assign it to v. It cannot be found, however, in early manuscripts, nor is there any trace of *laetus* in standard editions prior to Helm. The conjecture (adopted e.g. by Helm 1955 [1907], Robertson 1945, Griffiths 1975 and Hanson 1989) balances the otherwise vague ablative *dignatione* (cf. 5,12,1 *nuntio Psyche laeta*). F's *laetum* (adopted e.g. by Médan 1925a, Giarratano 1929, Fredouille 1975, Martos 2003, and Zimmerman 2012) is defended by Médan and Fredouille with Apuleius' preference for redundant phrases (cf. for *met.* 11 e.g. 11,1,1 *silentiosa secreta* and comm. ad loc.; 11,2,1 *primis ... exordiis*; 11,3,3 *dapsilem copiam*; *ibid. elocutilis facundiae*; 11,4,1 *flammeos ... ignes*; 11,9,2 *obuium ... obsequium*; 11,18,1 *pigra ... tarditate*; 11,30,1 *supinam procrastinationem*). For *gaudium* as a dominant motif of *met.* 11, cf. comm. on 11,30,5 *gaudens*; Introduction, 4.2.1 (last paragraph).

capesse gaudium: formed on the collocation *capere gaudium*, attested from Livy onwards (27,51,6 *cum uix gaudium animis caperent*); cf. *met.* 11,14,1 *animo meo tam repentinum tamque magnum non capiente gaudium*. As in 11,14,1, Lucius here is not ready to benefit from the joy in store for him. The intensive verb *capessere* underscores the urgency of profiting from it. The demand is echoed in 11,29,5 *animo gaudiali* and the concluding phrase of *met.* 11,30,5 *munia ... gaudens obibam*.

ter: for Lucius' three initiations and the sacred nature of the number three see introduction to this chapter (2. Religious seriousness or comedy?); for the general intensive force of *ter* in benedictions and addresses cf. 11,16,4 *ter beatus* with comm. ad loc.

futurus: all manuscripts and all editors agree on this form. Still, the phrase 'you will be three times ...' is somewhat puzzling as we never hear exactly what Lucius will be. All recent English translators except Relihan 2007 ("You shall three times be ...") avoid the issue by choosing alternative phrases: "you will experience" (Hanson 1989); "you will have a role" (Walsh 1994); "what is granted ... will be yours" (Kenney 1998). The Renaissance scholar Fulvio Orsini suggested *fruiturus* (reported e.g. in Oudendorp 1786 and Hildebrand 1842 ad loc.), 'you will enjoy three times ...' – an attractive conjecture considering that finding joy is a major motif in this sentence (cf. *laetus ... gaudium* above with comm. ad loc.; the imperative *exulta*, 'rejoice', immediately before our phrase; *beatum* at the end of the sentence). Jacobson 2007, 800 proposes, somewhat less convincingly, *facturus*: 'you will do [i.e. perform the conversion rite] three times ...'.

quod: the neuter pronoun refers to a personal subject (*futurus*); cf. for this – not unusual – construction *met.* 3,22,1, *quiduis aliud magis videbar esse quam Lucius* and the comm. of Van der Paardt 1971, 164-165 ad loc.; generally KSt II.1, 33.

praesume: in the meaning ‘consider’, ‘think’ (as always in Apuleius) this verb is attested only from the 1st century A.D. onwards, but common in Apuleius’ time (cf. Callebat 1968, 167).

semper: Leo (in his annotations to the proofs of Helm 1955 [1907]) suggested replacing *semper* with *ter*, probably looking to 11,16,4 *ter beatus*. While this would certainly make an additional point in a sentence revolving around the number three (cf. *numerosa serie*; *ter futurus*) it is unwarranted with respect to transmission and sense. *Semper* makes a good point, too, in that it implies Lucius’ perpetual joy in the service of Isis and Osiris.

11,29,5 Ceterum futura tibi sacrorum traditio pernecessaria est, si tecum nunc saltem reputaueris exuuias deae quas in prouincia sumpsisti in eodem fano depositas perseuerare, nec te Romae diebus sollempnibus uel supplicare iis uel, cum praeceptum fuerit, felici illo amictu illustrari posse. Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit, animo gaudiali rursum sacris initiare deis magnis auctoribus.’ Besides, the upcoming bestowal of the rites is absolutely necessary in your case, if you now at least reflect upon the fact that the goddess’s garments you assumed in the province remain in storage in that very temple; so that you will not be able, on feast days in Rome, either to worship them or to receive radiance from that happy attire when you are bidden to do so. This may be favourable, auspicious, and salutary for you: with joyful heart be initiated once again at the behest of the great gods.’

traditio: cf. on this term comm. on 11,21,7 *ipsamque traditionem ... celebrari*.

pernecessaria: ‘absolutely essential’; before Apuleius (where the word occurs only in this passage) the adjective is found only in Cicero (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *pernecessarius*).

exuuias deae: the term is usually referred to the *Olympiaca stola* with which Lucius is invested during the first initiation in 11,24,2-3; cf. comm. ad loc.) and which he is said to have left in the temple of Cenchræae (cf. below on *in eodem fano*). The fact that this investment takes place *ante deae simulacrum* (11,24,2) and that a little later Lucius’ attire is called *in uicem simulacri* (11,24,4) accounts for the phrase *exuuias deae*, even though the *Olympiaca stola* clearly has Osirian implications. A reference to this cultic garment seems undeniable considering that at the end of our sentence we hear of an – apparently well-known – *felici illo amictu*. However, *exuuias* might have a more inclusive meaning in our passage: nowhere in Apuleius does this term refer to just a piece of clothing (cf. *met.* 2,30,2; 3,18,4; 9,4,3; 11,10,2; *apol.* 15,12; 51,6; *Socr.* 14 p. 149; 23 p. 173). Especially in *met.* 11,10,2 (*potentissimorum deum proferebant insignis exuuias*), referring to the priests of Isis and thus providing the closest parallel to our passage, it is noteworthy that *exuuias* denotes a variety of sacred objects associated with the Egyptian cult. This more general meaning of *exuuias* for attributes of the gods, carried and displayed in processions, is well attested (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2132,34-61, citing our passage). It may be, therefore, that *exuuias deae* here should first generally remind Lucius of the sacred objects (including the *Olympiaca stola*) left in Cenchræae, and that the most distinctive of these objects is then singled out by *felici illo amictu* (on which see below). Fredouille

1975 thinks that the allusion to the *Olympiaca stola* in our passage suggests that the third initiation specifically relates to Isis, but this is improbable given that after the necessary preparations it is Osiris who appears to Lucius in 11,30,3.

in prouincia: from Lucius’ perspective the phrase need not imply an exact geographical reference to a particular province, but could mean *the* province in general as opposed to Rome (cf. examples for this general use of *prouincia* in *ThLL* s.v. 2335,24-47; 11,28,2 *erogationes urbicae* as opposed to *pristinis illis prouinciis*; see Introduction, 4.2.3). From an objective historical perspective, of course, the province of Achaëa is the obvious referent, since the Roman colony of Corinth, where Lucius had his first initiation, was the seat of the governor of Achaëa (generally on Roman Corinth cf. e.g. Engels 1989).

in eodem fano ... perseuerare: the cultic practice described here is only known from this passage (cf. Griffiths 1975 on *exuuias dei*). There is a certain resemblance to Plutarch’s description of the robe of Osiris, worn only once for a special occasion and then preserved untouched (*de Isid. et Os.* 77, *Mor.* 382C); but this does not seem quite what Apuleius has in mind, not to speak of the fact that he attributes the *Olympiaca stola* to Isis (*exuuias deae*). A scholion to Aristophanes’ *Plutus* 845 (cited in this context at least since Pricæus 1650) says it was customary for the initiates at Eleusis to dedicate in some temple (εἰς θεοῦ τινοῦ) the robe in which they experienced the rites. For potential narrative reasons motivating Apuleius’ description see introduction to this chapter (1. The third initiation). See also comm. on 11,9,5 *cataclista*, where the derivation of the word implies a precious robe which is usually kept in storage (Gr. κατάκλειστος ‘shut up’).

in eodem fano: F’s *fano* does not make sense here; *fano*, found in *α*, is adopted by most editors. Wowerius 1606, Pricæus 1650, and Oudendorp 1786 prefer *solo* known from a number of later manuscripts. *Solo* (‘soil’) would account best for *eodem*, with the phrase *in eodem solo* picking up on the preceding *prouincia*. But the wider context suggests a sanctuary (*fanum*), namely Isis’ temple in Cenchræae (cf. 11,16,10 *alacres ad fanum reditum capessunt*), as the place where Lucius left the goddess’ *exuuias* behind (see above on *exuuias deae*). *Eodem* would in this case refer to the idea of the sanctuary in the province, already present to the mind of the speaker.

perseuerare: the use of this verb in the sense ‘remain at a place’ is rare, especially with inanimate subjects (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1704,50-1705,24); a parallel before Apuleius is provided, however, by Sen. *dial.* 6,10,1 *pauca usque ad finem perseuerabunt*.

diebus sollempnibus: probably the feast days of the Isiac calendar; cf. for these e.g. Malaise 1972b, 217-230; for Isiac feasts as a chronological backdrop to the events of *met.* 11 see e.g. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 52-55; Introduction, 4.1.2.

nec ... uel ... uel: for *uel* instead of *aut* in *met.* cf. on 11,6,4 *nec ... uel*.

iis: the antecedent is *exuuias*. An ablative (in its associative sense) seems needed here (cf. e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* 852 *eo ornato aduenit*; Cic. *Pis.* 92 *ueste seruili nauem conscendit*), expressing the idea that Lucius worships ‘with/in’ Isis’ *exuuias*. The harsh construction (there does not seem to be a parallel for this use of *supplicare* with a mere ablative pronoun and without a dative at least implied) has prompted a number of conjectures which either indicate the ablative more clearly (as in Van der Vliet’s [1897] <*in*> *iis*) or supply a dative to go with *supplicare* (Robertson 1945 considers *diis* in his apparatus). Ryle 1968 ad loc. refers our *iis* to *numinum* in 11,29,4 (cf.

11,26,3 *supplicare summo numini reginae Isidis*) – which is difficult because of the distance of the antecedent. Reitzenstein ³1927, 179 (followed by Harrauer 1973) regards *iis* (*exuuiis*) itself as a dative, but the resulting idea of worshipping Isis' robes is strange and does not find any support in historical cult.

praeceptum fuerit: the 'augmented future perfect' (instead of *praeceptum erit*) occurs regularly in later Latin (cf. LHSz 2,324); the phenomenon can be compared to the frequent 'augmented pluperfect', cf. on 11,7,4 *fuerat insecutus*.

felici illo amictu illustrari: most probably the *Olympiaca stola* is meant (cf. above on *exuuias deae*). Its attribute *felix* ('fortunate', 'auspicious') ties in with the dense web of references to joy and happiness in *met.* 11 (cf. above comm. on 11,29,4 *laetus ... gaudium*; for the notion of *felicitas* in particular comm. on 11,11,3 *felici suo gremio*; here below *Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit*). For *illustrari* and its connotation of spiritual enlightenment cf. comm. on 11,27,2 *sacris inlustratum*. No specific ritual or procedure need be referred to by Lucius' 'receiving radiance' in his new attire: the idea that robes belonging to the Egyptian cult literally shine is paralleled e.g. in 11,9,2 *Mulieres candido splendentibus amictimine* (of women preceding the initiates) and 11,10,1 *lintheae uestis candore puro luminosi* (of the initiates themselves); cf. also 11,24,4, where Lucius wears the *Olympiaca stola* and is presented to the onlookers *ad instar Solis*.

illustrari: perhaps the verb here implies associations with spiritual enlightenment and with the solar aspect of Osiris, cf. comm. on 11,27,2 *sacris inlustratum*.

Quod ... sit: after the celebrated formula (quoted e.g. in Cic. *div.* 1,102 *quod bonum, faustum felix fortunatumque esset*) with which the Roman senate started its proceedings. Cf. the similar phrase in *met.* 2,6,8 (*Quod bonum felix et faustum itaque, licet salutare non erit, Photis illa temptetur*) and *GCA* 2001, 141 ad loc. The parallelism between the two passages is evident and could be read in either way, as comic continuity (although it does not seem to have been exploited in comic readings so far) or as religious change (cf. e.g. Wlosok 1969, 78-79 [= 1999, 151]; Schmidt 1982, 270). The term *salutare* here alludes to Lucius' spiritual salvation, a recurrent theme in *met.* 11, where *salus* and related terms occur much more frequently than in *met.* 1 – 10 (cf. 11,1,3 *Fato ... spem salutis, licet tardam, ministrante*; 11,5,1 *maris salubria flamina*; 11,5,4 *dies salutaris*; 11,12,1 *salutemque ipsam meam gerens sacerdos*; 11,21,6 *salutis tutelam*; 11,21,7 *precariae salutis ... salutis curricula*; 11,22,2 *deae potentis benignitas salutaris*; 11,25,2 *salutarem porrigas dexteram*). For the theme of *salus* in other books of *met.* see *GCA* 2001, 25 and Graverini 2007, 65 [= 2012, 58-59].

itaque: usually Apuleius places *itaque* in *met.* in second position; here we have one of three cases where it occurs in third position, cf. *met.* 1,16,1 *In cubiculum itaque reuersus*; 7,10,5 *Decem mihi itaque legatē comites*; cf. Bernhard 1927, 27-28. Both uses are well attested before Apuleius, cf. *ThLL* s.v. 528,59-529,22. The late position here seems to be motivated by the wish to adumbrate the formula first, comparable to 2,6,8 where *itaque* is singularly put in sixth position, after the whole formula: *quod bonum felix et faustum itaque, licet salutare non erit*.

gaudiali: the adjective *gaudialis* is only attested in *met.* in Roman literature (apart from here in 2,31,2; 8,15,4; 8,29,1 with *GCA* 1985, 145 on *gaudiali*). The neologism

adds further significance to the motif of joy in *met.* 11 (cf. comm. on 11,29,4 *laetus ... gaudium* and on 11,30,5 *gaudens*).

sacris initiare: cf. 11,10,1 *turbae sacris diuinis initiatae*; 11,19,2 *sacris suis me ... censebat initiari*; for a potential autobiographical link 3,15,4 *sacris pluribus initiatus* with Van der Paardt 1971, 115 ad loc.

deis magnis auctoribus: for the plural cf. above on 11,29,1 *deum*; for the ablative absolute in final position, frequent in *met.*, Bernhard 1927, 44-45.

CHAPTER XXX

In a dream, Osiris encourages Lucius in rhetoric; Lucius is elected *pastophorus*.

1. Where is the third initiation?

In the narrative economy of *met.* this final chapter is supposed to contain Lucius' third initiation, but we actually hear only of the necessary preparations (11,30,1). When does the third initiation take place? Griffiths 1975 seems to have in mind some time after the apparition of Osiris (cf. his comm. on 11,30,3 *uisus est*), but he does not refer to a particular passage. Merkelbach 2001, 303 supposes that the last sentence reports the initiation, but it is more likely that this sentence talks only about Lucius' life as *pastophorus* – surely he would be elected into this office only after the initiation? By analogy with the second initiation (cf. the preparations in 11,28,5, the following initiation proper in the same section, and the account of Lucius' success in 11,28,6) the rites concerning the third initiation should fall between the end of 11,30,1, concerned with the preparations, and the start of 11,30,2, dealing with Lucius' rhetorical success in a manner similar to 11,28,6. The fact that there is no mention at all of rites here is not so surprising, taking into account that the second initiation has already been reported extremely briefly (cf. on 11,28,5 *principalis ... inlustratus*). The interest in the details of the initiation itself seems to decrease constantly, from the first to the second to the third initiation. The account of personal success achieved through the initiations is in inverse proportion: while there was no mention of it after the first initiation and only a comparatively brief passage after the second, the description of Lucius' rhetorical activities after the third initiation takes up three sections – almost the whole remainder of the story.

2. The lack of detail

Perhaps the absence of details concerning Lucius' second and third initiations is also motivated by the abstract nature of Osiris. It would have been difficult to find a narrative reconciliation of specific rites and abstract divinity. This applies *a fortiori* to the final, direct, vision of Osiris, who is not described in any visual detail (a notable contrast with the elaborate description of Isis in Ch. III-IV). Perhaps there is a link with Apuleius' Middle Platonist tenets: a number of scholars have argued for a loose correspondence between his daemonology (best known from *De deo Socratis*) and the theological system of *met.* 11, with Isis acting as kind of daemon who leads the initiate to the ultimate, abstract, god Osiris (cf. e.g. Wlosok, 1969, 81-84 [= 1999, 154-156]; Heller 1983, 325-329; Dowden 2006, 56; cf. the Essay by Drews in this volume). This would explain why we never get a description of Osiris beyond the 'ever greater attributes' assigned to him in 11,30,3 (Wlosok 1969, 81 [= 1999, 154]; cf. Laird 1997, 80-82). Even when Lucius claims to have seen Osiris *coram*, he does not begin to convey an idea of his actual appearance. Cf. *apol.* 55-56 and *Socr.* 3 p. 124

for Apuleius' idea that the highest Platonic god is abstract and indescribable. Surely the fact that Osiris has a voice (11,30,3 *adfamine*) can be excused as poetic licence.

3. Is our ending complete?

A number of scholars have expressed their doubts that the last sentence of F is the original ending of *met.* (the most recent summary of the debate is given in Tilg 2014a, 133-148). Pecere 1987 draws attention to what seems to be a *lacuna* in F between the texts of *met.* (ending on fol. 183^v and lacking an *explicit* as indicated after *met.* 1 – 10) and *flor.* (starting on fol. 184^r, after six blank lines). The blank lines almost certainly indicate a *lacuna*, but it remains unclear a) if this refers just to the beginning of the *Florida* or extends to the ending of the *Metamorphoses* too; and b) if a potential loss of text at the end of the *Metamorphoses* contained more than just the *explicit*. Pecere's idea that the smaller and tighter handwriting in the last lines of fol. 183^v (see introduction to Ch. XXVIII [4. The ending of the manuscript]) is due to a mutilated model rather than to the scribe's wish of getting the full ending onto one remaining page (which here is also the last page of a gathering) is not entirely convincing (cf. Ammannati 2011, 229-230). Ammannati 2011, 232-235 provides a more functional account of the smaller handwriting at the end of *met.*: she argues that the scribe recognized a *lacuna* of exactly one leaf between *met.* and *flor.*, and hence separated the texts on facing pages so the *lacuna* could be filled by the insertion of a leaf at a later point. But this is still not an argument for the incompleteness of *met.* rather than *flor.* To make this argument, Ammannati adds the observation that the transmitted text of *met.* 11 ends with the 'weak' punctuation mark of a simple point, whereas we find a stronger punctuation mark, the 'two points and comma' (that is a comma surmounted by two points) at the end of the *Apology* and the *Florida*. This punctuation mark can often be found in Beneventan manuscripts of roughly the same time and is used at the end of larger sections (cf. Loew 1914, 228 and 232). But Ammannati fails to add that we find a simple point after all the books of *met.* except Books 2, 3, and 4, where the two points and comma occurs.

Taking her cue from Pecere's palaeographic findings, Van Mal-Maeder 1997a makes a case for a lost original comic ending comparable to that of the *Onos* (supported by Holzberg since the second edition [2001] of his introduction to the ancient novel, cf. Holzberg 2006, 109-111). For arguments against this view cf. Graverini 2003a, 182 (most importantly: we already have a *nostos* to Corinth in *met.*; and Lucius' journey to Rome corresponds to the movement from Greece to Rome announced in the Prologue); see also Zimmerman in *AAGA* 3, 26-27. Further, if precarious, arguments in favour of completeness refer to possible signals of closure implied in Lucius' baldness (taken as metaphor for the final polishing of the papyrus roll) and to the last word of the transmitted text, *obibam* (taken as connoting the ultimate ending: death); see Tilg 2014a, 139-148 and comm. on 11,30,5 *raso capillo ... quoquoersus obuio* and *obibam* below.

11,30,1 Hactenus diuini somnii suada maiestas quod usus foret pronuntiauit. Nec deinceps postposito uel in supinam procrastinationem reiecto negotio, statim sacerdoti meo relatis quae

uideram, inanimae protinus castimoniae iugum subeo et lege perpetua praescriptis illis decem diebus spontali sobrietate multiplicatis instructum teletae comparo largit<ionib>us, ex studio pietatis magis quam mensura <re>rum collatis. Thus the persuasive majesty of the divine dream proclaimed what was required. Then, without postponing the business or setting it aside in sluggish procrastination, I instantly reported to my priest what I had seen, immediately submitted to the yoke of inanimate abstinence, increased out of voluntary continence those ten days prescribed by everlasting law and procured the supplies for my initiation by collecting funds, more in accordance with religious zeal than with the measure of my assets.

Hactenus: in two out of four occurrences in *met.*, *hactenus* has the peculiar meaning of *prorsus* (3,20,4 and 6,18,3; cf. Callebat 1968, 324; Van der Paardt 1971, 152-153 on 3,20,4 *hactenus*; *ThLL* s.v. *hic* 2752,17-21). Here it is more normally used as a temporal adverb marking the end of an utterance, cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2750,22-75: ‘a) significatur hucusque satis dictum esse (vox narrationem abruptentis); b) comprehenduntur quae adhuc dicta sunt.’ Both nuances are present in our passage. A similar use can be found in 9,22,1 *Hactenus adhuc anicula garriente suscipit mulier*, although *GCA* 1995, 193 ad loc. attempts to relate this passage to the rare meaning of *hactenus* cited above.

quod usus foret: for the phrase *usus est* cf. *OLD* s.v. *usus* 14, citing our passage. A close parallel is e.g. *Lucr.* 4,831 *ut facere ad uitam possemus quae foret usus*.

nec ... uel: for *uel* instead of *aut* in *met.* cf. on 11,6,4 *nec ... uel*.

suada: the only attestation of this adjective before Apuleius (where it occurs only here) is *Stat. Theb.* 4,453 (*suadamque cruorem*). In *apol.* 18,2, we find *benesuada*; the variant *malesuada* is used in *Plaut. Most.* 213 and *Verg. Aen.* 6,276. The feminine form *suada* in particular recalls the name of the goddess *Suada*, coined by Ennius (*ann.* 308; cf. Skutsch 1985 ad loc.), and based on the Greek personification of persuasion, Πειθώ. In our passage, then, the adjective gives the *maiestas* of the dream additional divine authority enriched by an ‘Ennian’ touch. Clearly the majestic apparition *is* persuasive as it dispels Lucius’ doubts completely. From now on he is fully dedicated to the initiation and even happily exceeds the usual preparations (cf. *decem diebus spontali sobrietate multiplicatis* below).

deinceps: probably not dependent on *postposito ... negotio*, as suggested by Harrauer (‘postpone the business until later’), but simply ‘then’ (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 406,15-38). In *met.* this adverb occurs only here.

supinam: for the metaphorical use in the sense ‘lazy’, ‘inert’ cf. *OLD* s.v. *supinus* 5. At least in Apuleius’ time this meaning of the adjective is not distinctly poetic, as Médan 1925a and Harrauer 1973 ad loc. suggest (cf. e.g. *Quint. inst.* 9,4,137; 10,2,17; 11,3,3). For Apuleius’ predilection for pleonastic attributes (*supinam procrastinationem*) cf. comm. on 11,1,1 *silentiosa secreta*.

procrastinationem: a rare word, which occurs only here in Apuleius; before him it is found only in *Cic. Phil.* 6,7 *in rebus gerendis tarditas et procrastinatio odiosa est*.

sacerdoti meo: the reference is either to Asinius Marcellus, who supervised Lucius’ second initiation (so Griffiths 1975 ad loc.); or to a new, anonymous, priest specially assigned to Lucius’ third initiation (so Harrauer 1973 ad loc.). As we do not

hear otherwise about a new priest, and as we do not know any rules concerning the identity of supervising priests in repeated initiations (Lucius may have invented the repetitions for greater effect, see introduction to Ch. XXIX [2. Religious seriousness or comedy?]), Asinius Marcellus seems the safer bet. In this case, Apuleius would use the personal pronoun *meus* in an anaphoric way known from familiar speech: cf. *ThLL* s.v. 917,84-918,7, citing our passage; *OLD* s.v. 2f. ‘said of a character one has been talking about’; a large number of examples of this use can be found in *LU* 137-139 and 200 (similar to our phrase: *Sen. contr.* 1,2,10 *sacerdotem nostram*). Cf. in *met.* also 7,25,4 *Pastores ... mei*; 9,30,2 *pistoris mei* and *GCA* 1995, 259 ad loc.; also 11,6,3 *sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio*, although here Isis speaks in possessive sense of *her* priest.

relatis: for the ablative absolute without a noun or pronoun, especially followed by a relative clause cf. 11,16,10 *sumptis rursum quae quisque detulerant* and comm. ad loc., and e.g. 4,12,8 *narratisque nobis quae gesta sunt*.

inanimae ... castimoniae: ‘inanimate abstinence’, an unusual phrase, whose meaning becomes clear only against the backdrop of Apuleius’ previous playful concepts alluding to Lucius’ diet. Cf. for ‘inanimate’ food comm. on 11,28,5 *inanimis*; for the idea of abstinence in a similar context see the genitive of inherence in 11,19,3 *castimoniae abstinentiam*. Generally on the significance of *castimonia* in *met.* 11 cf. on 11,6,7 *tenacibus castimoniis*.

iugum subeo: the image of the initiate under the yoke of the deity refers back to 11,15,5 *ministerium iugum subi uoluntarium* (cf. comm. ad loc.). Both occurrences are carefully placed in crucial places of *met.* 11, one in the ‘keynote’ speech of Mithras, another at the very end of the novel. What is phrased as a command of the priest in 11,15 is now a spontaneous action of Lucius.

subeo ... comparo: the historical present emphasizes Lucius’ resolve and purpose.

praescriptis illis decem diebus: cf. the ten-day fast before the first and the second initiations in 11,23,2 *decem continuis illis diebus* and 11,28,5 *decem rursus diebus*; generally on this period and Lucius’ fasting see comm. on 11,23,2 ad loc.

spontali: the adjective *spontalis* seems to be an Apuleian neologism (cf. 4,11,6 *spontale parricidium* with *GCA* 1977, 89-90 ad loc.). According to the *ThLL* material in Munich it does not occur elsewhere in Roman literature. The adverb *spontaliter* can be found in a few late antique authors (*Sidon. epist.* 8,9,2; *Ps. Asper gramm. suppl.* p. 55,18 Hagen).

sobrietate: although abstinence from wine is a requirement for Lucius’ fast in 11,23,2 (*inuinius essem*), the reference here is probably not specifically to intoxication but to Lucius’ diet in general (*pace OLD* s.v. *sobrietas* 1; note that in 11,23,2 abstinence from meat is of equal concern). Cf. the other two occurrences of *sobrietas* in *met.* 5,30,3 *petamne auxilium ab inimica mea Sobrietate*, where Venus turns to the personified *Sobrietas* as if to a goddess of general moderation, and 6,22,1 [sc. *Cupido*] *matris suae repentinam sobrietatem pertimescens*.

instructum teletae comparo: this is only the second attestation of *instructus* after *Cic. de orat.* 3,23 *quocumque ingreditur* (oratio), *eodem est instructu ornatumque comitata*. For the nature of the ‘equipment’ or ‘supplies’ needed for the initiation cf. the parallel in 11,22,8 *ad usum teletae ... praeparanda* with comm. ad loc. An argu-

ment might be made that these supplies relate to food, cf. below on *largitionibus ... collatis*.

teletae: for the neologism cf. comm. on 11,22,8 *teletae*.

