Trends in Classics

STAVROS FRANGOULIDIS

Witches, Isis and Narrative

DE GRUYTER

Stavros Frangoulidis
Witches, Isis and Narrative

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

Edited by
Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos

Volume 2

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

Witches, Isis and Narrative

Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

by

Stavros Frangoulidis

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

∞ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the ANSI
to ensure permanence and durability.

ISBN 978-3-11-020594-7

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

Printed in Germany
Cover Design: Christopher Schneider, Berlin
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

D M

parentibus meis

Antonios & Chryssoula

Contents

Acknowledgements

This volume is the first to be devoted to a comparative study of the various approaches Lucius and secondary characters adopt towards magic in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. When I started thinking about this project, I had the rare opportunity to discuss it at length with David Konstan, to whom I owe my deepest gratitude for his thought-provoking comments, as well as for most helpful conversations and moral support thereafter.

In the course of writing, I was greatly indebted to a number of colleagues and dear friends who read parts of this work and offered insightful feedback and suggestions: Stephen Harrison, Maaike Zimmerman, David Konstan, June W. Allison, Ken Dowden, Ewen Bowie, David George, Poulheria Kyriakou, Theokritos Kouremenos, Lucia Athanassaki, Stavroula Economou, Maria Papadaki, Sophia Papaioannou, Eleni Manolaraki, Nikos Litinas, and Antonios Augoustakis.

I owe special gratitude to Thalia Papadopoulou, Yannis Tzifopoulos, and Ben Petre, who read through the entire manuscript (in various drafts and in final version) and offered much constructive criticism and suggestions.

I have also been greatly benefited from conversations with my colleagues and friends Gogo Katsimali and S. N. Philippides, an expert in literary theory. Yiannis Lagamtzis has shared his expertise in locating and obtaining the necessary permits for the publication of the photographs included in this volume and I would like to thank him for his much appreciated help. I would also like to thank the students of my courses on Apuleius at the University of Crete, who first heard ideas related to this project and offered their comments and encouragement.

Earlier versions of Chapters 9 and 3 were presented at RICAN (Rethymno International Conferences on the Ancient Novel) 3 and 4, held at the University of Crete, Rethymno in May 2005 and May 2007 respectively. An abridged version of Chapter 8 was presented at the conference on "Narratology and Interpretation. The Content of the Form in Ancient Texts", held at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki in December 2007. I would like to thank the various participants in these three conferences, especially Ewen Bowie, Stephen Harrison, Gareth

Schmeling, David Konstan, Maaike Zimmerman, Richard Hunter, Warren Smith and Marianne Hopman for thought-provoking comments.

A version of Chapter 6 will be presented in ICAN (International Conference on the Ancient Novel) IV in July 21–26 at Lisbon.

I owe special thanks to Maaike Zimmerman and Stephen Harrison, editors of *Ancient Narrative*, for their permission to reprint a revised version of Chapter 9, originally published in the proceedings of RICAN 3 with the title: "Transforming the Genre: Apuleius *Metamorphoses*." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*, edited by Michael Paschalis et al. Groningen: Barkhuis and Groningen University Library, 2007, pp. 193–203.

I am also most grateful to the anonymous readers of *Trends in Classics*, who read the manuscript with great care and offered most valuable criticism. Special thanks go to Dr. Sabine Vogt, editor at Walter de Gruyter, for her excellent co-operation and to Claudia Hill for setting up the manuscript for publication.

My heartfelt gratitude, however, is to Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos, editors-in-charge, for giving me the opportunity to publish in their innovative monograph series, *Trends in Classics*, as well as for their constructive comments. In particular, I would like to single out Antonios Rengakos, who has been an unfailing source of encouragement and support, for which I am deeply indebted.

Thessaloniki, June 2008

Text and Figure Acknowledgements

The text of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is from Helm's Teubner edition (1992). All English translations of the *Metamorphoses* are from Hanson's Loeb edition (1989). All other editions of ancient texts used in this work are acknowledged in the notes.

With regard to images accompanying the text, I am grateful to the following individuals: Pietro Giovanni Guzzo, Archaeological Superintendent at Pompeii, for permission to publish Figure 1: the fresco depicting Diana and Actaeon; Prof. Nikolaos Chr. Stampolides for permission to publish a number of depictions of Eros on seals (Τα Σφραγίσματα της Δήλου, Paris: De Boccard 1992); and to the École française d'Athènes and Ms Kalliopi Christophi, Archivist, for providing the original photographs of: Figure 2 (Stampolides 138 and plate 28.10; photo Ph. Collet); Figure 3 (Stampolides 134, and plate 27.5; photo H.–P. Couloy); Figure 4 (Stampolides 143 and plate 29.18; photo Ph. Collet).

Introduction

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* relates the arrival of the young noble Lucius at Hypata, the capital of Thessalian magic. Through his involvement with the slave girl Photis, maid of the witch Pamphile, Lucius aspires to become an owl, the symbol of divine wisdom, but instead is transformed into an ass, a paradigm of obstinacy, stupidity and sexual incontinence. As an ass, he then undergoes a long series of comic misadventures, forcibly entering the service of several masters (as an animal desirable to own), until he eventually arrives at Cenchreae, one of Isis' sacred locations. There he comes into contact with Isis, goddess of another kind of 'magic', who offers him release from his troubles by restoring him to human form, and grants him the true knowledge and wisdom he originally sought to obtain through his desire to be changed into an owl.

Magic is a central theme in the *Metamorphoses* and has received considerable and varied discussion. Some scholars have discussed the subject in relation to the broader social milieu and context; thus in a useful essay Frances Norwood has treated the novel in relation to the restlessness, magic and mysticism that characterized the late 2nd century AD.[1] R. A. Seelinger has examined aspects of magical bonding and deceit in the *Metamorphoses* as compared to the magical papyri and the *defixiones*, and then he observed how these motifs are evinced in various sections of the novel that involve the supernatural.[2] In a short but very useful essay, David Martinez has studied the discourse of magic as seen in the tale of Aristomenes and in Pamphile's warnings to Lucius in Book 2, by comparing the language used with creation stories in both the classical and Near-Eastern traditions; he concluded that the themes and motifs of magic employed by Apuleius are commonplace.[3] Most recently, Consuelo Ruiz-Montero has concentrated on instances of magic as figured in the Greek novels (papyrus fragments, indirect references, episodes and tales) and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (1–3).[4] Among other things,

1 Norwood (1956) 1–12.
2 Seelinger (1981).
3 Martinez (2000) 29–35.
4 Ruiz-Montero (2007) 38–56.

she draws a distinction between fictional (literary) and real magic by comparing these texts with the language and ritual practices in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri.

Other scholars have focused on aspects of magic in individual narrative units or clusters of stories. Nicole Moine compares the tale of Aristomenes, in which there is mention of the witch Meroe and cheese, with the passage in Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 18.1) that presents some *stabulariae mulieres* who feed men cheese and turn them into animals that at some point regain their human form.[5] Maria Grazia Bajoni concentrates on several scenes of necromancy in Apuleius (tales of Aristomenes and Thelyphron) and in Petronius (the ghost stories in Trimalchio's dinner), seen as an expression of the irrational for the purpose of generating laughter among the novel's audience.[6] Niall W. Slater has examined the resurrection of an Egyptian killed on a battlefield in Heliodoros 6 and its typology, and then successfully applied this to the tale of Thelyphron in Book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*, which is also discussed in detail by Ruiz-Montero.[7] Slater has further brought into focus the exchange between Aristomenes and Socrates in Apuleius' tale of Aristomenes (Book 1), which he views as a conversation with the dead, and suggests that the entire exchange could be understood as a form of an exchange between the reader and the dead author. Paula James has briefly discussed the relevance of Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass as well as the new set of contradictions it brings to the fore.[8] In an excellent article, Jo-Ann Shelton, who concentrates on the portrayal of women in the novel, also develops a comparison between female magicians and the male bandits, as they both engage in activities that throw the hierarchical system into disorder: the former by changing the shapes

5 Moine (1975) 350–361.

6 Bajoni (1990) 148–153.

7 Slater (2007) 57–69. Elsewhere, Slater (2002, 161–176) traces the pattern of consistent displacement as it appears in the tales of Aristomenes, Thelyphron, and the narrative of Lucius. In Slater's view, this pattern contributes substantially to the debate over the meaning and the ending of the novel, since Lucius' displacement from home to Rome appears not as promotion but rather as exile. Other scholars (Murgatroyd 2001, 40–46; Keulen 2003a, 107–135; Frangoulidis 1999a, 375–391; and James 1987) have discussed individual aspects of magic as regards Aristomenes, Socrates, Thelyphron and Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass.

8 James (1987) 92–95. In a similar vein, Murgatroyd (2001, 40–46) has focused on the appropriateness of metamorphoses in relation to their narrative frame and their role in foreshadowing the development of the novel's plot.

of men and animals into other shapes and the latter by altering their status and ranks.[9] Shelton concludes that the witches are more difficult to detect than the bandits: the former operate within society, whereas the latter dwell outside the civilized world and band together as a group.[10] Most lately, Kirk Freudenburg has concentrated on key scenes involving visual curiosity in the novel; in his reading, this viewing is erotically charged, while watching transforms both the viewer within the tale and the object viewed. Freudenburg also claims that through the act of reading, the novel's readers become complicit in Lucius' curiosity.[11]

Critical discussion has also focused on features of the magic ritual as represented in the work. Christopher Faraone, for example, discusses the episode where the witch Pamphile asks her servant girl Photis to bring hair from her Boeotian lover and then to burn it together with other elements (*materia magica*) in the secluded place of her room; according to Faraone, this ritual corresponds to an *agoge*, 'a spell that leads' the witch's beloved from his house to Pamphile's home. In the case in hand, the result is not the desired one, because it is wineskins rather than the lover that come pounding on the doors; and no wonder, because the servant girl has originally obtained goat skin hair rather than the hair from Pamphile's lover (3.16–18).[12] Alex Scobie comments on Pamphile's transformation into an owl in Book 3 of the *Metamorphoses* in comparison with the similar scene of the witch changing herself into a bird in the *Onos* and observes that in the latter case the bird is not an owl but a raven, which Apuleius has changed in order to accommodate Roman folk beliefs.[13] Scobie then examines beliefs about witches worldwide, with special emphasis on South America, in order to see whether beliefs in that area are indigenous or are due to Roman beliefs imported by Spanish overlords in the 16th and 17th century.[14] David W. Leinweber focuses on the presence of the theme of Lamiae in the representation of three witches—Meroe, Panthia and Pamphile.[15] And in a short essay, Roger Pack directs attention to lychnomancy and the use of magic lamps.[16]

9 Shelton (2005) 304, *passim*.
10 Shelton (2005) 313–314.
11 Freudenburg (2007) 238–262.
12 Faraone (1999) 87, also 24–25.
13 Scobie (1978a) 77–80.
14 Scobie (1978a) 83–101.
15 Leinweber (1994) 77–82.
16 Pack (1956) 190–191.

Inextricably linked up with our central concern is the view of magic expressed in the novel's final Book. Both earlier and contemporary discussions have brought forth a wide variety of views. Georg Luck[17] and Carl C. Schlam[18] both interpreted Lucius' initiation into the religion of Isis as an escape from destructive magic. Antonie Wlosok attempts to shed light on the philosophical and religious reasons that led the author to write what he views as a propaganda piece for the Isis religion.[19] Nancy Shumate reads Lucius' initiation as a conversion and as a prototype of St. Augustine's *Confessions*.[20] Keith Bradley has assessed Lucius' entrance into the cult as a mystical experience involving a new divinity, but one who is an expression of a divine principle already seen in many other guises.[21] On the other hand, David Martinez,[22] Gwyn Griffiths,[23] Carl Schlam[24] and Ruiz Montero[25] have treated Lucius' initiation into the religion of Isis as a conversion to a kind of magic very different from that appearing in the preceding books, as in the Egyptian religion Isis is the goddess of true magic and miracles. In another work, Gwyn Griffiths acknowledges the dominant presence of the Isis theme, which offers cohesion to the whole work, and goes on to examine attitudes shown to other religions too, although the Isiac influence may also be present.[26] Whatever the case may be, the above approaches to Isis, treat the Book in which the Egyptian goddess appears, in isolation as a self-standing unit, with only superficial thematic relation to the rest of the work.

This reading has been seriously contested most recently, by Danielle van Mal-Maeder, who, on the basis of a number of clearly outlined parallels between Photis and Isis, has advanced the view that, in order to appreciate Book 11 in full, the reader should not study it as an independent story. Much more is gained, she argues, if Book 11 is read in conjunction with the preceding narrative, thus treating Isis as a contin-

17 Luck (1985) 15–18.
18 Schlam (1992).
19 Wlosok (1999) 142–156.
20 Shumate (1996).
21 Bradley (1998) 315–334.
22 Martinez (2000) 29–35.
23 Griffiths (1975).
24 Schlam (1978) 94–105.
25 Ruiz-Montero (2007) 38–56.
26 Griffiths (1978) 141–166.

uation of Photis.[27] Stephen J. Harrison has gone one step further to explore Lucius' religious conversion in Book 11 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses,* as potentially satirical of the serious narrative in Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*, poking fun at the grandiose personal claims of Aristides as a specially privileged religious figure.[28] Agreeing with Harrison, Maaike Zimmerman has suggested that satire runs through the entire eleven-books-long novel and progressively becomes more prominent until it reaches its culmination in the Isis Book, when Lucius, by now a new devotee, gullibly allows himself to be taken advantage of yet again, this time by the greedy priests of Isis and Osiris.[29] Likewise, advancing the argument of a thematically unified novel, Gareth Schmeling and Silvia Montiglio have analyzed the expression of Lucius' obsession with food, hair, sex and magic through all eleven books; and have argued in support of the "interpretation that Lucius' initiation in Book 11 follows a course of linear evolution, rather than of an antithetical development, in his metamorphosis from man to ass in Book 3".[30]

Without exception, all the aforementioned studies in defence of unity in the *Metamorphoses* deploy their arguments by reference to the course of the protagonist, Lucius the ass. Yet the hero is not alone in his various adventures; he interacts with a great assortment of characters, both in the embedded tales and in the main narrative. In other words, what is still lacking, in the study of the narrative structure of the *Metamorphoses,* is an in-depth look at the structural and thematic relationships on the contextual level, created by the multifarious attitudes the various characters who 'assist' Lucius on his journey adopt towards magic, be it malevolent or benign.

Along the lines of the above premise, I argue that Lucius, when he finally encounters Isis, comes into contact with another kind of magic that runs contrary to the earthly world of magic represented by the witches, to which Lucius falls victim. In fact, it could be argued that

27 van Mal-Maeder (1997) 87–118.

28 Harrison (2000–01) 245–259; see also Murgatroyd (2004a) 319–321.

29 Zimmerman (2006) 87–104, and especially 103–104. The venality of Osiris' priests, as Zimmerman points out (103), was the target of attack by both Juvenal (sixth satire) and Persius (2). Zimmerman also directs attention to the satirical connotations in Lucius' proud display of his shaven head. On this point see also Winkler (1985) 224–227 and van Mal-Maeder (1997) 107. Nevertheless, one could argue that the emphasis on money characterizes many religions, both ancient and modern (I owe this point to Warren Smith *per sermones*).

30 Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 28–41.

the presence of the witches in the novel, as representatives of the catastrophic magic in the world may be aimed at highlighting, by contrast, the superiority of Isis' positive magic.

In advancing this view, I am in agreement with such scholars as D. Martinez,[31] G. Griffiths,[32] Carl C. Schlam[33] and Consuelo Ruiz-Montero,[34] who generally consider Isis as a goddess of magic and miracle, without expanding greatly on that aspect of her nature. I would add that the role of Isis as goddess of positive magic can only be fully appreciated through the presence of the diametrical opposite: the negative magic of the witches. My approach differs from these scholars in that it is not primarily concerned with the witches, witchcraft or Isis per se, but rather with how the various characters react to all forms of magic in the series of tales coinciding with the various stages in Lucius' adventures, both before and during his efforts to regain human form. In other words, this study considers the topic of magic not as something extractable from the *Metamorphoses*, but as something integral to the work's overall conception and detailed narrative structure. The variety of approaches characters display towards magic, either in embedded tales in which characters narrate their experiences with magic (e. g. Thelyphron's tale), or in the narrative in which Lucius relates his own involvement in magic and his restoration to human form constitute narratives or stories about magic. It must be kept in mind that the inserted tales appear only in the narrative of Lucius' arrival at Hypata, where he becomes involved in magic, and in the lengthy course of his wanderings; and none of them occurs in the novel's final Book. This absence can be explained in terms of the fact that at this juncture Lucius becomes fully aware of his future, and thus no longer is in need of instructions in the form of cautionary or paradigmatic tales. The series of parallelisms, similarities and contrasts found in the various attitudes displayed towards magic, whether malevolent or benign, suggests an artful interrelationship.

In pursuing this line of argument I offer a systematic analysis of those parts of the novel in which the protagonist Lucius is still human in form, and of the way in which he comes into contact first with evil magic and then with Isis. Here I explore structural and thematic links between Lu-

31 Martinez (2000) 33.
32 Griffiths (1975) 47–48.
33 Schlam (1978) 94–105.
34 Ruiz-Montero (2007) 38–56.

cius, who comes into contact with Photis, and all other major characters, such as Socrates, Aristomenes and Thelyphron, who are ensnared by renowned witches in the various embedded tales. Comparison is also made between Lucius and other lesser characters such as Cerdo, who come into contact with astrologers. Such figures must also be viewed as magicians, since they try to predict the future through the examination of the movements of the stars. I also discuss the relationships between Lucius and Psyche in the embedded tale of Cupid and Psyche, because, in common with Lucius, Psyche gives in some kind of 'magical practice' when she penetrates Cupid's concealed identity. The similarities and contrasts, among characters in the embedded tales and the main narrative, reveal the skilful integration of the inserted material and the episodes in the novel's plot, presenting various forms of punishment which are the result from contact with magic. Lucius' fortune is much better than that suffered by all the secondary characters: his involvement with the less disastrous magic of the slave girl Photis, who is a sorcerer's apprentice and not a real witch, may suggest from the very outset that something may go wrong in the practice of magic, but also that this danger may not preclude the possibility of eventual salvation. Furthermore, there are a number of contrasts between the naive but disastrous sorcery of Photis, who introduces Lucius to magic, and the benevolent intervention of Isis, who reverses the effects of that magic in Book 11. Variety in the forms of punishment resulting from involvement in magic is in alignment with the aspect of multiformity in the work, making the narrative paradigmatic of the misfortunes resulting from contact with magic.

In this project I also discuss Lucius' affair with the beautiful witch-slave girl Photis, his metamorphosis into an ass and his ensuing wanderings in relation to his attitude towards Isis in Book 11. This comparison reveals that the novel's final Book can be viewed as a second *Metamorphoses*, a kind of recapitulation of the trajectory of the novel, which presents the results of a different kind of 'magical' intervention in human concerns, i.e. the effects of Isis' 'true magic' on the life of Lucius. As such, it reveals a contrast to the catastrophic magic practised by Photis, and by extension, by all other witches in the novel's early books. This approach helps to explain why, at the end of the novel, Lucius views himself as a reborn character whose sexuality is replaced with abstinence and whose foolishness becomes wisdom. My line of argument thus runs contrary to recent scholarly views that read Lucius' reformation, through Isis and his subsequent triple initiation as an Isiac, as a con-

tinuation of his metamorphosis from man to ass in Book 3, written in a critical and satirical way. In other words, I examine the narrative from Lucius' point of view.

Finally, I attempt to situate the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* in relation to the genre of the ideal novel. The articulation of the narrative in Apuleius' work is marked by symmetry in the plot, which follows a tripartite structure: The first part relates Lucius' journey to Hypata, several embedded stories with ordeals of victims who come into contact with magic, Lucius' refusal to heed these tales and his metamorphosis into an ass (1–3). The second section narrates the long series of Lucius' misadventures (4–10); while the third recounts his encounter with Isis upon arrival at Cenchreae, his restoration to human form through her grace and his entrance into her service as her priest (11). This overarching tripartite structure is in line with the ideal novels, in which the couple falls in love, undergoes a series of adventures, either separately or together, and is finally happily reunited. That being said, Apuleius makes significant alterations to the typical plotline in the ideal novels, developing the genre in new directions: in place of the typical love affair, Lucius becomes involved in an affair with the slave girl Photis so as to gain access to magic; and instead of being reunited with his mistress after his metamorphosis and misadventures, he encounters another female figure, the divine Isis, and is united with her after being delivered from his hardships.

This project is thus the first comprehensive study to focus on the multifarious attitudes characters display towards magic and the divine, viewing them as a key to unveiling important and as yet unnoticed aspects of the rich and complex literary texture of Apuleius' narrative.

Chapter 1, "Pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* versus Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*", explores the relationship between the Greek tale of the Ass and the Latin novel. Although pseudo-Lucian's work is generally regarded as an epitome of a lost Greek original, on which Apuleius also relies, it does not contain the inserted tales and the Isis Book on which my analysis is based. This examination helps to explain why Apuleius chose to write a work that uses a story found in another work of fiction, possibly predating his own, and, most especially, why he added a philosophical and religious dimension to his work. In this discussion I also attempt to demonstrate the thematic relevance of the major inserted tales and episodes in Apuleius' work, that are absent from the Greek epitome, and elucidate their skilful integration into the novel's plot. Above all,

by focussing on the divergences between the two works, I offer the necessary background information for the Chapters that follow.

In Chapter 2, "Lucius versus Socrates and Aristomenes", I discuss Lucius as the living substitute for Socrates, the character who bears the name of the famous philosopher, whose story he hears from a fellow traveller while en route to Hypata, the capital of Thessalian magic. The case of Socrates differs from that of Lucius in important respects: the former loses his life after being ensnared by a powerful witch whom he just happens to meet, whereas the latter obstinately seeks direct contact with magic. This and the fact that Lucius pursues a young and beautiful apprentice to Pamphile, rather than the witch herself, helps to explain why his life is spared and he is transformed into an ass, leaving the prospect of salvation open. Had Socrates met Byrrhena and Photis or received any warnings about the dangers of magic, as Lucius does, his fate perhaps would have been different. I also concentrate on the series of parallelisms, similarities and contrasts between Lucius and Socrates' friend Aristomenes: the latter is condemned to permanent exile, whereas the former eventually gains release from the dire effects of magic through Isis.

Chapter 3, "Lucius' and Milo's Tales of Diophanes and Asinius' Prophecy: Internal Readers and the Author", concentrates on the series of similarities and differences between Lucius and the merchant Cerdo as recipients and therefore 'readers' of prophecy by the false prophet Diophanes. On hearing that Lucius has consulted an astrologer in order to learn the outcome of his journey to Hypata, Milo recalls the case of a merchant named Cerdo, who sought to ascertain the most auspicious time for his journey, but quickly saw through Diophanes and did not fall victim to fraud. Thus Milo implicitly pours scorn on Lucius for appearing to trust Diophanes' prophecy, which foretold that he would become the subject of a story told in many books and acquire great fame. In obtusely failing to draw the correct conclusions from his host's remarks, Lucius emerges as fully responsible for his metamorphosis into an ass and ensuing misadventures. Comparison of Diophanes' prophecy with that of Asinius Marcellus, priest of true religion, also offers the chance to explore affiliations between Lucius, as first-person narrator, and the extratextual author.

Chapter 4, "Lucius versus Thelyphron", treats the series of marked parallelisms, convergences and divergences between Lucius' unwitting contact with the wineskins and the ridicule this entails, and Thelyphron's ordeal. The irony is that, yet again, Lucius fails to learn anything

from Thelyphron's tale, or from the ridicule he suffers in the Laughter festival following his unwitting contact with magic. Lucius takes advantage of Photis' feelings of guilt over her own mistake, and asks her first to show him Pamphile when she changes into an owl, and then to help him to turn into a bird. Given that Photis is an inexperienced apprentice, her first mistake (over the wineskins) foreshadows the second one, during which the incorrect use of magic ointments transforms the protagonist into an ass. Lucius does recall Thelyphron in the sense that both are overconfident in their belief that they can face magic, but unlike Thelyphron, Lucius is only temporarily disfigured for the duration of his adventures; he is eventually reunited with his family and even goes on to make a fortune and acquire fame. Once again, this can be attributed to the fact that Lucius becomes involved with Photis, who is not a real witch.

In Chapter 5, "The Tale of Cupid & Psyche as a Mythic Reflection of the Novel", I examine the rich pattern of structural and intratextual links between Psyche, in the shorter tale of Cupid & Psyche, and Lucius' experience in the novel's larger story. Psyche's exposure on the rock, her union with Cupid, who does not reveal his identity to her, the fall from happiness and her adventures in search of her husband and, finally, the reunion and divine marriage on Mt. Olympus, seem to recreate the pattern of Lucius' arrival at Milo's house, his involvement with the slave girl Photis as route to magic, his embarrassing metamorphosis into an ass and adventures, and his ensuing symbolic union with Isis, goddess of benevolent magic in the world. In this respect, the inset tale presents a mythic variant of Lucius' larger story, as if the author wishes to offer a key to interpreting the larger story from the development of events in the embedded tale.

Chapter 6, "'War' in Magic and Lovemaking", examines the deployment of war imagery, both in Lucius' unwitting contact with magic on encountering the wineskins, and in his earlier sexual encounter with Photis. The language employed in both cases renders the former a mirror of the latter and, in turn, reveals the strong interconnections between magic and sex. These links help to cast Photis, and, by extension, the witches in general, as forces of violence and disorder, in stark opposition to Isis, who emerges as a goddess of peace and order in the world: she frees Lucius from magic and imposes celibacy on him, therefore removing those aspects of his character that were responsible for his metamorphosis into an ass and his ensuing misadventures.

Chapter 7, "Lucius' Metamorphosis into an Ass as a Narrative Device", argues that in metamorphosing Lucius into an ass, Apuleius evokes those features that traditionally characterized the ass in antiquity, such as obstinacy, foolishness and hyper-sexuality. The transformation into an ass and not, for example, into a bird, as Lucius had wished, casts the protagonist's character traits in the narrative into sharper relief. In addition, the metamorphosis allows the author to construct a series of comic narratives, make apt use of proverbs and convert the essentially sorrowful story of a man's metamorphosis into an animal into a comic narrative. Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass also facilitates his move from Hypata and arrival at Isis' cult place at Cenchreae, as the ass is owned by various masters and is able to change locations. This choice reinforces the paradigmatic aspect of the narrative, in stark contrast to the Greek epitome, where Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass merely serves to reinforce the erotic character of the narrative, given that the ass is renowned as a lustful animal. In the context of the Isis cult, the selection of the particular animal may also be determined by the religious end to the work: Isis hates the ass because it reminds her of her enemy Seth-Typhon, that is, the ass-like daemon who killed her brother/husband Osiris. Thus Isis rushes to ass-Lucius' aid when the latter appeals to her. By restoring Lucius to human form, Isis also annuls the character traits that led to his metamorphosis: sexuality gives way to abstinence from sex, and foolishness is replaced by true knowledge and wisdom.

Chapter 8, "Rewriting *Metamorphoses* 1–10: The Isis Book", explores the series of structural and thematic parallelisms, similarities and oppositions between Lucius' encounter with Isis on the one hand (Book 11), and with magic on the other (Books 1–10), as emerging from a chain of parallel narrative episodes and their supporting themes. It is only when the protagonist, in the course of his adventures, meets the witches' positive counterpart, Isis, who demands humility and celibacy, and restores him to human form, that the path to true knowledge and wisdom, originally aimed at through contact with magic, is finally revealed. Indeed, the one positive element in Lucius' humiliating metamorphosis into an ass is the fact that it leads to eventual union with Isis. There are numerous marked similarities and, most especially, oppositions between the encounter with magic through Photis as a medium, and that with the divine Isis. It is these that account for Lucius' refusal to be integrated into the Hypatan community and the fellowship of Laughter; as well as his subsequent acceptance of Isis' offer to become

her devotee. Thus the encounter at Cenchreae represents the complete overturning of events in Hypata, and the elevation of Lucius to a higher status.

The final chapter, "Transforming the Genre: Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*", compares the plotline of the Latin novel (Lucius' relationship with Photis, the separation of the couple, adventures, and Lucius' symbolic union with the goddess Isis), with that of the ideal novels (romances) in which the protagonists fall in love, undergo a series of adventures, are reunited through chance circumstances and finally return home. It is argued that Apuleius has altered the typical plotline of the romance plot, by emphasizing Lucius' slavish pursuit of pleasure, and by introducing a model of marriage between the mortal (Lucius) and the divine (Isis), which replaces the conventional reunion of the couple. In this manner, Apuleius changes the plot of the idealistic novels in which the element of ideal love plays a dominant role into a quasi-ideal one, and thus develops the genre in entirely new directions, in complete alignment with the novel's central theme of metamorphosis.

The Appendix, "Lucius' Metamorphic Change and Entrance into a New Life as a Metaphorical Representation of the Sailing of Isis' Ship", treats Lucius' entrance into his new life and his initiation into Isis' rites as analogous to the initiatory spring-rite of the sailing of Isis' ship, rendering them an iconic double. This link is assisted by the earlier representation of Lucius' adventures on land and arrival at the port of Cenchreae as a sea journey in stormy weather. The presence of the metaphor is accentuated by Isis' special relationship with the sea and navigation, as indicated by her cult titles Euploia and Pelagia. Thus, the narrative of the Ploiaphesia festival not only advances the novel's plot but also helps to situate Lucius' larger experience in the novel in the context of a sea journey, making it in essence a double one: from Hypata to Corinth and from the realm of magic to that of Isis and true religion.

Let us begin with an intertextual comparison of the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* with the *Onos*.

Chapter 1
The *Onos* versus Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

The narrative of the *Onos*, which has come down to us in the works of Lucian, reveals many points of contact with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. According to the canonical view, these similarities should not lead to the conclusion that the former served as a model for the latter, since there are significant differences at numerous junctures in their respective narratives. Rather, the two texts are now believed to derive independently from a lost *Metamorphoses* by a certain Lucius from Patras; the *Onos* is viewed as an epitome of that work.[35]

Irrespective of the explanations advanced for the relationships between these three works, one thing is certain: Apuleius expands the narrative outline of Lucius' adventures, as presented in the *Onos*, by inserting a considerable number of episodes and embedded tales, all of which may be attributed to authorial originality,[36] and which amount to a new handling of the ass-story.[37] The additions offer an illuminating commentary on the life of the main character Lucius, and can be explained in terms of the distinct intent of each work: the *Onos* is nothing more than an entertaining Milesian narrative (*fabula milesiaca*), i.e. a story featuring love and adventure, usually being erotic and titillating in character. Though the Latin novel also belongs to the Milesian tradition, it clearly goes beyond the bounds of the genre in placing greater emphasis on Lucius' sufferings as a result of his involvement with Photis and witchcraft, and in adding the benefits he receives from Isis, goddess of

35 For an extensive discussion of scholarship on the various views expressed see Schlam and Finkelpearl (2000) 36–41; Harrison (2003a) 500–502; Finkelpearl (2007) 263.

36 Several scholars, e.g. Bohm (1972–73, 228–231) and Schlam (1992, 21), have argued that the author may have worked from a novel with a religious conclusion.

37 See also Keulen (2007) 8.

positive magic in the world (1.1) *sermone isto Milesio* ("in that Milesian style of yours").[38]

Scholars have explored the divergences between the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* in great detail.[39] As will become evident, a re-examination of the most striking discrepancies between the two works may go some way towards explaining the intentions of each.[40] Above all, the tentative survey that follows will offer useful background information for the ensuing Chapters, by focusing on the function of similarities and differences within the contexts in which they appear.[41]

First, some general remarks are in order. The numerous additional episodes and tales in the *Metamorphoses* are not inserted arbitrarily, but serve a larger design and goal: they help readers to anticipate Lucius' imminent misfortune and subsequent salvation. The various characters in the tales are confronted by situations similar to those faced by the protagonist. Thus the tale of Aristomenes (1.5–19), where Socrates unwittingly comes into contact with magic, foreshadows Lucius' unwitting encounter with the wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic. Similarly, Thelyphron's over-confident attitude towards magic (2.21–30) anticipates Lucius' later stubborn insistence on being 'initiated' into sorcery despite the risks involved. In retrospect, the subsequent numerous inserted episodes and tales following the metamorphosis highlight the fact that Lucius' fate is better than that of other characters: he is even-

38 For an excellent re-examination of ancient evidence on the lost Milesian Tales of Aristides, and most especially the way Apuleius uses them, see Harrison (1998b) 61–73, especially 68–69.

39 Krabbe (1989) 83–112, *passim*; Smith (1994) 1582–1598; Shumate (1999) 113–123; Kenney (1998) xiv-vi, and 215–217, with an appendix offering a list of the corresponding paragraphs and episodes between the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses*, as well as of the episodes and embedded tales, not found in the Greek Ass tale, but added by Apuleius; Zimmerman (1999) 120–122; Mason (1999) 103–112; Mason (1994) 1665–1707; Tatum (1969) 487–527. Also Zimmerman (2002a) 126–128.

40 The embedded tales are no mere insertions, but help to bring out Lucius' foolishness in his pursuit of magic (e. g. the tale of Aristomenes and of Thelyphron). They further direct attention to the nature of the dangers as a result of passion for magic and Lucius' involvement with Photis (i. e. master's punishment of his slave for his extramarital affair, the tale of Philesitherus), or foreshadow the ways in which Lucius will find his deliverance from magic (i. e. the tale of Cupid and Psyche, the tale of the wicked stepmother, etc.).

41 For an assessment of the tales from the perspective of their possible bearing on the story of Lucius and the Isiac interpretation of his experience in Book 11, see Tatum (1969) 487–527.

tually saved, whereas almost all secondary characters suffer irreversible misfortune or are killed. Furthermore, the additional material offers glimpses of hope that foreshadow the protagonist's release from hardship. For example, the horrible tale of the miller's death through the effects of witchcraft serves to underline Lucius' better fortune in his own involvement with magic (9.14–31); in the story of the wicked stepmother (10.2–12), the positive and unexpected ending, worthy of divine providence, increases readers' expectations that something may change in the ass-Lucius' life and that his troubles may come to an end through a similar divine agent (10.12): *providentiae divinae condignum accepit exitum* ("an ending worthy of divine providence"). This view is reinforced in the novel's longest tale, that of Cupid and Psyche (4.28–6.24), which differs from the other stories in one important respect: Psyche comes into contact with the divine, rather than with witches and earthly magic, and eventually gains release from her troubles through submission to the gods.[42] The implication would seem to be that salvation is only attainable via divine intercession.

The arrival at Hypata

The initial point of contact between the two works is first-person narration, though the two works take up the story in slightly different ways. In the *Onos*, the narrator launches directly into an account of his journey to Thessaly (1), without any preliminary remarks. By contrast, in the *Metamorphoses* the author constructs an imaginary dialogue between the narrator and his audience/readers (1.1):

> *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam —modo si papyrum Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere—, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris. exordior. quis ille? paucis accipe. Hymettos Attica et Isthmos Ephyrea et Taenaros Spartiaca, glebae felices aeternum libris felicioribus conditae, mea vetus prosapia est; ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui. mox in urbe Latia advena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullo magistro praeeunte aggressus excolui. en ecce praefamur veniam, siquid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero. iam haec equidem ipsa vocis immutatio desultoriae scientiae stilo quem accessimus respondet. fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. lector intende: laetaberis.*

42 In this tale, the only figures comparable to witches are Psyche's jealous sisters, who eventually suffer a cruel death.

> But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style of yours, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper, if only you will not begrudge looking at Egyptian papyrus inscribed with the sharpness of a reed from the Nile, so that you may be amazed at men's forms and fortunes transformed into other shapes and then restored again in an interwoven knot. I begin my prologue. Who am I? I will tell you briefly. Attic Hymettos and Ephyrean Isthmos and Spartan Taenaros, fruitful lands preserved forever in even more fruitful books, form my ancient stock. There I served my stint with the Attic tongue in the first campaigns of childhood. Soon afterwards, in the city of the Latins, as a newcomer to Roman studies I attacked and cultivated their native speech with laborious difficulty and no teacher to guide me. So, please, I beg your pardon in advance if as a raw speaker of this foreign tongue of the Forum I commit any blunders. Now in fact this very changing of language corresponds to the type of writing we have undertaken, which is like the skill of a rider jumping from one horse to another. We are about to begin a Greekish story. Pay attention, reader, and you will find delight.

In this imaginary dialogue, the narrator tries to stir the curiosity of his readers and thus ensure their interest in the work.[43] He does so by using a careful narrative strategy to introduce the two major themes in his work, the erotic and the religious. The former is referred to by identifying the narrative as a Milesian one, which reveals an awareness of popular taste. An implicit allusion is then made to Egypt and religion, as suggested by the words *papyrum Aegyptiam*, *Nilotici calami*, which acquire a prominent position with the appearance of Isis in the final Book.[44] Overall, the author appears to be well aware of a general preference among readers for the erotic over the religious and thus gives the religious element a less prominent position. Once the general content is defined, we proceed to the 'biographical' section of the preface, in which the narrator gives information about himself: in this case, use of the first person creates implicit confusion with the author. Nevertheless, the narrator identifies himself as a Greek deriving origin from Athens, Sparta and Tainaros—clearly not the author, who hailed from Ma-

43 In the promise of the narrator to stroke the ears of the reader with a pretty whisper, Graverini (2005, 177–196) sees a combination of similarities with the effeminate, singing style or imperial rhetoric sometimes associated with the Sirens' song, and the sleep-inducing voice of the bees in Vergil's *Eclogue* 1.

44 For a series of connections between the prologue (1.1) and the epilogue (11.30) in the work, see Laird (2001) 272–276; also May (2006) 308. For an analysis of the prologue as an initiation of the reader into the world of the book, see Henderson (2001) 188–197.

dauros, a Roman city in Northern Africa.[45] In the final part of the preface, the subject matter of the work is more specifically identified as involving the metamorphosis of humans into animals, the change of their respective fortunes and their final restoration back to their former condition, in what the narrator claims will be a highly entertaining story.

On the other hand, in the *Onos*, the narrator—a certain Lucius—opens with an account of his journey to Thessaly (1): Ἀπήειν ποτὲ ἐς Θετταλίαν[46] ("Once upon a time I was on my way to Thessaly").[47] On the way he meets some fellow travellers heading in the same direction. In the corresponding sections of the *Metamorphoses*, Lucius, who is likewise travelling to Thessaly, encounters two other wayfarers: Aristomenes and a sceptical fellow traveller. Apuleius expands the narrative considerably, by including the conversation the men enter into, which leads to the narration of Aristomenes' tale (1.2–20).[48] This recalls the sufferings of Aristomenes and his friend Socrates at the hands of a powerful witch named Meroe. Before the account begins, Lucius states his belief in Aristomenes' adventures and urges his newly-found companion to retell them for his benefit (1.4). After hearing the tale, he terms it a charming account which has alleviated the discomforts of travel (1.20): *lepidae fabulae festivitate nos avocavit* ("charming and delightful story"). Lucius even thinks that his horse was pleased, as it covered

45 The speaker of the prologue is identified in various ways. Some (Smith 1972, 512–534; Winkler 1985, 200–203; May 2006, 110–115) identify the speaker of the prologue as an actor outside the work. Harrison (1990b, 507–513) has made the interesting argument that since the prologue-speaker cannot be definitely identified as either Lucius, or Apuleius, or a combination of the two, or even a notionally separate prologue-speaker, we should consider the option of the book as a personified object delivering this prologue: the motif of the speaking book which introduces and describes itself is not unfamiliar in literature. On the other hand, Gaisser (2008, 19) views the speaker as largely unidentifiable. This unidentified speaker, as Gaisser argues, "is another of Apuleius' personae, made deliberately mysterious and intriguing, in order to announce and advertize the writer's protean powers at the opening of his novel". In the course of the narrative Gaisser (pp. 19–20) then accepts the view that the author puts on the mask of the actor Lucius, or perhaps Lucius puts on the mask of Apuleius (see Chapter 3, below).

46 The Greek text of pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* quoted in this work is from Macleod's OCT edition (1974).

47 All translations of the *Onos* are from the Loeb edition by Macleod (1967).

48 See Keulen (2007, 7–8), for correspondences in the microstructure between the *Onos* and Apuleius' Book 1.

the distance to Hypata without being forced to carry its master.[49] Such naïve comments reveal Lucius' complete failure to perceive the tale's deeper message; he thus enters Hypata without considering what may be in store if his arrival in the town is marked by bad omens, as happened earlier with Aristomenes, or if he encounters a witch who punishes her unfaithful lovers, as was previously the case with Socrates (1.21). His entry into town increases reader expectations that misfortune is about to befall him, as he is a person who fails to learn from his experience.

The pattern of similarities and contrasts develops still further with regard to the narrator's host in Hypata. In the *Onos*, Lucius obtains information about Hipparchus, who lives with his wife and his maid, from his travelling companion on the way to the town (1):

> οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι τὸν Ἵππαρχον τοῦτον ἔλεγον καὶ ὅποι τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖ καὶ ὅτι ἀργύριον ἱκανὸν ἔχει καὶ ὅτι μίαν θεράπαιναν τρέφει καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ γαμετὴν μόνας· ἔστι γὰρ φιλαργυρώτατος δεινῶς.
>
> They said they knew this Hipparchus and where he lived in the city; they told me that he had plenty of money, but that the only women he kept were one servant and his wife, as he was a terrible miser.

On the other hand, in the *Metamorphoses*, Lucius obtains the relevant information from an old tavern keeper whom he sees upon his arrival.[50] Lucius identifies his host as one of the leading citizens in town (1.21): *nostine Milonem quendam e primoribus?* ("Do you know someone named Milo, one of the foremost citizens?").

The old woman jokingly characterizes Milo as one of the *primores* because his house is the first in town, just outside the city walls (1.21): *'vere', inquit, 'primus istic perhibetur Milo, qui extra pomerium et urbem totam colit'* ("'Foremost is the right word for your Milo,' she replied, 'since he lives outside the city-limits and the whole town'"). She then points out the host's house and informs Lucius that Milo is a very rich but stingy money lender, who lives with his wife and servant in a very small house (1.21):[51]

---

49 His characterization of the tale as charming recalls the narrator's promise of delight for the novel's readers in the preface of the work (1.1): *lector intende: laetaberis*.

50 Krabbe (1989) 104.

51 Zimmerman (2006, 91–92) associates Milo's greed with Roman verse satire. On the other hand, May (2006, 143–181) treats Milo's house as a *comica*

'videsne', inquit, 'extremas fenestras, quae foris urbem prospiciunt, et altrinsecus fores proxumum respicientes agniportum? inibi iste Milo deversatur ampliter nummatus et longe opulentus, verum extremae avaritiae et sordis infimae infamis homo, foenus denique copiosum sub arrabone auri et argenti crebriter exercens, exiguo Lare inclusus et aerugini semper intentus, cum uxorem etiam calamitatis suae comitem habeat. neque praeter unicam pascit ancillulam et habitu mendicantis semper incedit.'

'Do you see those windows at the end there, looking out on the city, and the door on the other side with a back view of the alley nearby? There is where your friend Milo lives, a man with heaps of money and abundant substance, but notorious for his utter miserliness and sordid squalor. He is constantly lending at high interest, with gold and silver as security, but he keeps himself shut up in a tiny house, worrying about every speck of copper-rust. He lives with a wife, his companion in adversity, maintains no servants except one little maid, and always goes about dressed like a beggar.'

The exchange between Lucius and the old woman is important, as it introduces the interplay between appearance and reality in the novel's narrative: Milo is described as being very rich, but he apparently does everything to maintain the illusion that the opposite is true.

Although the old tavern keeper is not portrayed as a witch, Lucius' meeting with her may bring to mind the enchantress Meroe, an innkeeper who comes to Socrates' aid and then becomes his mistress after he is set upon by robbers. This helps to cast Lucius as a living substitute of Socrates, who does not even appear in the *Onos*. By the time he reaches his host in Hypata, Lucius of the *Metamorphoses* has already been exposed to one didactic tale and one chance encounter, both of which he misinterprets, thus heightening the reader's sense that he is extremely naïve, in spite of his considerable pride for noble origins from Plutarch and his philosopher nephew Sextus (1.2). His foolishness heightens the reader's expectation for Lucius' misfortune.

The two narratives display further superficial similarities with regard to the protagonist's host in Hypata. In both accounts, Lucius gains access to the house via a letter of introduction, but the names of the host and letter writer differ: in the *Onos*, he bears a letter for Hipparchus written by the sophist Decrianus in Patras (2): Γράμματα ἥκω κομίζων αὐτῷ παρὰ Δεκριανοῦ τοῦ Πατρέως σοφιστοῦ ("I come with a letter for him from Decrianus, the professor from Patras"). In the corresponding part of the *Metamorphoses*, he has a letter for Milo sent by Demeas of

domus. See also Keulen (2007, 380), who compares Milo with misers and moneylenders in Roman Comedy.

Corinth, who is a mutual friend (1.22): *litteras ei a Corinthio Demea scriptas ad eum reddo* ("I have a letter for him from Demeas at Corinth"). On one level, the change of names and places can be accounted for in terms of Lucius' respective origins.[52] In the Latin novel, it rapidly emerges that the old woman was accurate in describing Milo as a deceitful miser; his house is very small (1.23): *lare parvulo* ("tiny hearth"), and even lacks the most essential furniture, since its owner lives in perpetual fear of robbers (1.23): *nam prae metu latronum nulla sessibula ac ne sufficientem supellectilem parare nobis licet* ("The fear of robbers prevents us from acquiring chairs or even sufficient furniture"). Milo himself does everything in his power to maintain the illusion of poverty: he compares himself to the mythic Hecale in stinginess when he invites Lucius to emulate his father's namesake, Theseus, who did not scorn the hospitality of the virtuous Hecale when he came to Marathon, and thus maintained the impression that he was poor (1.23). Moreover, the explanation Milo offers for his Spartan lifestyle heightens the sense of irony when the house is later set upon by the robbers he has set out to deceive. It is these robbers who steal Lucius the ass along with Milo's other animals to carry the loot.

In both the Greek narrative and the Latin novel, Lucius goes to the public baths before dining with his host, but in the latter case Apuleius adds the episode in which the protagonist falls victim to deception by a fish merchant in the market (1.24–25).[53]

Scholars have variously interpreted the fish-market scene and the punishment meted out to the fishmonger in the *Metamorphoses*. Maaike Zimmerman views Pythias' act as satirical, recalling similar scenes in

52 On this, see the excellent discussion in Harrison (2002) 43; see also Harrison (2000) 219. The alteration of Lucius' birthplace may be determined by Apuleius' readers, who would have been more familiar with Corinth, capital of the entire province of Achaea, than with the city of Patras, and by the fact that Corinth, which was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BC and re-established as a Roman colony in 44 BCE, was a more prominent place in Apuleius' times. On this explanation and the historical significance of Corinth at the time, see Graverini (2002) 61–62, and *passim*.

53 Keulen (2007, 8) defines the Pythias-scene as Apuleius' personal imprint on the Ass-story. It is during the encounter with Pythias, a former schoolmate who has become an aedile, that we hear the name of the protagonist Lucius for the first time (1.24), whereas in the *Onos*, it is Hipparchus who names Lucius first (2): τὸ δὲ οἰκίδιον τὸ ἐμὸν ὁρᾷς, ὦ Λούκιε, ὡς ἔστι μικρὸν μέν, ἀλλὰ εὔγνωμον τὸν οἰκοῦντα ἐνεγκεῖν ("But you can see, Lucius, how tiny my cottage is. Nevertheless it is glad to offer its hospitality, and you will make it into a mansion if you live in it in a tolerant spirit").

Horace's *Satire* 1.5.34–36 and Persius 1.29–30.[54] Wytse Keulen views Pythias as a representation of "the comic figure of the 'corrupt-official' who is not interested in maintaining justice but whose injustice serves to maintain his authority", since the person who is truly punished by the aedile is not the fishmonger but Lucius, who bought the fish.[55] Carl C. Schlam sees in Pythias' act "a satire of an officious administrator—and perhaps a hidden reference to an Isiac ritual to dispel evil, which involved the trampling of fish".[56] In this rite the fish stands for evil and the trampling as symbolically suggesting the act of averting it. John Heath regards the episode with Pythias as "an example of the gruesome distortions of reality in the novel".[57] Judith Krabbe argues that the name Pythias may echo that of Theseus' friend Perithous,[58] and links Pythias' stamping on the fish and characterizing them as *nugamenta* as associated with the Syrian and Egyptian taboo, thus anticipating both the Dea Syria (Book 8) and Isis (Book 11).[59] As related in Plutarch, Lucius should not have eaten them.[60] Expanding further on this, Maria Plaza sees in Pythias' reaction a symbolic act relating to the Isiac rite connected with the trampling of fish in public to commemorate the Sun-god's victory over the human rebellion, thus foreshadowing the larger scenario of the narrative.[61]

From the perspective adopted here, the encounter between Pythias and the fishmonger may be read as intending to show the great deception played on Lucius upon his entrance to Hypata. By extension, this helps to define the nature of the town and its citizens in their treatment of strangers (1.25). The incident thus helps to create a parallel with that experienced by the merchant Aristomenes, who relates how he came to Hypata to buy cheese at a moderate price, but rapidly discovered that a certain merchant named Lupus had emptied the market by purchasing all available quantities (1.5): *sed ut fieri adsolet, sinistro pede profectum me spes compedii frustrata est* ("But, as usually happens, I started out with

54 Zimmerman (2006) 94–95.
55 Keulen (2007) 444, also 448.
56 Schlam (1992) 33.
57 Heath (1982) 57–58. Heath (p. 58) also directs attention to Lucius' eating habits in the novel as "providing both a unifying theme and an appropriate paradigm for the reader's response to the novel".
58 Krabbe (2003) 69–70.
59 Krabbe (2003) 159.
60 Krabbe (2003) 159.
61 Plaza (2006) 73. On the ritual see also Schlam (1992) 33.

my left foot and my hope of profit was frustrated").[62] It is interesting to observe that in Hypata Lucius' schoolmate from Athens has become an aedile and is accompanied by lictors, whereas in the same town Lucius will be turned into an ass. This difference is perhaps due to the fact that, unlike Lucius, Pythias does not seek involvement in magic. In addition to ordering the lictor to trample on Lucius' fish, Pythias also punishes the fishmonger by berating him in the forum, where we can assume other merchants and buyers are present. Pythias may not then be viewed as a comic and satiric figure, as he does not trample on Lucius' fish himself, but asks one of the lictors to do so. In a strange city then, Lucius has the rare fortune of meeting an old friend who can offer protection from fraud. Nonetheless, he fails to understand the import of Pythias' intervention—which may have saved him from food poisoning—and instead dwells on the fact that he has lost his money and supper (1.25).[63] In choosing not to read between the lines, Lucius displays the naivety that will lead to the series of misfortunes awaiting him in Hypata and beyond.

In both the Greek and the Latin novel after Lucius' return home from the public baths his host invites his guest to participate in the dinner. A contrast, though, is immediately apparent. In the *Onos* after Lucius' return from the bath Hipparchus offers his guest some food and wine at this house (3). On the other hand, in the Latin novel Milo forces his newly-arrived guest to participate in dinner conversation, but leaves him without food and exhausts him with endless talk (1.26). Such behaviour is a clear violation of the etiquette of *xenia* ("hospitality"), according to which one should first feed guests and then engage in conversation.[64] In fact, Milo's parsimony forces Lucius to go out in search of his own dinner while on the way to the bath house (1.24). Any hopes of

62 Keulen (2007, 444) points out that the market of Hypata was figured as a place of merciless competition, but does not develop a comparison between the two incidents.

63 The noticeable differences between the two narratives continue even further. Upon his return from the market, Lucius is invited for dinner by his host. In the *Onos*, Hipparchus offers Lucius enough food and they then spend the rest of the night in pleasant conversation. By contrast, in the *Metamorphoses* Milo exhausts his guest with tiresome conversation and even leaves him without food, thus making clear his stinginess and lack of manners.

64 Most lately Vander Poppen (2008, 157–174) discusses the theme of *hospitium* in Lucius' encounter with Milo and his contact with Isis; but it must be pointed out that the hospitality offered by Isis involves Lucius' enrollment in a spiritual community.

his obtaining a decent meal are dashed when Pythias, a former schoolmate, reveals that the fish Lucius buys in the market is rotten (1.25). From the very first hours of his stay in Hypata, it thus emerges that the townsfolk have little, if any, respect for strangers, and constantly try to take advantage of them.

Moving on to the following morning, in the *Onos* we read that Lucius meets a rich lady named Abroea on the street. A friend of his mother's, she invites him to stay at her house (4): τί οὖν οὐχὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ καταλύσεις, ὦ τέκνον; ("why then won't you stay with me, my child?"). Abroea goes on to inform Lucius that his present host's wife is a powerful witch, who should be avoided at all costs (4):

> Φυλάττου μοι, ἔφη, τὴν Ἱππάρχου γυναῖκα πάσῃ μηχανῇ· μάγος γάρ ἐστι δεινὴ καὶ μάχλος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς νέοις ἐπιβάλλει τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ εἰ μή τις ὑπακούσει αὐτῇ, τοῦτον τῇ τέχνῃ ἀμύνεται, καὶ πολλοὺς μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ζῷα, τοὺς δὲ τέλεον ἀπώλεσε· σὺ δὲ καὶ νέος εἶ, τέκνον, καὶ καλός, ὥστε εὐθὺς ἀρέσαι γυναικί, καὶ ξένος, πρᾶγμα εὐκαταφρόνητον.
>
> I would have you be on your guard against Hipparchus' wife in every way you can. For she's a clever witch and a fast woman who makes eyes at every young man. Any who won't listen to her she punishes with her magic; she has transformed many into beasts, while others she has done away with altogether. You, my child, are young and handsome enough to please a woman at first sight, and, being a stranger, you are something of no account.

The equivalent scene in the *Metamorphoses* has Lucius meet his maternal aunt Byrrhena. In like fashion to Abroea, Byrrhena invites her nephew to stay, but Lucius politely declines.[65] Lucius' rejection of hospitality in both works is an indication of his noble status and high manners, as he could not have offended his host who has already offered him hospitality in his house. Here again Lucius' respective place of birth in the two narratives accounts for differences in the names of his relatives and associates.[66] As Krabbe observes, Byrrhena has a much larger role than Abroea in the *Onos*;[67] Apuleius includes a visit to the rich woman's house that is absent from the Greek narrative, and which serves to make her advice

65 This woman then offers a flattering description of Lucius, stressing his fine looks (2.2). This intended to direct attention to his peak condition prior to contact with magic and ensuing metamorphosis into an ass and, in retrospect, may be intended to provide an explanation as to why he runs the risk of falling victim to Milo's wife Pamphile, given her well known penchant for young men.

66 Harrison (2002) 44.

67 Krabbe (1989) 87.

more vivid and powerful.[68] During the visit, Lucius is struck by the splendid decorations in the atrium of Byrrhena's house,[69] which boasts a group of marble statues representing the myth of Actaeon being turned into a stag (2.4):

> *ecce lapis Parius in Dianam factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem, signum perfecte luculentum, veste reflatum, procursu vegetum, introeuntibus obvium et maiestate numinis venerabile; canes utrimquesecus deae latera muniunt, qui canes et ipsi lapis erant; his oculi minantur, aures rigent, nares hiant, ora saeviunt et sicunde de proximo latratus ingruerit, eum putabis de faucibus lapidis exire et, in quo summum specimen operae fabrilis egregius ille signifex prodidit, sublatis canibus in pectus arduis pedes imi resistunt, currunt priores. pone tergum deae saxum insurgit in speluncae modum muscis et herbis et foliis et virgulis et alicubi pampinis et arbusculis alibi de lapide florentibus. splendet intus umbra signi de nitore lapidis. sub extrema saxi margine poma et uvae faberrime politae dependent, quas ars aemula naturae veritati similes explicuit. putes ad cibum inde quaedam, cum mustulentus autumnus maturum colorem adflaverit, posse decerpi et, si fontem, qui deae vestigio discurrens in lenem vibratur undam, pronus aspexeris, credes illos ut rure pendentes racemos inter cetera veritatis nec agitationis officio carere. inter medias frondes lapidis Actaeon simulacrum curioso optutu in deam proiectus, iam in cervum ferinus et in saxo simul et in fonte loturam Dianam opperiens visitur.*
>
> Next I saw a piece of Parian marble made into the likeness of Diana, occupying in balance the center of the whole area. It was an absolutely brilliant statue, robe blowing in the wind, vividly running forward, coming to meet you as you entered, awesome with the sublimity of godhead. There were dogs protecting both flanks of the goddess, and the dogs were marble too. Their eyes threatened, their ears stiffened, their nostrils flared, and their mouths opened savagely, so that if the sound of barking burst in from next door you would think it had come from the marble's jaws. Furthermore that superb sculptor displayed the greatest proof of his craftsmanship by making the dogs rear up with their breasts raised high, so that their front feet seemed to run, while their hind feet thrust at the ground. Behind the goddess's back the rock rose in the form of a cave, with moss, grass, leaves, bushes, and here vines and there little trees all blossoming out of the stone. In the interior the statue's shadow glistened with the marble's sheen. Up under the very edge of the rock hung apples and the most skillfully polished grapes, which art, rivalling nature, displayed to resemble reality. You would think that some of them could be plucked for eating, when wine-gathering Autumn breathes ripe colour upon them; and if you bent down and looked in the pool that runs along by the goddess's feet shimmering in a gentle wave, you would think that the bunches of grapes hanging there, as if in the country, possessed the quality of move-

68 Krabbe (1989, 86–87, and especially 106) views Byrrhena as prefiguring Isis.
69 A discussion of the scene from the perspective of *curiositas* appears in Wlosok (1999) 146–148.

> ment, among all other aspects of reality. In the middle of the marble foliage the image of Actaeon could be seen, both in stone and in the spring's reflection, leaning towards the goddess with an inquisitive stare, in the very act of changing into a stag and waiting for Diana to step into the bath.

As narrator and viewer, Lucius concentrates on those details that reveal the beauty of the statue, but once again fails to detect the underlying message. This is evident from the emphasis placed on the lifelike rendition of the goddess, the surrounding animals and the scenery. Indeed, all the marble figures are described as being in motion: the goddess seems to be walking, as if to greet the guests of Byrrhena's house; the dogs are portrayed with all their wild features, as if barking; the grapes leaning over the goddess are characterized as real and ready to eat when the fall wind blows; the waves of the lake are almost touching the feet of the goddess.[70] When compared to this lengthy description, Actaeon's curiosity only receives brief treatment. The validity of such a reading is confirmed by the conclusion of the passage, where Lucius wishes to emphasize the pleasure he derives from viewing the sculpture (2.5): *eximie delector* ("enjoying myself enormously").

It is at this point that Byrrhena intervenes so as to explain the deeper meaning of the artwork, which has apparently escaped Lucius (2.5): *'tua sunt', ait Byrrena, 'cuncta, quae vides'* ("'Everything you see,' she said, 'belongs to you'"). The sculpture serves as a visual and immobile omen, foretelling Lucius' fate.[71] Niall W. Slater has made here the very inter-

70 For the element in the ecphrasis, see Freudenburg (2007) 242; for a discussion of motion in the ecphrasis, see Paschalis (2002) 132–142. See also Jacobson (2004) 38, on the notion of running in the representation of Diana's marble dogs.

71 This comment may also be obliquely addressed to readers, who are called upon to dig deeper than form and decode the novel's underlying message. In Euripides' *Bacchae*, Pentheus views himself superior to the stranger Dionysus (and his religion). In this he resembles his cousin Actaeon who views himself as a superior hunter to Artemis. Pentheus then, who dies like an animal for observing the secret Bacchic rites, seems to foreshadow the development of the myth in Hellenistic and Roman times where Actaeon watches Artemis taking her bath in secret, and turns into a stag as punishment for his curiosity and then is torn apart by his own dogs (*Bach.* 1290–1291):

> ποῦ δ' ὤλετ'; ἦ κατ' οἶκον, ἢ ποίοις τόποις; | οὗπερ πρὶν Ἀκτέωνα διέλαχον κύνες.
>
> But where did he die? At home, or in what place? | Where in the past hounds divided up Aktaion.

All references to the *Bacchae* in this work are to Diggle (1994); all translations of the play are by Seaford (1996).

Figure 1: Fresco depicting Diana and Actaeon (Soprintendenza archeologica, Pompeii).

esting observation that the sculpture represents more than one moment in time:[72]

> Actaeon is already undergoing the punishment for his curiosity by being metamorphosed into a stag, but the naked object of that desire is not present before his eyes. A clothed Diana strides along, somehow both before and after the moment of discovery: the lack of any emotional description of her figure may make us believe that she has not yet gone to bathe, while the dogs at her side may suggest that they are ready in pursuit of Actaeon.

72 Slater (1998) 29. For parallels and contrasts between the ecphrasis in Apuleius and Ovid's version of the story at *Met.* 3.138–142, see van der Paardt (2004) 27–30.

Byrrhena then warns Lucius that Milo's wife Pamphile is a powerful witch with a taste for young lovers, and advises her nephew to be extremely cautious. The name Pamphile, meaning the all-lover, perfectly accords with the witch's character, given her strong sexual appetite.[73] Byrrhena could not have intervened to inform her nephew about the dangers of magic earlier when she first saw him in the the public space of the street and found out that he was staying at Milo's house (1.3). It is only later when Lucius visits her house and she is able to talk to him in private that she notices his inordinate interest in the statue of Diana and Actaeon.

The description of the sculpture is closely related to the outer narrative in which it occurs, serving as an artistic double:[74] Pamphile takes the position of Diana,[75] Lucius stands for Actaeon, who is transformed into a stag as punishment for his curiosity, and the superb sculptor becomes the equivalent to the novel's author.

Like the schoolmate Pythias, who earlier uncovered the magnitude of the deception played on Lucius, Byrrhena tries to protect her nephew from the dangers of Pamphile's magic. In this sense, the presence of both Pythias and Byrrhena serves to create suspense in the narrative, as they try to prevent Lucius from the misfortune about to befall him. And, just as in the *Onos*, Lucius disregards the advice he receives and wants only to return to the house of his host, since he has at last discovered where to find the magic he was looking for while strolling in town.

Encounter with magic

In both narratives, Lucius then returns home and constructs a plan to avoid his host's wife but gain access to magic nevertheless, via her servant girl. Appropriately, he meets the girl in the kitchen alone; after a courting scene, the couple agree to meet in Lucius' room for a night

73 Krabbe (1989) 84; Müller-Reineke (2006, 651–652) advances the interesting explanation "that Apuleius has not only chosen the name Pamphile as a speaking name, but also that by naming his character he had the opportunity to make a literary pun on his acquaintance with an author who wrote a century earlier like himself about all things worth knowing, and whose enormous and, as a woman writer, surely suspicious success, allegedly attached to a work about sex, made the perfect model of his character."

74 Freudenburg (2007) 242, and further bibliography there.

75 Wlosok (1999) 147.

of passion. At this point, the Latin novel adds the dinner table conversation between Pamphile, Milo and Lucius (2.11–15), which culminates in yet another inserted tale. The scene opens with Pamphile working her magic arts for the first time, reading the lamp light in order to make weather predictions, thus conforming to Byrrhena's earlier characterization of her as a witch (2.5). In the ensuing conversation, Milo makes an ironic comment on his wife's clairvoyant powers (2.11), while Lucius speaks in her defence, thus revealing himself to be a firm believer in magic. He then narrates a tale about a certain astrologer named Diophanes who has predicted he will profit greatly from his journey to Hypata. The host tries to refute such claims with a story in which Diophanes is ridiculed; he is no believer in magic or fortune telling, and even makes fun of his wife for having recourse to the occult. The entire conversation serves once again to bring out Lucius' heedlessness and foolish belief in false seers. In intratextual terms, this conversation also clearly reproduces the context of the earlier exchange between Lucius, Aristomenes and the sceptical traveller on the way to Hypata (1.2–5).[76] At the dinner table, Milo takes the position of the sceptical fellow-traveller; Pamphile appears in the place of the witches Meroe and Panthia, who perform their magic rites in the inn; and Lucius takes the place of Aristomenes, who narrates the tale of Socrates' death. This narrative doubling multiplies the warnings Lucius receives of the risks associated with magic, prefiguring subsequent plot developments, as Lucius fails to learn from his experiences.

In both works, Lucius then enjoys a passionate night of adventures with his host's servant girl, who becomes his mistress. The next digression in the *Metamorphoses* involves Lucius' attendance at a dinner party held by his aunt Byrrhena. The entire community of Hypata has gathered, and Lucius is treated to another tale (2.18–31), similar to that recounted by Aristomenes in the previous book (1.5–19). Like Socrates, the young Thelyphron comes to Thessaly to watch the Olympic Games, but ends up being transformed into a spectacle himself.[77] This comes about because Thelyphron overestimates his abilities and agrees to guard a corpse overnight in exchange for money; during the night he is attacked by witches and loses his nose and ears. Thereafter, he is ridiculed first by the participants in the funeral procession and then, as nar-

76 Winkler (1985) 43–44.

77 It is interesting to note that just as Byrrhena has spoken to Lucius of the dangers of magic, an old man warns the young Thelyphron about the risks of magic.

rator of his tale, by the guests at Byrrhena's lavish dinner. The function of this embedded tale is to prefigure the ordeal that is in store for Lucius following the unwitting encounter with the wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic, his piercing them with his sword (2.32), and the Laughter festival the following morning (3.1–12). At the festival, the Hypatans stage a mock trial and accuse the stranger Lucius of triple murder, as part of their annual celebrations in honour of the god of Laughter. Lucius takes this trial for real and ends up being ridiculed, as the three citizens are later revealed to have been no more than animated wineskins. Throughout the festival, the Hypatans treat Lucius as an animal and laugh at his plight, just as the guests at Byrrhena's dinner party derive pleasure from Thelyphron's misfortune. This treatment of Thelyphron and Lucius by the Hypatans make the town appear as a savage community with disregard for strangers.

The entire day's events at the Laughter festival (3.1–12), which is completely absent from the *Onos*, anticipate Lucius' later humiliation as an ass, and are directly attributable to Photis' involvement in magic. The encounter with the wineskins constitutes the first, indirect contact with magic, and involves a preliminary metamorphosis: goatskin hair is transformed into animated wineskins, but Lucius' own body remains unaffected. In turn, Photis' feelings of guilt over the wineskin episode account for her subsequent willingness to let Lucius see Pamphile performing spells (3.15–23). Moreover, the first blunder anticipates the second one, when Photis, being an apprentice witch, turns her lover into an ass instead of a bird (3.24). Magic, a powerful force, is left in the hands of fallible mortals with catastrophic consequences. Finally, through Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass, the author's play with the expectations of readers, who have long ago anticipated his misfortune, comes to an end. The repeated warnings about the dangers of magic—given in the form of inserted tales or advice from aunt Byrrhena—make the theme of Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass also appear more natural than in the *Onos*, where developments are not foreshadowed in any way.

Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass is in agreement with the distinct character of each work: in the *Onos* the sexuality of the ass fits well with the exclusively Milesian character of the narrative, whereas in the *Metamorphoses* the author goes beyond this to multiply the misfortunes suffered by the poor beast, and thus bring out the didactic aspect of his narrative.

Wanderings

In the corresponding sections of the *Onos* (16) and the Latin novel (3.28), shortly after the metamorphosis, a group of robbers burst into the host's house, load Lucius the ass with part of their loot and lead him off to their mountain cave along with other pack animals. Having arrived at their den, the robbers sit down to dinner. This is the next point at which the two narratives diverge, since Apuleius inserts original material into the meal-time conversation, again in the form of tales: one of the robbers, who has successfully robbed Milo's house, chides another group for failing to bring off raids against Boeotian towns, and for losing several of their valiant leaders in the process (4.8). The leader of that group counters the accusation by narrating three lengthy tales that deal with the loss of Lamachus, Alcimus and Thrasyleon, all three of them brave leaders of the robbers (4.8–21). The accounts provide the narrative causation for the arrival of a young recruit named Tlepolemus. Disguised as the notorious robber Haemus, he comes to liberate his bride Charite, who was kidnapped by the robbers on her wedding night and is being held in their cave (7.4–13). In his guise as Haemus, Tlepolemus employs the stratagem used earlier by one of the robbers' own companions, Thrasyleon, who dressed up as a bear so as to enter the house of a certain rich Democharis. Despite this, the robbers fail to see through Tlepolemus' disguise; they accord him a warm welcome and even go so far as to appoint him leader, for they have lost so many brave companions. The supposed new recruit then puts his stratagem into effect. He uses Ulysses' ploy with wine to put the robbers to sleep and then liberates his bride, leading her home on the back of the ass. The groom later returns to the cave with a group of soldiers and destroys the entire robber gang, thus punishing them for their lawless actions.