largitionibus ... collatis: Lucius collects donations to pay for his final initiation. The two textual problems here (cf. below on *largitionibus* and *mensura rerum*) are usually treated separately, but it seems attractive to kill two birds with one stone: the suspicious *largitus* of F (cf. below) could hide the noun we need to go with *collatis*. Clear examples of *largitio* in the sense of the thing donated are late (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 971,72-80; e.g. Eugipp. *Sev.* 17,4 *largitionem iam in unum collatam*), but as *ThLL* observes the distinction between this rarer concrete and the ‘normal’ abstract sense is often difficult. For *largitionem conferre* cf. furthermore *CIL* X 482 (undated) *multis largitionibus eius in se conlatis* and Firm. *math.* 5,3,22 *Habebunt sane substantiam ex aliena sibi largitione collatam*. For *largitio* cf. also *met.* 7,16,5 *tyrannus sic parcus hordei fuit, ut edacium iumentorum famem corporum humanorum largitione sedaret*. On an interpretative note, there is a remarkable parallel with 4,22,2 *nobis anus illa recens hordeum adfatim et sine ulla mensura largita est*, where Lucius the ass is fed a very large amount of barley: *largita* corresponds to *largitionibus*, *sine ulla mensura* to *magis quam mensura* in our passage. We can add to this that the continuation of the sentence in 4,22,2 (*ut equus quidem meus tanta copia et quidem solus potitus saliares scilicet cenas se esse crederet*) implies a comic cultic context by referring to the proverbially luxurious banquets of the priesthood of the *Salii* (cf. *GCA* 1977, 168 on *saliares ... cenas*; also 7,10,5 *epulas saliares*). Keeping in mind that cultic meals played a part in Lucius’ first and second initiations (cf. comm. on 11,24,4 *suaues epulae* and 11,27,4 *epulas*), it seems possible that the donations collected by Lucius here also have something to do with (or are used for) food for a cultic meal (cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 273-274 and 424-425 for a similar idea concerning Lucius’ purchases for the first initiation, and Bergman 1972a, 334-337 for an interpretation of Lucius’ fast as preparation for a cultic meal). Note also that the only other use of *largitio* in *met.* (cf. 7,16,5 cited above) refers to – barbaric – horse food. For the related conjecture *mensarum* instead of the manuscript *mensurarum* cf. below on *mensura rerum collatis*.

largitionibus: Tilg’s conjecture *largitionibus* was adopted by Zimmerman 2012. For the form *largitionibus* cf. above on *largitionibus ... collatis*. F’s *largitus* is accepted by most editors (e.g. Helm 1955 [1907], Giarratano 1929, Robertson 1945, Terzaghi 1954, Frassinetti 1960, Griffiths 1975, Hanson 1989, Martos 2003) as a rare adverbial form of *largus* (this account can be found already in Beroaldus’ [1500] comm. ad loc.). The single authority for this reading is Nonius’ (p. 514,28-30) report of the use of *largitus* for *large* in Afranius (= *com.* 212 Ribbeck): *Largitus, pro large. Afranius Materteris: ... qui istuc est? quid fles? quid lacrimas largitus? proloquere*. However, the fact that apart from the present passage Apuleius uses only *largiter* as adverb of *largus* (cf. *met.* 4,7,5; 8,16,4; 8,26,6; 8,28,4; 9,22,3; esp. the similar context in 11,18,3 *quod ad cultum sumptumque largiter succederet, deferre prospicue curassent*; also *apol.* 28,1) raises suspicion. Elmenhorstius 1621, Floridus 1688 and Eysenhardt 1869 adopt the comparative form *largius* (cf. e.g. *flor.* 3,4; *Socr.* 1 p. 117). Oudendorp 1786 has *largiter*, also suggested by Brakman 1907, 112-113, who refers to the general negligence of script and abbreviations in the last page of F (see

introduction to Ch. XXVIII [4. The ending of the manuscript]). Indeed, *largitus* and *largiter* would have looked very similar in F (*largit*; v. *largit* [with a dash on the *t*]). The normal abbreviation for *largitionibus* in F would be *largitionib*;, but there are corruptions in the context of our passage and further instances of unusual abbreviations can be found nearby (e.g. *sacerdoti* in 11,30,1 is contracted to *saci*, with a stroke above the letters *ac* and a kind of dot above the – otherwise dotless – *i*; in contrast e.g. with 11,6,2 and 11,6,3, where *sacerdotis* and *sacerdoti* are written in full). Another possibility, tentatively put forward by Fredouille 1975 ad loc., is to read *largitus* as participle of *largiri* (cf. 4,22,2 *anus illa recens hordeum adfatim et sine ulla mensura largita est*; 10,23,6 *largitus de proprio dotem*).

mensura rerum collatis: Harrauer 1973 ad loc., taking *mensura* in the meaning ‘right measure’, ‘moderation’ (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 768,7-769,15), seems to be the only scholar to keep F’s *mensurarum collatis*. But the translation given by her (“mehr aus frommem Drang als aus Streben Maßhalten [entsprechend meiner Mittel]”) is obscure and does not account for the difficult *collatis*. Terzaghi 1954, 5 justly remarks that it is only with ‘an excess of good will’ that the subject of *collatis* could be seen as implied. While the ablative absolute without subject occurs a number of times in *met.* (cf. above, in the same sentence, *relatis*; generally comm. on 11,16,10 *sumtis*), here the end position of the ablative (without a following phrase implying its subject) and the resulting uncertainty as to exactly what its subject would be leave the reader at a loss. The text *mensura rerum collatis*, given by Helm 1955 (1907) from his third edition onwards (it was first tentatively suggested in Eysenhardt’s [1869] apparatus and recently adopted by Martos 2003), is therefore hard to defend. Tilg 2011, 395-396 tentatively proposes *mensarum collatis*, with *mensarum* being inspired by the possible associations with food discussed above under *largitionibus ... collatis*, and *collatis* being either part of an ablative absolute (‘I ... procured the supplies for my initiation ... meeting the expenses more out of zeal for religion than for the tables [i.e., meals]’) or a nominalized adjective in the function of an instrumental ablative (‘I ... procured the supplies for my initiation ... more out of religious zeal than with the contributions of tables [i.e., meals]’). The correction of *mensurarum* to *mensura rebus*, supplying *rebus* as the subject needed for the ablative absolute, seems to start with the *editio princeps* and is then widely found in v. Similarly, Terzaghi 1954, 5-6 suggests *mensura rerum <rebus> collatis*, arguing that *rebus* could have been dropped due to haplography and that the polyptoton *rerum rebus* would be in line with Apuleian style (cf. similar examples in Bernhard 1927, 236-238). In either case the phrase would read more or less like ‘(I procured the supplies for the initiation ...) having collected the things more out of zeal for religion than according to measure (the measure of my things)’. Similar suggestions abound (for our own supplement cf. above on *largitionibus ... collatis*): *mensura <necessariis> collatis* (Hildebrand 1842) and *mensura rebus collatis <necessariis>* (Koziol 1869, 67; correct Koziol’s misprint *necessarius*), both taking the word *necessarius* from the comparable contexts in 11,21,4 (*sumptus ... caerimoniis necessarios*) and 11,22,8 (*praedicat quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda*); *mensura <re>rum <mearum impendiis> collatis* (Van der Vliet 1897); *<omnibus> ex ... mensura <re>rum collatis* (Helm in the first [1907] and second [1913] editions of his text); *<stipibus> collatis* (Brakman 1907, 112-113; cf. *collatis <stipibus>*, suggested by Frassinetti 1960 and accepted by

Augello 1977, 238); <omnibus> ex ... mensura <rerum mea>rum collatis (Médan 1925a, Robertson 1945, Hanson 1989); mensura <re>rum collatis <sumptibus> Griffiths 1975. Other scholars have attempted not to supplement a subject for *collatis* but to alter this word itself: *mensura rerum collatum* (Koch 1875, 639 attributes *collatum* as a participle to *instructum*); *mensura commoditatis* (Kaibel 1900, 204); *mensura facultatis* (Kronenberg 1904, 445); *mensura rerum collatarum* (Fredouille 1975, who alternatively proposes *mensura rerum collata*, with *mensura* and *collata* being ablative forms). Kaibel's *commoditatis* for *-rum collatis*, though creating a balanced parallelism with *pietatis*, is far-fetched. Kronenberg's *mensura facultatis* is worth a thought as it combines the advantage of Kaibel's emendation with greater faithfulness to the manuscript reading: the similarity of *f* and *r* in the Beneventan script could account for a corruption of *fa-* to *-ru(m)* (expressed in F by an abbreviation mark attached to *mensura*), and *-collatis* (the 'Italianized' form suggested by Kronenberg) is indeed similar to *collatis*. As to the other suggestions, it seems obvious that much could happen to the ending of *collat-* once the scribe has not understood the sentence.

11,30,2 Nec hercules laborum me sumptuumque quicquam tamen paenituit – quidni? – liberali deum prouidentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum. Yet, by Hercules, I felt no regret for any of my toils and expenses; why should I, now that thanks to the generous providence of the gods I was nicely looked after by my income from the forum?

Nec ... paenituit: cf. the demand of the apparition in 11,28,4 that Lucius should commit himself to *impaenitendae ... pauperiei*. Now Lucius himself adopts the perspective of the divine prophecy and is about to give ample proof of the benefits derived from the expensive initiation.

hercules laborum: the juxtaposition of these words results in a mischievous allusion to the labours of Hercules, with which Lucius seems to compare his own efforts; cf. for similar juxtapositions 11,12,1 *hercules ... laboribus* (with comm. ad loc.) and 11,14,5-11,15,1 *hercules ... laboribus*.

quidni ... stipendiis forensibus ... fotum: phrasing and concept clearly echo the account of Lucius' success after the second initiation (11,28,6 *quidni ... quaesticulo forensi nutrito*). In both passages Lucius talks about his profit in the forum (see on 11,28,6 *forensi* and below, 11,30,4 *in foro*) thanks to divine support. There are also similar metaliterary implications, cf. below on *prouidentia* and *stipendiis*.

quidni: for the function of this adverb here cf. on 11,26,4 *quidni*.

deum: for the plural cf. comm. on 11,29,1 *deum*.

prouidentia: for the general significance of *prouidentia* in *met.* 11 cf. comm. on 11,1,2 *ipsius regi prouidentia*. The present passage is particularly reminiscent of 11,27,9 (*nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari prouidentia*), where a divine apparition predicts that its providence will supply 'the man from Madauros' with 'glory in his studies', and his priest, Asinius Marcellus, with a 'great profit'.

stipendiis: corresponds to *quaesticulo* in 11,28,6 (see comm. ad loc. for the idea of financial profit thanks to the veneration of the Egyptian divinities). Considering that a

number of phrases and ideas in this chapter refer back to the Prologue (cf. 11,30,4 *in foro* with comm. ad loc.; *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina* with comm. ad loc.), an allusion to 1,1,4 *Ibi linguam Atthidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui* might be intended (apart from these two passages the word *stipendium* occurs only in 7,6,3 and 9,20,2) and would further tighten the ring composition.

forensibus: see comm. on 11,28,6 *forensi* and on 11,30,4 *in foro*.

bellule: for this adverb cf. *GCA* 2000, 232 on 10,16,4 *bellule*. Apart from *met.*, both the adjective *bellulus* and the adverb *bellule* occur only in Plautus (cf. Pasetti 2007, 23-24). Of the two other occurrences in *met.* (5,31,4 *aetatem portat bellule* and 10,16,4 *iam bellule suffarcinatus*), the latter provides an interesting parallel as it relates to a similar situation of material comfort: the ass is well fed. Callebat 1968, 535 singles out the employment of *bellule* in our passage as reinforcing the participle in both affective and intensive manner. Similarly, *LU* 70-71 cites it as an example of affective reinforcement in familiar speech. The ironic understatement is clear enough: Lucius seems to have made a lot of money (cf. comm. on 11,28,6 *quaesticulo*).

fotum: this is the only passage in which Apuleius uses the past participle of *fouere*. Its possible range of meanings in our passage may be narrowed down by a comparison with the two other occurrences of the verb in *met.* 7,13,4 (*illam thalamo receptam commode parentes sui fouebant*) and 11,25,1 (*semper fouendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis*). In both passages *fouere* is related to parental care, and just as Isis is imagined as mother in 11,25,1, Osiris (or both Isis and Osiris; or the gods in general) seem to foster Lucius as his/their 'adopted' child here. In addition, the parallelism of *fotum* in the larger phrase *quidni ... stipendiis forensibus fotum* (cf. comm. ad loc. above) with *nutrito* in the corresponding phrase of 11,28,6 *quidni ... quaesticulo forensi nutrito* suggests an idea of feeding, often implied in *fouere* (cf. e.g. *ThLL* s.v. *foueo* 1220,78-1221,26); cf. also the comm. on *bellule* above. This idea would be particularly significant if indeed in the preceding sentence food was an issue (cf. comm. on 11,30,1 *largitionibus ... collatis*).

11,30,3 Denique post dies admodum pauculos deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator, Osiris, non <in> alienam quampiam personam reformatus, sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est: Finally, after just a few days, the god that is mightier than the great gods, the highest of the great, the greatest of the highest, and the sovereign of the greatest, Osiris, appeared to me in a dream, not transformed into some other person, but face to face, and deigning to address me in his own venerable voice he appeared to receive me:

dies ... pauculos: cf. *GCA* 1995, 83 on 9,8,1 *pauculis ... diebus* and *GCA* 2004, 378 on 6,2,6 *uel pauculos dies*. The low number of days is reflected in the diminutive form.

deus ... regnator, Osiris: a rhetorically impressive crescendo builds up in four paraphrases (or perhaps five, according to our reading of *deus deum magnorum potior*; see below) and then culminates in the proper name of Osiris. The god Anubis is similarly introduced at 11,11,1. The structure imitates the idea that Osiris after a long

time in disguise finally reveals himself. Regarding the specific way in which the comparative and superlative phrases are formed, Griffiths 1975 ad loc. provides an extensive account of surmised Semitic and Egyptian origins. But not only are these derivations doubtful (cf. LHSz 2,54-55 on ‘steigernde Paronomasie’ [e.g. *magnorum maximus*] and ‘Steigerung des Substantivs’ [e.g. *deus deum*]), Apuleius hardly needed any inspiration from outside Graeco-Roman literature, cf. e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 524-526 ἄναξ ἀνάκτων μακάρων / μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων / τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ. The type *deus deum* occurs in Latin as early as the *Carmen Saliare* (*diuom deo*, quoted in Varro *ling.* 7,27). What is more, Apuleius seems to have had a certain stylistic liking for expressions of this sort, cf. *flor.* 16,31 (praising Aemilianus Strabo) *inter optimos clarissime, inter clarissimos optime*. Given the theme of Book 11, Apuleius could still have been inspired by comparable phrases in texts concerning the cult of Isis and Osiris, e.g. the hexameter Σούχου παγκράτορος μεγάλου μεγάλου τε μεγίστου in the hymns of Isidorus (Totti 24,23; cf. Vanderlip 1972 ad loc.). However, no obvious parallel for Apuleius’ elaborate structure is extant in our Isiac material.

deus deum magnorum potior: the law of increasing terms would suggest a separate reading of *deus deum* on the one hand and *magnorum potior* on the other hand: *deus deum* (4 syllables) *magnorum potior* (6 syllables) *et maiorum summus* (6 syllables) *et summorum maximus* (7 syllables) *et maximorum regnator* (8 syllables). But the fact that the present phrase is not – as the following ones are – separated by *et* discourages this reading.

deum magnorum potior: LHSz 2,54 and Callebat 1968, 189 read *deum magnorum* as a partitive genitive. This would imply that the comparative *potior* is used in the sense of a superlative, which is not paralleled except for similarly unclear cases such as Plaut. *Capt.* 825 *Non ego nunc parasitus sum, sed regum rex regalior*. Wölfflin 1892, 118 alternatively suggests a comparative genitive under Greek influence. This seems plausible both in Plautus and Apuleius (who might have the Plautine passage in mind). Callebat 1968, 189 cites three other passages from *met.* (3,11,6; 8,27,6; 9,38,6) in which a comparative genitive is used – albeit always with a pronoun in the genitive; cf. Van der Paardt 1971, 91-92 on 3,11,6 *dignioribus meique maioribus reseruare suadeo*.

maiorum: Robertson 1945 adopts Vallette’s suggestion *potiorum*, approved by Harrauer 1973 ad loc. This reading would lend more consistency to Apuleius’ ‘steigernde Paronomasie’ (cf. above on *deus ... Osiris*), in which the first element of a new phrase restates the last element of the preceding phrase. The result would be a threefold alliterating anaphora: *magnorum potior / et potiorum summus / et summorum maximus / et maximorum regnator*. But creating a jingle does not seem a sufficient reason to reject an otherwise sound manuscript tradition. Apuleius might have wished to use *magnus* (his favourite attribute of gods in *met.*; cf. comm. on 11,27,2 *magni*) in all comparative forms: *magnorum ... maiorum ... maximorum* to express the absolute supremacy of Osiris.

regnator: a poetical variant of *rex* (going back to Naev. *carm. frg.* 12,3 [=9 Blänsdorf]; 15 [= 16 Blänsdorf]; see *OLD* s.v. b), which hallows Osiris’ following name. The longer form contributes to the ‘increasing terms’ (cf. above on *deus deum magnorum potior*) and builds up a final momentum before Osiris is named.

non in alienam quampiam personam reformatus: the preposition *in* was already supplied in the *editio princeps*. Médan 1925a wants to place it not before, but after *alienam* because in this position it would have been more likely to be omitted by a scribe. *In* is the normal preposition after *reformare* (cf. 2,5,7; 2,17,1; 3,23,6; 4,22,5; 6,22,4; 7,6,4). The only exception is 11,16,3 (*Hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformauit ad homines*) where the particular nuance of Lucius’ joining mankind again is brought out by the preposition *ad*. As far as *reformatus* is concerned, it remains unclear in which other ‘person’ Osiris would have appeared to Lucius. Perhaps the phrase means that Osiris himself does not have the appearance of a person at all (cf. introduction to this chapter [2. The lack of detail]). Griffiths 1975 argues from the history of religion and discusses the Apis-bull or the likeness of a serpent or jackal as possible disguises. In contrast with these, Osiris’ usual human form would now be regarded as his untransformed image. But this account has little to do with Apuleius’ text in which there has never been a hint at a non-human shape of Osiris – or at any particular shape at all. For a different view see Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AGA* 3, 55-58, discussing possible implicit manifestations of Osiris in Book 11 (cf. comm. on 11,11,3 *summi numinis uenerandam effigiem*). Another option would be that Lucius is referring to the priest (probably Asinius Marcellus, cf. above on 11,30,1 *sacerdoti meo*) who has supervised his initiations in Rome and, in a sense, has acted as Osiris’ representative. One might think of epic poetry, where gods and goddesses transform themselves into certain persons to deliver particular messages.

coram: here adverb; the following ablative *suo illo uenerando ... adfamine* goes with *dignatus*. *coram* (‘in person’, ‘without intermediaries’, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b) stands in contrast with the preceding *alienam* (cf. comm. above). Griffiths 1975 (on 11,30,3 *uisus est*) remarks that although the face-to-face encounter with the divine is a feature of the first initiation (cf. 11,23,7 *deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram*), the vision of Osiris in person hardly constitutes the third initiation itself – see introduction to this chapter (1. Where is the third initiation?) on the question when this final initiation takes place.

suo illo: for the emphatic combination of two (or more) pronouns, frequent in *met.*, cf. on 11,22,3 *ipsumque Mithram illum suum sacerdotem*. The emphasis expresses lofty sentiment and spotlights the subject of Lucius’ religious attention.

dignatus: for the idea of *dignatio* by the gods, characteristic of *met.* 11, see comm. on 11,4,3 *diuina me uoce dignata est*.

adfamine: for this Apuleian neologism cf. comm. on 11,7,4 *adfamine* (of Isis). The select term continues the elevated tone in the account of the vision of Osiris.

per quietem: cf. the same phrase in 11,6,3 (*sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio*), where Isis says that she instructs her priest in a dream; also 9,31,1 *ei per quietem obtulit sese*. For dreams in *met.* 11 and the Egyptian cult see Introduction, 5.1 with n. 127; 6.2 with n. 217.

recipere: means here probably ‘to receive’ or ‘to welcome’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. *recipio* 1; for our passage see e.g. Laird 1997, 82 and the translations of Griffith 1975, Hanson 1989, Walsh 1994). This involves an *apo koinou* construction of *me* (which is already dependent on *dignatus*). Other scholars (e.g. Oudendorp 1786, Harrauer 1973, Fredouille 1975) take *recipere* in the sense ‘to give an assurance (that something is or will be the case)’ (*OLD* s.v. 10b). This use is best known from Cicero’s letters, from

which it also emerges that the assurance given by *recipere* exceeds a ‘normal’ promise and is particularly solemn (cf. e.g. *fam.* 6,12,3 *non solum confirmavit, uerum etiam recepit*; *Att.* 13,1,2). In either case the following speech of Osiris is left grammatically unconnected, a problem which can be handled by placing a colon after *recipere uisus est* (as in most texts after Helm 1955 [1907]). Beroaldus’ (1500) conjecture *praecipere* was often adopted in early editions (last time in Van der Vliet 1897), but has been rejected by all recent editors.

uisus est: the same terminology is used to describe Lucius’ vision of Mithras (11,20,1 *uisus est mihi summus sacerdos*) and Asinius Marcellus’ dream of Osiris (11,27,9 *sibi uisus est*). For the expression *mihi uisus est* indicating dream visions cf. *met.* 4,27,2 *nam uisa sum mihi ... mariti nomen inuocare* (Charite in a dream); Verg. *Aen.* 2,270-271 *ante oculos ... Hector / uisus adesse mihi*. For a different use cf. 11,3,2 *simulacrum ... uisus est*, with comm. ad loc.

11,30,4 *quin nunc incunctanter gloriosa in foro redderem patrocina, nec extimescerem maleuolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem serebat. Ac ne sacris suis gregi cetero permixtus deseruirem, in collegium me pastophorum suorum, immo inter ipsos decurionum quinquennales adlegit. I should unhesitatingly continue to give glorious defences in the forum, and I should not fear the disseminations of detractors which the industrious learning of my studies was sowing there. Furthermore, to avoid my serving his rites commingled with the remaining flock, he co-opted me into the college of his *pastophori*, even as one of the quinquennial decurions.*

quin: we adopt Harrison’s conjecture *quin* for F’s *quam*; *quin* is frequently used in Apuleius at the beginning of spoken sentences (here the speech of Osiris is indirectly reported), cf. 11,29,4 *quin* with comm. ad loc. For the subjunctive as an option cf. e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 811 *quid nunc agimus? – quin redeamus*; in indirect speech Liv. 3,61,14 *nec cessabant Sabini ... instare, rogitantes quid ... tererent tempus ...? quin illi congregarentur acie inclinandamque semel fortunae rem darent?* Helm’s (1955 [1907]) conjecture *quae* [sc. *gloriosa patrocina*], adopted by most recent editors, results in an odd syntactical isolation of *quae nunc*. F’s *quam* is defended in different ways by Médan 1925a and Fredouille 1975. Médan argues for *quam* as intensifier, ‘used to give superlative force to the following adj. or adv.’ (*OLD* s.v. 3); cf. for this use of *quam* Callebat 1968, 531-532 and 538-539; Van der Paardt 1971, 55 on 3,5,4 *quam maribus animis*. But there is no parallel in combination with *nunc*, and a superlative sense of *nunc* is a difficult notion. More likely seems Fredouille’s (1975) suggestion (approved by Callebat in his review of Fredouille’s commentary in *Latomus* 35 [1976], 607-610, at 609) to read *quam* as an elliptic form of *tamquam* (or substitute for *ut* in this meaning). However, the few examples provided for this phenomenon in LHSz 2,593 are all doubtful.

incunctanter: only the positive form *cunctanter* is attested before Apuleius, who uses *incunctanter* seven times in *met.* (see *GCA* 1977, 69 on 4,8,1) but never in his other works. After Apuleius the word occurs frequently. It here puts particular stress on the confidence and fearlessness expressed in the same context by *nec*

extimescerem (see *ThLL* s.v. *incunctans* 1079,43-56); for a similar idea of *incunctanter* cf. 11,6,2 *Incunctanter ... dimotis turbulis* (Isis tells Lucius to make his way through the masses fearlessly; cf. comm. on 11,27,5 *cunctabundo ... uestigio*). At the same time, the lack of fear and hesitation also distantly recalls the confidence with which the Prologue speaker embarked upon Roman eloquence (*aggressus excolui*). Thereby our phrase establishes a further link between the beginning and the ending of *met.* (cf. comm. on 11,30,2 *stipendiis*; 11,30,4 *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*). On the theme of hesitation in Book 11 see also Introduction, 4.1.1 (last paragraph).

gloriosa in foro ... patrocina: for a divine exhortation to rhetoric in a dream cf. Aelius Aristides’ *Sacred Tales* 4,14-15. The cultural climate of second century Rome certainly gave sophistic talents a chance to become famous through oratory, cf. the prominent examples of Favorinus and Fronto. Apuleius himself gained fame by his speeches, and while at least the extant ones seem to have been given in Africa, their publication surely also reached a Roman audience. We can imagine Lucius at the end of *met.*, therefore, as a young sophist who has searched for truth and found oratorical success in the process. At the same time some questions about Lucius’ choice of career remain (see introduction to Ch. XXVIII [3. Lucius’ rhetorical activities]) and there seem to be metaliterary implications (cf. for dreams as inspiration to writing comm. on 11,27,4 *thyrsos et hederas*). Osiris’ exhortation to rhetorical activity does not come in a speech as in Aristides, but at the end of a work of prose fiction, and the motif of literary glory has appeared in a number of metaliterary passages before: cf. the prophecy of the astrologer Diophanes in 2,12,5 (*nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredulam fabulam et libros me futurum*); Charite’s assurance that Lucius-ass will win glory through art and stories in 6,29,1 (*nec ... deerit tibi dignitas gloriosa*); Osiris’ prediction in 11,27,9 that the ‘man from Madauros’ will earn *studiorum gloriam* (cf. comm. ad loc.), echoed in our sentence not only by *gloriosa* but also by *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina* further below – note that Isis has predicted Lucius the ass’s glory in her introducing speech at 11,6,6 *uiuus in mea tutela gloriosus*. Discussions of metaliterary aspects of these passages, with a view to the present one, can be found e.g. in Van der Paardt 1981, 105; *GCA* 2001, 212-217 on 2,12,5; Graverini 2005, especially 231-242. Also see comm. on 11,28,6 *patrocina sermonis Romani* and Introduction, 3.2 with nn. 61-62.

redderem ... extimescerem: the subjunctive in both words results from the exhortative note in Osiris’ address (cf. comm. on 11,27,3 *sentire deberem*).

redderem patrocina: for *reddere patrocina* cf. Ps. Quint. *decl.* 2,23 *reddenda sunt maximo virorum patrocina tam pia caecitatis*. The more idiomatic phrase would be *suscipere patrocina*. Perhaps *reddere* is taken from collocations such as *reddere ius* or *reddere iudicium*.

maleuolorum disseminationes: *disseminatio* is a rare word, first attested in the present passage and afterwards only very occasionally in Christian writers. It is here used almost synonymously with ‘rumour’, a negative notion which is absent in the later attestations but which could easily develop from the use of the verb *disseminare* in unpleasant contexts (e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 4,6 *latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum*; *Planc.* 56 *ne fictis auditionibus, ne disseminato dispersoque sermone fortunam innocentium subiciendas putetis*; Tert. *adv. Marc.* 4,21,7 *noluit mendacium*

disseminari). For an additional reason for Apuleius' word choice cf. below on *ibidem serebat*. In our passage, the fact that the *disseminationes* come from 'spiteful persons' (*maleuoli*) make the negative thrust perfectly clear. But the identity of those slanderers and the reasons for their slander remain curiously obscure. Griffiths 1975 ad loc. speculates that Lucius might have been given an exceptional permission or that he belonged to a special class of initiates permitted to indulge in worldly occupations (cf. below on *gregi cetero*). This would have aroused jealousy in his less privileged fellow-initiates. But nothing of this is historically known or hinted at in Apuleius' fiction, and *ibidem* suggests that the *disseminationes* originate in the *forum*, not in the Isiac community. Graverini 2007, 97-98 (=2012, 87-88) argues that the main cause of these *disseminationes* among fellow-orators was his Isiac affiliation, most clearly visible in his shaven head. But perhaps the gap in the fiction of *met.* should be taken as a hint at the position of the slanderers *outside* this fiction. Jealousy is known as a metaliterary motif at least since Callimachus, cf. the prologue to the *Aetia* (frg. 1,17 Βασκανίη), and the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (105 Φθόνοϋς); in Roman literature e.g. the rebuke to *Livor* in the sphragis-like last poem of Ovid's first book of *Amores* (1,15). Similarly, the *maleuoli* of our passage could allude to Apuleius' literary competitors, perhaps specifically writers of fiction, perhaps more generally fellow-sophists with literary ambitions (see Tilg 2014a, 121-124 who argues that Apuleius, at the end of *met.*, constructs a literary career by merging the worlds of his novel on the one hand and the *Florida* on the other). This reading finds support in the fact that the jealousy of Apuleius' sophistic competitors is a recurrent motif in the *Florida* (cf. Sandy 1997, 164-169; Harrison 2000, 106 with n. 49). With regard to our passage the beginning of *flor.* 9 provides a particularly striking parallel: *Si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coetu ex illis inuisoribus meis malignus sedet ... qui meliores obtrectare malint quam imitari ...* The *inuisores* and the *malignus* of *flor.* 9 correspond to the *maleuoli* in our passage; the verb *obtrectare* in the speech to the noun *disseminationes* in the novel. For parallels between the Isis Book and Apuleius' *Florida* see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36.

studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina: the main intratextual references for this passage are a) the 'sphragis' of 11,27,9, in which the 'man from Madauros' is promised *studiorum gloriam* (cf. comm. on *Madaurensem* there; above on *gloriosa in foro ... patrocinia*); and b) the Prologue at 1,1,4 (*mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore ... excolui*), where the speaker – just as in our passage – has come to Rome (*in urbe Latia aduena*) and is working hard (*labore* corresponds to *laboriosa*) on certain studies (*studiorum* in each passage). Given the highly metaliterary character of these intratextual reference points, an equally metaliterary reading suggests itself here at the end of *met.*, where Lucius/Apuleius has completed his narrative and is much concerned with glory attained by learning (see Introduction, 3.2 with nn. 61-62 on metaliterary elements in Book 11 and nn. 64-67 on Apuleius' strategies of associating himself with his literary work and his fictional character Lucius).

Learning (*doctrina*) was a significant issue for both the author Apuleius (e.g. *flor.* 9,24 *ingenii eius fecunditatem malo doctrinae ... aemulari*, where Apuleius wishes to rival Hippias in learning; *apol.* 36,2 *accipiat doctrinam*, of the ignorant Aemilianus; *apol.* 91,3 *tua doctrina, Claude Maxime, tuaque perfecta eruditione fretus*, flattering

Claudius Maximus' learning and erudition) and his fictional character Lucius (cf. Photis in 3,15,4 *Sed melius de te doctrinaque tua praesumo*; Mithras in 11,15,1 *Nec tibi ... ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit*). Clearly, a varied and literary demanding work such as the *Metamorphoses* gave Apuleius an excellent opportunity to showcase his sophistic erudition – cf. *met.* 6,29,3 *doctorumque stilis rudis perpetuabitur historia*). For various reflections of this interest in learning in *met.* cf. e.g. Harrison 2000, 216-217. Graverini 2007, 171 (=2012, 152) suggests that beyond the metaliterary implications discussed, the adjective *laboriosus* also characterizes Lucius as an *alter* Odysseus (via Hor. *epod.* 16,60 and 17,16, where Odysseus and his men are called *laboriosi*) and as an epic hero in general (considering the *labores* e.g. of Aeneas and other epic characters). Lucius' *laboriosa doctrina* at the end of *met.* would imply his experience of the world acquired through the adventures of *met.* These readings are not mutually exclusive: surely the author Apuleius would have been happy to compare his learned efforts with an epic endeavour (see Introduction, 6.3, final paragraph).

ibidem serebat: this reading was first tentatively proposed by Oudendorp 1786 and later adopted by Terzaghi 1954 and Fredouille 1975. Not only does it play on *disseminationes*, it also combines the ideas of cause and dispersion (cf. e.g. the collocation *discordiam serere*, for instance in Liv. 3,40,10 *ciuiles discordias serant*), which both seem to be present in our passage. Cf. Beroaldus' (1500) similar suggestion *disserebat* (in the meaning 'disseminate', 'distribute'), which playfully picks up on the etymology of *disseminationes*. Floridus' (1688) view that *disseminationes disserere* would be an 'inuenusta ... et putida locutio, Lucio nostro indigna' must be judged awfully wrong – cf. the examples and references given in the comm. on 11,29,2 *cogitationes ... cogitabam* and 11,29,4 *laetus ... gaudium*. Hildebrand 1842 suggests the pluperfect *dissuerat*, not needed here because Lucius' raising rumours is still ongoing. F has *ibi deseruiebat*, but the verb *deseruire* does not make sense here and seems to have slipped in from the following *deseruirem*. Koziol 1869, 67-68 wants to retain *deseruiebat* and instead suspects that the preceding relative pronoun *quas* was mistaken for *quis* (i.e. *quibus*): *quis ... studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibi deseruiebat*. But in this reading *deseruire* would have a difficult meaning ('serve as pretext'), unparalleled otherwise. Nor is it true, as Koziol would have it, that the use of the same verb in two subsequent sentences is characteristic of Apuleian style – in fact, the parallels referred to by Koziol are cases of polyptoton and etymological word play in one and the same sentence. A large number of conjectures for *deseruiebat* have been made both with *ibi* or *ibidem*: some focus on the idea of cause, as *exercebat* (Wowerius 1606, Pricaeus 1650, Floridus 1688); *exciebat* (Thomas 1928, 221; Hanson 1989; Zimmerman 2012); *excierat* (Robertson 1945, Frassinetti 1960); *excieret* or *excivisset* (Ryle 1968); others on the idea of dispersion, as *differebat* (Oudendorp 1786, Médan 1925a); others again on the idea of suffering, as *sustinebat* (Helm 1955 [1907], Martos 2003) or *subibat* (Brakman 1907, 113). Note furthermore *demerebat* (Van der Vliet 1897), *deferuefaciebat* (Giarratano 1929, after Cocchia 1915, 224 with n. 3; cf. Hildebrand's [1842] contemplation of *deferbuerat*), and *ibidem eruebat* (Frassinetti 1960 tentatively in his apparatus, adding 'i. e. in lucem protrahebat').

gregi cetero permixtus: cf. 11,16,2 *permixtus agmini religioso*. While Lucius there is happy to blend in, he here lays stress on the distinction between ordinary initiates and *pastophori* like himself (cf. below *pastophorum* and comm. on 11,17,2 *pastophorum*). *Grex* is used for the community of Isiacs, similar to the use of this word for philosophical schools (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 2333,64-71; *ibid.* 2333,71-2334,17 *grex* for the Jewish and Christian communities).

pastophorum: for the term, the class of initiates referred to, and their office cf. comm. on 11,17,2 *pastophorum*. If *pastophorus* really means ‘shrine-bearer’ or implies the carrying of sacred objects, especially cult statues, then this would make a nice contrast with Lucius’ carrying the statue of Cybele on his donkey’s back in Books 8–9 (cf. 8,27,3 *Deamque ... mihi gerendam imponunt* with *GCA* 1985, 239 ad loc.; 9,4,3 *rursum diuinis exuiuis onustus*). The service in the false religion of Cybele would be played off against the service in the right religion of the Egyptian gods. Comic readings would of course take the same evidence to suggest continuity rather than change in Lucius’ life. To some extent, the seriousness of Lucius’ new office and the pride he takes in it also depends on its low or high prestige, for which cf. comm. on 11,17,2.

decurionum quinquennales: the exact meaning of this phrase is unknown since the office to which it refers is not attested otherwise in the Isiac cult. An inscription from imperial Rome (*RICIS* 501/0112) refers to a father and son, both *quinquennales* related to an Isiac college, but it is not clear what they did as *quinquennales*, nor is the term associated with *decuriones*. Apuleius draws on terms familiar from municipal administration to give his readers an idea of what he has in mind (cf. the similar procedure in 11,17,2 *coetu pastophorum – quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est – uelut in contionem uocato*, where the meeting of *pastophori* is presented in terms of a Roman assembly). In the civic sense, *quinquennalis* refers to officers who were elected every five years to conduct the census and appoint new members of the local senate (*ordo decurionum*, with *decurio* being the usual term for a municipal senator); cf. 10,18,1 [sc. Thiasus ...] *quinquennali magistratui fuerat destinatus*; Summers 1967 and *GCA* 2000, 251 ad loc. The genitive *decurionum* in our passage is mostly read as partitive genitive (‘the quinquennials among the decurions’), since the municipal *quinquennales* were of course members of the senate and thus *decuriones* themselves. Moreover, by analogy with municipal administration, Lucius’ office might consist – as suggested by Griffiths 1975 – in keeping lists of the current members of the sanctuary and in appointing new ones. It is questionable, however, if Apuleius is making an exact reference to an exact office. His point might rather have been to convey a general sense that Lucius held a prestigious post and has made a religious career in Rome, moving from *fani aduena* in 11,26,3 to one of the heads of the Iseum Campense.

adlegit: the usual word for co-opting new members into various bodies. It is most often used in political contexts (concerning e.g. members of the Roman and municipal senates), which accords with the ‘political’ interpretation of Lucius’ religious office in *decurionum quinquennales* (cf. above); but there are examples from religious colleges, too (cf. *ThLL* s.v. 1. *allego* 1666,21-28). We know an Isiac priest who calls himself *adlector collegi* from an imperial inscription found at Rome (*RICIS* 501/0152; interpreted by Bricault, however, as collector of donations to the college).

Griffiths 1975 ad loc. notes the curious fact that in our passage not a human individual but Osiris himself is co-opting Lucius. This idea, in line with all the other instances of divine favour in *met.* 11, further increases the prestige of Lucius’ position and adds to his story of success.

11,30,5 *Rursus denique quaqua raso capillo collegii uetustissimi et sub illis Sullae temporibus conditi munia, non obumbrato uel obiecto caluitio, sed quoquouersus obuio, gaudens obibam*. And finally, with my head once more shaved completely, neither covering nor veiling my baldness, but exposing it in every direction, I joyfully performed the duties of that most ancient priesthood, founded in the days of Sulla.

quaqua: F’s *qua* was corrected to *quam* in A and the *editio princeps*, with the latter form then being widely adopted in v and, among modern editors, e.g. by Helm 1955 (1907), Médan 1925a, Giarratano 1929, Fredouille 1975, Griffiths 1975, and Martos 2003. The use of *quam* to give superlative force to the following word is frequent (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3) and can be found a number of times in *met.* (cf. in *met.* 11 e.g. 11,11,4 *fundo quam rotundo*; Callebat 1968, 531-532 and 538-539; Van der Paardt 1971, 55 on 3,5,4 *quam maribus animis*). However, the word to follow is normally an adjective or adverb – not a participle as here. For this reason Oudendorp 1786 conjectured *quaqua*, followed by Van der Vliet 1897, Robertson 1945, Solmsen (in his review of Griffiths’ commentary in *Gnomon* 51 [1979], 549-561, at 560 n. 48), Hanson 1989, and Zimmerman 2012. *Quaqua* seems more adequate to the idea of shaving one’s hair ‘completely’ (i.e. everywhere), not ‘intensely’ as suggested by *quam*.

raso: F reads *raro*. The idea of Lucius’ performing his cultic duties with thin hair is odd, especially considering that he has shaved his hair completely before (cf. 11,28,5 *deraso capite* with comm. ad loc.) and that religious baldness was a characteristic of the priests in the Egyptian cult (cf. 11,10,1 *capillum derasi* [of the initiates of Isis] with comm. ad loc.); also see the following *caluitio*. All recent editors have *raso*, originally suggested by Beroaldus 1500 as an alternative to *raro*. Novák 1904, 70-71 (followed by Harrauer 1973) proposes [*qua*] <de>*raso*, pointing to the consistent use of *deradere* in 11,10,1 and 11,28,5 (cited above) as well as 2,28,2 *deraso capite* (of the Egyptian priest Zatchlas); *qua* should be cut in Novák’s view as kind of dittography, crept in from the preceding *denique*. However, similar phrases with *rasus* are known, cf. e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 462 *raso capite*; Liv. 34,52,12 *capitibus rasis*; *ibid.* 45,44,19 *capite raso*. Eyssenhardt’s (1869) *abraso capillo*, by contrast, does not have any parallel in antiquity.

raso capillo ... quoquouersus obuio: in the last sentence of *met.* the reader is left with the image of Lucius exposing his baldness. This is surely an unusual and somewhat tongue-in-cheek ending for a novel or any piece of fiction (if indeed the work ended here, see introduction to this chapter [3. Is our ending complete?]). Still, the reader has been made aware three times before that religious baldness is a distinct characteristic of Egyptian priests (cf. the passages cited above on *raso*). Particularly present to the mind would have been the two instances in *met.* 11: in 11,10,1 (*hi capillum derasi funditus uerticem praenitentes – magnae religionis terrena sidera*) we read that the ‘shining’ baldness of the Isiac priests resembles the ‘earthly stars of

the great cult' – Apuleius plays with the image of baldness and makes it an icon of the Egyptian cult (cf. comm. ad loc.). Then, before Lucius' second initiation, he shaves his own hair (11,28,5 *deraso capite*; for the missing or unreported shaving before the first initiation see comm. on 11,28,5 *deraso capite*). The final image seems to combine these references: now Lucius' own baldness is iconic, he has become one of the admired priests himself and he will live happily ever after in their likeness. Curious as this ending may be, it is not inconsistent. Note the sharp contrast with Lucius' elaborate praise of hair in 2,8-9 (also see Apuleius' description of his own, long and dishevelled, hair in *apol.* 4,11-13 and cf. Englert and Long 1972-1973). Another contrast is offered by the half-bald debauched priest of the Dea Syria in 8,24,2 (*caluum quidem, sed cincinnis semicanis et pendulis capillatum*, cf. *GCA* 1985, 206 on *caluum* and the Appendix *ibid.* 288-289). Finally, a clean-shaven head might also be seen as the opposite of Lucius' hairy former self as a donkey (cf. James and O'Brien 2006, 241-242), although hair was not an issue during Lucius' asinine life. Perhaps Apuleius was obliquely inspired by the proverb εἰς ὄνου πόκος ('to an ass-shearing, i.e. to no-place,' cf. *LSJ* s.v. πόκος). Winkler 1985 (esp. 224-227) draws attention to the fact that baldness in antiquity was also associated with buffoons (e.g. mime actors) and that it served as a butt of parody and satire in various contexts (specifically aiming at the Egyptian cult, cf. Mart. 12,28,19 *Linigeri fugiunt calui sistrataque turba*; *Iuv.* 6,533, cited above on *gregi caetero*). He concludes that the image of baldness at the end of *met.* makes Lucius a figure profoundly ambivalent between a religious devotee and a clownish dupe – an image which thanks to Winkler's dust jacket (representing a bald priest on the left and a bald comic actor on the right) has itself become iconic in Apuleius scholarship. Readings in the wake of Winkler have often picked up on the idea of the bald Lucius as comic figure (cf. e.g. Van Mal-Maeder 1997a, 106-108). Detailed criticisms of this idea and alternative readings can be found in Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 91-94, who regards Lucius' baldness as emphatic affirmation of his new values (cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser in *AAGA* 3, 46-49 with a focus on Lucius' baldness as a distinctive religious sign), and Graverini 2007, 90-99 (= 2012, 82-89), who stresses that the actual meaning of baldness in a given context needs to be determined much more carefully. Tilg 2014a, 145-148 adapts an observation of Gowers 2001, 84-85 on Lucius' baldness (as metaphor for the polished book) for an interpretation of closure. James and O'Brien 2006 see the proud display of Lucius' baldness as response to his humiliation in the Risus Festival of *met.* 3.

sub illis Sullae temporibus: Rohde 1885, 108 suggests *illius*, arguing that not the times of Sulla but Sulla himself should be marked out by *ille* as 'well-known' – an unnecessary conjecture: on the one hand, enallage might be operating, on the other, it could well be that the focus is really on the period in which the Isiac cult took hold in Rome rather than on the person of Sulla. Syntactically, Apuleius' phrase seems to combine the classical construction *Sullae temporibus* with the postclassical *sub Sulla*. The strong historical reference at the end of *met.* is balanced by the references to Plutarch and Sextus at the beginning (1,2,1); it also recalls the general historical impression of the 'Roman epilogue' of the novel (see introduction to Ch. XXVI [A new narrative mode] and to Ch. XXVII [3. History and autobiography]). The establishment of an Isiac college in Rome under Sulla is not attested otherwise, but is not unlikely from a historical point of view (cf. on the early history of the Egyptian cult in Italy

e.g. Witt 1971, 70-88; Malaise 1972b, 255-320 and 357-365; Takács 1995, 27-70). Mostly by way of trade, the cult of Isis had reached a number of Italian ports during the 2nd century B.C. The sack of Delos – a major centre of the cult in Hellenistic times – by Mithradates VI in 88 B.C. and the forced return of many Italian merchants from there most probably furthered the spread of the Egyptian deities in Italy. In the following decades we find a number of Roman coins with Isis-related symbols as control marks, which seem to take the existence of a sanctuary (probably on the Capitol) for granted. As regards Sulla, there is no historical evidence for his personal involvement in the Egyptian cult and much is left to speculation. Tschudin 1958, 61-65 argues that a certain syncretism between Tyche, Aphrodite and Isis would have appealed to Sulla (cf. Plut. *Sull.* 34,3 on Sulla's stylizations as Εὐτυχής [Ericsson 1943 ascribes this epithet to Plutarch] and Ἐπαφρόδιτος). Similarly, Malaise 1972b, 362-365 contemplates that particularly Sulla's self-stylization as 'darling of Aphrodite' could have been a basis for his potential promotion of Isis – for the similarities between the two goddesses, also exploited by Apuleius in *met.*, see Introduction, 4.2.1 with nn. 112-113. In addition, Malaise suggests that support of Isis could have been politically expedient to Sulla as a concession to the *populares*, among whom Isis may have had particular success in the late Republican period (cf., however, Hayne 1992 and Takács 1995, 27-70, arguing against a specific link of the Egyptian cult with *popularis* politics).

non ... obibam: the same number of syllables in the negative and the positive clause marks the antithesis between potential external malevolence and internal joy. The contrast is further brought out by the occurrence of two *ob-* prefixes in each clause.

non obumbrato uel obiecto caluitio (13 syllables)

sed quoquouersus obuio gaudens obibam (13 syllables)

Considering that the basic meaning of *ob-* is 'towards'/'against', the expression brings out Lucius' pride and self-confidence in the service of the Egyptian deities. He shows his new identity to the world with panache and without being deterred (*incunctanter*) by his detractors. On a more confrontational note, he may also imply a defiant triumph over his detractors (cf. comm. on 11,30,4 *maleuolorum disseminaciones* above).

gaudens: while *met.* 1 – 10 was often characterized by spiteful laughter, joy (*gaudium*) is the dominant emotion of Book 11 (cf. e.g. Schlam 1992, 44). We find more references to 'joy' (*gaudium*) here than in any other book of *met.*, almost always in a religious context (cf. 11,7,1; 11,12,2; 11,14,1; 11,15,4; 11,17,4; 11,18,2; 11,19,1; 11,25,3; 11,29,4). Our phrase recalls particularly 11,15,4 (*gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat*, cf. comm. ad loc.), the crucial passage in the middle of *met.* 11. Griffiths 1975 ad loc. observes that a certain materialistic interest (Lucius' election to the board of *pastophori*, his success in the forum) distinguishes this passage from earlier instances of religious joy; but this is just a natural consequence of the events recounted in the Roman epilogue of *met.*, where religion and personal success *do mix*.

obibam: the imperfect can be meaningfully interpreted in various ways, e.g. as on-going religious service and a state of perpetual bliss (e.g. Nicolini 2005, 56 n. 124; cf. 11,6,5 *mihi reliqua uitae tuae curricula adusque terminos ultimi spiritus uadata*), or emphasizing the fact that Lucius at this point was just about to start his career as religious official (inceptive imperfect). Winkler 1985, 224 argues that the ‘unfinished’ imperfect leaves a certain distance between Lucius the protagonist, who was *then* performing his duties, and Lucius the narrator, who is *now* telling his story. Winkler’s interpretation that this implies a final narratological game of Apuleius with his readers, however, has met with scepticism (cf. e.g. Penwill 1990, 24 n. 70; Krabbe 2003, 143-144). Regarding the meaning of *obibam*, a number of scholars have suggested that this final word of the novel not only goes with *munia* in the sense of ‘perform’, but also connotes ‘dying’ (cf. e.g. Nethercut 1969, 130; Krabbe 1989, 72; Penwill 1990, 24 n. 70; Laird 2001, 275-276; Finkelppearl 2004, 329-330; Tilg 2014a, 141-145). While this is grammatically impossible (*obibam* governs the object *munia*), Apuleius could still have played on this meaning here. Finkelppearl argues that such a connotation adds to the sense of closure, abundantly built up in what she calls the ‘epilogue’ of *met.* (cf. Introduction, 2.2). Add to this that the last word of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* is *uiuam*, the precise opposite of *obibam* in its meaning ‘to die’ (seen by Nethercut, Krabbe, Penwill, and Tilg, cited above). Considering that *met.* 11 appears to be indebted to Ovid’s epic in a number of ways (cf. e.g. Krabbe 1989, 37-81; Graverini 2005; Tilg in *AAGA* 3, 153-154; Tilg 2014a, 144-145 for the ‘sphragis’ device in both authors), a cheeky allusion to Apuleius’ ‘metamorphic’ predecessor seems not unlikely. Note also that Isis has been associated with death before (she promises Lucius a happy afterlife in her service at 11,6,6; the first initiation is described as a katabasis in 11,23,7) and that Osiris is none other than the Egyptian god of the afterlife.

ESSAY I

Friedemann Drews

A Platonic Reading of the Isis Book*

1. Isis and Osiris as Supreme Deities and Apuleius’ daemonology

When Lucius-ass is invoking the *regina caeli* for the first time (Ch. II), he does not know by which name she is properly addressed. He calls upon the names of all the goddesses he can think of at the moment and finally adds: “Under whatever name, cult and face it is rightful to invoke you, help me now in my extreme tribulations” (*quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est inuocare, tu meis iam nunc extremis aerumnis subsiste, met.* 11,2,3). This somewhat ‘universal perspective’¹ is picked up and elaborated on by Isis when she is introducing herself: before she eventually reveals her true name to Lucius, she calls herself “the mother of nature, the mistress of all the elements, the original ancestry of the ages, the highest of the deities, ..., the single face uniting all the gods and goddesses, ..., whose unitary deity is worshipped by all the world under many forms, in different rites and by manifold names” (*rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, ... deorum dearumque facies uniformis, ... cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu uario nomine multiuigo totus ueneratur orbis, met.* 11,5,1).

Surprisingly, Lucius’ helplessness turns out to hit the nail on the head: the fact that he does not know by which name the *regina caeli* should be invoked matches Isis’ self-revelation – she somehow *is* all the goddesses and gods at once. Therefore it

* Within the boundaries of this essay it is impossible to discuss the many different views on Apuleius’ Platonism, let alone the long history of Platonising readings of the novel starting with Filippo Beroaldo (1453-1505). For Beroaldo’s commentary on the *Asinus Aureus* and his tendency to reduce Platonic elements in *met.* to attempts at moralising the plot (in opposition to the approach of this essay) see Küenzlen 2005, 99: “Beroaldos Schwerpunkt liegt aber auf einer moralischen Auslegung der Eselsgeschichte. [...] Beroaldo liefert also keine auf die Erzähllogik des Romans abgestimmte Gesamtinterpretation.” As regards modern scholarship on Apuleius’ Platonism, at least some representative works should be mentioned here: Bernard 1994; DeFilippo 1990; Dillon 1977; Heller 1983; Hjlmans 1987; O’Brien 2002; Penwill 2009; Schlam 1970; Walsh ²1995, 144, 182-185, 220-223; Münstermann 1995; Kirichenko 2008b. See also the Introduction to the comm., section 1.2. – The following is meant as an attempt to make sense of some aspects and intricacies of the Isis Book from a Platonic viewpoint that Apuleius – himself a Platonic philosopher – might have shared. The lines of interpretation pointed to here do, however, by no means mirror common opinions held in present Apuleian scholarship, so that this essay is rather an individual reading, built on my former work on Apuleius: Drews 2009; Drews in *AAGA* 3, 107-131; Drews 2006.

¹ Cf. now Kirichenko 2010, 73-74: “Lucius begins his prayer by emphasizing the fact that the goddess to whom he prays is a universal deity [...]. [...] Isis concentrates almost exclusively on her polyonymy, which has already been anticipated at length in Lucius’ prayer [...]” See also Walsh ²1995, 143 on the Isis-Book as “Lucius’ confession of the true path to universal knowledge.”

is fitting that different people call upon her by using different names, even though her true(st) name is Isis (*met.* 11,5,2-3). Isis' *facies uniformis* comprises all the deities: that is why Lucius is right when he simply says "under whatever face (*facies*) it is rightful to invoke you ..." Apparently this does not entail that there is no difference at all between the gods and goddesses themselves: each deity maintains his/her own domain. It is only Isis who is the *numen unicum*, the "unitary deity", and only she is able to enfold the various divine persons within herself. The aspect that Lucius mentions many goddesses in his prayer rather randomly and unwittingly resonates with Isis' universal divinity and is picked up in her self-revelation when she describes herself as "single face uniting all the gods and goddesses".

This interpretation can be backed up if one compares Lucius' 'theological approach' to Psyche's in *met.* 6. Like Lucius, Psyche prays to different goddesses, too. She invokes Ceres and Juno and even calls the latter the *regina dearum* (*met.* 6,4,2).² However, Psyche tries to avoid Venus by asking these other goddesses for protection from Venus: although Psyche says that she does not want to neglect any deity in her religious devotion,³ she is running counter to her own decision,⁴ the result being that neither Ceres nor Juno are willing to break their loyalty to Venus (*met.* 6,3,1-2; 6,4,4-5). Apuleius shows that the different goddesses have relations with each other and that Psyche's ambition not to neglect any of them cannot succeed since she desperately wants to avoid any contact with Venus' realm, whereas Lucius does not shrink back from any particular deity, but – as well as he can – puts Psyche's plan, so to speak, into practice.⁵ With this 'universal approach', unwitting though it may be, he successfully reaches out to the "universal face" of the highest goddess herself. Here Lucius makes, as it were, his *first step* towards the transformation of the odd figure of the philosophising ass (*met.* 10,33,4) into a human philosopher and, eventually, Isis' disciple.⁶

In order to support this interpretation, one can point to the strong philosophical echoes involved in Apuleius' introduction of Isis as "the single face uniting all the gods and goddesses, ..., whose unitary deity is worshipped by all the world under many forms, in different rites by manifold names". However, Isis' self-revelation

² See *GCA* 2004, 390.

³ ... *rata* [sc. Psyche] *scilicet nullius dei fana et caerimonias neclegere se debere, sed omnium benivolam misericordiam corrogare* (*met.* 6,1,5); ... *nec ullam uel dubiam spei melioris uitam uolens omittere, sed adire cuiusquam dei ueniam* ... (*met.* 6,3,3).

⁴ Walsh ²1995, 192, 222 emphasises the parallels between Lucius and Psyche, but he fails to see also the crucial difference that Psyche does not consistently put her intention into practice: "So Psyche [...] prays to Ceres and then to Juno, just as Lucius prays to the Queen of heaven, who is these an all other goddesses in one" (Walsh *ibid.*, 222).