It should be noted that no reference to the couple's names is made in the *Onos*, where there is only a brief reference to the groom. He gives information to the soldiers about the hiding place of the thieves and then accompanies them to free the girl along with the ass (26): ἔτυχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν κόρην μεμνηστευμένος σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐλθών· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ καὶ τὸ καταγώγιον τῶν λῃστῶν μηνύσας ("The girl's fiancé had come with the soldiers, for he was actually the one who had shown them where the robbers lived"). This remarkable turn of events, with the unexpected liberation of Lucius the ass along with the captive girl from captivity in the cave, may increase reader expectations that fortune

may not always be the same, and that Lucius too may find release from his troubles.

Both the *Onos* (29–34) and the Latin novel (7.17–23) then describe the harsh ordeal suffered by the ass while in the possession of a cruel boy. As in other cases, Apuleius expands on the misfortunes of the ass and thus brings to the fore the didactic aspect of his narrative; in his version, the boy is eventually killed by a bear (7.24–28), not found in the *Onos*. Though the savage manner of his death may be interpreted as a form of punishment by fate for mistreating the ass, the boy's mother holds Lucius the ass responsible for bringing about her son's end, and treats him accordingly, thus exacerbating his troubles.

The pattern of interrelationships between the Greek and Latin versions of the story extends to the death of Lucius' owners, which Apuleius expands into a tragic narrative. In the *Onos*, a slave informs his companions that the couple, who go unnamed, have been swept out to sea and lost (34):

> Ἐπεὶ δὲ νὺξ βαθεῖα, ἄγγελός τις ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἦκεν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν, ταύτην λέγων τὴν νεόνυμφον κόρην τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς λησταῖς γενομένην καὶ τὸν ταύτης νυμφίον, περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ περιπατοῦντας, ἐπιπολάσασαν ἄφνω τὴν θάλασσαν ἁρπάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀφανεῖς ποιῆσαι, καὶ τέλος αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ θανάτου γενέσθαι.
>
> When it was now dead of night, a messenger came from the village to our farmhouse with news about the young bride who had been the prisoner of the robbers, and her bridegroom. He said that, while they had been walking on the shore late in the evening, the sea had suddenly risen and snatched them out of sight, and that their lives had thus ended in tragic death.

Although the loss of the couple is likewise reported by a slave in the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius presents the circumstances of their death in an elaborate manner reminiscent of Greek tragedy:[78] the messenger gives the names of the couple (Tlepolemus and Charite) and a jealous suitor (Thrasyllus). In this version of events (8.1–14), Thrasyllus invites Tlepolemus on a hunting expedition and then stages his death, so as to claim the hand of Charite.[79] His plan is thwarted when the ghost of Tle-

78 Tatum (1969) 516–517.

79 In Thrasyllus' name, Repath (2000, 627–630) detects an association with Thrasyllus, the Platonist/Pythagorean philosopher who was astrologer to Tiberius, and Adrastus, a Peripatetic philosopher, as Thrasyllus performs the same role as that of Adrastus, who killed the son of Croesus in the story of Herodotus (1.34–45).

polemus appears to Charite in her sleep and reveals all, urging her not to marry her husband's murderer (8.8):[80]

> *'Mi coniux, quod tibi prorsus ab alio dici non licebit: etsi pectori tuo iam permarcet nostri memoria vel acerbae mortis meae casus foedus caritatis intercidit,—quovis alio felicius maritare, modo ne in Thrasylli manum sacrilegam convenias neve sermonem conferas nec mensam accumbas nec toro adquiescas. fuge mei percussoris cruentam dexteram. noli parricidio nuptias auspicari. vulnera illa, quorum sanguinem tuae lacrimae proluerunt, non sunt tota dentium vulnera: lancea mali Thrasylli me tibi fecit alienum' et addidit cetera omnemque scaenam sceleris inluminavit.*
>
> 'My wife,' he began 'for no one else can even call you by that name: even though the memory of me still abides in your heart, nevertheless the misfortune of my bitter death has cut through the bonds of love; marry someone else and be happy, only do not accept the impious hand of Thrasyllus. Do not speak with him, nor share his table, nor sleep in his bed. Flee the blood-stained hand of my killer. Do not enter into a marriage polluted by murder. Those wounds whose blood your tears washed away are not all the marks of tusks. It was the spear of evil Thrasyllus that separated me from you.' And he added all the other details, illuminating the whole stage on which the crime had been enacted.

When Charite becomes aware of Thrasyllus' scheme, she decides to exact cruel revenge on him by putting out his eyes. Having done so, she commits suicide on her husband's tomb so as to be reunited with him in death (8.14). Thrasyllus then enters the vault and dies of *inedia* ("starvation"). The tragic deaths are enriched with images that allude to the wedding ritual, though both marriages end in disaster.[81] The tale is adroitly integrated into the larger narrative, since Thrasyllus' uncontrollable, ill-fated desire for Charite mirrors Lucius' insatiable curiosity for magic. Not unlike Thrasyllus, Lucius constructs a scheme, which involves winning over the confidence of Photis so as to achieve his aim (2.6). Furthermore, Charite's self-sacrifice may foreshadow the manner in which Lucius agrees to forego the pleasures of his earthly life in order to be united with the goddess Isis, in the novel's final Book.[82] Beyond the tale itself, in both the *Onos* and the Latin novel, the death of the couple serves to save Lucius the ass from the imminent threat of castration (33): εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχεις ταύτης τῆς ἰατρείας, ἀφίξομαι δεῦρο μεταξὺ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν καί σοι τοῦτον σωφρονέστερον προβατίου παρέξω τῇ τομῇ ("If you have no personal experience of

80 For a comparison of this apparition with other spousal phantoms and Apuleius' literary predecessors, see the excellent discussion in Lateiner (2003) 222–227.

81 On the wedding imagery in the episode, see Frangoulidis (1999b) 601–619.

82 Hägg (1992) 228.

this type of surgery, I'll come here in three or four days' time and use my knife to make him gentler than a lamb for you").

In the centre of the novel, while Charite is still being held captive, Apuleius inserts the longest and best-known tale of all. This relates how Cupid falls in love with Psyche; how Psyche is punished for daring to uncover the hidden identity of her divine companion; and how the couple is eventually reunited and married on Mt. Olympus (4.28–6.24). Yet again, the tale fits perfectly into the context in which it is embedded. Just as Lucius displays inordinate curiosity for magic, Psyche is over-eager to find out the identity of her husband, despite having been warned that this will signal the end of her union with him. Both Lucius and Psyche appear incapable of resisting a strong desire for forbidden knowledge and thus put their lives at risk. Just as Psyche suffers relatively mild punishment when compared to that of her jealous sisters, who meet a cruel death for having advised Psyche to discover her husband's hidden identity, so Lucius, as victim of magic, escapes the fate of other similar characters in the novel's tales. The prerequisite for the salvation of both Psyche and Cupid is submission to the divine: Psyche must submit to Venus if she wishes to regain her separated husband. This anticipates the manner in which Lucius will regain his human form and save his soul through initiation into Isis' mysteries.[83] Through the tale, which is meant as a representation of Lucius' story in a form of a myth, the author aims to give the readers a clue as to how his reformation will come about, and how he will find release from his troubles and eventually save his soul. The powerful presence of the divine further foreshadows and accounts for the presence of the Isis Book; Isis will take Cupid's place and Lucius will be in a position similar to that of Psyche. As listener, Lucius once again fails to perceive the deeper message of the tale and, like his earlier reaction, as viewer of the sculpture of Diana and Actaeon (2.5): *Dum haec identidem rimabundus eximie delector* ("I was staring again and again at the statuary enjoying myself enormously"), he merely characterizes the tale as charming (6.25): *tam bellam fabellam* ("such a pretty tale").[84]

In both Greek and Latin versions of the story, the slaves of the married couple then seek to gain their freedom by running away with the ass. In the *Onos* the slaves embark on a three day journey to Veroia in Macedonia (34). Having decided to settle there, they sell the ass to

83 Hägg (1992) 228, and further bibliography there.

84 Wlosok (1999, 149) observes that Lucius is very far from learning from the tale.

Philebus, a corrupt priest of the Syrian goddess (35). By fleeing from Thessaly to another province—in this case Macedonia—the runaway slaves may seek to avoid prosecution.[85] As is to be expected, Apuleius gives a much richer account of Lucius' adventures with the slaves (8.15–23).[86] The townspeople inform them of the presence of wolves and the dangers of being attacked during the night. In fear of possible pursuit, the men decide to press on nonetheless (8.16); they are not attacked by wolves, but on reaching the following village are stoned by the locals, who set wild dogs on them in the mistaken belief that they are thieves (8.17–18). Reduced in number, the slaves eventually seek refuge in a forest, but a shepherd warns them that the place is accursed (8.19). They do not heed the warning until one of their companions is taken by a serpent disguised as an old man (8.20–21). At nightfall they reach a village, where they hear a story about a master who took revenge on his married slave for falling in love with another woman, thereby bringing about the tragic death of his wife and his son (8.22).[87] Far from being extraneous material, the adventures and tale should be regarded as indicative of the sufferings that have befallen Lucius the ass as a result of his decision to pursue the socially inferior servant girl Photis, which in turn was motivated by his desire to dabble in magic. Furthermore, the inserted material highlights his comparably better fortune than several other characters following his involvement with the witch slave girl Photis in both the narrative of the adventures and the embedded tales. At the same time, though, Lucius should not be seen as provoking these misfortunes, since it was the runaway slaves that led him on the dangerous itinerary (8.16).

In both the Greek (35) and Latin (8.25) versions, Lucius then enters into the possession of the corrupt priests of a Syrian goddess, is accused of madness, and manages to escape death only after devising a clever ruse, which receives fuller treatment in the Latin novel (9.1–4). He is finally sold to a new master when the priests are arrested by soldiers and cast in jail for stealing a cup from a temple, a charge stated explicitly

85 Browne (1978) 443.

86 For the artful organization of the narrative of the travelling slaves (8.15–22) divided into three parts and concentrating in particular on their opening distinct parts, see Murgatroyd (1997) 126–133. For parallels between the travelling household of Book 8 and parts of Book 1, as both books deal with travel and destinations, see Dowden (1993) 97–98.

87 Tatum (1969, 518) rightly points out that the horror of the tale is accentuated by its brevity.

only in the *Onos*.[88] While Lucius is owned by the priests, the Apuleian version inserts an adultery story (9.5–7) which is yet again assessed as charming (9.4): *lepidam de adulterio cuiusdam pauperis fabulam* ("an amusing story about the cuckolding of a certain poor workman"). In the climax of the tale, a wife earns money from the sale of a tub, while her deceived husband is even forced to carry the barrel to the adulterer's house. Here again, the tale is skillfully integrated into the immediate context in which it appears. Like the wife, the priests of the Syrian goddess are immoral; like the naïve husband, who offers his service to the adulterer, Lucius the ass offers his service to the immoral priests. It comes as no surprise that Lucius entirely fails to see any connection between the tale and his own plight, and restricts himself to an assessment of the story's aesthetic merits. The entire narrative of Lucius the ass in the service of the corrupt priests of the Syrian goddess also intends to foreshadow the vast contrast with Lucius' subsequent service to Isis as her priest in Book 11, which is also entirely absent from the Greek tale of the Ass.

Moving on in the narrative, Lucius the ass is then bought by a miller (*Onos* 42; *Met*. 9.10). In both versions he is given a rest on his first day, but the following morning is set to work in the mill. Here Apuleius inserts a story about adultery (9.14–31);[89] the ass distinguishes this tale from all others, perhaps because of his own input in revealing the presence of the adulterer in the house and thus offering service to his dear master (9.14): *fabulam denique bonam prae ceteris, suavem, comptam* ("better than all the others and delightfully elegant"). In actual fact, the tale only serves to bring out the foolishness of Lucius' actions, for he is ultimately responsible for his master's cruel death when the wife resorts to magic, from which there is no salvation. Thus, the tale once again reveals the ass-Lucius' failure to learn from his experiences in the novel, in stark

88 For variations in the treatment of the stolen cup motif in both the *Onos* and the Latin novel, see the detailed discussion by Zimmerman (2007) 288–290.

89 Zimmerman (2006, 92–93) has associated the theme of adultery and infidelity in the tales with Roman satire, in which the theme of infidelity involving married women features prominently, as seen in the examples of adulterous women in Juvenal's sixth satire. See also Tatum (1969, 520–521), for the parallelism in plot in these tales. For a discussion of the adultery tales from the perspective of their structure and interrelation, as well as the role of the miller's speech, see Bechtle (1995) 106–116. For the rich intertextual interactions of the adultery-tales with a range of literary and sub-literary traditions in both Greek and Latin, see Harrison (2006) 19–31.

contrast to his claim at (9.13) that he has gained much knowledge.[90] The miller's death through magic is unique to the Latin novel, as it is the only tale involving witchcraft during the long sequence of adventures following Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass; this meant to underline Lucius' comparatively better fate following his involvement with the witch slave girl Photis, as he has not lost his life and may yet be redeemed.

We now move on to Lucius' next master, the gardener. In the *Onos*, the miller sells the ass because he is getting very weak (43): λεπτὸς οὖν πάνυ γίνομαι καὶ ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, ὥστε ἔγνω με ὁ δεσπότης πωλῆσαι, καὶ ἀποδίδοταί με ἀνθρώπῳ κηπουρῷ τὴν τέχνην ("Thus I became very thin and weak so that my master decided to sell me. I was bought from him by a nurseryman, who had a market garden to cultivate"). On the other hand, in the *Metamorphoses* it is the miller's death that necessitates the sale (9.31): *me denique ipsum pauperculus quidam hortulanus comparat quinquaginta nummis* ("As for me, a humble market-gardener bought me for fifty sesterces"). Moreover, prior to the fight between the gardener and a Roman soldier, which is common to both narratives, Apuleius inserts the long and tragic story of the suicide of a farmer and the death of his three sons (9.33–39). A series of bad omens foreshadows the disaster that is about to befall the farmer's house, when he reciprocates the hospitality he has received from the market gardener some time before (9.33–34). The reason for this great tragedy is a small piece of land belonging to a poor old man, which a greedy and tyrannical neighbour claims as his own. The digression, featuring the loss of the entire family and the death of the rich landowner, is skillfully inserted into the wider narrative and foreshadows the development of events: just as the poor old man engages in a dispute with the rich and tyrannical neighbour over his small piece of land (9.35–38), the poor gardener is involved in a fight with a soldier who wants to gain possession of the ass (9.39–40). On the other hand, the poor farmer eventually regains the possession of his land

90 In 9.13 Lucius the ass compares his knowledge from wanderings to the wisdom of Odysseus from his own adventures: *nam et ipse gratas gratias asino meo memini, quod me suo celatum tegmine variisque fortunis exercitatum, etsi minus prudentem, multiscium reddidit* ("In fact, I now remember the ass that I was with thankful gratitude because, while I was concealed under his cover and schooled in a variety of fortunes, he made me better-informed, if less intelligent"). As Montiglio (2007, 102) puts it: "Lucius' *multiscientia* is a caricature of Odysseus' knowledge: it is the harvest of vulgar curiosity".

when the greedy neighbour is killed, whereas the poor gardener is arrested, in all probability to be put to death on a trumped-up charge of stealing the ass from the soldier and taking his sword; and unlike the fierce fight over the land and the ensuing series of tragic deaths (9.36–38), the dispute between the poor gardener and the soldier ends in a comic way, as the curious ass pokes his head out and reveals where his master is hiding (9.42).

In the *Onos*, once the Roman soldier has taken the ass, he wastes no time in selling it to the cook of a rich man from Thessalonica (46):

> Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τί μὲν ἔπαθεν ὁ κηπουρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης πωλήσειν με ἔγνω, καὶ πιπράσκει με πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν Ἀττικῶν· ὁ δὲ ὠνησάμενος θεράπων ἦν ἀνδρὸς σφόδρα πλουσίου πόλεως τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῆς μεγίστης Θεσσαλονίκης.
>
> What happened to my master I can't say, but the next day the soldier decided he would sell me, and I fetched twenty-five Attic drachmas. My purchaser was the servant of a very wealthy man from Thessalonica, the largest city in Macedonia.

On the other hand, in the Latin novel the soldier takes the ass and travels to a village, where a crime that has taken place in the house of a town councillor is then related. As narrator, Lucius defines this story as a tragedy (10.2): *iam ergo, lector optime, scito te tragoediam, non fabulam legere et a socco ad coturnum ascendere* ("So now, excellent reader, know that you are reading a tragedy, and no light tale, and that you are rising from the lowly slipper to the lofty buskin"). Nevertheless, his interpretation is overturned by the happy ending to the story, in which the true perpetrators of the crime of the stepmother and her slave are punished; nobody dies, as the poor father, who almost lost both his sons, gains them both back by divine providence (10.12): *et illius quidem senis famosa atque fabulosa fortuna providentiae divinae condignum accepit exitum* ("As for the father himself, his famed and storied fortune received an ending worthy of divine providence"). In fact, the positive outcome may enhance the expectations of readers: fortune may not always be cruel to Lucius, and he may find an end to his misfortunes through similar divine intervention, as indeed happens with Isis' intervention in the novel's final Book.

The narrative course of the Greek (46) and Latin versions (10.13) re-converges at the point when the soldier sells Lucius to two servant brothers who work for a rich master. Here we learn of how the ass performs assorted human activities that mark various stages in the process of humanization: he eats human food, learns table manners and sign language and has sex with a wealthy matrona in his master's house. All

these activities function as a dress rehearsal for Lucius' imminent reformation. In the corresponding sections of both accounts, the new owner of the ass plans to make him the centrepiece of a crowd-pleasing spectacle in which he will copulate with a murderess in public. Here, the first obvious difference between the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* concerns the name and provenance of the animal's new master: in the former case he is owned by a certain Menecles from Thessalonica (49), and in the latter by Thiasos from Corinth (10.18).[91] This has been seen as an indication of Apuleius' desire to restrict the protagonist's journey to central rather than Northern Greece, possibly as a reflection of the author's own travels.[92] It has also been argued that Corinth was selected for its familiarity to any Roman reader, unlike Thessalonica which had no literary associations.[93] Apuleius expands the narrative considerably at this juncture by offering a detailed account of the murderess' evil deeds (10.23–28) prior to the planned copulation scene. It emerges that the woman is responsible for poisoning her sister-in-law, a doctor, her husband, her own daughter and the doctor's wife. This series of deaths by poisoning recalls the wicked stepmother in the village tale mentioned above (10.2–12), but offers no happy end: the doctor is in this case a genuinely evil man who has supplied real poison, rather than the sleeping potion procured by the benevolent doctor-judge in the village. Absent from the *Onos*, this recounting of the woman's heinous crimes is designed to offer a narrative causation for Lucius' desire for *salus*.[94]

91 Harrison (2002, 43, with additional bibliography) and Graverini (2002, 59) have explained the ass-Lucius' return home as a reflection of the theme of the Odyssean *nostos* or homecoming. The connection with the Odyssean theme is understandable, given the association Lucius the ass makes when he likens the knowledge he acquired from his adventures to the wisdom of Odysseus (9.13). In all likelihood, the novel's readers, who have experienced Lucius' seemingly endless adventures at second hand, can also make a similar claim for themselves. On this point see Freudenburg (2007) 260.

92 Harrison (2002) 43.

93 Mason (1971) 161.

94 Tatum (1969) 522. See also Mathis (2008, 213), who argues: "It is only when Lucius is scheduled to copulate with a condemned woman poisoner as a central attraction of a public show that he realizes the extent to which his passions have enslaved him and seeks quite literally to regain his humanity through the goddess Isis".

Reformation

The various correspondences between the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* come to an end with the planned public spectacle: in the former, when Lucius is exposed to public view in the amphitheatre, he spots rose petals, jumps off the couch, eats them without hesitation and is restored to human form in the presence of all (54):

> Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνθεσιν ὁρῶ καὶ ῥόδων χλωρῶν φύλλα, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι ὀκνῶν ἀναπηδήσας τοῦ λέχους ἐκπίπτω· καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤοντό με ἀνίστασθαι ὀρχησόμενον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἓν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐπιτρέχων καὶ ἀπανθιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ ῥόδα κατέπινον. τῶν δὲ ἔτι θαυμαζόντων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἀποπίπτει ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἐκείνη ἡ τοῦ κτήνους ὄψις καὶ ἀπόλλυται, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πάλαι ὄνος, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος αὐτὸς ἔνδον μοι γυμνὸς εἱστήκει.
>
> Meanwhile a man passed carrying flowers, amongst which I noticed fresh rose-petals. No longer afraid I leapt to my feet and jumped off the couch. They all thought I was standing up to dance, but I went through the flowers one by one, picked out the roses and gulped them down. While they were still watching me in astonishment, that bestial appearance left me and vanished, the ass of old disappeared, and Lucius himself was standing naked on the spot I occupied.

The reformed Lucius runs the risk of being accused of sorcery, but the governor to whom he appeals gives credence to his explanation, as he happens to know his father. On the other hand, Apuleius enriches the novelty of the spectacle by presenting a detailed description of a choral dance by pretty boys and girls (10.29) and the elaborate pantomime of the Judgment of Paris (10.30–34), which precede the planned copulation of the ass with the murderess. The description of the spectacle may be read as re-enacting aspects of the marriage ceremony.[95] The pyrrhic dance of boys and girls symbolizes the transition of boys and girls from puberty to adulthood.[96] The pantomime of Paris may be interpreted as a betrothal scene, as Venus promises to give Paris a wife like herself in beauty, i.e. Helen; the planned 'wedding' of the ass to the mass murderess may represent consummation of the marriage in the nuptial rites.[97] Lucius is too ashamed to copulate with the con-

95 See discussion in Frangoulidis (2001) 148–149.

96 Zimmerman (2000, 363) observes the connection between the *pyrrica* and initiatory/marriage ceremonies. See also Zimmerman (2000, 386), for the allusion to the wedding feast.

97 For a reading of the scene as a mirror image of Lucius' own life, see Zimmerman (1993) 151–152.

demned and polluted murderess in public (10.29): *Talis mulieris publicitus matrimonium confarreaturus* ("That was the woman with whom I was supposed to celebrate the solemnities of marriage in public").[98] The setting of the amphitheatre recalls the theatre at Hypata, where the citizens ridiculed Lucius as part of their celebrations in honour of the god of Laughter.[99] The connections between the two episodes become all the stronger if we consider that in both cases Lucius fears for his life. At Hypata he believes he will face the death penalty if found guilty (3.1):

> *complicitis denique pedibus ac palmulis in alternas digitorum vicissitudines super genua conexis sic grabattum cossim insidens ubertim flebam, iam forum et iudicia, iam sententiam, ipsum denique carnificem imaginabundus.*
>
> I enfolded my feet and joined my hands together with fingers interlocked over my knees, and as I sat squatting on my cot I wept profusely, already picturing to myself the forum and the trial, the sentence, even the executioner himself.

Likewise, in Corinth he is afraid of being torn apart by wild beasts (10.34): at *ego praeter pudorem obeundi publice concubitus, praeter contagium scelestae pollutaeque feminae, metu etiam mortis maxime cruciabar* ("But as for me, besides my shame at indulging in sexual intercourse in public, besides the contagion of this damnable polluted woman, I was greatly tormented by the fear of death"). The scene may bring to mind Actaeon who was attacked and killed by his own hounds (2.4), or Psyche's sisters who became prey to savage beasts and birds (5.26–27). On the other hand, at Hypata, Lucius the man, is treated like an animal, in what amounts to a narrative anticipation of the metamorphosis, whereas in Corinth, Lucius the ass, refuses to behave in a bestial manner and renounces sexuality, thus saving his life and foreshadowing his celibate life as a human priest.[100] Such a reading is reinforced by the fact that the union with Isis in the next Book is represented in symbolic terms as sacred marriage, *hieros gamos*.[101]

---

98 The refusal to copulate may be read as a form of celibacy, which emerges as a prerequisite for Lucius' restoration to human form and devotion to Isis.

99 Zimmerman (2000) 25. For a discussion of the *Risus* festival, the festival at Corinth and the Isis procession from the perspective of rites of passage, see Habinek (1990) 49–69.

100 Zimmerman (2000) 25.

101 The locale of the amphitheatre at Corinth also evokes the theatre in Hypata, where Lucius was ridiculed as part of the celebrations in honor of the god of Laughter (3.1–12). In the Laughter festival Lucius was afraid of losing his life, just as he fears the wild beasts that will be let loose to devour him in the

Return home / Isis

While the *Onos* ends shortly after Lucius is restored to human form in the amphitheatre, Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses* concludes with a description of the ass taking advantage of the mock wedding preparations to run away. His escape creates the need for a further book, in which the protagonist will find final salvation. This is precisely where the religious element of the novel comes to the fore, though not entirely at the expense of the comic.[102]

Having run away in the night, the ass eventually chances upon Cenchreae, one of Isis' sacred sites (10.35). In the final Book, which has a uniquely mystic tone, he wakes up from a deep sleep in an idyllic setting on the shores of Cenchreae, and delivers a prayer to the *Regina caeli*, whom he hopes to move with his prayer for help (11.2). In place of magic, a miracle brings about Lucius' salvation. With the appearance of Isis, who takes the position of Pamphile in the earlier Books, the earlier interplay between seeming and being vanishes completely. Lucius is deeply moved by the benevolent magic of the goddess. Having identified herself as Isis, she gives the ass precise instructions as to how he is to be saved the following day during celebrations marking the spring, the Ploiaphesia festival, which is to mark a metaphorical re-launching of Lucius' life. In the Laughter festival at Hypata, we have seen how Lucius' participation in the celebrations provoked laughter at his expense (3.1–12). Here everything is reversed: the entrance of the ass into the procession does not create any problems, and eventually provokes admiration among the participants, in stark opposition to the curiosity of the people at Hypata, who were eager to laugh at the misfortune that was befalling Lucius. This difference in turn highlights the vast contrast between the kindness of Isis' religious community with their respect for Lucius even as an animal and the savagery of the society of the Hypatans in their complete disregard for his plight as a human. The promise of the goddess is fulfilled when Lucius sees Isis' priest Mithras in the procession. Mithras takes the earlier position of Photis, but, unlike the apprentice witch, he is to introduce Lucius to the power of positive magic in the world. The goddess leaves nothing to chance, and corrects everything that went wrong during the metamor-

arena at Corinth. Nevertheless, in the second instance Lucius the ass refuses to perform in public and thus escapes the ridicule he suffered at Hypata.

102 On differences in the end of each work see van Mal-Maeder (1997) 110–112.

phosis: the animal hide disappears and Lucius is once again transformed into a man. His reformation is an instance of metamorphosis brought about by Isis' benevolent magic (11.13). As evil magic leaves him behind, he is a true man reborn. For all his misfortunes Lucius has been lucky, as he is the only character in the novel to have escaped from magic through divine intercession (with the possible exception of Psyche, though she never has true contact with such magic, but rather with divine retribution, followed by forgiveness). Indeed, his initial involvement in magic has ultimately led to union with the goddess. In contrast to all the victims of the evil witches, Lucius feels only joy. Thereafter, he promises to heed Isis' words, to dedicate himself to her service and become her initiate. In this way, he finally acquires the true knowledge and wisdom he sought to obtain through his wish to be metamorphosed into an owl. Equipped with true knowledge and wisdom Lucius stands on the threshold of a new life dedicated to Isis, in complete contrast to the obstinacy and foolishness that led to his misreading of events earlier on.

This development is entirely unlike that in the Greek epitome, where Lucius undergoes yet another humiliation following his reformation. He decides to visit the woman who fell in love with him as an ass, presumably on account of his having been so well endowed. Foolishly, he expects that she will like him even more now that he has become a man (56). However, on seeing Lucius naked and realizing that he is human in all respects, the woman flatly refuses to have anything more to do with him (56): τοῦ ὄνου τοῦ σοῦ ἐρῶσα τότε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐχὶ σοὶ συνεκάθευδον ("By heavens, I didn't love you but the ass in you and he was the one I slept with, not you"). She then calls her slaves and has Lucius cast out of her house (56).[103] His violent expulsion seems to give a completely new and parodic twist to the typical feature of the reunion of the couple following their adventures in the standardized plot of the ideal romances.[104] Lucius then spends the night naked, covered with garlands and unguents on the ground outside the woman's house (56): καὶ ἐξωσθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου ἔξω γυμνὸς καλὸς καλῶς ἐστεφανωμένος καὶ μεμυρισμένος τὴν γῆν γυμνὴν περιλαβὼν ταύτῃ συνεκάθευδον ("I was thrust out of the door and there I lay naked in my fine garlands and unguents, with only the bare earth to embrace").

103 See van Mal-Maeder (1997) 111–112.

104 On the Ass romance as parodying motifs of the idealistic novels, see Holzberg (1995) 75–76.

In the *Onos* then, the reformed Lucius does not seem to have changed as a person, as is the case in the *Metamorphoses*. On the contrary, he seems to be prone to precisely those vices, such as sexual incontinence, that led to his metamorphosis into an ass in the first place.

The narratives of *Onos* and the Latin novel diverge on one final, yet important point: in the Greek epitome, on the morning following his expulsion from the house of the woman, Lucius embarks on a ship naked and sails back to his hometown, Patras, where he performs a sacrifice to the gods for safely reaching home and escaping from the dangers of his curiosity (56):

> ἅμα δὲ τῷ ὄρθρῳ γυμνὸς ὢν ἔθεον ἐπὶ ναῦν καὶ λέγω πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐν γέλωτι συμφοράν. ἔπειτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δεξιοῦ πνεύσαντος ἀνέμου πλέομεν ἔνθεν, καὶ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔρχομαι εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα. ἐνταῦθα θεοῖς σωτῆρσιν ἔθυον καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκα, μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐκ κυνὸς πρωκτοῦ, τὸ δὴ τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄνου περιεργίας διὰ μακροῦ πάνυ καὶ οὕτω δὲ μόλις οἴκαδε ἀνασωθείς.
>
> At crack of dawn I ran naked to the ship and told my brother of my ridiculous misadventure. Then we sailed away from that city on a favouring wind and within a few days I reached my native city. 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, not from the dog's bottom of the fable, by Zeus, but from the curiosity of an ass.

With Lucius' return home the narrative completes the circle as it ends in the same way it has started.[105] On the other hand, in the Latin novel, following a short visit home, Lucius receives instructions from the goddess to sail away for Rome (11.26), where he undergoes two further initiations, one into the cult of Osiris and another one into that of Isis, and is finally made a *pastophorus* (11.30). There he spends the rest of his life, fulfilling his religious and civic duties and earning money and fame from his career as orator in the forum. In the Latin novel, Lucius changes both his domicile and country as a result of his new life as Isis' priest and his subsequent lucrative career as a court orator, whereas in the *Onos* the protagonist's return home is an indication that he has not changed as a person, as his adventures did not bring about any marked change in his character.

As we have seen, the final Book of the *Metamorphoses* bears no resemblance to the *Onos*, in which there is no mention of Isis. Apuleius handles the end of the ass story in an entirely different way from that

105 See van Mal-Maeder (1997) 112.

in the Greek epitome, offering a completely new twist to the end of the novel's plot. Though the transition leading up to the appearance of Isis may appear somewhat abrupt, close reading reveals that the author has prepared readers for her appearance from the very outset of the narrative.[106] In the novel's preface reference is made to Egypt, which again features prominently in the final Book.[107] Furthermore, in the tale of Thelyphron (2.19–31), Zatchlas the priest, who temporarily reanimates the dead in order to give testimony to his death, anticipates Isis' priests in terms of appearance and the enacted ritual. In fact, even the selection of roses—which bloom in the spring—may be seen as intended to foreshadow the goddess: Lucius becomes man again in her initiatory spring-rite of the Ploiaphesia festival. At *Met.* 7.15 the roses are explicitly tied to spring: *veris initio pratis herbantibus rosas utique reperturus aliquas* ("and at the beginning of spring on the grassy meadows I would surely find some roses").[108] Moreover, certain elements, such as submission to the divine, the salvation of the human soul and the union of the mortal with the divine, have already been prefigured in the tale of Cupid and Psyche,[109] with the major difference that Isis takes Cupid's place and Lucius takes up the role of Psyche. Even the selection of Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass may be intended to anticipate the appearance of Isis, as this animal reminds the goddess of her opponent, Seth-Typhon.[110] Finally, as a goddess with many names (11.5), Isis fits in very well with the novel's central theme of metamorphosis.

While discussing the preface to the *Metamorphoses*, we looked briefly at the relationship between the author and the narrator, and established that Apuleius distances himself from his narrator by reference to place of birth. On the other hand, the prophecy that Asinius gives to Lucius at the very end of the novel appears to map his identity onto that of Apuleius (11.27). This identification may allow an association of the extra-textual author and the character within the work, and lends some

106 On the unity of the work and interconnections between the Isis Book and the whole of the *Metamorphoses*, see Wlosok (1999) 142–156.

107 Krabbe (1989, 105) directs attention to the allusions to Egypt in the preface, and points out that there are a number of other ways in which the Isis epiphany is prefigured as the narrative unfolds through Books 1–10.

108 Witte (1997) 55.

109 Hägg (1992) 228; and Wlosok (1999) 148–149.

110 Hägg (1992) 225.

weight to the assumption that the author has embarked on the narration of the work out of personal concern and experience.[111]

In conclusion, the remarkable set of parallelisms, similarities and contrasts between the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* allow us to consider the presence of a common Ass story, upon which both authors relied, each adding or removing elements, motifs and tales in his own unique style. The *Onos* presents the story in bare outline, without the inserted episodes found in the Latin novel, as befits the comic and sexual tone of a Milesian tale. Moreover, neither the interplay between appearance and reality, nor the play with the audience expectations plays any significant role in that work. By contrast, Apuleius selects those elements that are convenient for his own literary intentions, to compose a paradigmatic narrative of the hardships that originate from magic and the salvation that comes from Isis' grace. All the added material, found in the novel and absent from the *Onos,* serves this goal, which becomes more apparent in the novel's final Book. As we have seen, beyond superficial similarities with the Greek text in terms of plot and themes, the *Metamorphoses* is a much richer, more complex work.

111 In a most persuasive discussion of *Florida* (18.38–43), Niketas (1999, 28–44) demonstrates that the author was a priest of Aesculapius. Moreover, in several places in the novel Lucius claims descent from the great Plutarch, a neo-Platonic philosopher and author of the treatise on Isis and Osiris. Through the implicit association with the character within his work, Apuleius as a Platonizing philosopher may also be viewed as regarding the Isis religion as a perfection of his Platonism. On this point see discussion in Wlosok (1999) 155–156.

Chapter 2
Lucius versus Socrates and Aristomenes

In the previous Chapter we focused on an intertextual reading of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Onos*. The examination showed that such a complex work as the Latin novel, with the apt insertion of tales, is worthy of further discussion. We now proceed to an intratextual reading of the *Metamorphoses*. The ingenuity of the tales and their role in illuminating Lucius' fortune as victim of the witches' magic vis-à-vis that of other characters will be our primary concern in what follows. Our starting point will be the tale of Aristomenes and Socrates.

The novel's narrative begins with Lucius entering Hypata, the place where the tale of Aristomenes took place. There he wins over the young and beautiful slave girl Photis, servant of the powerful witch Pamphile, whom he views as a safe route to magic. In deliberately becoming involved with the occult, Lucius differs considerably from Socrates, who merely happened to meet the powerful old witch Meroe, and who lost his life when his friend Aristomenes came to town and devised a plan to save him. The contrasting fates of the two men can be explained by the fact that Lucius decides to woo the amateur witch Photis, rather than her mistress Pamphile, whose powers are similar to those of Meroe. Lucius stays away from Pamphile because he receives a warning from his aunt Byrrhena, who makes no specific mention of Photis. The outcome of Lucius' involvement with magic through the servant girl proves to be something of a blessing in disguise: rather than losing his life outright, he is metamorphosed into an ass, thus retaining the prospect of eventual salvation. Indeed, of all the characters in the novel who are involved with witches, Lucius is the one who escapes with the lightest punishment. Socrates is killed; Aristomenes is unable to gain release from his troubles after his contact with the witches in the inn; several other unfaithful lovers and opponents of Meroe are punished severely; Thelyphron is permanently disfigured; and the miller suffers a horrible death at the hands of an unnamed witch. On the other hand, Lucius is restored to human form at Cenchreae and eventually becomes Isis' ini-

tiate and priest. Thus Byrrhena's timely intervention saves Lucius from permanent harm.

Although recent scholarship has pointed out several connections between Socrates and Lucius, the general tendency has been to dwell on the most obvious similarities, which pertain to the novel's major theme of curiosity and profane pleasures. For example, P. G. Walsh highlights sexual association as a prelude to magic, as well as the disregard for warning which appears in both the tale and the larger story;[112] Gerald Sandy briefly comments both on Meroe working her magic on Socrates while the latter is enjoying her hospitality, just as Lucius will eventually suffer from magic, and on the fact that both Meroe and Pamphile apply their magic to erotic ends and change the form of their unresponsive lovers;[113] Danielle van Mal-Maeder draws a parallel between Isis' cosmic powers and those of Meroe and other witches in the novel.[114] Wytse Keulen has looked at the satiric Socrates as a programmatic figure who reflects the ambiguities of the novel, and the ambiguous nature of Lucius as the protagonist and primary narrator.[115] In his latest work, the same author discusses several points of contact between Aristomenes and Thelyphron in their common role as story tellers;[116] earlier, C. M. Mayrhofer, in his own discussion of the tales told by Aristomenes and Thelyphron, focused on the narrative inconsistencies created by the juxtaposition of the narrator's point of view and the framing of the narrative (Tale of Aristomenes) or by the juxtaposition of the narrator's point of view with a second point of view (the raising of the corpse in the tale of Thelyphron), which brings out the comic and horrific aspect of the narrative.[117] Regine May has focused on the dramatic elements in the tale, arguing that Socrates, in his desire to see the spectacle in Larissa, ironically takes part in a dramatic spectacle in which he turns out to be the main character.[118] Most lately, Amanda G. Mathis has focused on the conflation and constant shifting of elegiac roles in the narratives of Socrates' relationship with his mistress Meroe and of Lucius' involvement with Photis.[119]

112 Walsh (1970) 177.
113 Sandy (1973) 232.
114 van Mal-Maeder (1997) 97–98.
115 Keulen (2003a) 107–135.
116 Keulen (2007).
117 Mayrhofer (1975) 68–80.
118 May (2006) 128–142.
119 Mathis (2008) 195–214.

Nevertheless, none of these studies focused on the similarities and differences between Lucius on the one hand and Socrates and Aristomenes on the other, particularly with regard to the pivotal theme of contact with magic, which remains largely unexplored. The similarities and contrasts to be found are significant, for they help to account for the fact that Lucius suffers a less dire fate than that of Socrates and Aristomenes, and offer an alternative punishment for involvement in witchcraft. The differing fortunes of the three characters are to be seen as the result of their respective encounters with witches. I attribute the happy outcome in Lucius' case (as he encounters Isis and finds his salvation) most especially to the meeting with his aunt Byrrhena, who tries to warn him about the dangers of the occult; although she does not manage to dissuade him from pursuing magic, she nevertheless succeeds in protecting him from the worst: death (as suffered by Socrates) or the 'social death' of permanent exile (as experienced by Aristomenes).

Comparisons

On his way home from his chance encounter with Byrrhena, Lucius considers it best to avoid Pamphile, the wife of his host, but to continue his quest for magic via her servant Photis (2.6). On arriving at Milo's home, Lucius puts his plan into action. He finds Photis alone in the kitchen cooking dinner.[120] The seduction scene is full of sexual innuendoes:[121] Lucius comments on Photis' movements as she stirs the cooking pot, and compares her body to the food being prepared (2.7):

> *ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula illud cibarium vasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum et in orbis flexibus crebra succutiens et simul membra sua leniter inlubricans, lumbis sensim vibrantibus, spinam mobilem quatiens placide decenter undabat. isto aspectu*

120 In Lucius' encounter with Photis, May (2006, 175) observes that Lucius assumes many of the characteristics typical of the *adulescens amans* in Roman comedy, being a free man who falls in love with a slave girl or a courtesan. It must be kept in mind that more often than not, the *adulescens amans* falls in love with slaves or courtesans who in turn ultimately prove to be free born. The assumption of this role may also allude to the insincerity of Lucius' feelings towards Photis, as the ulterior motive behind his involvement is clear from the outset.

121 For an excellent discussion of the scene, see Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 28–41; May (2006, 174–175) attempts to trace culinary words that are also found in Plautine food catalogues.

defixus obstupui et mirabundus steti, steterunt et membra quae iacebant ante. et tandem ad illam: 'quam pulchre quamque festive', inquam, 'Fotis mea, ollulam istam cum natibus intorques. quam mellitum pulmentum apparas. felix et certo certius beatus, cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere'.

She herself was neatly dressed in a linen tunic and had a dainty, bright red band tied up under her breasts. She was turning the cooking pot round and round with her flower-like hands, and she kept shaking it with a circular motion, at the same time smoothly sliding her own body, gently wiggling her hips, softly shaking her supple spine, beautifully rippling. I was transfixed by the sight, utterly stunned. I stood in amazement, as did a part of me which had been lying limp before. Finally I spoke. 'How gorgeously, my Photis,' I said, 'and how delightfully you twist your little pot with your buttocks! What a delicious stew you are cooking! A man would be lucky—surely even blessed—if you would let him dip his finger in there'.

Gareth Schmeling and Silvia Montiglio have lately interpreted the reference to *vasculum* with its two handles as suggestive of testicles, though it could also be interpreted as a vagina[122]—such a reading is warranted by Lucius' reference to Photis' moving her buttocks as she stirs the pot, and by his ensuing reference to the lucky man who will be allowed to dip his finger in the stew. In this seduction scene, Photis twice warns Lucius of the dangers involved in seducing her: (1) in 2.7 she advises Lucius to stay away from her fire, as it will burn him, and as she alone will be able to extinguish his ardour:

'discede', inquit, 'miselle, quam procul a meo foculo, discede. nam si te vel modice meus igniculus afflaverit, ureris intime nec ullus extinguet ardorem tuum nisi ego, quae dulce condiens et ollam et lectulum suave quatere novi.'

Then she, with her wit and her ready tongue, retorted: 'Get away, poor boy; get as far away as you can from my oven, because if my little flame should blow against you even slightly, you will burn deep inside and no one will be able to extinguish your fire except me. I can season things deliciously, and I know how to shake a pot and a bed to your equal delight'.

And (2) in 2.10 Photis warns Lucius that the kiss described as a bittersweet honey will give him stomach troubles: *'heus tu, scolastice', ait, 'dulce et amarum gustulum carpis. cave ne nimia mellis dulcedine diutinam bilis amaritudinem contrahas'* ("'Well, well, my schoolboy,' she said, 'that is a bittersweet appetiser you are sampling. Be careful not to catch a chronic case of bitter indigestion from eating too sweet honey'"). These quips contain clear allusions to the dangers of magic. Lucius, however, fails to advance a reading beyond the literal and

122 Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 32.

thus assures Photis that in return for a kiss he is ready to fall into the fire and be burned alive (2.10): *'Quid istic', inquam, 'est, mea festivitas, cum sim paratus vel uno saviolo interim recreatus super istum ignem porrectus assari'* ("'How so, my merry one?' I replied. 'I am prepared, if you will revive me now with one little kiss, to be stretched out over your fire and barbecued'"). In any case there is a sense of inevitability, since without seduction no metamorphosis would be possible. He then kisses her. Photis responds passionately and admits that he has captivated her, alluding to the elegiac theme of *servitium amoris* (2.10): *mancipata sum* ("I have become your slave"). Her agreement to come to Lucius' room during the night for passionate lovemaking marks the initial triumph of the plan to ensnare Photis and gain access to magic through her.

Lucius' coming upon Photis in the kitchen establishes an initial parallel with Socrates, who encounters Meroe in her inn after his horrible experience with robbers near Larissa, when he is on his way to watch gladiatorial games (1.7). It is worth mentioning that the word *scitula*, 'attractive', is used for both Photis (2.6) and the innkeeper Meroe (1.7). That being said, one could argue that the gender roles are reversed: in the initial encounter between Meroe and Socrates, the former comes to the aid of the latter, and there is no description of any sexually implicit or explicit conversation taking place between them (1.7): *quae me nimis quam humane tractare adorta* ("She began treating me terribly kindly"). It is only after sleeping with Meroe that Socrates realizes her initial good treatment was in fact a trap, the ulterior motive of which was to gain total control of him. On the other hand, in the kitchen scene it is Lucius who takes the initiative, by making comments full of sexual innuendoes, and it is he who has a hidden agenda. Moreover, Photis is a young and exceptionally attractive slave girl and thus more difficult to resist (2.7), whereas Meroe is old if somewhat beautiful (1.7): *anum, sed admodum scitulam* ("an old but rather attractive woman").[123]

The nighttime encounter between Lucius and Photis is postponed for a few hours, as Milo and his wife invite their guest to the dinner prepared

123 The description of Photis' extraordinary beauty and youth (2.7–9) as she appears in the kitchen cooking the meal recalls Byrrhena's flattering comments about Lucius (2.2), as if to suggest that they are an ideally matched pair. The connection becomes stronger as Photis' name is etymologically related to the Greek noun φῶς, which denotes light (see also note 231, below) and is thus related to Lucius' name, a derivative of the Latin term *lux*, also meaning light.

earlier by the servant girl.[124] At table, Lucius is upset by Milo's tale of Diophanes, since it exposes his foolishness in believing in a false prophet (see Chapter 3, below). He thus pretends to be exhausted from the trip of the previous night and goes to his room allegedly to go to sleep, but actually in order to spend a night of sexual adventures with his mistress. Soon Photis joins him in his room, bearing roses in her gown and spreading the petals over him (2.16): *flore persperso* ("showered me with blossoms"). It is also worth observing that the roses mark the beginning of Lucius' involvement with magic and also signal the end in the novel's final Book when Isis' priest Mithras offers the wreath of roses to Lucius the ass who eats them and regains his human form. Leftovers from dinner and wine, which Byrrhena has earlier sent to Lucius, form the erotic setting. The couple drink wine and, once uninhibited after the play with the roses, spend the rest of the night in passionate lovemaking.

This night of lust recalls Meroe leading Socrates to her bed in the inn following a welcome and a fine meal (1.7): *cenae gratae atque gratuitae* ("with a welcome and generous meal"). Yet again, the contrasts between the two episodes are immediately apparent. Photis has implicitly warned Lucius twice about the dangers of becoming involved with her, at 2.7 and 2.10,[125] whereas Meroe never warns Socrates about her awesome powers when she lures him to her bed. Moreover, whereas Lucius initiates his erotic seduction of Photis in the kitchen (2.7–10) and then spends a night of sexual adventures with her in his own room (2.16–17), in the tale of Aristomenes it is Meroe who leads Socrates to her bed, without having stated her intentions beforehand (1.7): *ac mox urigine percita cubili suo adplicat* ("and then, aroused by lust, she enfolded me in her bed").

124 See discussion in Chapter 3, below.

125 Later, at 3.19, Lucius makes it clear he is aware that Photis is a witch:

> *'scio istud et plane sentio, cum semper alioquin spretorem matronalium amplexuum sic tuis istis micantibus oculis et rubentibus bucculis et renidentibus crinibus et hiantibus osculis et fraglantibus papillis in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas volentem. iam denique nec larem requiro nec domuitionem paro et nocte ista nihil antepono.'*
>
> I know that clearly enough from my own experience: although I have always disdained ladies' embraces, you, with your flashing eyes and reddening cheeks and glistening hair and parted lips and fragrant breasts, have taken possession of me, bought and bound over like a slave, and a willing one. In fact I do not miss my home any more and I am not preparing to return there, and nothing is more important to me than spending the night with you.'

Following the nocturnal encounter, Lucius enters into a longer term sexual relationship with Photis. This development suggests an association with Socrates, whose initial contact with the witch leads to a more permanent affair (1.7): *et statim miser, ut cum illa adquievi, ab unico congressu annosam ac pestilentem cladem contraho* ("I was done for immediately, as soon as I slept with her; that one sexual act infected me with a lengthy, disastrous relationship"). As we have seen, however, what is most striking is the reversal of roles: Lucius intends to earn the trust and love of Photis so as to satisfy his curiosity for magic (2.6), whereas after leading Socrates to bed, Meroe turns him into her slave, forcing him to sell his clothes and give her the money he earns from his work as a sack-carrier (1.7): *et ipsas etiam lacinias, quas boni latrones contegendo mihi concesserant, in eam contuli, operulas etiam, quas adhuc vegetus saccariam faciens merebam, quoad me ad istam faciem, quam paulo ante vidisti, bona uxor et mala fortuna perduxit* ("I even gave her the clothes the good robbers had left me to cover myself with, and even the scant wages I earned as a sack-carrier while I was still vigorous, until my good 'wife' and evil Fortune reduced me to that shape you saw a little while ago"). In Socrates' view, the robbers appear as better in comparison with Meroe.

Eventually, after earning the servant girl's trust and love, Lucius is able to proceed to the next stage of his plan and satisfy his curiosity for magic. Photis has been responsible for Lucius' indirect contact with magic through her mistake in the wineskins episode (2.32) and for his ensuing ridicule in the Laughter festival the following day (3.1–12). Taking advantage of Photis' weak position, by way of compensation, Lucius asks her to help him spy on her mistress as she practices her magic rites (3.19):

> *'sed ut ex animo tibi volens omne delictum, quo me tantis angoribus inplicasti, remittam, praesta quod summis votis expostulo, et dominam tuam, cum aliquid huius divinae disciplinae molitur, ostende, cum deos invocat, certe cum res ornat, ut videam.'*
>
> 'But if you want me to forgive you freely and entirely for that offence by which you entangled me in so much anguish, grant me something I clamour for with all my heart. Show me your mistress when she is working at some project of this supernatural discipline, and let me see her when she is invoking the gods, or at least when she is undergoing a transformation.'

It is perhaps important to stress that Photis makes no attempt to ensnare Lucius—it is he who insists on becoming involved with magic. Thus, unlike Meroe, Photis is not bent on finding a victim and destroying

him. It is Lucius' curiosity and thirst for knowledge of the supernatural which lead to his downfall.

Motivated by guilt, Photis agrees, and when the opportunity arises, she leads her lover to watch Pamphile as she works magic in secret in her isolated room (3.21–22). Lucius is so overcome with curiosity while secretly watching Pamphile transforming herself into an owl that he begs Photis to change him into the same bird. Unlike Meroe, then, who employs magic in order to bind her lover Socrates, Photis is anything but keen to practice magic; unlike Socrates, Lucius begs his mistress to show him the secrets of the art (3.22–23). This is a crucial point in the narrative. Having fallen in love with Lucius, Photis gives in to his entreaties and turns from a plaything in his hands into the perpetrator of a wrong against him; she agrees to divulge knowledge that Pamphile has taught her and thus satisfy Lucius' insatiable curiosity for the subject (3.23): *nam mihi domina singula monstravit, quae possunt rursus in facies hominum tales figuras reformare* ("My mistress has shown me in detail what can transmute all these shapes back into human form"). As readers, we already know that Photis is an inexperienced witch; her earlier mistake in Lucius' unwitting contact with the wineskins anticipates a second one, in which she confuses magic ointments and changes her lover into an ass (3.24).

Lucius' insistence on using magic for the pleasure of flight distantly evokes Socrates, who experiences the evil effects of witchcraft. Yet Lucius consciously pursues Photis in order to gain access to the supernatural, whereas Socrates is unwittingly ensnared by magic, as his mistress is a powerful witch who uses her arts in order to bind her lovers.

The novel's central metamorphosis contrasts starkly with that befalling Socrates. Lucius actively seeks to be changed into a bird so as to satisfy his curiosity, but is transformed into an ass through Photis' mistake in the use of ointments. On the other hand, Socrates is a passive victim; from the moment he enters into a relationship with the witch, his condition deteriorates to the point where he is reduced to a shadow of his former self: (1.6): *larvale simulacrum* ("the image of a ghost"). It is in this wretched condition that Aristomenes meets him in the forum at Hypata, sitting in the market and begging for money from passers by (1.6): *humi sedebat scissili palliastro semiamictus, paene alius lurore, ad miseram maciem deformatus, qualia solent fortunae decermina stipes in triviis erogare* ("He was sitting on the ground, half covered by a tattered old cloak, almost unrecognisable in his shallowness, pitiably deformed and shrunken, like those cast-offs of Fortune who are forever begging alms at street corners").

Ashamed of his tragic condition, Socrates even raises his patched cloths to cover his face, leaving the rest of his body from his navel to his loins uncovered (1.6): *sutili centunculo faciem suam iam dudum punicantem prae pudore obtexit ita, ut ab umbilico pube tenus cetera corporis renudaret* ("And with that he covered his face, which had long since begun to redden from shame, with his patched cloak, baring the rest of his body from his navel to his loins"). In a ritual context, the covering of the face may also be taken as alluding to the act of concealing the face of animals when they are led to the slaughter in sacrificial rites. Seeing Socrates in this wretched state, Aristomenes eventually persuades him to rise up and then takes him to the baths and the inn, where he offers him some food and drink to recover his strength (1.7): *lectulo refoveo, cibo satio, poculo mitigo, fabulis permulceo* ("I put him to rest on a bed, filled him with food, relaxed him with wine, and soothed him with talk").

Following the metamorphosis, Photis weeps for having turned her lover into an ass and immediately promises to bring him roses as an antidote; but the lack of these roses delays Lucius' reformation until the following morning. In her sorrow, Photis is in no way similar to Meroe, whose immediate reaction to the fate befalling her lover is not recorded (it is only much later, at 1.12–13, that we see her bent on revenge, in angry pursuit of Socrates and his friend Aristomenes). Later, during the same night in Milo's stable where he goes to spend the night, Lucius is again unable to obtain the roses from the shrine of the goddess Epona, protector of horses, because his own slave sees him as he tries to snatch them and ironically beats him heavily with a leafy branch for this act of sacrilege (3.27).[126] His failure to obtain the roses in the stable allows readers to assume that someone else will have to provide them.

Surprising as it may seem, connections between Lucius and both Socrates and Aristomenes extend beyond the metamorphosis. Shortly after the disastrous outcome of Photis' magic, a group of robbers violently bursts into Milo's house with arms and removes Lucius the ass along with other animals to carry their loot to their mountain lair (3.28). Despite his efforts, Milo cannot avoid falling victim to the robbers who are obviously aware of his wealth (1.23): *prae metu latronum*

126 It is also ironic that Photis has roses when she enters Lucius' room on the first night of their sexual adventures (2.17), yet cannot find any when she needs them most (3.25). In fact, Lucius' inability to procure roses on his own is stressed in two further such incidents in Books 3.29 and 4.2–3, when he is in the possession of the robbers.

("the fear of robbers"). The robbery and departure from Hypata mark the beginning of the ordeals and misadventures suffered by Lucius the ass as a result of his desire to experience magic, a kind of knowledge forbidden to humans.[127]

As we saw above, with the reversal of active and passive roles, Lucius' relationship with Photis to some extent inverts the tales of Socrates and Meroe.[128] A similar inversion applies to the order of events: Lucius is abducted by robbers immediately after suffering the disastrous effect of Photis' magic, whereas Socrates is assaulted by thieves on the way to watch a gladiatorial spectacle near Larissa as a prelude to his encounter with Meroe and witchcraft (1.7): *'me miserum', infit, 'qui dum voluptatem gladiatorii spectaculi satis famigerabilis consector, in has aerumnas incidi'* ("'Woe is me!' he began. 'I was pursuing the pleasure of a famous gladiatorial show'").

Following the ass-Lucius' removal from town, Photis does not pursue her lover to exact revenge on him for deserting her, or on the robbers for taking Lucius the ass away to their mountain lair. In stark contrast, Meroe the witch is determined to exact cruel revenge on her unfaithful lover Socrates for trying to leave her in secret, and on Aristomenes for devising the escape plan, which she has learnt of from the various *numina* that serve her. In fact, it is this very plan that stirs her into action.

The act of revenge takes place at midnight, when Meroe and her sister Panthia violently burst into the inn where Aristomenes and Socrates are staying, carrying a lamp and a sword (1.12): *video mulieres duas altioris aetatis; lucernam lucidam gerebat una, spongiam et nudum gladium altera* ("I saw two women of rather advanced age, one carrying a lighted lamp and the other a sponge and a naked sword"). The violent opening of the doors when the witches enter the room turns Aristomenes' bed upside down leaving him beneath it, hidden as he thinks, in complete alignment with the notion of the witches as forces turning the world upside down. Meroe then introduces her lover to her sister and then informs her that she rejects the Homeric precedent of Calypso, who spent her life in loneliness after being abandoned by Odysseus (1.12): *at ego scilicet Ulixi astu deserta vice Calypsonis aeternam solitudinem flebo* ("Shall I, forsooth, deserted like Calypso by the astuteness of a Ulysses, weep

127 Hägg (1992).

128 For the constant change of elegiac roles in both Soctrates' relation with Meroe and in that of Lucius with Photis, see Mathis (2008) 195–214.

in everlasting loneliness?"). Thus Meroe signals that she will show the resolution of Circe, with whom she has implicitly been compared in the tale.[129] Meroe then points out Aristomenes to her sister and vows to punish him for having spoken against her (1.8), by forcing him to witness the present punishment of his friend from under his bed (1.12):[130] *faxo eum sero, immo statim, immo vero iam nunc, ut et praecedentis dicacitatis et instantis curiositatis paeniteat* ("Later—no, soon—no, right now—I will make him regret his past raillery and present inquisitiveness"). Meroe then plunges her sword in Socrates' neck, removes his heart and collects his blood in a bottle. The collection of the victim's blood in a bottle performs a double function: (1) it places the murder of Socrates within the context of ritual slaughter, since the blood of sacrifical animals was collected in such a manner; and (2) it is meant to implicate Aristomenes in the murder, as the witches leave no other evidence of the crime behind them. Panthia then inserts a sponge in the wound in order to conceal it, and gives explicit instructions to the sponge to return to the sea via a river, thus revealing the location and manner in which Socrates will die (1.13): *'heus tu', inquit, 'spongia, cave in mari nata per fluvium transeas'* ("'Listen, o sponge, born in the sea, take care to travel back through a river'").[131] Then the witches urinate over the face of Aristomenes and leave the room (1.13): *varicus super faciem meam residentes vesicam exonerant* ("they … spread their feet, and squatted over my face, discharging their bladders until they had drenched me in the liquid of their filthy urine").

Recent readings of the urination of the witches over Aristomenes' face range from a form of control,[132] to a kind of rape, carried out as a punishment.[133] However, it may also be read as signifying the death of Aristomenes' former self and rebirth as a new person with thoroughly revised views about magic.[134] His presence as a witness to the revenge performed by the witches may prefigure Lucius, when he observes

129 Harrison (1990a) 194.

130 Keulen (2007) 261.

131 In the ensuing narrative of Meroe's revenge on Socrates, McCreight (1993, 55–56) has shown the presence of several features that reinforce the notion of Socrates' slaughter as a perversion of the animal sacrifice rite; Keulen (2006b) 49–50. See also Burkert (1985) 56–57.

132 Scobie (1975) 109, s.v. *vesicam exonerant*, has observed that "urinating around or on someone prevented a person from escaping from a particular situation".

133 Keulen (2007) 276; see also Keulen (2006b) 51.

134 For discussion see Frangoulidis (2005) 197–209.

Pamphile changing herself into an owl to fly to her Boeotian lover (3.21–22). The connection is reinforced by the fact that two witches are involved in both episodes (Meroe and Panthia versus Pamphile and Photis). That being said, in the latter incident one of the witches (Photis) is with Lucius outside the room; perhaps more importantly, Meroe forces Aristomenes to witness the revenge exacted on Socrates, whereas Pamphile is unaware that she is being watched by Lucius (1.12).

Seeing his friend alive the following morning, Aristomenes thinks that he can still save him and insists that they depart forthwith, failing to understand the role of grave digger he was assigned by Meroe in her revenge plan (1.17):[135] *'quin imus', inquam, 'et itineris matutini gratiam capimus'* ("I … said, 'Why don't we go and take advantage of travelling in the early morning?'"). In doing so, Aristomenes leads his friend to death; the tragic incident takes place at a river where Aristomenes directs Socrates when he feels thirsty, as if completely unaware of Panthia's earlier instructions to the sponge to return to the sea via a river (1.13).[136] Socrates drops dead as soon as he puts water to his lips to quench his thirst and the sponge falls from his wound to return to the sea via the river, in accordance with Panthia's earlier instructions (1.13).[137] Aristomenes then bewails his friend and buries his corpse with sand by the river bank, ironically fulfilling Meroe's order to bury Socrates when he dies (1.19). Thus, unlike Photis, who does not go after Lucius the ass or the robbers to punish them both for taking her lover away from her, Meroe goes after both Socrates and Aristomenes and exacts her cruel revenge on both of them.

Returning to the main narrative, after the destruction of the robbers' band by the young Tlepolemus, the ass-Lucius enters the service of various other masters, undergoes additional ordeals, and finally arrives at Cenchreae, where he appeals to Isis, goddess of benevolent magic in the universe, and is granted salvation. Unlike Lucius, Aristomenes and Socrates did not have the opportunity to meet Isis, goddess of benevolent magic, and thus find release from their troubles. It is further worth

135 For a rationalistic interpretation of the scene and the double dream of Aristomenes and Socrates, see Panayotakis (1998a) 126. See also Frangoulidis (1999a) 385.

136 For the literary associations of death with the presence of the plane tree in the locale of Socrates' death see Borghini (1991) 7–14.

137 The element of water associated with birth, as seen earlier in Aristomenes' figurative (filthy) rebirth when he was drenched in the witches' urine, is here associated with death.

noting that Lucius gains access to magic by begging Photis, and then again gains his salvation through his prayer to the goddess for help. His ensuing reformation constitutes a form of rebirth, as the ass-Lucius sheds his animal hide, to the admiration of the crowd, and is wrapped up in holy garments, as a newly-born person (11.14): *praecipit tegendo mihi linteam dari laciniam* ("ordering me to be given a piece of linen cloth to cover myself"). His rebirth as Isis' follower appears in stark opposition to Socrates' death as a result of his encounter with the witch Meroe, and to Aristomenes' filthy death and rebirth as a new person with revised views about magic when the witches urinated over his face.

Parallels between the outer narrative and the tale of Aristomenes continue even further. After his restoration to human form, Lucius is happily reunited with his family and household slaves and friends, who had given him up for dead (11.18):

> *confestim denique familiares ac vernulae quique mihi proximo nexu sanguinis cohaerebant, luctu deposito, quem de meae mortis falso nuntio susceperant, repentino laetati gaudio varie quisque munerabundi ad meum festinant ilico diurnum reducemque ab inferis conspectum.*
>
> At once my friends, my household slaves, and those who were related to me by the closest ties of blood dropped the mourning they had taken up at the false report of my death, and in their delight at this unexpected joy, they all brought various gifts and straightway hurried to see me restored to daylight from the dead.

Later, following his initiation into Isis' priesthood, Lucius himself goes home to see his relatives (11.26): *tandem digredior et recta patrium larem revisurus meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo* ("I finally departed and hurried straight to visit my ancestral hearth again after a long time away"). This sharply contrasts with the fate suffered by Socrates and Aristomenes following contact with the witches. Socrates is completely cut off from his family immediately after his initial involvement with Meroe. His family in Aigion believes he is dead and even performs his funeral, while his parents-in-law urge his wife to remarry (1.6):

> *at vero domi tuae iam defletus et conclamatus es, liberis tuis tutores iuridici provincialis decreto dati, uxor persolutis inferialibus officiis luctu et maerore diuturno deformata, diffletis paene ad extremam captivitatem oculis suis, domus infortunium novarum nuptiarum gaudiis a suis sibi parentibus hilarare compellitur.*
>
> At your home you have already been lamented and ritually addressed as dead, guardians have been appointed for your children by decree of the provincial judge, and your wife, after performing all the funeral services, disfiguring herself with long mourning and grief, and nearly weeping her

> eyes into uselessness, is being pressed by her parents to gladden the family's misfortune with the joys of a new marriage.

Soon afterwards, Socrates dies by the river outside Hypata (1.19). Likewise, after his horrible experience with the witches, Aristomenes is unable to return to his family and his hometown in Aigion in his sense of guilt for his unwitting involvement in his friend's death. Also, he does not stay at Hypata, but relocates to Aetolia perhaps in fear for his life from the witches (1.19).[138] His remarriage in Aetolia forms a structural parallel with Socrates' wife, who is forced to remarry before Socrates' actual death takes place (1.6). Aristomenes' voluntary self-exile in Aetolia is an indication that he has finally become aware of his unwitting complicity in his friend's death and thus, like a regular criminal, condemns himself to permanent exile.[139]

The connection between Lucius and both Socrates and Aristomenes may even extend to the closing events in the novel. Lucius follows the advice of the priest and enters into the cult of Isis. This initiation into the mysteries could be compared to Aristomenes' presence in the inn, where he observed Meroe's rites exacting her cruel revenge on her unfaithful lover Socrates, let alone Lucius' own spying on Pamphile, as discussed earlier (3.21–22). Nevertheless, there are equally obvious differences between the above episodes: Lucius is initiated into Isis' rites after receiving authorization from the goddess, who appears in a night apparition to him and to Mithras, the priest who is ordered to conduct the initiation (11.22). Socrates, on the other hand, is the sacrificial victim of Meroe's magical rites; Aristomenes observes the secret spectacle of Meroe's revenge on her lover from under his bed in the room, in punishment both for his past raillery and present curiosity in observing the sacrificial slaughter (1.12).[140] Moreover, as Isis' initiate, Lucius is filled with wonder and joy, rather than the fear and dread experienced by Aristomenes.

Lucius' initiation into the mysteries may constitute a kind of symbolic marriage to the goddess, as he becomes her priest. In turn, the 'marriage' finds its parallel in both Socrates and Aristomenes: at 1.7, Socrates ironically identifies Meroe as *bona uxor* ("my good wife").

138 For the displacement of Socrates and Aristomenes see Slater (2002) 170.

139 In the tale of the *noverca* (10.2–12), the stepmother was condemned to exile for her crimes (10.12): *et novercae quidem perpetuum indicitur exilium* ("The stepmother was sentenced to perpetual exile").

140 On Aristomenes' 'sin' see Keulen (2007) 261.

Moreover, following the burial of his friend, Aristomenes relocates to Aetolia and remarries (1.19): *relicta patria et lare ultroneum exilium amplexus nunc Aetoliam novo contracto matrimonio colo* ("I abandoned my country and my home and embraced voluntary exile. I now live in Aetolia and have remarried"). His second marriage in Aetolia is in complete agreement with his symbolic rebirth as a new person, in the aftermath of his unwitting contact with the witches in the inn. Yet unlike Lucius' symbolic union with the goddess as her priest, which brings happiness and joy, Socrates' involvement with Meroe reduces him to a wretched condition and eventual death. Furthermore, Lucius' union with Isis involves abstinence from sex, whereas Aristomenes' marriage in Aetolia is for the procreation of family.