⁵ This is in keeping with Apuleius' philosophical-theological theory expounded in the *De Deo Socratis* (DDS), where he says that one should pay attention to different religious rites because different deities would favour different kinds of worship (*unde etiam religionum diuersis obseruationibus et sacrorum uariis suppliciiis fides impertienda est, esse nonnullos ex hoc diuorum numero, qui nocturnis uel diurnis, promptis uel occultis, laetioribus uel tristioribus hostiis uel caerimoniis uel ritibus gaudeant*, DDS 14 p. 148 [23-24 Moreschini]; cf. also *apol.* 55,8-9). Presumably, Apuleius' distinction between the many rites and the unity of the inner core of religion even influenced the 'dialogue between religions' invented by Nicholas of Kues in his *De pace fidei*. Cf. Leinkauf 2006, 24-26.

⁶ Lucius "is on a learning curve with respect to encounters with the divine" (Penwill 2009, 106, n. 50). "Lucius' conversion to the Isiac religion is presented as a conversion to philosophy" (Kirichenko 2010, 100). Cf. also Drews in *AAGA* 3.

cannot be easily understood: how is the reader meant to come to grips with a goddess that is apparently able to include several, even all deities within herself?

First, the vocabulary Apuleius is using here emphasises the contrast of 'one' vs. 'many': *uniformis, unicum* vs. *multiformi, multiuigo*. The first pair, especially, could be related to the Greek terms *henooides, henōtikon, henopoteō* etc. Second, the whole question of the relation of 'one' and 'many' recalls the discussions of this topic in Plato's *Parmenides*. Without going into philosophical details in the novel, Apuleius – a Platonist, as he calls himself elsewhere (*apol.* 10) – nevertheless hints at the crucial tenets: the higher levels of being are defined by increasing unity, whereas the lower levels of reality (especially the sublunar world of becoming and passing away) are characterised by increasing multiplicity. The many religious images, cults and rites performed by men are therefore primarily subject to the many differences that exist between people or nations. However, just as the so-called Platonic forms are only presupposed to subsist because each of them comprises the distinct and unitary being of e.g. 'beauty', 'justice', 'whole' etc.,⁷ the higher levels of being, and first of all the gods, are accordingly pre-eminently defined by unity: Ceres, for instance, is the goddess of agriculture and growth, Juno guards matrimony etc. Generally and ultimately, the many is according to the Platonists dependent on the principle of unity, whereas the one is independent of the many. (It is possible to imagine many trees only if one knows what a single tree is like; in the same way one can think of many triangles only if one knows what makes a triangle a triangle.) As Proclus will later put it at the very beginning of his *Elements of Theology*: "Every multiplicity somehow participates in the one".⁸

The way Apuleius lets Isis introduce herself in *met.* bears at least a strong resemblance to the Platonic doctrine of the relation of the one and the many and shows his awareness of its theological impact: if 'many' cannot be conceived of without presupposing 'unity' and if there are many gods, then there ought to be a supreme deity, a *summa numinum* who is beyond the distinction of the many gods and who is pre-eminently *one* deity. This is precisely what Isis says about herself: she is "the highest of the deities, the single face uniting all the gods and goddesses".⁹ This does not mean that there are no singular and particular deities like Juno, Ceres, Proserpina etc. It does mean, however, that there is an even higher level of divine being where these differences of the many gods are and have been transcended in the greater unity of a *facies uniformis*. In this way Isis includes all the singular deities. The Platonic background of this kind of theology shines through Isis' words, especially if one thinks of the Greek equivalents of the terms *uniformis* and *unicum*, whose philosophical and theological connotations might be easier to detect than those of their Latin counterparts.

So far Lucius and the reader of the novel would probably regard Isis as the highest deity in absolute terms. Still, the end of the novel shows that this conclusion is premature: Lucius receives a direct vision of Osiris, "the god that is mightier than the great gods, the highest of the greater gods, the greatest of the highest, and the sover-

⁷ Cf. Plato's *Symposium, Republic, Sophist*. For Apuleius' own description of Platonic ontology and epistemology see *De Platone* 1,6 pp. 192-194 (p. 93 f. Moreschini) and 1,9 pp. 199-200 (p. 97 f.).

⁸ Πάν πλῆθος μετέχει πῆ τοῦ ἐνός (Proclus, *inst. theol.* 1).

⁹ See also below, section 3 on Isis "illuminating the other gods".

eign of the greatest" (*deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum*¹⁰ *summum et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator*, *met.* 11,30,3). At first sight this may look like a contradiction of Isis' claim that she is the supreme deity. However, a closer look at Apuleius' wording might lead to a solution of the problem.

Isis was described as "the highest of the deities" (*summa numinum*), "the single face uniting all the gods and goddesses" and as "unitary deity". She can therefore be 'categorised' as the deity who includes the many gods within her one "face"; in other words her divine status is a level where the multiplicity of gods and goddesses is united into one deity. This aspect is not at all mentioned with regard to Osiris: he is neither introduced as a god who is also worshipped under other names than Osiris, nor as a god who enfolds within himself various other gods. Instead his divine status is the loftiest and most exalted, to such a degree that the means of language simply do not suffice to describe him.¹¹ As Lucius tries to grasp Osiris, it becomes clear that he is neither a *primus deus inter pares* nor an 'inclusive deity' like Isis: he is utterly transcendent as the accumulation of comparatives and superlatives indicates: "mightier than the great gods, the highest of the greater gods, the greatest of the highest, and the sovereign of the greatest". In contrast to Isis, Osiris seems to transcend even the level of the inclusion of differences: whereas Isis is "the highest of the deities" (*summa numinum*), Osiris is "mightier and higher than the great and greater gods", even "the greatest of the highest". In this connection it fits in well that the ineffable symbol in the procession, pointing to Osiris (11,11,3),¹² is said to belong to the *summum numen*, the most supreme deity. In every way, there seems to be a difference between the *summa numinum* – Isis, the 'inclusive deity' – and the *summum numen* – Osiris, the utterly supreme deity that transcends even Isis' status, i.e. the level of the inclusion of the many gods.¹³ This (perhaps subtle) distinction would furthermore match the Platonic differentiation between the 'unity of a united manifold' and the absolute 'One' – the first ('unity') being the effect of the latter ('One').

As a result, Isis and Osiris each have their individual status and distinct function as deities: they are not supreme deities on the same level. Instead the reader of the novel meets the many different gods in *Cupid and Psyche*, Isis as the one goddess including all the many gods, and ultimately Osiris as the 'one and only' highest god as such. This theology cannot be simply labelled as either poly- or monotheistic: both aspects are present in the novel and do not – as one might have expected – exclude each other, but are interrelated. Against this background, the conclusion drawn by Merkelbach remains at least questionable, that the veneration of both Isis and Osiris/Sarapis side by side prevented the development of fully-fledged monotheism.¹⁴

¹⁰ On the different readings (*maiorum* – *potiorum*) see comm. ad loc.

¹¹ Cf. "stammelnde und sich überbietende Höchstprädikate" (Wlosok 1969, 81 [= 1999, 154]); see comm. on *met.* 11,30,3.

¹² See comm. ad loc.

¹³ Cf. Drews 2009, 567-573. In fact, Apuleius' description of Isis as the goddess including the different deities matches philosophically the theological status attributed to Kronos (as the *hen on*) by Plotinus, whereas Osiris in Apuleius corresponds to the utterly transcendent Uranos (as the *hen hyperousion*) in Plotinus (*enn.* 5,8 [31],9-13).

¹⁴ "Im Sarapis- und Isiskult fand auch die Lehre Platz, daß es nur EINEN Gott gebe: Sowohl Sarapis als auch Isis sind als Universalgottheiten aufgefaßt worden. Aber zu einem vollen Monotheismus konnte es nicht kommen, solange man die beiden Götter nebeneinander verehrte" (Merkelbach, 2001, 307).

It is noteworthy that Lucius does not even make an attempt to describe the vision of Osiris in terms of an *ekphrasis*¹⁵ – although the god appears to Lucius "face to face" (*non <in> alienam quampiam personam reformatus, sed coram suo illo uenerando me dignatus adfamine per quietem recipere uisus est*, *met.* 11,30,3). At least for a Platonic reader this would not be a surprise if one takes into account the Platonic connection between the nature of gods and the intelligible being of Platonic forms made above: for, as Apuleius himself states in his *De Platone* (*DP*), it belongs to the very character of god and these forms that they can only be grasped by the intellect (*mens, nous*);¹⁶ only images of them can be perceived by the senses. Applied to the visions of gods this means: as long as something like an outward appearance of a god can be described in an *ekphrasis*, this relates to an image of this god, but only derivatively to his intelligible being as a divine person (just as traces of a human character can be perceived by the senses, where as the character itself is still something different and more complex). Seen from this Platonic perspective, it adds to the plausibility of Lucius' claim that he receives a personal vision of Osiris that cannot possibly be pictured.¹⁷ But what about the great *ekphrasis* of Isis in Ch. III-IV?

It is striking that Isis' visual and corporeal appearance takes place when Lucius (still an ass) encounters the goddess for the first time. Later, after his retransformation, when his first initiation is being described (Ch. XXII-XXIII), many details concerning the rites and Lucius' experiences are mentioned, but nothing about Isis herself, let alone an *ekphrasis* of her outward appearance as in Ch. III-IV. The higher (and deeper) the initiations into the mysteries of the gods, the less of the gods themselves seems to be perceptible to the *senses*. Again, this matches Platonic epistemology: the capacity of intellectual thinking specifically belongs to human nature, whereas the various faculties of sense-perception are shared (to very different degrees) by animals and their corporeal constitution. When looking at Isis' visual and corporeal appearance in Ch. III-IV, attention should be paid to the circumstance that Lucius has not yet regained his human nature: although, by his invocation of the *regina caeli*, Lucius makes his *first* steps towards becoming, as it were, a human philosopher and Isis' disciple, he is as yet an ass. As such he especially – even more

¹⁵ See introduction to Ch. XXX (2. The lack of detail).

¹⁶ Ὀὐσία, *quas essentias dicimus, duas esse ait, per quas cuncta gignantur mundusque ipse; quarum una cogitatione sola concipitur, altera sensibus subici potest. sed illa, quae mentis oculis comprehenditur, semper et eodem modo et sui par ac similis inuenitur, ut quae uere sit; at enim altera opinione sensibili et irrationabili aestimanda est, quam nasci et interire ait. et sicut superior uere esse memoratur, hanc non esse uere possumus dicere. et primae quidem substantiae uel essentiae primum deum esse et mentem formasque rerum et animam; secundae substantiae omnia quae informantur quaeque gignantur et quae ab substantiae superioris exemplo originem ducunt, quae mutari et conuerti possunt, labentia et ad instar fluminum profuga. adhuc illa, quam dixi, intellegendi substantia quoniam constanti nititur robore, etiam quae de ea disputantur, ratione stabili et fide plena sunt; at eius, quae ueluti umbra et imago est superioris, rationes quoque et uerba, quae de ea disputantur, inconstanti sunt disciplina* (*DP* 1,6 p. 193-194 [94 Moreschini]).

¹⁷ As pointed out in the following, Apuleius distinguishes between intelligible deities and their subordinated mediators (*daemones*), which, however, share the same name with their divine 'masters' (cf. Bernard 1994). When Apuleius counts Osiris among the *daemones*, even former human souls, in *DDS* 15 p. 154 (26 M.), this does not contradict the fact that there is also a transcendent deity Osiris because, in the Apuleian picture, the *daemon* Osiris as an inferior and subordinated mediator nevertheless belongs to the transcendent god of the same name. This distinction was at hand even before Apuleius since Plutarch already makes use of it in his *De Iside et Osiride* (see Bernard 1990, 220-221).

than a human being – depends on a sensible vision of the goddess in order to come into contact with the divine.

However, according to Apuleius' ontology and epistemology,¹⁸ such a vision contains a sensible *image* of the actually intelligible nature of a divine being. In his *De Deo Socratis* (*DDS*), Apuleius gives a detailed philosophical account of how these (in his view) rare appearances of a god or goddess can be explained.¹⁹ The starting point is Plato's principle that "god and man do not mix".²⁰ God and man can only come into contact by the work of certain mediators – the Greek term is *daimones* and should not be translated by 'demons' unless one is constantly aware that *daimones* are not per se evil spirits, but are more akin to what e.g. the Christian tradition calls 'angels'.²¹ Since the English word 'demon' has a misleading connotation I have preferred to use the Latin terms '*daemon*' / '*daemones*'.

According to Apuleius' reading of Plato, god and man cannot be separated in such a way that no communication between them would be possible – otherwise prayers to the gods would be useless (*DDS* 6 p. 132 [15 M.]). Instead it is the function of *daemones* that they serve as interpreters between gods and men. Whereas the gods do not experience temporal emotions of hate and love, it is fitting for the intermediate status of the *daemones* to share in these, although they are by nature immortal (*DDS* 13 pp. 147-148 [23 M.]). Bernard 1994, 370 has shown that according to Apuleius each deity has his/her own *daemones* that not only act on behalf of their transcendent-intelligible deity, but also share the name of the god or goddess.

Apuleius illustrates this by quoting Homer: when Minerva/Athene is intervening in the conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon, she does so by becoming visible only to Achilles (*Iliad* 1,198). Since she interferes in human affairs, she cannot be the transcendent-intelligible deity itself, but has to be a *daemon* mediating on behalf of the deity: i.e., the goddess Achilles sees is in fact a *daemon* sent by the goddess. Apuleius stresses that *daemones* are not naturally visible to human eyes, but reveal themselves only if they have been instructed to do so by the god they belong to (*diinitus*). That is why Athene is seen by Achilles, but not by Agamemnon. According to Apuleius, *daemones* have a certain sublime body that is transparent so that it cannot be

¹⁸ See above, n. 7 for references.

¹⁹ Cf. Bernard 1994.

²⁰ θεός δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὐ μέγνυται (Platon, *symp.* 203a1-2); *nullus deus miscetur hominibus* (Apuleius, *DDS* 4 p. [13 M.]).

²¹ The distinction between demons as 'per se evil spirits' and 'Apuleian *daemones*' (that can be either benevolent or 'malevolent/evil spirits') seems to be blurred when Cancik 2003, 451 concludes: "In ihrer [sc. Isis'] Welt gibt es keinen Zauber, keine Gespenster, keine Erotik [...]: hier ist jedenfalls kein Ort für Dämonen, welcher Substanz und hierarchischen Stufe auch immer. Apuleius hat seine theologische Daemonologie nicht an die magische Welt der *Metamorphosen* oder an die Isis-Religion angeschlossen." Does the latter claim rest upon the assumption that 'Apuleian *daemones*' should be associated with magic, witchcraft and sex etc.? Cancik himself observes three pages earlier (*ibid.*, 448) that *daemones* according to Apuleius are in the first place mediators between gods and men (although Cancik does not pay any attention to Apuleius' philosophical background, e.g. Plato's *Symposium*, but places him entirely in the Roman tradition). Bearing this in mind, there might be more of Apuleius' daemology to his novel than appears at first sight (in contrast to Cancik's assessment: "Der Roman zeigt keine Spuren dieses theologischen Systems. Er ist anschaulich, derb, obszön", *ibid.*, 450). Cf. Penwill's (2009, 106-107, n. 50) observation that Osiris reveals himself to Lucius as a voice similar to the one "that constituted Socrates' divine sign (*DDS* 20)".

seen unless it becomes dense upon divine behest (*DDS* 11 p. 144 [21 M.]).²²

In this context the corporeal vision of Isis Lucius-ass receives at the beginning of the Isis-book can be interpreted as a *daemon*-like manifestation of the goddess Isis. The difficult question whether or not Lucius has already fallen asleep²³ at the moment when Isis is appearing to him²⁴ does not necessarily have to be decided, but points perhaps to the different sphere of reality that becomes accessible when a *daemon* makes her/his appearance until she/he withdraws again into her-/himself.²⁵ Still, Lucius sees a corporeal *image* of Isis, but does not yet grasp her intelligible nature on the level of the immaterial intellect. This image is, however, no hallucination or illusion, but, as Apuleius depicts it, a true and living image sent by the goddess herself, which therefore rightfully bears the name of Isis.

2. Isis as the Mother of Times and Nature

There are two reasons why Isis' self-revelation by means of her daemonic manifestation accessible to Lucius' senses should not be played down as Lucius-ass' "autosuggestion"²⁶: the first is Apuleius' own philosophical theory, according to which such visible manifestations of gods are considered to be possible (see above, Apuleius' interpretation of the example of Athene and Achilles). The second reason arises from the narrative of the novel itself: Isis had promised Lucius that she would instruct a priest in the procession to carry roses and thus provide Lucius-ass with the remedy he desperately needs for regaining his human form (*met.* 11,6,1-3). This prophecy comes to its fulfilment when Lucius sees the priest approaching in the way Isis had described him before (11,12,1), so that Lucius, eventually liberated from his asinine shape, says with a sigh of relief: "And the divine promise did not deceive me" (*ne me fefellit caeleste promissum*, 11,13,3). With hindsight Isis' appearances to Lucius and to the priest are now proved to have been true.²⁷

Strikingly, Isis did not simply announce that she was also *going* to inform the priest: while speaking to Lucius, she even claims that she is present to her priest *at that very moment* (*nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi uenio, simul et [t]ibi praesens, quae sunt sequentia, sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio, met.* 11,6,3). Apparently, the goddess is able to appear at different places at the same time.²⁸ What seems to be an unbelievable paradox at first sight becomes again less strange if one thinks of Apuleius' daemology: the transcendent deity can reveal herself to men by making use of several *daemones* belonging to her and acting on her behalf.

There might still be another aspect concerning Isis and her relation with time. The

²² Cf. Drews 2009, 538-551.

²³ Cf. 11,3,2 *necdum satis coniueram, et ecce*, and see Drews (cited in previous note).

²⁴ See comm. on 11,7,1 *deae potentis ... praesentiam*.

²⁵ See comm. on 11,7,1 *in se recessit*.

²⁶ In contrast to this interpretation see, however, Harrison 2000, 240.

²⁷ Cf. in a similar way Penwill 2009, 107 n. 54: "[...] the correlation between Isis' instructions at 11,5-6 and what actually happens the following day [...] preclude the notion that Lucius has been the victim of some elaborate confidence trick. [...] There is nothing in the text that cues laughter and derision."

²⁸ Cf. 11,27,8-9, when Lucius says about the *pastophorus* Asinius Marcellus that he had been informed by Isis with a similar instruction (*consimili praecepto*) in a vision during the last night (*nam sibi uisus est quiete proxima*).

goddess had already introduced herself as “the mother of nature” and “the mistress of all the elements” (*rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina, met.* 11,5,1). Isis’ domain could therefore be paralleled with the role of the Platonic demiurge who creates and guards the sensible world according to the transcendent and eternal principles that subsist on the purely intelligible level²⁹ (in his allegory of the myth of Isis and Osiris, Plutarch seems to identify Isis with the principle of matter, too³⁰). This aspect does not contradict the above interpretation that Isis can also be regarded as the universal deity including the singular deities within her: just as the Platonic demiurge hands over his universal creation to the so-called “younger gods” (*Tim.* 42d6),³¹ there remains a difference between Isis as the universal deity including the other gods on a level of higher unity and the many gods as singular deities on an inferior level of greater multiplicity.

However, if Isis is the mother of nature and her domain comes close to the one of the demiurge, then it might not be surprising that Apuleius also calls her the “mother of the stars, parent of times, the mistress of the whole world” (*matrem siderum, parentem temporum, orbisque totius dominam, met.* 11,7,3). The phrase *parens temporum* is usually translated by “parent of the seasons”.³² This sense and the more general interpretation “parent of times” do not have to exclude each other. Read against the background of Apuleius’ Platonic theory according to which “time is an image of eternity” (*tempus uero aevi esse imaginem, DP* 1,10, p. 201 [98 M.]), the title *parent of times* seems, under the surface, to be much more closely connected with Isis’ demiurgic powers: she creates and guards the principles of time, but herself transcends the vicissitudes of time.³³ The times, as Apuleius puts it later on, “return to Isis” (*tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, seruiunt elementa, met.* 11,25,3): Since Isis, as the transcendent deity, is above time, she is able both to oversee the world of becoming and passing away and to be present at different places at the same ‘time’ because her divine presence in simultaneous eternity does not change. Just as time is “an image of eternity”, Isis’ visible manifestation in form of a *daemon* is likewise an image of her eternal deity.

3. The Sermon of the Priest: The Light of Isis³⁴

At the centre of the Isis-Book, after Lucius has regained his human form, Apuleius places the sermon of the priest. The priest tells Lucius that he has now found shelter

²⁹ Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 28a4-b1.

³⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *de Isid. et Os.* 53, *Mor.* 372E. See also comm. on 11,3,5 *multicolor*. It should be noted that Isis is *allegorised* as matter itself, i.e. this does not mean that Isis and matter are the same thing. Otherwise it would not be possible for Plutarch to speak of Isis as of the goddess of divine wisdom at the very beginning of his treatise (*Mor.* 351F-352A). Therefore, the allegory probably means to say that Isis is not matter itself, but the principle of matter (in this way, cf. Bernard 1990, 249-250). For Apuleius’ ‘agreement’ with Plutarch’s allegorising of the Isiac cult and myth cf. Kirichenko 2010, 101-105 and Walsh ²1995, 182-185.

³¹ Cf. Apuleius’ paraphrase: ... *fundatisque legibus reliquarum dispositionem ac tutelam rerum, quas cotidie fieri necesse est, diis ceteris tradidit (DP* 1,12 p. 206 [102 M.]).

³² See comm. on 11,7,3 *parentem temporum*.

³³ Cf. Drews 2009, 536, 603.

³⁴ For a more detailed interpretation of the priest’s sermon in relation to the topics of divine providence and human free will see my interpretation in Drews 2009, 573-603.

at the “harbour of Rest and the altar of Mercy” (*ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae ... uenisti, met.* 11,15,1),³⁵ but that he had earned “the grim reward of unlucky curiosity” (*curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti, 11,15,1*). The priest not only picks up the theme of curiosity prominent in *met.*, but also that of responsibility: these words should not be played down and reduced to typical remarks expected of a moralising priest.³⁶ Instead Lucius’ and the reader’s attention is drawn to a crucial fact without which it is impossible to make sense of the whole picture: the issue of responsibility, which rests upon the assumption of free will.³⁷

During the first ten books of the novel, Lucius did not seem to care much about responsibility and the consequences arising out of his own choices: he was “keen” on the adventures of magic and made use of the first chance “to plunge himself headlong into the abyss”.³⁸ It is no coincidence that the word *praecipitare*, which has a certain stress at the very end of this sentence, also appears in the context of Apuleius’ theory of free will in his *De Platone*: if someone was deluded into falsely believing something was good and desirable, which, in fact, it is not, then he would “plunge” himself into bad and miserable circumstances.³⁹ Likewise it was all the same to Lucius whether or not his deeds were beneficial (*licet salutare non erit, met.* 2,6,8). Lucius obviously serves as a distorted counterpart to Apuleius’ own Platonic theory of free will, according to which a truly free decision rests upon the cognition of what is truly good and beneficial. Apuleius makes it clear, though, that one commits “sins” (*peccata*) only by means of the will and because one is free to do so; such decisions, however, are due to an epistemological error, whereas a true volition (*uoluntas*) would never aim at something which is or will eventually turn out to be bad and detrimental.⁴⁰

When the priest tells Lucius: “on the slippery path of your green youth you plunged into slavish pleasures” (*lubrico uirentis aetulae ad seruiles delapsus uoluptates, met.* 11,15,2), he is therefore not simply raising his monitory finger, but first of all reminding him of the fact that he himself was responsible for his sufferings of becoming and being an ass. As a more or less hidden prelude to Lucius’ turning to the *regina caeli* at the beginning of the Isis-Book, Apuleius lets Lucius explic-

³⁵ See comm. ad loc.

³⁶ Although a Platonic reading of *met.* clearly involves moral implications (cf. Walsh ²1995, 142-143, 176), the general outline of this essay is to show that there is more to Apuleius’ Platonism and philosophy in the Isis Book than an abstract moral (perhaps like a Kantian imperative) could express, since Apuleius shows awareness that Platonic philosophy comprises first of all theology and metaphysics, which form the foundation for ethics.

³⁷ Penwill 2009, 97 points to the contrast between “Lucius’ diatribe on the fallibility of human judgement at 10,33” and the priest acting “as judge” in 11,15.

³⁸ *At ego curiosus alioquin, ut primum artis magicae semper optatum nomen audiui, tantum a cautela Pamphiles afui, ut etiam ulro gestirem tali magisterio me uolens ampla cum mercede tradere et prorsus in ipsum barathrum saltu concito praecipitare (met.* 2,6,1-2).

³⁹ *Sed si eiusmodi mala pergit ac sibi usuram eorum utilem credit, deceptus errore et imagine boni sollicitatus quidem, <in>sciens uero ad mala praecipitatur (DP* 2,11 p. 236 [122 M.]).

⁴⁰ *sed uirtutem liberam et in nobis sitam et nobis uoluntate appetendam; peccata uero esse non minus libera et in nobis sita, non tamen ea suscipi uoluntate. namque ille uirtutis spectator cum eam penitus intellexerit bonam esse et benignitate praestare, ad eam affectabit profecto et sectandam existimabit sui causa; ut item ille, qui senserit uitia non solum turpitudinem existimationi inuehere, sed nocere alio pacto fraudique esse, qui potest sponte se ad eorum consortium iungere? (DP* 2,11 p. 236 [122 M.]).

itly think of his own *liberum arbitrium* at the end of book 10 (*met.* 10,35,2).⁴¹ Soon after, Lucius acknowledges for the first time that he might be guilty of having offended a deity⁴² and even accepts that he could have deserved to die,⁴³ whereas, during the previous books, he only complained about the bad and blind fortune under which he suffered and did not realise his own responsibility.⁴⁴

This metamorphosis in his way of thinking brings about the decisive shift in his life. Isis reveals herself to him and announces: "Now by my providence, the day of salvation is dawning for you" (*iam tibi providentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris, met.* 11,5,4). Just as a true volition aims at what is truly good and does not neglect this aspect, Isis' providence promises what is salutary and good for Lucius (*quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque tibi sit, 11,29,5*) – in contrast to Lucius' own former attitude mentioned above (2,6,8). That is why Isis' providence is described by the priest as "seeing fortune": she sees what is good and beneficial and even "illuminates the other gods" (*in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed uidentis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat, 11,15,3*). From this perspective, Apuleius again emphasises that Isis is the 'inclusive goddess' whose *facies uniformis* (11,5,1) comprises all the other deities and therefore "enlightens" them, before, on an inferior level, the multiplicity of the many gods and goddesses is unfolded by the light of Isis' providence, which also "illuminates (*inlucescit*)⁴⁵ the day of salvation" for Lucius.⁴⁶

Apuleius leaves no doubt that Isis' *Fortuna uidens* must not be confused with "blind fortune" (*fortuna caeca*).⁴⁷ This distinction has sometimes been ignored in Apuleian scholarship when interpreters do not want to see a difference between

⁴¹ Cf. Drews in *AAGA* 3, 124. As far as I can see, Penwill's 2009 interpretation of the end of *met.* 10 would be in line with my emphasis on Lucius' 'regaining' of his human free will here. However, although Penwill stresses Lucius' "choosing a (new) life" as an Isiac disciple (cf. "the Judgement of Lucius", *ibid.*, 94; "in Cencreae as in Corinth the ass begins to behave like a human being", *ibid.*, 96), he does not refer to the fact that in Apuleius' novel the term *arbitrium* only occurs in this passage (*met.* 10,35,2), which, as it seems to me, encapsulates in itself Penwill's many subtle observations and general line of interpretation.

⁴² See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 78.