After his initiation into Isis' rites, Lucius follows the advice of Isis and travels to Rome (11.26) where he undergoes two further initiations, one into the mysteries of Osiris and another one into those of Isis, and enters the ranks of the pastophor priests (11.30). There Lucius spends the rest of his life, fulfilling his religious and social duties as an orator and earning both fame and money. His career in Rome, following the encounter with Isis, recalls both Socrates and Aristomenes, as they both work to make their living after their involvement with the witches; but Lucius earns fame and fortune from his brilliant legal career in the courts (11.28): *nec minus etiam victum uberiorem subministrabat* ("and furthermore it even provided a richer livelihood"); also 11.30: *liberali deum providentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum* ("after all, through the bountiful care of heaven I was comfortably provided for by the income I earned as a lawyer"). On the other hand, Socrates is reduced to penury and is forced to sit in the forum at Hypata dressed in rags (1.6): *scissili palliastro semiamictus* ("half-covered by a tattered old cloak"), and beg money from passers by (1.6): *stipes in triviis erogare* ("begging alms at street corners"). Likewise, after his relocation to Aetolia and remarriage, Aristomenes travels through Thessaly as a merchant, earning his daily bread by selling honey and cheese to various taverns (1.5): *melle vel caseo et huiusce modi cauponarum mercibus per Thessaliam Aetoliam Boeotiam ultro citro discurrens* ("I deal in honey and cheese and that sort of innkeepers' merchandise, travelling back and forth through Thessaly, Aetolia and Boeotia"). Furthermore, on his travels he recounts the tale of Socrates' death at the hands of the witches, turning into a figurative merchant of the tale in which he narrates the dangers that come from magic: his naïve belief that he could overcome the powers of the witches ended in the death of his dear friend and his own self-

exile.[141] Thus the narrative makes it clear that true riches and fame are only to be found outside the realm of magic. This notion is lent further support by the wealth amassed by Byrrhena, who is portrayed as being aware of the dangers of magic.

Frustrating expectations

Readers who have just heard Aristomenes' tale expect Lucius to suffer a fate similar to both Socrates and Aristomenes. Our expectations, however, are frustrated: upon his arrival in town, Lucius encounters several people who delay his misfortune, thus causing suspense and preventing the worst from happening.

Upon entering Hypata, Lucius meets an old tavern keeper and asks her to point out the house of his host, whom he presents as a leading citizen in town (1.21). The old woman tells Lucius about Milo, whom she identifies as one of the worst types of person, and mentions his wife and their slave (1.21). In doing so, she alerts Lucius to the risk he runs in Milo's house. The encounter with the old tavern keeper recalls Socrates' earlier encounter with the middle-aged witch Meroe, who is likewise portrayed as an innkeeper and the term *caupona* is applied to both the old woman (1.21) and Meroe (1.7). This parallelism helps to cast Lucius as a living substitute for Socrates, entering the very same town where Socrates died and where his friend Aristomenes was punished by the witches. The connection is reinforced by the fact that Lucius is curious about miraculous and wondrous things in town (2.1: *anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt*, "With my anxiety and my excessive passion to learn the rare and the marvellous"), just as Socrates was on his way to watch a gladiatorial spectacle when he was attacked by the robbers (1.7). Nevertheless, these similarities serve to bring more important contrasts into relief: the old tavern keeper is not a witch, as Meroe is; her words aim to protect Lucius from the dangers in Milo's house, thus delaying his misfortunes and therefore building suspense, whereas Meroe immediately ensnares Socrates in her arts.

Having followed the innkeeper's directions, Lucius arrives at the house of his host. On his way to the public baths later that same day, he stops at the market to buy some fish. It is there he has a chance en-

141 Schlam (1992) 121.

counter with a former schoolmate named Pythias, who is a market inspector. Pythias seeks to find out the price Lucius paid for the fish, and on learning it he goes to the merchant, scolds him for selling rotten produce at a high price and asks his attendant to destroy what Lucius has bought. On his first day in Hypata, Lucius has fallen victim to deception. This may evoke the disappointment suffered by Aristomenes, when he came to Hypata to buy a large quantity of cheese at a moderate price, only to discover that a merchant, appropriately named Lupus (i. e. "wolf"), had emptied the market. The connection is strengthened by the fact that in both cases the deception involves food. However, the two incidents are again far from identical. Aristomenes is capable of perceiving the foreboding omens that mark his arrival in town—with the proviso that his comments are made in retrospect (1.5): *sinistro pede* ("I started out with my left foot"). Conversely, Lucius is incapable of comprehending the fact that he has been taken in by the fish merchant, and is only concerned both about the reaction of his old schoolmate and his loss of money and food (1.25): *ad balneas me refero prudentis condiscipuli valido consilio et nummis simul privatus et cena* ("I went on to the baths, having been robbed of both money and supper by the authoritative counsel of my wise fellow-student"). Lucius' failure to comprehend this misfortune anticipates the still greater dangers that are in store for him if he continues to pursue magic and the supernatural.

On the morning following his arrival, Lucius strolls in town, eager to see the wondrous things, as he brings to mind that this was the place where the tale of Socrates took place (2.1): *fabulamque illam optimi comitis Aristomenis de situ civitatis huius exortam* ("and recalling that the story told by my excellent comrade Aristomenes had originated at the site of this very city"). On this occasion, the only wondrous thing Lucius sees in town is a richly adorned woman with a retinue of slaves, who clearly holds a prominent position in town.[142] On seeing Lucius, she offers a flattering description of him, stressing his fine looks (2.2):

> *sed et cetera corporis execrabiliter ad amussim congruentia: inenormis proceritas, suculenta gracilitas, rubor temperatus, flavum et inadfectatum capillitium, oculi caesii*

142 The woman's high social standing encourages an association with Milo, Lucius' host, who is a leading figure in town (1.21). Yet again, however, the parallel serves to reveal a remarkable contrast: Byrrhena's ostentatious adornments show her as the antithesis of Milo, who walks in town dressed in rags and has only one slave, the servant girl Photis.

quidem, sed vigiles et in aspectu micantes, prorsus aquilini, os quoquoversum floridum, speciosus et immeditatus incessus.

And his physical appearance is a damnably precise fit too: he is tall but not abnormal, slim but with sap in him, and of a rosy complexion; he has blond hair worn without affectation, wide-awake light-blue eyes with flashing glance just like an eagle's, a face with a bloom in every part, and an attractive and unaffected walk.

This flattering description of Lucius performs several functions: (a) it stresses Lucius' prime physical condition, and thus directs attention to the risks he runs from witches who may find his appearance attractive; (b) it points forward to the ugliness of his condition when he is changed into an ass; and (c) it foreshadows the development of the imagery in the novel's final Book, when external appearance no longer matters to Lucius.

This woman identifies herself to Lucius as his maternal aunt Byrrhena, descendant of the family of Plutarch (2.3): *nam et familia Plutarchi ambae prognatae sumus* ("We are both descendants of Plutarch's family"). Later at 3.15, Photis refers to Lucius' education, when she demands secrecy from him before revealing Pamphile's magic arts: *sed melius de te doctrinaque tua praesumo* ("But I assume better things from you and your learning").[143] This combined reference to Lucius' noble origins and learnedness may be taken as designed to illuminate the powers of magic, since neither noble birth nor education are able to offer immunity from the traps set by witches.

When the aunt reaches her house, she informs Lucius in private that his present host's wife is a powerful witch who is attracted to handsome young men such as him (2.5):

'per hanc', inquit, 'deam, o Luci carissime, ut anxie tibi metuo et ut pote pignori meo longe provisum cupio, cave tibi, sed cave fortiter a malis artibus et facinorosis illecebris Panphiles illius, quae cum Milone isto, quem dicis hospitem, nupta est. maga primi nominis et omnis carminis sepulchralis magistra creditur, quae surculis et lapillis et id genus frivolis inhalatis omnem istam lucem mundi sideralis imis Tartari et in vetustum chaos submergere novit. nam simul quemque conspexerit speciosae formae iuvenem, venustate eius sumitur et ilico in eum et oculum et animum detorquet. serit blanditias, invadit spiritum, amoris profundi pedicis aeternis alligat. tunc minus morigeros et vilis fastidio in saxa et in pecua et quodvis animal puncto refor-

143 Montiglio (2007, 97) has pointed out that since neither Plutarch nor his philosopher nephew are from Thessaly, this genealogy must be literary rather than biographical: the reference is an allusion to the Platonic school to which Lucius belongs, like the author, and connects him to Thessaly, a land of magic.

> *mat, alios vero prorsus extinguit. haec tibi trepido et cavenda censeo. nam et illa uritur perpetuum et tu per aetatem et pulchritudinem capax eius es'.*
>
> 'My dearest Lucius,' she said, 'I swear by this goddess that I am very worried and afraid for you, and I want you to be forewarned far in advance, as if you were my own son. Be careful! I mean watch out carefully for the evil arts and criminal seductions of that woman Pamphile, who is the wife of that Milo you say is your host. She is considered to be a witch of the first order and an expert in every variety of sepulchral incantation, and by breathing on twigs and pebbles and stuff of that sort she can drown all the light of the starry heavens in the depths of hell and plunge it into primeval Chaos. No sooner does she catch sight of some young man of attractive appearance than she is consumed by his charm and immediately directs her eye and her desire at him. She sows her seductions, attacks his soul, and binds him with the everlasting shackles of passionate love. If any do not respond and become cheap in her eyes by their show of repugnance, she transforms them on the spot into rocks or sheep or any other sort of animal; some, however, she completely annihilates. That is why I am afraid for you. I advise you to be on your guard, because she is always on fire, and you are quite young and handsome enough to suit her.'

In this description, Pamphile emerges as a double of Meroe, mistress of Socrates, in several ways. As Pamphile possesses cosmic power, so Meroe can control the world through access to occult (1.8): *'Saga', inquit, 'et divini potens caelum deponere, terram suspendere, fontes durare, montes diluere, manes sublimare, deos infimare, sidera extinguere, Tartarum ipsum inluminare'* ("'A witch,' he replied, 'with supernatural power: she can lower the sky and suspend the earth, solidify fountains and dissolve mountains, raise up ghosts and bring down gods, darken the stars and light up Tartarus itself'").[144] The powers these witches possess are presented as supernatural, but unlike the gods, who employ their powers to maintain the order of the cosmos, the witches are bent on turning

144 Socrates' description of the powers of the witches recalls the unnamed fellow traveller on the way to Hypata, who dismisses the witches' evil powers (1.3):

> *At ille qui coeperat: 'ne', inquit, 'istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri'.* But the first speaker continued: 'Indeed that lie you told is just as true as if someone should assert that by magic mutterings rivers can be reversed, the sea sluggishly shackled, the winds reduced to a dead breathlessness, the sun be halted, the moon drop her dew, the stars made to fall, daylight banished, and the night prolonged'.

The dismissal of these powers helps to define the unnamed fellow traveler as a sceptic, unlike Socrates whose words mark him as a believer in magic.

the world upside down. Just as Pamphile transforms or even kills young men if they refuse her sexual advances, so Meroe is capable of transforming her unfaithful lovers and rivals, as Socrates relates to his friend in the long account of her exploits (1.9–10).[145] It is characteristic that both Pamphile and Meroe are portrayed as employing their powers only to satisfy their lust. In exacting vengeance on their former lovers, both Pamphile and Meroe are set in marked opposition to Photis, who does not go after Lucius the ass or the robbers who abduct him. In Byrrhena's view, Lucius is in a particularly dangerous situation, as his appearance may be attractive to Pamphile: the earlier detailed description of Lucius strolling in town prefigures the risks it entails (2.2).[146] The similarities between Pamphile and Meroe render the former a mirror of the latter and in turn foreshadow the fate in store for Lucius if he remains in the house of his host.

From Lucius' point of view the encounter with Byrrhena is highly illuminating, as it reveals that the wondrous things he was looking for in the town are actually inside his host's house. In a strange town, Lucius

145 Meroe has transformed a former lover into a beaver for daring to be unfaithful; she has changed her rival into a frog, condemning him to swim in the dregs of his own wine and call for customers; she has metamorphosed a lawyer into a ram for speaking against her; she has condemned the wife of her lover to everlasting pregnancy for insulting her; and finally, she has shut the people of Hypata up in their houses for deciding to put her to death by stoning. Only when the people swear to protect the witch does she allow them to come out of their houses, once she has punished the man who organized the protest by casting his house to another town on a rock, as if to stress that involvement in magic involves loss of home and exile. The revenge is appropriate: instead of the witch, the person who organized the protest of the people is thrown out of town. This extensive list of Meroe's exploits involves either ex-lovers or people who speak against her. These examples seem to be perfectly applicable to both Socrates and Aristomenes: the former is about to abandon his mistress Meroe and the latter has already spoken negatively about her and is also about to advise his friend to leave her (1.8). The ensuing punishment meted out by Meroe on both Socrates and Aristomenes in the narrative of the tale marks the worst kind of violence in relation to the punishments, as presented in Socrates' account of her exploits (1.9–10): Meroe, accompanied by her sister, butchered Socrates in the inn and also assigned the role to Aristomenes to bury his friend when he dies, leaving no traces of her crime and also making Aristomenes feel guilty for his complicity in the murder of his friend. This cruelty in the punishment may be motivated by the fact that both Socrates and Aristomenes attempt to escape from her clutches once and for all. For discussion of Socrates' narration of Meroe's exploits, see Murgatroyd (2001) 40–46.

146 On Lucius' physique see Keulen (2006a) 168–202.

has the rare good fortune that his aunt Byrrhena can offer him protection, just like Pythias before her. As listener to both Byrrhena's warnings and Aristomenes' tale, Lucius should not only leave his host, but also stay away from magic altogether. Such an action would be in agreement with his noble origins and erudition. In the novel's opening, Lucius is proud of his origins from his mother's side, from the famous Plutarch and his nephew the philosopher Sextus (1.2), who both belonged to Middle Platonism. Philosophy and any science that uses reason and logic stand in opposition to magic and belief in the supernatural: in the *Leges*, Plato views those who evoke the souls of the living and the dead, claim that they can bewitch the gods with sacrifices, prayers and incantations for the sake of money, and wreck not only individuals but also families and States, as having no place in his ideal city (10.909b).[147] The author of the Hippocratic text *On the Sacred Disease* likens those who first attributed a sacred character to the disease he calls epilepsy, to the magicians, purifiers, charlatans and quacks of his own day (2.1–5).[148] Frustrating readers' expectations, Lucius completely disregards Byrrhena's warnings and anxiously desires to return to Milo's home, as he comes to realize that it is only there that he can satisfy his curiosity for the supernatural.

On the way home, Lucius devises a plan to avoid Pamphile, since, in addition to being a powerful witch, she is also his host's wife; instead, he will pursue the beautiful servant girl Photis as a safer route to magic (2.6):

> *'age', inquam, 'o Luci, evigila et tecum esto. habes exoptatam occasionem: ex voto diutino poteris fabulis miris explere pectus. aufer formidines pueriles, comminus cum re ipsa naviter congredere, et a nexu quidem venerio hospitis tuae tempera et probi Milonis genialem torum religiosus suspice, verum enim vero Fotis famula petatur enixe'.*
>
> 'Come on Lucius,' I said, 'stay alert and keep in control of yourself. You have the opportunity you have been waiting for. You can have your heart's fill of marvellous stories, as you have always wanted. Lay aside childish fears and come to grips with the situation bravely, in hand to hand combat. Avoid any amorous connection with your hostess and scrupulously honour Milo's marriage-bed; instead Photis the maid should be strenuously wooed'.

147 On this attack on magicians levelled by Plato in the *Laws* 10.909b, see discussion in Collins (2001) 482.

148 On this example see discussion in Collins (2001) 482.

Lucius also recalls that Photis made eyes at him, when showing him to his bed the previous night, and thus offers a potential route to Pamphile's magic, given the fact that his hostess has been described as dangerous (2.6):[149] *vesperi quoque cum somno concederes, et in cubiculum te deduxit comiter et blande lectulo collocavit et satis amanter cooperuit et osculato tuo capite, quam invita discederet, vultu prodidit, denique saepe retrorsa respiciens substitit* ("Last night when you were about to fall asleep, she led you graciously into the bedroom, arranged you seductively in bed, and tucked you in quite lovingly. After she kissed you on the head, her expression betrayed how unwilling she was to leave, and she stopped and looked back several times").

For all her efforts, then, Byrrhena is unable to keep her nephew away from magic. However, she manages to protect him from the fate suffered by Socrates and Aristomenes; after hearing her words of warning, Lucius devises a plan to avoid the powerful witch Pamphile and use her servant girl Photis as an alternative route to magic. As discussed earlier, his involvement with the lesser witch Photis results in his metamorphosis, as happened earlier with Socrates and Aristomenes, but his life is saved in the end. He then is freed from the effects of magic. Thus, through Byrrhena's timely intervention in the narrative, Lucius' fate is different when compared to both Socrates and Aristomenes, leaving the prospect of his salvation open.

We can thus conclude that Lucius' decision to involve himself with the beautiful slave girl Photis rather than her mistress, the powerful witch Pamphile, becomes the reason why his fortune is considerably better than that of his counterparts Socrates and Aristomenes: the former is unwittingly involved in an affair with Meroe, after which he is reduced to a ghost-like figure and meets a horrible death. Aristomenes is less directly involved in magic, but experiences a filthy rebirth as a result of his advice to his friend and his naivety in speaking against Meroe. His punishment is self–inflicted exile to a place where he can avoid the witches and live free of guilt. Like Socrates and Aristomenes, Lucius too is punished for dabbling with the occult, but the nature of his metamorphosis allows him to move from one place to another until he reaches Cenchreae, where he is released from his troubles through earnest pray-

149 Lucius' recollection of his initial treatment by Photis may bring to mind Socrates' reminiscence of his first encounter with the witch Meroe in the inn, after his horrible experience with the robbers on the way home from a business trip to Macedonia (1.7).

er for help. Thus, Byrrhena's intervention directs Lucius away from the fate of either that of Socrates or Aristomenes, even though he enters the same town as both of them do and has the same interest in spectacular events as Socrates.

In the next section we will discuss Lucius in connection with Cerdo, as two recipients of a prophecy by the false soothsayer Diophanes. The decision to include this somewhat marginal figure in a project concerned mainly with witches is motivated by the fact that in predicting the fortunes of people through the movements of the stars, Diophanes is closely allied to the witches, who belong to the realm of the supernatural and provoke havoc in human affairs.

Chapter 3
Lucius' and Milo's Tales of Diophanes and Asinius' Prophecy: Internal Readers and the Author

Before Lucius and Photis indulge in their first night of passion, Milo invites Lucius to join him and his wife for a meal. Smalltalk at the dinner table appropriately revolves around weather predictions and astrology. On hearing that Lucius has consulted the astrologer Diophanes regarding the outcome of his journey to Hypata—which he has been told will earn him great glory—Milo responds with the tale of a merchant named Cerdo, who sought to learn the most auspicious date for a business trip, but quickly saw through Diophanes and did not fall victim to fraud. Through the tale, Milo exposes Lucius' foolishness in wasting money on a naïve belief in prophecies, pointing out that Diophanes himself was unable to predict the outcome of his own journey when he was forced to leave Euboea in a hurry. In retrospect, Diophanes' prophecy about Lucius' journey is to a great extent fulfilled, for he does eventually achieve literary glory and become the subject of a great book. Indeed, his prophecy appears to be aligned to that of Asinius Marcellus, priest of Osiris, who foretells literary glory for Lucius. Yet the outcome of Diophanes' prophecy must be attributed to chance rather than to true supernatural powers, whereas that of Asinius Marcellus is depicted in terms of divine will as representative of true religion. This chance success of Diophanes as soothsayer seems to parallel the effectiveness of the witches, who sometimes succeed but often fail in their magic arts.

John J. Winkler has offered a discussion of Milo's tale of Diophanes from the perspective of the multiple audiences within the story.[150] In the prophecies by Diophanes and Asinius, Stephen J. Harrison sees evidence of the narrative complexity and sophistic self-display in the novel.[151] On the other hand, Luca Graverini has stressed the multiplicity of the hero's identities, as in Diophanes' prophecy Lucius is not only a character in

150 Winkler (1985) 39–44.
151 Harrison (2000) 229–232.

the novel (*actor*), but also will be the story, the book itself and the narrator-author (*auctor*), thus making allusions to his literary renown.[152] Elsewhere, several of the aforenoted scholars have explored intertextual layers in the narrative of Diophanes' prophecy. Thus Stephen J. Harrison has traced in Lucius' prophecy of Diophanes a satirical imitation of the character Diophanes in Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales* (*Or.* 47,46–9). Luca Graverini has focused on allusions in the prophecy to previous literary texts, such as Horace and Ovid, which help the reader decode Diophanes' utterance and prefigure Lucius' fortune.[153] In another article, the same scholar has discussed the allusions in the prophecy to Virgil and Homer.[154] Thus far, however, there has been no discussion of the affinities between Cerdo and Lucius as listeners to Diophanes' and Milo's tales respectively; the comparison between them reveals a marked contrast between the two figures as narrative recipients and blatantly exposes Lucius' foolishness. His desire to leave Milo's company and enjoy a night of lustful adventures with Photis, his route to magic, sheds further light on his complete failure to learn anything as auditor of Milo's tale.

In what follows I shall focus on the structural and thematic connections between Lucius and Cerdo. The emerging similarities and contrasts will show the troubles in store for the former on account of his naïve belief in prophecies and the supernatural. Comparison with Asinius' subsequent prophecy will further help to explore the relationship between the novel's protagonist as first-person narrator and the extratextual author.

The exchange of tales

At the dinner table, Lucius sees Pamphile in action as she examines a lamp and predicts a downpour for the following day, thus confirming Byrrhena's earlier characterization of her as a witch;[155] Lucius avoids her glance for this very reason, but persists in carrying forward his

152 Graverini (2004–05) 225–250; Graverini sees this multiplicity of identities (narrator, author, actor, book) in both the novel's preface (1.1) and Asinius' prophecy (11.27).

153 Graverini (2001) 183–194.

154 Graverini (1998) 139–140.

155 For lychnomancy and the use of magic lamps, see the short discussion in Pack (1956) 191.

plan to pursue Photis as a route to magic. At this point Milo intervenes and derides his wife's claims to supernatural powers (2.11):

> *quod dictum ipsius Milo risus secutus: 'grandem', inquit, 'istam lucernam Sibyllam pascimus, quae cuncta caeli negotia et solem ipsum de specula candelabri contuetur'.*
>
> Milo retorted, with a laugh: 'That is a mighty Sibyl we are feeding there in that lamp. She scans all heaven's affairs, and the sun too, from the observatory on top of her lamp-stand'.

Milo's ironic comments help to characterize him as a disbeliever in magic, who is seemingly unaware of the fact that his wife is a powerful witch, as claimed a few paragraphs earlier at 2.5 by Byrrhena, Lucius' aunt, and confirmed by the spells she uses to fly to her lover. On the other hand, Lucius reveals himself to be a firm believer in magic, countering his host's scepticism with the tale of his consultation with an astrologer (2.12).

This tale involves a Chaldean astrologer named Diophanes, who sells prophecies to various individuals at Corinth, claiming to be capable of predicting the most auspicious time to embark on a journey or any other important event in life. The magician's name makes an overt allusion to his alleged capacity as a seer. It is taken to suggest either a person who speaks the language of Jupiter[156] or a figure through whom Jupiter manifests himself.[157] When Lucius himself approached the Chaldean and asked him for a prophecy about the outcome of his imminent journey, he received the following answer (2.12):

> *mihi denique proventum huius peregrinationis inquirenti multa respondit et oppido mira et satis varia; nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum.*
>
> When I asked him about the outcome of this trip of mine, he gave several strange and quite contradictory responses: on the one hand my reputation will really flourish, but on the other I will become a long story, an unbelievable tale, a book in several volumes.

In this prophecy, Diophanes predicts great glory for Lucius, as he will become the subject of a lengthy work of literature.

Milo remains entirely unimpressed by this prophecy and, having identified the seer as Diophanes, goes on to narrate his own tale

156 See also Jacobson (2004) 39. For the name see Bechtel (1917) 133, s.v. Διο-φάνης. For the adjective διοφανής (a dubium for δια-) see LSJ, s.v., meaning transparent. In this sense the name of Diophanes may paretymologically allude to his charlatan nature.

157 van Mal-Maeder (2001) 220, s.v. *Diophanes nomine.*

about the same man so as to cast serious doubt on his powers (2.13–14). In his story, Milo refutes Lucius' earlier tale in every respect: rather than concentrating on specific details of any one prophecy, he stresses the Chaldean's inability to predict the outcome of his own journeys.

According to Milo, Diophanes once visited Hypata to sell prophecies. A merchant named Cerdo approached the seer and asked him about the best day to begin his business trip abroad. Scholars have pointed out that the merchant's name Cerdo is entirely appropriate, for it is associated with the Greek term κέρδος, meaning profit.[158] On the other hand, the term may also be taken as prefiguring the fact that Cerdo emerges unscathed from his meeting with Diophanes and loses no money. Furthermore, he gains the knowledge that street prophets are not worth trusting. While the would-be prophet is preparing to address Cerdo in front of a crowd, a friend unexpectedly arrives on the scene[159] and asks the seer how he arrived in Hypata and about his trip following his hurried departure from Euboea (2.13): *sed vicissim tu quoque, frater, mihi memora, quem ad modum exinde, ut de Euboea insula festinus enavigasti, et maris et viae confeceris iter* ("But now it is your turn, my dear brother. Tell me, after you sailed away from the island of Euboea in such a hurry, how was the rest of your trip, both by sea and on the road?").

Replying excitedly to his old friend, Diophanes completely forgets about the presence of Cerdo and the other bystanders, and begins narrating his misfortunes (2.14):[160]

> *'hostes', inquit, 'et omnes inimici nostri tam diram, immo vero Ulixeam peregrinationem incidant. nam et navis ipsa, qua vehebamur, variis turbinibus procellarum quassata, utroque regimine amisso aegre ad ulterioris ripae marginem detrusa praeceps*

158 van Mal-Maeder (2001) 222, s.v. *Cerdo quidam nomine*. See also Winkler (1985, 39), who interprets the name as implying a sly fox.

159 Jacobson (2004, 39) discusses the unexpected encounter of Diophanes with his old friend in relation to Hector's appearance to Aeneas at *Aeneid* 2.282–283: *quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris | exspectate venis?* ("what long delay has held you? From what shores, Hector, you come, the long looked for?" (the Latin text from Virgil cited in this work is from Mynor's OCT edition (1976); and the English translations are by Fairclough (1974) with modifications). The connection, Jacobson argues, is intended to underline the ghostly apparition of Diophanes, which is reinforced by his description as *suffusculus* (2.13, "rather swarthy"). The sudden encounter of the old friend with Diophanes, however, may also be understood as designed to call attention to the effects created by the intrusion of the unexpected in the events.

160 See Graverini (2003, 215), who differentiates Diophanes as narrator from that of the old woman who narrates the tale of Cupid and Psyche.

demersa est et nos omnibus amissis vix enatavimus. quodcumque vel ignotorum miseratione vel amicorum benivolentia contraximus, id omne latrocinalis invasit manus, quorum audaciae repugnans etiam Arignotus unicus frater meus sub istis oculis miser iugulatus est'.

'I wish all our foes and enemies would encounter such a dreadful, really Odyssean voyage. First, the ship we were sailing on was battered by storm-blasts from every direction, lost both its rudders, and was with difficulty beached on the farther shore, where it sank straight to the bottom. We lost all our belongings and barely managed to swim ashore. Whatever we then collected out of strangers' pity or friends' kindness was all stolen by a band of robbers, and Arignotus, my only brother, who was trying to put up a defence against their bold attack, had his throat slit before my very eyes, poor wretch.'

Despite defining the above misadventures as an *Ulixea peregrinatio*, "Odyssean voyage,"[161] Diophanes survives and reaches Hypata safely;

161 In Diophanes' tale Graverini (1998, 139–40) has pointed out some epic reminiscences from Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer's *Odyssey*. Montiglio (2007, 98, and note 2) observes that Diophanes is cast as a clumsy Odysseus because after cursing his journey by sea as an Odyssean voyage, he narrates his shipwreck, "which undermines the reliability of his divinations and costs him a customer on the spot". See also van Mal-Maeder (2001) 230. Yet, Diophanes' misfortunes both on sea and land may also help to establish several thematic connections with the famous shipwreck scene as related in the opening of Dio's *Euboicus* (*Or.* 7.2–3) (I owe this observation to Ewen Bowie *per sermones*; the text of Dio is quoted from de Budé's Teubner edition of (1916)):

ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀπὸ Χίου περαιούμενος μετά τινων ἁλιέων ἔξω τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας ἐν μικρῷ παντελῶς ἀκατίῳ. χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις διεσώθημεν πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀκάτιον εἰς τραχύν τινα αἰγιαλὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἐκβαλόντες διέφθειραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν πρός τινας πορφυρεῖς ὑφορμοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ πλησίον χηλῇ, κἀκείνοις συνεργάζεσθαι διενοοῦντο αὐτοῦ μένοντες. καταλειφθεὶς δὴ μόνος, οὐκ ἔχων εἰς τίνα πόλιν σωθήσομαι, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἄλλως ἐπλανώμην, εἴ πού τινας ἢ παραπλέοντας ἢ ὁρμοῦντας ἴδοιμι.

It chanced that at the close of the summer season I was crossing from Chios with some fishermen in a very small boat, when such a storm arose that we had great difficulty in reaching the hollows of Euboea in safety. The crew ran their boat up a rough beach under the cliffs, where it was wrecked, and then went off to a company of purple-fishers whose vessel was anchored in the shelter of the spur of rocks near by, and they planned to stay there and work along with them. So I was left alone, and not knowing of any town in which to seek shelter, I wandered aimlessly along the shore on the chance that I might find some boat sailing by or riding at anchor. (trans. Cohoon)

In both narratives the narrator and the fishermen suffer a sea-storm on their journey to mainland Greece; in both instances the storm takes place in the Euboean sea; on both occasions the vessel is sunk to the bottom of the sea; in both

his experience, as Slater correctly points out, may anticipate some of Lucius' experiences following the metamorphosis.[162]

Having overheard Diophanes' tale, Cerdo quickly grabs the fee he has paid out for the prophecy and runs away, while the crowd bursts into raucous laughter (2.14):

> *haec eo adhuc narrante maesto Cerdo ille negotiator correptis nummulis suis, quos divinationis mercedi destinaverat, protinus aufugit. ac dehinc tunc demum Diofanes expergitus sensit imprudentiae suae labem, cum etiam nos omnis circumsecus adstantes in clarum cachinnum videret effusos.*
>
> While he was still woefully recounting this tale, Cerdo the salesman snatched up the coins he had intended as payment for his prophecy and fled at full speed. It was only then that Diophanes finally woke up and discovered the catastrophe caused by his carelessness, when he saw all of us who were standing around dissolved into loud laughter.

Diophanes' latest misfortune in Hypata may be read as replicating his earlier tribulations in Euboea, where his hurried departure was in all likelihood due to a similar public embarrassment (2.13): *mihi memora, quem ad modum exinde, ut de Euboea insula festinus enavigasti, et maris et viae confeceris iter* ("Tell me, after you sailed away from the island of Euboea in such a hurry, how was the rest of your trip, both by sea and on the road?").

Judith K. Krabbe considers that Milo's tale has little relevance to the novel's narrative and that, if anything, it is intended to reinforce the sea-travel motif and possibly hint that Lucius too will have an *Ulixea peregrinatio*.[163] In the tale, however, Milo exposes Diophanes' fraudulence in selling prophecies for money while being unable to predict his own fortune in his travels. As a fraudulent prophet, Diophanes seems to anticipate the corrupt priests of the Syrian goddess, who devise a general and

---

accounts the precedent of shipwrecked Odysseus is recalled either indirectly in Dio or explicitly as is the case in Diophanes (on the Odyssean elements in the scene see Russel (1992) 8); in both narratives the narrator and Diophanes lost all their belongings; and in neither is the narrative delivered in Euboea. The similarities though develop no further. In Dio the narrator, after the storm, reached the shore of the island Euboea and received warm hospitality from a poor and humble hunter, in stark contrast to Apuleius where Diophanes and his company reached the mainland opposite to the island and experienced an attack by robbers who deprived them of all the belongings which they were given by passers by.

162 Slater (2002) 171.

163 Krabbe (2003) 475.

therefore a very clever prophecy and sell it to various people who ask for their advice (9.8):

> *ideo coniuncti terram proscindunt boves,*
> *ut in futurum laeta germinent sata.*
>
> Together yoked do cattle cleave the earth,
> To bring the fertile seeds to future birth.

This prophecy is applicable to many situations, predicting good fortune for those seeking marriage advice and for business travellers, for those intending to go hunting or even for soldiers planning to go to war. The corrupt priests who peddle it (9.8) recall Diophanes, who devises prophecies predicting the most auspicious day for strong marriage-bonds, lasting wall-foundations and advantageous travelling (2.12). That being said, the priests devise one general prophecy applying to several situations and then sell it to different people, whereas Diophanes devises different prophecies for individuals who raise distinct questions. Lucius, for example, seeks to find out the outcome of his journey to Thessaly, whereas Cerdo wishes to know the best day to embark on his business trip.

At the same time, in his own tale Milo indirectly criticizes Lucius for being so naïve as to believe in street prophets. This becomes possible as both Diophanes and Lucius are victims of their stupidity. As John Penwill points out, Milo's reading of Diophanes' tale is the miser's one: Cerdo is the clever businessman who saves his money, whereas Diophanes is mocked as a charlatan fortune-teller who could not foresee his own fortune.[164] Nevertheless, Apuleius presents Lucius as earning glory from his trip and becoming the subject of a lengthy book, thus implying that even charlatan prophets may occasionally get their prophecies right. The fulfillment of the prophecy given to Lucius by Diophanes indicates that the author takes a view of prophecy and magic that seems incompatible with that of Milo's scepticism. Yet, the very fact that Diophanes is presented as being incapable of predicting his own future is surely to be taken as proof that his earlier prophecy regarding Lucius is to be attributed to chance. Indeed, were it not for occasional successes, such tricksters would be unable to continue practising their art.

164 Penwill (1990) 10–11.

Lucius versus Cerdo

In several respects, the tales Lucius and Milo relate about Diophanes invite comparison between Lucius and Cerdo as recipients of prophecies from the same man: Both are presented as going on a business trip and both approach Diophanes with a view to learning information about their journey. Yet closer examination reveals marked contrasts between them.

Throughout his story, Milo implicitly criticizes Lucius for naively paying out for prophecies and believing in them (2.13–14). Lucius fails to understand any of this, and only blames himself for opening such a long, tedious conversation, as his mind is focused on the prospect of sexual antics with Photis later the same evening (2.15): *Haec Milone diutine sermocinante tacitus ingemescebam mihique non mediocriter suscensebam, quod ultro inducta serie inoportunarum fabularum partem bonam vesperae eiusque gratissimum fructum amitterem* ("As Milo kept chattering on and on, I was silently groaning and becoming not a little angry with myself for having voluntarily brought on this series of untimely tales and losing a good part of the evening and its most agreeable fruit"). In his anger, then Lucius dispenses with proper manners and brings the conversation with his host to an abrupt end first by cursing Diophanes and then seeking Milo's permission to go to bed, allegedly to turn in, but in truth in order to sleep with Photis (2.15). This reaction is set in stark opposition to that of Cerdo, who listens attentively to Diophanes' narration of his misfortunes both in sea and on land and draws the proper lesson from it, as suggested by his hasty departure from the scene, although Milo could hardly be said to be occupying the same role as Diophanes (2.14): *protinus aufugit* ("fled at full speed").

The contrast between Lucius and Cerdo also extends to the question of the seer's fee. As mentioned earlier, in his anger Lucius curses Diophanes, wishing that he might earn lots of money and then lose it in the sea, thus implicitly acknowledging that he himself has thrown his money down the drain: (2.15): *ferat suam Diophanes ille fortunam et spolia populorum rursum conferat mari pariter ac terrae* ("Let Diophanes suffer his own Fortune. Let him gather folks' loot again and consign it to sea and land alike"). The idea that Lucius has indeed paid out money to have his fortune told also emerges from his earlier portrayal of Diophanes as a seer who sells his prophecies for profit (2.12): *arcana fatorum stipibus emerendis edicit in vulgum* ("collecting donations for his public announcements of fate's secrets"). Of course, readers are already familiar

with the idea that Lucius is both gullible and obdurate: shortly after his arrival in Hypata, his former schoolmate Pythias reveals that he has been cheated in the fish market—Lucius fails to see this and only complains about losing his dinner and leaving the market empty-handed (1.25). In this respect, it would be hard to find anyone less like Cerdo, who quickly sees through Diophanes' fraud and emerges unscathed from the encounter with him (2.14).

Yet money is not the only dimension to the contrast between Lucius and Cerdo, which clearly runs right up to the end of the tale. At the end of Milo's narrative, Lucius seeks permission to go to his room, allegedly to turn in for the night, but in truth to spend it with Photis, whom he views as the easiest route to magic (2.15). He has thus plainly failed to learn anything from Milo: as a practitioner of magic, Photis can be seen as the remote equivalent of Diophanes, and involvement with her will ultimately lead to Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass and the misadventures lying at the core of the novel.[165]

Beyond this, it may even be argued that contrasts between Lucius and Cerdo are reflected on the morning of the Laughter festival. On that occasion, Lucius wakes up from his sleep and imagines his trial and execution for allegedly murdering three citizens, reflecting bitterly on Diophanes' prophecy (3.1): *hanc illam mihi gloriosam peregrinationem fore Chaldaeus Diophanes obstinate praedicabat* ("Yes, this is the fame my journey will bring me, as Diophanes the Chaldaean firmly foretold").

Lucius then is summoned by the magistrates to appear in a mock trial as part of the celebrations in honour of the Hypatans' god of Laughter, which Lucius takes for real. Once the trial is over, the Hypatan magistrates offer exceptional honours to the protagonist for his brilliant performance in the festival, but Lucius turns down their gesture because it would serve as an eternal reminder that he was tricked into playing the fool (3.11). On the other hand, in all likelihood, Cerdo rejects the prophecy he has been given out of hand and forgets the entire in-

165 The conversation about the supernatural in Milo's house replicates the earlier discussion about magic on the way to Hypata among the fellow travellers, the sceptical listener, Aristomenes and Lucius. Milo appears in the position of the sceptical listener to Aristomenes' tale; Pamphile and Diophanes take a place equivalent to the witches Meroe and Panthia; and Lucius appears in the place of Aristomenes, who tells the tale of Socrates. This renewed discussion about magic and the supernatural is appropriately told prior to Lucius' sexual adventures with Photis, whom he uses as the route to magic. The relationship between the two episodes is discussed by Winkler (1985) 43–44.

cident soon afterwards, as no further references are made to the incident thereafter and he is a character who only briefly appears in the narrative so as to illustrate a point.[166]

The prophecies of Diophanes and Asinius Marcellus

The validity of Diophanes' predictions best emerges from comparison with the prophecy offered to Lucius by Asinius Marcellus, priest of Osiris, in the novel's final Book, confirming that Lucius will win literary glory. Such a comparison further highlights the vast contrast between the false prophet of magic and the priest of true religion.

Following Lucius' restoration to human form through Isis' grace, and his initiation into her priesthood, Asinius Marcellus appears to Lucius and explains the vision in which the god has told him to conduct the initiation into the cult (11.27):[167]

> *nam sibi visus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat, … et de eius ore, quo singulorum fata dictat, audisse mitti sibi Madaurensem, sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sua sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari providentia.*
>
> He had had a dream on the preceding night: while he was arranging garlands for the great god, he heard from the god's own mouth, with which he pronounces each person's fate, that a man from Madauros was being sent to him; the man was quite poor, but it behoved the priest to administer the god's initiation rites to him at once, since by the god's providence the man would acquire fame for his studies and the priest himself ample recompense.

Asinius' prophecy recalls that made by Diophanes in several ways. Just as Asinius foretells a promising future for Lucius (11.27): *studiorum gloriam* ("the man would acquire fame for his studies"), so Diophanes foretold great glory (2.12): *gloriam satis floridam* ("my reputation will really flourish"). The use of the term *florida* could be taken as an allusion to Apuleius' rhetorical work, the *Florida*. In both cases, the seers gain something: Asinius is promised a reward for conducting his initiation into the mysteries of the god (11.27): *grande compendium* ("ample recompense"), while Diophanes has been paid for his prophecy, as is clear

166 Winkler (1985) 40.

167 The very name of the priest who is to conduct Lucius' initiation—Asinius Marcellus—recalls Lucius' former status as an ass (11.27): *reformationis meae non alienum nomen* ("a name not at all inappropriate to my metamorphosis").

from Lucius' curse (2.15): *ferat suam Diophanes … spolia populorum rursum conferat mari pariter ac terrae* ("Let Diophanes … gather folks' loot again and consign it to sea and land alike"). Yet here the similarities end. Asinius is portrayed as genuinely communicating divine will, unlike Diophanes, who has been exposed as a charlatan prophet. Moreover, the agent behind the meeting between seer and questioner is different: whereas Lucius as questioner deliberately sought out advice from Diophanes, the false prophet (2.12): *mihi … inquirenti* ("when I asked him"), the opposite is true in the case of his encounter with Asinius, the representative of what is truly divine (11.27). This may indicate that the validity of the second prophecy is not merely a matter of chance. The fact that Diophanes, the false seer, and Asinius, priest of true religion, say essentially the same thing—that Lucius will win literary glory—can be explained by the fact that even representatives of false religion may enjoy some success in their art, but that the outcome must be attributed to chance rather than to true supernatural powers.[168]

The element of chance associated with Diophanes' prophecies also characterizes the witches, given that they too are occasionally prone to error. The connection between false seers and true witches becomes understandable as they both try to foretell the development of events through an appeal to the supernatural.

In several instances, witches turn out to be successful in their arts. Thus in Socrates' account of Meroe's exploits, the witch successfully changes her ex-lovers or people who speak against her into other beings, to take revenge on their various offences against her (1.9–10). Later in the same tale, Meroe and her sister Panthia are effective in their use of magic crafts: Meroe inserts her sword in the neck of her lover Socrates and pulls out his heart, while Panthia inserts a sponge in the wound in order to cover it (1.4–9). The ensuing death of Socrates in the manner the witches ordained proves beyond doubt that they are capable of performing magic with disastrous effects. Likewise, Lucius' aunt Byrrhena describes Pamphile as a witch with such tremendous powers that she is capable of turning the world upside down (2.5). In 3.21 Pamphile changes herself into an owl at will and flies to her Boeotian lover.

168 See Smith (1972, 534), who observes: "The prophecy of Diophanes, predicting the eternal glory of Apuleius' novel, is trivial and untrustworthy at best; the prophecy of Osiris, predicting the eternal glory bestowed by the gods, must be believed".

On the other hand, in the tale of the miller's wife (9.5–31), the wife resorts to a witch with a request either to calm her husband's wrath towards her or to kill the miller. The witch initially fails in her attempts to soften the miller's wrath (9.29). She therefore puts her other plan into effect, and soon the miller is found dead, hanging from a noose in his room after being visited by a ghost sent to him (9.30). Thus magic, which is allegedly employed for erotic purposes, is only capable of destroying love. In a similar vein, the witch slave girl Photis turns Lucius into an ass rather than an owl, as Lucius himself wished, through a mistake in the use of magic ointments (3.24–25). Likewise, in the tale of Thelyphron (2.19–30) the witches raise the wrong man and take parts from his body to use them in their magic crafts. In the same tale, Zatchlas the priest (2.28–30), who seems to anticipate Isis' priests in terms of appearance and religious practice, and thus the superiority of divinely inspired powers over base magic, successfully raises the widow's husband for a short time, so that he can testify to the circumstances of his death. In both instances though, i. e. whether the witches succeed or fail in their magic crafts, the result is equally disastrous. The element of chance that characterizes the worlds of magic and the supernatural is set in antithesis to the world ruled by Isis, where nothing is left to chance, as Isis is a goddess of providence and of *Fortuna videns* ("all seeing fortune") in the world.

In his prophecy, Asinius the priest somewhat surprisingly identifies Lucius as a man from Madaura in Africa (11.27: *Madaurensem*), Apuleius' homeland, whereas readers have already been told that Lucius is a native of Corinth.[169] The identification of Lucius at the novel's end with a name that is appropriate for the extratextual author, strikes a parallel with Lucius, in the symmetrical position at the novel's opening, where he claims descent from the famous Plutarch and his philosopher nephew Sextus, two other extratextual authors mentioned in the work (1.2): *nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt* ("where the ancestry of my mother's family brings us fame in the persons of the renowned Plutarch and later his nephew, the philosopher Sextus"). Later, Lucius' aunt Byrrhena confirms to her nephew their common origin

169 With the help of the gods, Lucius pursues his legal studies and career as a court orator, earning both money and fame (11.29–30). His success in the court is such that it gives rise to jealousy among his rivals.

from the famous family of Plutarch (2.3):[170] *nam et familia Plutarchi ambae prognatae sumus* ("We are both descendants of Plutarch's family"). The link created via the mutual interrelation of all these figures is meant to emphasize their literary kinship, as they all seem to share similar philosophical and religious concerns.[171]

Most lately Julia Gaisser has explained this identification of the Greek Lucius in the prophecy, as Apuleius, the North African author, as suggestive of the author's powers as an impersonator:

> Apuleius holds on to it just long enough to put on the mask of Lucius, or perhaps to let Lucius put on the mask of Apuleius, giving the reader a final reminder of his powers as an impersonator.

This identification of Lucius with details that are relevant to the novel's extratextual author may seem awkward at first, but it can be accounted for. The novel is written as a first person narrative; in this mode, Lucius the narrator tells the story of his adventures, just like the extratextual author, who composes his work for the novel's readers. Though of course distinct, the roles of narrator and author often merge, since features that characterize the author may also apply to the narrator within the work, and vice-versa.[172] The novel begins with similar confusion over the identity of the prologue speaker (1.1):

> *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam—modo si papyrum Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere—, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum mutuo nexu refectas ut mireris. exordior. quis ille? paucis accipe.*
>
> But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style of yours, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper, if only you will not begrudge looking at Egyptian papyrus inscribed with the sharpness of a reed from the Nile, so that you may be amazed at men's forms and fortunes transformed into other shapes and then restored again in an interwoven knot. I begin my prologue. Who am I? I will tell you briefly.

170 See Krabbe (2003) 65–66.

171 I owe this observation to Ewen Bowie *per sermones*. On this 'biographical' genealogy, see Montiglio (2007) 97.

172 For a brilliant survey of the various autobiographical, narratological and other explanations advanced with regard to the problematic identification of Lucius with the author, see Harrison (2000) 228–230. Harrison also offers a metafictional reading of Asinius' prophecy (p. 231–232), arguing that in what appears as a disruption of dramatic illusion the text comments on its own fictionality.

In these opening lines, the identity of the prologue speaker is not clear and could be either the author or the narrator within the work.[173]

The confusion about the identity of the speaker disappears in the ensuing 'biographical section' which follows later in the preface (1.1):

> *Hymettos Attica et Isthmos Ephyrea et Taenaros Spartiaca, glebae felices aeternum libris felicioribus conditae, mea vetus prosapia est; ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui.*
>
> Attic Hymettos and Ephyrean Isthmos and Spartan Taenaros, fruitful lands preserved forever in even more fruitful books, form my ancient stock. There I served my stint with the Attic tongue in the first campaigns of childhood.

In this section the narrator is portrayed as Greek, since details about the prologue speaker's identity match those of the narrating 'I' and not with those of the author, who is a native of Madaura, a province in North Africa, thus eliminating the confusion with the identity of the narrating 'I'.[174]

---

173 Dowden (1982, 435) reads this concern on the authorial preoccupation with identity and, especially, the narrator in the prologue, as typical of rhetorical practice.

174 Likewise, following the Laughter festival the magistrates of Hypata inform Lucius that the city has decreed to offer Lucius special honours and build his image in bronze for helping them to carry out another year of celebrations in honour of the god of laughter (3.11): *nam et patronum scribsit et ut in aere stet imago tua decrevit* ("it has inscribed you as its patron and decreed that your likeness be preserved in bronze"). This reference has been taken as an implicit allusion to the author who was so honoured by the senate of Carthage as this becomes clear from *Flor.* 16, where the author expresses his thanks for this great honour and only expresses his concern for the expense for the bronze which he thinks would not be a problem (Krabbe 2003, 326, 335, note 19, with further discussion and bibliography; for *Flor.* 16, see Hunink 2001, 153–170). There is also evidence that Apuleius was honoured with statues by two other cities, Oea and Madauros, in which the base with an inscription has actually been found (see Hunink (2001) 154). Unlike the author, who states his thanks for the honour (*Flor.* 16), Lucius turns down these exceptional honours of the Hypatan community as they would serve as a reminder of the role as a fool in the festival.

A similar portrayal of Lucius, with features that apply to the author, appears at the end of the old woman's tale of Cupid and Psyche, where the narrator Lucius regrets not having a pen and tablets to write down the tale (6.25): *sed astans ego non procul dolebam mehercules, quod pugillares et stilum non habebam, qui tam bellam fabellam praenotarem* ("I was standing not far off, and by Hercules I was upset not to have tablets and stilus to write down such a pretty tale"). In these lines the narrator refers to the writing tools used by an author and also makes a comment on the literary merit of the tale, already included in the work.

This occasional blurring of the limits between the two distinct roles of the first-person narrator and extratextual author may explain why the priest identifies the former in terms that are, in fact, appropriate for the latter.[175] It further allows us to think that Apuleius may have written the work starting from personal experiences, without wishing to suggest that the author has turned his work into an autobiographical narrative.

There are several features that apply to both Lucius and the extratextual author that may facilitate this occasional blurring between the distinct roles of first person narrator and author:[176] both have travelled to mainland Greece and stayed in Athens; both have defended themselves against charges which were proven false; both moved to Rome; both were connected with Platonic philosophy: the narrator through his relation to the Middle Platonic philosophers, Plutarch and his nephew Sextus, and the author as a Platonist; both were initiated into several mystery cults; and both were distinguished as successful orators. It is important to observe that this blurring of roles does not occur in the prophecy of the false seer Diophanes, but only in Asinius' prophecy, as if to lend divine authority to the extratextual author through the novel's first person narrator. Through this brilliant narratological device, which flaunts the discrepancies between the novel's fictionality and reality, Apuleius can make a self-referential comment on his own status

175 See Gaisser (2008), 17, who also makes a similar observation, although her reading of 11.27 differs from mine (pp. 18–19):

> The identification of Apuleius with his hero Lucius was largely a natural consequence of using a first person narrator: the "I" of a novel, like the "I" of an oration or poem, invites an autobiographical reading. But Apuleius exploits this effect and plays with it, creating in Lucius a character whose features both differ from and resemble those of his own persona. The differences are great enough to prevent us from eliding Lucius with Apuleius; the resemblances are great enough to encourage the identification (and as we shall see presently, one detail positively requires it).

176 Harrison (2000) 217–218. Harrison also offers a list of features that first person protagonist and author appear to share, thus rendering Lucius a more realistic character. For a list of similarities and contrasts between Lucius and Apuleius, see Gaisser (2008) 17–18. For Apuleius' assumption of the priesthood see Hunink (2001) 168 s.v. *suscepti sacerdoti* (16.38). This aura of historicity, as Penwill (1990, 14) observes, should not be taken as a signal that we are reading Apuleius' autobiography.

and glory as the composer of the work, in common with that of the first-person narrator within the work.[177]

By focusing on Milo's tale of the prophet Diophanes, I hope to have elucidated how Apuleius eloquently brings out Lucius' foolishness in his naïve belief in false prophecies and magic, unlike his counterpart, the merchant Cerdo, who realizes that Diophanes is a charlatan and does not waste his money. That Diophanes' prophecy turns out to be a truthful one, as Lucius earns literary glory and becomes subject of a great book, has been explained by the fact that even representatives of magic may occasionally have some success in their art, as happens with the novel's witches, but that the difference between magic and true religion ultimately lies in the higher moral stance of the latter. Lucius, though, fails to learn from his unpleasant experience of listening to Milo's tale of Diophanes and instead retires to his bed, allegedly in order to go to sleep, but in truth so as to consort with Photis as a route to magic. Lucius is thus portrayed as being fully responsible for, and deserving of, the additional ridicule in store for him as a result of his obstinate pursuit of magic and the supernatural.

In the present discussion we focused on Lucius' foolishness in his naïve belief in the supernatural, by exploring the affiliation between false prophecy and magic as both rely on chance for their effectiveness. We have also traced affiliations between internal readers and the extratextual author. In the next chapter we will develop further intratextual comparisons by exploring interconnections between Lucius' fortune and the fate suffered by Thelyphron as victim of the witches' magic.

177 For a different reading see Montiglio (2007, 107), who points out that the author takes over his character, for Lucius does not exhibit any intellectual sophistication. This implies that Apuleius will earn literary fame for his work and that Osiris, Isis' husband, is vouching for it.

Chapter 4
Lucius versus Thelyphron

To some extent, Lucius' experience in his encounter with the wineskins (2.32) and his ensuing ridicule in the Laughter festival (3.12) reflect structural and thematic features in the misadventures of Thelyphron, who suffers permanent mutilation by witches while guarding a corpse (2.21–29). As a victim, Thelyphron is called upon by Byrrhena to recount his tale, so as to instruct her nephew Lucius about the dangers of magic, and to divert the other guests at the dinner party she holds on the eve of the Laughter festival. The following morning, Lucius is exposed to ridicule as a result of the magic animating the wineskins he has 'slaughtered' outside Milo's house. Although Lucius has consciously involved himself with the witch Photis when the wineskin episode occurs, he has not yet actively used her. On the other hand, from the very outset, Thelyphron is aware that there is an inherent risk in agreeing to guard a corpse—yet it is a risk he is willing to take for the sake of financial gain, in the mistaken belief that he will escape unscathed. As we have seen, Lucius fails to learn anything from the two narratives he witnesses from other victims of magic, the tale of Thelyphron and his ensuing accidental encounter with sorcery; instead, he begs Photis to compensate for the role she inadvertently played in the Laughter festival by introducing him to magic and to transform him into an owl. Rather than being changed into an owl, the symbol of power and wisdom, Lucius is turned into an ass, the very personification of stupidity, due to Photis' faulty use of magic ointments. Even so, Lucius is only temporarily disfigured for the duration of his adventures, as he resumes his former self thanks to Isis' grace, in stark contrast to Thelyphron who did not encounter Isis and is thus marked for life. This difference may be explained by the fact that Lucius, contrary to what happens to Thelyphron, involves himself with Photis, who is a sorcerer's apprentice and not a real witch, which eventually leaves the prospect of his salvation open.

The great majority of scholars have treated the narratives of Thelyphron and the Laughter festival in isolation, with two notable excep-

tions:[178] firstly, James Tatum who makes brief comments on some similarities between Lucius' fate in the trial and that of Thelyphron and Aristomenes;[179] and secondly Maeve O'Brien, who points out that the tale of Thelyphron foreshadows the stories in Books 7–10 about voracious and avaricious wives; O'Brien also observes that the tale comes right be-

178 The Laughter festival has either been read in terms of religious syncretism as a kind of initiation into the mysteries of Dionysus/Liber with allusion to other festivals as well, such as the Askolia (Bartallucci 1988, 51–65); or as a scapegoat ritual (Habinek 1990, 49–69); or as an integration rite (Frangoulidis 2002b, 177–188). On the other hand, Bajoni (1998, 197–203) claims that no specific festival can be identified in the narrative. Other scholars have examined the theatrical context, and substructure of the narrative (Penwill 1990, 5), or discussed the comic implications emerging from the notion of parody of procedure and the characteristics of law-court (Walsh 1970, 58, and 155). Slater (2003, 87–93) has assessed the Laughter festival from the perspective of the first person narration as an indication of the power of spectacle over life and death. Special mention should be made of Krabbe (2003, 321–335), who points out the connections between Cicero's speech in defense of T. Milo's killing of Clodius, and Lucius' speech in the novel, in defence of his alleged killing of three robbers who attempted to break into the house of his host, also named Milo. The purpose of these connections, as Krabbe (2003, 332) correctly points out, is either a display of the author's erudition or an attempt to offer pleasure to the readers, who can recognize the parallels and parody in the work. On the other hand, the tale of Thelyphron has either been seen as a careless contamination of three independent stories—a tale of witches, a scene of necromancy and an adultery tale (Perry 1967, 264–273). Schlam (1992, 70) interprets the tale's contamination as "evidence of one of the ways the thematic structure is established in the work"; and Shumate (1996, 81; and 1999, 114) as an instance of the law of causality breaking down as the witches unexpectedly change their strategy and take parts from the 'wrong' dead man. Some have explored the affiliation of this tale with the earlier tale of Aristomenes (Walsh 1970, 153–154). Meyrhofer (1975, 75–80) has discussed the tales told by Aristomenes and Thelyphron from the perspective of their poor stitching which characterizes tales that involve the supernatural, and thus reinforce the comic and horrific effect of the narrative; whereas Grimal (1971, 343–355) has investigated the presence of the Egyptian elements in both tales. Winkler (1985, 113–114) has illuminated the switch of roles between guard and the dead husband towards the tale's end; while Murgatroyd (2004b, 493–497) has discussed the extensive use of irony and foreshadowing, which becomes clear on a second reading of the tale, after readers learn the outcome. Most lately, O'Brien (2004, 161–173) develops associations between Thelyphron and the type of sophists whom Apuleius found in several of Plato's works, such as *Critias*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, and *Meno*.

179 Tatum (1979) 49; also Tatum (1969) 497, but the point is developed no further.

fore the day of the Laughter festival but does not develop this idea any further.[180]

Yet, to my knowledge, no systematic comparison between Lucius and Thelyphron as victims of witchcraft has been undertaken to date. In what follows, I hope to elucidate the points of contact and divergence between Lucius and Thelyphron as victims of magic. The underlying differences make Lucius' punishment a variant of that suffered by Thelyphron, in alignment with the theme of metamorphosis in the work.

Space here does not allow us to develop similarities and contrasts between the guard and the dead in the tale of Thelyphron, but particularly striking points of contact will be developed especially in the notes as we proceed.

At the end of Thelyphron's tale, Byrrhena informs her nephew that the following day is dedicated to the god of Laughter, and encourages him to think of some witty way to celebrate this great god with his presence (2.31):

> *'Sollemnis', inquit, 'dies a primis cunabulis huius urbis conditus crastinus advenit, quo die soli mortalium sanctissimum deum Risum hilaro atque gaudiali ritu propitiamus. hunc tua praesentia nobis efficies gratiorem. atque utinam aliquid de proprio lepore laetificum honorando deo comminiscaris, quo magis pleniusque tanto numini litemus'.*
>
> 'Tomorrow there comes a holiday,' she said, 'founded during this city's infancy. On that day we alone in the world seek to propitiate the most sacred god Laughter with merry and joyful ritual. By your presence you will make this a happier occasion for us. And I hope you will invent something cheerful from your own wit to honour the god with, to help us appease this powerful deity better and more thoroughly'.

Lucius agrees, and then leaves in a drunken state, accompanied by his slave.

Like Lucius, the Thelyphron who comes from Miletus meets an old man in the forum of Larissa. This old man is looking to hire someone to guard a corpse during the vigil. The reference to Miletus may be taken as an allusion to the Milesian character of the tale. Unlike Lucius, who does not receive any warning from his aunt or the bystander with Byrrhena about the dangers presented by magic that same night (2.32), Thelyphron becomes fully aware of the dangers of guarding a corpse:

180 O'Brien (2004) 172, and further reference there on the foretaste on the situation that will become quite regular in Books 7–10.

he turns to a passer-by seeking information about the job and the passer-by explains to him the risks involved (2.22):[181]

> *'iam primum', respondit ille, 'perpetem noctem eximie vigilandum est exertis et inconivis oculis semper in cadaver intentis nec acies usquam devertenda, immo ne obliquanda quidem, quippe cum deterrimae versipelles in quodvis animal ore converso latenter adrepant, ut ipsos etiam oculos Solis et Iustitiae facile frustrentur; nam et aves et rursum canes et mures, immo vero etiam muscas induunt. tunc diris cantaminibus somno custodes obruunt. nec satis quisquam definire poterit, quantas latebras nequissimae mulieres pro libidine sua comminiscuntur. nec tamen huius tam exitiabilis operae merces amplior quam quaterni vel seni ferme offeruntur aurei. ehem, et, quod paene praeterieram, siqui non integrum corpus mane restituerit, quidquid inde decerptum deminutumque fuerit, id omne de facie sua desecto sarcire compellitur'.*
>
> 'First of all,' he replied, 'you must stay perfectly wide awake all night long, with straining unblinking eyes concentrated continuously on the corpse. You must never look around you, or even look aside, because those horrible creatures can change their skins and creep in secretly with their looks transformed into any sort of animal at all. They could easily cheat even the Sun's eyes, or Justice's. They put on the form of birds, and again dogs, and mice—yes, and even flies. Then with their dreadful spells they overwhelm watchmen with sleep. No one can even count the number of subterfuges these evil women contrive on behalf of their lust. And yet, as pay for such dangerous work no more than four or maybe six pieces of gold are offered. Oh yes, and I had almost forgotten to mention that if someone fails to deliver the body unscathed in the morning, he is forced to patch any part that has been plucked off or reduced in size with a piece sliced from his own face'.

In the manner of an orally delivered contract, the speech by the passer-by clearly indicates that the set task is fraught with danger. However, Thelyphron foolishly overestimates his abilities: he turns to the old man and informs him that he will take on the job, ironically describing himself as more keen-sighted than the mythic figures Lynceus and Argus (2.23), rather in the way that Lucius compares himself to Hercules once he has overcome the wineskins (2.32).

Thelyphron receives further information about the demands of his role as guard when the old man leads him to the house of the deceased and introduces him to a matrona, dressed in black and wailing loudly

181 In intratextual terms, Thelyphron, whose horrible experience begins on the way to the Olympic games, recalls Aristomenes, whose worst misfortune takes place on the way to watch a gladiatorial spectacle near Larissa. On this parallel, see Scobie (1978b) 52. An additional element may be that more than one witch is present in both tales.

over the loss of her husband (2.23). Thelyphron makes a comment on the widow's looks (2.23): etiam *in maerore luculentam proferens faciem* ("revealing a face beautiful even in grief"), which may recall Socrates when he defines the inn-keeper Meroe as old but somewhat beautiful (1.7). In turn, this serves to characterize the young man as a would-be lover, and thus in a roughly similar position to the dead husband who was poisoned by his wife for the sake of her adulterer. Having taken Thelyphron into the next room, the widow shows him the corpse in the presence of seven witnesses (2.24): *'ecce', inquit, 'nasus integer, incolumes oculi, salvae aures, inlibatae labiae, mentum solidum'* ("'Look', she said, 'nose whole, eyes unharmed, ears sound, lips untouched, chin solid'").

In this section the emphasis falls on external body parts, i. e. nose, eyes, fingers and toes, which usually undergo a change when metamorphosis occurs. In fact, Thelyphron is to discover this at his own expense the following morning, soon after the attendants confirm that he has fulfilled his role as guard.

At the beginning of his assignment, Thelyphron's request for a lamp, abundant wine, food and a drinking cup to take into the room reveals his failure to understand his role as guard; rather than staying alert, he seeks to recreate the atmosphere of a night time feast (2.24): *'Lucerna', aio, 'praegrandis et oleum ad lucem luci sufficiens et calida cum oenophoris et calice cenarumque reliquiis discus ornatus'* ("'A very big lamp,' I answered, 'and enough oil to keep a light until daylight, and hot water with jugs of wine and a drinking cup, and a platter decked out with leftovers from dinner'"). This is not unlike that enjoyed by Lucius and Photis prior to his sexual adventures with her in his room (2.15): *et grabattulum meum adstitit mensula cenae totius honestas reliquias tolerans et calices boni iam infuso latice semipleni solam temperiem sustinentes* ("In front of my cot stood a little table displaying some fine leftovers from the whole supper, and good-sized cups already half full of poured wine awaiting only tempering"). The widow, however, who plays out the role of the bereaved spouse, orders the guard to assume a suitably mournful posture and instructs her attendant Myrrhine to give him nothing more than a lamp and to lock him up in the same room as the deceased (2.24): *'Myrrhine', inquit, 'lucernam et oleum trade confestim et incluso custode cubiculo protinus facesse'* ("Myrrhine, hand over the lamp and oil quickly, lock the watchman inside the room, and go away at once").[182] In spatial terms, the

182 In spatial terms the enclosure of the dead and the guard in the same room invokes Aristomenes and Socrates, described as a 'living dead' in the inn. In the

widow's orders can be seen as highlighting the connection between the guard and the deceased husband in their common role as rejected mates. Thelyphron is left alone to protect the corpse from the witches during the vigil, fully aware of the dangers of magic, in contrast to Lucius, who did not have any concrete information about the dangers of magic when returning home from Byrrhena's banquet.

Contact with magic

In both narratives, the encounter with magic then takes place. On the road, a gust of wind blows out the candles Lucius and his servant are carrying, forcing them to walk home in the dark. Upon their arrival at Milo's home, the 'murder' scene takes place (2.32). Having slain the three 'robbers' with his sword, Lucius enters the house in full sweat and goes to bed, in the mistaken belief that he has accomplished an epic deed: (2.32): *meque statim utpote pugna trium latronum in vicem Geryoneae caedis fatigatum, lecto simul et somo tradidi* ("and immediately—as befitted a man exhausted in battle against three thieves in the manner of the slaughter of Geryon—I surrendered simultaneously to bed and sleep").[183] At this point, readers of the novel cannot perceive the full extent of Lucius' deception, as the first-person narrator fails to understand the significance of events.

This initial contact with magic evokes Thelyphron's misadventures when guarding the corpse. In the beginning, he tries to stay awake by rubbing his eyes and singing (2.25): *perfrictis oculis et obarmatis ad vigilias animum meum permulcebam cantationibus* ("I rubbed my eyes and armed them for their guard duty. I beguiled my spirit with songs as dusk came"). Around midnight a weasel enters the room, and the guard tries to chase it away, forgetting that witches change themselves into other forms, as is discussed below. The creature withdraws, but Thely-

enclosed space of the room the witches will exercise their magic rites to take parts from the dead, just as the witches Meroe and Panthia burst into the inn to perform their magic rites on Socrates and Aristomenes. Finally, the witches in the tale of Thelyphron try to perform their magic rites on the 'corpse' at midnight, i. e. at the same time as Meroe and Panthia.

183 Kenaan (2004, 264) observes here an allusion to Book 6 of the *Aeneid* where:

> At the sight of the ghost of the three bodied Geryon, Aeneas draws his sword preparing to stab what the Sibyl assures him to be "an empty phantom of form" (6.292–293: *cava sub imagine formae*).

phron then falls into a deep sleep, which he identifies as a descent into the underworld (2.25):

> *nec mora, cum me somnus profundus in imum barathrum repente demergit, ut ne deus quidem Delficus ipse facile discerneret duobus nobis iacentibus, quis esset magis mortuus. sic inanimis et indigens alio custode paene ibi non eram.*
>
> Instantly deep slumber plunged me swiftly down to the bottom of the abyss. Even the god of Delphi could not easily have decided which of the two of us lying there was more dead. I was so lifeless and so much in need of another guardian for myself that I was practically not there.

In this passage, the description of the guard falling into deep slumber as *imum barathrum* (2.25) suggests the representation of sleep as death, while the expression (2.25): *ne deus quidem Delficus ipse facile discerneret duobus nobis iacentibus, quis esset magis mortuus*, points to the equation of the guard with the dead. His ensuing reference to his own need for a guard (2.25: *inanimis et indigens alio custode*), because of his death-like sleep, creates a parallel with the corpse during the night, and this in turn prefigures the resurrection of the dead husband when the witches call the dead by his name, in order to take parts from his body and use them in their magic arts (2.30). The similarity though discloses a contrast. Lucius is awake when he unwittingly comes into contact with magic, albeit in a drunken state, and thus mistakes the wineskins animated by Pamphile for robbers (2.32). On the other hand, Thelyphron has fallen into deep sleep when he comes into contact with the witches and his falling to sleep accounts for his failure to perceive what happened during the night.