⁴³ *ac si quod offensum numen inexorabili me saeuitia premit, mori saltem liceat, si non licet uiuere* (*met.* 11,2,4). Unlike in the first ten books (cf. Drews 2009, 485-494), Lucius does not simply ponder on the possibility of suicide here since he unambiguously wants to be restored to his former human self (*redde me meo Lucio, 11,2,4*). However, he is considering the possibility that a deity might have been offended, and that *therefore* it could be appropriate for him to die as a kind of sacrifice in order to appease the deity. I do not see how to make sense of the sentence in a different way: linking divine anger with his wish to die in case he is not allowed to regain his former human shape only makes sense if Lucius is himself responsible for the fact that a divine curse rests on him (cf. Kirichenko 2010, 79, pointing to Ovid, *Pont.* 1,1,51-58 as a parallel for this "commonplace" in Isiac religion). If Lucius were not aware of his own responsibility, it would be nonsense to *ask* for permission to die! If Lucius regarded prayers as pointless under these circumstances, he would not be praying at all! In this context it is important not to read any modern scepticism into Apuleius as Penwill 2009, 107 (n. 54) is absolutely right to emphasise.

⁴⁴ Cf. *met.* 7,2,4; 9,1,5; 10,24,1.

⁴⁵ Grammatically, the verb *inlucescit* is, of course, intransitive. Since Isis' providence, however, is the agent (in the ablative), Apuleius makes it clear that the 'dawning of the day of salvation' (*iam tibi providentia mea inlucescit dies salutaris, met.* 11,5,4) is the work of Isis, so that the content matches the passage quoted before where Isis' *Fortuna uidens* illuminates (cf. the transitive *illuminat, 11,15,3*) the other gods.

⁴⁶ Cf. Plato's simile of the Sun: As the Sun illuminates everything, so the Good / the idea of the Good gives Being, Nature and Intelligibility to everything that has true being (*rep.* 509b).

⁴⁷ On Isis as blind Fortune's opponent, see introduction to Ch. XV (2. Structure and motifs).

providence, fortune, and fate, the equation of which has for instance been implicitly presupposed by Merkelbach. This leads to various inconsistencies that Merkelbach (2001, 425) regards as unavoidable within an 'allegorical narrative':⁴⁸ Isis should be regarded not only as Isis-Tyche, but as Isis-Venus and Isis-Psyche at the same time,⁴⁹ i.e. Isis would have to be considered responsible for everything that happens (for instance for both Venus' and Psyche's deeds in *Cupid and Psyche*). Consequently, Isis' providence *would* be indistinguishable from the blindness of Stoic fate, determining the whole course of the world. Also, Lucius *would* have to be seen as Isis' (hidden) disciple from the outset of the novel.⁵⁰ If this were so, there would be no need for the priest to remind Lucius of his own faults and responsibilities, let alone the priest's explicit announcement that the blind fortune in its "improvident wickedness" (*improvida malitia*) has to give way now (*met.* 11,15,2 *eat nunc*).

The priest's *distinction* between the "seeing fortune of Isis' providence" and "improvident fortune" therefore also rejects the deterministic idea that everything in the world of the novel was driven by an all-encompassing and indiscriminate fate. This corresponds with Apuleius' Platonic theory in the *De Platone* where he refutes the assumption that everything is subject to fate.⁵¹ Apuleius maintains that fate comprises God's inevitable thoughts and plans only⁵² and, because of this limitation, fate is consequently subordinate to the universal scope of divine providence; in fact Apuleius even distinguishes between different hierarchical levels of the gods' providential care.⁵³

Strikingly, the priest says in his sermon that blind fortune now has to "find for itself another *materies* to work on".⁵⁴ A Platonic reader might recall that it is the realm of matter where, according to Plato, the limitations of necessity and fate occur. Although, at first sight, one would be inclined to think that blind fortune or chance cannot possibly have anything to do with fate or determinism, this antagonism might turn out to be rather superficial: if the course of the world, often inconsistent in itself and changing according to no traceable rationale, is regarded as being totally predetermined by fate, then fate must have been blind to what it has determined. This blindness, then, would be shared by *both* fate and fortune: fortune or chance in the strict sense cannot have planned or determined anything, but would still operate on the same 'principle of blindness' as all-determining fate.

Now since this blindness is overcome by the seeing fortune of Isis' providence, one could compare Isis' providential care with the intellect of Plato's demiurge that overcomes the limitations of necessity (*anankē*): "The intellect (*nous*) got the better of necessity [sc. and its limitations] by persuading the latter so that a turn to the better was achieved for the greater part of the world of becoming".⁵⁵ In connection with

⁴⁸ For the basis of an alternative attempt to allegorise the novel, see Drews in *AAGA* 3, 128-129. For a criticism of Merkelbach's allegorising, see already Walsh ²1995, 221, esp. n. 4.

⁴⁹ Merkelbach, 1962, 5; 2001, 453. For a critical discussion see Drews in *AAGA* 3, 115-116.

⁵⁰ Cf. Harrauer 1973, VII, 80.

⁵¹ *quare nec omnia ad fati sortem arbitrarer esse referenda* (*DP* 1,12 p. 205 [101 M.]).

⁵² *diuinam legem esse fatum, per quod inuitabiles cogitationes dei atque incepta complentur* (*DP* 1,12 p. 205 [101 M.]).

⁵³ *DP* 1,12 pp. 205-206 (102 M.). Cf. Krafft 1979, 156-159 and Drews in *AAGA* 3, 119-122.

⁵⁴ *eat nunc et summo furore saeuuat et crudelitati suae materiem quaerat aliam* (*met.* 11,15,2).

⁵⁵ ... νοῦ δὲ ἀνάγκης ἄρχοντος τῷ πείθειν αὐτὴν τῶν γιγνομένων τὰ πλείστα ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἄγειν

this Platonic background, the priest's sermon gains more weight when he says that blind fortune now "has to give way and find for itself another *materies* to work on." For, within the reign of Isis' providence or "seeing fortune", "unsafe chance" has neither place nor power.⁵⁶ Therefore Lucius no longer 'serves' as a *materies*, i.e. as a material object that is subject to the attacks of blind fortune or to the limitations of fate respectively.

Before turning to Isis, Lucius ironically believes in precisely the opposite of what Apuleius approves of as the Platonic doctrine. In Book 1, Lucius proudly explains: "I consider nothing impossible, but whichever way fate has decided, so everything will turn out for mortals" (*Ego uero, inquam, nihil impossibile arbitror, sed utcumque fata decreuerint, ita cuncta mortalibus prouenire, met. 1,20,3*). This cannot be a coincidence, but must belong to the thread of the novel's narrative: as observed above, Lucius does not care about his own responsibility or free will in the first books – instead he believes in Stoic determinism.⁵⁷ According to my interpretation of Apuleius' novel, this could probably be called an 'asinine point of view'⁵⁸ that needs to be changed by an inner metamorphosis: Lucius *starts* changing when he first recognises his own *liberum arbitrium* and turns to Isis in "an anguished request"⁵⁹ while acknowledging his own responsibility. His change continues when, in a state of contemplation, he is rethinking his former tribulations.⁶⁰ Perhaps the reader of the novel is being implicitly asked here to follow Lucius' example: the reader, who *can* do the same as Lucius if he is inclined to do so, more or less has to take a decision about which kind of novel he has read so far or will have read, in case she/he will read and rethink it again.⁶¹

(Plato, *Tim.* 47e5-48a5).

⁵⁶ *nam in eos, quorum sibi uitas <in> seruitium deae nostrae maiestas uindicauit, non habet locum casus infestus (met. 11,15,2).*

⁵⁷ On Lucius' Stoic beliefs, see Walsh ²1995, 178; *GCA* 2007, 365, 133; Drews in *AAGA* 3, 122-123.

⁵⁸ "The metamorphosis [sc. into an ass] changes his appearance, but it serves to objectify rather than alter his nature" (Schlam 1970, 481); "Lucius wird also in das Tier verwandelt, das sein Seelengespinn regiert" (Münstermann 1995, 43).

⁵⁹ Penwill 2009, 94.

⁶⁰ *nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intentus <in> deae specimen pristinos casus meos recordabar (met. 11,17,5).* See comm. on *pristinos casus meos recordabar*.

⁶¹ Cf. Drews 2009, 637-8, 445-449, 510, 605.

ESSAY II

Warren S. Smith

The Isis Book and Contemporary Jewish/Christian Literature

1. Introduction

This essay argues that Apuleius in the 11th book of the *Metamorphoses* follows a pattern similar to that found in contemporary apocalyptic literature, including Jewish-Christian apocalyptic, and mirrors the concepts provided by that literature for the encounter of his protagonist with a divine figure, while varying from those concepts at some key points. The Isis Book should also be read in the context of arguments raised by 2nd century Christian apologetic literature, arguments made both about Christianity and the worship of Isis. The movement of the last book of the novel toward Rome and the narrator's choice to set down roots there, along with the absence from Book 11 of the more esoteric Egyptian details of the myths of Isis and Osiris, are consistent with a novel that sees itself in the context of a Roman dialogue with contemporaries such as the Christian apologists, while de-emphasizing the Egyptian or North African setting of Isiac worship.¹

2. Dream Visions: Pagan Parallels

Apuleius borrows the title of his novel, *Metamorphoses*, from his source, the lost *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patrae, but the use of this title also inevitably recalls Ovid's great poem of the same name, and it is hard when reading the novel not to compare the narrator's transformation into an ass with some of Ovid's transformations, such as Jupiter's change into a bull (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2, 833-875) which is actually mentioned in Apuleius' *met.* 6,29,5, and especially that of Io who actually turns into Isis at the end of the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Isis also appears in Ovid *met.* 9,684-703 in a dream vision to Telethusa, who feared for the life of her unborn child since her husband had ordered her to kill it if it was a girl. Here she is depicted as a helpful goddess who will not reject her worshippers (*dea sum auxiliaris opemque/exorata fero, Ovid met. 9,699-700*).²

In the case of the Isis Book the narrator's adventure of arriving at the sea in animal form, pleading to the gods for help, the plea being answered by a merciful god-

¹ The narrator is indeed *Madaurensis (met.11,27,9)* but this a past association now set aside as he changes to Latin language and Roman culture, see further Smith in *AAGA* 3, 210-212.

² On the Ovid passages see further Winkler 1985, 278; Bandini 1986, see esp. 37, where he compares the ass' attempt to cry *O Caesar* in Apul. *met.* 3,29,2-3 with the neighing of Ocyroe as mare in Ov. *met.* 2,655-669; Finkelppearl 1998, 194-196.

dess, and changing back into human form in a graphic description, are all paralleled in the salvation of Io described in Ovid *met.* 1.727-746, a passage which could serve as a parallel, in a slightly altered form, of the appeal to Isis by Apuleius' narrator.

We might also compare the vision of the god Tiberinus to Aeneas in *Aen.* 8.66, which anticipates Apuleius in having the god rise up out of a body of water, the river Tiber, after Aeneas has fallen asleep on the bank. The river assures Aeneas of his protection, gives him a sign to look for (a sow with thirty young) to prove the authenticity of the dream, and promises him victory. Religious dream-visions add a stamp of approval to a work which has pretenses of presenting a broad vision of the Roman dream and vision for the future.³ The device is part of Apuleius' attempt to elevate a comic novel about an ass into a visionary and patriotic work.

3. Apocalyptic Literature: Jewish, Christian, Pagan

So the outline and basic motifs of the ass's rescue by Isis come to Apuleius from the Roman literary tradition. But he gives the narrative a religious dimension which startles the reader by its elaboration and high seriousness after the playfulness of the first ten books. For some of this effect, the Isis Book can be helpfully compared with contemporary Jewish-Christian literature. There are intriguing parallels in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature of later antiquity, including *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *2 Esdras*, *Apocalypsis Iohannis*, *1 Enoch*, *2 Baruch*, and *Shepherd of Hermas*⁴ with some of which Apuleius, the polymath with an interest in all literary genres, and "close connections with the literary currents of his own time,"⁵ may have been familiar. A general definition of apocalyptic literature is provided by Collins:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it envisages another, supernatural world."⁶

If we define 'apocalyptic' so broadly, the term might include such diverse works as Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* from Cicero's *De Republica* (6,9-29) in which the younger Scipio is given a glimpse by his ancestor, Scipio Africanus, of his future fame and immortality. The elder Scipio assures his descendant that all that happens is under the control of the gods and that when he dies, a sure place in heaven is waiting for him. Closer to Apuleius' own time, such dream-visions have become a topos of philosophical and religious literature. Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*, *De sera numinis*

vindicta, and Lucian's *Icaromenippus*, all involve visionary journeys and otherworldly mediators.⁷

The Jewish apocalypse *2 Esdras* and the Christian *Shepherd of Hermas* date from the late 1st century or early 2nd century A.D. and were widely popular and disseminated among Christians. Finally, a Gnostic document, the *Poimandres*, which is part of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, dates before the 2nd century A.D., features the revelations of a divine figure, Poimandres, who wants to "understand reality and know god." Though this study focuses on the Jewish-Christian literature, it is clear that Lucius' dream-vision of Isis in *met.* 11 is at home with similar contemporary religious and philosophical documents. The Isis Book has a broad resemblance to the Jewish apocalyptic literature in particular. This is particularly true of those documents which tie the fall of the first temple in the 6th century B.C.E. to later crises such as the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes (*Daniel*, *Baruch*) or to the destruction of the second temple in 70 A.D. (*2 Esdras*, *2 Baruch*). Both of these latter books reflect the apocalyptic expectations of Jews from the late 1st century A.D. and later,⁸ and share with Apuleius a narrator in despair at the hopelessness of the present situation; this narrator confesses his helplessness and turns to God for hope for the future. That personal surrender followed by visions from God and a message of hope at the end also has a parallel in the equivalent literature written by Christians especially *Apocalypsis Iohannis* and *Shepherd of Hermas*.⁹

One of the features of the Isis Book which Apuleius shares in common with Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature is the speaking animal as a feature. Talking animals are an element of Jewish apocalypse in *Daniel* 7 and *1 Enoch* 85-90, and in the Christian *Apocalypsis Iohannis* 4,6-8, four animals sing their praise of God day and night. Christopher Matthews says of these animals in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and elsewhere:

"More than fanciful embellishments, these animals are the heirs of a larger cultural legacy. Embodying the collective genius of diverse streams of literary, philosophical, and religious imagination and speculation, they function within early Christian narrative on a popular theological level to dramatize the uniqueness, strangeness, and comprehensiveness of the young religion."¹⁰

The salvation of the ass in Book 11 of Apuleius' novel is as big a surprise as the fate of the kindly talking ass in the third century *Acts of Thomas* 39-41, who is blessed by God for allowing the apostle Thomas to ride on his back. The Apocryphal *Acts of Philip* includes a scene in which Christ answers the prayer of a group of animals by changing them into human beings. That Lucius is favored by Isis and that his prayer

³ Compare also the appearance of Venus to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 1,305-417, and in this volume the comm. on 11,4,3. Carlisle 2006, 232 argues that the appearance of Isis to Lucius in a dream verifies it as a true appearance since in this novel "dreams can reveal waking reality from a perspective that is new, but not false." Hunink 2006 is more cautious: "In the final book dreams inevitably reveal the 'truth,' even if not always in a literal way. But by the end of the book, the truths of the narrator Lucius have become at least questionable to the reader" (30). See also the comm. in this volume on 11,7,1.

⁴ *Daniel*, *2 Esdras*, *Apocalypsis Iohannis* quoted in New Revised Standard version; *2 Baruch* quoted from Charles 1913; *Shepherd of Hermas* quoted from Ehrman 2003.

⁵ Harrison 2000, 14. Cf. Hunink 2001, 115-117, *Apul. flor.* 9,27.

⁶ Collins 1979, 9.

⁷ Harold Attridge in Collins 1979, 159-186.

⁸ Momigliano 1987, 113-115.

⁹ In this I accept, at least in broad outline, the conclusion of Shumate that Apuleius describes a type of conversion experience which can be paralleled elsewhere in antiquity, such as in Dio Chrysostom and Lucian, and "in the mainstream philosophical tradition as a whole" (Shumate 1996, 33). With Shumate should also be compared the arguments of Bradley 1998, who stresses that in Apuleius' world of a multiplicity of gods "conversion" did not mean an acceptance of one god which would imply rejection of all the others.

¹⁰ Matthews in Bovon et al. 1999, 205 and 220.

is answered moves him out of the sphere of the comic ass who can only bray rather than speak, and into the sphere of these animals dignified by divine recognition.¹¹

There are other ways in which a novel with the theme of metamorphosis, fall and regeneration could find a similar spirit in the Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature. The Jewish apocalyptic literature promises that the nation which has fallen to the "Babylonians" (=the Romans) will have a new birth (*apoc.* 20). But it is not just the fallen nation which will be restored; the people themselves in the new world will be changed when the aspect, even the shape, of the resurrected people will undergo a transformation. According to *2 Baruch*, in the new world, after the dead have come back to life, the wicked are to be changed into ugly shapes (and ugliness is one of the ass's most prominent aspects.) The good shall be changed to "any form they wish," (*2 Baruch* 51,10.) Surely this concept resonates with a novel about magical metamorphosis and spiritual redemption.

Apuleius was able to find a theme of salvation through divine visitation which resembles the popular apocalyptic literature in many of its details. The most intriguing parallel with Book 11 is offered by the book known as *4 Ezra*. This constitutes the central portion (chapters 3-14) of the book of *2 Esdras* in the Apocrypha of the Bible (*Esdras* is the Greek equivalent of *Ezra*). This portion was written by an unknown Palestinian Jew who probably wrote in Hebrew or Aramaic near the end of the 1st century A.D.; in the 2nd century it was translated into Greek and subsequently into many other languages, and was widely read by Christian authors including Tertullian. Of all the examples of apocalyptic literature it comes closest to breathing the same spirit as the Isis Book of the *Metamorphoses*.

4 Ezra consists of seven visions of a scribe named *Ezra* who presents himself as living after the destruction of the first temple by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., though the actual agenda of the book is the destruction of the second temple by the Romans in 70 A.D. "Babylon" is used here to mean Rome. The first vision takes place in Babylon. *Ezra* asks God how Israel can be kept in misery if God is just. Uriel the archangel is sent to answer the question, and reveals two more visions to *Ezra*, assuring him, without much success, that God's justice will win out. There follows a series of visions of a woman, an eagle, a lion, and a man who represents the Messiah.

Like Apuleius' narrator, the narrator of *4 Ezra* is a fictitious person, in *Ezra*'s case a prophet from the distant past conjured up to plead to God on behalf of his people. But 'Ezra' appears to mix into his story events from his own past: Stone says that in his opinion, "... the religious experiences described in *4 Ezra* were real religious experiences ... the actual experiences of the author."¹² Although no one would claim today that Apuleius actually changed into an ass, the reference in Book 11 to a "man from Madauros" seems to suggest Apuleius' identification with the experiences of his narrator.¹³ *Ezra* begins with a plea for his whole people but ends by having a 'conversion experience' and being favored by God to be the recorder of scripture. Apuleius' narrator begins by begging for restoration to human shape but ends with a completely transformed life.

Isis as a divine female figure parallels some of the figures in Christian and Jewish apocrypha (the elderly woman in *Hermas Vision* 1,2,2; the female figure in *Apocalypse Iohannis* 12 who is pregnant with the son of God) who may stand for the church, Jerusalem, or Israel. Isis is a kind of amalgam of all the gods, embracing their various powers (cf. *met.* 11,5,1-3). She is not only wiser but more powerful than they, able to resolve the issue, cut to its heart. By acknowledging the powers of all the other gods but subsuming them in her own person,¹⁴ Isis becomes the symbol for Apuleius of a religion which accepts one god without having too narrow a view of the divine¹⁵ or falling into the trap of "atheism" or irreligion, charges that were leveled at both Jews and Christians.¹⁶

After Lucius awakens in Book 11, he addresses the goddess. One of her attributes is the comforts of civilization which enable humankind to give up the ways of wild beasts, both in terms of diet and in the beastliness of their behavior (11,2,1; 11,2,4). The suppliant in *4 Ezra* speaks of many of his own people as bestial in behavior, in contrast with those who are favored by God:

Let it not be thy will to destroy those who have had the ways of cattle; but regard those who have gloriously taught thy law. Be not angry with those who are deemed worse than beasts; but love those who have always put their trust in thy glory. —*2 Esdras* 8,29

In *met.* 11,3, after he utters his prayer, Lucius again falls back to sleep, making it possible for him to experience his encounter with Isis as a dream-vision rising out of the sea. The context of Isis' appearance in a dream-vision has the effect of legitimizing her message for a second-century audience, especially since the dream is confirmed on the next day by the words of Mithras, who has been likewise instructed by Isis in a dream (*met.* 11,4,3).¹⁷ Isis rising out of the sea would make a pagan audience think of the birth of Aphrodite (which is actually mentioned in *met.* 2,17,1-2),¹⁸ or of Sappho's prayer in her *Hymn to Aphrodite* for the goddess to come to her aid. Yet the concept of wonders in a dream-vision coming up out of the sea is also traditional in apocalyptic literature. In the Jewish tradition the sea is associated with chaos and monstrous beasts. It is a source of hidden wonders which can be either destructive or benevolent (cf. Daniel in Chapter 7,1-3 where four great beasts come out of the sea, and compare *2 Esdras* 13,1-3, *2 Baruch* 53,1, *apoc.* 13,1). The context of the vision, with Lucius standing on the seashore calling on the goddess for help, and seeing her

¹⁴ Den Boeft 2003, 16: "Of course the goddess does not deny the existence of the traditional Greek gods. In fact she claims a place in their genealogy" (viz. in the aretology of Kyme, as Kronos' eldest daughter).

¹⁵ Cf. Lucian *Icaromenippus* 9 (Menippus speaking): "Some (philosophers) banished all the rest of the gods and assigned the governance of the universe to one only, so that it made me a little disgusted to hear that gods were so scarce (*ἀπορίαν*)".

¹⁶ The charge of atheism is refuted in Justin Martyr *Apology* 13.

¹⁷ Gollnick 1999, 48: "Two of the most prevalent beliefs throughout the second-century Greco-Roman world, in all strata of society, were a belief of the presence of the divine in dreams, and a belief in a god as the author of dreams." See the warning however by Miller 2007, 26-39 on the frequent misinterpretation of dreams by characters in literature, including the Greek novels. On the confirmation of a dream by a waking experience see Platt 2011, 256-257.

¹⁸ See introduction to Chapter III (2. Isis, Venus, Photis).

¹¹ Matthews in Bovon et al. 1999, 223-224; 229; Elliot 1993, 464-465; 515-518.

¹² Stone 1990, 33.

¹³ See comm. on 11,27,9 *Madaurensis*.

rise out of the sea, recalls Sappho¹⁹ but also suggests a context closer to Apuleius' own time, the world of apocalyptic literature.

The deity starts with a proclamation of control and power (*met.* 11,5,1-3). She assures Lucius of her good will, and assurance that she is listening to the prayers of the one who beseeches her (11,5,4-5). God sent a message through Moses to his people in Egypt that he had not forgotten their suffering (*Exodus* 3,7). This same message of comfort is repeated to the Israelites after the destruction of their temple to the Babylonians (cf. *Ezra* 1,2-4), and repeated again after the final destruction by the Romans in 70 A.D.:

Take courage, O Israel; and do not be sorrowful, O house of Jacob; for the Most High has you in remembrance, and the Mighty One has not forgotten you in your struggle. —2 *Esdras* 12,46-47 (cf. *Daniel* 10,18-19)

Isis was presented as one who “vanquished destiny” (see *met.* 11,6,7 with comm. ad loc.) and was capable in Den Boeft's words of reaching “beyond the grasp of the traditional gods.”²⁰ Isis has been there for Lucius even when he suffered much and fell under evil influences (11,19,2 *iam dudum destinatum*; 11,21,8). In the Jewish apocalyptic literature the process through which Israel or its representative must go is the rediscovery that God is in charge after all despite the seemingly undeserved suffering of the nation. If God seemed to be absent at the time of the destruction of his city and the triumph of his enemies, this is a delusion, for his promises surely will be fulfilled:

For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, and He will assuredly bring on His hours. —2 *Baruch* 83,1

Lucius' shedding of the detestable form of an ass (11,6,2; cf. 11,13,4-5) corresponds to the shedding of an alien nature in which he was subject only to toils and dangers (11,2,4 *laborum ... periculorum*). Isis assists him to eat roses (11,6,2; 11,13,2), a formula which had been intended to break the spell of his magical enchantment but now becomes a sign of his dedication to the goddess. 2 *Esdras* even has a parallel for the command made by the divine that the favored mortal must eat flowers as a prerequisite for divine revelation. The flowers here are part of a regimen of fasting which will only allow the plainest of natural foods (2 *Esdras* 9,23-25).

The pledge of surrendering his life to Isis and entering into bondage with her (11,6,5) is an absolute one which will even extend beyond death. Isis expects to greet Lucius in the underworld, “shining brightly in Acheron” (11,6,6). Later Jewish scripture and apocalyptic writings have begun to embrace the idea which we associate with Christianity, of an immortal life after death, at least for the righteous. Often the concept of protection by the deity after death includes the idea that the resurrected soul will be surrounded by bright light; cf. *Book of Enoch* (trans. from Ethiopic by Richard Lawrence, London 1887) 95,4, cf. 103,3. In 4 *Ezra*, the righteous are assured of special privilege after death. The souls of the righteous are to pass through seven

stages of rest after death (2 *Esdras* 7,97-98). But personal salvation and immortality are common themes in all apocalypse, the Greco-Roman as well as Jewish and Christian.²¹

In Apuleius, the priest's words to Lucius after his re-transformation are a reminder that the seemingly random and frustrating buffeting of fortune, though its victim cannot see it at the time, is not the whole story of how the world is governed. Lucius had lamented at length at the injustice of a world which is governed by blind Fortune (*met.* 7,2-3). In this he has something in common with the narrator of 2 *Esdras* lamenting the injustice of a God who would destroy his own people and elevate his enemies (2 *Esdras* 3,29-31). The problem, as so posed in *Esdras*, was “clearly insoluble ... Only the individual could be sure of the special pardon of God.”²² Likewise Lucius' conversion does not solve the problem of unfairness in the world but it does show that sometimes an individual can break out of that trap.²³

In fact, Apuleius never mentions Christianity explicitly,²⁴ and it is far from certain that he knew even enough about it to have been able to make a distinction between Christianity and Judaism. In his *Apology* he denounces his opponent Aemilianus in terms which may suggest that Aemilianus was a Christian; like Vergil's Mezentius, Aemilianus was a “despiser of the gods” (*apol.* 56,7), a possible reference to the supposed “atheism” of Christians.²⁵ There was a strong Christian community in Carthage starting about 150 A.D. or earlier, though they were divided by disagreements over doctrine, and were the objects of suspicion by many because of their exclusivity and secrecy. Some stressed their ties with Judaism and wanted to live according to Jewish law.²⁶ Wilhite in his study of Tertullian as a north African finds it likely that Apuleius, who identifies himself as an African in both the *Apology* and *Florida*, “aimed portions of his rhetorical vitriol” at North African Christians.²⁷

In contemporary treatises, Apuleius would have found many of the same concepts in both Jewish and Christian documents, including sin, repentance, salvation, study of the world of God, a Messiah, divine visions, even life after death and resurrection. 2 *Esdras* was quickly adopted by the Christians, and was familiar to Tertullian and his successors. Consistent with this closeness of concepts is the satirical portrait of the Baker's Wife in *met.* 9,14, whose vices might refer to popular conceptions of either Judaism or Christianity.²⁸ Moreover some of the early Christian writers did not even mention Jesus Christ or characteristic Christian dogma, but confined themselves

²¹ Collins 1979, 17.

²² Myers 1974, 131.

²³ Ironically, there are parallels between how Jesus and Apuleius were perceived by their contemporaries; their enemies associated them with black magic, while Apuleius, along with Apollonius of Tyana and Jesus, was sometimes considered a ‘divine man’ with powers of healing. See Gaisser 2008, 14-29; Smith 1978, Koskeniemi 1994, 9; 94; 210; Anderson 1994, 32; 117; 194-195.

²⁴ Schmidt 1997; Hunink 2000. On the reactions of pagan philosophers and writers from the second half of the 2nd century A.D. (Lucian, Galen, Celsus, possibly Apuleius) to Christians see Pietzner 2013, 163-164.

²⁵ See Benko 1984, 105.

²⁶ Rives 1995, 223-234; Pagels 2003, 15-18. Sick 2005 explores in depth the likelihood of encounters between Apuleius and Christians.

²⁷ Wilhite 2007, 52-55.

²⁸ A comparison with a Christian wife described in Justin Martyr's *Second Apology* suggests that the Baker's Wife is a Christian; see further bibliography in Smith 2012, 2-4 and Ramelli 2013.

¹⁹ For the Sappho passage (‘To Aphrodite’, fig. 1 L.-P.) as an epiphany, and a comparison with an *ekphrasis* of Aphrodite in Philostratus, see Platt 2011, 1-7.

²⁰ Den Boeft 2003, 16.

to concepts which they shared with many contemporary Jews such as one God, providence, the resurrection, and reward after death.²⁹

4. The Ass

The meaning of Lucius' transformation into an ass in this novel is a puzzle which has various solutions as the plot unfolds. The humor of being a man trapped in an animal's body goes back as far as Homer's Circe turning Odysseus' men into pigs (*Odyssey* 10, 235-245). The absurdity and indignity of Lucius' transformation come to Apuleius from his source the lost Greek *Metamorphoses*, as reflected in pseudo-Lucian's *Lucius or the Ass*, based on that same source (see the Introduction to the comm., 6.1). The ass is ugly. He is a sexual being. His attempts to speak are always comic because they come out as a bray (*met.* 8,29,5, cf. *Onos* 14; 16). Every new situation in which he finds himself brings out some new aspect of the absurdity of his situation, which is underlined in pseudo-Lucian by repeated references to (amused) laughter (*Onos* 6; 10 *bis*; 15; 20; 36; 45; 47; 56). In Apuleius the laughter is usually that of mockery. This was the first aspect of the appeal of the ass to Apuleius' imagination: the theme had already shown in the related Greek novel the *Onos* a ready-made source of jokes and sophistic displays about the ugliness, randiness, and general absurdity about the situation of becoming an ass.

The second point of appeal is the contemporary religious associations with the ass. The persistent rumor that both Jews and Christians³⁰ worshiped the ass, given its lowly reputation, is a misguided reflection by pagans on the wrong-headedness which was popularly associated with those groups. They were charged, and ridiculed, for treating the ugly, randy ass as an object of worship. This slander against both Jews and Christians was based, in the case of Jews, on their supposed association with the ass as the animal that delivered them from their wanderings in the wilderness after the exodus from Egypt (Tacitus, *Histories* 5,2; Josephus *Against Apion* 2,80).



²⁹ See Taylor 1990 with further bibliography on the merging of many concepts in 2nd century Jewish and Christian literature. See further Price 1999 on the Latin Apologists' avoidance of detailed Christian doctrine and focus on "only those matters of interest to a pagan readership" (123).

³⁰ On the ass in anti-Christian polemic see Shanzer 1990, 227-228; Ramelli 2007.

The Alexamenos graffito (above), from a building on the Palatine hill and dating to about 200 A.D., is one of the earliest depictions of the crucifixion of Jesus and derides the idea of a god worshiped as a crucified criminal. The graffito, depicting a donkey-headed man on the cross, with a man raising his hand in homage to him, has the inscription "Alexamenos worships his god." There is a complex association of Jesus and the ass in early Christian art, relating in part to his riding a she-donkey into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and also to his birth in a manger.³¹

Finally, there is a serious philosophical nuance to the meaning of descending to the behavior of an ass. From a Platonic standpoint, to be transformed into an ass suggests the fate of someone devoted to sensuality, one who has chosen to define himself in a bestial role (Plato *Phaedo* 81e). This Platonic aspect is suggested in the words of the priest, Mithras, to Lucius after his transformation: you have fallen into servile pleasures (*ad serviles delapsus uoluptates* 11,15,1). In the *Isis Book*, Apuleius works in a way which parallels the Judaeo-Christian ethic and mind-set combining the need for divine salvation after a fall due to selfish error; as Carl Schlam says, the *Isis Book* shows a portrait "of the world of flesh as corrupt and precarious, and of pursuit of oneness with the divine in contemplation." Graverini on *met.* 11,15 emphasizes the Platonic association of the fall of the soul which serves pleasure, comparing the fall of Psyche in 5,24,1.³²

The Jewish and Christian religions were apparently associated with the ass as a way of trivializing them, of showing that the Jews and Christians had misplaced values since they would, in the case of the Jews, worship a lowly animal which led them out of Egypt, or, in the case of Christians, prostrate themselves before the figure of a condemned criminal on the cross, as perverse and backwards an idea as the worship of an ass.³³ Apuleius may have been enough aware of these popular associations to know that they would be one possible aspect of the readers' reaction to his choice of an ass-story. Since there was a popular association between an ass and Christians and Jews, all Apuleius is really doing is to allow that association to add another level of possible meaning to the story of an ass-man. At the same time he moves its worldview in a different direction, presenting a pagan alternative to the Judaeo-Christian message and defending pagan culture, especially philosophy and religion, against Christian and Jewish attacks such as those of the apologetic literature. The association of the ass with Jews and Christians was a common misconception, and Apuleius was probably aware that it lurked in the background of the popular imagination. From time to time it may add resonance to a particular passage in his novel, such as the reference to a "philosophizing ass" in 10,33,4, or Charite's promise to revere the ass as a god in 6,29.³⁴

The warning against non-believers uttered by the priest in *met.* 11,15 could in-

³¹ See Leclercq 1920; Matthews ²1999 [1993], 22-53. For the Alexamenos graffito (Plate LV.2 in Hanfmann 1979), now in the Palatine Museum, see further *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity, Second Edition* (1998), s.v. Alexamenos [E. Ferguson], 29-30 (with further references).

³² Schlam 1992, 8. See further Heller 1983, 332, in reference to the priest's speech in 11,15: "Lucius has been seduced by the Siren Song of the physical world." See Graverini 2007, 129-132 (=2012, 115-118).

³³ See Schmidt 1997; Bar-Kochva 1996.

³⁴ On the philosophizing ass see Smith 2012, 4-9; on Charite and the ass, Smith 2012, 9-12.

clude the Christians among those accused of being *irreligiosi*³⁵ and of trying to undermine traditional religion and encourage dissolute behavior, preaching that one could do as one pleases without fear of divine punishment. In particular, Mithras' great emphasis on brightness and visibility,³⁶ and on Lucius joining a triumphal procession which can be "seen" by others, is in contrast with the secrecy of Christians who were said to worship at night out of the view of outsiders (*conscio lumine*, Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 8). Such secrecy is probably part of the *errores* of which unbelievers are accused: the openness of the Isiac worship will be a lesson to them.³⁷

5. Jewish and Christian apologists

Whether Apuleius' writings are in possible or apparent dialogue with contemporary Christian literature is an intriguing question. The parallels with Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature at least seem to show Apuleius entering the same arena with those writers and sharing some of their spirit of renewal and hope while differing from them many details. It is also compelling to contemplate that there was a connection between Apuleius, the sophist and Platonic philosopher, and contemporary Christian orators who were very much at home with Greek literature and philosophy. Harrison notes that the title *Apologia* for Apuleius' courtroom speech defending himself against charges of witchcraft, invites a comparison with Christian apologetics such as the *First and Second Apology* of Justin Martyr, dating from the mid 150's A.D.³⁸ The apologists wrote for non-Christian groups, using rhetorical methods, philosophical terms, and literary allusions that were intended to meet a pagan audience on its own terms.³⁹ Justin Martyr, a Christian apologist contemporary with Apuleius, speculates that those who are judged to be unworthy of the sight of God may be "imprisoned in the bodies of certain wild beasts, and this is their punishment" (*Against Trypho* 4). The intellectual level of Justin and Minucius Felix was very well suited to a sophisticated audience that could have included Apuleius.

If Apuleius does respond to details and arguments in this literature, he does so without making precise allusions to it, and the main point is the Jewish-Christian literature, including apologetics and apocalyptic literature, were part of the culture in which he lived, whether or not he engaged in direct dialogue with them. To give another example that lies outside the scope of this essay, the Greek and Latin Christian apologists repeatedly attack pagan deities calling them *daimones*; surely it is relevant

³⁵ Caecilius in Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 8 deplores the *irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia* of atheists, including Christians, who rage against the gods. Cf. Schmidt 1997, 56, who cites instances where the word is used of Christians.

³⁶ Cf. Lucius exposed as a statue of Sol in *met.* 11,24 and generally the emphasis on oppositions like night – day, winter – spring, dark – light, death – life (see Introduction, 4.1.3).

³⁷ Compare Pliny's letter to Trajan, where the first part of the *error* attributed to Christians is their gathering together at meetings in darkness (*quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem conuenire*, Plin. *epist.* 10,96,7). It must be added that Isiac worship like that of the Christians is a closed cult with membership restricted by conditions like initiation, baptism etc. But the deadly combination is that of secrecy and darkness. Lucius' initiation in 11,23, though a secret ceremony, is in a ceremony flooded with light (11,23,6 *nocte media uidi solem* etc.).

³⁸ Harrison 2000, 43.

³⁹ Grant 1988, 11.

that Apuleius wrote a treatise *De Deo Socratis* in which he asserts the status of *daimones* as divine messengers, distinguishing them from the celestial deities, though it is problematic to reconcile the theology of the *De Deo Socratis* with that of the *Metamorphoses*.⁴⁰

The Christian apologists cast scorn on the worship of Isis as a deity, saying that she showed un-godlike weakness in failing to help Osiris when he was killed by Typhon, and too-human weakness in grieving for her lost son (Aristides, *Apology* 12, Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 21).⁴¹ After reporting that Isis fled for a time with Horus her son after the murder of Osiris, Aristides goes on:

If then Isis be a goddess, and could not help Osiris her brother and lord, how can she help another? But it is impossible that a divine nature should be afraid, and flee for safety, or should weep and wail; or else it is very miserable. –*Apology of Aristides the Philosopher* 12

The Christian apologists react defensively to the charge that Christians worship the "cross" itself or that they exalt a lowly "criminal" who had been condemned to death by the Roman government, stressing instead that Jesus was the incarnate son of God. Apuleius has his own version of this defensiveness in his presentation the worship of Isis, presenting both Isis and Osiris as exalted deities appearing in their glory, and avoiding any mention of what might be considered slightly barbaric or unsavory stories about them as weak and vulnerable – Osiris being murdered and dismembered, Isis grieving and wandering. Indeed his portrayals of Isis and Osiris are a kind of streamlined version of Isis-worship in which specific details about their background are assumed to be known by the reader and not presented. Typical of the generalities is Isis' comment in *met.* 11,6,2 that the form of an ass has long been hateful to her. This probably alludes to the ass' association with Typhon, who murdered Osiris; but neither Typhon nor this story is ever mentioned in the text, and the comment could also include associations between the ass and both Judaism and Christianity. Later in 11,30,3 Osiris himself actually appears to Lucius in a dream, but all that we learn about him is even more generalized than was the case with Isis, merely that he is the highest of the high gods. Apuleius presents both Isis and Osiris as majestic and powerful deities, participating in no human frailty, responding to human suffering but making stern demands of their followers. If we want an introduction to them and the details of their story, we have to turn to sources such as Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.⁴²

⁴⁰ Attacks on pagan gods, Minucius Felix *Octavius*, 23; demons, Justin Martyr *Second Apology* 1; Harrison 2001, 185-216. Harrison reiterates to me *per litteras* that "Apuleius' work on *daimones* surely derives from the strong Platonic tradition" and that he "find[s] it hard to see an attack on Christianity here." But the prominence of *daimones* as a topic of animated debate among Christians surely adds to the contemporary relevance of Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*. See further Cancik 2003 on the problematic connection between *De Deo Socratis* and *Metamorphoses*. For a different view on this issue see the Essay by Drews in this volume.

⁴¹ It should be noted that the Christian apologists in ridiculing the human qualities of Isis, and the death and resurrection of Osiris, seem oblivious to possible parallels in these stories with the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, perhaps reflecting their reluctance to dwell on details about the earthly life of Christ.

⁴² Probably Apuleius expected his readers to be familiar with Plutarch, who is mentioned in an aside

The other-worldly aspect of the Christian faith which the Isis Book implicitly rejects is the manner of their worship, which to an outsider appeared to be an exclusive club (see above), at best excluding non-believers and at worst serving as a cover for immoral behavior. The Christian worship, from the view of many non-Christians of the 1st and 2nd century, is clothed in secrecy and deeds of darkness; according to the charge answered by Minucius Felix (*Octavius* 10) "honorable things always rejoice in publicity, while crimes are kept secret", meaning that the secret worship of the Christians is thought to be dishonorable.⁴³ Apuleius distances the Isiac religion from the mysterious by showing worshipers of Isis celebrating openly in public parades. The Christian religion is one of "godlessness" in which a single god is introduced and worshiped; the Isiac religion embraces and encompasses many gods and envisions Isis as embodying them all (11,5,3).⁴⁴ The cosmic powers of Isis proudly outlined in 11,5 are great, and could be taken as implying her superiority not only to the witches of the earlier part of the novel, but also to the black magic which Jesus was supposed to have brought back with him from his sojourn in Egypt.⁴⁵

6. Prominence of Rome

The anti-Roman sentiment which was commonly perceived as characteristic of the Judaeo-Christian faith would have been antithetical to the generally prominent and favorable attitude toward Rome in the *Metamorphoses*. Christians and Jews are thought to be rooted in civil disobedience; Tertullian is one of those who try to defend Christians against this charge.⁴⁶ At least in the apocalyptic literature, they seem to fulfill this common prejudice against them when they see the Roman Empire as the instrument of evil and oppression and eagerly await its overthrow. In *Apocalypsis Iohannis*, Rome is the oppressor of Christian martyrs, in *2 Ezra* and *Baruch*, the city is the destroyer of the second temple, analogous to the city of Babylon which destroyed the first temple. All three of these apocalyptic documents refer to Rome under the code name of Babylon.

In this the apocalyptic writers are in tension with the Latin Christian apologists such as Tertullian and Minucius Felix, who were appealing to a pagan Roman audience. Like Apuleius and Tertullian, Minucius Felix probably had an African origin, attesting to the widespread adoption of Christianity in North Africa. However, the setting of Minucius' *Octavius* is just outside Rome, and his arguments concern Roman gods. "Rome had become the conceptual setting of the world for local élites in the Latin west."⁴⁷

The prominence of Rome in the Isis Book is notable. In 11,17,2-3 in the temple of Isis in Cenchræa, the scribe pronounces prayers for the emperor, senate, knights,

Roman people, and sailors and ships in the world wide Empire. This, our first glimpse in the novel of an Isiac ceremony, encloses it in a safe framework, implying the patriotism of the worshipers of Isis. Lucius is instructed to go to the "Holy City" by Isis, arrives there in 11,26 (cf. 11,26,2 *sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem accedo*), and it becomes the center of his worship, with a reminder that Isis had always had a temple there since the time of Sulla (11,30,5). The novel will end with his residence there as a priest supporting himself by pleading in the forum (11,28,6; 11,30,4). In the Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature, Rome is a beast, a city which must be destroyed for its evil ways before the reign of God can come in (*2 Esdras* 11,37).

The Isiac religion respects the state.⁴⁸ The final events of the novel unfold in Rome, it is a center for Isiac worship, and the narrator is a loyal citizen who will support himself by pleading in the forum. The prominence of Rome in the *Metamorphoses*, in which the converted narrator makes his home as a well-established center of Isiac worship, causes us to recall the divine dream visions of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Vergil's *Aeneid* which not only provide a personal affirmation of the worth of Scipio Aemilianus and of Aeneas, but had a nationalistic purpose, connecting their destiny with the greatness of the eternal city.⁴⁹

Though he ends in Rome and learns fluent Latin, the narrator is a Greek in the narrative apparently from Corinth, and in the Isis book a new identity revealed as a north African from a not very famous city. In 11,27 there are warnings that he may need additional initiation and meeting with Asinius Marcellus. Each has a dream about the other. Lucius has a dream about a lame man, Asinius has a dream that a poor man from Madauros is being sent to him, who will win fame for his studies (11,27,9 *studiorum gloriam*).

The "studies" are the book itself, the novel which we are reading. It is often noticed how self-conscious the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* is about its own destined existence as a written book;⁵⁰ the preface seems almost to elevate the book itself to a sentient being with a life-history; Lucius told Milo that he was destined to become a "book in several volumes" (*met.* 2,12,5); the dramatic illusion is broken several times to remind us that we are in relationship with the narrator as his readers and critics. Now finally the full glory of the *Metamorphoses* as a treasure blessed by the gods, bringing credit on its author, is revealed.

The narrator of *2 Esdras* receives the understanding and eloquence to record his visions. Scripture itself becomes the answer for all the narrator's doubts (*2 Esdras* 1,35). This theme extends to the Christian apocalypses. In *Apocalypsis Iohannis* the narrator of the book is used as a scribe who is supposed to transmit God's messages in writing to seven churches (*apoc.* 1,11) and the reader is solemnly warned at the end of the work that this book is not to be tampered with in any way (22,18-19). In *Hermas Vision* 1,5-6 the narrator is given a small book which he is to copy and is

near the start of Book I (*met.* 1,2,1); see also Introduction, 1.2 with n. 19 and 1.4 with nn. 39-40.

⁴³ Compare e.g. Origen *Contra Celsum* 1,1 where Christians are accused of secret associations in violation of the law.

⁴⁴ Walsh 1970, 188-189.

⁴⁵ Origen *Contra Celsum* 1,6; 2,53.

⁴⁶ Tertullian, e.g. *Apology* 38, where he argues that Christians can never be accused of plotting against the state. See Rüpke 2006.

⁴⁷ Price 1999, 127.

⁴⁸ On the movement to Rome in the novel and Rome as a center for Isis-worship, see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 68-72. On the attitude toward Rome in the *Metamorphoses* see (with bibliography) Finkelpaerl 2007, 263-276; Dowden 1994. See also Introduction, 4.2.1-4.2.3.

⁴⁹ See Introduction, 6.3 for parallels with the *Aeneid* regarding the role of Rome; see Tilg in *AAGA* 3 for a comparison with the Roman literary tradition.

⁵⁰ Van der Paardt 1981, 104-106 (= Harrison [ed.] 1999, 237-246); Graverini 2005. See Introduction, 3.2 with n. 61.

told at the very end of the work to write a book proclaiming the Lord's mighty works to everyone (*Parable* 10,111-112).⁵¹

Its religious elements move the Isis Book into a plane of high seriousness, which has no complete parallel in the passages of Cicero, Ovid, or Vergil, but offers a glimpse of the divine plan and afterlife such as we find in the myth of Er at the end of Plato's *Republic*, the tour of the underworld by Anchises in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*, and in Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis* and *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*.

While having these broad concepts and narrative devices in common with Jewish-Christian contemporaries, Apuleius operates in a different world which is far from many of the Jewish-Christian assumptions. Much of the Christian and Jewish apocalyptic literature asserts that the righteous must await the end of the world, the passing away of the evil empire, and the coming of the Messiah in order to be fully restored to glory; Apuleius is focused on the present and the practical, though he shares with the apocalypses of Plutarch and others the hope for a personal immortality.⁵² He places the blessings of Isis as accruing to a worshiper leading an active life in the midst of the capital city of the empire. He further rejects the exclusive monotheism of Christians and Jews; and what he sees as their secrecy and the degenerate nature of their private worship, including sexual promiscuity and drunkenness: in contrast, the devotee of Isis leads an abstemious and celibate life. In the context of the framework of the Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature the novel becomes no less than the equivalent of the word of the gods, and Apuleius the scribe who transmits their message to the reader as a fantastic yet practical book.

7. Conclusion

With the Jewish-Christian sources Apuleius has much in common, including the ideas of conversion, surrender of will to the divine, forgiveness, the promise of salvation and eternal life, the dedication of one's life to devotion of the deity and, in return, the acceptance of her divine Providence. The treatment of these themes in the Isis Book has parallels in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. At the same time as Apuleius echoes Judaism and Christianity he emphatically pushes their message in a different direction. The transformation of the donkey – into a 'golden ass' – resonates as a negative comment on Judaism and Christianity with whom the ass was popularly associated, and enhances the meaning of Isis' hatred of the ass as she is presented to the reader as a noble, pure, and dignified object of worship.

⁵¹ Den Boeft 2003, 16.

⁵² Attridge in Collins (ed.) 1979, 163-164.

ESSAY III

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A World of Images: Visual Geography
in the Isis Temple at Pompeii and in the Isis Book of Apuleius

1. Task and Objective¹

This essay aims to determine, with the help of concrete examples, the extent to which a perspective borrowed from the academic discipline of visual studies can provide a more profound insight into the cultic practices, sacred spaces, religious groupings, and their literary depiction in the Isis Book.

As a preliminary first step we must cast a critical eye on the research focuses and methodologies of three academic disciplines: the history of religion, archaeology, and literary studies. Even a cursory glance at current monographs and volumes of conference proceedings will reveal that for publications in the field of religious studies the primary concern is to reconstruct, as precisely as possible, the practised religion of the Egyptian cults, with the help of archaeological, epigraphic, and literary sources (especially Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* and Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*; thus e.g. Bricault, Versluys, and Meyboom 2007; Kleibl 2009; Hattler 2013; Bricault 2013). This is also where we must be careful not to engage in circular reasoning: religious-themed wall paintings in Pompeii, for instance, are explained with reference to alleged parallels in Apuleius – an argument which in turn presupposes that the fictional narrative describes an authentic cult experience.²

A similar approach has also prevailed for decades in the realm of classical studies: older works on the Isis Book (e.g. Griffiths 1975; Merkelbach 1995) have been confined to activities such as compiling and verifying an inventory of relevant sources – the consulted material itself being of secondary interest, as it only serves to create a context for and, ideally, to 'authenticate' the various cultic objects, spaces, rituals, and cult personnel of the *Metamorphoses*, without seeing them in their wider, original context. In this way, archaeology and epigraphy have been demoted to the status of ancillary sciences; their intrinsic laws and values as media in their own right remain largely neglected.

In a programmatic departure from these positivistic positions, the commentary in this volume has asked how the literary text subordinates the Isiac cult to its overriding narrative intentions, by selectively presenting or highlighting certain aspects and sup-

¹ I would like to thank Astrid Schwaner, Alexander Germann, Katharina Lorenz (Nottingham), my colleagues at the University of Giessen, and the members of the Apuleius group for their constructive suggestions and in-depth discussion of the manuscript. Thanks also to Nils Jäger for technical help by integrating the images. The essay was translated by Tina Jerke.

² See Elia 1942, 14-18, and Swetnam-Burland 2002, 159, who argue for a concrete identification of the painted procession with the *pompa* described in the Isis Book.

pressing others, and by reshaping them. Apart from enriching the content of the narrative, this process also involves the inevitable losses and blurring that occur where literature and religion interact – specifically, in our case, where the literary text describes and reshapes various cultic *realia*, authentic components of contemporary cult practice, and their countless visual reflections and refractions. These losses must be taken into account in any new examination of the material.³

Working toward such a reappraisal of the text, classical philology can receive innovative stimuli from current research in the domain of visual culture. It is here that in recent years 'reader-response'-based approaches have emerged from a critical reassessment of older, equally positivistic modes of scholarly research, which emphasize the fundamental difference between the nature of the visual medium and that of the literary text. Ground-breaking publications in the field (such as Muth 1998, Giuliani 2003, and Lorenz 2008) therefore demand that, as a general rule, attention should be paid to the question of 'how' a subject is presented. The chosen narrative moment needs to be examined as well as the spatial background, the constellation of characters, and the perspective of the reader/observer. In order to reproduce their specific qualities faithfully, images ought not to be explained through texts but rather as distinct from them.⁴ This is the methodological demand, and once again, special attention must be paid to the discontinuities and the blurring between visual and textual media.

In line with this argument, the present essay will attempt to define the media-specific distinctions in the depictions of the cult. At the same time, and with no less programmatic vigour, I shall attempt to find common ground among the three academic disciplines. Analogies can be drawn between closely-related concepts governing the way we study the medium of 'text' and the medium of 'visual art'. These common concepts can be applied experimentally to our study of Pompeian wall paintings and to our examination of Apuleius' Isis Book. Such an 'intermedial' comparison will ultimately help us redefine the contributions made by texts and images to the construction and 'reception' of Egypt, its deities, and its cults in imperial Rome.⁵ It will draw on findings regarding the so-called *Aegyptiaca*⁶ and their connotations, which have recently been published in several new studies.⁷

³ For example, Lucius reports that there are 'wonderful Egyptian paintings' on the ship's sails (*met.* 11,16,6 *picturis miris Aegyptiorum*) without specifying what is pictured in those paintings. Clearly at this point he is interested only in conveying the visual impact of the religious exoticism he is experiencing, and whose deeper meaning remains a mystery to him. Cf. comm. on 11,16,6 *nauem ... picturis miris Aegyptiorum ... uariegatam*. For the programmatic connotations of 'Egypt'/'Egyptian' in Apuleius' *met.* see Introduction, 1.4 with n. 36 and 5.2 with n. 162.

⁴ Lorenz 2008, 27; Giuliani 2003, 16-17; Muth 1998, 36-37 on the interpretation of Roman visual art (mythological mosaic images) through the lens of textual studies (philology).

⁵ See the résumé and section 3.2 for more details on the character of the Egyptian 'otherworld', and section 3.3 for the interplay between (humorous) entertainment value and religion.

⁶ *Aegyptiaca* is a term used summarily by scholars to describe original architectural elements, paintings/mosaics, statues/reliefs and small-scale works of art that are directly imported from Egypt, or similar items that imitate Egyptian materials (such as basalt or granite), shapes (obelisks, pyramids, hieroglyphs), or motifs (e.g. Nilotic landscapes, priestly processions) for the purpose of creating an Egyptian 'flair'; see the definition in Swetnam-Burland 2007, 113-119.

⁷ De Vos 1980; Arslan et al. 1997; Felber and Pfisterer-Haas 1999; Versluys 2002; Swetnam-Burland 2002; Bol 2004; Beck 2005; Bricault, Versluys, and Meyboom 2007. See also Introduction, 1.1 with n. 3.

Before analyzing the visual and textual material, some consideration must be given to questions of terminology. For a practical demonstration of basic terms and concepts, a well-documented archaeological site is most useful; the status of Pompeii as one of the best-preserved and most widely studied cultic precincts of the Egyptian deities makes it an ideal choice. Where we encounter useful hints for the interpretation of the Isis Book in our analysis of the visual artwork, these will be briefly noted in cross-references. For a systematic comparison of the painted images and the literary narrative we turn to the description of the Isiac procession in the *Metamorphoses*: against the foil of a series of images in the Pompeii Iseum that share a related theme we will then, in a final step, apply the categories defined in the section on methodology (2.) to the analysis of our textual example.

2. Key Concepts in the Analysis of Visual Art

The concepts whose appeal this essay aims to broaden in an interdisciplinary application can be epitomized in four pairs, in each of which one element shares a certain amount of overlap with the other.

2.1 Narrating and Describing

Since Lessing, the *communis opinio* among scholars has been that the medium of the image is defined by its descriptive simultaneity, while text can only narrate an event or action successively. It is in their relation to time, therefore, and in their separate modes of depiction – narration and description – that the two media appear to diverge. Nevertheless, this fundamental dichotomy has been called into question for the study of images: Giuliani acknowledges that there are specific problems with the concept of an image narrating its content (due to its synchronic perception by the observer), which the diachronic reading of a text does not pose. The difficulty, however, is not exclusively caused by the (alleged) limitation that an image must necessarily depict a single, synchronic moment, that it must capture a singular 'snapshot' of an action or event. Indeed, it is quite possible to depict different moments or details from a longer temporal or narrative unit in one and the same picture.⁸

In a deliberate rejection of Lessing, Giuliani applies both modes of depiction (narration and description) to images and posits a new key concept for the interpretation of 'visual narratives': the distinction between the familiar and the 'unusual' (i.e. the foreign, the exotic, the 'other').⁹ According to Giuliani's definition, *narrative* images acquire their effectiveness from their ability to defy expectations of 'normality'. Narrative images challenge and dare the observer to slip into the role of a competent exe-

⁸ Thus e.g. in the depiction of Io and Argus in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, see section 3.4 below.