Consequences

In both narratives Lucius and Thelyphron, following the encounter with magic, are filled with terror. On the morning after his encounter with the wineskins, Lucius' earlier joy at his heroics is transformed into remorse, as he imagines he will be put on trial and prosecuted for triple murder (3.1). His terror is so great that he completely forgets about the Laughter festival.[184] The Hypatan magistrates then take advantage of Lucius' fears, and burst into his room along with the crowd, arrest him and lead him through the streets as part of the Laughter festival celebrations

184 May (2006) 187. May also collects some evidence on the god and the festival (pp. 187–188).

(3.2). The procession reaches the court, but the procedure is moved to the theatre due to overcrowding (3.2). The illusion of events is maintained: Lucius has allegedly murdered three citizens; he must thus be put on trial and face a ritual catharsis before his integration into the community of Hypata. In this manner, the Hypatans plan to honour their god of Laughter.

The events in the theatre represent two different situations. For Lucius it is an actual trial, while for the Hypatans it is a staged event as part of the celebrations. In the mock trial, the night watchman appears in the orchestra, presents himself as an eyewitness to the crime and asks that Lucius be severely punished for allegedly killing three citizens (3.3). The presence of the night watchman marks the first instance in the novel in which public officials are portrayed performing their job well, whereas in the past the governor's troops were completely unable to secure public safety (2.18): *passim trucidatos per medias plateas videbis iacere, nec praesidis auxilia longinqua levare civitatem tanta clade possunt* ("you will see people lying murdered everywhere right out in the street, and the governor's troops are too far away to relieve the town of all this slaughter"). Furthermore, the night watchman brings to mind the importance of witnesses, as stressed earlier by Aristomenes, when he expresses his concern over the absence of any other travellers who could testify that he did not kill his friend (1.19). In his own defence, Lucius adds vivid details in his encounter with the criminals representing himself as saviour of his host's house and the city (3.4–5). He even records the exhortation of the ringleader to his group in order to show his innocence (3.5). At the end of his defence, he looks at the crowd, in tears, and observes, to his amazement, that the people burst into laughter. Lucius' horror becomes even greater when the widows of the dead appear in the orchestra and demand severe punishment of the murderer for killing their husbands and leaving their young children orphans (3.8). The judge orders that Lucius be tortured in order to confess who his assistants were, because he cannot have committed such a monstrous crime on his own. Though he is a freeborn nobleman, Lucius runs the risk of severe torture normally only inflicted on slaves. Before the punishment is carried out, one of the widows of the dead reappears in the orchestra and asks the judges to uncover the bodies of the dead so that the lictors can see the magnitude of the crime and punish the murderer more severely (3.9). The 'trial' must come to an end with the revelation of the allegedly dead bodies. With the force of the lictors Lucius uncovers the bodies and discovers that the corpses were inflated

wineskins, pierced at the points where he stabbed the previous night. The 'slaughter' of wineskins as a substitute for babies in a religious festival has both tragic and comic antecedents (Euripides' *Telephus* and Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* respectively).[185] The entire process petrifies Lucius, who stands like a statue in the theatre, realizing that his performance in the mock trial and the revelation are as painful as the punishment he imagined he would receive (3.10): *at ego ut primum illam laciniam prenderam, fixus in lapidem steti gelidus nihil secus quam una de ceteris theatri statuis vel columnis. nec prius ab inferis emersi, quam Milon hospes accessit* ("As for me, from the moment I had pulled back that cloth I stood stock still, frozen into stone just like one of the other statues or columns in the theatre. And I did not rise from the dead until my host Milo came up to me and took hold of me"). Here the demobilizing metaphors and comparisons, as Lateiner correctly points out, mark one of Lucius' many 'deaths' in the novel's narrative.[186] In the meantime, the crowd burst into unrestrained laughter.[187]

Lucius' initial remorse on waking up evokes Thelyphron, when he wakes up in terror from his death-like sleep on the morning following his unwitting encounter with the witches in the room, although he knows nothing of this encounter at the time (2.26): *tandem expergitus et nimio pavore perterritus cadaver accurro* ("I finally woke up and in great panic ran terrified to the corpse"). Thelyphron then examines the corpse and discovers that it is unharmed (2.26): *et ammoto lumine revelataque eius facie rimabar singula, quae cuncta convenerant* ("I moved a light up close, uncovered his face, and carefully scrutinised it item by item: they all tallied"). Moreover, like Lucius, who remains unaware of the role of magic in his ordeal with the wineskins, Thelyphron is ignorant of the fact that he himself has fallen victim to witchcraft during the vigil. The parallels, however, may be designed to bring out a contrast. The Hypatans take advantage of Lucius' fears, as he has forgotten the festival, and stage a mock trial by taking Lucius first to court and then to the the-

185 May (2006) 195–198.

186 Lateiner (2001) 231.

187 Harrison (2000, 10) develops the interesting association between Lucius' trial in the Laughter festival and Apuleius' *Apologia*, his defence speech to refute charges of employing magic in order to win over his wife Prudentilla and gain possession of her substantial dowry. Like Lucius, who was accused of triple murder, Apuleius was accused of using magic. In both cases, Lucius and Apuleius were acquitted of the charges; both men were rewarded the honour of a statue. See also May (2006) 182.

atre allegedly to face murder charges, but in actual fact in order to carry out another celebration in honour of the god of Laughter. Their action is not deprived of a seeming reason: Lucius has allegedly committed a triple murder and thus must go through a kind of a ritual 'catharsis' in public before his integration into the community of Hypata.[188] This is most unlike Thelyphron, who renders the corpse intact to the bereavers, and in that sense has done nothing other than what was asked of him.

In the sequence both Lucius and Thelyphron are offered their just rewards for playing out their roles. Following Lucius' return home with his host (3.10), the Hypatan magistrates re-enter Lucius' room in their stately attire, thus signalling the abandonment of their role of *judices* in the performance of the 'trial'. Their speech performs the function of explaining the rite to him in every perspective (3.11). First, the magistrates reveal their awareness of Lucius' noble birth and learning, while encouraging him to dispel his grief.[189] This reference to the protagonist's origins only serves to stress his foolishness in his naïve inability to see through the spectacle staged at his expense. Second, the magistrates define this trial as *lusus*, which the entire community celebrates in honor of the god Laughter. They explain that the success of this *lusus* depends on its novelty value, in this way implicitly making a metaliterary comment on the novel aspect of Lucius' role in the festival, due to his false belief that he had killed three citizens (3.11): *nam lusus iste, quem publice gratissimo deo Risui per annua reverticula sollemniter celebramus, semper commenti novitate florescit* ("You see, the public holiday which we regularly celebrate after the passage of a year in honour of Laughter, the most pleasing of gods, always blossoms with some novel invention"). Third, the magistrates assure Lucius that the god always takes the *auctor* "maker" and *actor* under his protection, never letting him experience grief (3.11): *iste deus auctorem et actorem suum propitius ubique comitabitur amanter* ("That god will propitiously and lovingly accompany the man who has been both his producer and his performer, wherever he may go").[190] Finally, the magistrates inform Lucius that the city has decided

188 For a reading of the mock trial as a community integration rite see Frangoulidis (2002b) 177–188.

189 Harrison (2000) 215–219.

190 Finkelpearl (1998) 89; see also May (2006) 205. May compares this passage with the prophecy given to Lucius by the Chaldean Diophanes, in which the prophet foretells great fame (2.12).

to proclaim him patron (*patronus*) and to cast his image in bronze (3.11): *at tibi civitas omnis pro ista gratia honores egregios obtulit; nam et patronum scribsit et ut in aere stet imago tua decrevit* ("And the city has unanimously offered you special honours in gratitude for what you have done. It has inscribed you as its patron and decreed that your likeness be preserved in bronze").[191] The awarding of exceptional honours to Lucius for his brilliant performance in the festival signals his integration into the Hypatan community with the new social status of 'honorary citizen'.

The entrance of the magistrates and their offer of honours to Lucius evoke the widow in the Thelyphron tale: in the morning following the wake the widow comes to the room in tears and kisses the dead so as to maintain the illusion that she is grief-stricken. This emerges from a retrospective reading of the tale, thus signalling that her performance is a role. In the presence of the seven witnesses, she verifies that the corpse is intact and thus orders her servant Philodespotus to pay the guard for his work (2.26): *ei praecipit, bono custodi redderet sine mora praemium* ("instructing him to pay the good guardian his reward without delay"). The similarity however—in both episodes the truth is only partially revealed, and in both illusion is used—may be intended to disclose a vast divergence. Lucius refuses to accept the honour of a statue and the other privileges and advises them to keep them for his superiors (3.11): *'tibi quidem', inquam, 'splendidissima et unica Thessaliae civitas, honorum talium parem gratiam memini, verum statuas et magines dignioribus meique maioribus reservare suadeo'* ("Yours is the most brilliant city in Thessaly; it is unparallelled. I thank you greatly for these great honours. But I urge you to reserve statues and portraits for worthier and greater men than I"). This can be explained, as he has not done anything special in his performance, as have the other characters who took part in the mock trial. This feature contrasts with the guard, who is filled with joy over the unexpected gain he receives while carrying out his duties as guard of the corpse (2.26): *Ad haec ego insperato lucro diffusus in gaudium et in aureos refulgentes, quos identidem manu mea ventilabam* ("I was dissolved in joy at this unexpected income and astonished at those shining gold coins,

191 Kenney (1998, 228) observes: "in the real world *patronus* was a sort of ambassador, a man of substance and influence appointed to watch over the city's interests at Rome. Lucius' appointment, like the statue which he tactfully declines, is purely honorific". Krabbe (2003, 326) reads the decision of the town to erect a statue in his image as an authorial allusion to the fact that he himself had been so honoured by several cities.

which I jangled over and over again in my hand"). The reference to the joy at the unexpected income may be designed to stress his great grief on his deformity, since the guard has agreed to keep watch of the corpse for money. In his joy, however, the guard informs the widow to keep him in mind the next time she is in need of his service (2.26): *'immo', inquam, 'domina, de famulis tuis unum putato, et quotiens operam nostram desiderabis, fidenter impera'* ("'No, my lady,' I answered her, 'consider me rather one of your servants, and as often as you need my services call on me with confidence'"). This comment may be read as an inadvertent allusion to the wicked *mores* of the widow, which she tries to conceal by hiring the guard in the vigil; her attendants beat Thelyphron severely and throw him out of the house (2.26): *sic in modum superbi iuvenis Aoni vel Musici vatis Piplei laceratus atque discerptus domo proturbor* ("Thus I was tumbled out of the house, torn and mangled just like the haughty Aonian youth or the Pierian bard"). His expulsion from the house forms a parallel with the dead husband, who is soon going to be led out of the house for the funeral procession (2.27): *ecce iam ultimum defletus atque conclamatus processerat mortuus* ("Just then the dead man came forth from his house, mourned and hailed for the last time").

On the night of the festival, following the mock trial in which Lucius suffers the consequences of his first contact with magic, Byrrhena's slaves come to Milo's home once again, and ask Lucius to attend dinner as promised (3.12). This creates a parallel with Thelyphron, who attended Byrrhena's dinner party on the eve of the festival, some time after his own horrible experience with the witches during the vigil. Yet an examination of the two episodes reveals a stark contrast: Lucius turns down this second invitation on the grounds that he has been invited to dine with his host, but in all likelihood in fear that he will be asked to narrate his horrible experience at the festival and thus once again become a laughing stock (3.12): *ad haec ego formidans et procul perhorrescens etiam ipsam domum eius* ("I was frightened and terrified even at a distance by the mere thought of her house"). This feature is set in remarkable opposition to the fate of Thelyphron, who was present at Byrrhena's lavish dinner party on the eve of the festival and was forced into telling the tale of his mutilation at the hostess' behest, so that her nephew could hear it and perhaps learn something from it.[192] By refusing to

192 One day Byrrhena invites her nephew to her dinner party, in continuation of her efforts to warn him about the dangers of magic. Lucius is unwilling to go and therefore stay away from Photis, his route to magic. At the insistence of

Byrrhena, however, he gives in and agrees to go to the dinner banquet (2.18). Byrrhena's dinner party is attended by the foremost members of Hypatan society. The ostentatious appearance of the rich aunt's house is the opposite of Milo's home, and serves to underline what Lucius is deprived of by staying with such a parsimonious host. Byrrhena asks Lucius what impression he has gained of Hypata, which she describes as follows (2.19):

> *quam commode versaris in nostra patria? quod sciam, templis et lavacris et ceteris operibus longe cunctas civitates antecellimus, utensilium praeterea pollemus adfatim. certe libertas otiosa, et negotioso quidem advenae Romana frequentia, modesto vero hospiti quies villatica: omni denique provinciae voluptarii secessus sumus.*
> How do you like your stay here in our home town? To my knowledge we are far ahead of all other cities with our temples, our baths, and our other public buildings, and besides we are amply provided with the necessities of life. Indeed we offer freedom for the man of leisure, the bustle of Rome for the travelling businessman, and resort-like restfulness for the tourist of modest means. In short, we are the pleasure-seeker's retreat for the entire province.

In her description of the town, Byrrhena dwells on the public buildings that make it an attractive destination for visitors to the town. It is important to observe that no mention is made of magic. The description is set in remarkable contrast to the reply given by Lucius, who admits that he feels free in Hypata (perhaps in the sense that he is able to satisfy his curiosity for magic), but then states his fear about the traps set by witches, who are renowned for removing parts of the dead to harm the living (2.20):

> *nam ne mortuorum quidem sepulchra tuta dicuntur, sed ex bustis et rogis reliquiae quaedam et cadaverum praesegmina ad exitiabiles viventium fortunas petuntur. et cantatrices anus in ispo momento choragi funebris praepeti celeritate alienam sepulturam antevortunt.*
> They say that not even the tombs of the dead are safe, but at graves and pyres they hunt for remnants and cuttings of corpses to bring mortal harm to the living. Even at the very moment when the funeral is being staged, old witches with the speed of wings arrive before the family and forestall the burial.

In his reply to Byrrhena, Thelyphron singles her out on account of her virtuous kindness and compassion, which is totally absent among the boorish guests. Yet when he prepares to leave, Byrrhena encourages him to stay and tell the tale of his mutilation by the witches. In her insistence on Thelyphron to tell his tale, Byrrhena wishes to underscore the dangers that are inherent in magic. One might assume that the hostess does this merely so as to entertain her guests—yet given the fact that she has already warned Lucius about the dangers of magic, it is clear that she believes the tale to be of *didactic value* for her nephew. In this context then, the entire narration of the tale of Thelyphron plays a role equivalent to the statue of Diana and Actaeon that decorates the atrium of her house (2.4). At Byrrhena's insistence, Thelyphron decides to stay and then takes the proper place to tell his tale.

attend Byrrhena's second dinner party, Lucius avoids the ridicule previously suffered by Thelyphron.

Lucius' response to his aunt directs attention to his own foolish belief that he can suffer no harm from involvement in magic through Photis, who is a sorcerer's apprentice rather than a witch. Incidentally, the mention of magic provides a fitting context for the narration of the tale. At this point, one of the dinner guests observes that in Hypata even the living are not exempt from punishment, and turns to look at the disfigured Thelyphron, who is sitting in isolation in the corner. The fact that Byrrhena's guests burst into raucous laughter establishes an association between mockery and magic—it is at once clear that Hypatan society takes delight in ridiculing the victims of the witches for whom the city is renowned. (This is perhaps the first hint that the raucous laughter at the *Risus* spectacle the following day will in some way involve magic). It is also important to observe that the majority of the witches' victims in Hypata, such as Socrates, Aristomenes, Thelyphron and Lucius, are strangers and are thus ignorant of the awesome powers the witches possess.

Revelation of events

In both narratives then Lucius and Thelyphron find out the actual events that led to their ridicule in public. On the night following the Laughter festival, Photis puts her mistress to bed and then comes to Lucius' room; full of remorse, she hands him a rope and asks him to punish her severely for her role in his unwitting encounter with the wineskins and the ensuing ridicule in the Laughter festival (3.13). Her request arouses Lucius' curiosity, and for this reason he reassures her that he will never punish her. By closing the doors to avoid being heard and by asking for the utmost secrecy from Lucius, Photis reinforces the notion that she has an important confession to make (3.15). She states that her love for Lucius forces her to disclose the secrets of the house (3.15). In her account, Photis presents her mistress Pamphile as a powerful witch who employs her magic arts in order to attract lovers; her description appears all the more believable since it aligns with that given by Byrrhena earlier. Photis then elaborates on Pamphile's efforts to bring her Boeotian lover home, and her own role in the attempt (3.16–18). One way to interpret Lucius' contact with the animated wineskins and his ensuing ridicule in the Laughter festival is to view it as a kind of revenge

exacted on Photis for ruining Pamphile's magic rites: when Lucius comes into contact with the wineskins, he is deceived, and the following morning becomes a laughing stock. Thus Pamphile exacts her own 'revenge' on her maid for ruining her magic rites. Photis also points out the true mythic analogue to Lucius' act: Ajax driven mad and slaughtering sheep (3.18: *in insani modum Aiacis armatus*, "armed like mad Ajax"), with the major difference that wine was shed rather than blood, as the robbers were actually wineskins inflated by Pamphile's magic. In his first contact with magic Lucius, like the insane Ajax, has reached a level of madness, and, like the insane Ajax, who mistook the sheep of the Achaeans for his Greek enemies and slew them, Lucius pierced the inflated wineskins with his knife, taking them for robbers. Photis does not explain what happened subsequently. Perhaps the night watchman saw the event and informed the magistrates about it. In the run up to the Laughter festival Lucius unwittingly comes into contact with magic and suffers greatly as a result.[193]

Photis' appearance in Lucius' room the night after the Laughter festival and her exposition of the actual events recall the account of the dead husband, who is reanimated by Zatchlas the priest in order to shed light on the circumstances surrounding his death (2.29–30).[194]

193 Schlam (1992) 34.

194 The priest resurrects the dead husband for a short time, at the urgent plea by the uncle of the dead man, who accuses the widow of having poisoned her husband, because of her love-affair, and in order to become her husband's heiress. Zatchlas, who performs the ritual and resurrects the dead, forms a parallel with the witches, who attempt to raise the corpse from sleep. There is a vast contrast though. The priest exercises his force on nature, but unlike the witches this force, as Schlam (1987, 97) puts it, is done "in the interest of what is presented in the tale as truth and justice". Zatchlas acknowledges that he wishes to resurrect the dead only to serve justice and truth (2.28): *non obnitimur nec terrae rem suam denegamus, sed ad ultionis solacium exiguum vitae spatium deprecamur* ("We make no resistance, nor do we deny the Earth her property; we beg only for a tiny period of life to furnish the consolation of revenge"). This feature is set in opposition to the witches who take parts from the wrong corpse to use them for their magic arts (2.30). Moreover, the priest succeeds in resurrecting the dead, unlike the witches, who ironically raise the wrong 'dead' man and then take parts from him instead of the actual dead (2.30). This difference between the priest and the witches highlights the vast contrast between magic and true religion. In a certain sense, the resurrection of the dead through the necromantic ritual seems to render an ironic nuance to the question of the guard to

There are several links between the account of the reanimated husband and that of the witch-like slave girl Photis.[195] Photis discloses information to Lucius about Pamphile's extramarital affair with her Boeotian lover (3.16): *Nunc etiam adulescentem quendam Boeotium summe decorum efflictim deperit totasque artis manus, machinas omnes ardenter exercet* ("At present she is desperately in love with an extremely handsome Boeotian boy and is passionately employing all the resources of her art and all its devices"). Similarly, the reanimated husband reveals the extramarital affair of his wife (2.29): *torum tepentem adultero mancipavi* ("ceding my still warm bed to an adulterer"). Like Photis, who informs Lucius about how she intentionally deceived Pamphile, the reanimated husband informs the participants at the funeral of the actual events that led to the disfigurement of the guard during the wake (2.30): the witches poured a deathlike sleep over the guard and then began to call the dead man by his name. Since the guard and the dead man had the same name, Thelyphron, the guard first responded to the call and suffered mutilation intended for the dead man by putting his nose and ears to the hole of the door.[196] The witches who take parts from the guard and not from the actual dead man thus assist the widow in her plan to appear as a faithful wife of her deceased husband. As Photis reveals the role of magic in Lucius' ordeal the previous night (3.17–18),

the passerby in the tale's opening (2.21): *hicine mortui solent aufugere?* ("Do dead men usually run away around here?").

195 The connection between guard and corpse continues even further. The reanimated dead man gives testimony to the account of his death by his wife, who poisoned him for the sake of the adulterer; and also explains what happened in the room during the guard's falling into deep sleep (2.30). The witches poured a death-like sleep over his guard to take body parts from the dead. The moment the dead man was about to respond to their call the guard wakes up first as he was not actually dead and offers his own parts to them. This act reveals the change of positions between guard and dead. The witches then remove parts from the wrong 'corpse'. The witches who poured over the guard a deathlike sleep so that they can remove parts from the dead seem to function as helpers of the widow as they take parts from the guard and not from the actual dead, thus punishing him for his aspirations as the widow's would-be lover. Likewise, the guard seems to act as friend of the dead because he keeps watch over the corpse and then offers his own parts to the witches, thus leaving the corpse intact.

196 On the level of narration the substitution of the guard by the dead man also mirrors the change of positions between the two as narrators: the reanimated dead man recounts the events which took place once the guard had fallen asleep; on this point see the excellent discussion by Winkler (1985) 70–71, and 110–111.

so the resurrected husband confirms the veracity of his account by pointing to his guard, and revealing how the witches removed his nose and ears and replaced them with wax to conceal their deception (2.30):[197] *utque fallaciae reliqua convenissent, ceram in modum prosectarum formatam aurium ei adplicant examussim nasoque ipsius similem comparant* ("Then, to put the proper finishing touch on their trick, they shaped some wax into ears like the amputated ones and fastened them on him in a perfect fit, and made him a wax nose like his own").[198] This act of concealment of the disfigurement of the guard's face by the witches evokes the context of the witch Panthia in Aristomenes' tale, who inserts a sponge in Socrates' neck and hides the wound from Meroe's piercing of his neck with the sword to remove his heart (1.13).

197 At this point the guard touches his nose and ears, and discovers to his horror that they are of wax and that they fall off. The crowd bursts into hearty laughter as they watch the noseless and earless Thelyphron; this replicates the laughter of the guests in the beginning of the tale when Byrrhena asked Thelyphron to tell them his tale in order to entertain her guests and instruct her nephew about the dangers of magic.

198 The punishment of the guard mirrors the fate suffered by the dead husband in several ways. Firstly, mutilation points to the loss of the guard's male sexual identity, since he is left so ugly that no woman will ever fall in love with him again. From a Freudian perspective, the mutilation of extremities (in the context of marriage, adultery, courtship, etc.) is considered to have sexual overtones (Adams (1982, 35) points out that the term *nasus* often serves as metaphor for the male sexual organ). The guard's facial deformity evokes the husband's loss of manhood, as reflected by the correlation of the following contextual elements: (a) the unmanly nature of his death (poisoning at the hands of his spouse); and (b) the wife's involvement in an affair with an adulterer (Ingenkamp (1972, 337–342) interprets Thelyphron's loss of his ears and nose as the punishment of an adulterer: for a similar view see also Graverini (1998) 129–131). Secondly, just as the guard discovers his mutilation after his adventure with the witches, so the husband acquires an understanding of his wife's sexual *mores* only after his death. Thirdly, the guard has the same name as the dead husband, Thelyphron, which derives from the Greek term *theluphron,* meaning 'effeminate', and hence effectively brings out the gender problem in the identity of both guard and dead husband as a consequence of their adventures with the same woman (see van Mal-Maeder (1998) 293; Kenney (1998) 226; also O'Brien (2004) 171, with discussion of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazousae* (111–113) translates the term as 'womanheart'; Inkenkamp (1972, 337–342) suggests that Thelyphron's name means a person who 'knows women'). Finally, the synonymity of the guard and the dead husband is concealed in the narrative until it no longer endangers the widow's scheme, only to be disclosed after both men have suffered humiliation by the same woman.

That being said, any similarities between Photis and the reanimated dead husband are counterbalanced by a sharp contrast: The witch-like slave girl Photis comes to Lucius' room on her own and explains how she unintentionally had a hand in his misfortune. Such behaviour is entirely unlike that of the dead husband, who is unwilling to return to life and give testimony when the priest Zatchlas performs his necromantic ritual, therefore making an implicit comment on the nature of his life with his wife. Moreover, Photis demands the utmost secrecy from Lucius, as he is aware of the rule of secret rites, and then informs him of Pamphile's extramarital affair with the Boeotian lover and the employment of her art to bring him home (3.15): *quaecumque itaque commisero huius religiosi pectoris tui penetralibus, semper haec intra conseptum clausa custodias, oro, et simplicitatem relationis meae tenacitate taciturnitatis tuae remunerare* ("Whatever knowledge, then, I shall entrust to the inner temple of your god-fearing heart, keep always locked within that precinct, I beg you, and repay my ingenuous disclosure with your stubborn silence"). By contrast, the dialogue with the reanimated dead man about his wife's infidelity occurs in public and extends to the disclosure concerning the disfigurement of Thelyphron.

The account of events Photis gives to Lucius in the room helps him to understand how the entire wineskin episode that led to his ridicule was provoked. This forms a parallel with the account of the reanimated dead man, who also sheds light on the events that took place when the witches entered the room, a fact which led to Thelyphron being subjected to ridicule in the funeral procession. Nevertheless, there is an important difference: upon hearing Photis' account, Lucius jokingly compares his piercing the wineskins with Hercules' slaying of the three-bodied giant Geryon (3.19). This is set in marked opposition to Thelyphron: on hearing the account of events given by the reanimated dead man, he is filled with terror and then goes on to test the veracity of the man's words (2.30: *perterritus*, "terrified"). As he touches his nose and ears in front of the crowd, he discovers that they are made of wax (2.30): *iniecta manu nasum prehendo: sequitur; aures pertracto; deruunt* ("I put my hand up and grasped my nose: it came away; I rubbed my ears: they fell off"). The ensuing laughter of the mourners at the funeral (2.30: *dum risus ebullit*, "and laughter broke out") replicates the laughter of the guests at the opening of Byrrhena's feast (2.20: *convivium totum in licentiosos cachinnos effunditur*, "the whole party dissolved into unrestrained laughter"), thus shedding light on the character of the Hypatans. With the exception of Byrrhena, they all laugh at the misfortune of

Thelyphron as the witches' victim. Moreover, Lucius finds out the actual events that led to his ridicule in the privacy of his room, unlike Thelyphron, who learns of the events leading up to his ridicule in the funeral procession in public. This is determined by the fact that Photis gives details concerning the magic rites of her mistress Pamphile that can only be disclosed in private, whereas the husband has been reanimated in order to testify in public.

Playing with expectations

As listener to Photis' account of the role played by magic in the wineskin episode and Laughter festival the following morning, which in many respects mirrors Thelyphron's tale of suffering, readers might have expected Lucius to keep his distance from the supernatural. Frustrating reader expectations, the protagonist's foolishness leads him to exploit the guilt felt by Photis, and even to indicate that he is willing to pardon her in exchange for a glimpse of Pamphile's magic (3.19).

In his request to gain access to Pamphile's magic, despite being aware of the risks entailed, Lucius resembles the guard, who was well aware of the dangers of magic when he undertook the job to guard the dead (2.23). The connection is all the stronger for the fact that in believing that he can overcome the dangers of magic and improve his lot in life, Lucius is a distant analogue to Thelyphron, who foolishly thinks that he can emerge unscathed from contact with the occult and improve his financial condition. Photis has been responsible for Lucius' earlier unwitting encounter with the wineskins and his ensuing ridicule in the festival. Thus she promises to do her best, but demands the utmost secrecy from him (3.20). When the opportunity arises, she leads her lover to Pamphile's secret place. Pamphile performs her rites in order to change herself into an owl, symbol of wisdom, and fly to her Boeotian lover, perhaps because her previous magic rites failed miserably when Photis was unable to procure the lover's hair. Lucius watches Pamphile through a hole in the door as she changes herself into an owl (3.21). Her successful transformation makes such a strong impression on Lucius that instead of being satisfied with seeing Pamphile performing magic, he falls victim to his own curiosity and begs Photis to change him too into a bird (3.22): *'patere, oro te', inquam, 'dum dictat occasio, mango et singulari me adfectionis tuae fructu perfrui et impertire nobis unctulum indidem* ("'I beg you,' I said, 'while the opportunity

prompts, let me enjoy a great and unique proof of your affection. Get me a little ointment from that same jar'"). Photis is unwilling to meet her lover's request in fear that he will abandon her (3.22), but eventually gives in and discloses the secret knowledge that her mistress taught her to assist her in regaining her human form. However, Photis' earlier mistake in the episode with the wineskins anticipates the second one, as a result of which she turns her lover into an ass instead of a bird by incorrectly mixing the magic ointments (3.24). Given his desire to meddle with the occult, Lucius' transformation into an ass fulfils the expectations of readers who have anticipated his misfortune from the misfortunes of other victims of magic, such as Aristomenes or Socrates: in the wineskin episode the metamorphosis involved the goatskin hair and not Lucius himself.

Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass through magic forms a parallel with the fate of Thelyphron, who suffers mutilation to his face from the witches during the vigil. The connection is all the stronger for the fact that in both cases an accident involving magic takes place: Lucius is turned into an ass instead of a bird through Photis' blunder; Thelyphron is disfigured when the witches take body parts from the wrong 'dead' man in the room. In the event, however, both accidents underscore the cost of meddling with magic. On the other hand, as far as the actual details are concerned, a number of contrasts between the two cases are immediately obvious: Lucius experiences the enlargement of his ears and nose, whereas Thelyphron experiences the loss of both. Moreover, unlike Lucius, whose only consolation in his unwanted metamorphosis is the enlargement of his phallus, as befits both the sexual incontinence of the ass and the unbridled curiosity of the protagonist,[199] Thelyphron loses his masculinity, in the sense that in his disfigured state no woman will ever fall in love with him.

Following his metamorphosis, the ass-Lucius withdraws to Milo's stable to wait for the roses Photis promised to bring him as soon as possible.[200] Lucius, though, was not meant to remain under the spell of magic for such a short period of time. The author makes sure that the worst can begin to take place, as befits the paradigmatic aspect of his

199 Schlam (1970) 481.

200 While in the stable Lucius also spots roses in the statue of the goddess Epona, protector of the horses, and attempts to snatch them, but his attempt is unsuccessful, as his own slave sees him and ironically beats him heavily with a stick for showing disrespect towards the shrine of the goddess (3.27).

narrative. Thus a group of robbers burst into Milo's house, take the ass, load him and other animals with their loot and head off to their mountain den.[201] Following Lucius' removal from town, the deceptive world of Hypata gives way to the world in which things are as harsh as they seem.

Misfortunes – restoration / prolongation of misfortunes

Lucius' removal by the robbers initiates the long series of misadventures he suffers in the remainder of the novel. During his adventures as an ass, Lucius moves from place to place, passing from one master to another in a series of ordeals. This creates a parallel with Thelyphron as the witches' victim. We are specifically told that he makes a number of changes to his appearance so as to conceal his deformed face (2.30): *nec postea debilis ac sic ridiculus Lari me patrio reddere potui, sed capillis hinc inde laterum deiectis aurium vulnera celavi, nasi vero dedecus linteolo isto pressim adglutinato decenter obtexi* ("I could never afterwards return to my ancestral home so maimed and so ludicrous, but I have let my hair grow long on both sides to hide the scars of my ears, and I have tightly attached this linen bandage for decency's sake to conceal the shame of my nose"). Such measures tally with his new status as a victim of magic, and thus one who is altered beyond recognition. This change in status suggests rebirth into a new life, similar to that in store for Aristomenes when the witches urinate over his face (1.13, Chapter 2, above).

All the same, there is a clear difference to be observed in the eventual fates of Thelyphron and Lucius. In his adventure, the ass finally ar-

201 These robbers, who appear after Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass (3.18), may bring to mind the animated wineskins, which came pounding on Milo's door during the night through Pamphile's magic, following Lucius' departure from Byrrhena's dinner party (2.32). This time, however, the robbers are for real. Moreover, unlike the wineskins which kept on pounding on Milo's door but did not manage to enter into his house, the robbers successfully burst into the very same house and take the ass with them; and unlike Lucius, who in the episode of the wineskins launched an attack on the alleged robbers, in the later episode the roles are reversed, as the robbers successfully launched their attack on Milo's house and his stable, meeting no resistance. It is also worth noting that the robbers burst into the house of Milo who is rich but keeps valuables in his house and not the house of the rich Byrrhena. Milo's house may be exposed to all kinds of dangers precisely because it is associated with magic, which Byrrhena makes every effort to avoid.

rives at Cenchreae, a site sacred to Isis. There he delivers a prayer to the goddess, who promises to free him from magic and restore him to human form the following day in the Ploiaphesia festival. Following his reformation, Lucius is even reunited with his family and slaves, when they hear the joyful news that he is alive and come to see him, bringing him gifts which Lucius gladly receives (11.18). Later, after his initiation into Isis' cult, he pays a short visit to his hometown in Corinth (11.26) and upon his return receives instructions from Isis to go to Rome. There he undergoes two further initiations into the cult, entering the ranks of pastophor priests. The remarkable progress he makes both in the religious and social sphere is the result of his entrance into his new life as an Isiac. In stark contrast to Lucius, Thelyphron remains permanently in Hypata as in his deformed state he cannot return home to his family in Miletus.[202] On a metaliterary level, Thelyphron's inability to return to that particular place may be read as an indication of the transformation of the tale from a Milesian one into one of magic. In his permanent exile in Hypata, Thelyphron is an object of ridicule and mockery and is deprived of salvation, in remarkable opposition to Lucius the ass, who suffers extensive travels and ordeals but eventually comes into contact with Isis, who releases him from the effects of magic and grants him glory and social recognition.

By focusing on the intratextual links between the Laughter episode and the Thelyphron tale I hope to have elucidated how Lucius' experience in the incident of the wineskins and the ensuing Laughter festival reveals points of contact: both Lucius and Thelyphron come into contact with magic and suffer as a result, but Lucius is only temporarily ridiculed, whereas Thelyphron is permanently disfigured. The difference may be explained by the fact that Lucius unwittingly comes into contact with magic, whereas Thelyphron is fully aware of the dangers, but overestimates his abilities and agrees to guard a corpse for profit. These similarities and contrasts between Lucius and Thelyphron make the latter a forerunner and variant of the former. In spite of the warnings he receives from his aunt and his own ridicule in the festival, Lucius requests his mistress Photis to metamorphose him into a bird. An accident takes place and Photis changes her lover into an ass instead. Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass leaves the prospect of his salvation open, as he can move from place to place and eventually arrive at the site dedicated

202 Lucius' eventual encounter with Isis accounts for Photis' disappearance from the narrative following the metamorphosis.

to Isis, where he is released from his troubles, unlike the permanently disfigured Thelyphron who remains at Hypata forever because he is ashamed to return home in his disfigured condition. This can be explained by the fact that Lucius has involved himself with an inexperienced sorcerer's apprentice rather than with skilled witches, as happens with Thelyphron, and this in turn accounts for the development of events in the novel's final Book.

In the next chapter our focus will be on structural and intratextual comparisons between Lucius and Psyche, heroine of the longest tale in the novel.

Chapter 5
The Tale of Cupid and Psyche as a Mythic Variant of the Novel

Situated in the heart of the novel, the lengthy tale of Cupid and Psyche is narrated by an old woman to an internal audience comprising the captive girl Charite and Lucius the ass.[203] As we shall see, one of its most striking features is the pattern of thematic similarities and contrasts it exhibits in comparison with the larger narrative: just as Psyche is secretly united with Cupid at the mountain estate, so Lucius becomes involved in a relationship with the socially inferior slave girl Photis; like Psyche, who gives in to curiosity and discovers the hidden identity of her husband, Lucius seeks to access the hidden secrets of magic through his mistress; as Psyche is separated from her husband in punishment for her inordinate curiosity, so Lucius is separated from his human self as a result of his passion for witchcraft. In our view, the similarities between the tale and its contextual frame serve to delineate the development of the larger narrative in the *Metamorphoses*. This becomes particularly apparent with regard to the conclusion: just as Psyche's ordeals end with her immortalization and marriage to Cupid on Mt. Olympus, so Lucius gains release from his troubles through his encounter with Isis. As we will argue below (Chapters 7 and 9), Lucius could not have been reunited with his mistress Photis, because she represents the catastrophic magic in the world and is responsible for his metamorphosis into an ass. Salvation can only be accomplished through union with Isis, the goddess of benevolent magic. Thus the inner tale offers a mythic variant of the larger story and alludes to the otherwise unanticipated prospect of divine intervention in the final Book of the *Metamorphoses*.

Scholars have concentrated on the interaction of the tale with several genres and texts, such as elegy, epic and Roman comedy, most notably elucidated by Silvia Mattiacci,[204] Ellen Finkelpearl,[205] Stephen

203 On the old woman as a heterodiegetic and omniscient narrator, like Demodocus and Homer in the *Odyssey,* see Graverini (2003) 208–215.

204 Mattiacci (1998) 127–149.

Harrison,[206] and Regine May.[207] Others have interpreted the tale as a Platonic allegory of the lost soul saved by love.[208] Stephen Harrison has read the Platonic intertext as devoid of any serious allegorical symbolism.[209] David Konstan has concentrated on the tale's affinities with the plot of the ideal novels, and especially Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*.[210] On the other hand, a number of scholars have discussed the presence of common themes and motifs such as *simplicitas*, *curiositas* and divine intervention in both the tale and the frame.[211] Sophia Papaioannou has investigated the marriage motif and the parallel change of fortune as regards Psyche and Charite.[212] Most recently, Maaike Zimmerman et al., while concentrating on the playful use of rich intertextual layers in the text, have further contributed to this approach by suggesting additional verbal and thematic connections.[213]

In my analysis of the tale I follow the methodology employed by Maaike Zimmerman at al. in their discussion of intertextual layers, which I put to use in investigating the structural and thematic relationships, similarities and contrasts between the inner tale and its contextual frame. These parallels render the inner tale a variant of the larger story, helping readers prefigure Lucius' eventual destiny, to the extent that it resembles that of Psyche.[214] The similarities and differences are in agreement with the thematic multiformity in the work, as the nucleus of the

205 Finkelpearl (1998) 67–71; 96–101; 110–112; and *passim*.
206 Harrison (1998a) 51–68.
207 May (2006) 219.
208 O'Brien (1998) 23–34; Kenney (1990) 19–22, and *passim*.
209 Harrison (2000) 256–258.
210 Konstan (1994) 135, and 137–138.
211 Tatum (1969) 508–514; Wlosok (1999) 148–149; Walsh (1970) 191–193; Sandy (1972) 180; Kenney (1990) 13–18; and DeFilippo (1990) 471–472. Smith (1998, 69–82) discusses several motifs common to the tale and the frame, but his focus of discussion is mainly on the relationship of the tale with Euripidean tragedy. Connections between Psyche and Lucius are also made by James (1987) 46–49; Dowden (1998) 11–14, and *passim*; and Hägg (1992) 225.
212 Papaioannou (1998) 302–323.
213 Zimmerman et al. (2004) 2–3.
214 The story also presents significant links with Charite, for whom the old woman narrates the tale in order to assuage her sorrow over her abduction by the thieves on her wedding night. These links are discussed in the final Chapter. At *Met.* 6.8 Venus identifies Psyche as *ancilla* ("maid-servant"), thus striking a parallel with Photis, maid of Pamphile.

two distinct narratives, the inner tale and larger story, remains largely the same.

Apollo's oracle / Demeas' letter

The tale begins with Venus' decision to attack her rival in beauty, Psyche. She implores her son Cupid to punish Psyche by inspiring her to fall in love with the worst mortal (4.31):

> *'per ego te', inquit, 'maternae caritatis foedera deprecor, per tuae sagittae dulcia vulnera, per flammae istius mellitas uredines, vindictam tuae parenti, sed plenam tribue et in pulchritudinem contumacem severiter vindica idque unum et pro omnibus unicum volens effice: virgo ista amore flagrantissimo teneatur hominis extremi, quem et dignitatis et patrimonii simul et incolumitatis ipsius Fortuna damnavit, tamque infimi, ut per totum orbem non inveniat miseriae suae comparem.'*
>
> 'I beseech you,' she said, 'by the bonds of maternal love, by your arrows' sweet wounds, by your flames' honey-sweet scorchings, avenge your mother and avenge her totally, and exact condign punishment from defiant beauty. Accomplish this one act with a good will and it will take care of everything: let that girl be gripped with a violent, flaming passion for the meanest man, a man whom Fortune has condemned to lack rank, wealth and even health, a man so lowly that he could not find his equal in misery in the whole world'.

In the event, however, Cupid is so struck by Psyche's awesome beauty that he turns his arrows against himself and falls in love with her.

Troubled by the absence of any suitor for his youngest daughter, Psyche's father goes to Miletus to consult the oracle of Apollo. The oracle orders the king to expose his daughter on a rock, to be wedded to a flying monster (4.33):

> *montis in excelsi scopulo, rex, siste puellam*
> *ornatam mundo funerei thalami.*
> *nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum,*
> *sed saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum,*
> *quod pinnis volitans super aethera cuncta fatigat*
> *flammaque et ferro singula debilitat,*
> *quod tremit ipse Iovis, quo numina terrificantur.*
> *fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae.*
>
> Set out thy daughter, king, on a lofty mountain crag,
> Decked out in finery for a funereal wedding.
> Hope not for a son-in-law born of mortal stock,
> But a cruel and wild and snaky monster,
> That flies on wings above the ether and vexes all,
> And harries the world with fire and sword,

Makes Jove himself quake and the gods tremble,
And rivers shudder and the shades of Styx.

In this description, Apollo is 'Loxias': his utterance, like most such oracles, is highly ambiguous: Psyche's husband may be either a flying monster whom all fear, or the powerful god Cupid.[215] As is so often the case, the less obvious second meaning proves to be correct. The portrayal of Cupid as both a beast and a powerful god sustains the ambiguity surrounding his true identity in the narrative; the king reads the oracle in a literal sense and is plunged into despair.

Apollo's instruction that Psyche be led to the rock to be carried away to Cupid's palace may be viewed as a distant parallel of the recommendation letter Lucius bears from Demeas of Corinth, which affords him access to Milo's house (1.21): *'benigne', inquam, 'et prospicue Demeas meus in me consuluit, qui peregrinaturum tali viro conciliavit, in cuius hospitio nec fumi nec nidoris nebulam vererer'* ("'My friend Demeas,' I said, 'certainly acted kindly and providently on my behalf by giving me a letter of introduction to a man like that as I started on my travels: under his roof I have no need to fear either smoke from the fireplace or cooking fumes'").[216] The connection between the tale and the narrative is all the stronger if one considers that Milo's house is a den of magic, a detail of which Lucius is ignorant at the time, just as Psyche is unaware that her alleged monster husband is the powerful god Cupid.

On the day appointed by the oracle, Psyche's parents and townsfolk lead the girl to the rock in a wedding procession, which turns into a funeral because Psyche is to be carried away (4.33).[217] The wind Zephyr takes Psyche in his lap and transports her down the slope into a valley. She falls into a deep sleep, and on waking up sees a grove with a palace in the middle. The wind that transports Psyche to the magic valley has the same function as the aged tavern keeper who gives information to Lucius about Milo. She describes the host as one of the worst people in town, and gives Lucius directions to his house (1.21). The most obvious difference here is one of destination: Cupid's palace is a secret abode which can only be reached by flying, as befits the abode of a

215 On the vagueness of Apollo's oracle see Zimmerman et al. (2004) 87.

216 The reference to cooking fumes may anticipate in ironic terms the episode of Lucius wooing Photis in the kitchen (2.7–10).

217 See Papaioannou (1998, 317–318), who discusses the conflation of marriage with funeral rituals. On the conflation of wedding and funeral rites and motifs in Greek tragedy, see Rehm (1994).

god, whereas Milo's humble town house is located just inside the city limits.

Cupid's palace / Milo's home

Upon waking from her sleep, Psyche sees a grove and enters a palace full of gold and jewels (5.1):

> *videt lucum proceris et vastis arboribus consitum, videt fontem vitreo latice perlucidum; medio luci meditullio prope fontis adlapsum domus regia est, aedificata non humanis manibus, sed divinis artibus. iam scies ab introitu primo dei cuiuspiam luculentum et amoenum videre te diversorium. nam summa laquearia citro et ebore curiose cavata subeunt aureae columnae, parietes omnes argenteo caelamine conteguntur bestiis et id genus pecudibus occurrentibus ob os introeuntium. mirus prorsum homo, immo semideus vel certe deus, qui magnae artis suptilitate tantum efferavit argentum. enimuero pavimenta ipsa lapide pretioso caesim deminuto in varia picturae genera discriminantur: vehementer, iterum ac saepius beatos illos, qui super gemmas et monilia calcant. iam ceterae partes longe lateque dispositae domus sine pretio pretiosae totique parietes solidati massis aureis splendore proprio coruscant, ut diem suum sibi domi faciat licet sole nolente: sic cubicula, sic porticus, sic ipsae valvae fulgurant. nec setius opes ceterae maiestati domus respondent, ut equidem illud recte videatur ad conversationem humanam magno Iovi fabricatum caeleste palatium.*
>
> She saw a grove planted with huge, tall trees; she saw a glistening spring of crystal water. At the midmost centre of a grove beside the gliding stream is a royal palace, constructed not with human hands but by divine skills. You will know from the moment you enter that you are looking at the resplendent and charming residence of some god. High coffered ceilings, exquisitely carved from citron-wood and ivory, are supported on golden columns. All the walls are covered with silver reliefs, with wild beasts and herds of that kind meeting your gaze as you enter. It was indeed a miraculous man, or rather a demigod or even a god, who used the refinement of great art to make animals out of so much silver. Even the floors are zoned into different sorts of pictures made from precious stones cut in tiny pieces. Truly blessed—twice so and even more—are those who tread upon gems and jewellery! All the other quarters of the house throughout its length and breadth are likewise precious beyond price, and all the walls are constructed of solid gold masonry and sparkle with their own brilliance, so that the house creates its own daylight even though the sun deny its rays. The rooms, the colonnades, even the doors flash lightning. Every other luxury too is equally matched with the house's magnificence, so that you may quite correctly think it a heavenly palace constructed for great Jupiter's use in his human visitations.

Psyche's entry into the palace recalls Lucius, who follows the instructions given by the tavern keeper, presents the letter of recommendation, and thus gains entrance to the house of his host.[218]

The connection becomes rather strong, since both Cupid's palace and Milo's house are environments of magic: the former is the mountain estate of the god, whose identity Psyche must not expose, and the latter is the locale where Milo's wife, a powerful witch, performs her magic arts. Differences, however, are also striking here. Cupid's abode—again as befits a god—is big, unlike Milo's house, which is no more than a hovel (1.23): *brevitatem gurgustioli nostri* ("the meagreness of our little hovel"). Moreover, Cupid's palace is sumptuously furnished, whereas Milo's house lacks even the bare essentials (1.23): *nam prae metu latronum nulla sessibula ac ne sufficientem supellectilem parare nobis licet* ("the fear of robbers prevents us from acquiring chairs or even sufficient furniture"). Finally, Psyche does not see any guard or bolts to prevent her entrance to the house (5.2): *sed praeter ceteram tantarum divitiarum admirationem hoc erat praecipue mirificum, quod nullo vinculo, nullo claustro, nullo custode totius orbis thensaurus ille muniebatur* ("But beyond her wonderment at the enormous quantity of wealth, she found it especially amazing that there was not a single chain or lock or guard protecting this treasure-house of all the world"). On the other hand, Milo bars entrance to visitors, unless they bring silver or gold as a security against any loan they seek to obtain (1.22): *et ianuam firmiter oppessulatam pulsare vocaliter incipio* ("The door was firmly bolted, and I began to knock and call vociferously").[219] Lucius gains entrance to the house only after showing the recommendation letter he carries from Demeas from Corinth (1.22): *modico deinde regressa patefactis aedibus: 'rogat te', inquit* ("She returned shortly, opened the door, and announced, 'He asks you to come in'").

This parallelism in the development of events between the shorter tale and the larger story continues even further. Upon her entrance to the palace, Psyche is greeted by voices as her servants order her to go to her room, rest, take a bath, and then have a meal (5.3). Similarly, in the outer narrative Milo orders his maid to lead Lucius into his

218 For an excellent discussion of this ecphrasis in comparison with Lucius' description of Hypata (opening of Book 2) as indicative of the surprisingly innovative ways the novelist plays with the conventions of description, see Slater (2008) 235–250.

219 See Smith (1994) 1584.

room. Lucius then goes to the public baths and upon his return is invited to dine with his host (1.26). With regard to the dinner itself, Psyche is offered a sumptuous meal at the mountain estate (5.3): *opimas dapes* ("sumptuous dinner"), whereas Milo exhausts Lucius with his talk and then sends him to bed without offering him any food, in complete disregard of the rules of host/guest relations, where the guest must first be offered a meal, and then discussion should take place (1.26): *somno, non cibo gravatus, cenatus solis fabulis et in cubiculum reversus optatae me quieti reddidi* ("Stuffed with drowsiness instead of food, having dined on nothing but talk, I went back to my room and surrendered to the sleep that I yearned for"). This violation of the rules of *xenia* by Milo becomes all the more striking, given that earlier the host has implicitly compared himself to the old Hecale when he invited Lucius, his noble guest, to follow the paradigm of his father's namesake, Theseus, and accept hospitality in his meagre hovel (1.23).

The pattern of similarities and differences continues even further. At night Cupid returns from his business in the world, makes Psyche his wife, and leaves by daylight the following morning, without disclosing his identity to her (5.4): *iamque aderat ignobilis maritus et torum inscenderat et uxorem sibi Psychen fecerat et ante lucis exortum propere discesserat* ("Now her unknown husband had arrived, had mounted the bed, had made Psyche his wife, and had quickly departed before the rising of daylight"). His appearance to his wife during the night helps to protect his secret identity. Cupid's involvement with Psyche at the mountain estate is not a typical marriage, according to the formalities of Roman wedding rites, since it does not involve parental consent and witnesses.[220] It could

220 May (2006, 222) defines the relationship as a concubinage, which is close to marriage in its duration but different in legal terms, as it does not involve witnesses and takes place in a country villa. Later at 5.28 the seagull reports the rumours of people who term this union in the mountain as *montano scortatu* ("mountainside whoring"). May (2006, 227) further comments on Psyche's change of social status from a freeborn citizen to a *peregrina* ("foreigner"), when she comes to Cupid's mountain estate, i.e. a person devoid of civil rights and therefore similar in status to the courtesans in Roman comedy. Zimmerman et al. (2004, 133, s.v. *maritus*) correctly point out that the entire relationship between Cupid and Psyche from this point on is euphemistically described as legal marriage, unlike Merkelbach (1995, 458), who interprets the involvement of Cupid and Psyche as sacred marriage. On this see also Zimmerman et al. (2004, 133, s.v. *maritum sibi fecerat*; also 521, s.v. *amatori … formonso*) with the identification of Cupid as *amator*, enhancing the notion that Psyche is not yet Cupid's lawful wife.

hardly be so, given that marriage is a public event, whereas the god makes every effort to conceal the relationship, in order to avoid incurring his mother's wrath (4.31). The concealment of Cupid's identity could also be connected with Psyche's mortality: Psyche cannot and should not see the appearance of the god. In fact, Cupid's superior status in the relationship calls to mind Lucius' social standing vis-à-vis Photis, a lowly slave girl.[221] However, any similarities end here. Psyche is not in love with her husband, for she has never seen his appearance, whereas Cupid is infatuated with Psyche, as he has consciously turned his arrows against himself (5.24). This feature is set in contrast to Lucius, who constructs the role of lover of the slave girl Photis in order to gain access to magic via a less dangerous route than the powerful witch Pamphile (2.6). On the other hand, Photis openly declares her love for Lucius (3.15): *amor is, quo tibi teneor* ("love which binds me to you").

While in the palace, Cupid offers a series of warnings to Psyche: her sisters will try to persuade her to expose his identity, which will signal the end of her happiness and the beginning of her troubles (5.5, 5.11, 5.12).[222] Psyche eventually gains Cupid's approval to see her sisters, after promising not to disclose anything about him. In the course of the first two visits, however, the sisters see the abundant riches in the palace, are overcome by jealousy, and ask about the husband's identity.[223] On each occasion, Psyche gives a different answer, first claiming he is a young man (5.8) and then a middle-aged merchant (5.15). The sisters note the discrepancy and correctly assume that Psyche cannot have seen her husband, who must be some sort of god (5.16).[224] They then set about devising a scheme to bring an end to her happiness (5.16): *et exordio sermonis huius quam concolores fallacias adtexamus* ("and

221 In assuming the role of lover, Lucius is remarkably similar to the elegiac poet, who invents an idealized mistress in order to achieve his poetic project. On this see Wyke (2002) 403–405. The comparison becomes clear as Lucius is the primary narrator and thus similar to the elegiac poet/lover.

222 On Psyche's *curiositas* in connection with that of Lucius see excellent discussion in Wlosok (1999) 148–149.

223 May (2006) 242.

224 For discussion of this discrepancy on the two different responses of Psyche regarding the identity of Cupid, see Panayotakis (1996) 62. On their second visit the sisters also make an implicit allusion to the divine beauty of the child Psyche is expecting (5.14): *qui si parentum, ut oportet, pulchritudini responderit, prorsus Cupido nascetur* ("If he resembles his parents—as he ought to—in beauty, he will be born an absolute Cupid!"). For parallels between this episode and Thrasyllus in the tale of Charite and her death, see Dowden (1993) 99–101.

weave a woof of guile to match the colour of our discussion's warp"). Psyche disregards her husband's repeated warnings, thus increasing reader expectations that she will suffer the consequences. This development is fully materialized during the sisters' third and final visit (5.17–20), when they tell Psyche that she is wedded to a beast which will devour her once her pregnancy reaches full term. They also remind her of Apollo's oracle about the monster husband. To lend further credence to these allegations, the evil sisters mention accounts by eyewitnesses who claim to have seen the beast returning from pasturing (5.17). Through their plot the sisters assume the role of witches with their tremendous powers of deception. In the naïve belief that her sisters are motivated by genuine concern, Psyche believes these allegations and seeks help (5.19). The sisters then advise her to take a lamp (*lucerna*), arm herself with a razor, and kill the beast in his sleep. Once the deed is done, they promise to rush to her aid and marry her to a true mortal (5.20).[225]

The above development in the plot has a clear parallel in the main storyline. Lucius receives repeated admonitions from various strangers, such as Aristomenes (1.5–9), Thelyphron (2.19–30), and his aunt Byrrhena (2.5) about the dangers of magic, but chooses to heed none of them. Instead, he decides to woo the maid Photis as a means to gain access to Pamphile's magic.[226] Lucius' unwillingness to listen to all the above warnings anticipates his imminent misfortune, just as Psyche's disobedience to Cupid leads to her downfall. The dissimilarity between the two situations arises mainly from Lucius' deliberate initiation of his relationship with Photis, once he has been informed Pamphile is a powerful witch, whereas in Psyche's the sisters initiate contact. Furthermore, while Lucius disregards the warnings of his own accord, Psyche is

225 The sisters are not witches in a technical sense. However, in his warnings to Psyche at 5.11 to avoid seeing her relatives, Cupid identifies Psyche's sisters as *lamiae* (*pessimae illae lamiae*, "those horrible harpies"). Zimmerman et al. (2004, 184, s.v. *lamiae*) observe that Meroe and Panthia at 1.17 are also referred to with the same emphatic deictic pronoun, *illae: Lamiae illae* ("those witches"). Connections between the sisters and Meroe and Panthia or other witches in the novel may go even further. In their advice to Psyche to take a razor and a lamp and uncover the identity of her husband, the sisters use tactics and equipment similar to those employed by Meroe and Panthia in their assault on Socrates. In both cases two sisters are involved. A lamp is also used by Pamphile to make weather predictions at Milo's dinner table (2.11).

226 On Lucius' curiosity in connection with that of Psyche see Wlosok (1999) 146–148.

tricked by her evil sisters into disobeying her husband's orders, answering questions regarding his identity, and finally exposing it. Thus, the *simplicitas* typifying both characters is of two different kinds—Lucius is naïvely over-confident in believing that he can circumvent Pamphile (2.6),[227] gain access to magic, and emerge unscathed, whereas Psyche is gullible in trusting her sisters who are her relatives only in name while acting on their false claims.

Encounter with the divine / contact with magic

At night Psyche is left alone to carry out the nefarious crime suggested by her sisters. She takes a lamp and exposes the appearance of the god Cupid in his sleep; only then does she realize the tragic consequences of her actions (5.22): *at vero Psyche tanto aspectu deterrita et impos animi, marcido pallore defecta tremensque desedit in imos poplites et ferrum quaerit abscondere, sed in suo pectore* ("But Psyche was terrified at this marvellous sight and put out of her mind; overcome with the pallor of exhaustion she sank faint and trembling to her knees. She tried to hide the weapon—in her own heart"). In her Actaeon-like curiosity, Psyche gazes on the beauty of her husband in his sleep and then accidentally pricks her thumb on one of his arrows (5.23): *depromit unam de pharetra sagittam et punctu pollicis extremam aciem periclitabunda trementis etiam nunc articuli nisu fortiore pupugit altius* ("She drew one of the arrows from the quiver and tested the point against the tip of her thumb; but her hand was still trembling and she pushed a little too hard and pricked too deep, so that tiny drops of rose-red blood moistened the surface of her skin").[228] Psyche then truly falls in love with Cupid (5.23): *sic ignara Psyche sponte in Amoris incidit amorem* ("Thus without knowing it Psyche of her own accord fell in love with Love"), replicating Cupid's actions when he turned his weapons against himself (5.24): *et praeclarus ille sagittarius ipse me telo meo percussi teque coniugem meam feci* ("Illustrious archer that I am, I shot myself with my own weapon and made you my wife"). This dependence on viewing and touching underscores the association

227 Tatum (1969, 510) sees Psyche and Lucius similar to each other as they disobey warnings.

228 For a wall painting of Diana and Actaeon see LIMC II, 836, s.v. Artemis/Diana, pl. 328.

of Psyche's *curiositas* with sensual desires.[229] Once Cupid's concealed identity is exposed, the lamp that dispels the darkness along with the heroine's ignorance burns more strongly, and burning oil drips onto the god's neck, causing him severe pain and rousing him from sleep (5.23). At that moment the god realizes Psyche's betrayal and immediately flies away from her passionate embraces.

This part of the embedded tale has a clear parallel in the larger story. Lucius has interest in magic. His desire for the subject is further kindled by the servant Photis. Lucius is even willing to forgive Photis for her role in the ridicule he suffered in the Laughter festival (3.1–12) as a result of his indirect contact with magic in the wineskins episode (2.32), if she can arrange for him to see her mistress Pamphile practicing her magic arts. Photis thus becomes the agent that first directs Lucius to spy on the witch Pamphile (3.21–22), before becoming the catalyst through which Lucius undergoes transformation (3.24): she assumes Pamphile's role as witch in order to disclose the witchcraft involved in changes of identity. In introducing Lucius to magic, Photis then appears to have exactly the same function as the lamp (*lucerna*) which sheds light on Cupid's secret identity.[230] The connection is stronger, since Photis' name comes from the Greek term φάος, light.[231] Furthermore, Photis is actually the instrument through which Lucius is introduced to magic. This may create a parallel with the lamp, an amateur through which Psyche exposes Cupid's concealed identity. The dissimilarity between Photis, who is a human character, and the lamp, which is an instrument, can be explained by the fact that evil magic employs various means to achieve its goal. Moreover, in their pursuit of forbidden knowledge, both Psyche and Lucius depend entirely on their senses: Psyche cannot tear herself away from the sight of her husband in his

229 In Plato's view of the division of the soul, as explained in *Res publica* 439d-e, this thirst for knowledge is connected with the appetitive (ἐπιθυμητικόν) part and not with the reasonal part of the soul (λογιστικόν). For Plato's division of the soul see discussion in note 338 below.

230 Psyche's desire to expose the concealed identity of Cupid, whom she is not permitted to see, appears similar to the desire of πολυπράγμονες in Plutarch, for which see note 295.

231 LSJ, s.v. φάος. Att. contract. φῶς. Even the three encounters between Psyche and her sisters, which gradually bring her closer to the exposure of Cupid's identity, can be seen as paralleling Lucius' three ever closer contacts with magic: his indirect contact with magic (the wineskins episode), his spying on Pamphile performing her magic arts in her room, and his direct contact with magic (the metamorphosis into an ass).

sleep, while Lucius first peeps through a door at Pamphile as she practices her arts and then wishes to experience magic at first hand by anointing himself with the magic ointments (3.24).[232] The eventual misfortune that befalls both Psyche and Lucius rounds off the author's play with the expectations of readers, who have long ago anticipated this development, given the *curiositas* of both characters and their failure to heed sound advice they receive in the course of the narrative. Yet again, any similarities are counterbalanced by a marked contrast: The misfortune that follows Psyche's *curiositas* with the exposure of Cupid's identity is metaphorical, as she falls from earlier grace by losing her identity as Cupid's consort. On the other hand, Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass is literal.

The pattern of similarities and contrasts elucidated thus far extends to the reaction of the lovers following metamorphosis. As a character attached to desires, Psyche tries to prevent Cupid from flying away by holding onto his feet, but is unable to maintain her grip for long and falls to the ground (5.24): *at Psyche, statim resurgentis eius crure dextero manibus ambabus adrepto sublimis evectionis adpendix miseranda et per nubilas plagas penduli comitatus extrema consequia tandem fessa delabitur solo* ("But as he rose, Psyche quickly grasped his right leg with both hands, forming a pitiable appendage to his soaring flight and a trailing attachment in dangling companionship through the cloudy regions. At last, exhausted, she fell to the ground").[233] Like Psyche, who lost her status as Cupid's con-

232 Moreover, the outcome for both Psyche and Lucius is disastrous, thus confirming the view expressed by Plutarch in his *De Curiositate* that the result that attends curiosity is often painful (517a): προαναλίσκουσι τῆς γνώσεως ἑαυτούς ("they destroy themselves before they acquire their knowledge").

233 Here Harrison (2000, 256–268) brings into parallelism the connection with the passage of the famous description of the winged soul in Plato's *Phaedrus* 248c (text quoted from Burnet's OCT edition 1960):

> Θεσμός τε Ἀδραστείας ὅδε. ἥτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῷ συνοπαδὸς γενομένη κατίδῃ τι τῶν ἀληθῶν, μέχρι τε τῆς ἑτέρας περιόδου εἶναι ἀπήμονα, κἂν ἀεὶ τοῦτο δύνηται ποιεῖν, ἀεὶ ἀβλαβῆ εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἀδυνατήσασα ἐπισπέσθαι μὴ ἴδῃ, καί τινι συντυχίᾳ χρησαμένη λήθης τε καὶ κακίας πλησθεῖσα βαρυνθῇ, βαρυνθεῖσα δὲ πτεροῤῥυήσῃ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πέσῃ.
>
> And this is the law of Destiny, that the soul which follows after God and obtains a view of any of the truths is free from harm until the next period, and if it can always attain this, is always unharmed; but when, through inability to follow, it fails to see, and through some mischance is filled with forgetfulness and evil and grows heavy, and when it has grown heavy, loses its wings and falls to the earth. (trans. Fowler)

sort after exposing his identity, Lucius has also suffered an unwanted metamorphosis into an ass from his contact with magic. And yet, in stark opposition to Psyche, who tries to prevent Cupid from flying away from her, Lucius gets very angry with Photis for changing him into an ass, instead of a bird as he had wished, and decides to kick her to death (3.26). He only changes his mind when he realizes that her death will cost him the roses, the antidote to his metamorphosis, which she has promised to bring him (3.26). This dissimilarity in the reaction of the two characters can be explained by the fact that Psyche falls in love with Cupid once she pricks her thumb on the arrow in the room (5.23). On the other hand, Lucius never falls in love with his mistress, in spite of his claims to the contrary (3.19),[234] but merely uses her as a means to satisfy his thirst for magic and thus alter his lot through the mastery of the magic arts.

Wanderings

This parallelism between Psyche and Lucius continues in the long narrative of the adventures, in the aftermath of the pursuit of forbidden knowledge. The moment Cupid flies away, Psyche decides to commit suicide by jumping into the river, but the river god safely deposits her on the river bank in fear of Cupid's powers (5.25). There the god Pan, who holds his mistress Echo in his lap, catches sight of Psyche. From the paleness of her complexion, the god realizes that Psyche is deeply in love with Cupid.[235] He advises her to cease mourning, but to honour the god of love through prayers and pious services, so as

---

The connection with Plato's narrative should not be seen as indicative of an allegorical reading of the text, as Harrison correctly points out (2000, 257), given the pathetic posture of Psyche and given the fact that she does not have wings as the soul in Plato. Also see discussion in Zimmerman et al. (2004) 294, who adopt Harrison's playful reading of the famous *Phaedrus* passage. Also Riess (2000–01, 274) adopts Harrison's reading of Platonism in the work.

234 Bearing in mind Lucius' overall strategy with regard to Photis, there is a somewhat hollow ring to his allusion to the elegiac theme of *servitium amoris* in 3.19: *in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas volentem* ("have taken possession of me, bought and bound over like a slave, and a willing one").

235 James (1987) 154; Zimmerman et al. (2004) 309, s.v. *precibus*…

to earn his favour as a mortal (5.25):[236] *luctum desine et pone maerorem precibusque potius Cupidinem deorum maximum percole et utpote adolescentem delicatum luxuriosumque blandis obsequiis promerere* ("Stop your mourning and put away your grief. Instead pray to Cupid, the greatest of the gods, and worship him and earn his favour with flattering deference, since he is a pleasure-loving and soft-hearted youth"). In advising Psyche to stop her mourning, Pan recalls the old woman who recounts the tale of Cupid and Psyche to her internal audience, the captive girl Charite and Lucius the ass, her aim being to comfort the girl in her grief (4.27): *sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo* ("But right now I shall divert you with a pretty story and an old wife's tale").[237] Moreover, as Pan informs Psyche on how she can earn Cupid's favour, the old woman's tale contains a didactic message for both the captive girl and the ass on how they may bring an end to their misfortune: Charite must not disclose the identity of her groom when he later arrives at the cave disguised as the notorious robber pseudo-Haemus, while the ass-Lucius must submit to divine will if he wishes to gain release from his troubles. The connection between Pan and the old woman is all the stronger for the fact that the rustic god is presented as holding Echo in his lap when he offers his salutary advice to Psyche, just as the woman holds the captive girl by her hand as she narrates the tale.[238] Psyche listens without responding to

236 James (1987, 154) advances the interesting idea that Pan advises Psyche to honour the god like a regular mortal girl. See also Zimmerman et al. (2004) 309, s.v. *precibus*…

237 The old woman's promise of pleasure appears again in the novel's preface with the narrator's promise of pleasure for his readers (1.1): *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepido sussuro permulceam* ("But I would like to tie together different sorts of tales for you in that Milesian style of yours, and to caress your ears into approval with a pretty whisper"). For the Milesian connections of Apuleius' narrative, see Harrison (1998b) 68–69. On the other hand, both the old woman's tale and the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* contain a deeper message and are not merely entertaining narratives. On this contrast between stated intention and actual meaning but without specifying it, see Penwill (1990) 9–10.

238 This notion is reinforced by the fact that Psyche's misfortune mirrors that of both Charite and the ass in several ways: Just as Psyche has fallen from happiness, so Charite has been abducted and reduced to serving the robbers. Psyche has lost her identity as Cupid's wife because of her desire to access forbidden knowledge; Lucius has been turned into an animal because of his pursuit of magic, which is likewise forbidden to humans. For a discussion of aspects of the Charite-story as illuminating the novel see the excellent discussion by La-

Pan's advice, though in the course of events she will try to earn Cupid's favour through her actions. Her silence is replicated by Charite, whose immediate reaction to the tale is not recorded, but her action (keeping silent when her groom Tlepolemus comes to the cave in disguise to liberate her) makes clear that she has understood the moral of the old woman's tale. On the other hand, Lucius does react, but only in a typically obtuse manner: having failed to understand the underlying message, he merely expresses regret that he is unable to write down such a charming tale (6.25): *sed astans ego non procul dolebam mehercules, quod pugillares et stilum non habebam, qui tam bellam fabellam praenotarem* ("I was standing not far off, and by Hercules I was upset not to have tablets and stilus to write down such a pretty tale"). This aesthetic judgment is highly reminiscent of human Lucius' earlier reaction to the tale told by Aristomenes (1.20) and his description of Byrrhena's sculptural group in the atrium of her house (2.4), and serves to underline the fact that the protagonist is no wiser from his metamorphosis.[239] The inability to perceive any deeper meaning reinforces the depiction of Lucius as subject to the sensual pleasures (viewing and hearing) associated with *curiositas*.

In the continuation of her adventures, Psyche admirably fulfils Pan's advice to submit to the divine and earn the favour of the god through pious service. She happens upon the places where each of her sisters dwells and sends them both to death (5.26–27), thus fulfilling Cupid's promise (5.24) to punish them for offering evil advice. In the development of the tale's plot, Psyche seeks refuge at temples dedicated to Ceres (6.1) and Juno (6.4), but both goddesses refuse to help out of respect for Venus. In her despair, Psyche determines to submit to the goddess of beauty, in the hope of assuaging the latter's wrath and possibly finding her husband (6.8). It is only through such submission that Psyche can expect to find release from her troubles and be reunited with her separated husband.[240] Upon her arrival in Venus' palace, the angry goddess subjects Psyche to harsh physical tortures inflicted by her servants, and expresses her indignation at Psyche's pregnancy. She refuses to recognise

teiner (2003) 219–238. Papaioannou (1998, 302–323) has stressed the change of fortune from positive to negative in respect to the marriage motif between Charite and Psyche: Like Psyche who enters into a pseudo-marriage to Cupid, Charite views her wedding ceremony with Tlepolemus as completed.

239 The failure to endorse any meaning in the tale beyond its entertainment value and aesthetic merits constitutes an act of misreading; on this point see Penwill (1990) 10.

240 Hägg (1992) 228.

the child, on the grounds that the marriage was between non-equals and took place at the mountain estate, without witnesses or paternal consent (6.9):[241] *impares enim nuptiae et praeterea in villa sine testibus et patre non consentiente factae legitimae non possunt videri ac per hoc spurius iste nascetur, si tamen partum omnino perferre te patiemur* ("the marriage was between unequals; besides, it took place in the country house without witnesses and without the father's consent. Hence it cannot be regarded as legal and therefore your child will be born illegitimate—if indeed we allow you to go through with the birth at all"). Venus then assigns Psyche four exacting labours (6.10–21). One of these even involves a descent to the Underworld to fetch Proserpina's beauty box, thus underlining the magnitude of the ordeals Psyche must endure to calm Venus' wrath (6.16). Psyche accomplishes all these difficult tasks with the help she receives from various animate or inanimate agents.[242]

The narrative of Psyche's extensive wanderings in search of her separated husband invites comparison with the long series of ordeals Lucius the ass suffers as he passes from one master to another (3.25–10.35).[243] Unlike other characters we have already looked at (Socrates, Aristomenes, Thelyphron), the prospect of salvation and indeed elevation to a better status remains open to both Psyche and Lucius, despite their in-

241 For a discussion of the passage and the issue of paternal consent, see Papaioannou (1998) 321. Papaioannou also reads the narrative of Psyche's adventures as highlighting "the struggle of the heroine towards the re-establishment and legal validation of her wedding, and to furnish a similar model of reaction for Charite" (p. 304). For discussion of this passage in relation to comedy, see May (2006) 225–226.

242 The first labour Venus assigns to Psyche involves separating a huge pile of mixed cereal grains: an army of ants appears and completes the task out of respect for Cupid's wife (6.10). In the second trial, which requires the fetching of golden wool from the sheep across the river, a reed begins to talk as Zephyr blows, and tells Psyche how to obtain the wool safely (6.11–13). Earlier, Zephyr is portrayed as assisting Cupid in transporting people to the secret palace. In the third labour, which requires that Psyche bring water in a jar that feeds the Styx and the Cocytus, the eagle, Jupiter's royal bird, remembers the service Cupid offered in the abduction of Jupiter's cupbearer Ganymedes, rushes to Psyche's aid and accomplishes the deadly task for her (6.13–15). In the last trial, in which Venus assigns Psyche the task of bringing Proserpina's beauty box from the Underworld, Psyche plans to jump from a tower so as to die and reach the Underworld. At the critical moment, the tower begins to speak, and gives her instructions on how to fetch the box while avoiding all traps set by Venus (6.16–21).

243 Walsh (1970) 192.

itial wrongdoing. The main difference in the adventures themselves is, of course, one of goal. Psyche never wavers from her intention to locate her husband and win back his favour, exactly as advised by Pan (5.25). On the other hand, in the narrative of his adventures, the ass-Lucius never realizes the moral of Pan's advice to Psyche, which is to submit to the divine and therefore gain his *salus:* in his adventures, Lucius the ass has no aim in mind other than locating the roses, the antidote to his metamorphosis mentioned by Photis (3.25): *nam rosis tantum demorsicatis exibis asinum statimque in meum Lucium postilimio redibis* ("All you have to do is take a bite of roses and you will depart from the ass and immediately return to be my own Lucius once again"). At *Met.* 7.15, however, the roses are tied to early spring, as that is when they blossom: *veris initio … rosas utique reperturus aliquas* ("at the beginning of spring … I would surely find some roses"). This feature may help readers to connect the roses with Isis' initiatory spring-rite of the Ploiaphesia, celebrated every year on March 5th, but is entirely unobserved by ass-Lucius. Lucius' inability to learn the moral of the story is also set in remarkable opposition to Charite, who perceives the deeper meaning of the old woman's tale, and does not expose the identity of Tlepolemus when he comes to the cave in disguise, to liberate his bride and destroy the entire robber gang (7.5–13). Lucius' harsh ordeals continue until there is some sign that something has changed within him, and that he is ready to receive the goddess Isis. This point is not reached until much later, when Lucius finally turns his back on sensual pleasures and runs away from the amphitheatre at Corinth (10.35).

Reunion / encounter with Isis

Structural and thematic relations between the inset tale and the larger story are further observed in the handling of the theme of eventual reunion. As mentioned earlier, in the final labour Psyche is asked to bring Proserpina's beauty box from the Underworld. On her return, she gives in to her innate curiosity a second time, and opens the beauty box to steal some of the contents, so as to appear more attractive to Cupid. As she does so, a death-like sleep envelops her, putting her life in jeopardy (6.21). Fortunately for her, Cupid's earlier wound is now healed and, unable to stay away from his wife any longer, he rushes to her

aid and raises her from death with the touch of his arrow.[244] At this point the couple are at last reunited, as is to be expected now that Psyche has accomplished almost all the difficult tasks set by Venus.

The happy end to the tale foreshadows the manner in which Lucius the ass will be restored to his former true self. In the narrative of his final ordeal, Lucius' new owner Thiasos plans to put him on show in the amphitheatre at Corinth, where he is to entertain the crowds by copulating with a condemned murderess. Unlike the Laughter festival, where Lucius the man appeared in public (3.1–12), on this occasion the ass refuses to comply with his master's wishes, out of shame at the depravity of the spectacle and fear that he will be torn apart by wild beasts (10.35).[245] He thus takes advantage of the preparations for his own act and runs away from the theatre and after covering some distance, he happens upon Cenchreae, one of Isis' cult places (10.35). The refusal to copulate in public serves as an indication that something has at last changed within him, this inner change being a prerequisite for his restoration to human form and the ensuing salvation of his soul.[246] At the port of Cenchreae he sees the full moon shining in the depths of night, and senses the presence of a benevolent goddess, later identified as Isis. The prayer he offers at this point stands as evidence of his realisation that salvation can only be achieved through an appeal to the divine (11.2).[247] The goddess is moved by the prayer and appears to the ass in a dream apparition, giving him detailed instructions on how he is to be restored to human form in the initiatory spring-rite of the Ploiaphesia the following morning. Her disclosure of her identity from the outset when she appears to Lucius' vision in full glory, as she emerges from the sea, is most unlike Cupid, who falls in love with Psyche and takes her to his mountain estate but does not reveal his identity to her. By way of rec-

244 Zimmerman et al. (2004, 525) observe here that "Cupid's final flight to rescue Psyche reverses the earlier flight by which he abandoned her (5,24: 122,12–13 *onnia in altum se proripuit*), and his speech at 5.24 (122,1–12), where he rebuked Psyche for her gullibility and similarly closed his speech with an emphatic first person verb in the future perfect tense: there *punivero* (5,24: 122,12) promised retribution, here *videro* promises rescue".

245 For this contrast see detailed discussion in Zimmerman (2000) 25–26.

246 Zimmerman (2000, 444) correctly points out that "By refusing to keep up that part, which by now he (i.e. Lucius the ass) finds too dangerous, he changes the course of the story".

247 Zimmerman et al. (2004, 373, and 386 with bibliography ad loc.) view Psyche's gesture and prayers to both Ceres and Juno as similar to those of Lucius at 11.24.

ompense, Isis demands celibacy and devotion to her service (11.5–6). The fact that Isis has responded to the ass-Lucius' prayer and appeared to him in his sleep is an indication that he has suffered enough from his earlier curiosity for forbidden knowledge, unlike Psyche who as a mortal could not have seen Cupid in person when she entered the palace. The next day Lucius enters the festival procession, obtains the roses from Isis' priest and turns from animal to man again, as evil magic leaves him (11.13). Lucius' restoration to human form creates a parallel with Psyche's reunion with her husband which marks the end of her troubles. The fact that his reformation is brought about by divine intervention would suggest that his initial metamorphosis into ass through magic constituted a distancing from the world of true religion; and this in turn may strike another parallel with Psyche who exposed her husband's identity and as a result lost her status as Cupid's wife.

Any similarity between Psyche and Lucius at this point, however, is counterbalanced by a remarkable contrast. Psyche is reunited with her separated husband, who saves her from certain death after the completion of almost all tasks set by Venus, in complete accord with the typical plot of the romance novels (see Chapter 9, below). On the other hand, Lucius the ass is not reunited with his mistress Photis, representative of the catastrophic magic in the world, but with another female figure, Isis, goddess of the positive magic in the universe. In a certain sense, Lucius' experience in which he first joins with the witch slave girl Photis and then with Isis as goddess of the benevolent magic may be even seen as paralleling that of Psyche, who first joins with Cupid in his guise as a supposedly evil, frightening beast and then in his identity as a powerful god, but with a major difference: Cupid is a single character, whereas Photis and Isis form a diametrically opposed pair.

Divine wedlock / serving the divine

After the reunion of the separated couple, Cupid flies away to Jupiter on Mt. Olympus, to seek his assistance in overcoming all the obstacles set by his mother. It is only in this way that Psyche can be eternally united with Cupid and achieve true bliss. Jupiter agrees to offer his help, after striking a secret deal with Cupid that the next most beautiful mortal girl on earth will be his (6.22). In the ensuing divine assembly in the theatre on Mt. Olympus, Jupiter gives a resolution to all conflicts within the tale: he announces to the gods his intention to marry Cupid to Psyche

and calm down Cupid's impulses (6.23); next he turns to his daughter Venus, and addresses her concerns over the legality of the union by assuring her that the ceremony will be performed according to civil law (6.9).[248] Jupiter then orders Mercury to fetch Psyche to Mt. Olympus, gives her a cup of ambrosia and makes her immortal (6.23):[249] *'sume', inquit, 'Psyche, et immortalis esto nec umquam digredietur a tuo nexu Cupido, sed istae vobis erunt perpetuae nuptiae'* ("Drink this, Psyche, and you will be immortal. Cupid will never leave your embrace, and your marriage will last for ever"). The tale ends in a spirit of joyous harmony, with the wedding celebrations on Mt. Olympus, in which Venus leads the nuptial dance.

This turn of the plot in the shorter tale anticipates a roughly similar development of events in the larger story. The protagonist is instructed by Isis' priest to enter her service for even greater protection from the vicissitudes of evil fortune (11.15). This advice by the priest may be viewed as most appropriate, as this is the only way Lucius can protect himself from the vicissitudes of fortune. The procedure involves a ritual bath and abstinence from certain food for ten days. Lucius' descent into the realm of the dead—symbolizing the death of his earlier self and emergence the following morning in full glory, dressed in the *stola Olympiaca* (11.24)—appears as the remote equivalent to Psyche's apotheosis and sanctified marriage to Cupid on Mt. Olympus. In this context the *stola* may be viewed as a distant equivalent to a wedding dress. On a literary level, Lucius wins immortality as a fictional character in Apuleius' work. Furthermore, the wedding feast on Mt. Olympus to celebrate the marriage of Cupid to Psyche (6.24): *cena nuptialis affluens* ("a rich wedding-banquet") may anticipate the feast Lucius arranges to mark his entrance to his new life as Isis' priest (11.24): *exhinc festissimum celebravi natalem sacrorum, et suaves epulae et faceta convivia* ("Next I celebrated my birth into the mysteries, a most festive occasion: a delicious banquet and a cheerful party").[250] All the same, once again there

248 Zimmerman et al. (2004) 543, s.v. *iam faxo nuptias non impares sed legitimas.*

249 Zimmerman et al. (2004, 544, s.v. *porrecto ambrosiae poculo* …) associate the sharing of food and drink and the promise of eternal life with the Christian Eucharist and initiation into most-mystery religions, including that of Isis, and suggest a possible parallel between the apotheosis of Psyche and the later initiation of Lucius into the cult of Isis.

250 Zimmerman et al. (2004, 546) observe that the swift appearance of food and drink bring to mind the opening of the tale with the supply of food in Cupid's palace (5.3): *visoque statim proximo semirotundo suggestu, propter instrumentum cen-*

is a striking contrast: Lucius' symbolic union with the goddess with his initiation into her priesthood is a celibate 'marriage', unlike Psyche's divine marriage to Cupid, which leads to the birth of a child.[251] Moreover, Lucius is reunited with his family during a short visit to Corinth following his apotheosis (11.26). By contrast, Psyche cuts all earthly ties after sending both of her sisters to death (5.26–27); while she has never seen her parents after her exposure on the ledge of rock, to be carried away by her monster husband (4.35), and the final reference to her parents is made in the course of the sisters' second visit to Psyche (5.16).

Following a short visit home (11.26), Lucius receives instructions from Isis to travel to Rome, where he undergoes further initiations, one into the cult of Osiris and another into that of Isis, thus making clear his complete entrance into the elaborate cult which involves repeated initiations. Lucius then spends the rest of his life fulfilling his religious duties as priest, and with the gods' help earns both money and fame from a career as a court orator. The joy Lucius feels as an Isiac seems to function as the figurative analogue to the child named *Voluptas* ("Pleasure"), added to the divine family, following Psyche's apotheosis and her sanctified union with the god on Mt. Olympus (6.24).[252] This element of the plot foreshadows the joy Lucius feels as Isis' *mystes*, exercising both his religious and civic duties, in marked contrast to his sorrows as victim of the witches.[253]

By focusing on the interplay of similarities and contrasts between the inner tale of Cupid and Psyche, and the embracing frame of the *Metamorphoses*, I hope to have elucidated how the tale functions as a mythic retelling of the novel's larger story, pointing the non-romance frame in

atorium rata refectui suo commodum, libens accumbit ("And suddenly she saw near her a raised semicircular platform, and judging from the dinner setting that it was meant for her own refreshment, she promptly reclined there"). Zimmerman et al. (2004, 548) further observe the parallel between the wedding celebrations on Mt. Olympus and the close parallel in the wedding-like presentation in the Judgment of Paris at 10.32.

251 Frangoulidis (2001) 171 and *passim*; McNamara (2003) 122–127.

252 Zimmerman et al. (2004, 552) observe that the term *voluptas* refers back to the preface and thus makes an overt allusion to the pleasures of the text, stressing that the purpose of the narrative is literary entertainment (1.1): *lector intende: laetaberis* ("pay attention reader, you will find delight"). Just as this passage stresses the fact that the reader will find pleasure in reading the text, so *Voluptas*, the offspring of Cupid and Psyche, is the effect created at the completion of the inserted tale.

253 Tatum (1969, 514) cites Cicero, *De Fin.* 1.11.37 and observes that *voluptas* means either sensual or spiritual pleasure.

a direction that goes beyond comedy to divine salvation: just as Psyche is united with Cupid, undergoes ordeals in search of her husband, and is finally reunited with him, so Lucius becomes involved with the slave girl Photis, en route to magic, is separated from her because of his unwanted metamorphosis into an ass, and undergoes trials and tribulations until he encounters Isis, who frees him from his animal hide and offers him joy. The similarities and differences between the tale and the wider frame may be viewed as revealing the multiformity of the work, thus foreshadowing its religious end; it would appear that the author offers the tale as a key to interpreting the larger story.

Chapter 6
'War' in Magic and Lovemaking

In the preceding discussion, we concentrated on intratextual comparisons between Lucius and several other characters. We will now turn our attention to a recurrent theme: the use of martial imagery as emerging from the narrative of Lucius' encounter with magic ("the wineskins episode") and his involvement with Photis ("the lovemaking scene"). This 'war' in magic and lovemaking helps to cast the witches as forces of violence and disorder bent on quenching their lust, in remarkable contrast to the stillness and calm prevailing in the description of Isis, who thus emerges as a goddess of true and ideal (divinely blessed) love in the world.

Lucius returns home from Byrrhena's dinner party in a drunken state. Upon his arrival at Milo's front door, he thinks that he sees three robbers trying to break in; drawing his sword, he slays them one by one (2.32). The next day, in his defense during the mock trial at the Laughter festival, Lucius gives further details of this incident (3.4–6). Once the trial is over, Photis explains to her lover that the robbers were wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic and her own mistake. Both the 'battle' against the alleged robbers and the description of it offered in the trial evoke the use of imagery similar to that employed in an earlier scene, depicting Lucius' lovemaking with Photis in his room (2.16–17). The martial vocabulary employed in all three cases derives from battle descriptions in epic and love elegy. One may object that it is inappropriate to compare a literal use of war (in the wineskins incident) with a metaphorical one (in the sex scene), but we could argue that the wineskins incident is presented by Lucius in terms of war due to his distorted perception of reality; it rapidly emerges that no true battle actually takes place; with regard to the sex scene, 'war' was the standard metaphor for love in Roman elegy and comedy. In fact, the deployment of 'war' in both encounters reveals a strong interconnection between magic and sex, and serves to strengthen the association between witches on the one hand, and violence, humiliation and misadventures on the other. By contrast, in the novel's final Book,

Isis frees Lucius from magic and grants him tranquility, but in return demands celibacy and devotion to her for the rest of his life. Thus in the novel's final Book, Isis redefines love by disassociating it from the violence, savagery and carnal desires that typifies the witches' relationships with men in the novel.

Carl C. Schlam has convincingly shown that the sexual theme is connected with magic, as Lucius seeks to gain access to the occult by making love to Photis; the revelation of the divine which satisfies his quest for the supernatural ultimately replaces the promised spectacle of bestial copulation.[254] The same author has also shown that this pursuit of love is often marked by a power struggle, in which a desire for love turns into revenge and punishment.[255] Silvia Montiglio has also demonstrated the connection between magic and erotic pleasures as part of her wider study on the use of the *Odyssey* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.[256] In another work, Gareth Schmeling and Silvia Montiglio have drawn attention to a number of parallels between the lovemaking scene (2.16–17) and the earlier encounter between Lucius and Photis in the kitchen (2.7–10); in turn the erotic aspects in these two scenes prefigure and support the reading of Lucius' contemplation of Isis as a continuation of his adventure with Photis.[257] Most recently, Amanda G. Mathis has pointed out the presence of the military metaphor in Lucius' sexual relationship with Photis, drawing comparisons with some Latin elegists.[258]

One dimension that has not been assessed to date is that the violence and savagery typical of involvement with witches is present both in Lucius' encounter with the wineskins and in his lovemaking to his mistress Photis. Our analysis of the war imagery employed in both cases reinforces the connection between magic and sex; and this is ultimately to be

254 Schlam (1992) 67–81 (Chapter 7, "Sex and Sancity"); see also Schlam (1978) 97–98.

255 Schlam (1992) 67–81.

256 Montiglio (2007) 94–98.

257 Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 34–35.

258 Mathis (2008) 211. De Smet (1987, 616 and 619–621) reads the lovemaking scene as revealing the erotic dimension of Lucius' *curiositas*. Freudenburg (2007, 248–250) has recently concentrated on the impact of visual *curiositas* in the same episode of the encounter of the lovers; he has argued that watching causes transformation not only on the inset viewer Lucius, who engages in the act of viewing, but also on the novel's reader, who exhibits the same kind of curiosity as that of the character within the work.

contrasted with the calmness and stillness prevailing in the world ruled by Isis, as the goddess is associated with true and ideal love in the world, restoring Lucius to the dignity Photis had removed from him.

First a brief summary of the context will be a useful preliminary. Byrrhena invites her nephew to a lavish dinner at her house. Albeit unwillingly, Photis allows Lucius to attend the dinner party, but advises him to return home early, on the grounds that muggers roam about the streets after dark: there are corpses lying everywhere on the streets and the town authorities are unable to enforce law and order (2.18). Lucius' nobility and status as stranger make him an easy target. In combination with the presence of the witches, who set out late at night to ensnare strangers, this warning by Photis helps to characterize Hypata as a place where one cannot walk late at night. Lucius assures his mistress that he will return home early and that he will carry his sword for protection, as is his custom (2.18). Upon his late return from the dinner in a drunken state, Lucius sees what he thinks to be robbers in front of Milo's doors, and instantly falls upon them (2.32).

The encounter is represented as a battle, in which Lucius draws his sword and pierces the wineskins one by one (2.32). The noise he makes outside the house awakens Photis, who opens the door; the 'hero' enters the house drenched in sweat, in the mistaken impression that he has accomplished an epic deed, which he compares to Hercules' slaying of Geryon (2.32). This sweat, however, may also be read as a consequence of his contact with magic, in alignment with his sweat at 11.7, following his encounter with Isis: *ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exurgo* ("I rose … covered with sweat"). Like a true victor, Lucius then lies down to sleep in the false belief that he has performed an epic deed.

In his defence speech during the trial of the Laughter festival the following morning, Lucius adds further details about the battle against the robbers, in order to stress the heroism of his deed and thus secure his acquittal (3.4–6). He even deems himself worthy of public praise for protecting the house of his host and restoring public peace (3.6). In retrospect, the people of Hypata offer praise to Lucius not for ridding society of criminals, but for his skill in generating laughter in the festival and hence duly honoring the god of Laughter; the only praiseworthy deed he has accomplished is to generate mirth by acting the unwitting fool. On contemplating this, Lucius turns down the bronze statue the townsfolk offer to cast in his honor.

Later that same night, Photis comes in sorrow to Lucius' room and explains to her lover that the 'robbers' were actually wineskins animated

by Pamphile's magic. She then begs for forgiveness for her own unwitting part in the fiasco (3.13–20). Commenting on the incident, Photis further compares Lucius not to Hercules (as he himself has done in 2.32), but rather to Ajax when driven to insanity (3.18). In his first encounter with magic, Lucius is thus portrayed as acting insanely before being ridiculed in public.

Most importantly for our present purposes, Lucius' battle against the wineskins (2.32 and 3.4–6) is foreshadowed by the use of martial imagery in the scene depicting his lovemaking to Photis, to which we will now return (2.16–17).

Following dinner conversation with his host, Lucius withdraws to his room allegedly to turn in, but essentially to spend a night of adventures with Photis, whom he views as a route to magic. In his room Lucius finds elaborate preparations having been made for a banquet, while a place has been arranged for the slaves at some distance on the ground outside the room (2.15). Since Milo is mentioned as having only one servant, Photis (1.21), the slaves must belong to Lucius. Shortly thereafter Photis joins him in his room, showering him with rose petals (2.16). In the present instance, there is no shortage of roses, whether loose or in wreaths (*rosa serta et rosa soluta*), though they will be unobtainable on the night the metamorphosis occurs. Having downed several cups of wine, Lucius assures Photis that he is fully armed for 'war' and pulls off his cloak to reveal his erect phallus.

Photis then undresses, lets her hair loose, and exhorts her lover to fight bravely, promising that she will prove a worthy opponent (2.17). The reference to the hair creates an amusing contrast with Lucius who is bald when he narrates the events for the novel's reading and/or listening audience, thus making clear that external appearance no longer matters to him. Throughout the night, the lovers repeatedly engage in amatory fights, stopping only to drink wine.[259]

In the equivalent scene in the pseudo-Lucianic *Onos*, which is more sexually explicit than the *Metamorphoses*, the author presents Lucius' lovemaking to the slave girl Palaestra as a wrestling game (8–11), in full agreement with her name, which derives from the Greek term *palaestra* ("wrestling school"). Overall, the war imagery in Lucius' sexual encounter with the slave girl Photis makes lovemaking appear as a struggle—anything but a relaxing and a contemplative experience.

259 For the movement of Photis' body (2.17) as mirroring that of her movement in the kitchen (2.9), see Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 34.

Comparison of the two episodes

There are several interconnections between Lucius' encounter with the alleged robbers (2.32), his representation of the same event the following morning in the mock trial (3.4–6) and his lovemaking to Photis (2.15–17). Lucius characterizes his act of bravado as *pugna* (2.32), and later explicitly uses the term *proelium* ("battle") to refer to the episode (2.32): *sic proeliatus*. This recalls the employment of similar imagery in the lovemaking scene, represented as a night-long battle, *pugna* (2.17, also *proelium*, *colluctatio*).[260] The connection is rendered stronger by the fact that Lucius pulls his sword out from under his clothes when he sees the 'robbers', and rushes against them as they pound on Milo's door (2.32): *statim denique gladium, quem veste mea contectum ad hos usus extuleram, sinu liberatum adripio. nec cunctatus medios latrones involo ac singulis, ut quemque conluctantem offenderam, altissime demergo* ("At once I snatched the sword free from my folds of my robe, where I had hidden it for just such a contingency. Unhesitatingly I flew into the midst of the robbers, and as I came at each one in combat I plunged my sword into him to its full depth").[261] This may be seen as echoing Lucius' unveiling of his phallus in 2.16, indicating that his is fully 'armed' for his sexual battle with Photis (2.16):

> *nam, ut vides, proelio, quod nobis sine fetiali officio indixeras, iam proximante vehementer intentus, ubi primam sagittam saevi Cupidinis in ima praecordia mea delapsam excepi, arcum meum et ipse vigorate tetendi et oppido formido, ne nervus rigoris nimietate rumpatur.*
>
> As you see, now that the battle you challenged me to without the sanction of a herald is approaching, I am taut with expectation. When I felt cruel Cupid's first arrow plunge into the depths of my heart, I vigorously stretched my own bow, and I am terribly afraid that the string is going to break from too much tension.

At 2.10 Photis promised Lucius that she would meet him at night in his room to engage in a military fight: *tota enim nocte tecum fortiter et ex animo proeliabor* ("because all night long I will make war on you bravely and with all my heart").

Points of contact between Lucius' encounter with the wineskins and his lovemaking to Photis develop even further. As if he were a general,

260 Mathis (2008, 211) draws some parallels between Lucius' lovemaking to Photis and the elegiac lovers in Propertius and Ovid (*Ars Amatoria*).

261 See also *Met.* 3.5.

the ringleader of the robbers delivers a harangue to his soldiers before launching the attack on Milo's house (3.5):

> *'heus pueri, quam maribus animis et viribus alacribus dormientes adgrediamur. omnis cunctatio, ignavia omnis facessat e pectore: stricto mucrone per totam domum cedes ambulet. qui sopitus iacebit, trucidetur; qui repugnare temptaverit, feriatur. sic salvi recedemus, si salvum in domo neminem reliquerimus.'*
>
> 'Hey, boys!' he exclaimed. 'Let us use all our masculine courage and vigorous strength to attack them while they are sleeping. All hesitation, all cowardice be gone from your hearts. Let Murder draw her sword and stalk through the whole house. Slaughter anyone who lies asleep and strike down anyone who tries to resist. We will get out alive only if we leave no one alive in the house'.

This feature may establish a distant parallel with Photis when she undresses and exhorts her lover to fight bravely, promising that she will prove a worthy opponent (2.17): *'proeliare', inquit, 'et fortiter proeliare, nec enim tibi cedam nec terga vortam'* ("'Fight,' she said, 'and fight fiercely, since I will not give way and I will not turn my back'").

The pattern of similarities also extends to the battle. In the narration of the fight proper, the robbers are portrayed as fighting in military formation (3.6): *dirigitur proeliaris acies* ("The battle-lines were drawn"). The ringleader of the 'robbers' attacks Lucius first when he tries to force them to flee (3.6): *dux et signifer ceterorum validis me viribus adgressus* ("Their general and standard-bearer attacked me himself on the spot with might and main"). Lucius then strikes first the general and standard-bearer and then the two other 'robbers' in order (3.6):

> *quem dum sibi porrigi flagitat, certa manu percussum feliciter prosterno. ac mox alium pedibus meis mordicus inhaerentem per scapulas ictu temperato tertiumque inprovide occurrentem pectore offenso peremo.*
>
> While he [i.e. the general] was shouting for someone to hand him the stone, I struck him with unerring hand and luckily laid him low. The second had fastened his teeth into my legs, but I felled him with a nice blow between the shoulder-blades, while the third ran carelessly toward me and I killed him with a stroke straight through the chest.

This feature may be seen in relation to Photis, who first mounts the couch to begin the amatory engagement (2.17): *inscenso grabattulo super me sessim residens* ("she mounted the couch and sat slowly down on top of me"). Then the lovers engage in amatory 'battles' all night long with short respites for wine drinking (2.17): *his et huius modi conluctationibus ad confinia lucis usque pervigiles egimus* ("In combats like these we spent the whole night awake until just before dawn").

Furthermore, the wineskins gasp from Lucius' repeated piercing with his sword, which inflicts gaping wounds (2.32): *quoad tandem ante ipsa vestigia mea vastis et crebris perforati vulneribus spiritus efflaverint* ("until at long last, punctured with multiple gaping wounds, they gasped out their breath at my feet").[262] This may recall the collapse of the lovers represented as warriors from their passionate love throughout the night (2.17): *usque dum lassis animis et marcidis artibus defatigati simul ambo corruimus inter mutuos amplexus animas anhelantes* ("until our spirits were flagging and our limbs had grown slack, and we both collapsed exhausted at the same time, caressing each other and panting out our life's breath").

There are additional features that further reinforce this association; we should recall that when Lucius faces the wineskins he is drunk (2.31), just as he is while spending the night with the servant girl (2.16): *sequens et tertium inter nos vicissim et frequens alternat poculum, cum ego iam vino madens* ("A second and a third cup passed swiftly back and forth between us. I was now under the influence of the wine"). Wine then appears in both episodes of magic and lovemaking, and thus can be viewed as aiding both. In Euripides' *Bacchae* wine (Dionysos) is connected with both Ares (warfare, 302)[263] and Aphrodite (love, 773).[264] Furthermore, on both occasions the wine is supplied by the same person: it is Byrrhena who is the hostess at the sumptuous dinner party (2.19–31) and Byrrhena who sends Lucius a gift of abundant food and drink while he is staying at Milo's house (2.11). Although Byrrhena sends the supplies out of concern that his host is stingy, Lucius uses them to aid his attempt to get closer to magic.

Following the 'war' outside Milo's front door, Lucius goes directly to bed to rest (2.32): *lecto simul et somno tradidi* ("I surrendered simultaneously to bed and sleep"). On this particular occasion he does not encounter Photis (2.32); this is not necessary, as the fight with the wineskins may be taken as having substituted his lovemaking with his mistress. In this context it must be kept in mind that Photis allowed her lover to go to Byrrhena's party, thereby giving him a respite from their amatory combat-duty (2.18): *amatoriae militiae brevem commeatum in-*

262 See also *Met.* 3.6.

263 Eur. *Bacch.* 302: Ἄρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβὼν ἔχει τινά ("And he has taken and continues to have a share in Ares").

264 Eur. *Bacch.* 773: οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις | οὐδ' ἄλλο τερπνὸν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι ("And if wine were no more, then there is no Aphrodite, nor anything else delightful for humankind").

dulsit. The deployment of 'war' in Lucius' love to Photis at night in his room renders his bed inside the room equivalent to the 'war' with the alleged robbers outside Milo's home, thus reinforcing the connection between magic and lovemaking.[265]

Love and war in elegy

As is well known, military metaphors for love can be traced back to Roman comedy. They are particularly prominent in Augustan poetry, which ultimately originates in Greek poetry, where love is fashioned as a battle. In the programmatic first elegy of Tibullus, for example,

265 This extensive use of combat imagery used to describe Lucius and Photis as lovers replaces the use of culinary metaphors employed in the kitchen earlier the same morning (2.7–9); the shift from cooking to war imagery is determined by the change of rooms from the kitchen to the bedroom. Moreover, the act of cooking may be seen as implying a kind of metamorphosis, as it involves the mixture of ingredients to create something new. Lucius first begins his erotic dalliance with Photis when he comes across her preparing dinner. His flirting is clearly part of a well calculated plan to gain access to Pamphile's magic. In his address to Photis, Lucius makes a clear allusion to sex as he characterizes the stew she is cooking as delicious and expresses envy towards any man who is allowed to taste it (2.7): *quam mellitum pulmentum apparas. felix et certo certius beatus, cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere* ("what a delicious stew you are cooking! A man would be lucky—surely even blessed—if you would let him dip his finger in there"; on this, see the excellent discussion by Schmeling and Montiglio (2006, 32–33) for the sexual implications of the entire scene; see also Freudenburg (2007, 247), who points out the sexual dimensions of Lucius' gaze at Photis, with his eyes drawn downwards towards the midriff). Photis picks up on the sexual innuendo and advises Lucius to stay as far away from her, as she alone can remove whatever is burning in the event it catches fire (2.7; see Chapter 2, above). This remark appears as true, as Photis will remove Lucius' ardor later the same night (2.16–17). The employment of food imagery continues even further. After the elaborate description of Photis' hair, Lucius kisses her; Photis describes the kiss as a bitter sweet appetiser, and warns her would-be lover of the dangers of indigestion (2.10): *dulce et amarum gustulum carpis* ("that is a bittersweet appetiser you are sampling"). Lucius chooses to ignore this direct warning, and assures his mistress that he is ready to fall into the fire and be burned alive in return for a kiss. The warning may be intended as a reminder of the dangers of magic, as the servant is an amateur witch. His next kiss meets with a passionate response. Lucius describes Photis' breath as cinnamon sweet and her tongue as nectar (2.10).

the poet/lover defines his role as lover in terms of *militia* ("soldiering", 1.73–78):[266]

Nunc levis est tractanda venus, dum frangere postes
non pudet et rixas inseruisse iuvat.
hic ego dux milesque bonus: uos, signa tubaequae, 75
ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte uiris,
ferte et opes: ego composito securus acervo
dites despiciam despiciamque famem.

It's now we have to clutch
At insubstantial, fleeting love,
While breaking down a door is free of shame
And getting up a fight is still a joy.
This is the field I'm captain on,
Good soldier I. You flags, you horns
Away from here! Give wounds to greedy men.
Give wealth as well. For me no worries now.
My little store is neatly piled
And I can say to hell with wealth,
To hell with hunger too. (trans. Shea)

In these lines, the poet/lover declares his intent to concentrate on love (73–75a; 77b–78) and reject the career of *militia* (75b–77a), but states this wish using the language of war, thus evoking the theme of the *militia amoris: frangere postes* (73), *rixas inseruisse* (74), *dux milesque bonus* (75).

In Tibullus' *Elegy* 1.3, the poet/lover draws a sharper distinction between love and *militia*. The poem is a kind of an *epyllion* and serves as the elegy's response to the ideology of the Homeric epics and Roman militarism, since the emphasis falls on war as responsible for the poet's separation from his family and his beloved Delia. In 1.3, the poet/lover falls ill on the island of Phaeacia while accompanying the general Messala on his eastern campaigns in search of wealth and fame. The poet's illness is due to his participation in military operations; had he stayed at home, all would have been well. The thought of death makes the poet/lover fantasize his own descent into the realm of the dead (53–82). He then states his conviction that as he is a follower of Amor/Venus, he will be led to the Elysian Fields (57–64):

sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper Amori,
ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios.
hic choreae cantusque vigent, passimque vagantes

266 For an excellent discussion of 'war' in Roman elegy and Tibullus, see Lyne (2002) 348–365. The text of Tibullus is from Postgate's OCT edition (1968).

Figure 2 (after Stampolides 138, and plate 28.10): naked, winged Eros standing in repose and leaning against a Corinthian column topped by a head with a halo. The god is unsheathing a sword from a scabbard held in his left hand.

dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves; 60
fert casiam non culta seges, totosque per agros
floret odoratis terra benigna rosis;
ac iuvenum series teneris immixta puellis
ludit, et adsidue proelia miscet amor.

To tender Love her due, Venus herself
Will lead me to Elysium and its fields
That are alive with song, alive with dance,
Where, here and there, the wandering birds
Set slender throats aquiver with sweet song.
Uncared for, nature cinnamons her fields,
And meadow after meadow there

> The kindly earth's abloom with fragrant rose;
> There lines of boys romp hand-in-hand
> With graceful girls, love always at the sides
> To prompt their battles and their mingling.

In this passage, the Elysian Fields are mainly populated with young lovers, unlike representations of the epic, in which they are a place reserved for heroes and warriors. It is true that the lovers engage in battles there (64: *proelia*), but these fights are only a game for pleasure in which no one is hurt, unlike real battles in epic.[267] At the same time, the poet/lover hopes that the man (i.e. Messala) who persuaded him to go on military campaigns (82: *militias*), and thus separated him from his mistress, will end up in the netherworld (81–82). Unlike the Elysian Fields, this netherworld is mostly populated by sinners of mythology, like Tantalus, Ixion and Tityos, who committed crimes in the erotic sphere, thus justifying the poet/lover's wish that he end up there. The poet/lover then turns to Delia and exhorts her to remain chaste (84–85). He rounds off the poem by suddenly appearing to Delia as if descending from heaven, like some god, when Delia is about to go to bed after her daily work on the distaff, thus helping to cast the mistress in the image of Penelope, who remained chaste during Odysseus' absence (89–94). The poet's sudden appearance to Delia late at night is a kind of 'resurrection' made possible through Venus, contrasting with war, which was responsible for his separation from his family and mistress, his fantasized death and descent to the realm of the dead.

In *Amores* 1.9 Ovid further exploits the theme of *militia amoris* (1.9.1: *militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido*, "every lover is a soldier and Cupid has a camp of his own"),[268] by developing links between the difficulties a lover faces in love and those of a soldier in battle throughout the poem.[269]

In a similar way, in the programmatic lines of *Amores* I.2, the poet/lover is wounded by Love and decides at first not to surrender to Cupid without further resistance. In lines 27–38 the poet/lover humorously appears in chains in Cupid's triumphant procession:

> *ducentur capti iuvenes captaeque puellae;*
> *haec tibi magnificus pompa triumphus erit.*

267 Lee-Stecum (1998) 120–121.

268 The text of Ovid is by Kenney (1973) and all translations by Showerman (1977).

269 On this see McKeown (1995) 295.

ipse ego, praeda recens, factum modo vulnus habebo
et nova captiva vincula mente feram.
Mens Bona ducetur manibus post terga retortis
et Pudor et castris quidquid Amoris obest.
omnia te metuent, ad te sua bracchia tendens
volgus 'io' magna voce 'triumphe' canet.
Blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque,
adsidue partes turba secuta tuas.
his tu militibus superas hominesque deosque;
haec tibi si demas commoda, nudus eris.

In thy train shall be captive youth and captive maids;
such a pomp will be for thee a stately triumph.
Myself, a recent spoil, shall be there with wound all freshly dealt,
and bear my new bonds with unresisting heart.
Conscience shall be led along, with hands tied fast behind her back
and Modesty, and all who are foes to the camp of Love.
Before thee all shall tremble; the crowd, stretching forth their hands
to thee, shall chant with loud voice: 'Ho Triumph!'
Caress shall be at thy side, and Error, and Madness—
a rout that ever follows in thy train.
With soldiers like these dost thou vanquish men and gods;
strip from thee aids like these, thou wilt be weaponless. (trans. Showerman)

In these lines Amor appears as *triumphator* at the head of a procession of victors (Amor, Blanditiae, Error and Furor) and defeated (Mens Bona, Pudor, and all who lay an attack on his camp). Lucia Athanassaki has convincingly argued for a strong metapoetic coloring of this poem, showing that Amor, his generals, and his victims stand for elegiac genre.[270] In this metapoetic reading, as argued by Athanassaki, the generals as well as the opponents of Amor are also reflections of elegiac themes. Behind the chariot of the *triumphator* there follow other young men and women captured by him. The poet/lover is also found in this procession in chains, as he has finally decided to surrender to Amor and therefore to elegy, while the crowd chants '*Io triumphe*' as the chariot of the conqueror-general passes by.

This literary representation of Amor as soldier and warrior in love is strongly corroborated by pictorial representations of Eros/Amor clad as a soldier. In seals from Delos, for example, the god appears as a soldier and general in every possible posture: as he arms himself; as a fully armed warrior; as leaning and holding arms in his hands; as an archer; as he readies himself to fire an arrow; as he raises his helmet; as arranging

270 Athanassaki (1992) 125–141.

Figure 3 (after Stampolides 134, and plate 27.5): Eros clad in a *chlamys*, walking to the right. The slight downward turn of his head may suggest that he is either returning exhausted from a fight or is unwilling to join battle.

his trophies; and, finally, as he sits on his shield in a triumphant pose.[271] Similarly, in a vase relief from Egypt, two Cupids are portrayed as car-

271 Stampolides (1992) 132–145 and most especially plates XXVI,14-XXX,10.

Figure 4 (after Stampolides 143, and plate 29.18): naked winged Eros, leaning the upper part of his body and head slightly backwards as he tries to write on a round shield/trophy set up on the right.

rying a sword and a shield and fighting against each other, while another Cupid with Psyche are standing near by.[272] In a bronze ring from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Eros appears almost asleep beside his trophy.[273]

Most recently, Amanda G. Mathis has pointed out that the sexual relationship in which Lucius indulges in with Photis is cast in terms of

272 LIMC, 912, s.v. *Eros*, plate 725.
273 LIMC, 912, s.v. *Eros*, plate 728.

the elegiac tradition, "although Lucius never intends to make Photis his *domina*, as the elegists do their lovers".[274] For all the similarities between Elegy and Apuleius in the treatment of war, in our view a striking difference is also apparent. In Augustan Elegy the deployment of 'war' in love is meant as a witty and playful game (love is associated with activities of peace), whereas in Apuleius, the thematics of war serves to underscore the violence encountered in Lucius' love affair with the beautiful slave girl Photis, which is linked to carnal desires.[275] The violence defining Lucius' involvement with Photis is also enhanced by the misfortune of other characters in the novel, such as Socrates or other victims of the witches' love, who are subjected to humiliation, submission and even death, but their misfortune is not fashioned as war, thus helping to associate the witches with forces of disorder.

Isis as goddess of peace

The violence that characterized Lucius' involvement with the witch slave girl Photis is counterbalanced by the remarkable absence of the theme in Lucius' encounter with Isis in the novel's final Book. At the end of Book 10, Lucius refuses to copulate with a condemned murderess in public (an indirect indication of his imminent espousal of celibacy); after secretly exiting the amphitheatre and covering some distance, he accidentally arrives at the port of Cenchreae. As we have argued earlier in Chapter 1, his hasty exit from the arena and his arrival at the port

274 Mathis (2008) 211.

275 Mathis (2008) 211. Lucius' involvement with the witch-like slave girl Photis ends in ridicule and humiliation, culminating in his metamorphosis into an ass. His misfortune reveals similarities and differences with the earlier sufferings of Socrates, who involved himself with the powerful witch Meroe and was led to death when he decided to leave her in secret with his friend Aristomenes. There are further parallels with the tale of the miller, who was put to death when he refused the love of his wife and was visited by a ghost sent to him by the witch (9.29–30). A short discussion of violence in the novel—restricted to the robbers' episode—appears in Riess (2000–01) 269–271. Moreover, Riess makes the interesting observation that violence is exaggerated throughout, and that readers would immediately recognize the contrast with reality (p. 271).

may be interpreted as an indication of his desire for *salus*.[276] At Cenchreae, exhausted from running, he falls into a deep, peaceful sleep (10.35): *vespertinae me quieti* ("evening's quiet"). During the night, the ass-Lucius wakes up, sees the full moon rising from the sea, and delivers a prayer to the moon goddess, later identified as Isis. He begs her to grant him peace and restore him to human form, and then falls asleep once more (11.2): *tu saevis exanclatis casibus pausam pacemque tribue* ("grant me rest and peace from the cruel mischances I have endured"). The calmness and stillness prevailing at Cenchreae is diametrically opposed to the 'war' typifying Lucius' encounter with magic and Photis, and by extension the world of the witches. Responding to Lucius' prayer, Isis appears to him in his sleep and informs him that she will stage his reformation in her Ploiaphesia festival the next day, but demands celibacy and devotion in return (11.6). Nothing could be more different from the life given over to the pursuit of carnal pleasures that Lucius has led thus far.

On the following morning, the goddess admirably fulfills her promise: in yet another contrast with the witches, Isis' world is devoid of deception as words are matched by deeds. The ass-Lucius sees the festival procession, recognizes the priest carrying the roses, enters the procession and, having eaten the antidote to his misfortunes, is restored to the dignity of his former human self. Evil magic leaves him, as the crowd gaze on in wonder at the miracle performed by the goddess (11.13).

Following his reformation, Isis' priest informs Lucius that he has entered a haven of peace in which strife has no place, thus creating another contrast with the violent world of the witches (11.15): *ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti* ("but finally, Lucius, you have reached the harbor of Peace and the altar of Mercy"). The priest also encourages Lucius to enter the service of the goddess for even greater protection from the snares of magic (11.15):

> *quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabaris, teque iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi voluntarium. nam cum coeperis deae servire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis.*
>
> But to be safer and better protected, enlist in this holy army, to whose oath of allegiance you were summoned not long ago. Dedicate yourself today to obedience to our cult and take on the voluntary yoke of her service; for as

276 For the the ass-Lucius' realization of the extent to which his passions have enslaved him, see Mathis (2008) 213.

> soon as you become the goddess's slave you will experience more fully the fruit of your freedom.

In his exhortation, the priest employs the military metaphor of *militia*, as he encourages Lucius to enter Isis' service. As we have seen, this term is earlier employed to refer to Lucius' erotic involvement with Photis (2.18): *comiter amatoriae militiae brevem commeatum indulsit* ("she kindly granted me a short leave from amatory combat-duty"). Nevertheless, in the case of Isis the *militia* is explicitly non-violent; entrance into her *militia* will offer Lucius the permanent safety and protection from the traps of magic that neither his noble origins nor his learning were able to afford. The priest also defines loyalty to Isis in terms of yet another military term, *servitium*. Yet this is cast in direct opposition to earthly attachments that revolved around magic, such as those once binding Lucius to Photis, as it will lead to *libertas*, freedom of his soul.[277]

Lucius' ensuing entrance into the cult can be seen as a form of sacred, celibate marriage to the goddess. The new initiate derives unbounded joy from gazing on the statue of the goddess, as he recalls the great benefits he has received at her hand (11.24): *paucis dehinc ibidem commoratus diebus inexplicabili voluptate simulacri divini pefruebar, inremunerabili quippe beneficio pigneratus* ("Afterwards I remained there for a few days, enjoying the ineffable pleasure of the holy image, pledged to her by her unrepayable favour"). When the goddess instructs Lucius to go home for a short visit, he finds it very difficult to stay away from her statue (11.24): *vix equidem abruptis ardentissimi desiderii retinaculis* ("since it was only with great difficulty that I had broken the bonds of my fervent yearning for her"). The pleasure derived in beholding the statue is purely spiritual, and has nothing to do with the carnal pleasure Lucius felt when eyeing up the beautiful slave girl Photis in the kitchen (2.7–10) and in the lovemaking scene linked to violence (2.16–17).[278]

277 This *servitium* is also set in direct opposition to Lucius' service of his various masters in the course of his wanderings as an ass. van Mal-Maeder (1997, 100–102) reads the metaphor in concrete terms, as suggesting a state of eternal servitude for being saved by Isis. Photis also admits that Lucius has enslaved her (2.10: *mancipata sum*), and promises that she will meet him at night in his room for passionate adventures, discussed above. The reference by Photis to the theme of *servitium* alludes to the elegiac theme of *servitium amoris*.

278 For possible ominous connotations as Lucius stands in front of the statue, thus becoming part of the sculptural group, see Slater (2003) 100, and further reference there.

Subsequently, Lucius receives instructions from the goddess to go to Rome, where he undergoes two further initiations, one into the cult of Osiris and another into that of Isis. In addition, Osiris helps Lucius to earn money from his legal practice in courts, so as to cover the expenses needed for both initiations, and even assists him in entering the ranks of the *pastophoroi*. Thereafter Lucius spends the rest of his life in Rome fulfilling his religious and civic duties and earning both fame and material wealth. Thus Isis bestows on Lucius the self-dignity and social recognition that Photis had removed from him, following his humiliating metamorphosis into an ass and his ensuing misadventures.[279]

In looking at the 'war' imagery in both the wineskin narrative and Lucius' lovemaking with Photis, I hope to have elucidated the strong interconnections between the two. In fact, it is not unreasonable to argue that the former episode mirrors the latter, and in turn helps to highlight the links between magic and lovemaking, associated with violence and carnal pleasures. By restoring Lucius to his former human self, but imposing celibacy on him and demanding everlasting devotion to her, Isis emerges as representative of peaceful, ideal love in the world. Thus in the novel's final Book, Apuleius redefines true love, by disconnecting it from the aggression and lust that characterizes love in Lucius' relationship with the witch slave girl Photis and, by extension, the witches in the novel.

Appendix: 'War' in the Tale of Cupic and Psyche

Further on in the novel, the connection between war, magic and love reappears in the embedded tale of Cupid and Psyche, in which the heroine's jealous sisters besiege their younger sister until she exposes the concealed identity of her husband, bringing an end to her own happiness. Though the sisters are not witches, their witch-like methods and ability to deceive are so effective that they can even destroy the purest expression of love: Cupid's adoration of Psyche.

Stephen Harrison[280] and Ellen Finkelpearl[281] have treated the military metaphors in the tale of Cupid and Psyche as reminiscent of Virgil's description of the capture of Troy. Stelios Panayotakis has re-examined

279 For a different reading of the episode, see van Mal-Maeder (1997) 104.
280 Harrison (1988) 265–267.
281 Finkepearl (1998) 98–99.

slander and warfare imagery in the same tale, which culminates in the image of Psyche as a besieged and captured city.[282]

In the Appendix to the chapter, we shall look at another aspect of the military content in the tale: the hitherto unexplored association between warfare imagery and magic and love, as seen in the sisters' assault on Psyche. This imagery serves to strengthen the association between the sisters and the forces of disorder, represented by the witches.

In the tale, Psyche's sisters pay her two visits, in the course of which they surmise that she must be wedded to some god, presumably Cupid. Fired by jealousy, they devise an evil scheme to persuade Psyche to expose the hidden identity of her husband, so as to put an end to her happiness.[283]

Strictly speaking, Psyche's sisters are not credited with supernatural powers, but their tactics recall those used by witches, e. g. Meroe and Panthia, elsewhere in the novel. In his speech to his wife, Cupid calls the sisters *lamiae*, a term normally reserved for witches (5.11): *pessimae illae lamiae* ("those horrible harpies"). Indeed, this very same term is earlier used to identify Meroe and Panthia (1.17): *quo me Lamiae illae infecerant* ("those she-monsters had soaked me in"). The sisters are portrayed as envious, thus recalling the witches who are presented as jealous when their lovers disobey orders (1.9). Moreover, the sisters also seem similar to the witches with regard to their tremendous powers to deceive. Nevertheless, unlike the witches they are not immune to the vicissitudes of fortune, for they ultimately fall victim to Psyche's own trickery and meet a savage death (5.26–27). Finally, the sisters are two in number, thus establishing a parallel with Meroe and Panthia—likewise portrayed as siblings (1.12–13)—and with Pamphile the witch and her apprentice Photis.

The sisters put their monstrous plan into action during their third visit to Cupid's mountain estate, when they tell Psyche that she is wedded to a beast husband who will devour her when her pregnancy runs its course (5.17). To lend further credence to these allegations, the sisters remind her of Apollo's oracle, which allegedly prophesized that she was to be wedded to a beast husband (4.33); they also refer to eyewitness accounts given by neighbours, who claim to have seen the snake husband returning from pasturing. This beast husband will devour Psy-

282 Panayotakis (1998b) 151–164.

283 For a discussion of warfare imagery as an attack on the mind of Psyche, see Panayotakis (1998b) 151–164.

che along with her unborn child when her pregnancy advances (5.18). Thus the sisters will attempt to bring about an abrupt end to Psyche's union with the god in the mountain estate and her happiness.

At this narrative juncture, the narrator portrays the devious sisters as soldiers making an assault on the mind of the simple Psyche with their swords (5.19):[284] *Tunc nanctae iam portis patentibus nudatum sororis animum facinerosae mulieres, omissis tectae machinae latibulis, destrictis gladiis fraudium simplicis puellae paventes congitationes invadunt* ("The gates were open now, and those vicious women, having reached their sister's defenceless mind, quit the concealment of their covered artillery, unsheathed the sword of their deception, and assaulted the timorous thoughts of the guileless girl").

Stephen Harrison has pointed out the epic colouring of the passage, with the employment of military metaphors such as *portis patentibus* and the term *invadunt* that allude to Virgil's description of the Greek warriors coming out of the Trojan Horse in *Aeneid* 2.265–267:[285]

> *invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam;* *265*
> *caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis*
> *accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.*
>
> They storm the city, buried in sleep and wine;
> slay the watch, and at the open gates welcome their
> comrades and unite confederate bands. (trans. Fairclough)

Ellen Finkelpearl has further argued that the sisters are portrayed as invading Greeks but their swords still consist of *fraudes*.[286]

This representation of the sisters as an invading army is carefully developed in the description of the repeated visits to Psyche, anticipating the turn of events.[287] At 5.11 Cupid represents the sisters as warriors armed with destructive thoughts, when he warns Psyche of their imminent arrival at the palace: *noxiis animis armatae* ("armed with their pernicious thoughts"). Later, at 5.12, he describes the imminent arrival of the visitors as an invading army with swords drawn in battle array, coming to pierce Psyche's neck, and urges her not to see or listen to them:

> *'dies ultima et casus extremus, et sexus infestus et sanguis inimicus iam sumpsit arma et castra commovit et aciem direxit et classicum personavit; iam mucrone des-*

284 Harrison (1988) 265–267.
285 Harrison (1998) 266.
286 Finkelpearl (1998) 99; see also her section (96–101) on Psyche's sisters (5.17–20).
287 Panayotakis (1998b) 154–155.

> *tricto iugulum tuum nefariae tuae sorores petunt. heu quantis urguemur cladibus, Psyche dulcissima.'*
>
> 'The critical day', he said, 'the ultimate peril, the malice of your sex, and your blood in hatred have now taken arms against you: they have struck camp, are arrayed for battle, and have sounded the charge. Now your wicked sisters have drawn the sword and are attacking your throat. O my sweetest Psyche, what disasters are upon us!'

The portrayal of the witches as soldiers coming to pierce Psyche's neck may bring to mind the witches, Meroe and Panthia, when they enter the room in the inn where Socrates was spending the night with his friend Aristomenes and Meroe pierces Socrates' neck with her sword and thus exacts revenge on her lover for leaving her (1.13; and Chapter 2). At 5.14, when the sisters set out on their second visit to Psyche, the narrator describes them as conspirators: *consponsae factionis*. The employment of the term *factio* is appropriate, as it directs attention to the fact that the enemy is a domestic one—overall, the rich presence of 'war' and martial vocabulary in the episode underlines the danger Psyche faces, casting the sisters as an awesome force. In her terror, Psyche capitulates and agrees to expose her husband's concealed identity, thus disobeying her own promises to the contrary (5.5 and 5.13). The sisters then instruct Psyche to take a lamp and a razor to kill the beast and then depart, so as not to be found near the scene of the crime.[288] When Cupid returns from his daily duties and goes to sleep, Psyche takes the lamp and the razor and comes close to committing the deadly crime, but is stopped in her tracks when the lamplight reveals the concealed identity of the god Cupid in his sleep. By disobeying her husband's orders, Psyche becomes responsible for her fall from happiness—Cupid immediately flies away to punish her for disobeying orders and exposing his concealed idenity.

Later, Psyche exacts cruel revenge on her sisters for what they have done. In her wanderings, Psyche chances upon the town where one of her sisters dwells, and relates how Cupid divorced her and wishes to be wedded to each one of them, now that his identity has become known (5.26):

288 The lamp and razor recall the lamp and sword carried by Meroe and Panthia, the two witches who burst into the room where Socrates and Aristomenes are spending the night (1.12). Later, in 2.11, the powerful witch Pamphile uses a lamp to make weather predictions.

'Tu quidem', inquit 'ob istud tam dirum facinus confestim toro meo divorte tibique res tuas habeto, ego vero sororem tuam'—et nomen quo tu censeris aiebat—'iam mihi confarreatis nuptis coniugabo'.

'On account of your dreadful crime, you are forthwith to depart from my couch and take what is yours with you. I shall now wed your sister in holy matrimony'—and he spoke your full name.

By relating this false story, Psyche echoes the sisters' own lies when they alleged that the 'monster husband' would devour Psyche when her pregnancy reached full term. In lying to the sister, Psyche assists Cupid in taking the revenge he vowed to exact on her relatives (5.24). When the sister hears Psyche's story she immediately rushes to the rock to be wedded to the god. However, the wind Zephyr does not blow, as happened earlier during her visits to Psyche in the mountain palace, and thus the sister falls from the crag, has her limbs torn apart and falls prey to savage birds and beasts. With her savage death the sister is in a perverse sense wedded to the 'flying beast', and thus meets the fate that allegedly awaited Psyche.[289] Thereafter, having moved on to the town where her other sister dwells, Psyche sends her to a similar death.

In the clash between Psyche, who represents an aspect of the divine as she lives with the god in the palace, and the sisters, who in many respects resemble the witches, the divine element emerges supreme: religion triumphs over magic, as represented by the witches. Yet the implicit identification of the sisters with the witches also reveals their flawed powers, for they are manipulated by the lies of Psyche and eventually meet a horrible death.

The deployment of 'war' imagery in the narrative of the assault on Psyche establishes an association with the witches, who are portrayed as warriors who provoke disorder when their lovers misbehave. The identification of the sisters with witches is further enhanced by their ability to deceive, thus bringing to mind similar powers of the witches to deceive. Nevertheless, the association with the witches also reveals the flawed powers of the sisters, for they fall victims to Psyche's lies and eventually meet a savage death. Thus magic, which has been seen as associated with violence, humiliation and adventures, is also capable of ruining even the most pure expression of affection: Cupid's love for Psyche and union with her.

289 For this mirroring see Frangoulidis (1994) 69–70; see also Zimmerman et al. (2004) 322, s.v. *et proinde ut merebatur.*

In the next chapter we will move away from discussing recurrent themes found in the narratives of Lucius' encounter with magic and his contact with Isis and turn our attention to the narrative advantages gained by the author in choosing to metamorphose Lucius into an ass rather than any other bird or animal.

Chapter 7
Lucius' Metamorphosis into an Ass as a Narrative Device

In the previous chapter we explored the development of the 'war' in Lucius' encounter with magic ("the wineskin incident") and compared it to the use of the same imagery in his erotic encounter with his mistress Photis. We then traced the imagery of peace and stillness in Lucius' contact with Isis (associated with true and ideal love in the world), in remarkable contrast to the violence of war in Lucius' contact with magic and his mistress Photis (linked to earthly desires). We will now set out to investigate what the author actually gains for the shaping of his narrative by exploiting Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass (rather than any other animal or bird as the protagonist himself wishes) as the most appropriate narrative device that propels the plot to its final conclusion.

As is well known, the greatest part of the *Metamorphoses* is taken up by the misadventures of Lucius once he has been transformed into an ass through magic. The choice of this particular animal allows the author to take considerable advantage of those traits, such as stubbornness and foolishness, that characterize Lucius while still a human, or those features such as sexuality that were regularly associated with the ass in antiquity. Moreover, this specific metamorphosis offers the author the brilliant opportunity to construct a series of comic stories and make use of entertaining proverbs relating to asses. Finally, the transformation in question helps Apuleius to construct the religious conclusion in the work; the goddess Isis, who restores Lucius to human form, hates the ass because the colour of his skin reminds her of Seth-Typhon, her worst enemy after the dismemberment of her brother and husband Osiris. She thus rushes to assist when the ass-Lucius appeals to her for help. In adding this end to the novel, Apuleius constructs a paradigmatic narrative on the hardships that come from the pursuit of magic; in this respect, the result is more complex than in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos*, in which the metamorphosis into an ass merely serves the erotic character of the narrative.

Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass has been discussed in relation to its central characteristics and religious connotations. Thus Paula James has directed attention to some asinine features in Lucius' human conduct, not least among which are his sexuality and self-imposed slavery to Photis, which foreshadow his degradation as a beast of burden.[290] Carl C. Schlam has dealt in detail with the philosophical significance of Apuleius' notion of metamorphosis, which reveals affinities with Plato's depiction of the soul coming to inhabit an animal body in the various rounds of earthly experience.[291] The same scholar has also stressed the philosophical and religious significance of his metamorphosis into that animal which recalls Seth-Typhon, the arch enemy of Isis, who is depicted as a human figure with the head of an ass.[292] In an illuminating study, Keith Bradley examines Lucius' transformation into an ass as an illustration of the animalization of the slave in real life and as a guide to the meaning of this animalization in the master-slave relationship in Roman society.[293]

However, the considerable narrative advantages gained by Apuleius in choosing this specific metamorphosis in the novel have been overlooked. My intention in what follows is to discuss precisely what the author gains by changing his protagonist into an ass, instead of a bird or any other animal.

Asinine features in Lucius as a human

In this section we will concentrate on those aspects of Lucius' character which emerge prior to his metamorphosis into an ass, and which are accentuated through his metamorphosis into that animal.

In the novel's opening, Lucius reveals a strong interest for *curiositas* ("inquisitiveness"), which helps to move the narrative on. His *curiositas* may in part be attributed to his intellectual origin and descent from the famous Plutarch and his philosopher nephew, Sextus, in which he takes

290 James (1987) 93–96; see also Schlam (1970) 481 (for the ass's large phallus). Lately several studies have considered how donkeys in general stood in the equine hierarchy, or how they reflected attitudes toward class and gender in archaic Greek literature: Gregory (2007) 193–212; Griffith (2006a) and Griffith (2006b).

291 Schlam (1970) 479–487; similar comments are repeated in (1992) 15–17.

292 Schlam (1992) 110–112; see also DeFilippo (1990) 486–487.

293 Bradley (2000) 110–125.

considerable pride (1.2). At 3.14 Lucius defines this *curiositas* as *familiaris* ("customary"). In the beginning, the nature and object of this curiosity is not clear: in his conversation with Aristomenes he presents it simply as a desire to know many things (1.2): *sed qui velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima* ("but I am the sort who wants to know everything, or at least most things"). Further on in the narrative, though, the object of this curiosity becomes more specific: Lucius seeks to learn the secrets of the universe through magic, a kind of knowledge which is forbidden for humans, and thus possibly to alter his lot through the mastery of the magic art (2.6; 3.19).[294] Above all, his desire for knowledge is connected with sensual and erotic pleasures.[295] In this Lucius evokes Actaeon, who was metamorphosed into a stag for attempting to spy on the goddess Diana as she was taking her bath.

The above aspect of Lucius' character is in perfect agreement with the curiosity of the ass, as seen, for instance, in the *Onos*, where this an-

294 Hägg (1992) 292. On the irony of Lucius' claim that he is not *curiosus* in 1.2 see DeFilippo (1990) 477–478.

295 On this see De Smet (1987) 621. Lucius' *curiositas* reveals similarities with Plutarch's πολυπραγμοσύνη as it appears in his treatise, *De Curiositate* (Kenney 2003, 165–166; Walsh 1988, 73–78; and Schlam 1992, 57). In Plutarch the πολυπράγμονες depend on their senses to acquire this knowledge, as implied by their daring to gaze directly on the orb of the sun (517b): αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύκλον ἀναιδῶς καταβλέπειν καὶ διαστέλλειν τὸ φῶς εἴσω βιαζόμενοι καὶ τολμῶντες ἀποτυφλοῦνται ("but they [i.e. the busybodies] recklessly dare to gaze upon the orb itself and to rend its radiance apart, striving to force their way within"). This feature creates a parallel with Lucius the ass, who can see and hear what people say and do from afar (9.13). Likewise, Psyche relies on her senses as she watches the beauty of her husband in his sleep. Plutarch mentions the desire of πολυπράγμονες to become observers of forbidden rites (*De Curios.* 522f): ἱερῶν ἃ μὴ θέμις ὁρᾶν γίνονται θεαταί, τόπους ἀβάτους πατοῦσι ("[they] become spectators of sacred rites which it is an impiety for them to see, tread consecrated ground"; the text of Plutarch's *De Curiositate* is of Pohlenz and Sieveking (1972); all translations of the same treatise are by Helmbold (1970); see also note 230). In like manner, Lucius spies on Pamphile practising her magic arts (3.20), while Psyche uncovers the identity of her husband in spite of repeated warnings not to do so. In Plutarch the πολυπράγμονες are eager to meddle in others' business without regard for the dangers involved (517a): οὐδ' ἀκινδύνως ταῦτα ζητῶν ("nor is this search of his without danger"). This finds a parallel in the *Metamorphoses* when Lucius disregards all the warnings from his aunt Byrrhena (2.6). In Plutarch the outcome that often attends this curiosity is painful (517a): προαναλίσκουσι τῆς γνώσεως ἑαυτούς ("they destroy themselves before they acquire their knowledge"). In the novel, both Lucius and Psyche suffer numerous ordeals as a result of their curiosity.

imal is proverbially associated with prying (56): ἐξ ὄνου περιεργίας ("from the curiosity of an ass"). This also becomes clear from such proverbial expressions as ἐξ ὄνου παρακύψεως ("from the peeping of an ass"), as again seen, for example, in *Onos* 45.[296]

Inextricably linked to the motif of *curiositas* is Lucius' stubbornness, the most obvious character trait he shares with the ass. In spite of repeated warnings he receives in the form of embedded tales and advice from his aunt, he insists on becoming involved in the art of magic. Because the obstinacy of the ass is a recurrent theme in both Greek and Latin literature, one example from Homer will suffice. In *Iliad* 11.556–568, Homer compares Ajax's obstinacy as he is smitten by the Trojans to that of an ass who escapes the boys in charge of him, goes to the corn-fields and lays waste to the rich crop, despite the repeated blows he receives from the boys:[297]

ὣς Αἴας τότ' ἀπὸ Τρώων τετιημένος ἦτορ
ἤϊε πόλλ' ἀέκων· περὶ γὰρ δίε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὄνος παρ' ἄρουραν ἰὼν ἐβιήσατο παῖδας
νωθής, ᾧ δὴ πολλὰ περὶ ῥόπαλ' ἀμφὶς ἐάγῃ,

296 Scobie (1975) 29–30. Apuleius takes advantage of Lucius' curiosity as an ass. In his animal metamorphosis, Lucius is afforded the opportunity to listen to numerous tales of passion, family tragedy (8.1–14), adultery (9.5–7; 9.14–31), unnatural love (10.2–12), etc., not least because, as an ass, he lives at close quarters to human beings at all times (day and night). Lucius satisfies this curiosity by listening to other peoples' stories which belong to the private sphere and, thus, out of bounds for others, as has been the case with his earlier desire to learn the secrets of the world through magic. Indeed, in 9.15 Lucius finds consolation in the fact that his long ears, which are linked directly to his curiosity, enable him to eavesdrop from afar, and therefore satisfy his innate desire for knowledge: *isto tamen vel unico solacio aerumnabilis deformitatis meae recreabar, quod auribus grandissimis praeditus cuncta longule etiam dissita facillime sentiebam* ("nevertheless, I was at least heartened by this one consolation in my painful deformity: namely, with my enormous ears I could hear everything very easily, even at a considerable distance"). In 9.42, Lucius characterizes himself as a curious and impulsive ass: *curiosus alioquin et inquieti procacitate praeditus asinus* ("being by nature an inquisitive ass endowed with restless impulsiveness"). Yet even as the protagonist himself admits, this does not make him *prudens* ("wise") like his prototype the Homeric Odysseus, or like the owl he originally aspired to become, but *multiscius* ("much learned"). Lucius' *multiscientia*, as Montiglio (2007, 102) points out, "is the harvest of vulgar curiosity". In other words, the knowledge Lucius acquires in his adventures remains superficial and does not lead to a greater understanding of the truth in the world.