⁹ Giuliani 2003, 35-36. Based on this: Lorenz 2008, 34. A problem of method in Giuliani's model is his vague criterion of the 'other', which depends on the viewer's personal experience: whatever may appear unusual and exotic to one viewer could be familiar to others. On the other hand, the great advantage of Giuliani's concept is that it adopts a new perspective that concentrates on the interaction between image and viewer, instead of repeating the established interpretations focusing on the competition between literary and visual art (*paragon*).

gete who gives interpretative explanations of the image,¹⁰ or to engage in the creative process of finding an explanation for himself. Lacking any self-evident justification based on normal, every-day life experience, the 'alien elements' (*Fremdkörper*) in a narrative image virtually encourage the observer to ask and respond to the question 'why?'¹¹ This creative response inevitably generates stories.

For Giuliani a characteristic feature of the *descriptive* mode, on the other hand, is the exclusive depiction of self-explanatory actions that take place entirely within the familiar world of every-day life and contain no narrative 'blank spaces' that would require creative intervention from the reader/observer.

2.2 The Every-Day World and 'Otherworlds'

Methodological and terminological commonalities have emerged since Giuliani's concept, developed for the interpretation of mythological images, in recent studies examining the function and intended effect of *Aegyptiaca*: both the mythological world and the idealized landscapes of 'Egypt' have frequently been associated with the term *Anderwelt* ('otherworld'); thus for instance both Assmann 2000 and Maderna 2006 refer to the unreal and illusory 'dreamscapes' of Egypt that are conveyed to a Roman audience through Nilotic landscapes populated with pygmies and fantastical creatures.

In an argument similar to the one made for mythological images, Maderna posits for the Nilotic scenes an ambivalent simultaneity of intended effects: on the one hand there is the fascination of a wondrous and exotic location that is marked as an exterior space by architectural boundaries or picture-frames, on the other there is the invitation to pick up the narrative challenge and participate in the pleasurable experience of this 'otherworld', characterized by abundance, the ubiquity of running water, and festive leisure.¹² And not unlike mythological paintings, images and objects identified as *Aegyptiaca* draw their underlying tension from the juxtaposition of the familiar and the unknown, viewed from a Roman perspective.

Assuming a sceptical stance, Lorenz cautions against overemphasizing the experience of 'otherness': it is much more likely, she argues, that the ubiquity of mythological and Egyptianizing elements in ancient art is a direct consequence of the Roman familiarity with these images: instantly recognizable and easily understandable, they were frequently employed to evoke an idyllic atmosphere and a sacral aura, in very general terms.¹³

2.3 Observer and Image

¹⁰ An example of the literary figure of the exegete is Byrrhaena in Apul. *met.* 2,5,1; cf. also Longos *praef.* 3; Petron. 89.

¹¹ See section 3.1 below for a discussion of the effect created by the painted figure of Anubis; for an exemplary discussion of Io see section 3.4.

¹² Maderna 2006, 437-439.

¹³ Lorenz 2005, 447-449 (for the Egyptian/-izing images) and Lorenz 2008, 31 (for the mythological images).

The way in which exotic images can serve as a window into another world¹⁴ is vividly demonstrated by the instances of *ekphrasis* in the Isis Book, which operate on two separate levels, addressing both an external reader and an internal observer at the same time. The mirror effect of forcing the external reader (who must re-imagine in his mind the fictional events of the novel) to confront his fictional counterpart within the novel itself, however, is not a privilege of the literary medium; it has its equivalent in the visual arts where an internal observer is included in the image.¹⁵ This internal observer's reaction will suggest a certain point of view of the events that are being depicted, which the flesh-and-blood observer cannot possibly ignore. The image, through its integrated internal observer, thus directs the external viewer's response.

Even where an internal observer is not included, the external audience is always present in the image: the artist must design his painting from the viewpoint of an observer in order to be able to create a desired effect.¹⁶ An important act of communication, a method of stirring up a conversation with the audience, whether in painted pictures or works of literature, is the creation of *lacunae*, intentional 'blank spaces', or 'omissions', which stimulate the imagination and encourage the observer to 'fill in the gaps' by continuing the narrative in his or her head.¹⁷

Images thus *dynamize* the viewer. They stimulate our senses and emotions, they encourage reflection and direct our behaviour.¹⁸ Additionally, certain elements of the décor in Roman houses have the purpose not only of guiding the visitor's glances but also to encourage him to move through the room, physically, and through interruptions in the 'natural' flow of the visual narrative to remain motionless and in one place where required.¹⁹ When interpreting an image, therefore, scholars consider three factors and their complex interrelations to be of primary importance: the spatial context in which the image is displayed, how that environment (room or building) is furnished, and the observer himself.²⁰ In Apuleius' description of the procession we will also encounter various techniques that are used to 'dynamize' both image and observer, and to simulate movement within a three-dimensional space.²¹ The literary devices employed toward that goal include variations in narrative pace, retardation and points of rest, as well as methods of scenic segmentation, of focusing (i.e. narrowing) and widening of the perspective.

2.4 Image and Spatial Context

The consistent inclusion of the spatial, social, and functional context in the analysis of *Aegyptiaca* has led to their re-evaluation as well. Current studies suggest a wide spec-

¹⁴ *met.* 11,24,3 *mundus alter* and comm. ad loc.

¹⁵ The painting of Io's arrival in Egypt contains its own 'integrated' observers; see section 3.4 below.

¹⁶ Lorenz 2008, 27-28.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the intentional 'blank spaces' in the wall paintings see section 3.4 with specific reference to the depictions of Io; a literary *lacuna*, on the other hand, is created in the festival procession in Book 11 by the appearance of the donkey dressed as Pegasus (*met.* 11,8,4); see section 4.2.

¹⁸ A Nilotic landscape in the Isis Sanctuary has motivated a visitor to leave a graffito comment (see section 3.3.); on Lucius' emotional involvement in the procession see Introduction, 3.1.

¹⁹ Muth 1998, 57.

²⁰ Lorenz 2008, 25.

²¹ See section 4.1.

trum of possible interpretations for Egyptianizing quotations in ancient art. The same pictorial motifs can be found in sanctuaries, temples, public-municipal buildings, and private homes. Perhaps even more significantly, images from one and the same ensemble are rarely designed to represent a unified visual programme. More often than not the paintings are composed from elements of different thematic fields.²²

In view of these findings, a growing number of scholars are gravitating toward the assumption of a far-reaching and multi-layered interchange, interpenetration even, of the various contexts and locations, and their functions: public and private, sacred and profane spaces are no longer seen as mutually exclusive; no longer do we expect to assign to them a specific type of imagery or a 'message' based on a precisely defined semantic system of equations. Now increased attention is being paid to a possible multi-functionality in the application of *Aegyptiaca* which offer to the observer a diffuse and somewhat undefined assortment of associations, and which initially are capable only of generating a very basic mood or atmosphere for any given room. Processes of sacralization, of de- and re-sacralization, therefore, no longer exclude an intended decorative effect, and can very much be thought of as co-existent.²³ With this concept in mind we can now turn to our archaeological case study.

3. The Wall Paintings in the Iseum at Pompeii

Because of the wealth of material available on the structural and archaeological status of the Iseum at Pompeii,²⁴ which needs no repetition here, I will highlight only those examples which lend themselves to the experimental application of the categories outlined above and will allow us to draw parallels with the Isis Book.

I would like to begin by outlining some fundamental considerations and reservations that are relevant to all of our chosen examples: the extent to which wall paintings were designed with their display location in mind has for decades been a bone of contention among archaeologists.²⁵ This controversy is also highly educational on a very general level as it reiterates, in a nutshell, the methodical discussion regarding the (multiple) function(s) and meaning(s) of *Aegyptiaca*.

Individual scholars even today still hold the view that in the Pompeii Iseum the Egyptianizing decorations were not only meant to create a diffuse Egyptian ambience but had the express purpose of conveying a religious message to the initiated visitor.²⁶ Their opponents cite the conventional motifs and mural compositions in the Iseum (fig. 2), which readily correspond to those found in public buildings.²⁷ Overall, painted images of Egypt can be found most often in secondary positions, e.g. on small *pinakes* flanking both sides of large(r) painted panels.²⁸ Not even the serial depiction

of cultic personnel – without a doubt the most 'proprietary' decorative element associated with Egyptian-themed sanctuaries – is in any way extraordinary or exclusive: similar processions in an Egyptianizing style can be found in the Casa del Centauro and in the Villa di Varano at Stabiae.²⁹

Along with their modest size and minor importance, the small number of Egyptian motifs in relation to the totality of preserved visual art is remarkable. The wall paintings in the Iseum cover a thematic range from architectural elements and theatrical emblems to sacral-idyllic scenes, maritime battles and still lifes to mythological and cultic scenes. The Egyptianizing images of priests in the four porticos are interspersed with unspecific landscape vignettes, and on the *pinakes* adorning the bases of the slender architectural features maritime battles alternate with sacral landscapes, only two of which actually refer to Egypt.³⁰ The only locations at Pompeii where prominent front and centre positions are given to Egyptianizing cultic and mythological images are the Nilometer (used in cultic practice) and the representative banqueting hall.³¹

The 'perfect' placement of sacralizing and Egyptianizing motifs should not arouse unwarranted and exaggerated enthusiasm: obviously neither the wall systems in their entirety nor their individual segments can be reduced to a one-dimensional religious message. Sacral and cult-mythological wall paintings must always be interpreted in the context of their specific spatial and thematic environment.

3.1 Depictions of Processions in their Spatial Context

Let us begin by looking at the interplay between visual concept and spatial context. The function of the portico running along the four walls of the precinct (fig. 1.1) has its equivalent in the painted series of the priestly procession.³² Only in walking along the whole portico will the observer be able to 'connect the dots' and recognize the pieces (of the puzzle) for what they are: a self-contained thematic complex (or 'cycle').

The intended dynamization of the observer is implied by the ever-changing orientation of the painted priests, which is moreover handled differently on each portico wall.³³ The serial procession scenes probably influenced the visitor's movements and behaviour; mostly the priests stride along with the observer, but sometimes they also step in the visitor's way or turn to face him head-on. They have the capacity to guide the sauntering visitor(s) to continue in their path or to stand still, or, as in the case of Anubis discussed below, they can point to the visual delight of a richly decorated subsidiary room. In the final section we will be asking whether similar methods of

²² Lorenz 2005, 446-447.

²³ Tybout 2003; Lorenz 2005, 449.

²⁴ Seminal studies: Elia 1942; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 30-39; De Caro 1992; Hoffmann 1993; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 185-195; Swetnam-Burland 2002; Moormann 2007; Kleibl 2009, 277-286; Sampaolo 2013.

²⁵ Croiselle 1988; Sampaolo 1994; Moormann 2007.

²⁶ One extreme example is Swetnam-Burland 2002, 125-126, 134-135, 150, and 153-161. On her allegorical interpretation of the ornamental frieze cf. n. 57.

²⁷ Thus already Schefold 1972, 79-109.

²⁸ Tybout 2003, 511.

²⁹ De Vos 1980, 35-60 with line drawings.

³⁰ Cf. section 3.3 below.

³¹ See section 3.4.

³² The subsequent use of the term 'priest' follows the convention in archaeological descriptions. However, it must be emphasized that there is no clear evidence in the picture itself to support the identification: strictly speaking, the term 'cult personnel' would be more appropriate. On Isiac cult personnel see Gasparini and Veymiers (edd.) 2015 (forthcoming).

³³ Cf. the line art reproductions of the four portico walls: Sampaolo 1992, 24-31.

dynamization to direct the reader's response are indeed at work in Apuleius' depiction of the procession in the *Metamorphoses*.

The different dynamics and motifs are moreover coordinated to match the specific function and significance of each side of the portico and their adjacent rooms. The east portico has a particular role to play: a central flight of steps gives access to the raised podium and thus to the temple's principal vista (fig. 1.2b). It is this representative and literally leading function that the mirror-symmetrical arrangement of the priests is designed to fulfil (fig. 2).

The wall paintings on the west portico offer a marked contrast in terms of colour and content, consistent with a place of particular public interest. Indeed, our attention is drawn to this part of the building complex; the first picture in the procession immediately south of the banquet hall is a striking image designed to catch the eye of the passer-by, inviting him to linger (fig. 3): the priest dressed as Anubis stands out conspicuously from among the other participants in the procession; distinguished by his exotic animal guise and the stark red and black contrast of his canine mask and cloak, he is an exceptional figure in a crowd who are all dressed in white linen.

If we were to propose, with Giuliani, a correlation between the factor of the *extraordinary* and the narrative potential of an image (above, section 2.1), the image of Anubis would be an excellent example: compared to 'normal' depictions of priests, it raises a number of questions to the observer about the identity and function of this god in the context of a procession of priests. These questions could be used as a starting point for a possible narrative. At the same time the painter, in his decision to depict Anubis as the only divinity in the procession, may well have counted on the high degree of standardization in the portrayal of the god and thus on a level of public awareness sufficient to ensure correct identification. No other theriomorphic Egyptian deity enjoys a similar frequency of reproduction in texts or images as the dog-headed 'barker' Anubis.³⁴ The painted god thus embodies a combination of unusual and long-familiar elements.³⁵

The particular visual appeal of Anubis, who is placed just at the south of the five arcades, is further enhanced by his proximity to three votive statues. Traces of paint suggest these statues were decorated in vivid colours;³⁶ one is an Isis in the Archaic style (1c in fig. 1), the second a Bacchus placed against the back wall of the temple (3c), and the third a Venus Anadyomene (1e). Even if these private donations could not be foreseen by the painter responsible for the visual concept of the sanctuary, a (later) visitor would easily have found a common theme linking the statues of the deities with the painted Anubis.

The unusual arrangement of allowing visitors to enter the colourful world of the gods 'through the backdoor' may be explained by the public character of the representative banquet hall (fig. 1.6) on the northwest corner of the temple precinct: it is hardly coincidental that the arcades on the right were framed by the multi-coloured statue of Isis, on the left by the painted Anubis. From the arcades with their divine

³⁴ Merkelbach 1995, figs. 130, 144, 146-148, 150, 154; Verg. *Aen.* 8,698 *latrator Anubis*; Prop. 3,11,41 *latrantem Anubim*.

³⁵ A similar 'shimmering' effect that oscillates between familiarity and exoticism also surrounds the Apuleian Anubis; see section 4.3 below.

³⁶ De Caro 1992, 68 [3.2], 70 [3.7], 70 [3.8].

'doormen', the banquet hall would then present to the visitor a 'window' into the mythical world of Io-Isis.³⁷

3.2 A Familiar Otherworld

After immersing themselves in the visual experience, how familiar would visitors have felt with the painted processions at Pompeii; what kind of associations would they have had?

To start with a common opinion among scholars, it is conceivable that the images, embedded in an ambience of sacrality, encouraged visitors to recall previous cultic processions that they may have attended, and to 'read' the paintings as permanent visualisations of individual moments in their recollection of a religious festival. It is moreover not unreasonable to assume that the priests and the assembled cult followers in the Pompeian Iseum could have performed sacrificial rites at every altar in the compound as part of their daily worship.³⁸ No fewer than six altars have been found in the porticos alone. If they were sacrificial and not votive altars, it is highly likely they were used on a regular basis. In that case the real-life, daily procession through the porticos would have been mirrored on its walls – reduplicated and idealized in the paintings.

Nevertheless the parallels found in profane contexts should be a warning not to define priestly images in the Iseum purely in religious terms or, even more narrowly, a specific act of cult worship.³⁹ This is all the more valid since the ideal viewer, as suggested by the vignettes themselves, would be the idle saunterer, in possession of the time and leisure to give his undivided attention to the miniature-sized paintings and the intricacies of their changing dynamics. We would thus be well advised to assume that a religiously heightened atmosphere was intended and created here only on a general level.

The second theory current among scholars – that the painted priests had a particular role to play in maintaining the 'exotic flair' within the sanctuary of a foreign cult imported from Egypt – is equally problematic and can only be endorsed with reservations. First of all, how exotic was a cult that had been practiced in Italy already since the 2nd century B.C.? Furthermore, in a sacred precinct of Isis, a visitor would have *expected* to find at least some Egyptian hints: in that context, the foreign elements would have been recognized just as appropriate and 'normal'.

The influence of the spatial context on the conception and reception of paintings has been stressed already in earlier archaeological research: Commentators such as Söldner have pointed out that the images of priests⁴⁰ found in residential buildings are

³⁷ On this cf. section 3.4 below.

³⁸ The *Metamorphoses* is not the only text to stress the daily rituals in the sanctuary as a characteristic feature of the cult; see also Tib. 1,3,27-32; Mart. 10,48,1. A vivid description of the ritual to mark the opening of the temple each morning can be found in *met.* 11,20,4-5 (brief mention in *met.* 11,22,7). Regular fixed walking 'routes' with a pre-determined sequence of sacrificial activities are also attested for other cults, for example in Olympia: Paus. 5,15,10.

³⁹ See Elia 1942, 14-18, and Swetnam-Burland 2002, 159, who identify the painted procession with the annual *pompa* at the *navigium Isidis*.

⁴⁰ Line drawings in De Vos 1980, 34-60; colour reproductions in Merkelbach 1995, VIIIb.

much more exotic in appearance than their counterparts in the Iseum:⁴¹ not only do the former wear distinctly archaizing robes, but their elaborate headgear and the (ancient) Egyptian cultic objects pictured alongside them belong to an unfamiliar, foreign world. The theory that these are not realistic but entirely fictitious 'artists' impressions' is supported by the colourful garments and long hairstyles of the painted figures.

The painted priests in the Iseum – with one (notable) exception – have shaved heads, and all of them display the bast sandals (woven from the bark of the linden tree) and fringed white linen robes typically worn by the cult's followers.⁴² The draping of their robes, however, is quite contemporary: only two images show priests with robes laced up to chest height, and with naked shoulders, as described in the Apuleian procession (fig. 4);⁴³ all other figures are dressed in undergarments and sleeved shirts or robes.⁴⁴ Additionally, one priest is shown wearing a golden *bullā* around his neck (fig. 5). Another point worth noting is the light skin colour of the priests: while in Egyptianizing wall paintings elsewhere priests are clearly identified as foreign by their dark complexion, visitors to the Iseum at Pompeii would have encountered a more familiar kind of 'stranger' instead. This concept also accommodates those cultic objects in the paintings where form and function remain unexplained (i.e. the lamp in the shape of a ship, the scroll, and the sistrum) but which have, in part, become a regular feature of Roman cult practice as well (e.g. the *situla* or the palm fronds).

In the deliberate pairing of familiar and foreign elements the visitor is confronted with an experience both of alterity and familiarity. This of course invites yet another comparison with the *Metamorphoses*: as will be shown below in section 4, similar effects are created in the novel by different i.e. verbal means (e.g. through the use of specific terminology, deictic pronouns, and explicit analogies with objects familiar from Roman cult practice).⁴⁵

3.3 Nilotic Landscapes with Narrative Potential

The 'back and forth' between the familiar and the foreign is not an idiosyncrasy of the painted processions; it is applied with remarkable consistency in the porticos of the Iseum. Particularly instructive in this regard are the landscape vignettes on the *pinakes*, which are teeming with seaside villas and monumental memorial sites.⁴⁶

Only two river landscapes refer explicitly to the Nile:⁴⁷ reed huts, crocodiles, ducks, ibis birds, and pygmies unmistakably evoke the visual space of 'Egypt' (fig. 6). Although Nilotic landscapes were expected elements of decoration in Isiac sanctuaries, in Pompeii they are clearly outnumbered by examples of representative

'country' architecture and sacral-ideal scenes that require no specific geography. It is precisely their *rare* occurrence which sets the Egyptian scenes apart from the generic landscapes on other *pinakes*. Amid the normality and every-day world of the exterior scenes, the Nilotic scenes stand out, quite literally, as 'dots in the landscape' – they are windows into a foreign otherworld. With reference to Giuliani, therefore, it could be argued that the Nilotic landscapes contain a narrative potential comparable to that of mythological images.⁴⁸

A similar direction is indicated by a graffito engraved above two pygmies on a reed hut in one of the two Egyptian scenes:⁴⁹ at first glance, the message in capital letters, *VENI HOC* ('I was here') barely differs from the inscriptions idle travellers have left almost anywhere to immortalize themselves.⁵⁰ What sets our inscription apart is the chosen background and the opportunity it provides for communication and speculation: 'here' may refer either to the Iseum or to the painted scene. With this ambivalence of location, the graffito gains a humorous dimension: as soon as the reader connects word and image, the boundaries between the fantasy of the image and the real world are lifted.⁵¹ The suggestive 'I was here' can now be understood as a narrative challenge inspired by the image, as a humorous advertisement for the faraway 'tourist trap' that is Egypt,⁵² or as an invitation to enter the virtual world of exotic images.⁵³

The assumption that the particular visual appeal of the Nilotic landscapes was recognized and appreciated as such is borne out by the evidence from other locations not associated with cultic activities,⁵⁴ where Nilotic scenes occur predominantly in outdoor and garden settings, and in rooms reserved for the *otium* of the symposium.⁵⁵ Scenes with pygmies were especially popular, narrating both humorous and dramatic stories. As we shall see in the context of the Iseum, their considerable entertainment value did not on principle preclude occurrences in a 'sacral', or heightened religious ambience; their presence simply added a further component to the overall 'picture'. Against the backdrop of the *Metamorphoses* this interplay is well worth noting, as it calls into question the categorical decision every reviewer in the past has felt forced to make as to whether or not the Isis Book is a serious or a comic affair – a debate which has polarized Apuleian scholarship for decades.⁵⁶

As a general principle, the narrative challenges posed by the Egyptian scenes in the Iseum require no special knowledge of the Isiac cult, nor do they *a priori* suggest a religious interpretation, practical or allegorical. Approaches in scholarship which postulate a religious semantic content and thus a different 'visual experience' for

⁴⁸ On the compatibility of mythological images and Nilotic landscapes Lorenz 2005, 449.

⁴⁹ De Caro 1992, pl. VI [1.2].

⁵⁰ Examples: *CIL* IV 1305; 4066; 4731; 10151; 10155; however, the statistical evidence does not seem to support such a banal function, as there are far fewer inscriptions found on the walls of temples and sanctuaries than on public places of assembly or private houses: Voegtli 2012, 108. Generally on the interactive aspects of graffiti and their communicative relationship with the surrounding space: Voegtli 2012, 111-113.

⁵¹ Thus already Swetnam-Burland 2002, 151-152.

⁵² On travel and *mirabile* in general during the Second Sophistic see Introduction 1.4 and 5.2.

⁵³ Especially since *ueni hoc* could also be read in the imperative mood as 'Come here!'

⁵⁴ Lorenz 2005, 449; Söldner 2005, 202-206.

⁵⁵ This is interesting in particular because a symposium context has also been suggested as a possible background for recitations of the *Metamorphoses*: Zimmerman 2008, esp. 155-156; Tilg 2011.

⁵⁶ See *AAGA* 3, esp. p. vii.

⁴¹ Söldner 2005, 207-208.

⁴² Tran Tam Tinh 1964, pls. VIII-IX; Merkelbach 1995, 496-498; De Caro 1992, pl. VII [1.8], [1.26], [1.36] and De Caro 1992, 45 [1.21], 48 [1.30], 49-50 [1.38] and 51 [1.48].

⁴³ *met.* 11.10.2.

⁴⁴ See also Götte 2012, 25-26 and 32-33: Greek and Roman cults often did not have any specific priestly vestments; instead, normal 'street' clothes received religious significance through special colouring and/or draping of the folds (e.g. *capite uelato* for men).

⁴⁵ Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 145-157.

⁴⁶ De Caro 1992, pl. III [1.50], pl. V [1.27], and pl. VI [1.43] and [1.45].

⁴⁷ De Caro 1992, pl. IV [1.2] and [1.10] and pl. VI.

every observer, depending on their degree of knowledge – that is, whether they are knowledgeable (initiated) visitors, superficially informed, or completely unfamiliar with the cult – are speculative in nature and difficult to verify.⁵⁷

An analogous conclusion was reached by studies examining the Isis Book of the *Metamorphoses*: the narrator is justly credited with devising an elaborate and rhetorically refined description of the deities as well as regular cult practices and festive rituals, but none of his descriptions requires any special acquaintance with the mysteries.⁵⁸ We will revisit this discussion in the final section.

3.4 Cultic Sites and Mythical Spaces

The narrative potential of the Egyptianizing wall paintings in the Iseum can be defined more precisely by looking at two further structures with significant decorations. These are complete opposites in functional terms: the water reservoir (fig. 1.4) is a strictly religious, cult-related building; the assembly and banqueting hall (fig. 1.6), by contrast, is a representative, multi-purpose public space designed for festive gatherings and events such as the meetings of the college of priests where people could be expected to remain stationary for a certain period of time.

The reservoir received an aura of sacrality from two gables and painted stucco applications (figs. 7-8). The interior had steps leading below ground into a completely white-washed vault with a podium and a water fountain fed by the rain pipe from the portico. Based on an extensive and intensive investigation of the site, Wild has declared that the building imitates an Egyptian Nilometer.⁵⁹ As the structure was not completely roofed but only had a roof ridge, any heavy downpour would 'drown' the crypt and thus create a miniature flooding of the Nile. Among the many pieces of evidence pointing to the crucial role of the sacred water (of the Nile) in the Isiac cult,⁶⁰ a wall painting from Herculaneum deserves particular attention in conjunction with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.⁶¹ In remarkable detail it depicts the ritual presentation of the sacred water within a temple precinct.⁶² A similar tradition is implied by the close spatial proximity of the water crypt (reservoir), the main altar, and the podium temple at Pompeii.

⁵⁷ Thus e.g. Swetnam-Burland 2002, 153-156: based on the vegetal frieze which runs along the top of the portico walls, Swetnam-Burland develops a religious-allegorical interpretation for the entire series of Egyptian scenes in the Temple of Isis. Such an approach, first of all, appears to me to be problematic because of the inflated significance it places on a decorative element which is usually relegated to a subordinate position within the pictorial system. The sudden elevation of the decorative frieze to key feature, in interpretive terms, of the entire visual concept seems unmotivated. Secondly, the religious-themed interpretation 'grades' the audience implicitly, with initiates of the cult forming the most desirable (ideal) group of observers.

⁵⁸ Particularly evident in the description of Isis (*met.* 11,3-4 with comm.); cf. also the description of the cultic objects and representations of deities in the procession (*met.* 11,10-11), some of which may require a certain degree of mythological and religious knowledge, but never any special insight. See also Introduction, 1.4.

⁵⁹ Wild 1981 with comparisons from the Mediterranean region; on Pompeii *ibid.* 44-47; a detailed description in Kleibl 2009, 279.

⁶⁰ Wild 1981; Kleibl 2013.

⁶¹ *met.* 11,11,4; 11,20,4; 11,23,1 with comm.

⁶² Wild 1981, pl. XIV = Merkelbach 1995, pl. IV.

There is no controversy regarding a sacral connotation for the richly decorated front side of the reservoir.⁶³ The tympanum and frieze show several persons in the act of worshipping a sacred water vessel; this cultic scene is enhanced by Cupids and various cultic symbols. The two side walls of the building are decorated with a pair of mythological lovers on either side, accompanied by Cupids. The east wall has Perseus and Andromeda, on the west wall it is Mars and Venus.⁶⁴ The unexpected shift in the narrative value of the images is worth noting: while mythological depictions are usually characterized by their pronounced narrative potential, the mythological lovers of the Nilometer appear removed from any situational context. With Giuliani it could therefore be argued that in the illustrations on the side walls the descriptive aspect – in other words, the 'normality' of the lovers' embrace – is more important than the mythological 'story behind the picture'.

The cultic objects and cultic scenes on the front, meanwhile, (can) invite enquiry and exegesis. Here, the emphasis has shifted in the other direction: from a description of the mundane to a narrative of the extraordinary. A representative quality was moreover conferred on the pictured scenes of prayer and procession by their regular activation in the daily rituals of the cult. The magnificent façade thus came to life in front of the assembled attendants of the festival in its striking correspondence to every libation and lustration that was performed with the sacred water from the crypt.