297 The text of Homer's *Iliad* is from the OCT edition of Monro and Allen (1976). Discussion of the simile appears in Gregory (2007) 203–204.

κείρει τ' εἰσελθὼν βαθὺ λήϊον· οἳ δέ τε παῖδες
τύπτουσιν ῥοπάλοισι· βίη δέ τε νηπίη αὐτῶν·
σπουδῇ τ' ἐξήλασσαν, ἐπεί τ' ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς·
ὣς τότ' ἔπειτ' Αἴαντα μέγαν, Τελαμώνιον υἱόν,
Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι πολυηγερέες τ' ἐπίκουροι
νύσσοντες ξυστοῖσι μέσον σάκος αἰὲν ἔποντο.
Αἴας δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μνησάσκετο θούριδος ἀλκῆς
αὖτις ὑποστρεφθείς, καὶ ἐρητύσασκε φάλαγγας
Τρώων ἱπποδάμων· ὀτὲ δὲ τρωπάσκετο φεύγειν.

So too Ajax, resenting every step he took
Back from the Trojans. He feared for the ships.
A donkey is usually too strong for boys
Who try to keep him out of a wheat field
And will wade right in although they break their sticks
On his ribs. The boys keep beating him
As he wastes the deep grain, but their childish strength
Can barely drive him out even after he is full.
The Trojans and their allies kept up the pressure
On Ajax, hitting his shield with their polished spears.
Every now and again Ajax would remember
Who he was, and turn on them, pushing back
Entire phalanxes of Horse-taming Trojans.
Then he would give ground. (trans. Lombardo)

Ajax retreats only after he has achieved his goal, thus resembling the ass who retreats from the corn-fields after he has satisfied his hunger. This stubbornness has become proverbial as seen in the proverb ὄνος ὕεται ("the ass lets it rain"), meaning that he stands unmoved in the rain.[298]

Also linked to Lucius' stubbornness is his obtuseness; from the very outset, Lucius is unable to perceive the dangers inherent in dabbling with magic. This too is a character trait often associated with the ass: beyond several of Aesop's fables (266, 267 and especially 278 "ὄνος καὶ ὀνηλάτης"),[299] some Greek proverbs, e.g. ὄνος λύρας and ὄνος εἰς Ἀθήνας, also record the beast's stupidity. With regard to Latin literature, in Cicero a speaker addresses a man who is unable to get an education as an ass (*In Pis.* 30): *Quid nunc te, asine, litteras doceam? Non opus est verbis, sed fustibus* ("What, you ass! Must I begin to teach you letters? For that I shall need no words but a cudgel").[300] This lack of education goes hand in hand with an inability to comprehend the arts, rendering the ass a

298 Freeman (1945) 46, and further references to Greek paroemiographers.
299 Numbering according to the edition of Chambry (1967).
300 The text is from Clark (1973) and the translation is by Watts (1964).

symbol of the uncultured man:[301] Lucius has received the education befitting his high social standing, as can be deduced from references in the work to his nobility and *doctrina* (1.2; 2.3; 3.15), yet when confronted with the statue of Actaeon in Byrrhena's atrium he restricts his comments to those of aesthetic merit, and does not even come close to the deeper meaning of the work, which is clearly meant as an allegory of punishment for curiosity. Following his metamorphosis into an ass Lucius turns into a beast of lower status when compared to his high social standing as a human.

Another element that Lucius has prior to his metamorphosis into an ass is his lustfulness.[302] Apuleius offers a vivid presentation of his sexual encounters with Photis as a means to gain access to magic. Given his social superiority Lucius could have employed other tactics to approach Photis. It is clear, though, that he derives pleasure from the sex. Thus he is 'killing two birds with one stone' by indulging his appetite and also by getting closer to witchcraft. Following his hideous transformation into an ass, the only consolation Lucius sees is the enlargement of his phallus (3.24): *nec ullum miserae reformationis video solacium, nisi quod mihi iam nequeunti tenere Fotidem natura crescebat* ("I saw no consolation in my wretched metamorphosis except for the fact that, although I could not now embrace Photis, my generative organ was growing"). This reference to the erotic aspect of his metamorphosis makes clear the sexual dimension of his *curiositas* which is connected with erotic desires. The ass is a particularly libidinous animal[303] and the enormity of its phallus is a standard characteristic acknowledged as early as Archilochus (fr. 43 West):[304]

> ἡ δέ οἱ σάϑη
> x-v-x------- ὥστ' ὄνου Πριηνέως
> κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρεν ὀτρυγηφάγου.
>
> His penis was erect like
> that of a he-ass of Priene that has eaten corn.[305]

301 The ass was also associated with lack of musical education, possibly on account of its cacophonous braying: in the myth of Midas, Apollo is declared victor over Pan in a music contest. When Midas disagrees with the verdict, Apollo punishes him for his lack of musical taste by changing his ears into those of an ass.

302 James (1987) 93.

303 Schlam (1970) 481.

304 The text is West (1989) vol. 1.

305 Translation of Archilochus is from Edmonds (1968), with slight modifications.

In Pindar, too, there is a reference to the Hyperboreans sacrificing one hundred sexually aroused asses to Apollo, which clearly shows the animal's lascivious nature (*Pyth.* 10.31–36):[306]

παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
δώματ' ἐσελθών,
κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῷ
ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
εὐφαμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὁρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.

With them Perseus, the leader of people, once feasted
upon entering their halls,
when he came upon them sacrificing glorious hecatombs
of asses to the god. In their banquets
and praises Apollo ever finds greatest delight
and laughs to see the beasts' braying insolence. (trans. Race)

The iambic poet Semonides, 7.43–49, defines the ass woman as indiscriminately full of an insatiable appetite for food and lust:[307]

τὴν δ' ἔκ †τε σποδιῆς† καὶ παλιντριβέος ὄνου,
ἣ σύν τ' ἀνάγκηι σύν τ' ἐνιπῆισιν μόγις
ἔστερξεν ὧν ἅπαντα κἀπονήσατο
ἀρεστά· τόφρα δ' ἐσθίει μὲν ἐν μυχῶι
προνὺξ προῆμαρ, ἐσθίει δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρηι.
ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἀφροδίσιον
ἐλθόντ' ἑταῖρον ὀντινῶν ἐδέξατο.

Another is made of a stubborn and belaboured
She-Ass; everything she does is hardly done, of
necessity and after threats, and then it is left unfinished;
meanwhile she eats day in day out, in bower and in hall,
and all men alike are welcome to her bed.[308]

Artistic evidence also seems to associate the ass with lustfulness, as in several vase paintings the ass appears together with satyrs, who are notorious for their extreme sexuality.[309]

In Book 10, Apuleius twice takes narrative advantage of the lustfulness of the ass. First he presents Lucius copulating with a rich matrona who falls in love with him, undoubtedly on account of his large organ, and who is even willing to pay his owner handsomely so as to spend the

306 The text of Pindar is from Bowra's OCT edition (1968).
307 The text is West (1992) vol. 2.
308 Translation of Semonides is by Edmonds (1968), with slight modifications.
309 Gregory (2007) 202, and bibliography there.

night with him (10.21–23).[310] When Thiasos, the new owner of the ass, finds out about the antics with the matrona in the room, he decides to lay on a crowd-pulling spectacle in which the ass is to rape a condemned murderess in the amphitheatre (10.23).

Thiasos' inspiration may perform a twofold function: firstly it may be designed to offer entertainment to the crowd by adding a novel feature to the show; and secondly it may serve as appropriate punishment for the murderess prior to her savage death. The latter hypothesis is lent weight by a temple-dream manual in a second century papyrus dating to ca 100 CE, written in Demotic Egyptian and roughly contemporary with Apuleius (*P.Carlsberg* XIIIb, 2.14–40).[311]

The manual contains a list of sexual dreams about women having intercourse with various creatures such as a mouse, a horse, a goat, a lion, a wolf, a snake and a baboon. Dreams of this kind may be seen as a variant on the motif of the union of women with divinities transformed into animals and birds such as the eagle, the bull or the snake, in which Jupiter is often the male protagonist.[312] In the manual, line 20 explicitly mentions intercourse between a woman and an ass, which is interpreted as signifying punishment for a serious offence: "Wenn ein Esel mit ihr coitum facit, wird sie für eine grosse Sünde gestraft warden …"[313] ("if an ass is having intercourse with her, she will be punished for a grave sin …").[314] When Thiasos decides to put the murderess with the ass in the amphitheatre at Corinth, he would appear to be making the dream scenario come true.

310 In a recently discovered fragmentary papyrus (*P.Oxy*. LXX 4762, published by Dirk Obbink), a speaker who is presumably female suffers from burning, a symptom traditionally associated with love, for another character, perhaps an ass (1). In lines 9–10 the speaker mentions the large size of the ass' sexual organ and then pleads with him to wait for a while, and not to "put it all in" (11–12).

311 Volten (1942, 86–87), who also offers a translation of the papyrus into German; the English translation of the papyrus is provided by Montserrat (1996) 23–24.

312 Frankfurter (2001) 490. For examples of donkey-rape curses dating from the Pharaonic to the Coptic period, see Frankfurter (2001) 493.

313 Volten (1942) 87, no 20.

314 The translation is by Montserrat (1996) 23.

Lucius' transformation into a lower being

Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass amounts to humiliation if one takes into account the harsh treatment this animal receives from humans. For example, Lucius is beaten while in the possession of the sadistic boy (7.17–24), and forced to work hard in the mill (9.11). Furthermore, this specific metamorphosis offers Apuleius a brilliant opportunity to pack a large number of adventures in his narrative into a short period of time; as an animal most useful to humans, Lucius the ass changes hands frequently, entering into the service of the robbers, Tlepolemus and Charite, the herdsmen, the corrupt priest of the Syrian Goddess, the miller, the market gardener, the Latin soldier, the two brother slaves and their master Thiasos. Through this constant change of masters, Lucius the ass can go through as many comic ordeals as possible within a short period of time, before unwittingly arriving at Cenchreae, one of Isis' holy places, where he will gain his salvation. This constant change of masters and emphasis on various ordeals are meant to stress the paradigmatic aspect of the narrative for the punishments that come from meddling with the occult. That the ass is a lesser animal becomes evident from Plato, who compares it unfavourably to the noble horse (*Phaedr.* 260c): μὴ περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς ὡς ἵππου τὸν ἔπαινον ποιούμενος ("not by praising the 'shadow of an ass' under the name of a horse").[315] Here we may recall the novel's preface, where the narrator Lucius likens the change of his mother tongue and his use of Latin to a skilled acrobat on horseback in the Circus (1.1):[316] *iam haec equidem ipsa vocis immutatio desultoriae scientiae stilo quem accessimus respondet* ("Now in fact this very changing of language corresponds to the type

315 Translated by Fowler (1982). This notion also emerges from Herodotus 1.55 and 1.91, where the Delphic oracle refers to Cyrus, king of the Persians, obliquely, as a mule. The animal representation of Cyrus is due to the fact that his mother Mandane, here associated with the horse, was of royal social descent as daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, whereas his father Kambyses was of lower social station, since at that time the Persians were subjects to the Medes.

316 The comparison is apt for another reason: just as the acrobats entertain the spectators with their skill by jumping from one horse to another at the Circus Maximus, in the novel's various parts the narrator employs a range of literary styles without losing control of the narrative: e. g. epic in the tales of the robber, tragedy in the narration of Charite's death, comedy while in the possession of the priest of the Syrian goddess.

of writing we have undertaken, which is like the skill of a rider jumping from one horse to another").

In the Circus there were chariot-racing and gladiatorial games, and in the theatre dramatic performances. Further on, when the narration starts, Lucius is portrayed as travelling along the arduous route from Corinth to Hypata on his own horse (1.2): *equo indigena peralbo vehens* ("I was riding a native-bred pure white horse"). The comparison, however, with the horse riders in the preface and the ensuing portrayal of Lucius in the saddle turns out to be bitterly ironic, as, for the greater part of the narrative, Lucius is not a horse rider, but a beast of burden, moving through geographic and literary spaces.[317]

It is worth observing here that Apuleius does not turn Lucius into an owl, as Lucius wished, or a powerful eagle (3.22).[318] The owl stands for wisdom, while the proud, powerful eagle soars high above the earth. By contrast, as a beast of burden Lucius is condemned to being in the company of humans, carrying various owners or baggage on his back and performing exacting tasks, in stark contrast to all other domestic animals which cannot match the ass in versatility. A possible exception is the horse; but the horse is linked more often to Roman-style military power, nobility and authority than to phallic lust,[319] and thus appears in antithesis to Lucius' humiliating metamorphosis into an ass, and therefore as an 'appropriate metamorphosis' trope. The classic example that shows the affiliation of the horse with aristocracy appears in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. In that play Strepsiades bitterly thinks in retrospect of how his pretentious wife did not let him name their son after his father but opted for the aristocratic-sounding Pheidippides, namely a compound name ending in the suffix *–hippos*, meaning horse (61–67). Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass recalls similar punishments meted out by witches to other characters in the novel, in line with their faults: the witch Meroe turns a lawyer into a ram for speaking

317 Soon after his metamorphosis Lucius' own horse and a fellow ass attack Lucius the ass and force him to stay away from the barley which in an ironic way he has put in the manger a few hours ago, while he was still human (3.27). In the course of his adventures Lucius the ass is again attacked by stallions, when he is sent to the country to mate with mares (7.16).

318 In the tale of Cupid and Psyche, Jupiter's mighty eagle fetches water in the jar for Psyche from the springs that feed the rivers Styx and Cocytus (6.15). The eagle is also known for snatching potential lovers, as happens with Ganymede (6.15). On this point, see Jacobson (2004) 40.

319 Frankfurter (2001) 491, 493 and 496.

against her, as the ram is often engaged in fighting, and condemns the wife of her lover to evelasting pregnancy, by sealing her womb, for daring to speak against her (1.9). This 'appropriate metamorphosis' trope could ultimately come from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as seen for instance in the change of Daphne by her father Peneus into a laurel tree, in full compliance with her name, meaning laurel (Ov. *Met.* 1.147–152). The link with magic also becomes evident as Lucius' change into an ass is the aftermath of his meddling with the occult. As an ass, Lucius remains devoid of wisdom for the greater part of the narrative, until the intervention of Isis in the novel's final Book.

Lucius' humiliation does not occur for the first time with his change into an ass. His turning into an ass marks the second instance of humiliation, with the first taking place with his ridicule in the Laughter festival (3.1–12) and underlining it. In the Laughter festival Lucius falls victim to a mock trial as part of the celebrations in honour of the Hypatans' god of Laughter. The previous night, the drunken Lucius came into contact with three wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic and Photis' role in it (2.32). The next morning the people of Hypata took him to court and made a fool of him, by leading him to believe that he had killed three citizens (3.1–2). In this 'trial' the people of Hypata then treat Lucius, still in human form, as an animal, laughing sarcastically at his expense and entertaining themselves with his plight. In the end of the 'trial', though the Hypatan magistrates offered Lucius great honours for his performance in the festival, Lucius refused to accept them as they would serve as an eternal reminder of his role as fool in the festival (3.12). In the novel's final Book, Isis will restore Lucius to his true self and grant him self-dignity in her own initiatory spring-rite of the Ploiaphesia, which functions as the complete reversal of the Laughter festival at Hypata. Lucius will be freed from the animal hide and in his new reborn self he will wear the holy garment and will dedicate himself to Isis' service for the rest of his life.

The employment of the ass for the creation of comic effect

Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass allows the author to generate laughter by exploiting further attributes associated with the animal in question. For example, no beast is blessed with the gift of speech, but the braying of an ass constitutes a particularly powerful parody of human language and self-expression. In the case of the orgies held by the eunuch priests

in the Syrian mystery cult, it is the only form of expression left open to Lucius (8.29):

> *nec diu tale facinus meis oculis tolerantibus 'porro Quirites' proclamare gestivi, sed viduatum ceteris syllabis ac litteris processit 'O' tantum sane clarum ac validum et asino proprium, sed inopportuno plane tempore.*
>
> My eyes could not tolerate such an outrage for very long. I tried to shout out "Help, citizens!", but all that came out was "He…," missing all the other syllables and letters. This was loud and strong and ass-like, but very ill-timed.

In this passage Lucius tries to call on the citizens for help, but he can only manage to produce a loud bray. Nevertheless, this is enough to expose the immorality of the corrupt priests of the Syrian Goddess; the inhabitants of a nearby village hear the noise and rush to the spot, in the belief that they have found a lost ass. On seeing the priests engaging in sexual orgies, the villagers pour scorn on their false asceticism (8.29): *insuper ridicule sacerdotum purissimam laudantes castimoniam* ("adding a chorus of sarcastic praise for the priests' pure chastity").[320] Likewise, at 7.13, the braying of the ass is used to convey Lucius' contribution to the general rejoicing when Tlepolemus brings home his liberated bride from the robbers' cave in a triumphant procession, riding on the back of the ass: *denique ipse etiam hilarior pro virili parte, ne praesenti negotio ut alienus discreparem, porrectis auribus proflatisque naribus rudivi fortiter, immo tonanti clamore personavi* ("Even I was as happy as a man could be, and had no desire to be out of tune with the present proceedings like an outsider; and so I stretched out my ears, flared out my nostrils and brayed my best—I should say trumpeted with thunderous din").[321] On the other hand, in the corresponding episode in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos*, the braying of the ass is meant, like trumpeting, to herald the arrival of the girl with her groom in town (26): εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῖς ἐμοῦ προογκησαμένου ("I had brayed out first intimation of the good news").

In metamorphosing Lucius into an ass, Apuleius goes to extremes: there is always the risk that the animal side will take over and subdue

320 In the equivalent episode in the *Onos*, the ass brays as he is unable to speak as a human and convey his disgust (38): ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν φωνὴ οὐκ ἀνέβη μοι ἡ ἐμή, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ὄνου ἐκ τοῦ φάρυγγος, καὶ μέγα ὠγκησάμην ("But it was not my voice but that of the ass which rose from my throat and I produced a loud bray").

321 At 7.4 the ass-Lucius tries to utter the expression *non feci* and thus deny the account of the robbers' scout, who tells the thieves that the Hypatans view Lucius as the robber of Milo's house; in the event he only manages to utter the first sound, *non*.

the human one. Lucius acknowledges this risk when he begins to narrate the description of the robbers' cave, and invites the novel's listeners and readers to see for themselves whether he still retains his human mind and senses (4.6): *nam et meum simul periclitabor ingenium, et faxo vos quoque, an mente etiam sensuque fuerim asinus, sedulo sentiatis* ("for thus I shall both put my talent to the test and also let you effectively perceive whether in intelligence and perception I was the ass that I appeared to be"). He then proceeds to offer the description of the robbers' den (4.6):

> *mons horridus silvestribusque frondibus umbrosus et in primis altus fuit. huius per obliqua devexa, qua saxis asperrimis et ob id inaccessis cingitur, convalles lacunosae cavaeque nimium spinetis aggeratae et quaqua versus repositae naturalem tutelam praebentes ambiebant. de summo vertice fons afluens bullis ingentibus scaturribat perque prona delapsus evomebat undas argenteas iamque rivulis pluribus dispersus ac valles illas agminibus stagnantibus inrigans in modum stipati maris vel ignavi fluminis cuncta cohibebat. insurgit speluncae, qua margines montanae desinunt, turris ardua; caulae firmae solidis cratibus, ovili stabulationi commodae, porrectis undique lateribus ante fores exigui tramitis vice structi parietis attenduntur. ea tu bono certe meo periculo latronum dixeris atria. nec iuxta quicquam quam parva casula cannulis temere contecta, qua speculatores e numero latronum, ut postea comperi, sorte ducti noctibus excubabant.*
>
> The mountain was wild, shaded with forest foliage, and pre-eminently high. Its precipitous slopes, where it was ringed with jagged and hence inaccessible rocks, were encircled by pitted, hollow gullies, well fortified by thick thorn-bushes and isolated on every side, furnishing a natural defence. From the mountain-top a flowing spring gushed out in giant bubbles and rushed down the steep sides, sending out a cascade of silvery waves; then separating into several streams and flooding the gorges with stagnant pools it filled the entire area like a lagoon or a sluggish river. Above the cave, where the edges of the mountain give out, rises a steep tower. Strong fencing of solid wickerwork of a sort suitable for confining sheep, flanked the door on either side and ran like a narrow path formed by masonry walls. You can take my word for it that here was the atrium of a band of robbers. There was nothing nearby except a tiny hut carelessly thatched with cane, where, as I later learned, lookouts chosen by lot from among the robbers kept watch at night.

In this passage Lucius, gives ample evidence of his human intelligence and perception in several ways. First, he offers a realistic account of the locale, with the description of the tall mountain, the rich foliage, the abundant water springing from the mountaintop and creating a lagoon in the lower valley. Second, he shows an ability to recognize the location of the different places in the geographic space, such as the robbers' cave, the tower and the fencing suitable for pasturing sheep. Finally, he reveals a capacity to connect events in time, as

when he observes that lookouts are chosen to keep watch at night. Thus Lucius demonstrates his authority as narrator, making clear to the receivers of his narrative his ability to experience events as he recounts them.[322] This maintaining of the limits between animal and human by Lucius makes his metamorphosis into an ass more painful, but at the same time leaves the prospect of his salvation open. This salvation will take place with the ass-Lucius' hasty exit from the Corinthian amphitheatre and his chance arrival at Cenchreae, one of Isis' cult places.[323]

Another device employed by the author is the use of proverbs about the ass in such a way as to convert them into the story and thus stress the comic aspect of his narrative, as the ass Lucius is involved in ridiculous and comic situations. In Book 9, the market gardener engages in a fight with the soldier over possession of the ass. The soldier is eventually defeated and runs the risk of punishment for losing his sword in the fight, while the gardener and the ass take refuge in a friend's house for a few days. The soldier then goes to the judge, gathers his comrades and sets out to find the two fugitives. The hiding place is betrayed when the ass is overcome by curiosity and pokes his head out of the house (9.42). Ac-

322 One cannot exclude the possibility that the narrative constitutes a filtering of the ass's memories through human perception (the account was written after Lucius has been restored to human form).

323 The danger created by the blurring of distinctions between human and animal is admirably illuminated by the robber's tale of Thrasyleon's death (4.13–21). In the tale, the robbers assist their fellow robber Thrasyleon to assume the bear's disguise and present him to the rich Democharis as a gift. Once inside the house the robber can facilitate his companions' entry. Thrasyleon's disguise is so complete that he is in fact turned into a beast (4.15): *prorsus bestiam factum* ("totally turned beast"). This 'metamorphosis' of the robber into an animal becomes the reason for his death: Democharis' slaves are woken up by the noise of the bear running loose in the house and rouse the rest of the household. Then all the slaves, carrying swords, pursue the running beast until a tall, strong fellow throws his spear into the bear's heart, fatally wounding the robber. Even in the last moments of his life Thrasyleon tries to maintain his animal disguise behaving like a beast and emitting animal growls. He ultimately dies as a beast (4.21): *obnixo mugitu et ferino fremitu* ("he continued to growl and roar like an animal"). This exceptional performance by Thrasyleon of his animal role until the last moment of his life earns the narrator's praise who recounts the tale of his death (4.21): *gloriam sibi reservavit, vitam fato reddidit* ("he won eternal glory for himself, although he surrendered his life to Fate"). On Apuleius' tendency in the novel to erase the distinction between traditional boundaries such as life and death, human and divine and human and animal, see Finkelpearl (2006) 203–221.

cording to the narrator, this act provokes such uncontrolled laughter that it gives rise to two well-known proverbs (9.42): *unde etiam de prospectu et umbra asini natum est frequens proverbium* ("And this is the origin of the proverb about the peeping ass and his shadow"). Apuleius here combines two proverbs, one about the ass's snooping, ἐξ ὄνου παρακύψεως, and the other about its shadow, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς. The former referred to a deed done in rashness, and may have pointed to curiosity as an attribute associated with the ass,[324] whereas the latter denoted the triviality of an act or statement.[325] The claim that these expressions arose from the events described in the *Metamorphoses* is an obvious and deliberate fabrication employed for comic effect, given that these proverbs were in use long before the second century CE.[326] The expression is attested in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 191:[327] περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς and in Plato's *Phaedrus* 260c: μὴ περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς ὡς ἵππου τὸν ἔπαινον ποιούμενος. Apuleius therefore must have been well aware that both proverbs were in use prior to the composition of his work. However, he created this aetiological story in order to stress Lucius' inordinate pride in his posthumous fame as an ass.

Apuleius as a new Aesop

The narration of several stories and narrative sequences in which the protagonist appears as an animal may help to trace some connections between Apuleius and Aesop, the fabulist.

Scholars have explored affiliations between the novel and the *Life of Aesop*. Thus John Winkler has discussed connections between the *Life of Aesop* and the Latin novel as expressed through Lucius and other char-

324 See e.g. *Onos* 45.

325 For a discussion of the cliché expressions from the perspective of narrative instantiation, see Plaza (2006) 79–80.

326 With regard to the first, ὄνου παρακύψεως, the traditional story told of how a donkey entered into a potter's workshop and broke some of his wares. When the potter brought a charge on the driver and he sought to learn why, the potter replied ὄνου παρακύψεως, the ass' snooping (see Freeman 1945, 37). The purported origin of the second proverb, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς, lay in the tribulations suffered by an Athenian who hired a donkey to go to Megara. In the middle of the day, he sought refuge from the heat in the shadow cast by the animal, which refused to co-operate on the grounds that the man had not paid for the hire of the shadow (Freeman 1945, 36).

327 The text is of MacDowell (1978).

acters in the novel, such as the Syrian devotees who devise their prophecy to fit many occasions.[328] Ellen Finkelpearl has examined the role played by Isis as a Muse figure, in granting the power of speech to the fabulist in *Vita Aesopi* 7 and to Lucius in the *Metamorphoses* (11.1–2).[329] On the other hand, Hugh Mason has pointed out some connections between the Aesopic asses and Lucius in the ass-story.[330]

In spite of this increasing discussion, a few additional points can also be made about the novelist and the fabulist. Like Aesop, Apuleius narrates many tales, the majority of which focus on a single animal, the ass. In Aesop there are approximately twenty fables about the ass (263–281 Chambry). Several of the Aesopic asses bear resemblance with Lucius in his asinine form: (267) "ὄνος βαστάζων ἄγαλμα"; (273) "ὄνος καὶ ἡμίονος"; (274) "ὄνος καὶ κηπουρός"; (278) "ὄνος καὶ ὀνηλάτης" with a reference to the theme of κατακρημνίζεσθαι, and (282) "ὄνος χωλαίνειν προσποιούμενος καὶ λύκος".[331] Moreover, like Aesop, where the animals maintain their senses and are able to think, similarly in Apuleius, the ass-Lucius maintains his human senses.[332] As Aesop ends each fable with a moral, so Apuleius ends his various stories with an implied moral that runs through all stories, namely the superiority of the positive magic of Isis over the catastrophic magic of the witches.[333] In spite of the similarities, however, there is a strong contrast. In Aesop the fables are independent of one another, whereas in the *Metamorphoses* the stories are linked to one another by means of a single narrative thread revolving around a single protagonist. Moreover, Apuleius ends his stories with a moral that encompasses all: the superiority of the positive magic of Isis over the catastrophic magic of the witches. In fact, the very presence of the negative magic in the novel is meant to direct attention to the greatness of Isis' positive magic.

328 Winkler (1985) 279–291.
329 Finkelpearl (2003) 37–51; for the *Vita* as exploiting the world of the Isiac cult see Dillery (1999) 268–280.
330 Mason (1978) 10.
331 Mason (1978) 10.
332 Mason (1978) 10.
333 This is set in remarkable contrast to Lucius the ass, who tells the tales for the purpose of entertainment and restricts comments to aesthetic merits, whereas the moral of the tales emerges only with the benefit of hindsight and upon reaching the narrative of Book 11.

The relation of the ass to Isis' cult

Lucius' transformation into an ass also helps to bring out the religious and Isiac aspect of the novel's narrative. Given the fact that the goddess restores the ass-Lucius to his human form, it is worth considering the role of this animal in her cult.[334] According to Plutarch, Isis hates the ass because the reddish colour of his skin and complexion reminds her of her worst enemy Seth-Typhon, who dismembered her brother/husband Osiris before being defeated (*De Is. et Osir.* 362e).[335] This colour appears in alignment with other accounts of Seth-Typhon, who is depicted as an ass in the Graeco-Roman world, and also appears in alignment with *asinus aureus*, the alternative title for the *Metamorphoses* attested by Augustine, Apuleius' African compatriot.[336] Isis and Osiris represent reason, logic, harmony and order in the universe, whereas Seth-Typhon stands for fury and disorder in the world (*De Is. et Osir.* 371b: Τυφὼν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ τιτανικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἔμπληκτον ("But Typhon is that part of the soul which is impressionable, impulsive, irrational and truculent").[337] Through resemblance to Seth-Typhon, Lucius the ass may be seen as a manifestation and an expression of the disorder.[338] In contrast to the ass, the horse ap-

334 For the representation of the ass in Egyptian thought and magic, see Frankfurter (2001) 492–497.

335 Griffiths ((1975) 25, and 50) mentions that Seth-Typhon is associated with magical powers and is often figured in gems as an ass with sexual powers.

336 Bitel (2000–01) 210 and 220.

337 The text of Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* is Nachstädt et al. (1971) and the translations are by Babbitt (1969).

338 In the Platonic context of the division of the soul, Lucius is in a state of πολυπραγμοσύνη. As Heller (1983, 321–339) has shown, Isis' cult is nicely accommodated into the intellectual framework of Platonism (see also note 229 above). In Book IV of the *Res publica* (439d–e) Plato divides the soul into three parts, the rational (λογιστικόν), the appetitive (ἐπιθυμητικόν) and the spiritual one (θυμοειδές). In this division the mind must guide and the appetitive part must submit to the will of the mind, since the mind is wise (441e): Οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ ἄρχειν προσήκει, σοφῷ ὄντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁπάσης τῆς ψυχῆς προμήθειαν, τῷ δὲ θυμοειδεῖ ὑπηκόῳ εἶναι καὶ συμμάχῳ τούτου; ("Does it not belong to the rational part to rule, being wise and exercising forethought in behalf of the entire soul, and to the principle of high spirit to be subject to this and its ally?"). (All quotations from Plato's *Res publica* are from Burnet's OCT edition 1962; translations are from Shorey's Loeb edition 1969.) This harmonious relation of the three parts constitutes justice of the soul (441d-e): Μνημονευτέον ἄρα ἡμῖν ὅτι καὶ ἡμῶν ἕκαστος, ὅτου ἂν τὰ αὑτοῦ

pears as an attribute of the Egyptian god Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, as testified by artistic and literary images: in a window lattice found in Egypt the god appears in armour mounted on a horse spearing a crocodile;[339] and in Plutarch Horus views the horse as most useful in battle, thus reinforcing the connection between militancy and the horse (*De Is. et Osir.* 358c): ἵππος δὲ φεύγοντα διασπάσαι καὶ καταναλῶσαι τὸν πολέμιον ("a horse served best for cutting off the flight of an enemey and annihilating him").[340]

Furthermore, as Plutarch observes, devotees of Isis regarded the ass as an impure animal that possessed daemonic powers (*De Is. et Osir.* 362f): καὶ ὅλως τὸν ὄνον οὐ καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ δαιμονικὸν ἡγοῦνται ζῷον εἶναι ("and altogether regard the ass as an unclean animal dominated by some higher power"). In the Latin novel, too, Isis states her hatred towards the ass (11.6): *pessimae mihique detestabilis iam dudum beluae istius corio te protinus exue* ("cast off at once the hide of that wretched beast which I have long detested"). It is not strange, then, that Isis soon responds to Lucius' appeal for help and promises to remove his animal hide, which he too has come to detest (11.2): *depelle quadripedis diram faciem, redde me conspectui meorum, redde me meo Lucio* ("Rid me of this dreadful four-footed form, restore me to the sight of my own people, restore me to the Lucius I was"). As Plutarch states, believers in Isis would commemorate the crushing of Seth by casting asses off cliffs (*De Is. et Osir.* 362e-f):[341]

> ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάλιν ἐκταπεινοῦσι καὶ καθυβρίζουσιν ἔν τισιν ἑορταῖς, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς πυρροὺς προπηλακίζοντες, ὄνον δὲ κατακρημνίζοντες, ὡς Κοπτῖται, διὰ τὸ πυρρὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ ὀνώδη τὴν χρόαν.
>
> But again there are times when, at certain festivals, they humiliate and insult him [i.e. Typhon] by assailing red-headed men with jeering, and by throwing an ass over the edge of a precipice, as the people of Kopto do, because Typhon had red hair and in colour resembled an ass.

ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πράττῃ, οὗτος δίκαιός τε ἔσται καὶ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττων ("We must remember, then, that each one of us also in whom the several parts within him perform each their own task—he will be a just man and one who minds his own affairs"). Injustice occurs when one part preempts the other, being defined by Plato as πολυπραγμοσύνη (on this point see Schlam (1992) 57). Lucius' subsequent metamorphosis into an ass is a reflection of this disorder of his soul, expressed in the daemonic figure of Typhon. See also discussion in DeFilippo (1990) 480–483.

339 Frankfurter (2001) 493–494 and Figure 3, 494.

340 Frankfurter (2001) 494, note 45, and further bibliography there.

341 This passage is also discussed by DeFilippo (1990) 486.

This ritual brings to mind an incident in the *Metamorphoses*, when one of the robbers proposes that he and his comrades punish Lucius the ass by throwing him off a cliff (6.26): *protinus eum vulturiis gratissimum pabulum futurum praecipitabo* ("I will throw him right over the cliff as a nice meal for the vultures"). In an Isiac context Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass indicates his transformation into a Seth-Typhon figure and, by extension, into an expression of disorder which Seth-Typhon represents.[342] In this religious context Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass as a result of his involvement in magic stresses the anti-religious and anti-Isiac character of his *curiositas*.[343] The earlier ecphrasis on Actaeon spying on Diana helps to define Lucius' *curiositas* for magic as offensive to the goddess, although Lucius offends the goddess only in indirect terms, as he wishes to learn the truth in the world via the witches, whereas Isis is a goddess of the heavenly order in the universe. Apuleius' decision then to follow pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* in choosing an ass for the metamorphosis may partly be motivated by the fact that it is associated with the Isis cult and the novel's Isiac ending.

Isis reverses the metamorphosis

In the novel's final Book, Isis shows Lucius the manner in which he will return to his former human self in her festival of Ploiaphesia the following morning, by obtaining the roses from her priest. With her demand for celibacy (11.6), Isis annuls the sexuality that characterized Lucius as an ass. It must be pointed out that instead of reuniting with his mistress Photis after the end of his adventures, as seen in the standard pattern of the ideal romances' structure (see Chapter 9, below), Lucius comes into contact with another female figure, the goddess Isis. Lucius is united with the goddess in symbolic terms, following his initiation into her mysteries and ordination as a priest. As Lucius' new mistress, Isis therefore takes Photis' place in the novel's earlier books. (In this context we must observe that it is Isis who offers the roses to Lucius, via her priest Mithras, and not Photis, who earlier at 3.25 promised to procure them, thus overturning expectations of readers). There is a remarkable contrast though. Photis is a representative of the evil magic in the world, unlike Isis who represents the benevolent magic in the universe; and given the

342 DeFilippo (1990) 489.
343 Wlosok (1999) 146, defines Lucius' curiosity as *hybris*.

fact that she demands celibacy from Lucius, she also appears in antithesis to the erotic Photis.

Furthermore, as Lucius discards the animal hide, he appears naked and receives the holy garments from the priest (11.14):

> *nam me cum primum nefasto tegmine despoliaverat asinus, compressis in artum feminibus et superstrictis accurate manibus, quantum nudo licebat, velamento me naturali probe muniveram. tunc e cohorte religionis unus inpigre superiorem exutus tunicam supertexit me celerrume.*
>
> For as soon as the ass had stripped me of his abominable coat, I pressed my thighs tightly together and placed my hands carefully in front of me so as to protect myself properly with natural covering, as much as a naked man could. Then one of the faithful quickly took off his outer tunic and hastily covered me.

In this passage it becomes clear that Lucius goes through a second metamorphosis, as he discards the animal hide, which was so hateful to him, and emerges as a new person, truly reborn (*renatus*). The removal of the ass form also suggests the annulment of all character traits that Lucius shared with the ass, as discussed earlier. At this particular point, for example, it is immediately obvious that the new Lucius is ashamed of his sexuality and wishes to cover his nakedness (11.14). By contrast, when originally transformed into an ass, he took pleasure in discovering that he had a greatly enlarged phallus (3.24).

Following his restoration to human form, Lucius displays a strong desire to be initiated into Isis' rites, thus recalling his earlier inquisitiveness for magic in the novel's earlier part (Books 1–3). However, the knowledge he now seeks to gain differs considerably from that to be gained through magic; it has nothing to do with sensuality and physical perception, for the goddess can be perceived only through the mind.[344] As R. De Smet correctly puts it, "Lucius does not see Isis with his eyes, nor does he hear her with his ears. She always appears to him in a

344 In a Platonic context this shift of Lucius' desire for knowledge from the negative magic of the witches to the true one of Isis, goddess of reason and of true knowledge in the world, also signals the transition from the appetitive part of the soul (ἐπιθυμητικόν), which depends on the senses and desires, to the rational one (λογιστικόν). This disassociation of curiosity from desires, linked with the appetitive part of the soul, re-establishes order among the three parts disrupted by Lucius' 'πολυπραγμοσύνη' (Plat. *Res publ.* 441d-e). This is effected by Isis' demand on Lucius to observe celibacy (*castimoniis*) thus disassociating his thirst for knowledge from erotic desires (11.6), as has been the case in his pursuit of magic through the erotic Photis.

dream".[345] We could also add that Lucius never addresses the goddess in person, as happens earlier in his involvement with Photis. In fact, his strong desire for being initiated into Isis' rites (11.21: *nec minus in dies mihi magis magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupido gliscebat*, "Furthermore, day by day my desire to receive the rites of initiation grew greater and greater") may further be seen as replicating his earlier fierce desire to get 'initiated' into Pamphile's magic rites (Book 3). However, in the latter case Lucius has learnt through instructions by Mithras, Isis' priest, to check his desire for knowledge and wait for a clear signal from the goddess before progressing to initiation (11.21).[346] Apuleius, then, does not reject curiosity outright, but only the knowledge sought and the means employed in order to gain it.

Isis and true knowledge

When Isis grants this permission, Lucius is initiated into the rites[347] and acquires the knowledge and wisdom[348] he initially wished to obtain via metamorphosis into an owl. The knowledge he acquires as an Isiac is in agreement with Plutarch who in his treatise associates Isis with knowledge, etymologically connecting her name with the verb of knowledge, οἶδα ("to know") (*De Is. et Osir.* 351f.):[349] Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἶσίς ἐστι ("For Isis is a Greek word"). Moreover, a few lines later in the same treatise, Plutarch associates Isis' shrine with knowledge and reality in

345 De Smet (1989) 622.

346 Sandy (1972) 182.

347 In the narrative of his initiation, Lucius turns to the curious reader who wishes to know the things said and done during his descent to the realm of the dead (11.23): *Quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum* ("Perhaps, my zealous reader, you are eager to learn what was said and done next"). However, his instruction to the reader to exercise restraint reveals a new-found awareness of the limits to curiosity (11.23): *dicerem, si dicere liceret, cognosceres, si liceret audire* ("I would tell if it were permitted to tell; you would learn if it were permitted to hear"). The implication is that the reader must become an initiate before he can be deemed worthy of sharing in sacred knowledge.

348 See Donovan (2008, ICAN Abstract), who observes that Lucius, with his initiation into Isis' rites, acquires wisdom.

349 On the etymological connections between Isis and knowledge on the one hand, and Seth-Typhon and ignorance on the other, as his name derives from the verb τυφῶ ("puff up"), see Babbitt (1969) 8.

the world (*De Is. et Osir.* 352a): τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ τοὔνομα καὶ σαφῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ εἴδησιν τοῦ ὄντος· ὀνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσεῖον ὡς εἰσομένων τὸ ὄν, ἂν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ παρέλθωμεν ("The name of her shrine also clearly promises knowledge and comprehension of reality; for it is named Iseion, to indicate that we shall comprehend reality if in a reasonable and devout frame of mind we pass within the portals of her shrines").

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated, I hope, the narrative appropriateness of Lucius' metamorphosis specifically into an ass, as opposed to some other animal or bird as the protagonist himself wished. This specific metamorphosis allows the author to evoke features of the ass well known in antiquity, notably sexuality, foolishness and lustfulness, and thus to highlight certain traits of his character that are not immediately obvious in the first place. In addition, this specific metamorphosis functions as a clever narrative trope, which enables the author to construct a series of comic stories and to make use of familiar proverbs about the ass to generate laughter. Last but not least, the metamorphosis into this specific animal allows the author to introduce a religious element into the novel's final Book. The ass reminds Isis of her worst enemy, Seth-Typhon. Thus she rushes to ass-Lucius' aid and restores him to his human form, giving him back his self-dignity, of which Photis deprived him, and simultaneously removing all negative features associated with the metamorphosis into an ass: sexuality gives way to abstinence, and foolishness is replaced by true knowledge, which the hero made a misguided attempt to obtain through Photis' catastrophic magic. This presence of Isis in the novel's final Book adds an extra dimension to the nature of Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass, over and above that occurring in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos*, which is devoid of the religious element.

In the ensuing discussion we will move forward, and concentrate on the interrelationship of narrative episodes and themes in Book 11 with regard to their treatment in the novel's earlier parts; thus, we will suggest that we should view the novel's final Book as another *Metamorphoses*, consciously and systematically rewritten from a positive perspective, as a meaningful response to the protagonist's initial misadventures.

Chapter 8
Rewriting *Metamorphoses* 1–10: The Isis Book

Lucius' chance arrival at Cenchreae invites comparison with the two earlier parts of the novel: (1) the events leading to his metamorphosis (1.1–3.28); and (2) the long narrative sequence of adventures (3.29–10.35). This relation is based on a chain of parallel pairs of narrative episodes, in the following order: the encounter with religion (Isis) / contact with magic; the Ploiaphesia festival / the Laughter festival; initiation into Isiac rites / 'initiation' into magic; journey to Rome / adventures. A number of contrasting broad themes also emerge, such as: chastity / lust; human / beast; religion (goddess) / magic (witches). These extend to less obvious elements: prayer / curse; happiness / misery; stability / wandering; success / poverty. The disparity in length between the narrative of Book 11 and the two earlier sections is not problematic in advancing this view, since the salvation and initiations come as a culmination of the varied, risqué, roguish and entertaining episodes in the wretched existence of Lucius as an ass. Book 11 needs no introduction or long drawn out narratives: all that comes before it prefaces the enlightenment via Isis and the return to human form. At Cenchreae Lucius is restored to his former self through the grace of Isis, whereas in Hypata he is turned from man into beast of burden on account of his unbridled desire to learn about magic. In restoring Lucius to human form, Isis also annuls the traits in his character that led to the unhappy metamorphosis into an ass. The victory of religion, 'true' magic, over witchcraft and other varieties of magic, serves as a guarantee of human success and happiness. Book 11, then, is written in a symmetrical way, so as to deliberately call to mind the novel's two earlier parts, employing antithesis as a recurrent narrative device in order to illuminate the vast contrast between the positive 'magic' of Isis and the catastrophic magic of the witches.

Scholars have discussed the recurrent references to hair, food and sex in the novel, in support of the interpretation that Lucius' initiation into Isis' cult in Book 11 is a continuation and evolvement of his metamor-

phosis from man to ass in Book 3.[350] Others have richly debated whether the nature of the novel's final Book is serious,[351] comic,[352] or even satirical.[353] Ellen Finkelpearl treats the novel's last four paragraphs (11.26–30) as an epilogue to the work, which, in certain respects, corresponds to the novel's prologue.[354] Most recently, Regine May has left aside the issue of 'seriousness' or 'religiosity' of Isis in the work, concentrating instead on the way the goddess appears in the novel's final Book; this, she argues, is so unexpected that it seems to overstep the rules of Euripidean melodrama, and lends a comic tone to the novel's final Book.[355] Yet the recurrent contrasts between Book 11 and the novel's earlier books have not been elucidated in any great detail.[356] Such an approach, in which Hypata emerges as a mock Cenchreae, helps to explain why Lucius feels he is a different person after his encounter with Isis when compared to his involvement with magic and the servant girl Photis.

In what follows, I shall discuss this antithetical relationship between the narrative episodes and themes in Book 11 and the novel's earlier parts, and argue that we should view the finale as another *Metamorphoses*, rewritten from a positive side, as a meaningful response to the earlier Books.

The encounter with religion (Isis) / contact with magic

At the end of Book 10 the ass-Lucius flees the Corinthian arena in secret, for he is afraid of being torn apart by wild beasts and cannot in conscience entertain the idea of copulating with a condemned murderess in public. After covering some distance he arrives at Cenchreae, one of

350 van Mal-Maeder (1997) 87–118; also Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 28–41; and Harrison (2000), who reads the book as a parody.
351 Walsh (1970) 176–184; Penwill (1975) 49–82; Bohm (1972–73) 228–231.
352 Winkler (1985) 209–227.
353 Harrison (2000) 235–259.
354 Finkelpearl (2004) 319–342.
355 May (2006) 307–327; see also James (2007) 138–139.
356 An exception is Harrison (2003b) 251–253; in his discussion of openings and closures of books in the *Metamorphoses*, he has pointed out the contrast between the opening of Book 11, which starts with the ass-Lucius' miraculous encounter with a goddess, and the completely un-epic ending of the same Book, with the emphasis on Lucius' baldness.

Isis' cult places. There by the seashore Lucius the ass falls into a deep sleep, of a kind he has not experienced for a long time.

Around the first night watch, the ass wakes up from his sleep and sees the moon in full glory rising from the sea and shining in full radiance over the entire universe (11.1). The narrative of the idyllic seashore setting, far removed from Hypata, marks out the context in which the ass-Lucius' transition to his new life will take place. Lucius is captivated by the beauty of the full moon as the governing force in the universe, and realizes that negative *fortuna* is no longer pursuing him. Thus he bathes in the sea waters, purifying himself with the waters from where the moon rises.

Lucius' arrival at the harbour of Cenchreae, where his contact with Isis will take place, evokes the narrative of his night-time return to Milo's front door, the locale where he unwittingly came into contact with magic after his departure from Byrrhena's dinner party (2.32).[357] Yet the contrast between the two episodes is immediately obvious. At Hypata, the light of the lamp is blown out by a sudden gust of wind, forcing Lucius and his slave to walk on in complete darkness (2.32): *Sed cum primam plateam vadimus, vento repentino lumen, quo nitebamur, extinguitur, ut vix improvidae noctis caligine liberati* ("When we reached the first square a sudden wind blew out the light on which we were relying. With difficulty we extricated ourselves from the blackness of improvident Night"). By contrast, at Cenchreae the full radiance of the moon leads Lucius to light and the discovery of truth in the world (11.1): *video praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus* ("[I] saw, just emerging from the waves of the sea, the full circle of the moon glistening with extraordinary brilliance").

After bathing in the sea, Lucius delivers a prayer to the goddess to seek deliverance from his hardships and then goes to sleep. The goddess responds to his prayer and rises in full glory from the sea, appearing to him as he is about to fall asleep. The ensuing rising of the goddess from the waves of the sea (11.3) mirrors the earlier rising of the full moon from the waves of the same sea (11.1).[358] The goddess refers to the

357 Laird (1997, 70) compares Lucius' awakening at night to see the moon rising from the sea with the opening of Book 2—the description of the first morning in Thessaly. See also useful discussion in Harrison (2003b) 252. For parallels between the Isis festival and the Laughter festival, see Penwill (1990) 5.

358 van Mal-Maeder (1997) 94, compares Lucius' encounters with Isis and Photis for two reasons: (1) reference to the goddess' hair (11.3) establishes a remote

many names by which she is identified, but reveals her true name as Isis, which only the Egyptians know, thus helping to cast her other identities as less accurate (11.5). She further promises to put an end to Lucius' troubles and restore him to his human form the next day at the Ploiaphesia festival, explaining in every detail how this will happen (11.5):

> *diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupavit religio, quo sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus navigabili 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 born from this night has been proclaimed mine by everlasting religious observance: on that day, when the winter's tempests are lulled and the ocean's storm-blown waves are calmed, my priests dedicate an untried keel to the now navigable sea and consecrate it as the first fruit of voyaging. You must await this rite with an attitude both calm and reverent.

This restoration of Lucius the ass into human form follows a ritual process, which has been in fact foreshadowed from the moment he refused to copulate with the condemned murderess in the earlier Book.

In her response, Isis also states that she hates his animal appearance because the red color of his skin reminds her of her worst enemy Seth-Typhon, who dismembered her brother husband/Osiris (11.6). This feature appears in alignment with Lucius, who states in his own prayer that he hates his asinine appearance, and asks the goddess to re-

---

connection with Photis (2.8)—the parallel is reinforced by the fact that Isis appears emitting various fragrances of Arabia (11.4), and thus establishes a further connection with the slave girl, whose breath smells of cinnamon (2.10); and (2) the image of the goddess rising from the sea (11.3) may recall Lucius' likening of Photis to Venus rising from the sea on the night of his sexual adventures in his room (2.17): *in speciem Veneris, quae marinos fluctus subit, pulchre reformata* ("With joyous wantonness she beautifully transformed herself into the picture of Venus rising from the ocean waves"). The comparison is not so appropriate, if one considers that Isis here appears in the place reserved for Pamphile in the earlier Books; Photis is Pamphile's apprentice and not a fully-fledged witch. On the other hand, Laird (1997, 72–73) draws attention to a number of significant differences in the description of Isis' apparition from all previous descriptions of Photis, Venus or the Diana ecphrasis in the novel. According to his view, the most notable feature in the ecphrasis of Isis' apparition is the trope of *adynaton*; this reappears in the description of Psyche's beauty (4.28): *at vero puellae iunioris tam praecipua, tam praeclara pulchritudo nec exprimi ac ne sufficienter quidem laudari sermonis humani penuria poterat* ("But the youngest girl's beauty was so dazzling and glorious that it could not be described nor even adequately praised for the sheer poverty of human speech").

store him to his former self (11.2). In return for her favour, Isis demands devotion and celibacy for the remainder of Lucius' life. This prospect is foreshadowed by the protagonist's earlier refusal to appear in the amphitheatre in Corinth and copulate with the condemned criminal in public, and his ensuing appeal to Isis as goddess of benevolent magic and true religion. Isis further promises Lucius the prospect of happiness and glory and bliss after death if he earns her favor (11.6).

The night-time encounter with Isis evokes an earlier narrative episode, in which Lucius encounters three robbers and kills them by piercing them one by one with his sword, immediately after his lamp has been blown out (2.32). It later emerges that these robbers were no more than wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic (3.18). Of these two narrative sequences, Lucius' night-time vision of the goddess on the shore at Cenchreae marks the end of his misfortunes, whereas his first encounter with Pamphile's magic leads to deception and ensuing ridicule in public.

The Ploiaphesia festival / the Laughter festival

Book 11 continues with the Ploiaphesia festival, the morning after the prayer to Isis. Lucius the ass awakes from his sleep in joy, and recalls the events in Isis' epiphany to him and her commands (11.7). This scene calls to mind the moment when Lucius wakes up on the morning of the Laughter festival, following his contact with Pamphile's magic; yet on that occasion he recalls the battle against the robbers the previous night, and is seized by terror and fear for his life (3.1): *ubertim flebam, iam forum et iudicia, iam sententiam, ipsum denique carnificem imaginabundus* ("I wept profusely, already picturing to myself the forum and the trial, the sentence, even the executioner himself"). At Cenchreae, Lucius is full of joy as the result of a similarly unplanned contact with the goddess (11.7): *nec mora, cum somno protinus absolutus pavore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exurgo* ("At once I was quickly released from sleep, and I rose in a confusion of fear and joy, and covered with sweat"). Here we should note that the order of emotions experienced by the protagonist is reversed: at Hypata he falls asleep proud of his heroic deeds (2.32) only to awake in fear (3.1); whereas at Cenchreae he lies down on the beach tired and in fear, as he has run away in secret from the Corinthian arena (10.35), but wakes up confident and full of hope (11.1).

The ass then offers a description of the people and the town on the morning following the winter storm (11.7):

> *nec mora, cum noctis atrae fugato nubilo sol exurgit aureus, et ecce discursu religioso ac prorsus triumphali turbulae complent totas plateas, tantaque hilaritudine praeter peculiarem meam gestire mihi cuncta videbantur, ut pecua etiam cuiusce modi et totas domos et ipsum diem serena facie gaudere sentirem. nam et pruinam pridianam dies apricus ac placidus repente fuerat insecutus, ut canorae etiam aviculae prolectatae verno vapore concentus suaves adsonarent, matrem siderum, parentem temporum orbisque totius dominam blando mulcentes adfamine. quid 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 adluvies temperabat, caelum autem nubilosa caligine disiecta nudo sudoque luminis proprii splendore candebat.*
>
> At once the cloud of dark night was banished and the Sun arose all gold. Suddenly groups of people filled all the streets, milling about in a religious and truly triumphant mood. Beyond my own private joy, everything seemed to be so filled with happiness that I could feel every sort of animal, and all the houses, and even the day itself rejoicing with bright faces. For a sunny and calm day had come close on the heels of yesterday's frost, so that even the songbirds were enticed by the spring warmth to sing lovely harmonies, soothing with the charming greetings the mother of the stars, parent of the seasons, and mistress of the whole world. Why, even the trees —both the fertile ones with their offspring of fruit and the fruitless ones content to produce only shade—loosened by the southerly breezes and glistening with leaf-buds, rustled sweet whispers with the gentle motion of their arms. The mighty roar of the tempests was stilled and the boisterous swelling of waves subdued; the sea, now calm, lapped quietly against the shore. The sky too, its cloudy darkness dispersed, shone bare and clear with the brilliance of its own true light.

In this description, Lucius presents the joy he senses all around him on this first day of spring. This joy is not limited to Lucius alone, but extends to the people who fill the streets, the houses, the birds and even the trees on the day of the holiday. The reference to recent winterstorms appears inconsistent with the weather, as described the previous night, when the moon rose over a calm sea; on a symbolic level, it appears that the fine conditions represent the end of Lucius' trials. By contrast, elsewhere in the novel bad weather is associated with misfortunes, e.g. the reference to rough weather in the episode of Pamphile's reading of the lamp (2.11) may foreshadow the misfortunes of the false prophet Diophanes at Hypata (2.13–14); and the narrative of Lucius' accidental encounter with the wineskins in the darkness of the night

with the gusty wind (2.32) may anticipate his ensuing ridicule in the Laughter festival at Hypata the following morning (3.1–12).

The description of Cenchreae recalls Lucius' impressions of Hypata on the morning following his arrival there (2.1):

> *nec fuit in illa civitate quod aspiciens id esse crederem, quod esset, sed omnia prorsus ferali murmure in aliam effigiem translata, ut et lapides, quos offenderem, de homine duratos et aves, quas audirem, indidem plumatas et arbores, quae pomerium ambirent, similiter foliatas et fontanos latices de corporibus humanis fluxos crederem; iam statuas et imagines incessuras, parietes locuturos, boves et id genus pecua dicturas praesagium, de ipso vero caelo et iubaris orbe subito venturum oraculum.*
>
> Nothing I looked at in that city seemed to me to be what it was; but I believed that absolutely everything had been transformed into another shape by some deadly mumbo-jumbo: the rocks I hit upon were petrified human beings, the birds I heard were feathered humans, the trees that surrounded the city wall were humans with leaves, and the liquid in the fountains had flowed from human bodies. Soon the statues and pictures would begin to walk, the walls to speak, the oxen and other animals of that sort to prophesy; and from the sky itself and the sun's orb there would suddenly come an oracle.

In this passage, Hypata is described as beautiful on account of an aura of deception and magic, thus bringing to the fore the contrast between appearance and being. On the other hand, at Cenchreae the houses, birds, animals, various trees and the clear sky are presented as radiating genuine joy at the end of winter.

The noise in the streets that reaches the ass' ears signals the arrival of the *pompa*, the procession of the great goddess. The presence of several animals representing other figures, or of humans representing animals (11.8), accounts for the fact that the participants and bystanders are not perturbed when the ass joins in. Towards the end of the procession, the ass-Lucius recognizes the priest carrying the wreath of roses, as promised by the goddess the previous night.[359] He interprets the reference to the garland as a sign of victory over the misfortunes he has undergone, like a victor (11.12): *et hercules coronam consequenter, quod tot ac tantis exanclatis laboribus, tot emensis periculis deae maximae providentia adluctantem mihi saevissime Fortunam superarem* ("it was fitting that it should be a crown of victory, by Hercules, since now, after enduring so many great toils and passing through so many perils, by the providence of

359 James (1987, 241) observes that Lucius' encounter with Isis is completely unambiguous.

the great and mighty goddess I would overcome Fortune, who was so savagely battering me").

Lucius the ass, then, enters the *pompa* without disrupting the ceremony as the people kindly make room for him (11.12): *sed placido ac prorsus humano gradu cunctabundus paulatim obliquato corpore, sane divinitus decedente populo, sensim inrepo* ("Instead, with calm and almost human steps, I slowly edged my body little by little through the crowd, which doubtless by divine guidance made way, and crept gently inward"). His entrance without disrupting the ceremony makes clear that everything happens in accordance with Isis' instructions (11.6): *meo iussu tibi constricti comitatus decedent populi, nec inter hilares caerimonias et festiva spectacula quisquam deformem istam, quam geris, faciem perhorrescet vel figuram tuam repente mutatam sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur* ("At my command the tight-packed crowd of people will give way before you, and no one in the midst of the joyous rites and festive revelries will shrink from the unsightly aspect that you present"). In contrast, at Hypata Lucius has no idea of what is to happen in the Laughter festival, beyond the veiled advice given by his aunt to think of something witty the following morning so as to celebrate the god of Laughter (2.31). Furthermore, unlike the situation at Cenchreae, where the ass-Lucius enters the procession of his own free will and without disrupting the procession, at Hypata the magistrates violently burst into Lucius' room, arrest him with the employment of the lictors and lead him through the city streets in a form of procession, first to court and then to the theatre to face fabricated charges for 'triple murder' (3.2). The Hypatans then plan to honour their god Laughter at the expense of a stranger, thus making clear the savagery of the rite. Interestingly, in the case of the Laughter festival, Lucius is unable to make any connection between his aunt's words the previous night and the mock trial the following morning, whereas at Cenchreae he has no trouble in connecting the goddess' words with the following day's events.

When the priest sees the ass, he marvels at the coincidence with the instructions he has received from the goddess herself (11.6): *nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi venio, simul et ibi praesens, quae sunt sequentia, sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda praecipio* ("for at this very moment when I come to you I am present there too and am instructing my priest in his sleep about what he must do next"). He then makes a stop and places the wreath of roses in Lucius' mouth. In doing so, the priest appears in the position previously held by Photis, when she promised to bring the roses on the morning following Lucius' metamorphosis (3.25), but was

unable to do so (3.28). Lucius the ass then eats the roses and regains human form in the presence of the crowd (11.13):

> *nec me fefellit caeleste promissum: protinus mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies. ac primo quidem squalens pilus defluit, ac dehinc cutis crassa tenuatur, venter obesus residet, pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt, manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia, cervix procera cohibetur, os et caput rutundatur, aures enormes repetunt pristinam parvitatem, dentes saxei redeunt ad humanam minutiem, et, quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam!*
>
> The heavenly promise did not fail me: at once my ugly animal form slipped from me. First my coarse bristles disappeared, then my thick hide thinned, my fat belly contracted, and the soles of my feet grew out through their hoofs into toes; my hands were no longer feet, but were extended for their upright functions; my long neck shrank, my face and head rounded, and my enormous ears returned to their original smallness; my rock-like teeth went back to their minute human scale; and the thing which had tortured me most of all before, my tail, no longer existed.

In this detailed description of the reformation, the only body part omitted is the sexual organ; though the enlargement of this was a source of some consolation when Lucius was transformed into an ass (3.24), it is now rendered redundant by the espousal of chastity.

The offer of roses during the festivities leads to metamorphosis, as Lucius is reborn both physically and spiritually (*renatus*), discarding his ugly appearance as an ass. This is not the kind of metamorphosis we saw enacted by the effects of the magic in the earlier Books (e.g. 3.24), but the opposite: Lucius is freed from the catastrophic effects of magic and is left naked. His earlier appearance as an animal, which serves as a median between his former human self and his rebirth as Isis' follower, highlights the vast contrast between Lucius as follower of Isis, and of the witch Photis. It is characteristic that the antidote to Lucius' reformation—the roses—remains the same.[360] These, however, are obtained only when Lucius the ass has abandoned his interest in magic and accepted the vows of chastity, as Isis demanded in her nocturnal epiphany to him, thus creating a stark opposition to his relationship with the erotic Photis. Thus Isis annuls the element of sexuality that characterized Lucius prior to his metamorphosis into an ass.

The people who witness the holy spectacle express their awe at Lucius' reformation, and offer up prayers of thanks to the goddess for the miracle. The reaction of the crowd at the Ploiaphesia is very different

360 van Mal-Maeder (1997, 96–97) reads the scene of Lucius' reformation in connection with his metamorphosis into an ass.

from that in the Laughter festival: at Cenchreae the participants in the festival witness the metamorphosis in admiration; at Hypata the citizens watch Lucius being led in procession through the streets and then to the theatre, laughing at his misfortune.[361] Moreover, the worshippers of Isis at Cenchreae treat him humanely despite the fact that he is still an ass, whereas in the Laughter festival the onlookers treat the human Lucius as an animal.[362] In 3.2, as the Hypatan magistrates lead him around the town in a purificatory procession, Lucius likens himself to sacrificial animals: *lustralibus … hostiis*. In fact, one way to interpret the Laughter festival is as a trial of Lucius' foolishness: in successfully passing the test, he has earned the right to turn into an ass, an animal known for its stupidity.[363]

The Hypatans' harshness towards Lucius echoes the misfortunes suffered by other strangers at the hands of those very same residents. Socrates falls victim to robbers, and takes refuge to an inn of the witch Meroe. The witch offers him hospitality but with the ulterior motive to control him and even condemn him to death when he decides to leave her (1.5–19). Aristomenes comes to Hypata to buy cheese at a good price and make profit, but is deceived upon his entrance to town as a certain merchant Lupus has already bought it all (1.5). Thelyphron is mutilated by the witches and then becomes an object of ridicule: first by the crowd attending the funeral procession (2.30), and then by the participants in Byrrhena's lavish dinner (2.20; and 2.31). The misfortunes that befall all these strangers characterize the community of Hypata as an inhospitable, if not utterly cruel society. In terms of the well-established opposition between savagery and civilization, Apuleius' emphasis on the strangers' ill treatment by the Hypatans underscores the savagery of its peoples; and this, in turn, arguably suggests

361 The curiosity of Isis' worshippers is directed towards a better understanding of the divinity, unlike the people of Hypata, who are eager to satisfy their curiosity over the misfortune befalling Lucius.

362 Cf. Vander Poppen (2008, 169–173), who reads the entire narrative of Lucius' contact with Isis in Book 11 in terms of a *hospitium*. The author argues that Lucius receives the divine equivalent of a bath from Isis, the hallmarks of the *hospitium* relationships; he is then drawn into the 'household' of the goddess in the form of her procession. Isis continues to play the role as ideal host through her priests. Nevertheless, Vander Poppen also sees a contrast between the apparent *hospitium* offered by Isis and the actual slavery presented by her priesthood.

363 On this see Frangoulidis (2002b) 177–188.

the practice of witchcraft there, as magic is normally associated with lack of civilization.

At Cenchreae, Lucius is unable to express his utmost gratitude with his newly found voice (11.14). His speechlessness is an indication that he understands the greatness of the benefit he has received from the goddess. Moreover, from the perspective of Lucius turning from animal to man again, his inability to speak could be interpreted as a sign of his rebirth, which has just occurred. This dumbfounded reaction and loss of human voice could recall the reaction in the theatre at Hypata, when Lucius uncovers the corpses and discovers that they are in fact no more than wineskins (3.10). In that case, Lucius is filled with horror on discovering that he has fallen victim to a joke, whereas at Cenchreae he feels nothing but joy (11.13). Thus Isis grants Lucius joy, in contrast to Photis and the witches in general who offer Lucius sorrows.[364]

The priest Mithras also remains speechless, in awe at the remarkable fulfillment of the goddess' words even beyond his own belief, though he was aware of what was ordained to happen (11.14): *quanquam et ipse insigni permotus miraculo* ("though he himself was much affected by the extraordinary miracle"). Isis fulfils her promises to the letter, in stark contrast to Photis, who changes her lover into an ass instead of a bird through a mistake in the practice of magic (3.25): *'occisa sum misera', clamavit; 'me trepidatio simul et festinatio fefellit et pyxidum similitudo decepit'* ("she screamed: 'I am lost and done for! My nervousness and haste misled me, and the similarity of the jars fooled me'").[365] The implication would seem to be that the true goddess, unlike the various witches in the novel, is infallible in word and deed.

The priest then indicates that Lucius should be wrapped up in a sacred linen robe in order to cover his nudity, thus bringing the metaphor of his rebirth full circle, and addresses him as follows (11.15):

> *Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti. nec*

364 A contrast could also be noted between Isis who fully informs Lucius about the Ploiaphesia festival and Lucius' aunt Byrrhena, who issues her beloved nephew only a veiled warning about the festival, but ironically Lucius was unable to make the connection between his aunt's words and the festival and thus became responsible for his humiliation (2.31).

365 In fact, the witches regularly make mistakes in the practice of their magic arts. In the tale of Thelyphron, for example, the witches take body parts from the guard rather than from the dead man. Later Pamphile unintentionally reanimates the wineskins.

tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, vel ipsa, qua flores, usquam doctrina profuit, sed lubrico virentis aetatulae ad serviles delapsus voluptates curiositatis inprosperae sinistrum praemium reportasti. sed utcumque Fortunae caecitas, dum te pessimis periculis discruciat, ad religiosam istam beatitudinem inprovida produxit malitia. eat nunc et summo furore saeviat et crudelitati suae materiem quaerat aliam; nam in eos, quorum sibi vitas in servitium deae nostrae maiestas vindicavit, non habet locum casus infestus. quid latrones, quid ferae, quid servitium, quid asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocae, quid metus mortis cotidianae nefariae Fortunae profuit? in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed videntis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat. sume iam vultum laetiorem candido isto habitu tuo congruentem, comitare pompam deae sospitatricis inovanti gradu. videant inreligiosi, videant et errorem suum recognoscant: en ecce pristinis aerumnis absolutus Isidis magnae providentia gaudens Lucius de sua Fortuna triumphat. quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabaris, teque iam nunc obsequio religionis nostrae dedica et ministerii iugum subi voluntarium. nam cum coeperis deae servire, tunc magis senties fructum tuae libertatis.

You have endured many different toils and been driven by Fortune's great tempests and mighty stormwinds; but finally, Lucius, you have reached the harbour of Peace and the altar of Mercy. Not your birth, nor even your position, nor even your fine education has been of any help whatever to you; but on the slippery path of headstrong youth you plunged into slavish pleasures and reaped the perverse reward of your ill-starred curiosity. Nevertheless the blindness of Fortune, while torturing you with the worst of perils, has brought you in its random wickedness to this holy state of happiness. Let her begone now! Let her rage in all her fury and hunt some other object for her cruelty, for hostile chance has no opportunity against those whose lives the majesty of your goddess has emancipated into her own servitude. Robbers, wild animals, slavery, the twists and turns of the harshest journeys that end where they begin, the daily fear of death —what benefit were all these to wicked Fortune? But now you have been taken under the protection of a Fortune who can see, and who with the brilliance of her own light illumines all the other gods as well. Put on a happier countenance now, to match the white garment you are wearing. Join the procession of the saviour goddess with triumphant step. Let the unbelievers see; let them see and recognise their errant ways. Behold! Lucius, set free from his tribulations of old and rejoicing in the providence of great Isis, triumphs over his Fortune. But to be safer and better protected, enlist in this holy army, to whose oath of allegiance you were summoned not long ago. Dedicate yourself today to obedience to our cult and take on the voluntary yoke of her service; for as soon as you become the goddess' slave you will experience more fully the fruit of your freedom.

In this speech, the priest interprets Lucius' ordeals as punishment for his giving into servile pleasures and curiosity, thus making clear the connection between the two (*voluptates curiositatis*). Lucius' curiosity trapped his mind in the pleasure of the senses and led to all his troubles. On this slip-

pery path not even his high birth and learning in which he flourished, were able to offer him adequate protection: *vel ipsa, qua flores, usquam doctrina profuit*. Implicit emphasis is thus placed on the need for a different kind of learning he will acquire as Isis' follower. Only after his initiation into the elaborate cult of Isis and Osiris does Lucius acquire the true knowledge and wisdom he initially sought to obtain through his metamorphosis into an owl; but with a major difference: this wisdom is the reward granted by Isis, not by Photis.[366] The priest describes Lucius' arrival at Isis' harbour as signaling his entry into the harbour of peace, and informs him that there is no room for negative Fortuna in such a place. The priest further invites him to enter Isis' service, described as *servitium*, for even greater protection from the vicissitudes of fortune, coupled with full enjoyment of the rewards of his freedom. Entrance into the cult will offer Lucius permanent protection from the traps of magic.[367]

Scholars have noted the awkward feature of Lucius' escaping from the servitude of his former masters and entering into a new service of Isis.[368] His former mistress Photis could also be included in the list of masters as Lucius claims to submit to her will as her lover (3.19): *in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas volentem* ("you … have taken possession of me, bought and bound over like a slave, and a willing one"). It must be observed, however, that Lucius, in entering Isis' service, is to enjoy the rewards of freedom, whereas in his contact with magic he declares himself to have been enslaved to Photis and was then turned into an ass.

Mithras' speech invokes the city magistrates at Hypata, who come to Milo's house after Lucius has been ridiculed in the Laughter festival, and inform him of the decision made by the town elders to cast his image in bronze and proclaim him patron of their city for helping them to carry out another year of celebration in honour of their god of Laughter (3.11):

> *Neque tuae dignitatis vel etiam prosapiae tuorum ignari sumus, Luci domine; nam et provinciam totam inclitae vestrae familiae nobilitas conplectitur. ac ne istud, quod*

366 Donovan (2008) ICAN Abstract.

367 van Mal-Maeder (1997, 100–101) has noted the awkward feature of Lucius escaping from the servitude of his former masters and entering the service of Isis. It must be observed, however, that in the words of the priest, in the service of Isis, Lucius will enjoy the rewards of his freedom.

368 Cf. van Mal-Maeder (1997) 100–101.

> *vehementer ingemescis, contumeliae causa perpessus es. omnem itaque de tuo pectore praesentem tristitudinem mitte et angorem animi depelle. nam lusus iste, quem publice gratissimo deo Risui per annua reverticula sollemniter celebramus, semper commenti novitate florescit. iste deus auctorem et actorem suum propitius ubique comitabitur amanter nec umquam patietur, ut ex animo doleas, sed frontem tuam serena venustate laetabit adsidue. at tibi civitas omnis pro ista gratia honores egregios obtulit; nam et patronum scribsit et ut in aere stet imago tua decrevit.*
>
> We are not unaware, master Lucius, of either your high position or your family's origins. Indeed the high repute of your famous family embraces the entire province. And that experience you suffered, which you are so vehemently bemoaning, was not meant as an insult. So rid your heart completely of your present melancholy and shed your mental anguish. You see, the public holiday which we regularly celebrate after the passage of a year in honour of Laughter, the most pleasing of gods, always blossoms with some novel invention. That god will propitiously and lovingly accompany the man who has been both his producer and his performer, wherever he may go. He will never let your mind feel grief, but will constantly make your face smile in cloudless loveliness. And the city has unanimously offered you special honours in gratitude for what you have done. It has inscribed you as its patron and decreed that your likeness be preserved in bronze.

In this description, the Hypatan magistrates inform Lucius that they are aware of his high birth and education, as does the priest, and that his experience in the Laughter festival was not meant as an insult. In fact they inform him of their decision to offer exceptional honors to him for his contribution to the festival in honor of their god of Laughter. Lucius, however, turns down these exceptional honors, because the privileges bestowed would only serve as a reminder of his painful ordeal in the Laughter festival. This contrasts with Isis' festival at Cenchreae, where Lucius follows the advice of the priest and joyfully enters the procession for the dedication of Isis' ship. The difference is understandable: Isis restores Lucius to human form and offers him the prospect of a happy life under her protection, most unlike the Hypatans and their god of Laughter who offer Lucius great sorrow.

In the narrative of the procession for the sailing of Isis' ship, Lucius becomes the focus of the crowd, as the whole city rapidly learns of the miracle (11.16): *notus ac conspicuous, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis* ("The whole city knew about me and I was the centre of attention as people pointed their fingers and nodded at me"). The reaction of the crowd at Cenchreae is set in remarkable opposition to that of the people at Hypata, who sarcastically laugh at Lucius and point their fingers at him when they see him walking with Milo with his face downcast

from the house to the public baths: (3.12): *sic omnium oculis, nutibus ac denique manibus denotatus impos animi stupebam* ("I was out of my mind, stunned from the branding of everyone's stares and nods and pointed fingers").[369] The laughter of the people of Hypata at Lucius indicates his social isolation as a result of his unwitting involvement in magic, mirroring the fate suffered by Thelyphron after his own encounter with the witches.[370]

In the procession at Cenchreae, the worshippers of Isis identify Lucius as thrice-blessed for enjoying the favour of the goddess as a reward for his former good life (11.16):

> *Hunc omnipotentis hodie deae numen augustum reformavit ad homines. felix hercules et ter beatus, qui vitae scilicet praecedentis innocentia fideque meruerit tam praeclarum de caelo patrocinium, ut renatus quodam modo statim sacrorum obsequio desponderetur.*
>
> He is the one who was transformed back into a human being today by the majestic force of the all-powerful goddess. How fortunate he is, by Hercules, and thrice blessed! It is doubtless because of the innocence and faithfulness of his past life that he has earned such remarkable patronage from heaven that he was in a manner reborn and immediately engaged to the service of her cult.

This reading by the people differs considerably from that of Isis' priest, Mithras, as becomes clear from the long speech he delivers in public to Lucius regarding his past life (11.15). The difference can be explained as follows: the people of Cenchreae do not have access to the divine knowledge available to Isis' priest and therefore advance an ironically inaccurate earthly reading of events.[371] In this respect, they resemble the citizens of Hypata, who misinterpret events at the mock trial: they only see the victim Lucius and are completely ignorant of the role played by witchcraft in his encounter with the wineskins.[372] Here

369 The gestures and laughter of the Hypatans towards Lucius also evoke the participants in the funeral procession in Thelyphron's tale, who point and laugh at Thelyphron when he confirms the account of the reanimated dead, as he discovers to his great horror that his nose and ears are made of wax (2.30).

370 This isolation is seen when Lucius turns down a second dinner invitation from his aunt Byrrhena after the Laughter festival, in fear that he will be forced to entertain his fellow-dinners with an account of the trial (3.12), just as Thelyphron narrated the tale of his mutilation (2.22–30). Lucius' imminent metamorphosis into an ass and his subsequent removal from town forms the climax of his social isolation as victim of Photis' magic.

371 Winkler (1985) 212.

372 Penwill (1990) 5–6.

again, the contrast is immediately obvious: the worshippers of Isis are kind and well disposed towards the stranger Lucius, who turns from animal into a man in their presence, whereas the Hypatans are harsh towards Lucius, although he is still human in form. This difference in the reaction of the two communities shows the superiority of Isis' cult over that of the god of Laughter in terms of its gentle and civilized character. This cultic superiority accounts for the civilized manner in which Isis' worshippers pay honours to the goddess. Their practices contrast sharply to those of the Hypatans who honor their god through the torment and ridicule a human being.

When the festival procession reaches the harbour, the priest dedicates the ship to Isis; while both the priest and the crowd load the ship with gifts and other offerings, pour libations to the sea, and then launch the vessel, thus declaring the opening of the navigation season (11.16).[373] After the sailing of the ship the procession returns to the temple, while the scribe delivers prayers for the Roman people and the sailors, and declares the opening of the navigation season (11.17).

Initiation into Isiac rites / 'initiation' into magic

Book 11 continues with Lucius' integration into the community of Cenchreae, which takes the form of initiation into Isis' rites. Lucius receives daily exhortations from the goddess to initiate himself into her cult, but hesitates because he thinks that he will be unable to meet the strict rules of the cult, above all with regard to sexual abstinence. His initial hesitation contrasts with his strong interest in gaining access to magic through Photis while in Hypata (3.19), despite the repeated warnings he receives, in the form of various embedded tales narrated by victims of magic (e.g. 1.5–19; 1.9–10, and 2.21–30) and in the advice offered by his aunt Byrrhena (2.5).

373 The launching of Isis' ship calls to mind the earlier figurative launching of Venus' ship during the night, which is how Lucius presents his own imminent sexual encounter with Photis during the night, *navigium Veneris* (2.11). The parallelism, however, is designed to point to a vast contrast. Isis' ship is loaded with numerous gifts and a great quantity of various offerings to the goddess, unlike Venus' ship, which needs only oil and plenty of wine in the cups for its nightly sail (2.11): *hac enim sitarchia navigium Veneris indiget sola, ut in nocte pervigili et oleo lucerna et vino calyx abundet* ("The only provisioning the ship of Venus needs is enough oil in the lamp and enough wine in the cup to last a sleepless night").

Lucius then goes to the priest Mithras, urgently seeking initiation, but the priest, like a parent to his child, urges him to wait, as the goddess herself will reveal the day, the name of the priest and the expenses involved in initiation (11.21):

> *nam et diem, quo quisque possit initiari, deae nutu demonstrari et sacerdotem, qui sacra debeat ministrare, eiusdem providentia deligi, sumptus etiam caerimoniis necessarios simili praecepto destinari.*
>
> He told me that the day on which each person can be initiated was marked by a nod from the goddess, and that the priest who ought to administer the rites was likewise chosen by her providence, and that even the expenses required for the ceremony were determined by a similar command.

The reason for this is that initiation involves a kind of voluntary death and rebirth, and no priest is willing to minister such an event without the goddess's authorization (11.21):

> *nec tamen esse quemquam de suo numero tam perditae mentis vel immo destinatae mortis, qui, non sibi quoque seorsum iubente domina, temerarium atque sacrilegum audeat ministerium subire noxamque letalem contrahere.*
>
> Besides, he said, there was no one in his company of priests of such corrupt character—or rather so determined to die—that he would dare to undertake this office thoughtlessly and sacrilegiously, without specific orders from the goddess, and thus incur fatal guilt.

Thus Lucius must wait for a clear sign from the goddess, even though he has been selected to enter to the heavenly ordinance. Finally, the priest orders Lucius to abstain from certain food so that he can facilitate his initiation.

This exchange with Mithras recalls the point at which Lucius begs Photis to let him see Pamphile practicing magic, by way of compensation for the ridicule he suffered in the Laughter festival (3.19). There is, however, a stark contrast. Mithras kindly advises Lucius to wait for clear signs from the goddess before his initiation, whereas Photis meets her lover's request once she receives assurances that Lucius will not leave her, and promises to show him Pamphile practising magic at the earliest opportunity (3.20): *sed tuum postulatum praeponam periculo meo idque observatis opportunis temporibus sedulo perficiam, modo, ut initio praefata sum, rei tantae fidem silentiumque tribue* ("Still, I will put your request ahead of my personal danger; I will watch for an opportune occasion and try very hard to accomplish what you want. Only, as I told you at the beginning, give me your promise and your silence about so serious a matter"). Moreover, while the reformed Lucius is chosen as an initiate by

clear signs from the goddess, prior to his metamorphosis into an ass he receives repeated warnings from various strangers and his aunt Byrrhena to stay away from magic.

When the goddess indicates that the time for initiation is ripe, Lucius acknowledges that she has kept her word and released him from suspense (11.22): *nec me fefellit vel longi temporis prolatione cruciavit deae potentis benignitas salutaris* ("The powerful goddess's saving kindness did not fail me, or torture me with a long waiting period"). The procedure involves a ritual bathing and abstinence from food and wine for ten days (1.23). In the world of Lucius' involvement with Photis, food and wine were associated with sexual pleasures (Chapter 6, above). During the night, Lucius undergoes an initiation involving a descent to the realm of the dead. This journey points to the death of his former self and his appearance the next morning in full glory in front of the crowd, dressed in the *stola Olympiaca*, which symbolizes his rebirth in his new identity as Isis' priest. As narrator, Lucius recounts only those elements that can be safely disclosed to the novel's readers, thus implicitly indicating that they must go through what he himself has gone through in order to satisfy their curiosity (11.23). He then offers a ritual feast to celebrate the inception of his new life as Isis' priest, and a breakfast on the third day. The initiation occurs on the tenth day. The reference to the number ten establishes a parallel with the ten books describing Lucius' earthly wanderings. These may be seen as prerequisites to final salvation, just as Lucius must fast for ten days prior to his initiation into Isis' rites (11.23): *decem continuis illis diebus cibariam voluptatem cohercerem neque ullum animal essem et invinius essem* ("he ordered me to restrain my pleasure in food for the next ten days, not to partake of animal food, and to go without wine").[374]

The entire process of initiation at Cenchreae forms a parallel with the earlier narrative sequence dealing with the 'initiation' into magic. In that case, Lucius is so impressed by the spectacle of Pamphile's transformation that he begs his mistress Photis to change him too into an owl, so that he can fly like the witch and in this manner perhaps change his fortune (3.21). Photis is unwilling to turn Lucius into a bird, because

374 Heller (1983, 333) observes that for a Platonist the number 11 plays the role of 1, as number 10 completes the decade and number 11 (10 plus 1) begins a new circle. In the case of Apuleius, Heller (1983, 334) continues, "Eleven can either be thought of as somehow beyond or transcending 10 … or it can be thought of as a symbol of rebirth or renewal".

she is afraid that he will escape from her. All her reservations, however, disappear when Lucius assures her that he will never abandon her (3.23). Photis then rushes into the room and takes the boxes with the magic ointments. In his eagerness, Lucius anoints himself, as Pamphile has done earlier (3.21). This act could be seen as the distant equivalent to the bathing in seawater in the context of the initiation into Isis' rites, although the ceremony at Cenchreae only occurs after Isis' simultaneous appearance to both Lucius and the priest (11.22). On the other hand, the initiation into magic rites takes place without Pamphile's knowledge or consent, once she has changed herself into an owl and gone away to her Boeotian lover. Furthermore, after his descent into the realm of the dead, Lucius emerges the following morning in full glory dressed in the *stola Olympiaca* to mark his new identity as Isis' priest, whereas Lucius as an 'initiate' of magic is metamorphosed into an ass and immediately withdraws to the stable to spend the night with the other beasts of burden. In retrospect, Lucius' change into an ass marks the failure of his plan to gain access to magic through Photis.[375]

In the sequence following his initiation at Cenchreae, Lucius finds it difficult to stay away from the image of the goddess even for the duration of a short visit to his hometown. He then delivers a prayer to her in deep recognition for her blessings (11.25):

> *Tu quidem, sancta et humani generis sospitatrix perpetua, semper fovendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis. nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum quidem tenue tuis transcurrit beneficiis otiosum, quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis vitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram, qua fatorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes. te superi colunt, observant inferi, tu rotas orbem, luminas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa. tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina. tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt*

375 Lucius' initiation into Isis' priesthood may be interpreted as symbolic marriage to the goddess which brings joy. This would be especially so, since this initiation has elements of the *hieros gamos*, as is clear from the presence of imagery and vocabulary that alludes to a Roman wedding ceremony: the taking of a bath with attendants, the wearing of special clothing, the gathering of friends and witnesses, the raising of an auspicious cry, etc. On this, see McNamara (2003) 108 and 122; Lateiner (2000) 326; Frangoulidis (2001) 171. As such it may evoke Lucius' involvement with Photis, which could be defined in broad terms as secret marriage. However, unlike Lucius' initiation into Isis' priesthood, which brings him happiness, Lucius' transformation into an ass provokes his anger and marks the end of his relationship with his mistress.

> *aves caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo latentes, beluae ponto natantes. at ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio et adhibendis sacrificiis tenuis patrimonio; nec mihi vocis ubertas ad dicenda, quae de tua maiestate sentio, sufficit nec ora mille linguaeque totidem vel indefessi sermonis aeterna series. ergo quod solum potest religiosus quidem, sed pauper alioquin, efficere curabo: divinos tuos vultus numenque sanctissimum intra pectoris mei secreta conditum perpetuo custodiens imaginabor.*
>
> O holy and eternal saviour of mankind, you who ever bountifully nurture mortals, you apply the sweet affection of a mother to the misfortunes of the wretched. Neither a day nor a night nor even a tiny moment passes empty of your blessings: you protect men on sea and land, and you drive away the storm-winds of life and stretch forth your rescuing hand, with which you unwind the threads of the Fates even when they are inextricably twisted, you calm the storms of Fortune, and you repress harmful motions of the stars. The spirits above revere you, the spirits below pay you homage. You rotate the earth, light the sun, rule the universe, and tread Tartarus beneath your heel. The stars obey you, the seasons return at your will, deities rejoice in you, and the elements are your slaves. At your nod breezes breathe, clouds give nourishment, seeds sprout, and seedlings grow. Your majesty awes the birds travelling in the sky, the beasts wandering upon the mountains, the snakes lurking in the ground, and the monsters that swim in the deep. But my talent is too feeble to speak your praises and my inheritance too meagre to bring you sacrifices. The fullness of my voice is inadequate to express what I feel about your majesty; a thousand mouths and as many tongues would not be enough, nor even an endless flow of inexhaustible speech. I shall therefore take care to do the only thing that a devout but poor man can: I shall store your divine countenance and sacred godhead in the secret places of my heart, forever guarding it and picturing it to myself.

In this prayer, Lucius identifies Isis as a leading figure in the universe, thus revealing his awareness of the goddess as mistress of cosmic order and the truth in the world (11.25).[376] Such powers recall those of Pamphile, who is likewise represented as controlling celestial bodies (3.15):[377]

> *iam scies omnem domus nostrae statum, iam scies erae meae miranda secreta, quibus obaudiunt manes, turbantur sidera, coguntur numina, serviunt elementa. nec umquam magis artis huius violentia nititur, quam cum scitulae formulae iuvenem quempiam libenter aspexit, quod quidem ei solet crebriter evenire.*

376 For the use of poetic language in this prayer, as well as in the other prayers in Book 11, see discussion in Harrison (2005) 277–283.

377 A similar description appears in Socrates' portrayal of the powers his mistress wields (1.8), for which see Chapter 1, above.

> Now you will learn everything about our house. Now you will learn about my mistress's amazing secret powers, by which ghosts are made obedient, stars are thrown into turmoil, deities are coerced, and the elements enslaved. And never does she depend more upon the force of this art than when she has looked lustfully at some young man with a pretty figure—which indeed happens to her frequently.

In this passage Pamphile is presented as possessing tremendous powers over the entire universe. Yet unlike Isis, whose power commands an orderly universe, she is depicted as capable of turning the world upside down and thus upsetting order. Furthermore, Isis is presented as an expression of purity who demands celibacy from her devotee (11.6): *tenacibus castimoniis* ("determined celibacy"). This feature is set in opposition to Pamphile, who employs her extraordinary cosmic powers only so as to satisfy her own carnal desires.

In the following sequence at Cenchreae, Lucius goes to Mithras, kisses him as a token of gratitude and seeks forgiveness for his inability to offer an adequate reward (11.25): *colloque eius multis osculis inhaerens veniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem* ("Clinging to his neck and kissing him many times, I asked his pardon because I was unable to reward him as he deserved for his great favours to me"). This behaviour could be compared with Lucius' stance towards Photis following his metamorphosis into an ass. As Pamphile's slave, Photis occupies a position similar to the priest Mithras, in his relation to Isis. Parallel reading, however, discloses a stark contrast. Whereas Lucius expresses gratitude to the priest, his feelings towards Photis turn into hatred. He even contemplates killing his mistress for her mistake (3.26). He refrains, however, from doing so, because he realizes that he will lose the opportunity to obtain the roses she has promised to bring him the following morning (3.26): *sed ab incepto temerario melior me sententia revocavit, ne morte multata Fotide salutares mihi suppetias rursus extinguerem* ("But that was a rash idea and better thinking brought me back to my senses, lest, by punishing Photis with death, I also destroy the assistance I needed for recovery").[378]

After his initiation as a devotee of Isis, Lucius pays a short visit home to see his relatives (11.26): *tandem digredior et recta patrium larem revisurus*

378 In the tale of Cupid and Psyche Photis appeared to be in the same position as the evil sisters who persuade Psyche to expose Cupid's forbidden identity (Chapter 5, above). These different aspects of characters and the different role they play in different contexts illuminate the artful interweaving of the narrative.

meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo ("I finally departed and hurried straight to visit my ancestral hearth again after a long time away"). This journey creates a telling contrast with Lucius' inability to return home following his transformation into an ass (3.28), and similar problems faced by all other victims of magic, such as Aristomenes or Thelyphron, who are unable to return home, condemned as they are to a form of social death through permanent exile.

Journey to Rome / adventures

Following his return to Cenchreae, Lucius receives instructions from the goddess to travel to Rome, thus signaling the beginning of a new narrative of 'adventures' (11.26). The earlier launching of Isis' ship at the Ploiaphesia festival (11.16) marks the opening of the navigation season and foretells Lucius' journey abroad.

A year after his arrival in Rome, Lucius receives a divine call to undergo two further initiations, one into the cult of Isis and another into that of Osiris. These divine calls reveal that Lucius has not reached the highest level of blessedness as an Isiac. It could be argued that Lucius' triple initiation into the Isiac religion could be taken as recalling his earlier three contacts with magic: firstly in the wineskins incident (2.32: suffering unbeknown); secondly in the spying on Pamphile (3.21: seeing but not doing); and lastly in the application of magic ointment (3.24: seeing and doing). Nevertheless, Lucius' three contacts with magic cannot be compared with the initiation rites into the elaborate religious system of the Isiac cult. Osiris elects him to the college of pastophor priests and makes him a member of the quinquennial board of directors, after which he remains in Rome fulfilling religious and civic duties.[379]

Lucius' life after his initiation into Isis' priesthood may be viewed as a distant equivalent to the long narrative of his adventures as an ass following his metamorphosis through Photis' catastrophic magic. Just as the ass enters the service of various masters in the course of his adven-

379 Winkler (1985, 221) points out that "The epilogue's difficulties overcome and echoes of the prologue—*forensi, sermonis Romani, peregrinatione*" (sic). For repeated verbal connections between epilogue and prologue with the emphases on contrasts between native and foreigner and their respective speech see discussion in Finkelpearl (2004) 333–336.

tures, so the reformed Lucius enters the service of the gods Isis and Osiris; and just as the ass' trials become increasingly exacting over time, so too in Rome his involvement in the cults deepens. That being said, in terms of progression and emotional response, the two sets of adventures are diametrically opposed. As an ass, Lucius wanders the country in a haphazard fashion, without any sense of purpose—beyond obtaining the roses—and devoid of any control over his destiny. His status as an ass heightens an increasing sense of despair. By contrast, as a reformed human, Lucius also moves from Cenchreae to Rome but also follows a clearly ordered series of steps towards the divine, which inspire a growing sense of inner harmony accompanied by material success.[380]

380 Furthermore, Lucius' three initiations, which symbolize the death of his former self and his rebirth as a new person, may strike another parallel with his three attempts to snatch the roses during his adventures as an ass. Lucius first sees them in the shrine of the goddess Epona in Milo's stable (3.27): *quantum extensis prioribus pedibus adniti poteram, insurgo valide* ("with eager anticipation, straining as hard as I could, I stretched out my front feet and stood powerfully upright"). His own slave, however, sees him and beats him with a stick for showing disrespect towards the shrine of the goddess of horses. See Schlam (1992, 64–65), who discusses Lucius' three attempts to obtain the roses. Secondly, on the way to the robbers' mountain lair, the ass comes across roses in a garden and decides to go and get them (3.29). He changes his mind, however, because he realizes that if the robbers see the ass suddenly turning into a man in their presence they will suspect him of practicing magic and therefore of wanting to bring an accusation against them. Thirdly, while on the road with the robbers, Lucius comes to another garden (4.2–3). However, he finds out that these roses are lethal. He is also beaten by the gardener and faces an attack by savage dogs and therefore decides to return to the robbers. In the course of his adventures, Lucius constantly expresses his eager anticipation of spring, when he will be able to obtain the roses (e.g. at 7.15): *nanctaque libertate veris initio pratis herbantibus rosas utique reperturus aliquas* ("I had gained my freedom, and at the beginning of spring on the grassy meadows I would surely find some roses"). The connection becomes stronger as the three attempts to eat the roses and his triple initiation are codas, in a way, the first to the narrative unit in Hypata and the second to the narrative sequence in Cenchreae. In his adventures as an ass, Lucius fails to obtain the roses and thus become a man again, whereas the three initiations are all successfully completed. This difference in turn underlines the opposition between the catastrophic magic of Photis and Isis' benevolent intervention at the novel's end.

Lesser themes and elements

The series of contrasts between Book 11 and the earlier books extends to lesser themes and elements found in both narratives. Asinius Marcellus, priest of Osiris, relates a dream in which the god told him to initiate Lucius into his cult (11.27):

> n*am sibi visus est quiete proxima, dum magno deo coronas exaptat, … et de eius ore, quo singulorum fata dictat, audisse mitti sibi Madaurensem, sed admodum pauperem, cui statim sua sacra deberet ministrare; nam et illi studiorum gloriam et ipsi grande compendium sua comparari providentia.*
>
> He had had a dream on the preceding night: while he was arranging garlands for the great god, he heard from the god's own mouth, with which he pronounces each person's fate, that a man from Madauros was being sent to him; the man was quite poor, but it behoved the priest to administer the god's initiation rites to him at once, since by the god's providence the man would acquire fame for his studies and the priest himself ample recompense.

In this dream, Asinius Marcellus prophesies great literary fame for Lucius. The priest's name is also significant, as Lucius himself acknowledges (11.27), because it recalls his earlier status as an ass. We have discussed elsewhere (Chapter 3, above), the notion of literary glory which becomes clear from the fact that Osiris' priest identifies Lucius as a man from Madauros—Madaura is Apuleius' homeland, whereas Lucius is a native of Corinth.[381]

The reference to literary matters in the prophecy by Asinius Marcellus recalls the words of Diophanes at Corinth, prior to Lucius' trip to Hypata (2.12):

> *mihi denique proventum huius peregrinationis inquirenti multa respondit et oppido mira et satis varia; nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum.*
>
> When I asked him about the outcome of this trip of mine, he gave several strange and quite contradictory responses: on the one hand my reputation will really flourish, but on the other I will become a long story, an unbelievable tale, a book in several volumes.

Like the priest of Osiris, the soothsayer Diophanes foretells great literary glory for Lucius, predicting that he will also become a story narrated in many books. The comparison is all the stronger from the fact that, like Asinius, Diophanes also engages in divination. There is, however, a re-

381 See also Gaisser (2008) 19–20.

markable contrast. The prophet Diophanes is revealed to be a false practitioner of the art, for all that the prophecy given to Lucius appears to have come true, as readers have the book in their hands. On the other hand, Asinius Marcellus, priest of Osiris, is represented as communicating the god's true words concerning literary fame. This difference between Asinius, priest of true religion, and Diophanes, a false seer, desmonstrates the superiority of the true religion of Isis over magic.

Osiris further urges Lucius to sell his clothes and thus acquire the money to cover the expenses for his initiation into the cult, in recompense for which he promises financial reward in the future (11.28):[382] *'an tu', inquit, 'si quam rem voluptati struendae moliris, laciniis tuis nequaquam parceres: nunc tantas caerimonias aditurus impaenitendae te pauperiei cunctaris committere?'* ("'Surely,' he said, 'if you were intent on some object for the production of pleasure, you would not spare your rags; now when you are on the verge of such important ceremonies, do you hesitate to entrust yourself to a poverty which you will have no cause to regret?'"). Lucius then shaves his head.

The god's pressure on Lucius to sell his clothes recalls Meroe the witch, who forced her lover Socrates to sell his clothes and give her the money, ultimately reducing him to a beggar in the forum at Hypata (1.7).[383] But whereas Meroe reduces her lover to penury, Osiris promises Lucius a better life in the future. The god also helps Lucius to earn money by winning several cases in the courts, so that he can live comfortably in Rome (11.28): *quae res summum peregrinationi meae tribuebat solacium nec minus etiam victum uberiorem subministrabat, quidni, spiritu faventis Eventus quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocinia sermonis Romani* ("This afforded the greatest comfort for my stay abroad in Rome, and furthermore it even provided a richer livelihood—not surprisingly, since my small profits from pleading at law in the Roman language were nourished by the breeze of favouring Success").

Lucius' distinguished career as a court orator brings to mind the only other instance in the novel in which Lucius performed a similar role, in his own defence at the mock trial in Hypata (3.4–6). However, whereas in Hypata he became an object of ridicule, in Rome he earns both fame and fortune from his industrious pursuit of legal practice (11.30): *studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*. This *doctrina* in legal matters is a new kind of knowledge Lucius acquires as an Isiac, which enables him to defend

382 Slater (2003, 100) observes an element of implicit criticism in this act.
383 Schlam (1992) 121.

the interests of others with remarkable success against the slanders of detractors (11.30): *nec extimescerem malevolorum disseminationes*. It thus differs sharply from his earlier *doctrina* which could not protect him from the false charge of having murdered three citizens in the wineskins episode (3.4–6).[384]

In fact, Lucius' success as orator in the forum is such that he experiences the jealousy of his peers (11.30). His success in court and his affluence are presented as being divinely inspired (11.30): *liberali deum providentia iam stipendiis forensibus bellule fotum* ("after all, through the bountiful care of heaven I was comfortably provided for by the income I earned as a lawyer"). Lucius' affluence as Isis' initiate contrasts to his poverty as Meroe's victim at Hypata (1.7). His poverty at Hypata echoes the predicament of other characters who also made unsuccessful business trips there: Aristomenes' expectations to make profit from cheese are frustrated as the merchant Lupus has already bought it all. The guard Thelyphron also seeks to earn money as guard of a corpse during a vigil, but looses his nose and ears to the witches (2.21–30). Financial affluence then is directly associated to the cult of Isis, whereas poverty is linked to Hypata and practices of magic.

Lucius' repeated initiations into Isis' and Osiris' cult have provoked uneasiness among scholars,[385] most especially because the goddess has fulfilled her role as saving deity after restoring Lucius to his human

384 Lucius' distinguished career as orator in the Latin language in the forum recalls the plea made at the outset for pardon over possible mistakes in the use of exotic language and forensic style, as the narrator is self-taught (1.1): *en ecce praefamur veniam, siquid exotici, ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero* ("So, please, I beg your pardon in advance if as a raw speaker of this foreign tongue of the Forum I commit any blunders"). More recently, May (2006, 308) has expanded on the list of parallels between the prologue and the final Book. Obviously, the above plea is a typical *captatio benevolentiae* to heighten reader interest, for which see Genette (1997) 198. This typical technique is skilfully integrated into the preface—as narrator, Lucius informs us that he is Greek, and that he learned the Latin language in Rome (1.1). The narrator likens this change of languages and therefore styles (e.g. epic, comic, tragic, elegiac, satirical, etc.) to the art of horse riders, *desultores* in the Circus, who jump from one horse to another and still maintain control (1.1). In his reference to language, the narrator also makes a comment on his admirable ability to master the Latin tongue unaided, to the point where he is able to change narrative styles without losing control. These references to the qualities of the narrator may be read as a clever strategy, which allows the author to talk about his own self and comment on the merits of his work without involving himself in the narrative.

385 E.g. Winkler (1985) 221–222.

form—his second and third initiation have thus been read as intended to reinforce the impression that Lucius remains as naïve as before, when he sought access to magic.[386] Yet the opposite claim could also be made: the repeated initiations may be intended to stress the great difference between Isis' cult and magic, whereby the former is highly elaborate, requiring a lengthy induction process. In addition, the fame and fortune Lucius earns from his legal practice is not a construct of his own imagination: it enables him to pay the expenses for his initiations (11.28 and 11.30) and live a comfortable life in the city.

In the novel's final image, Lucius is portrayed as having shaven his head once again, and as proudly displaying his baldness everywhere he goes (11.30): *rursus denique quam raso capillo collegii vetustissimi et sub illis Syllae temporibus conditi munia, non obumbrato vel obtecto caluitio, sed quoquoversus obvio, gaudens obibam* ("Then, once more shaving my head completely, neither covering up nor hiding my baldness, but displaying it wherever I went, I joyfully carried out the duties of that ancient priesthood, founded in the days of Sulla"). This is the last instance of metamorphosis brought about through Isis' positive magic.

Scholars have variously interpreted this closing image. John Winkler, Donald Lateiner and Danielle van Mal-Maeder have pointed out that the shaven pate recalls the image of an Isiac priest and a comic buffoon, as the Isiacs were often the target of ridicule and satire for their credulity and naiveté.[387] Gareth Schmeling and Silvia Montiglio read Lucius' baldness as metaphor for the ending of the *Metamorphoses:* "A narrative that has sprawled ivy-like from story to story, as luxuriant and undulating as the hair which Lucius so much admires is cut off at the same time as his own hair".[388] On the other hand, Paula James and Maeve O'Brien interpret Lucius' shaven head as a counter-humiliation strategy to restore his shaken status after the Laughter festival, and as a sign that he has reached a heavenly state as a follower of Isis and Osiris.[389]

Lucius' ostentatious display of his baldness, however comic it may be, may be read along the lines of his progressive self-assertion of his new identity as an Isiac priest. His pride in baldness creates an effective

386 E.g. May (2006) 316 and further bibliography there.
387 Winkler (1985) 223–227; Lateiner (2001) 235; van Mal-Maeder (1997) 105–106; Murgatroyd (2004a) 321.
388 Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 39.
389 James and O'Brien (2006) 246–247.

contrast with his own extensive praise of Photis' hair, thus serving as an indication that he has learned to distinguish external appearance from what is important (2.8–9). This is set in remarkable opposition to the praise he received from his aunt Byrrhena for his blond hair (2.2): *flavum et inadfectatum capillitium* ("he has blond hair worn without affectation").[390] However, whatever sense of comedy may be observed in Lucius' baldness, it differs considerably from that derived during his performance at Hypata. The connection with the Laughter festival is appropriate, as this rite may also be read as a ritual of integration into the community of Hypata: as an Isiac, Lucius belongs to a religious fellowship that may often be the target of ridicule as a whole, unlike the community of Hypata, in which he alone was the victim of cruel laughter, like Thelyphron before him (2.21–30). Thus Lucius becomes a full member of the Isiac community with social status and important duties, in stark contrast to his earlier withdrawal from civic and religious life as victim of witchcraft.[391] Lastly, the baldness may be seen as contrasting sharply with the thick hair that once covered Lucius as an ass and caused his horror at the nature of his metamorphosis into an animal (3.24): *nec ullae plumulae nec usquam pinnulae, sed plane pili mei crassantur in setas* ("No down appeared, not a single feather. Instead my body hair was thickening into bristles"). Combined with the vow of chastity the reformed Lucius takes as an initiate, it reinforces the idea that he has cut all physical and spiritual ties to his former asinine self. The metaphor of Lucius' asinine self then becomes literal with his metamorphosis into an ass.

The articulation of the narrative sequences and episodes and their supportive themes in Book 11 thus closely follow the pattern of the

390 Moreover, in many cultures, both ancient and modern, members of religious orders may appear outlandish, old-fashioned and even comic to outsiders.

391 In addition, scholars have discussed the lack of closural ending of the narrative. Winkler (1985, 224) has pointed out the sense of incompleteness, as conveyed by the last verb in the narrative, *obibam* ("I was going about") in the imperfect tense, rather than a simple past or a past perfect tense; both Slater (2002, 175) and Montiglio (2007, 109 and 111) develop the idea further. It could also be argued, however, that the use of the imperfect tense, *obibam,* may be intended to express the iterative nature of the act, if Lucius wishes to stress he was in the habit of proudly displaying his new identity as an Isiac, in stark contrast to the emphasis placed on attractive external appearance in earlier Books (2.3; 2.5; 2.8, etc.). Such a repeated action could only be properly expressed via the imperfect tense. On the closural character of the work see May (2006, 308), who cites a list of parallels between Book 11 and the prologue, between ending and beginning and therefore stressing the novel's completeness.

novel's earlier Books and offer a positive and meaningful response to it. The comparison reveals illuminating antitheses between Lucius' experience as Isis' initiate, and as victim of the Hypatans and Photis. His encounter with Isis offers him not only present humanity and joy, but also the prospect of happiness under the goddess' protection both in this earthly life and even after his death; whereas his involvement with magic leads to sorrow, degradation and the utmost humiliation. These antitheses take the form of a sustained narrative device: the negative nature of Lucius' experiences at Cenchreae and Hypata account for why he gladly accepts Mithras' advice to enter into the civilized community of Isis, but refuses to accept the offer of the Hypatan magistrates to be integrated into that cruel community; it further explains why certain rites, such as the Ploiaphesia festival and the strange festival in honour of the god of Laughter, are found in the distinct communities of Cenchreae and Hypata, respectively. Book 11 then not only relates the salvation of Lucius, but, possessing all the elements of the whole, becomes in fact, another *Metamorphoses*, rewritten from the positive side and meant as a meaningful response to the initial misadventures.

Chapter 9
Transforming the Genre: Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

In this final chapter, we will move beyond intratextual analysis to a generic comparison between the *Metamorphoses* and standard romance. In particular, we will attempt to elucidate how Apuleius both follows and alters the standard pattern of the idealistic novels, thus developing the genre in new directions and playing on the novel's central theme of metamorphosis.

As is well known, the *Metamorphoses* reveals affinities with the entertaining narrative in pseudo-Lucian's *Onos* (see Chapter 1, above). Beyond this, the work may also invite comparison with the ideal novels, in which the protagonists fall in love, undergo a series of adventures, either separately or together, are reunited through chance circumstances and finally return home to a life of bliss.[392] What is perhaps most striking is that Apuleius both follows and alters the dynamics of the plotline of the romance novels, by emphasizing Lucius' almost slavish pursuit of pleasure as a means to gain access to magic, and by introducing a model of marriage between the mortal and the divine. These alterations are in part determined by the religious end to the work, where Lucius becomes Isis' devotee: far from striving to rejoin Photis, the protagonist rejects his initial lover in favour of divine redemption. Such a comparison between the plot of the *Metamorphoses* and the romance novels is best displayed in the mirror tale of Cupid and Psyche, which lies at the heart of Apuleius' work and exhibits an 'ideal' structure, as if the author wished to offer a key to interpreting both the immediate frame (the story of Charite and the tale of Tlepolemus on the one hand, and the death of Charite on the other) and the outer narrative (the sum total of Lucius' adventures).

Critical approaches to the novel have explored the relationship between the Latin novel, and either the *Onos* or Petronius' *Satyrica*, both viewed as parodies of the idealistic novels.[393] G. Sandy explored the af-

392 On the typical plot of the ideal novels see Holzberg (1995) 9–10.
393 Holzberg (1995) 75; Harrison (2003a) 502.

finities of the *Metamorphoses* with the Greek romance novels from the perspective of narrative technique, common themes and motifs, literary texture and social milieu.[394] In a similar vein, Hugh Mason offered a list of themes and motifs that appear in both the ideal novels and the Latin work,[395] while S. Rocca focused on the motif of love at first sight, as seen in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, tracing its origin to the idealistic Greek novels.[396] In more recent work, Stephen Harrison compares the narrative function of gods and sanctuaries in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* with that in the Greek novels.[397] As he suggests, Apuleius must have been aware of the novels which predate his work, with the exception of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (irrespective of whether it dates to the third or fourth century).[398] On the evidence of the rich presence of common elements in both the *Metamorphoses* and the Greek novels, Stephen Harrison argues for a playful treatment of the religious element in the *Metamorphoses*, rather than any serious proselytizing function.

Beyond the above most valuable contributions, the extent to which Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* both follows and departs from the plotline of the ideal romances remains largely unexplored.[399] Changes are seen not only in the lengthy account of Lucius' adventures as an ass, but also in the framing narrative, consisting of Lucius' relationship with Photis, the separation of the couple, and Lucius' symbolic union with the goddess Isis through religion. The validity of this reading is best confirmed by the mirror tale of Cupid and Psyche, which is placed in the middle of the novel and exhibits a structure that is closer to the

394 Sandy (1994, 1512–1518, 1531–1533, and 1564) offers an excellent review of all previous scholarship on thematic parallels between the *Metamorphoses* and the romances, though he dismisses most of these connections as unconvincing (p. 1518); see also Mason (1978) 8–9, and (1999) 108.

395 Mason (1978) 8–9.

396 Rocca (1976) 33–47.

397 Harrison (2007) 204–18. Griffiths (1978 141–166), has argued that Apuleius' novel is motivated by the desire to glorify Isis, and in this respect it can be compared to *The Ephesian Tale* by Xenophon of Ephesus, and, to a lesser extent, to *The Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon* by Achilles Tatius. Hägg (1992, 224) has suggested that Book 11 changes the novel from a comic romance to a religious *apologia*, thus bringing it closer to the ideal Greek novels, but with a major difference: in the ideal novels the happy ending could be seen as a reward of the gods for the purity of the lovers, and not for the trials and temptations they have suffered, as is the case with Lucius in Apuleius' novel.

398 Harrison (2007) 205.

399 A hint at this idea is found in Frangoulidis (2001).

model plotline of the idealistic novels. In what follows, I shall attempt to show how Apuleius adopts and transforms the norm of the idealistic romances, in alignment with the novel's central theme of metamorphosis.

The first aspect of the plot we shall examine is the theme of love and the initial presentation of the couple. In the romance novels, the lovers are often unparalleled in their beauty. The external appearance of the lovers is such that they may even be mistaken for gods, e.g. Callirhoe in Chariton (1.1),[400] Anthia in Xenophon (1.2), Charicleia in Heliodorus (1.2), and Leucippe in Achilles Tatius (1.4). In addition to the heroines, the heroes in ideal novels are also presented as exceptionally handsome. Thus in the *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus, Habrocomas is mistaken for a god on account of his appearance, and even becomes a recipient of prayers (1.1). In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Chloe praises Daphnis' beauty while he is playing the syrinx after taking a bath (1.13; see also 1.14). In 1.7 of the same novel, the narrator identifies both Daphnis and Chloe as surpassing all other villagers in terms of beauty.

In the Latin novel, the handsomeness of both Lucius (2.2) and Photis (2.8–9) establishes a connection with the extraordinary beauty of the pair in the idealistic Greek romances. The connection is reinforced by the fact that Photis is a would-be witch, and thus in some sense may also be compared to Meroe, pointedly labeled as *femina divina* (1.8), in congruence with the godlike beauty of the heroines in the idealistic novels. Yet unlike the pair in the romances, who are inspired by true love, Lucius is driven by an ulterior motive in establishing his relationship with the socially inferior Photis; and unlike the lovers of romance, who abstain from sex until their marriage, except when it is impossible to do otherwise,[401] Lucius' involvement with Photis is overtly sexual from the outset (2.6–3.24).[402] This is understandable, given the fact that Lucius seems to be incapable of idealistic and true love before he encounters Isis in the novel's final Book (Chapter 7, above). In some sense his overall relationship with Photis in Milo's home, which may

400 On Callirhoe's divine beauty see discussion in Schmeling (2005) 37–39 and *passim*. For Lucius' physiognomy, see Keulen (2006a) 177–184.

401 In Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Cleitophon initially refuses to make love to Melite, and only yields when he is afraid that his refusal will cause divine vengeance. Moreover, Cleitophon considers his lovemaking to Melite not as marriage, but as medicine for a sick soul (5.27).

402 For a superb discussion of the image of appetites in Lucius' sexual relation with Photis, see Schmeling and Montiglio (2006) 32–38.

be seen as distantly reflecting Cupid's secret union with Psyche at the mountain estate, may establish a parallel with the older novels of Chariton and Xenophon, in which the lovers are married at the beginning of the novel, soon after falling in love, and prior to the beginning of their adventures.

Moving further on in the plot, we see that the parallelism extends to the way in which the couple is separated. In most of the ideal novels, the lovers are parted by external forces soon after falling in love. Thus, in Chariton's Callirhoe, the young Chaereas falls victim to intrigues set by his wife's rejected suitors and kicks her in the belly, taking the blame for her apparent death and burial (1.5).[403] In Achilles Tatius, the couple is separated much later, at 3.12, when robbers forcibly take Leucippe from Cleitophon at Pelusium in Egypt. On the other hand, in the Latin novel, the separation of Lucius from his mistress Photis is largely a direct consequence of the couple's own actions (3.28–10.35): Lucius exploits his 'beloved', begging her to arrange for him to see Pamphile practising her magical arts (3.19). Incidentally, the role of magic is much more evident in Roman novels than in Greek, though Heliodorus is something of an exception. Lucius is completely unmindful of the ridicule he has already suffered at the Laughter festival (3.1–11) following the wineskin episode, which he knows was brought about by his lover's mishandling of magic (3.17). As an inferior witch when compared to her mistress Pamphile, Photis makes yet another blunder in mixing up the magic boxes, and Lucius is transformed into an ass (3.24)—an appropriate form of punishment, given the reputation of the ass for foolishness, sexual incontinence and obstinacy (Chapter 7, above). The particular choice of animal highlights the protagonist's inability to control his eroticism and unbridled desire to get access to magic. Lucius' initial plans to take revenge on his lover (3.26) are only tempered by the reflection that Photis is his single source of roses, the antidote to his metamorphosis, which she has promised to bring him the next morning. The co-related concept of blame and revenge without the intervention of a third party—Lucius holds Photis directly responsible for his metamorphosis (3.26)—is alien to the ideal romances. Thus, for example, in Chariton's Callirhoe, the slanderous sui-

403 For discussion of the scene, see Philippides (1988, 182–189), who draws attention to the conflict between the realistic elements of the description and the anti-realistic nature of the romance, with its typical plotline of love, separation, adventures and reunion of the couple.

tors lead Chaereas to attack his wife (1.5), while in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* pirates raid the ship that is carrying the lovers from Rhodes to Egypt (1.13). In these works, it is the third party rather than the lovers themselves who bring about the separation.[404]

This pattern of similarities and contrasts continues to be seen in the lengthy narrative of adventures. In the romance novels, the lovers undergo a long series of trials and tribulations, either separately or together. Thus in Chariton, Callirhoe is abducted by the tomb robber Theron (1.9) and sold to the wealthy Dionysus in Ionia (1.14); in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, Habrocomas and Anthia are taken by Corymbus, leader of the pirates who attack their ship (1.14). In a similar way, Lucius' series of ordeals in the *Metamorphoses* begins with the robbers bursting into Milo's house and removing him from the stable of his host, where he has withdrawn to await the roses (3.28). At first sight, this feature recalls analogous ordeals of the protagonists in the novels, as for instance, in Chariton and in Xenophon of Ephesus. But in a divergence from the established pattern, Lucius' ordeals serve to heighten his emotional distance from Photis, and his resentment towards her for bringing about the metamorphosis, as becomes clear from several negative comments made thereafter (3.26, 9.15, and 11.20).[405] On the other hand, in the romance novels the ordeals of the couple intensify their mutual love and unfailing efforts to be reunited: in Achilles Tatius, Cleitophon assumes full responsibility for Leucippe's sufferings and feels that he 'sees' these bodily tortures as being enacted in front of his very eyes (5.19).[406]

The pattern of convergences and divergences from the romances is further observed with regard to the reunion itself. In the ideal Greek novels the lovers meet each other by chance, after a long sequence of trials and tribulations. Thus, for example, in the *Ephesiaca*, Habrocomas and Anthia eventually see each other near the temple of Isis at Rhodes (5.13). In Achilles Tatius, the pair meets when Leucippe as Sosthenes' slave first sees and recognizes her beloved Cleitophon (5.17). She,

404 Perhaps here one could observe a parallel with the tale of Cupid and Psyche, where Psyche's sisters bring about her fall from happiness through slander. Panayotakis (1996, 42–51) explores the motif of slander in the tale.

405 Similarly, in the *Onos* Lucius completely forgets Palaestra during his adventures, except once, when he curses her for turning him into an ass rather than a dog, which would be able to eat human food (27).

406 In Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, while on a sea journey to Egypt Habrocomas and Anthia take an oath not to separate if anything untoward occurs (1.11.4–6).

then, writes a letter in which she explains her true identity and sufferings and sends it to him. The lovers do not formally see each other until 7.16, after another series of new trials and adventures. The Latin novel departs markedly from this standard plot: Lucius never finds his original lover, with whom he was involved in a merely sexual relationship (2.7–3.24); instead he comes into contact with Isis. Moreover, his encounter with the goddess and his redemption are set in train only after he refuses to copulate in public with a condemned murderess and then flees from the amphitheatre at Corinth, in fear for his life. We should also note that in this encounter Isis promises to restore Lucius-ass to his human form on the condition that he remains celibate (11.6: *castimoniis*).[407] His ensuing retransformation during Isis' spring festival (11.13) is the result of the careful execution of orders, where everyone is aware of his role. In any case, Lucius cannot be reunited with Photis, who was responsible for his alienation from his former self via his metamorphosis into an ass (3.24). Instead, he turns to her positive counterpart Isis, as goddess of a different kind of magic in the world. In a sense, Lucius' encounter with Isis is the aftermath of his unwitting and unconscious rejection of the principle which led to his involvement with Photis (sexuality), and his accidental arrival at Cenchreae, one of Isis' sacred places, which allowed the encounter with Isis to occur. This in turn may be seen as the opposite of the chance reunion of the separated couple in the romance novels, in which the lovers, who in most cases have yet to consummate their relationship, are rewarded for remaining pure and enduring their various ordeals.[408] In the idealistic novels, then, consummation is the reward for enduring tribulations while remaining faithful and celibate, whereas in the *Metamorphoses*, an end to sexual activity is the price to be paid for 'union' with the divine (11.6).

407 The darkness of the night does not deceive the ass-Lucius, as happened earlier in Lucius' encounter with the wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic at Hypata (2.32), but leads him to the discovery of light and the truth. This figurative light mirrors the radiance of the full moon as it rises from the sea and shines everywhere in the darkness of the night. This also contrasts with the light of the torch, which is blown out by a sudden gust of the wind, forcing Lucius and his slave to walk in the darkness before they come up against the wineskins.

408 Hägg (1992) 224. One striking exception is to be found in Achilles Tatius, where Cleitophon makes love to Melite (5.27), though this is not viewed as an obstacle to his marriage to Leucippe at the novel's end (8.19). See note 401 above.

The next point of interest is the official union of the couple through religious bonds. In the romance novels, a wedding joining the couple is often celebrated as a reward for their ordeals after their return home, as seen for instance, in Achilles Tatius (8.19) and Heliodorus (10.41), though not in cases where the couple was unmarried when their ordeals began.[409] On the other hand, in the Latin novel Lucius' 'union' with the goddess takes the form of initiation into Isis' priesthood, which may metaphorically be interpreted as sacred marriage (11.22–24). This could not be further removed from the earlier secret relationship with Photis in Milo's home, which led to Lucius' metamorphosis into an animal (3.24) and ensuing misadventures (3.28–10.35). The initiation into Isis' cult has elements of the *hieros gamos*, as is clear from the presence of imagery and vocabulary alluding to a Roman wedding ceremony: the taking of a bath with attendants, the donning of special clothing, the gathering of friends and witnesses, and the raising of an auspicious cry, among others (11.22–24).[410] Lucius' symbolic union with Isis offers an alternative treatment of the wedding ceremony taking place in the ideal novels. The obvious difference between Lucius' sacred marriage, which takes place away from his native land, and the celebration of the marriage ritual performed upon the couple's return home, can be accounted for: like all victims of magic in the novel, such as Aristomenes and Thelyphron, Lucius has lost his original homeland.[411]

Returning to the idealistic Greek novels, we see that the couple rarely, if ever, embarks on further travels following their joyous reunion, but they settle down to a life of uninterrupted bliss. An exception is seen in Achilles Tatius, where Leucippe and Cleitophon pay a short visit to Rhodes to attend the wedding of Calligone and Callisthenes, and then return to Byzantium, Leucippe's home (8.17). In stark contrast to this pattern, following his initiation into Isis' priesthood, Lucius receives instructions to depart for Rome (11.26), where he undergoes two further

409 It may also be compared with the pattern of the older novels of Chariton and Xenophon, where the married couple can enjoy the rest of their lives, with the bond between them being all the stronger after the ordeals they have undergone.

410 For the theme of Lucius' relationship to Isis as marriage, see Lateiner (2000) 326; Frangoulidis (2001) 171; and most recently McNamara (2003) 108 and 122.

411 In contrast to the other victims of magic, as an Isiac Lucius has the chance to visit his relatives and household slaves (11.18). Furthermore, Lucius even pays a short visit home after his lengthy business trip to Hypata (11.26).

initiations (11.28 and 11.30), thus completing his entrance into an elaborate cult involving repeated rituals. The nature of these is entirely different from Lucius' earlier 'initiation' into magic (3.24), although it could be argued that even there, three progressively closer contacts are involved: in the wineskins incident (2.32); in the incident of spying on Pamphile while performing her magic rites in her room (3.21); and in Lucius' metamorphosis into an ass (3.24). Upon entrance into the cult, Lucius acquires the true knowledge (11.30: *doctrina*), he initially sought to acquire through his pursuit of Photis' magic, the major difference being that this knowledge results from contact with Isis' benevolent magic in the world.[412] Lucius' journey to Rome following his arrival home forms a thematic parallel with his earlier adventures as an ass, which involved extensive travel (3.28–10.35; see also Chapter 8, above). Yet in contrast to the great sorrows Lucius felt during his asinine adventures, in Rome he is full of joy at his initiations and successful career as a court orator, which earns him both fame and money. Moreover, Lucius' new appearance as 'shrine-bearing' priest (*pastophorus*), displaying his baldness everywhere he goes (11.30), is unlike that of the protagonists in the ideal novels, who are portrayed as being radiantly beautiful.

The tale of Cupid and Psyche

This reading of Apuleius' novel in parallel with the romance novels is best warranted by the mirror tale of Cupid and Psyche, which is embedded in the heart of the novel and exhibits a structure closer to the idealistic novels.[413] The tale is told by an old woman, who takes care of the robbers, to an internal audience comprising the girl Charite and Lucius the ass (4.28–6.24). The tale recounts Cupid's falling in love with the mortal Psyche and his union with her at a mountain abode; the separation of the couple when Psyche violates the god's orders and exposes his hidden identity; Psyche's ensuing adventures in search of her separated husband; and the eventual reunion. The tale ends with the narrative of

412 See also James and O' Brien (2006) 250; and Donovan (2008) ICAN Abstracts.

413 Smith (1998, 69–82) discusses several themes common to the tale and the frame, though his analysis is unconnected with mine as it mainly concentrates on the relationship of the tale with Euripidean tragedy. For the tale's affinity with the ideal novels, see Konstan (1994, 135), who further points out a thematic parallel between the tale and Achilles Tatius' novel (pp. 137–138).

Psyche's apotheosis and the celebration of a divine wedding on Mt. Olympus.

There are several intratextual links between the tale and the immediate and wider frames surrounding it. The immediate frame comprises the narrative of the Charite-complex (4.23–8.14), which again can be broken down into several stages: Charite's abduction by the thieves on her wedding night; her captivity in the robbers' cave; the liberation of the bride along with the ass by the groom; the resumption of the marriage ceremony, disrupted by the abduction of the bride by the thieves; the tragic death of Tlepolemus at the hands of Charite's unwanted suitor Thrasyllus; Charite's revenge on Thrasyllus; her suicide on her husband's tomb; and Thrasyllus' death by starvation in the couple's tomb. The wider frame is of course the sum total of Lucius' adventures: his involvement with the beautiful servant girl Photis in order to gain access to magic; the long narrative sequence of his wanderings as an ass; and his restoration to human form through Isis' help. The intratextual links between the tale and the two frames make the former a mirror of the latter, and thus give the non-romance wider frame a direction it does not otherwise appear to be heading in.[414] Furthermore, the links help to establish an otherwise indistinct connection with the idealistic novels.

The immediate frame

In relationship to the immediate frame, just as Psyche falls victim to her sisters' jealousy following her union with Cupid, so Charite is abducted by the robbers on her wedding night and then is held captive in the robbers' cave (4.23 and 4.26).[415] The connection becomes stronger when one considers that, in the old woman's tale, Psyche's sisters figuratively

414 Harrison (2003a, 502–503), rightly points out that "many parts of the novel, especially the Charite-episode and the tale of Cupid and Psyche, include romantic colouring traceable to Greek novels".

415 For the structural arrangement of the Charite story as it parcels out the more famous Psyche story see Lateiner (2003) 236 and note 53. Papaioannou (1998, 316–323) also traces connections between Psyche and Charite which underline the parallel fates of Psyche and Charite. For structural parallels between the tale and the frame, see also Stabryla (1973, 261–272), who, however, does not discuss the relationship between the tale of Cupid and Psyche and the story of Charite's death (8.14).

become the robbers of her happiness, bent on destroying her relationship with the god. There is, however, an important difference here: Psyche is deceived by her evil sisters, gives in to their malicious advice, and penetrates the forbidden identity of Cupid (5.22). She thus becomes responsible for the separation from her husband, who immediately flies away (5.24). On the other hand, Charite is abducted by the robbers who violently burst into the house on the eve of her wedding to Tlepolemus and lead her off to their cave (4.26). Just like Psyche who undergoes adventures during the search of her husband before eventually being reunited with him (6.21), Charite rejoins her groom when he comes to the robbers' cave (7.5); he liberates Charite and the ass from their captivity and resumes the wedding ceremony disrupted by the abduction (7.13).

This set of parallelisms, similarities and contrasts continues to be seen in the tragic end of the story, with the death of Tlepolemus, Charite and Thrasyllus (8.1–14). In order to win Charite's hand, a rival suitor named Thrasyllus sees to it that the newly wed Tlepolemus is killed during a boar hunt (8.4–5). His scheming recalls Psyche's jealous sisters, who bring about her downfall by persuading her that she is wedded to a beast (5.17–21). Thrasyllus has even joined a band of thieves and stained his hands with human blood (8.1), thus reinforcing the link with the sisters, who are portrayed as figurative robbers. Furthermore, both Thrasyllus and the sisters have close ties with their victims: Thrasyllus is allegedly a dear friend of Tlepolemus, and even calls him brother (8.7): *fratrem denique addito nomine* ("invoking him … even brother"), just like Psyche's sisters, who are her relatives by blood but behave as her enemy. Moreover, both women exact revenge: Charite pretends to give in to the libidinous desires of Thrasyllus, but then punishes him for destroying her marital bliss, while Psyche sends her sisters to savage death one by one by sending them into Cupid's arms on false pretences. Having dispatched Thrasyllus, Charite goes to her husband's tomb and commits suicide on his tomb, thus reuniting with him forever in death (8.14). The narrative of her suicide is enriched with imagery which alludes to rites of the Roman wedding ritual.[416] This feature creates a parallel with Psyche, who is eventually reunited with Cupid (6.21), receives apotheosis (6.23), and is then formally wedded to him on Mt.

416 For wedding imagery in Charite's second marriage to Tlepolemus, see Frangoulidis (1999) 601–619; for the presence of tragic intertext in Charite's death, see May (2006) 265–267.

Olympus (6.24). From the above it is clear that Charite's everlasting union is in death, whereas Psyche is immortalized before marrying Cupid. The inset tale thus makes clear that no happiness is to be gained outside the context of union between a mortal and a god.

The wider frame

In relation to the wider frame, just as Cupid is struck by the extraordinary beauty of Psyche, falls in love with her and then takes her to his mountain abode as his wife, so Lucius involves himself in a relationship with the beautiful Photis (see also Chapter 5, above).[417] In broad terms, Cupid's involvement with Psyche in the mountain abode, which is not technically marriage as no parental consent is granted (6.9), could be seen as reflecting the affair between Lucius and Photis, which may be interpreted as a secret marriage.[418]

Points of contact between the two narratives are also to be found after the alleged 'marriage' of the respective couples. We thus see that Cupid and Psyche are portrayed as radiantly beautiful (4.28 and 5.22), not unlike Photis and Lucius (2.2 and 2.8–9). The separation of Cupid from Psyche comes about when Psyche disobeys her husband's orders, acting on false advice from her sisters, and reveals Cupid's true identity (5.22). Similarly, Lucius is so curious to find out the secrets of the universe through the witch Photis that he ignores sound advice he receives from various people including his aunt Byrrhena (2.5), and is thus ultimately responsible for his eventual metamorphosis into an ass and the end of his 'union' with his mistress (3.24). Furthermore, both characters are subjected to numerous trials in their quest for re-establishment of their previous situation: Psyche wishes to be reunited with her husband (5.25–6.21), while Lucius the ass seeks to be 'reunit-

417 An extensive list of parallels between Psyche and Lucius is given in Chapter 5, above; here we will limit our focus only to those elements that help to build the connection between the tale and frame, and therefore reinforce affinities between the *Metamorphoses* and the ideal novels.

418 At least one parallel between Cupid and Lucius can also be observed here: the former disobeys his mother's orders and becomes involved with the mortal girl Psyche, while the latter disregards his aunt Byrrhena's advice to stay away from magic and engages in a sexual relationship with the socially inferior but beautiful servant girl Photis (2.6). Disobedience is thus common to Cupid, Psyche and Lucius.

ed' with his former human self by eating the roses, the antidote to his metamorphosis (3.28–10.35). Psyche's reunion with her husband has become possible through her approach to Cupid by means of prayers and pious services, in accordance with Pan's advice (5.25).[419] This feature foreshadows the fate of Lucius the ass, who comes into contact with Isis only after abandoning the principles that led to his involvement with Photis: he first refuses to copulate in public in the amphitheatre at Corinth (10.35) and then rejects magic through his appeal to Isis for help (11.2). Isis responds to his prayer, appearing to him in a dreamlike vision, and promises to deliver him from his hardships by restoring him to his former true self the following day in her spring festival of Ploiaphesia, thus signaling the beginning of his new life as an Isiac. As Psyche has become immortal through the intervention of Jupiter, who offers her a cup of ambrosia, and then celebrates her marriage to Cupid on Mt. Olympus (6.23–24), so Lucius will be initiated into Isis' rites, and will then arrange a feast to celebrate his entrance into the Isiac rites (11.22–24), the earthly equivalent of Psyche's apotheosis and marriage on Mt. Olympus. Finally, just as the marriage of Cupid and Psyche signals the everlasting joy of the couple (6.24), so Lucius as an Isiac will enjoy a special kind of joy following his symbolic union with the goddess through religion (Book 11).

This extensive list of thematic and intratextual links between the tale and the frames, both immediate and wider, stands as adequate evidence that the former may be viewed as a variant of the latter and, by extension, that the tale brings the novel generically closer to the romance novels, offering a key to interpreting events in the larger story.

By focusing on the treatment of the standard features of the idealistic novels and the *Metamorphoses*, I hope to have elucidated how Apuleius both follows and varies the dynamics of the typical romance plot by underlining Lucius' base pleasures, and offering the model of marriage to a god. What determines this variation on the subject matter and development of the idealistic novels, is the religious end to the work, which is absent in the romances.[420] The validity of this reading is best confirmed by the mirror text of Cupid and Psyche, which is embedded in the centre of the novel and follows more closely the model structure of the idealistic novels; thus giving the seemingly non-romance frame, both the

419 See James (1987) 154; and Zimmerman et al. (2004) 309, s.v. *precibus*…

420 The religious element is not entirely absent from these works either; on this see Harrison (2007) 204–218.

immediate and the larger one, a direction which it does not otherwise seem to have. In this manner, Apuleius transforms the ideal plot of the ideal novels into a quasi-ideal / religious one, in complete alignment with the novel's central theme of metamorphosis.

Appendix: Lucius' Metamorphic Change and Entrance into a New Life as a Metaphorical Representation of the Sailing of Isis' Ship

In this appendix I would like to turn my argument to another direction, away from comparisons of various kinds between characters and structural relations. I would like to explore instead how the Ploiaphesia ritual that marks the launching of Isis' ship serves as the visual representation of Lucius' metamorphic change and his initiation into a renewed life.

In an illuminating article, "On the Road in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*", Maaike Zimmerman has analyzed road conditions in the land adventures of Lucius in Apuleius' novel as suggesting the difficulty of the road toward virtue; and has discussed the possible metaphorical use of the 'slipperiness' of the road in connection with the devious priests of the Syrian goddess.[421] In the final Book, Zimmerman argues, Lucius moves into a completely different space, with no difficult roads to travel any longer. On the other hand, Judith K. Krabbe has surveyed all references to water and related imagery as manifested in rivers, streams, springs, lakes, swamps and mud, and the sea in the novel.[422] She has also provided several useful tables giving all water-related vocabulary by book.[423] I have elsewhere discussed associations between various events in Book 11 and the sailing of Isis' ship.[424] However, little has been said about Lucius' rebirth as a metaphorical mirror of the initiatory spring-rite of the Ploiaphesia festival, or about the implications of this mirroring for the novel as a whole.

The association between Lucius and the ship is established by several intratextual and thematic links between the initiatory spring-rite for the dedication and launching of Isis' vessel in calm seas, and the reformation of the protagonist at the outset of his new life. Implicit in this associa-

421 Zimmerman (2002b) 78–97.
422 Krabbe (2003) 474–486.
423 Krabbe (2003) 510–513.
424 Frangoulidis (2001) 168–170.

tion is the figurative representation of Lucius as a ship, which thus prepares the reader for the parallelism. To assist our discussion further, some comparisons with Euripides' *Bacchae* will also be made, as that particular Greek play is not simply permeated by mystic allusions; its entire plot-development has been ingeniously discussed as a dramatization of a mock initiation of Pentheus, the protagonist, who unconsciously undergoes all the stages of a perverted 'Dionysiac' initiation.[425] Thus the ritual of the spring rite of the Ploiaphesia for the dedication and the sailing of Isis' ship can be seen as the visual representation of Lucius' metamorphic change and his initiation into a renewed life.

In what constitutes an appendix to my earlier arguments about Lucius' reformation and entrance into his new life, I shall here argue that the narrative of the Ploiaphesia festival not only advances the plot, but also helps to place the protagonist's overall experience in the context of a spiritual journey, which covers both a geographical and a metaphoric route: from Hypata to Corinth and from the realm of magic to that of religion and new life.