In functional terms, therefore, the two pairs of lovers on the side walls of the Nilometer are subordinate to the cultic scene on the front. A reversed hierarchical relationship can be found in the banqueting hall, where the two mythological illustrations of Io-Isis (figs. 9-10)⁶⁵ clearly outrank the sacral landscapes; this constellation is reflected in the prominent central positions occupied by the mythological paintings on the north and south walls.

The mythological themes chosen for these prominent locations depict crucial turning points in the narrative of the heroine's life. The first picture (fig. 9) combines two moments of the myth: Io before she was transformed by Jupiter into a cow, and the release of the transformed heroine from the hands of the herdsman Argus by Hermes (in the centre). The second picture (fig. 10) shows the reception of the retransformed Io in Egypt.⁶⁶ As close parallels from private homes in Pompeii attest, a formalized visual representation had been developed for the two scenes.⁶⁷ A singular phenomenon, however, is the combination of both Io motifs in the Iseum; elsewhere in resi-

⁶³ Wild 1981, pl. V, 1 = Merkelbach 1995, 499, fig. 16; Kleibl 2009, 284-285.

⁶⁴ Wild 1981, pl. VI, 2-3; Merkelbach 1995, 500, figs. 18-19. Wild 1981, 76-84; Moormann 2007, 149; Swetnam-Burland 2002, 134-135; Kleibl 2009, 286.

⁶⁵ De Caro 1992, pl. XIV [1.69] and pl. X [1.63] with descriptions; Merkelbach 1995, 501-502, figs. 20-21.

⁶⁶ An unresolved issue is that of the lost central image on the western wall; while the prominent position on the display wall facing the entrance would seem to suggest another mythological scene as the most likely option, we must be sceptical with regard to hypothetical reconstructions that postulate a third motif from the Io myth: a coupling of Io with Zeus has been suggested by several scholars (Hoffmann 1993, 111; Moormann 2007, 146). However, none of the surviving wall paintings in Pompeii depict such a scene. Cf. n. 68.

⁶⁷ For Io, Hermes, and Argus (Third Style) see the Casa del Citarista; wall paintings of the Fourth Style, by contrast, have a stronger focus on the erotic element. Here, Io and Argus (without Hermes) can appear as lovers (Macellum, Casa del Meleagro, Casa dei Dioscuri); on this Lorenz 2005, 448, and Lorenz 2008, 229-230, 338-339. On the Arrival of Io and her greeting by Isis see the closely related painting in the Casa del Duca d'Aumale.

dential buildings it is either one *or* the other. A reasonable assumption would be to attribute the unusual sequence of images in the Iseum to the sacrality of the space.⁶⁸

Despite their considerable narrative potential, both depictions of Io also contain descriptive elements. The meeting of Hermes, Argus, and Io is laid out in the form of a typical 'first encounter', to which the cow on the left, the rocks, the panpipes, and the altar in the background add a bucolic and sacral-idyllic context. In this 'descriptive' environment, only the herald's staff and the winged sandals help define Hermes as a mythical figure, whose presence encourages the reader to think about a narrative interpretation. The narrative impetus is contained above all in Io's rudimentary cow's horns, an unequivocal hint that the seated woman must be identified as 'Io'. By anticipating the heroine's subsequent fate (i.e. her transformation into a cow), the horns also forge a narrative link with the white cow at the left edge of the painting, which can now be interpreted as 'Io in animal guise'.

The (now analeptic) horns on Io's head in the picture on the south wall are a clear indication that the two images of Io in the banqueting hall are meant to illustrate two different stages in the 'time line' of Io's story. The focus is now on the moment in the narrative where the heroine, after her journey across the Mediterranean, is deposited on the banks of the Nile by a river god and is welcomed by Isis. In this encounter the subsequent deification of Io is implied as well: in Egypt the heroine is not only re-transformed into her human shape, but also elevated to the status of a goddess (reflected in the welcoming Isis, complete with uraeus, crown of rye and the typical locks of Isis).

The aetiological link between cult and mythology is reinforced by two observers within the image; their sistrums and white linen gowns identify them as devotees of Isis, who is also dressed entirely in white. By welcoming Io-Isis to Egypt as a new deity and by paying tribute to her they present the external observer with an offer of identification. Compared to the first mythological image the scene now abounds with unusual, strange-looking details (Harpocrates, crocodile, uraeus, Sphinx) to stimulate the observer's narrative interest. At the same time the Egyptian goddess – in becoming one with Io – presents herself in a long-familiar form, whose mythical fate was well-known to the educated observer.⁶⁹

To what extent, then, and in what way do the framing landscapes (fig. 11)⁷⁰ enhance the heightened mythological atmosphere of the room? As has been noted above, a distinctive feature of the sacral-idyllic scenes is their descriptive character: the landscapes consist mainly of scenic vistas of natural and architectural features, bodies of water, lush vegetation and rugged rock-strewn backgrounds, and they rely primarily on a conventional visual code to create an idyllic ambience. This ambience

⁶⁸ Lorenz 2008, 323. The preferred grouping for private homes has two related mythological scenes on the side walls framing a centre-piece from a different mythological context (Lorenz 2008, 299-302). A case could also be made for the existence of precisely such an arrangement in the banqueting hall of the temple precinct.

⁶⁹ On Io in the visual arts *LIMC* V.1, 661-676. Prominent literary examples can be found in the *Prometheus* of ps.-Aeschylus and in the Io narrative in the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid (Ps.-Aeschylus *Prom.* 561-886; *Ov. met.* 1,568-750). The association with Io also occurs to a certain extent in the Isis Book, see section 4.4.

⁷⁰ De Caro 1992, pls. IX [1.62], XI [1.66]-XIII [1.68], XV [1.70]; Merkelbach 1995, 503-505, figs. 22-24.

is reinforced by an array of bucolic and sacral elements (grazing cows, men catching fish, cultic statues, and votive offerings). Leisure and religion are closely intertwined and reflect the wide functional spectrum of the representative communal gathering space. The idealized landscapes of the wall paintings, normally of an indeterminate geography, are placed in a concrete local context through the addition of assorted *Aegyptiaca* in the shape of ibis birds and dark-skinned men in white linen garments caught in the performance of sacrificial rites. The boundary between the mythological world of Io and the ethereal, 'sacral' landscape of an idealized Egyptian 'dreamscape' is evidently a fairly fluid one – much like the boundary between the narrative and the descriptive mode.

If we refer to Giuliani's model one last time, the blurring of the boundaries between narrative and descriptive images in the banqueting hall of the Iseum (and elsewhere) suggests that the element of exoticism was scalable along an infinite continuum, and that consequently the familiar and the foreign did co-exist as close and intermingling neighbours.

4. From Image to Text: The Isiac Procession in the *Metamorphoses*

In this final step we shall attempt to apply the above criteria and categories for analyzing visual art (section 2, with the subsections now in reverse order) to the longest *ekphrasis* in the Isis Book of the *Metamorphoses*.⁷¹ No comprehensive re-interpretation of this textual unit is intended; the aim is to assess the 'added value' that may be gained from a direct comparison of the wall paintings and the literary *ekphrasis* in Apuleius' work. Within this framework, both the genuine alterity of the two media as well as their methodological analogies may be observed.

4.1 Visual and Spatial Context

One fundamental difference between the literary procession and the related theme of the painted priests in the Iseum arises from the fact that they do not share the same spatial context. The gaze of the visitor strolling in the temple precinct of Pompeii (concentrating on the aesthetics of the images) can be seen in contrast with the perspective of a reader, who is able to witness the sequential parts of the procession in every detail through the eyes of Lucius.

The series of paintings in the Iseum serves to create a sense of unity in an architecturally enclosed, square area, which may help the strolling visitor form a mental picture of different types of cult and festival processions. The visitor entering the precinct (fig. 1.b) is given a free choice of two directions; the figures in the painted procession closest to the entrance on both the north and the east porticos stride away from the door and into the 'strolling space' of the colonnades. The individual priests are facing in different directions in each part of the portico, encouraging visitors to take the 'full' tour of the inner courtyard, but they also exert a coordinating influence, and they are pacing the visitors' steps.

⁷¹ *met.* 11,7,2-11,17; for details on this see comm. ad loc.

The Apuleian procession, on the other hand, moves through an urban space that is only vaguely hinted at to the reader (*met.* 11,7,2: *totas plateas*; *met.* 11,16,5: *ripam maris*). While the series of paintings in the Iseum can exclusively be viewed by a visitor of the sanctuary, in the Apuleian narrative the devotees of Isis are on public display; their performance is targeted at all the Cenchrean people. Thus, the literary procession becomes represented as a public spectacle observed by internal crowds, as often occurs in Book 11.⁷²

In the reality of the cult, a public procession surely could not keep up the same tempo during the whole route; not only the urban topography (corners, narrow passages or crowded areas such as the forum or harbour), but also the ceremony itself would have caused a shifting tempo, interrupting the steady progress by prayers, songs or sacrificial rites. For the reader, however, the Isiac procession in the *Metamorphoses* unfolds entirely within a literary space. As a result, the text not only has to imagine the 'visual' presentation in a series of scenes (resembling a 'story-board', in cinematic parlance⁷³), but also convey the festive atmosphere, the myriad sensual impressions, and the solemn sacrality of the occasion.

Placed in the idealized world of the literary text, Apuleius' procession furthermore lacks the multiple changes in pace which in the Iseum resulted from the ever-shifting direction of the marching priests that controlled the visitor's speed of movement: in the literary description, the procession proceeds along a pre-determined route and in a single direction. The literary procession's dynamism is not a product of a visitor's free movement but is created by the participants presenting themselves to Lucius in a series of still images that are moreover hierarchically sequenced according to their participants' group status. The individual segments of the procession – *anteludia*, cult followers, musicians, cult personnel, and the deities – all take up approximately the same amount of space;⁷⁴ the text is thus producing a constant, moderately paced rhythm that gives the impression of a line-up of groups and individuals parading slowly and majestically past Lucius' watchful eyes (while he remains in his 'stationary' position).

Among the onlookers lining the streets, Lucius is singled out as the 'ideal observer' and counterpart to the external reader who is the virtual observer of a religious festival *in progress*. There are, however, some remarkable differences between the internal onlooker Lucius and the external reader, as we will see in the next section.

4.2 Observer and Image

The painted procession in the Iseum 'controls' the visitor's experience and behaviour (i.e. it directs the visitor's glances as well as the speed and direction of his movement) through its motifs, its vivid colours, the arrangement of its figures and the direction in which they are facing. This form of 'total control' would be impossible if the ob-

server's reactions had not been a part of the artist's creative process from the very beginning. In fact, since controlling the audience is such a central concern, the observer should or could be said to be incorporated within the image. As an 'added bonus', the painted cult followers welcoming Io-Isis in the banquetting hall could be interpreted as possible identification figures for the (external) observer, implicitly urging him to participate in the ritual worship of the goddess.

If we look for a literary analogy to this reader-response technique in Apuleius' procession, first of all we have to be aware of the differences between the internal observer Lucius and the external reader. Whereas Lucius, who is participating in the festival, cannot interrupt the steady rhythm of the procession, the reader has much more freedom in his perception of the text. Just like the strolling visitor in the temple precinct, he is free to vary his style of reading. Whenever a scene arouses his special interest, he can respond to the text: he may not only slow down his tempo, but even interrupt the reading process for a while. He may even return to a previous scene to confirm or revise his spontaneous remembrances.

In the case of Lucius, the procession does not address itself to an internal observer who is in control of his own time and movement in space. His view of the scene is tightly determined by the description, which begins with a wide-angle, panoramic perspective on each new group as it passes our 'spot' in the crowd, only to narrow down the focus (through the use of deictic terms) to sub-groups and, ultimately, individual participants and cultic objects.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, at several points in the narrative we find that Lucius becomes directly involved in the proceedings.⁷⁶ At the end of the *anteludia*, for example, he offers a mythological interpretation by identifying the winged donkey as Pegasus and the feeble old man as Bellerophon. By this Lucius also secularises the solemn festive atmosphere in an explicit reference to the comic entertainment value of the scene.⁷⁷ The emphatic dual appeal to the reader ('you would call', 'you would laugh') – twice in the same sentence – ensures that the message is understood: a direct dialogue with the reader is fully intended.

Both techniques, the use of 'comic relief' and the direct appeal to the reader, are reminiscent of the humorous graffiti on the Nilotic landscape in the Iseum, which also combined words and images in a new and creative way, and where the boundaries between visual illusion and the real world, or between internal protagonist and external audience, were selectively blurred.

As we have noted above (see section 3.2), the visitor of the Iseum in Pompeii is confronted with an experience both of familiarity and alterity, as he observes the juxtaposition of familiar and foreign elements in the painted images. Along similar lines, the Pegasus scene in Apuleius can reveal further clues regarding possible experiences of familiarity and alterity in the Isiac cult: Lucius, the asinine observer, demonstrates a significant 'blind spot' when he does not relate his own appearance to that of his costumed alter ego and instead interprets the hybrid paradox of a winged donkey only in reference to the familiar world of Greek mythology – even though the comic duo

⁷² Cf. the internal audience of Lucius' embodiment of the statue of Sol/Apollo in Ch. XXIV. See also Introduction, 5.1 with nn. 130-131.

⁷³ See Introduction, 7.2.3 on the cinematic qualities of Book 11.

⁷⁴ *met.* 11,8: *anteludia*; *met.* 11,9: head of the procession and musicians; *met.* 11,10: initiates and cult personnel; *met.* 11,11: cult images.

⁷⁵ See Introduction, 7.2.2.

⁷⁶ See Introduction, sections 3.1 and 7.2.1.

⁷⁷ *met.* 11,8,4 *ut illum quidem Bellerophontem, hunc autem diceret Pegasus, tamen rideret utrumque.*

of the *anteludia* is at best a pitiful caricature of the proudly striding winged steed and his heroic conqueror.

4.3 The Every-Day World and 'Otherworlds'

A somewhat surprising observation concerns not just the procession but the Isis Book in general, and that is the conspicuous *absence* of any detailed information: rarely do we catch more than a mere glimpse into another world, and when we do, these 'insights' usually take the form of cryptic allusions.⁷⁸ The cultic myths surrounding Isis, Osiris, and Typhon/Seth, which take up such large portions of Plutarch's *De Iside*,⁷⁹ are ignored almost completely,⁸⁰ all festival and cultic activities take place within a markedly provincial (i.e. Roman) environment, or are set within the city of Rome itself (and not in Egypt).⁸¹

In keeping with the apparent desire for familiar things, the description of the procession uses every opportunity to stress the familiarity of conventional Roman elements in the Egyptian cult. The same drive to absorb and appropriate that which is new and foreign – 'the other' – can for instance be seen in the depiction of the cult's initiates⁸² and of some cultic objects: Lucius not only easily identifies the *Mercuriale caduceum* of Anubis (*met.* 11,10,4), but seems also familiar with a breast-shaped libation vessel (*met.* 11,10,6) and a golden basket piled with small branches of bay (*met.* 11,10,6), which only attracts his attention because of its precious material.

On the other hand, in *met.* 11,10 the *lucerna* is expressly marked as 'not of the ordinary kind', and the altar comes with its own etymological explanation.⁸³ Another distinguishing feature of the cult that Lucius singles out for comment – obviously because it is in his own interest – are the polished pates of the male cult members, which anticipate his own (future) appearance in the final chapter of the *Metamorphoses*.⁸⁴ His explanation is at once hypothetical and highly favourable: they are the 'stars on earth of the great cult' (*met.* 11,10,1-2).

The tendency of the literary narration to oscillate between the fascination of a foreign Oriental cult and the perceived 'normality' of a tradition established in Rome for centuries, is especially on display when Anubis makes his entrance (*met.* 11,11,1) as

⁷⁸ Undoubtedly the most pronounced cryptic treatment is given to the description of the initiation into the mysteries, *met.* 11,23,5-24,5 with comm.

⁷⁹ Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 12-22 *Mor.* 355D-359F; Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 25-44 *Mor.* 360D-368F.

⁸⁰ Associations with Typhon/Seth can be inferred from a remark made by Isis in the nocturnal epiphany (*met.* 11,6,2: *mihique iam dudum detestabilis beluae istius corio te protinus exue* with comm.). On the narrative *lacunae* (demanding/inviting 'explanations') pointing to cultic myths in the account of the procession, see section 4.4.

⁸¹ *met.* 11,17; *met.* 11,26 and 11,30; see Introduction, 4.2.1-4.2.3.

⁸² Their white robes, their veils, and the women's perfumed hair are mentioned, but in view of their analogy with familiar Greek-Roman cult practices they do not seem to require any further explanation. On rules and conventions of dress for women in a religious context see Götte 2012, 25-32; Patera 2012; Njeto and Gómez 2012, 60 (on the veil).

⁸³ *met.* 11,10,3: *lucernam porrigebat lumine non adeo nostris illis consimilem, quae uespertinas illuminant epulas; met.* 11,10,4: *gerebat altaria, id est auxilia, quibus nomen dedit proprium deae summatis auxiliariis providentia*.

⁸⁴ On the identity of the narrator as a retrospective Lucius-auctor see Introduction, 3.2 and comm. on 11,10,2 *magna religionis terrena sidera*.

the leader of the 'gods, deeming it worthy to walk on human feet.' Clearly, this gruesome guardian of the Underworld, with his rich display of colours, from green to gold to black, and the distinctive dog's head, potentially has a visual appeal comparable to that of the wall-painting in the Iseum. Yet, Apuleius avoids stressing Anubis' strangeness. Despite the distinctly exotic flavour, the introductory *ille* ('the famous/well-known') and the unspecified *caduceus* would seem to suggest that the god in animal form is here imagined in analogy with the mythical Greek/Roman messenger of the gods and escort of the newly-deceased, Hermes/Mercury, making him recognizable even to Romans who were not familiar with the Egyptian cult.

4.4 Narrating and Describing

With Giuliani it could be argued that the imagined scenes from Apuleius' literary procession resemble the cultic and mythological images from Pompeii in their focus on the extraordinary (the foreign, the unfamiliar, the alien, the other) as a means of encouraging the audience to look for (i.e. invent) etymological aetiologies where technical terms remain (deliberately) obscure.

However, as we indicated above, the opportunities posed by the necessity to explain certain idiosyncrasies of the Egyptian cult are never fully exploited for a panoramic retelling of a cultic myth – in significant contrast to Plutarch. This narrative 'self-denial' (another example of an intentional omission?) is once again striking in the description of the allegorical images of the gods: immediately following Anubis in the procession is a display featuring a cow that according to Lucius must be interpreted as the 'fertile likeness of the all-bearing goddess' (*met.* 11,11,2). The reference to the goddess-as-cow Isis (or Isis-Hathor) contains an invitation to embark on a narrative recapitulation of the Io-Isis myth, especially since each – both Io and Lucius – suffered a similar fortune by being transformed into an animal and re-transformed into human shape by the will of a god. Whereas the reader can respond to these implicit parallels and 'fill the gap' in his mind, Lucius appears to decline that invitation.

The water pitcher is another case in point: first introduced as the symbol of an Egyptian deity which cannot be named,⁸⁵ it is then described only in terms of its external qualities (it is not comparable to any animal or human form, it has exotic Egyptian-style figurative decorations, its handle is adorned with an asp). Far more even than was the case for the deity in the shape of a cow, the extraordinary visual appeal of the nameless object helps create the ideal conditions for yet another narrative 'blank space': the gap that has been left on purpose in the description of the object could be filled with a mythological narrative, e.g. an account of the life and death of Osiris, who is symbolized in the sacred water of the Nile. While this passage appeals clearly and quite directly to the religious and mythological expertise of a competent reader, initiation into the cult's mysteries was not a prerequisite. For a contemporary reader to be able to 'understand' and enjoy the text, a general literary education would have been quite sufficient – such as he/she would have gained from the study

⁸⁵ *met.* 11,11,3 *gerebat ... summi numinis uenerandam effigiem*. See comm.ad loc.

of Plutarch's treatise,⁸⁶ which we typically associate with the educated élite of the second century AD.

Résumé

How have the methods borrowed from the visual arts helped us find new perspectives for the interpretation of Apuleius' work, through their application simultaneously to the illustrations in the Iseum and to the Isiac procession in the *Metamorphoses*?

Apuleian scholarship can benefit from adopting the principle of a strictly media- and context-bound interpretation. Instead of seeking to verify the religious content of the Isis Book with the help of archaeological and epigraphic 'sources', we must ask how images and literary texts appropriate religious themes, cultic myths, acts, and objects, as well as the sacrality (both real and imagined) of spaces and locations. We must also ask how the author re-interprets and over-writes all these religious and cultic aspects in the process of adapting them to the needs and requirements of his narrative.

At the same time, the observed commonalities present us with an opportunity to form a lasting 'partnership' between the two neighbouring disciplines of textual and visual studies. It could be asked whether the complex pattern of narrative and descriptive elements in the wall paintings might not be applied to the interpretation of literary *ekphraseis* as well: at the point of this writing their narrative potential remains in a woeful state of neglect. The Pompeian wall paintings could be a motivation for us to re-examine the literary descriptions, and to take a closer look at the interplay of 'extraordinary' (unfamiliar, foreign) elements that inspire narration, and purely descriptive passages (Giuliani's 'normality').

Finally, a revision of the much-quoted exoticism in Apuleius' depiction of the Isiac cult is in order, as the Egyptianizing motifs can convey bewildering impressions of both familiarity *and* foreignness ('otherness'), distance *and* proximity, entertainment *and* sacrality. Egyptian references not only define what is 'extraordinary', but in combination with religious, mythological and sacral-idyllic motifs they coalesce to form a multi-layered *trompe l'oeil* type of image which constantly reveals and conceals its message and thus confuses and delights at the same time.

The vignettes or 'windows' into the 'Otherworld' of Egypt may ultimately be defined in terms of their complementary rather than their contrasting nature when compared to the Roman every-day experience of the cult. An appropriate model would be one which seeks to describe the Egyptian cults of the early and high Empire as constituent parts of Roman religion as it was practised during the period, in all its shades and facets. Only in this way will we be able to appreciate, in full, the intricate mechanisms of superimposition of familiar elements, of mutual exchange, and of innovative association which give the Roman incarnation of Isis the power to appear in such a brilliant display of colour that is as vibrant as it is bewildering.

⁸⁶ Plut. *de Isid. et Os.* 33 Mor. 364A-C; *de Isid. et Os.* 36 Mor. 365B; *de Isid. et Os.* 38-39 Mor. 365F-366F. See Introduction, 1.4.

Figures

Fig. 1: plan of the Iseum of Pompeii (De Caro 1992, p.86).

Fig. 2: wall paintings at the east side of the portico (De Caro 1992, p. 24-25).

Fig. 3: Anubis from the west side of the portico (Tinh 1964, pl. V.3).

Fig. 4: priest from the east side of the portico (Tinh 1964, pl. IV.2).

Fig. 5: priest from the north side of the portico (Tinh 1964, pl. V.2).

Fig. 6: *pinax* with a Nilotic landscape (De Caro 1992, pl. VI [1.2]).

Fig. 7: water crypt in the Iseum (Hattler 2013, p.158).

Fig. 8: décor at the left front side of the water crypt (Merkelbach 1995, fig. 16 = Ma-zois 1838, pl. XI).

Fig. 9: painting from the north side of the banqueting hall: Io at the herdsman Argus (De Caro 1992, pl. XIV [1.69]).

Fig. 10: painting from the south side of the banqueting hall: Io welcomed by Isis in Egypt (De Caro 1992, pl. X [1.63]).

Fig. 11: sacral-idyllic landscape from the north side of the banqueting hall (De Caro 1992, pl. XIII [1.68]).

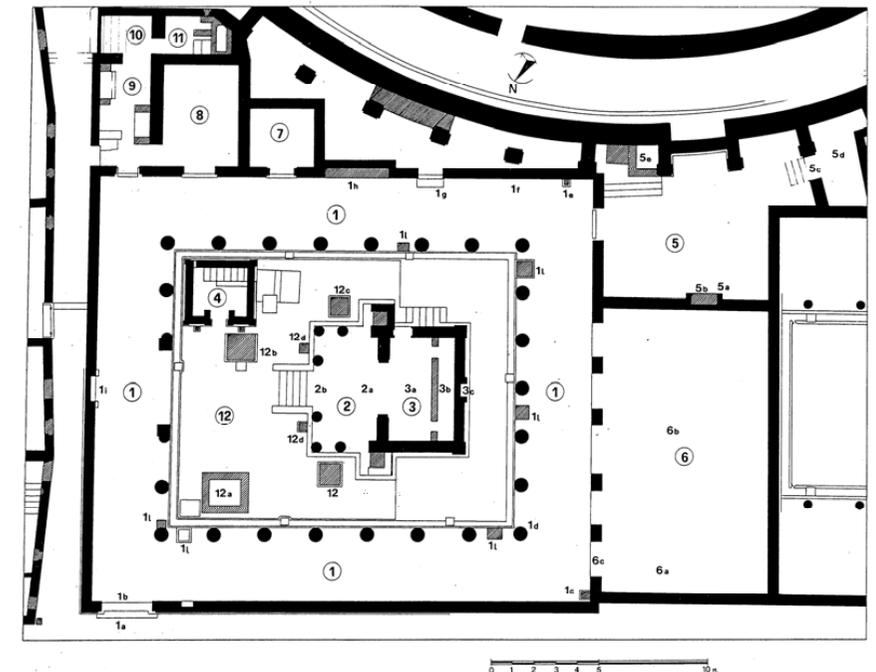


Fig. 1: plan of the Iseum

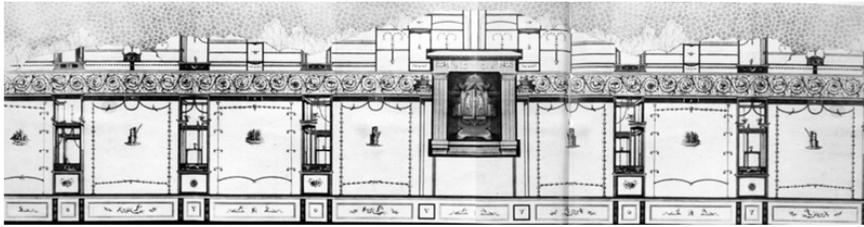


Fig. 2: wall paintings at the east side of the portico



Fig. 3: Anubis



Fig. 4: priest with a palm branch



Fig. 5: priest with a papyrus



Fig. 6: Nilotic landscape



Fig. 7: water crypt (behind the altar) in the Iseum

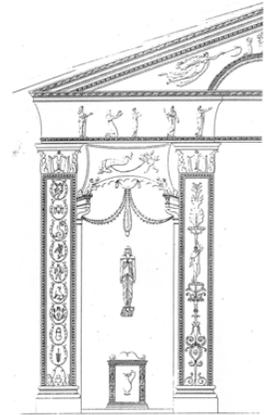


Fig. 8: décor at the front



Fig. 9: Io, Hermes and Argos



Fig. 10: Io welcomed by Isis



Fig. 11: sacral-ideal landscape

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- AAGA 3* W. Keulen and U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser (edd.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass. A Collection of Original Papers. Volume III: The Isis-Book*, Leiden/Boston 2012.
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- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828-1877.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863-
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- FRP* *Fragments of Roman Poetry*, ed. A.S. Hollis, Oxford 2007.
- GCN* *Groningen Colloquia on the Ancient Novel*, 9 vols., Groningen 1988-1998.
- HrwGr* H. Cancik, B. Gladigow, and M. Laubscher (edd.), *Handwörterbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, Stuttgart 1988-
- I. Délos* *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1926-
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892-1916.
- ISmyrna* *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, ed. Georg Petzl, vol. II,1, Bonn 1987.
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 RICIS L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*, 3 vols., Paris 2005.
 SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-
 SIG W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig ³1915-1924.
 SIRIS L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapicae*, Berlin 1969.
 ThesCRA *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*. The J.P. Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2004-
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