The archaeological context

First of all, a number of preliminary remarks on the nature of Isis' cult at Cenchreae are necessary, if we are to situate Apuleius' treatment of the theme firmly within its cultural context. A survey of literary and archaeological evidence offered by Dennis E. Smith and Nikolaos Papachatzis confirms the view of Cenchreae as a sacred place where the cult of Isis played a prominent role.[426] In his description of the harbour of Cenchreae, Pausanias mentions a temple of Aphrodite, statues of Aphrodite and of Poseidon and, at the other end of the harbour, the sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Isis (2.2.3):[427]

> ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶι ἐρύματι τῶι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἴσιδος ἱερά.
>
> In Cenchreae there is a temple of Aphrodite with an image of stone; and beyond the temple there is a bronze image of Poseidon on the mole that

425 See Seaford (1996).

426 See Smith (1977, 201–210), who offers an archaeological survey; and also Papachatzis (1976) vol. 2, 45–47.

427 The text of Pausanias is of Rocha-Pereira (1973).

runs into the sea. At the other extremity of the harbour are sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Isis. (trans. Frazer)

Excavations of the Roman harbour at Cenchreae began in 1963 and led to the discovery of a sanctuary dating to the 2nd century CE. A sanctuary complex was found at the southwest extremity of the harbour,[428] which has been tentatively associated with the sanctuary of Isis. In the sanctuary archaeologists found traces of a temple, dedicated to Isis, worshipped by her cult titles Euploia and Pelagia. This identification has also been corroborated by several artifacts featuring representations in inscribed form of papyri, lotus flowers, animals and birds found in the vicinity of the Nile. Isis was regarded as the inventor of navigation and protector of sailors, while together with Aphrodite she was worshipped in harbours as a patroness of navigation.[429]

In addition to the temple remains, archaeological research brought to light three Corinthian coins of Antoninus Pius, bearing depictions of ships at anchor near the harbour. One of the three portrays Isis holding a sail in both hands, with her clothing puffed up by the wind.[430] This representation connects Isis Pelagia with the harbour area at Cenchreae.[431] The coins and temple remains at the south tip of the mole are concrete evidence substantiating the claims made by Pausanias in his reference to the temple of Aphrodite and the sanctuaries of Asclepius and Isis, worshipped as Pelagia. This sanctuary must be the one Pausanias saw when he visited the area in the 2nd century CE, and could even be identified with the one mentioned by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses*, although this should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the author visited the area before composing his work.[432] The town of Cenchreae as Lucius' place of reformation was chosen because Apuleius selected Corinth as the setting for the preceding narrative, a place known for its lack of sexual restraint.[433]

428 See Smith (1977) 203 with figure 1.
429 Papachatzis (1976) vol. 2, 46.
430 Papachatzis (1976) vol. 2, 46–47; Smith (1977) 203.
431 See Smith (1977) 203.
432 See Smith (1977) 209, for additional literary evidence, provided by Ammianus Marcellinus (26.10.15–19). The latter reports the renovation of the sanctuary in 365 or 375, indicating a resurgence of the cult in 4th century CE.
433 Mason (1971) 161.

As Pausanias begins his ascent to the Acrocorinth, he mentions two other sacred precincts of Isis, one dedicated to Isis Pelagia and another to Aegyptia, as well as two dedicated to Sarapis (2.4.6):

> ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσίν ἐστιν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὧν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβωι καλουμένου τὸ ἕτερον.
>
> On the way up to the Acrocorinth there is a precinct of the Marine Isis, and another of the Egyptian Isis; and there are two precincts of Serapis, one of which is called 'in Canopus'. (trans. Frazer)

The presence of several sanctuaries and artifacts in the harbour area and on the way to Acrocorinth stand as testimony to the presence of the Egyptian cult in the greater harbour area at Corinth. Isis' cult in the area dates from Hellenistic times and continues until the 4th century CE.[434] In Apuleius' Book 11, Isis appears with her sea attributes, in perfect alignment with the notion of the Corinthians as sea people.[435]

Encounter with the goddess

At the end of Book 10, having refused to copulate with a condemned murderess in the amphitheatre at Corinth, Lucius the ass arrives at the port of Cenchreae, which is dedicated to Isis. Weary from his seemingly never-ending travels, he falls into a deep sleep, which is defined as sweet (10.35): *et vespertinae me quieti traditum dulcis somnus oppresserat* ("As I surrendered myself to the evening's quiet, sweet sleep overwhelmed me"). He wakes up in the middle of the night and sees the moon rising from the waves, glistening with brilliance. The reference to light suggests divine epiphany, as seen, for instance, in the appearance of the light after the earthquake to the Chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (608–609): ὦ φάος μέγιστον ἡμῖν εὐίου βακχεύματος, | ὡς ἐσεῖδον ἀσμένη σε, μονάδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρημίαν ("O greatest light for us of the joyful-crying bacchanal, | how gladly I looked on you in my lonely desolation").[436] The association of light with a divine epiphany is understandable, given that there is a sanctuary at the harbour of Cenchreae. The idyllic and mystic scenery of the seashore, with the image of the spring moon shining in full radi-

434 Smith (1977) 227.
435 Smith (1977) 231.
436 See Seaford (1996) 200. An excellent discussion of the interplay between darkness and light in Euripides' *Rhesus* appears in Markantonatos (2004) 15–47.

ance as it emerges from the sea, functions as the appropriate backdrop against which Lucius will be transported from the world of magic to that of Isis, and also helps to draw the episode into the cosmological realm.[437] This transition has actually begun with his exit from the Corinthian arena and his arrival at the port of Cenchreae. This cosmic atmosphere, with the moonlight shining in the middle of the night, adds a mystic tone to the narrative, contrasting vividly with the darkness of the night when Lucius first came into contact with Pamphile's magic (2.32; and Chapter 4, above).

The ass wakes up, is astounded by the beauty of his mystic surroundings, and goes down to the sea, where he plunges his head seven times under the water to purify himself, and then delivers a prayer to the moon goddess (11.1):[438]

> *confestimque discussa pigra quiete alacer exurgo meque protinus purificandi studio marino lavacro trado septiesque summerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecipue religionibus aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit, laetus et alacer deam praepotentem lacrimoso vultu sic adprecabar.*
>
> Quickly I shook off my sluggish sleep and arose happily and eagerly. Desiring to purify myself I went at once to bathe in the sea, plunging my head under the waves seven times, because the divine Pythagoras had declared that number to be especially appropriate to religious rituals. Then, my face covered with tears, I prayed to the mighty goddess.

The purification/baptism that precedes the prayer stresses the significance of the entreaty to the goddess and ensures a positive outcome. The act of baptism in the sea recalls the emergence of the moon as it rises from the sea waves in full radiance (11.1): *Circa primam ferme noctis vigiliam experrectus pavore subito, video praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus* ("About the first watch of the night I awoke in sudden fright and saw, just emerging from the waves of the sea, the full circle of the moon glistening with extraordinary brilliance"). The brightness of the moon in the darkness, itself a manifestation of divine epiphany, helps to inscribe the ass-Lucius' experience within a cosmological realm[439] and may be said to anticipate the light following the darkness in the mystic initiation, namely, the descent into the Underworld and emergence into the light of the sun the

437 On the later point see Witte (1997) 42.
438 Krabbe (2003) 484.
439 Witte (1997) 42.

following day. This light helps the ass-Lucius to realize the operation of true cosmic power and truth in the universe (11.1):

> *nanctusque opacae noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam summatem deam praecipua maiestate pollere resque prorsus humanas ipsius regi providentia, nec tantum pecuina et ferina, verum inanima etiam divino eius luminis numinisque nutu vegetari, ipsa etiam corpora terra caelo marique nunc incrementis consequenter augeri, nunc detrimentis obsequenter imminui.*
>
> Surrounded by the silent mysteries of the dark night, I realised that the supreme goddess now exercised the fullness of her power; that human affairs were wholly governed by her providence; that not only flocks and wild beasts but even lifeless things were quickened by the divine favour of her light and might; and that individual bodies on land, in the sky, and in the sea grew at one period in consequence of her waxing and diminished at another in obedience to her waning.

The brilliance of the moon has led Lucius the ass to realize the true governing force in nature, bringing to the fore the inner change that he has already undergone, which in turn makes him live up to the meaning of his name, which is associated with the term *lux*, denoting light.[440] The ass then prays to this moon goddess, later identified as Isis, and goes to sleep.

The goddess is moved by the ass-Lucius' prayer and emerges from the sea, gradually appearing to him in a dreamlike setting (11.3):[441] *necdum satis coniveram, et ecce pelago medio venerandos diis etiam vultus attollens emergit divina facies; ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore perlucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse visum est* ("I had hardly closed my eyes when suddenly from the midst of the sea a divine face emerged, displaying a countenance worthy of adoration even by the gods"). Isis' epiphany in the ass-Lucius' sleep mirrors the moon rising from the sea while Lucius is awake on the seashore at Cenchreae (11.1). This confluence of the goddess' appearance both when the ass is awake and later when he is asleep is set in stark opposition to the deception and confusion generated by the presence of magic (Chapter 4, above): in the encounter with the wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic, Lucius is under the impression that he has killed three robbers and thus performed a glorious deed, protecting his host's house and cleansing society of criminals (2.31). The next morning, though, Lucius wakes up from his sleep in tears at the

440 Krabbe (2003) 77.
441 Krabbe (2003) 484.

thought that he has killed three citizens and imagines his trial and punishment (3.1).[442]

In her response to Lucius' prayer, the goddess promises to offer him help and restore him to his human form the following day, which is dedicated to the spring-rite launching of her new ship to mark the navigability of the seas and the transport of goods (11.5; and Chapter 8, above). Isis further promises Lucius the prospect of beatitude and bliss both in this life and after his death in the netherworld, but demands celibacy and devotion to her service. The invitation to join the festival the following morning recalls Byrrhena, who informs her nephew about the Laughter festival, likewise scheduled for the next day, and advises him to think of something witty so as to honour the god (2.31).[443] Unlike Byrrhena, who does not offer Lucius any further information, Isis fully informs the ass about the nature of the festival and how she will bring about his return to his former true self (11.6). This symbolic restoration of Lucius on the festive day may allow us to read the ensuing festival of the dedication of Isis' ship as analogous to, and mirror image of, Lucius' entrance into his new life.

Drenched in sweat following his awe-inspiring contact with the divine, the ass goes down to the sea a second time and sprinkles himself with sea water (11.7):

> *nec mora, cum somno protinus absolutus pavore et gaudio ac dein sudore nimio permixtus exsurgo summeque miratus deae potentis tam claram praesentiam, marino rore respersus magnisque imperiis eius intentus monitionis ordinem recolebam.*
>
> At once I was quickly released from sleep, and I rose in a confusion of fear and joy, and covered with sweat. Struck with the utmost amazement by this clear manifestation of the powerful goddess's presence, I sprinkled myself with sea-spray and, intent on her great commands, reviewed her admonitions in order.

Lucius is also described as being drenched following his contact with wineskins animated by Pamphile's magic (2.32). Beyond augmenting

442 Likewise, Aristomenes wakes up when the witches enter the room, and assumes that they have slaughtered his friend Socrates (1.11): *dein circa tertiam ferme vigiliam paululum conniveo* ("Then about midnight I shut my eyes a bit"). The next morning, on seeing Socrates alive, he dismisses the events as a horrible dream induced by heavy eating and drinking the previous night (1.18): *'vesane', aio, 'qui poculis et vino sepultus extrema somniasti'* (" 'You are crazy', I said to myself. 'You were buried in your wine-cups and you had a very bad nightmare' ").

443 Krabbe (1989) 87, observes that "as a kind of psychagogue for Lucius, she (i.e. Byrrhena), not only serves as a foil to Fotis but also prefigures Isis".

the epic description of the struggle, the sweat may be an allusion to the fact that Lucius has come into contact with other-worldly powers. Lucius' second purification/baptism following his contact with the divine has also a cleansing effect, ensuring the favourable outcome of the imminent reformation in the Ploiaphesia festival;[444] it is set in direct opposition to Lucius' anointing with Pamphile's magic ointments, when he was turned into an ass following his second contact with magic, at 3.24: *haurito plusculo uncto corporis mei membra perfricui* ("[I] pulled out a largish daub, and rubbed my body all over").[445] The first contact with magic was, of course, with the wineskins (2.32).

The Ploiaphesia festival

According to the Roman calendar, the Ploiaphesia festival was celebrated on March 5th every year, to mark the opening of the sailing season after the winter storms were over.[446] The festival is attested in the first century BCE and lasts until Late Antiquity.[447] Isis invented the sail when she had to cross the sea in search of her son Arpokrates.[448] In the festival, the people of Cenchreae dedicate a ship to Isis, laden with offerings in order to ensure the aid of the goddess in granting fair weather for sailing and lucrative commerce. Isis' worship at Cenchreae with her sea attributes as Euploia and Pelagia, and the special relationship of the Corinthians with the sea, explain the rich presence of water imagery in the narrative of Apuleius' Book 11. Moreover, after the arrival of the procession at Isis' sanctuary, initiation rites took place, as also occurred during the mystery rites of Kabeiroi at Samothrace.[449]

On the morning of the festival, Lucius enters the procession, consumes the roses offered by the priest and is restored to human form. This development fulfils Isis' promise at 11.6. In his speech following the reformation, the priest mentions Lucius' earlier misfortunes on land and assures him that he has now reached the end of his journey (11.15): *Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus*

444 For the distribution of the term *marinus* see Krabbe (2003) 484.
445 See also Chapter 2 for Aristomenes drenched in the witches' urine (1.13).
446 Smith (1977) 230; also Witte (1997) 42–43.
447 Smith (1977) 230.
448 Papachatzis (1976) vol 2, 45.
449 Papachatzis (1976) vol 2, 47.

et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti ("You have endured many different toils and been driven by Fortune's great tempests and mighty stormwinds; but finally, Lucius, you have reached the harbour of Peace and the altar of Mercy"). In these lines, the priest identifies Lucius' wanderings on land as a sea journey in rough weather and storm winds.[450] The priest further defines Lucius' advent at Cenchreae as arrival at a safe harbour before the altar of mercy. The strong presence of water imagery in the work, in combination with the words by the priest, may help to reinforce the view of Lucius' land adventure as comparable to a sea voyage.[451] The priest further exhorts Lucius to enter Isis' cult (11.15, text in Chapter 8, above). According to him, this is the only way in which Lucius can gain adequate protection from the traps of magic. Here a comparison with Photis is apposite: the priest explains everything that is going to happen to Lucius, whereas the apprentice witch keeps him in the dark about the possible negative consequences of his contact with magic, in which the element of fortuna/chance plays a major role. Photis, though, issues two veiled warnings in the cooking scene, at 2.7 and 2.10, right at the outset of the relationship, but Lucius is too stubborn to see beyond the literal (sexual) meaning of the words.

In terms of epic antecedents, the sea imagery in the representation of Lucius' land adventures may constitute a thematic link with the adventures of his heroic prototype, the Homeric Odysseus, who spent ten years at sea and underwent several adventures in his homeward journey to Ithaca, just like Lucius, whose journey from Corinth to Hypata and then to Cenchreae lasts for ten books.[452] Like Lucius, Odysseus encounters sorceresses (Circe and Calypso).[453] On the other hand, the Homeric theme of *nostos* is adapted to the un-epic literary context of Lucius' travels on land, resulting from his desire to get acquainted with magic and the supernatural.

In a ritual context, Mithras' description of Lucius' arrival at the safe haven of Cenchreae may call to mind the Chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae*,

450 Diophanes' earlier narration of his Odyssean voyage by sea, in which his ship was beset by a storm and sunk in the Euboean sea (2.14; and discussion in Chapter 3), may be a literal version of the metaphor employed here.

451 Krabbe (2003, 508) discusses all water elements in the work, but does not analyse the metaphor under discussion.

452 For the role of Odyssean element in the novel see Harrison (1990a) 194–201.

453 For Lucius as a caricature of Odysseus see Montiglio (2007) 93–113, and especially 95.

who employ the metaphor of human life as a sea journey when they sing of the blessed life of initiates into the Bacchic mysteries (902–912):

> εὐδαίμων μὲν ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσας
> ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ' ἔκιχεν·
> εὐδαίμων δ' ὃς ὕπερθε μόχθων
> ἐγένεθ'· ἑτέραι δ' ἕτερος ἕτερον
> ὄλβωι καὶ δυνάμει παρῆλθεν.
> μυρίαι δ' ἔτι μυρίοις ἃ
> εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες· αἳ μὲν
> τελευτῶσιν ἐν ὄλβωι
> βροτοῖς, αἳ δ' ἀπέβησαν·
> τὸ δὲ κατ' ἦμαρ ὅτωι βίοτος
> εὐδαίμων, μακαρίζω.
>
> Happy is he who from the sea escapes
> the storm and finds harbour; happy is he
> who has overcome sufferings. In different
> ways one person outdoes another in wealth
> and power. Besides this numerous people
> have numerous hopes; some of them end
> in wealth for mortals, and others depart; but
> the person whose life is happy from day to
> day, him I call blessed.

In these lines, the Chorus define those who have escaped the sea storms and reached the harbour as blessed, a metaphor for mystic salvation.[454] The Chorus then stress the superior happiness of the Bacchic initiates over those who pursue wealth and power, which are not permanent (905–910). In this priamel, the implicit comparison is with king Pentheus, who has money and power but cannot be viewed as ὄλβιος as he rejects the Dionysiac cult.[455]

454 Seaford (1996) 221.

455 The religious view expressed by the Chorus of the *Bacchae* is in complete agreement with that found in Herodotus' *Histories*. In the famous exchange between King Croesus and Solon the Athenian, the former considers himself the most blessed, given his power and abundant wealth. By contrast, Solon considers first Tellus the Athenian (1.30) and then the Argives, Cleobis and Biton as most blessed (1.31). These figures do not possess money or power, but live a life without misfortunes and end their life in peace. Implicit in Solon's theology is that wealth and success may stir the envy of the gods. Solon then explains the relationship between wealth, poverty and ὄλβος, and advises Croesus to wait for

Furthermore, in this mystic reading, the characterization of Cenchreae as a peaceful place may also be read metaphorically as foreshadowing Lucius' blissful and peaceful life as an Isiac. It thus appears in agreement with Euripides' *Bacchae*, where the Chorus praise the peaceful life of those initiated into the Bacchic rites (389–390): ὁ δὲ τᾶς ἡσυχίας | βίοτος καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν | ἀσάλευτόν τε μένει ("the calm life and good sense remain untossed (by storms)"). Ultimately, this peaceful life reflects the ἀταραξία, peaceful life of the gods: in the *Bacchae* the servant expresses his surprise at how peaceful the stranger they were sent to capture was (436–437): ὁ θὴρ δ' ὅδ' ἡμῖν πρᾶος οὐδ' ὑπέσπασεν | φυγῆι πόδ', ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν οὐκ ἄκων χέρας ("this beast, we found, was gentle, and did not pull back his foot in flight, but gave us not unwillingly his hands").

Implicit in Mithras' representation of Lucius' adventures as a sea journey in rough weather, is the metaphorical association of Lucius with a ship that has reached the place of his salvation, the harbour at Cenchreae. A few examples from earlier literature suffice to demonstrate that such an association was already firmly established. In Aeschy-

---

the end of a person's life before calling them ὄλβιος (1.32; the text is Hude 1960):

> Οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἄνολβοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἄνολβος δέ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοισίδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δέ ἐστι, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, <ὁ> ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. The man who is very rich but unfortunate surpasses the lucky man in only two ways, while the lucky surpasses the rich but unfortunate in many. The rich man is more capable of fulfilling his appetites and of bearing a great disaster that falls upon him, and it is in these ways that he surpasses the other. The lucky man is not so able to support disaster or appetite as is the rich man, but his luck keeps these things away from him, and he is free from deformity and disease, has no experience of evils, and has fine children and good looks. If besides all this he ends his life well, then he is the one whom you seek, the one worthy to be called fortunate. But refrain from calling him fortunate before he dies; call him lucky. (trans. Godley)

Solon's views enrage Croesus, as the Athenian guest disregards his wealth and power, and sends him away from his palace as an ignorant person.

lus' *Persae*, Xerxes exhorts the Chorus of the Persian elders to perform a lament (1046):[456] ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναζ' ἐμὰν χάριν ("Ply your strokes, ply your strokes, and groan for my sake", trans. Smyth). In his order to the elders to perform their lament, the Persian king merely uses a single term, the imperative ἔρεσσε, which literally means "strike an oar", to call for the gesture of moving the hands (in a way that mirrors the oars of a ship). In terms of audience-reception, the use of the specific metaphor here shows that an association between humans and ships is established; it has added dramatic significance given that Xerxes' fleet was destroyed in the Battle of Salamis.

Likewise, in Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* 855–860, the Chorus lament as they envisage the souls of the dead brothers Eteocles and Polynices being carried across Acheron on Charon's boat:

ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν
πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται
τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον Θεωρίδα,
τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

But come, my friends, adown the wind of your
sighs, ply with your hands about your heads the
speeding stroke, which always over Acheron
wins passage for the dark and sable-sailed
mission-ship unto the shore whereon Apollo sets
not foot nor sunlight falls, unto the shore invisible,
the bourne of all. (trans. Smyth)

In these lines, the term ἐρέσσω "to strike the oars" is used by the Chorus to describe the beating of their heads with their hands, suggesting a figurative association between humans and boats.[457]

Last but not least, in Euripides' *Troades*, Hecuba portrays herself as a vessel yielding to the current without turning the prow to face disasters, when she encourages herself to accept her new fate as a slave (98–104):[458]

ἄνα, δύσδαιμον· πεδόθεν κεφαλή·
ἐπάειρε δέρην· οὐκέτι Τροία
τάδε καὶ βασιλῆς ἐσμεν Τροίας
μεταβαλλομένου δαίμονος ἄνσχου.
πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμόν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα,

456 The text from Aeschylus is quoted from Page's OCT edition (1975).
457 Smyth (1927) 395.
458 The quotation of Euripides' *Troades* is from Murray's OCT edition (1957).

μηδὲ προσίστω πρῶιραν βιότου
πρὸς κῦμα πλέουσα τύχαισιν.

Up, unhappy woman! Raise your head and
neck from the ground! This is no longer
Troy you see, and we are no longer Troy's
rulers. As your fortune changes, endure the change!
Sail with the current in the strain, sail with your fortune
and do not turn the prow of your life to face disasters,
sailing toward their oncoming wave! (trans. Kovacs)

In her lament, Hecuba not only characterizes herself as a boat but also adjusts her bodily gestures and movement on stage appropriately, as these are choreographically designed to mimic the movements of an ungoverned ship tossed by the sea waves.[459]

Comparison

As mentioned earlier, the priest, in his speech to Lucius, implicitly presents Lucius' land adventures as a vessel tossed by the waves. This representation by the priest may allow us to read the initiatory spring-rite for the sailing of Isis' ship in fair weather, as a visual manifestation and brilliant metaphor for Lucius' entrance to his new life, and his initiation into the mysteries, making Lucius appear as a new ship. This association emerges in several ways. First, the Ploiaphesia launching ceremony marks the beginning of the navigation season in the spring, just as Lucius' entrance into the cult of Isis suggests the spring of a new life. The port of Cenchreae is common to both events, for it is there that Lucius the ass arrives after leaving the theatre at Corinth. The flowers adorning the ship (11.16: *carina … florebat*) may evoke the wreath of roses which the priest gives the ass to eat (11.13: *coronam*). The rising of the mast on

459 Likewise, in Aeschylus' *Supplices*, Pelasgus' dilemma over accepting the suppliants or not culminates in the employment of a sea metaphor (469–471):

κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος ποταμὸς ὡς ἐπέρχεται
ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὔπορον 470
τόδ' ἐσβέβηκα, κοὐδαμοῦ λιμὴν κακῶν.

For, like a flood, a multitude of ills bursts on me.
It is a sea of ruin, fathomless and impassable, that I am launched
upon, and nowhere is there a haven from distress. (trans. Smyth)

The metaphor here acquires greater significance, as Pelasgus has no experience of the sea; the image thus accentuates his helplessness in reaching a decision.

high (11.16): *iam malus insurgit pinus rutunda, splendore sublimis, insigni carchesio conspicua* ("Now rose the mast, a round pine, high and resplendent, visible from far off with its conspicuous masthead") may evoke the ass rising above evil magic, after he has eaten the roses and returned to his former true self (11.13): *manus non iam pedes sunt sed in erecta porriguntur officia* ("my hands were no longer feet, but were extended for their upright functions"). In this connection, the ship's sail (11.16): *nitens carbasus* ("gleaming sail") may be seen as distantly reflecting the sacred white robe Lucius is given to cover his nudity following his reformation (11.14): *mihi linteam dari laciniam* ("to be given a piece of linen cloth to cover myself"); also (11.15): *candido isto habitu tuo* ("the white garment you are wearing"). As the followers of Isis come to the harbour and load the ship with gifts before launching it into the open sea (11.16): *muneribus largis et devotionibus faustis completa navis* ("When the ship was laden with generous gifts and auspicious sacrifices"), so Lucius later receives various gifts from his relatives and slaves, who come to see him entering his new life (11.18): *confestim denique familiares ac vernulae quique mihi proximo nexu sanguinis cohae-rebant … munerabundi ad meum festinant … conspectum* ("At once my friends, my household slaves, and those who were related to me by the closest ties of blood … they all brought various gifts and … hurried to see me"). Furthermore, Mithras purifies the ship with prayers before it is launched (11.16): *navis, absoluta strofiis ancoralibus, peculiari serenoque flatu pelago redderetur* ("it [the ship] was untied from its anchor-ropes and offered to the sea, as a mild breeze arose especially for it"). This evokes the encouragement Lucius receives from Mithras to enter Isis' service and protect himself forever from the vicissitudes of fortune (11.15): *quo tamen tutior sis atque munitior, da nomen sanctae huic militiae, cuius non olim sacramento etiam rogabaris* ("But to be safer and better protected, enlist in this holy army, to whose oath of allegiance you were summoned not long ago").

The analogy between the Ploiaphesia festival and Lucius' re-launching on his new life can be carried one step further. Following purification, Isis' ship is untied and released in the open seas (11.16). This feature anticipates Lucius: following the exhortation of the priest, he rents lodging in the precinct and undergoes initiation into the cult. His ensuing ritual descent to the realm of the dead, and appearance in full light the next morning, dressed in the *stola Olympiaca*, reflects the bright light of the rising moon shining in the darkness of the night upon his arrival at the port of Cenchreae (11.1). In this mystic reading, the whole narrative of Lucius' earlier trials as an ass may be intended to highlight his

present joy after the sorrows of his earlier toilsome travels on land. After his short visit home, Lucius receives instructions from the goddess to travel to Rome, where he undergoes two further initiations, one into the cult of Osiris and a third into that of Isis. The earlier sailing of Isis' ship foreshadows Lucius' journey abroad. Following this third initiation, Lucius enters the ranks of *pastophoroi*.[460] Moreover, as the sailing of Isis' ship is associated with the navigability of the seas and therefore the prospect of lucrative commerce and accumulation of wealth, so Lucius with Osiris' help has a brilliant legal career as lawyer in courts.[461] In his new role as priest and lawyer Lucius attains not only joy and blessedness but also money and fame. Thus, Lucius encompasses all aspects of the priamel such as wealth, power and blessedness, as discussed by the Chorus at lines 905–910 of Euripides' *Bacchae*. This extensive list of parallels between the initiatory spring-rite for the dedication and the sailing of Isis' ship and Lucius' reformation and re-launching to his new life as an Isiac make Lucius the human analogue and metaphor for the launching of Isis' new ship.

Reconnection with society

Lucius' distinguished career in the courts following his entrance into his new life is entirely predictable and reasonable. Any religion, as Nancy Shumate points out, lies at the centre of society and culture.[462] Magic, which is associated with savagery, must represent the opposite of civilized society. The centrality of religion also predetermines relationships among humans in society, whereas withdrawal from this centre leads to a purposeless world; as soon as centrality is re-established, world order is re-stabilized and re-anchored.

The moment Lucius is involved in magic, the world order is de-stabilized and breaks apart;[463] but once he enters into the Isis cult, he can re-connect with the world from which he was cut off as an enchanted and marginalized animal. In his prayer to the goddess, Lucius reveals his awareness that Isis is the guarantor of order, harmony and stability in the world (11.25): *tu rotas orbem, luminas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum.*

460 Papachatzis (1976) vol. 2, 47.
461 Cf. also Slater (2003) 100.
462 Shumate (1996) 287.
463 Shumate (1996) 287.

tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa ("You rotate the earth, light the sun, rule the universe, and tread Tartarus beneath your heel. The stars obey you, the seasons return at your will, deities rejoice in you, and the elements are your slaves"). With assistance from the goddess, Lucius can pursue his legal career and earn both glory and money. By contrast, Socrates, Aristomenes and Thelyphron are permanently cut off from the orderly world, and are reduced to penury, death and exile.

To sum up: The narrative of the Ploiaphesia for the sailing of the seas and the transport of goods reveals a number of intratextual links with the narrative of Lucius' initiatory rebirth and entrance into a new life. This analogy is accentuated by Mithras the priest, who likens Lucius' earlier adventures on land to a sea journey in rough weather, and refers to Cenchreae as a safe haven. Implicit in this association is the representation of Lucius as a new ship, which is rendered all the more vivid through the figurative association between human life and ships firmly established in literature. Thus the narrative of the Ploiaphesia festival not only advances the plot, but also places Lucius' wider experience in the novel in the context of a sea voyage, effectively dividing this into two: the first section of the voyage takes place in rough weather (the chaotic powers of magic), while the second is assisted by a fair wind (divine protection afforded by Isis).

Bibliography

Adams, J.N. 1982. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Athanassaki, Lucia 1992. "The Triumph of Love and Elegy in Ovid's *Amores* 1.2." *MD* 28: 125–141.

Babbitt, F.C. (ed., trans.) 1969. *Plutarch's Moralia*. Vol. 5. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Bajoni, Grazia M. 1990. "La scena comica dell'irrazionale (Petr., 61–63 e Apul., *Met.*, I. 6–19 e II 21–30)." *Latomus* 49: 148–153.

—, 1998. "Lucius utricida. Per un'interpretazione di Apul. 2,32." *RhM* 141: 197–203.

Bartalucci, A. 1988. "Considerazioni sulla festa del 'Deus Risus' nelle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio (2,31–3,18)." *CCC* 9: 51–65.

Batstone, William W. and Garth Tissol (eds) 2005. *Defining Genre and Gender in Latin Literature. Essays Presented to William S. Anderson on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. New York: Lang.

Bay, Stephen M. (ed.) 2004. *Studia Palaeophilologica Professoris G.M. Browne in honorem oblata*. Champaign, Ill.: Stipes.

Beard, Mary and John North 1990. *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. London: Duckworth.

Bechtel, Friedrich 1917. *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Bechtle, G. 1995. "The Adultery-Tales in the Ninth Book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Hermes* 123: 106–116.

Bitel, Anton P. 2000–01. "*Quis ille Asinus aureus?* The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius' Title." *AN* 1: 208–244.

Bohm, R.K. 1972–73. "The Isis Episode in Apuleius." *CJ* 68: 228–231.

Borghini, A. 1991. "Il platano e la morte: a proposito di Apul. *Met.* 1.19." *Aufidus* 15: 7–14.

Bowie, Ewen L. and Stephen J. Harrison 1993. "The Romance of the Novel." *JRS* 83: 159–178.

Bowra, C.M. (ed.) 1968. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. OCT. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bradley, Keith 1998. "Contending with Conversion: Reflections on the Reformation of Lucius the Ass." *Phoenix* 52: 315–334.

—, 2000. "Animalizing the Slave: The Truth of Fiction." *JRS* 40: 110–125.

Browne, Gerald M. 1978. "On the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patrae." *AJP* 99: 442–446.

Burkert, Walter 1985. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.

—, 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Burnet, J. (ed.) 1960. *Platonis opera*. Parmenides, Philebus, Symposium, Phaedrus, Alcibiades I, II, Hipparchus, Amatores. OCT. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—, (ed.) 1962. *Platonis opera*. Clitopho, Res Publica, Timaeus, Critias. OCT Vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Chambry, Aemilius (ed.) 1926. *Aesopi Fabulae*. Vol. II. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Clark, C.A. (ed.) 1973. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes*. OCT. Vol. IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Cohoon, W.J. (ed., trans.) 1971. *Dio Chrysostom*. Loeb Classical Library. Vol. 1. London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Collins, Derek 2001. "Theoris of Lemnos and the Criminalization of Magic in the Fourth-Century Athens." *CQ* 51: 477–493.
de Budé, G. (ed.) 1916. *Dionis Chrysostomi orationes*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
DeFilippo, J.G. 1990. "*Curiositas* and the Platonism of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*." *AJP* 111: 471–492.
Defosse, Pol (ed.) 2002–2003. *Hommage à Carl Deroux*. Vols. 1–5. Bruxelles: Collection Latomus 267.
De Smet, R. 1987. "The Erotic Adventure of Lucius and Photis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Latomus* 46: 613–623.
Diggle, J. (ed.) 1994. *Euripidis fabulae*. Helena, Phoenissae, Orestes, Bacchae, Iphigenia Aulidensis, Rhesus. OCT. Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Dillery, John 1999. "Aesop, Isis, and the Heliconian Muses." *CP* 94: 268–280.
Donovan, Lauren 2008. "*Multiscius vs. Prudens:* The Limits of Conventional Learning in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *ICAN* Abstract. Lisbon.
Dowden, Ken 1982. "Apuleius and the Art of Narration." *CQ* 32: 419–435.
—, 1993. "The Unity of Apuleius' Eighth Book & the Danger of Beasts." *GCN* 5: 91–109.
—, 1998. "Cupid & Psyche: A Question of the Vision in Apuleius." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, V. Schmidt, and B. Wesseling. Groningen: Forsten, 1–22.
Drake, G. 2000. "Apuleius' Tales within Tales in the *Golden Ass*." In: *Tales Within Tales: Apuleius Through Time*. Edited by C.S. Wright and J.B. Holloway 2000. New York: AMS, 3–27.
Edmonds, J.M. (ed., trans.) 1931. *Elegy and Iambus*. Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Evans-Grubbs, J. 1995. *Law and Family in Late Antiquity. The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Fairclough, Rushton Henry (ed., trans.) 1974. *Virgil*. Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid *1–6*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Faraone, Christopher A. 1999. *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Fick-Michel, Nicole 1991. *Art et mystique dans les Métamorphoses d'Apulée*. Paris: CNRS.

Finkelpearl, Ellen D. 1991. "The Judgment of Lucius: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.29–34." *CA* 10: 221–236.
—, 1998. *The Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius: A Study of Allusion in the Novel*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
—, 2003. "Lucius and Aesop Gain a Voice: Apuleius *Met*. 11.1–2 and *Vita Aesopi* 7." In: *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Edited by Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen. Leiden: Brill, 37–51.
—, 2004. "The Ends of the *Metamorphoses* (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.26.4–11.30)." In: *Metamorphic Reflections: Essays Presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman and Rudi van der Paardt. Leuven: Peeters, 319–342.
—, 2006. "The Language of Animals and the Text of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman*. Edited by Wytse H. Keulen, Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios Panayotakis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 203–221.
—, 2007. "Apuleius, the *Onos*, and Rome." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 263–276.
Fowler, Harold North (ed., trans.) 1982. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Vol. 1. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Frangoulidis, Stavros A. 1994. "Venus and Psyche's Sisters in Apuleius' Tale of Cupid and Psyche." *CB* 70: 67–72
—, 1997. "New Comedy in Apuleius' Tale of Cupid and Psyche." In: *Handlung und Nebenhandlung. Theater, Metatheater und Gattungsbewusstsein in der römischen Komödie*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 145–177.
—, 1999(a). "*Cui videbor veri similia proferens vera?:* Aristomenes and the Witches in Apuleius' Tale of Aristomenes." *CJ* 94: 375–391.
—, 1999(b). "*Scaena feralium nuptiarum:* Wedding Imagery in Apuleius' Tale of Charite (*Met*. 8,1–14)." *AJP* 120: 601–619.
—, 2001. *Roles and Performances in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Stuttgart: Metzler.
—, 2002(a). "Mutilation as Emasculation in Apuleius' Tale of Thelyphron (*Met*. 2.21–30)." In: *Hommage à Carl Deroux*. Edited by Pol Defosse. Bruxelles: Collection Latomus 267. Vol. 2, 164–172.
—, 2002(b). "The Laughter Festival as a Community Integration Rite." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 177–188.
—, 2005. "A Pivotal Metaphor in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses:* Aristomenes' and Lucius' Death and Rebirth." In: *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Stephen J. Harrison, Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 4. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 197–209.
—, 2007. "Transforming the Genre: Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Reading*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Nar-

rative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 193–203.
Frankfurter, David 2001. "The Perils of Love: Magic and Countermagic in Coptic Egypt." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10: 480–500.
Frazer, J.G. (trans., comm.) 1965. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*. Translated with a Commentary. Vol. 1. New York: Biblo and Tannen Publishers.
Freeman, Kathleen 1945. "Vincent, or the Donkey." *G&R* 14: 33–41.
Freudenburg, Kirk 2007. "Leering for the Plot: Visual Curiosity in Apuleius and Others." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 238–262.
Gaisser, Julia Haig 2008. *The Fortunes of Apuleius and The Golden Ass*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
Genette, Gerard 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Godley, Alfred Denis (ed., trans.) 1920. *Herodotus: The Persian Wars*. Books I-II. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Gollnick, James T. 1999. *The Religious Dreamworld of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. *Recovering a Forgotten Hermeneutic*. Editions SR 25. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
Graf, Fritz 1997. *Magic in the Ancient World*. Translated by Philip Franklin. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Graverini, Luca 1996. "Apuleio, Vergilio e la 'peste di Atena.' Note ad Apul. *Met*. IV 14." *Maia* 48: 171–187.
—, 1998. "Memorie virgiliane nelle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio: Il racconto di Telifrone (II 19–30) e l'assalto del coloni ai servi fuggitivi (VIII 16–18)." *Maia* 50: 123–145.
—, 2001. "Apul. *Met*. 2,12,5: una profezia ambigua." *Maecenas* 1: 183–194.
—, 2002. "Corinth, Rome, and Africa: A Cultural Background for the Tale of the Ass." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 58–77.
—, 2003. "The Winged Ass. Intertextuality and Narration in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Edited by Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen. Leiden: Brill, 207–218.
—, 2004. "A *lepidus susurrus*. Apuleius and the Fascination of Poetry." In: Desultoria Scientia. *Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts*. Edited by Ruurd R. Nauta. Leuven: Peeters, 1–18.
—, 2004–05. "A Book-like Self. Ovid and Apuleius." *Hermathena* 177–178: 225–250.
—, 2005. "Sweet and Dangerous? A Literary Metaphor (*aures pelmulcere*) in Apuleius' Prologue". In: *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Stephen J. Harrison, Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 177–196.
Gregory, Justina 2007. "Donkeys and the Equine Hierarchy in Archaic Greek Literature." *CJ* 102: 193–212.

Griffith, Mark 2006(a). "Horse-Power and Donkey-Work: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination, Part I." *CP* 101: 185–246.
—, 2006(b). "Horse-Power and Donkey-Work: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination, Part II." *CP* 101: 307–358.
Griffiths, Gwyn J. (ed., trans., comm.) 1975. *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (*Metamorphoses*, Book XI). Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
—, 1978. "Isis in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 141–166.
Grimal, P. 1971. "Le calame égyptien d'Apulée." *REA* 73: 343–355.
Habermehl, Peter 1996. "*Quaedam divinae mediae potestates:* Demonology in Apuleius' *De deo Socratis*." *GCN* 7: 117–142.
Habinek, Thomas N. 1990. "Lucius' Rite of Passage." *MD* 25: 49–69.
Hägg, Tomas 1992. Το Αρχαίο Μυθιστόρημα. Ελληνική Μετάφραση Τζένη Μαστοράκη και Γιώργης Γιατρομανωλάκης. Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης [= *The Novel in Antiquity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983].
Hanson, John Arthur (ed., trans.) 1989. *Apuleius:* Metamorphoses. Loeb Classical Library. Vols. 1–2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Harrison, Stephen J. 1988. "Three Notes on Apuleius." *CQ* 38: 265–267.
—, 1990(a). "Some Odyssean Scenes in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *MD* 25: 193–201.
—, 1990(b). "The Speaking Book: The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *CQ* 40: 507–513.
—, 1997. "From Epic to Novel: Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Vergil's *Aeneid*." *MD* 39: 53–73.
—, 1998(a). "Some Epic Structures in Cupid and Psyche." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II. Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling. Vol. 2. Groningen: Forsten, 51–68.
—, 1998(b). "The Milesian Tales and the Roman Novel." *GCN* 9: 61–73.
—, (ed.) 1999. *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—, 2000. *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—, 2000–01. "Apuleius, Aelius Aristides and Religious Autobiography." *AN* 1: 245–259.
—, 2002. "Literary Topography in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 40–57.
—, 2003(a). "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *The Novel and the Ancient World*. Edited by Gareth Schmeling. Revised Edition. Leiden: Brill, 491–516.
—, 2003(b). "Epic Extremeties: The Openings and Closures of Books in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Edited by Stelios

Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen. Leiden: Brill, 239–254.
—, 2005. "The Poetics of Fiction: Poetic Influence on the Language of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129: 273–286.
—, 2006. "Literary Texture in the Adultery-Tales of Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* Book 9." In: Desultoria Scientia. *Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts*. Edited by Ruurd R. Nauta. Leuven: Peeters, 19–31.
—, 2007. "Parallel Cults? Religion and Narrative in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Some Greek Novels." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 204–218.
Harrison, Stephen J., Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis (eds) 2005. *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 4. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library.
Heath, J.R. 1982. "Narration and Nutrition in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Ramus* 11: 57–77.
Heller, Steven 1983. "Apuleius, Platonic Dualism, and Eleven." *AJP* 104: 321–339.
Helm, Rudolf (ed.) 1992. *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera quae supersunt*. Metamorphoseon *libri XI*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Helmbold, W.C. (ed., trans.) 1970. *Plutarch's* Moralia *in Sixteen Volumes*. Loeb Classical Libarary. Volume 6. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Henderson, John 2001. "In Ya (Pre)face…" In: *Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Edited by Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 188–197.
Hijmans Jr., B.L. et al. (ed., trans., comm.) 1977. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses *Book IV. 1–27*. Groningen: Boekhuis.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 1981. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses *Book VI. 25–32 and VIII. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen: Boekhuis.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 1985. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses *Book VIII. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen: Forsten.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 1995. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses *Book IX. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen: Forsten.
—, 1986. "Charite Worships Tlepolemus-Liber." *Mnemosyne* 39: 350–364.
Hijmans Jr., B.L. and R. Th. van der Paardt (eds) 1978. *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Groningen: Forsten.
Hofmann, Heinz (ed.) 1999. *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*. London and New York: Routledge.
Holzberg, Niklas 1995. *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
Hude, C. (ed.) 1960. *Herodoti Historiae*. OCT. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hunink, Vincent C. (ed., comm.) 1997. *Apuleius of Madauros* Pro se de magia (Apologia). *Edited with Commentary*. 2 Vols. Amsterdam: Gieben.
—, (ed., comm.) 2001. *Apuleius of Madauros* Florida. *Edited with Commentary*. Amsterdam: Gieben.

Ingenkamp, H.G. 1972. "Thelyphron. Zu Apuleius, *Metamorphosen* II 20 ff." *RhM* 115: 337–342.
Jackson, R. 1988. *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire.* London: British Museum Publications.
Jacobson, Howard 2004. "Apuleiana." In: *Studia Palaeophilologica Professoris G.M. Browne in honorem oblata.* Edited by S.M. Bay. Champaign, Ill.: Stipes Publishing, 37–44.
James, Paula 1987. *Unity in Diversity.* Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Olms.
—, 2007. "Review of R. May: *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage 2006.*" *AN* 6: 131–140.
James, Paula and Maeve O' Brien 2006. "To Baldly Go: A Last Look at Lucius and his Counter-Humiliation Strategies." In: *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman.* Edited by Wytse H. Keulen, Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios Panayotakis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 234–251.
Kahane, Ahuvia and Andrew Laird (eds) 2001. *Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kenaan, Lev Vered 2004. "Delusion and Dream in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.*" *CA* 23: 247–284.
Kenney, J.E. (ed.) 1973. *P. Ovidi Nasonis*, Amores, Medicamina faciei femineae, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris. OCT. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 1990. *Apuleius: Cupid & Psyche.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—, (trans. comm.) 1998. *Apuleius: The* Golden Ass. London: Penguin.
—, 2003. "In the Mill with Slaves: Lucius Looks Back in Gratitude." *TAPA* 133: 159–192.
Keulen, Wytse H. 1997. "Some Legal Themes in Apuleian Context." In: *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption.* Edited by M. Picone and B. Zimmermann. Basel: Birkhäuser, 203–230.
—, 2000. "Significant Names in Apuleius: A 'Good Contriver' and his Rival in the Cheese Trade (*Met.* 1,5)." *Mnemosyne* 53: 310–321.
—, 2003(a). "Comic Invention and Superstitious Frenzy in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses:* The Figure of Socrates as an Icon of Satirical Self-Exposure." *AJP* 124: 107–135.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 2003. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses. *Books I.1–20. Introduction, Text, Commentary.* PhD Diss. Groningen: Groningen University.
—, 2006(a). "*Ad amussim congruentia:* Measuring the Intellectual in Apuleius." In: *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman.* Edited by Wytse H. Keulen, Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios Panayotakis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 168–202.
—, 2006(b). "The Wet Rituals of the Excluded Mistress: Meroe and the Mime." In: Desultoria Scientia. *Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts.* Edited by Ruurd R. Nauta. Leuven: Peeters, 43–61.

—, (ed., trans., comm.) 2007. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses. *Book 1. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen: Forsten.
Keulen, Wytse H., Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios Panayotakis (eds) 2006. *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman*. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library.
Konstan, David 1994. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novels and Related Genres*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
—, 1995. "Patrons and Friends." *CP* 90: 328–342.
—, 1996. "Greek Friendship." *AJP* 117: 71–94.
Kovacs, David (ed., trans.) 1994. *Euripides I*. Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
—, (ed., trans.) 1999. *Euripides IV*. Trojan Women, Iphigenia Among the Taurians, Ion. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Krabbe, Judith K. 1989. *The* Metamorphoses *of Apuleius*. New York: Peter Lang.
—, 2003. *Lusus Iste: Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Lanham: University Press of America.
Kyle, Donald G. 1998. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London and New York: Routledge.
Laird, Andrew 1990. "Person, 'Persona' and Representation in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *MD* 25: 129–164.
—, 1997. "Description and Divinity in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *GCN* 8: 59–85.
—, 2001. "Paradox and Transcendence: The Prologue as the End." In: *Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Edited by Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 267–281.
Lateiner, Donald 2000. "Marriage and the Return of Spouses in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *CJ* 95: 313–332.
—, 2001. "Humiliation and Immobility in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *TAPA* 131: 217–255.
—, 2003. "Tlepolemus the Spectral Spouse." In: *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Edited by Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen. Leiden: Brill, 219–238.
Lee-Stecum, Parshia 1998. *Powerplay in Tibullus. Reading Elegies: Book One*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Leinweber, David Walter 1994. "Witchcraft and Lamiae in The *Golden Ass*." *Folklore* 105: 77–82.
LIMC 1981. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich/München: Artemis.
Lombardo, Stanley (trans.) 1997. *Homer Iliad*. Introduction by Sheila Murnaghan. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.
LSJ 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Supplement*. Edited by Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Ninth Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Luck, Georg 1985. *Arcana mundi*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Lyne, R.O.A.M. 2002. "The Life of Love." In: *Latin Erotic Elegy. An Anthology and Reader.* Edited by Paul Allen Miller. London and New York: Routledge, 348–365.
MacDowell, Douglas M. (ed., comm.) 1978. *Aristophanes:* Wasps. *Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Macleod, M.D. (ed., trans.) 1967. *Lucian with an English Translation*. Loeb Classical Library. Vol. VIII. London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
—, (ed.) 1974. *Luciani opera*. OCT. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Markantonatos, Andreas 2004. "Mystic Filters for Tragedy: Orphism and Euripides' *Rhesus*." *Ariadne* 10: 15–47.
Martinez, David. 2000. "Magic in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Tales Within Tales: Apuleius Through Time*. Edited by C.S. Wright and J. B. Holloway. New York: AMS, 29–35.
Mason, Hugh J. 1971. "Lucius at Corinth." *Phoenix* 25: 160–165.
—, 1978. "*Fabula graecanica:* Apuleius and his Greek Sources." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 1–15.
—, 1994. "Greek and Latin Versions of the Ass-Story." In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.34.2 Edited by W. Hasse. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1665–1707.
—, 1999. "The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and its Greek Sources." In: *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*. Edited by Heinz Hofmann. London and New York: Routledge, 103–112.
Mathis, Amanda G. 2008. "Playing with Elegy: Tales of Lovers in Books 1 and 2 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius*. Edited by Werner Riess. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 195–214.
Mattiacci, Silvia 1993. "La lecti invocatio di Aristomene: Pluralità di modelli e parodia in Apul. *Met*. I.16." *Maia* 45: 257–267.
—, (ed.) 1996. *Apuleio. La novelle dell'adulterio (*Metamorfosi *IX)*. Firenze.
—, 1998. "Neoteric and Elegiac Echoes in the Tale of Cupid and Psyche by Apuleius." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling. Groningen: Forsten, 127–149.
May, Regine 2006. *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mayrhofer, C.M. 1975. "On Two Stories in Apuleius." *Antichthon* 9: 68–80.
McCreight, Thomas D. 1993. "Sacrificial Ritual in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *GCN* 5: 31–61.
McKeown, J.C. 1995. "*Militat omnis amans*." *CJ* 90: 295–304.
McNamara, Joanne 2003. "'The Only Wife Worth Having'? Marriage and Storytelling in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *AN* 3: 106–128.

Merkelbach, Reinhold 1995. *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-aegyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Stuttgart-Leipzig: Teubner.
Miller, Paul Allen (ed.) 2002. *Latin Erotic Elegy: An Anthology and Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.
Moine, N. 1975. "Augustin et Apulée sur la magie des femmes d'auberge." *Latomus* 34: 350–361.
Montiglio, Silvia 2007. "You Can't Go Home Again: Lucius' Journey in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Set Against the Background of the *Odyssey*." *MD* 58: 93–113.
Montserrat, Dominic 1996. *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London: Kegan Paul.
Monro, David B. and Thomas W. Allen (eds) 1976. *Homeri opera*. OCT. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Müller-Reineke, Hendrik 2006. "A Greek Miscellanist as a Libidinous Thessalian Witch? Pamphile in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 2–3." *CQ* 56: 648–652.
Münstermann, Hans 1995. *Apuleius,* Metamorphosen *literarischen Vorlagen*. Suttgart: Teubner.
Murgatroyd, Paul 1997. "Three Apuleian Openings." *Latomus* 56: 126–133.
—, 2001. "Embedded Narrative in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 1.9–10." *MH* 58: 40–46.
—, 2004(a). "The Ending of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *CQ* 54: 319–321.
—, 2004(b). "Thelyphron's Story (Apul. *Met*. 2.21–30)." *Mnemosyne* 57: 493–497.
Murray, Gilbert (ed.) 1957. *Euripidis fabulae*. OCT. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Mynors, R.A.B. (ed.) 1976. *P. Vergili Maronis opera*. OCT. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Nachstädt, W., W. Sieveking and J. Titchener (eds) 1971. *Plutarchus* Moralia. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner.
Nauta, Ruurd R. (ed.) 2006. Desultoria scientia. *Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts*. Leuven: Peeters.
Newbolt, R.F. 1985. "Sensitivity to Shame in Greek and Roman Epic with Particular Reference to Claudian and Nonnus." *Ramus* 14: 30–45.
Niketas, Dimitrios Z. 1999. "Δίγλωσση ποίηση: Απουλήιου *De Aesculapii maiestate*." Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 8: 19–46.
Norwood, Frances 1956. "The Magic Pilgrimage of Apuleius." *Phoenix* 10: 1–12.
O'Brien, Maeve C. 1998. "'For Every Tatter in its Mortal Dress': Love, the Soul and her Sisters." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling. Groningen: Forsten, 23–34.
—, 2004. "Thelyphron the 'Weak-Minded' or What's in a Name?" In: *Metamorphic Reflections: Essays Presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman and Rudi van der Paardt. Leuven: Peeters, 161–173.

OLD 1982. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Edited by P.G.W. Glare. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pack, Roger 1956. "The Sibyl in a Lamp." *TAPA* 87: 190–191.

Page, Denys (ed.) 1972. *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoediae*. OCT. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Panayotakis, Stelios 1996. *Thesaurus fraudis: Forms and Functions of Deception in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *(4.23–6.30)*. PhD Diss. (in Modern Greek). Rethymno: University of Crete.

—, 1998(a). "On Wine and Nightmares: Apul. *Met*. 1,18." *GCN* 9: 115–129.

—, 1998(b). "Slander and Warfare in Apuleius' Tale of Cupid and Psyche." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling. Groningen: Forsten, 151–164.

Panayotakis, Stelios, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen (eds) 2003. *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill.

Papachatzis, Nikolaos D. 1976. Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις. Βιβλία 2 και 3. Κορινθιακά και Λακωνικά. Τόμος 2. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.

Papaioannou, Sophia 1998. "Charite's Rape, Psyche on the Rock and the Parallel Function of Marriage in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Mnemosyne* 51: 302–324.

Paschalis, Michael 2002. "Reading Space: A Re-Examination of Apuleian *ekphrasis*." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 132–142.

Paschalis, Michael and Stavros Frangoulidis (eds) 2002. *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library.

Paschalis, Michael, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman (eds) 2007. *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library.

Penwill, John L. 1975. "Slavish Pleasures and Profitless Curiosity: Fall and Redemption in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Ramus* 4: 49–82.

—, 1990. "*Ambages reciprocae:* Reviewing Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Ramus* 19: 1–25.

Perry, Ben Erwin 1967. *The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Philippides, Stamatis N. 1988. "Lovers' Fate: Narrator's Providence in *Chaereas and Callirhoe*." In: *The Greek Novel AD. 1–1985*. Edited by R. Beaton. London: Croom Helm, 182–189.

Picone, Michelangelo and Bernhard Zimmermann (eds) 1997. *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption*. Basel: Birkhäuser.

Plaza, Maria 2006. "*Nomen omen* – Narrative Instantiation of Rhetorical Expressions in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman*. Edited by Wytse H. Keulen, Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios

Panayotakis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 68–85.
Pohlenz, M. and W. Sieveking (eds) 1972. *Plutarchus* Moralia. Vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner.
Postgate, John Percival (ed.) 1968. *Tibulli Aliorumque carminum. Libri tres*. OCT. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
P.Oxy. LXX. 2006. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Volume LXX. Edited by N. Gonis, J.D. Thomas, R. Hatzilambrou. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 90. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
Race, William (ed., trans.) 1997. *Pindar:* Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes. London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Reardon, Brian P. (ed.) 1989. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Rehm, Rush 1994. *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Repath, D.I. 2000. "The Naming of Thrasyllus in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *CQ* 50: 627–630.
Riefstahl, Hermann 1938. *Der Roman des Apuleius*. Frankfurt am Main.
Riess, Werner 2000–01. "Between Fiction and Reality: Robbers in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*." *AN* 1: 260–282.
—, (ed.) 2008. *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius*. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library.
Robertson, D.S. (ed.) and P. Vallette (trans.) 1940–45. *Apulée:* Les Métamorphoses. 3 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. (rpt. 1956, 1965, 1971).
Robertson, Donald Struan 1919. "A Greek Carnival." *JHS* 39: 110–115.
Rocca, Silvana 1976. "Il motivo dell'innamoramento a prima vista nell'apuleiana 'Amore e Psiche' ed il'romanzo Greco." *MCSN* 1: 33–47.
Rocha-Pereira, Helena Maria (ed.) 1973. *Pausaniae* Graeciae descriptio. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
Roest, Bert and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout 1999. *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures*. Groningen: Styx.
Rosa, Fabio and Francesco Zambon (eds) 1995. *Pothos: Il viaggio, la nostalgia*. Trento: Dipartimento di Scienze Filologiche e Storiche.
Rosati, Gianpiero 1997. "Racconto e interpretazione: forme e funzioni dell'ironia drammatica nelle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio." In: *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption*. Edited by M. Picone and B. Zimmermann. Basel: Birkhäuser, 107–127.
Ruebel, James S. (ed., comm.) 2000. *Apuleius: The* Metamorphoses *Book 1*. Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci.
Ruiz-Montero, Consuelo 2007. "Magic in the Ancient Novel." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 38–56.
Ruiz Sánchez, M. 2000. "Lucio en el campo: Observaciones sobre los libros VII y VIII del '*Asno de Oro*' de Apuleyo." *Emerita* 68: 115–140.

Russell, D.A. (ed., comm.) 1992. *Dio Chrysostom*. Orations VII, XII and XXXVI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sandy, Gerald N. 1972. "Knowledge and Curiosity in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *Latomus* 31: 179–183.
—, 1973. "Foreshadowing and Suspense in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *CJ* 68: 232–235.
—, 1994. "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the Ancient Novel." In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.34.2 Edited by W. Hasse. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1512–1574.
—, 1997. *The Greek World of Apuleius: Apuleius and the Second Sophistic*. Leiden: Brill.
—, 1999. "Apuleius' *Golden Ass:* From Miletus to Egypt." In: *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*. Edited by Heinz Hofmann. London and New York: Routledge, 81–102.
Sandys, J.E. (ed., trans.) 1915. *Pindar:* The Odes. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Schlam, Carl C. and Ellen Finkelpearl 2000. "A Review of Scholarship on Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 1970–1998." *Lustrum* 42: 7–230.
Schlam, Carl C. 1970. "Platonica in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius." *TAPA* 101: 477–487.
—, 1978. "Sex and Sanctity: The Relationship of Male and Female in the *Metamorphoses*." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 94–105.
—, 1992. *The* Metamorphoses *of Apuleius. On Making an Ass of Oneself*. Chapel Hill: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Schmeling, Gareth (ed.) 2003. *The Novel in the Ancient World*. Revised Edition. Leiden: Brill.
—, 2005. "Callirhoe: God-like Beauty and the Making of a Celebrity." In: *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Stephen J. Harrison, Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 4. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 36–49.
Schmeling, Gareth and Silvia Montiglio 2006. "Riding the Waves of Passion: An Exploration of an Image of Appetites in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Lectiones Scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman*. Edited by Wytse H. Keulen, Ruurd R. Nauta and Stelios Panayotakis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 6. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 28–41.
Scobie, Alexander (ed., comm.) 1975. *Apuleius* Metamorphoses (Asinus Aureus) *I. A Commentary*. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain.
—, 1978(a). "Strigiform Witches in Roman and Other Cultures." *Fabula* 19: 74–101.
—, 1978(b). "The Structure of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 43–61.
Seaford, Richard 1996. *Euripides:* Bacchae. *Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Seelinger, R.A. 1981. *Magical Motifs in the* Metamorphoses *of Apuleius*. PhD Diss. University of Missouri, Columbia: UMI.

Sharrock, Alison and Helen Morales (eds) 2000. *Intratextuality. Greek and Roman Textual Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shea, George W. 1998. *Delia and Nemesis. The Elegies of Albius Tibullus. Introduction, Translation and Literary Commentary*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Shelton, Jo-Ann 2005. "Putting Women in Their Place: Gender, Species and Hierarchy in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Defining Gender and Genre in Latin Literature. Essays Presented to William S. Anderson on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by William W. Batstone and Garth Tissol. New York: Lang, 301–329.

Shorey, Paul (ed., trans.) 1969. *Plato:* The Republic. Loeb Classical Library. Vol. 1. London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Showerman, Grant (ed., trans.) 1977. *Ovid:* Heroides and Amores. Second Edition revised by G.P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Shumate, Nancy 1996. *Crisis and Conversion in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

—, 1999. "Apuleius' *Metamorphoses:* The Inserted Tales." In: *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*. Edited by Heinz Hofmann. London and New York: Routledge, 113–125.

Slater, Niall W. 1998. "Passion and Petrification: The Gaze in Apuleius." *CP* 93: 18–48.

—, 2000. "Spectator and Spectacle in Apuleius." In: *ICAN 2000: The Ancient Novel in Context*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Stelios Panayotakis and Wytse H. Keulen. Groningen, 110–111.

—, 2002. "Space and Displacement in Apuleius." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 161–176.

—, 2003. "Spectator and Spectacle in Apuleius." In: *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*. Edited by Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmerman and Wytse H. Keulen. Leiden: Brill, 85–100.

—, 2007. "Posthumous Parleys: Chatting Up the Dead in the Ancient Novels." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 57–69.

—, 2008. "Apuleian Ecphraseis: Depiction at Play." In: *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius*. Edited by Werner Riess. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 235–250.

Slater, William J. (ed.) 1996. *Roman Theater and Society*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Smith, Dennis E. 1977. "The Egyptian Cults at Corinth." *HThR* 70: 201–231.

Smith, Warren S. 1972. "The Narrative Voice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *TAPA* 103: 512–534.

—, 1989. "Apuleius' Miserly Host and the Transformation of Satire." In: *The Ancient Novel: Classical Paradigms and Modern Perspectives*. Edited by James H. Tatum and Gail M. Vernazza. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 130–131.

—, 1993. "Interlocking of Themes and Meaning in *The Golden Ass*." *GCN* 5: 75–89.

—, 1994. "Style and Character in *The Golden Ass:* 'Suddenly an Opposite Appearance'." In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Band II.34.2. Edited by W. Hasse. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1575–1599.

—, 1998. "Cupid and Psyche Tale: Mirror of the Novel." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling. Groningen: Forsten, 69–82.

Smith, Warren S. and Baynard Woods 2003. "The Tale of Aristomenes: Declamation in a Platonic Mode." *AN* 2: 172–193.

Smyth, Weir H. (ed., trans.) 1927. *Aeschylus:* Suppliant Maidens, Persians, Prometheus, Seven Against Thebes. Loeb Classical Library. Vol. I Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Stabryla, Stanislaw 1973. "The Functions of the Tale of Cupid and Psyche in the Structure of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius." *Eos* 61: 261–272.

Stampolides, Nikolaos Chr. 1992. Τα Σφραγίσματα της Δήλου *2*. Ελληνογαλλικές Έρευνες 2. Paris: Boccard.

Tatum, James H. 1969. "The Tales in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *TAPA* 100: 487–527.

—, 1979. *Apuleius and The* Golden Ass. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Tatum, James H. and Gail M. Vernazza (eds) 1989. *The Ancient Novel: Classical Paradigms and Modern Perspectives*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press.

Treggiari, Susan 1991. *Roman Marriage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

van der Paardt, Rudi Th. 1971. *Apuleius Madaurensis: The* Metamorphoses. *A Commentary on Book III*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.

—, 1978. "Various Aspects of the Narrative Technique in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers*. Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 75–87.

—, 2004. "Four Portraits of Actaeon." In: *Metamorphic Reflections: Essays Presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*. Edited by Maaike Zimmerman and Rudi van der Paardt. Leuven: Peeters, 21–39.

Vander Poppen, Robert E. 2008. "A Festival of Laughter: Lucius, Milo, and Isis Playing the Game of *Hospitium*." In: *Paideia at Play: Learning and Wit in Apuleius*. Edited by Werner Riess. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 157–174.

van Mal-Maeder, Danielle 1995. "*L'Ane d'or* ou les métamorphoses d'un récit: illustration de la subjectivité humaine." *GCN* 6: 103–125.

—, 1997. "*Lector, intende: laetaberis*. The Enigma of the Last Book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." *GCN* 8: 87–118.

—, (ed., trans., comm.) 1998. *Apulée.* Les Métamorphoses *Livre II, 1–20. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire.* PhD. Diss. Groningen.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 2001. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses. *Livre II: Texte, introduction et commentaire.* Groningen: Forsten.
Volten, Aksel (ed., trans.) 1942. *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlberg XIII und XIV verso).* Analecta Aegyptiaca III. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
Walsh, Patrick Gerard 1970. *The Roman Novel. The* Satyricon *of Petronius and the* Metamorphoses *of Apuleius.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—, 1988. "The Rights and Wrongs of Curiosity (Plutarch to Augustine)." *G&R* 35: 73–85.
Watts, N.H. (ed., trans.) 1964. *Cicero: The Speeches.* Pro T. Annio Milone et al. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
West, M.L. (ed.) 1989. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati.* Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—, (ed.) 1992. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati.* Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Westendorp Boerma, R.E.H. and B.L. Hijmans Jr. 1974. "Apuleiana Groningana III." *Mnemosyne* 27: 406–412.
Westerbring, A.G. 1978. "Some Parodies in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.*" In: *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass. *A Collection of Original Papers.* Edited by B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R.Th. van der Paardt. Groningen: Forsten, 63–73.
Williams, Gordon Williams 1958. "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals." *JRS* 48: 16–29.
Winkler, J.J. 1985. *Auctor & Actor. A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's* Golden Ass. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Witte, Anne E. 1997. "Calendar and Calendar Motifs in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Book 11." *GCN* 8: 41–58.
Wlosok, Antonie 1999. "On the Unity of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.*" In: *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel.* Edited by Stephen J. Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 142–156.
Wright, Constance S. and Julia B. Holloway (eds) 2000. *Tales Within Tales: Apuleius Through Time.* New York: AMS.
Wyke, Maria 2002. "Mistress and Metaphor in Augustan Elegy." In: *Latin Erotic Elegy.* Edited by Paul Allen Miller. London: Routledge, 386–409.
Zimmerman, Maaike 1993. "Narrative Judgment and Reader Response in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 10,29–34: The Pantomime of the Judgment of Paris." *GCN* 5: 143–161.
—, 1999. "When Phaedra Left the Tragic Stage: Generic Switches in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses.*" In: *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures.* Edited by B. Roest and H. Vanstihout. Groningen: Styx Roest and Vanstihout, 119–128.
—, (ed., trans., comm.) 2000. *Apuleius Madaurensis:* Metamorphoses. *Book X. Text, Introduction, Commentary.* Groningen: Forsten.
—, 2002(a). "Latinising the Novel. Scholarship since Perry on Greek 'Models' and Roman (Re-)creations." *AN* 2: 123–142.

—, 2002(b). "On the Road in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: *Space in the Ancient Novel*. Edited by Michael Paschalis and Stavros Frangoulidis. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 1. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 78–97.

—, 2006. "Echoes of Roman Satire in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*." In: Desultoria scientia*: Genre in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses *and Related Texts*. Edited by Ruurd R. Nauta. Louven: Peeters, 87–104.

—, 2007. "Aesop, the '*Onos*', *The Golden Ass* and a Hidden Treasure." In: *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*. Edited by Michael Paschalis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Stephen J. Harrison and Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementa 8. Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 277–292.

Zimmerman, Maaike, Vincent C. Hunink, Wytse H. Keulen, Stephen J. Harrison, Thomas D. McCreight, B. Wesseling, Danielle van Mal Maeder and Wytse H. Keulen (eds, trans., comm.) 2004. *Apuleius Madaurensis* Metamorphoses. *Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24: The Tale of Cupid and Psyche. Text, Introduction and Commentary*. Groningen: Forsten.

—, Vincent C. Hunink, Thomas D. McCreight, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Stelios Panayotakis, Victor Schmidt and B. Wesseling (eds) 1998. *Aspects of Apuleius'* Golden Ass *II: Cupid and Psyche*. Groningen: Forsten.

—, Stelios Panayotakis and Wytse H. Keulen (eds) 2000. *ICAN 2000: The Ancient Novel in Context*. Groningen.

—, and Rudi van der Paardt (eds) 2004. *Metamorphic Reflections. Essays Presented to Ben Hijmans at his 75th Birthday*. Leuven: Peeters.

Zimmermann, Bernhard (ed.) 1999. *Griechisch-römische Komödie und Tragödie III*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

List of Figures

Index of Passages

General Index