

APULEIUS OF MADAUROS  
FLORIDA

EDITED BY  
VINCENT HUNINK

GIEBEN

HUNINK

APULEIUS - FLORIDA

**Apuleius of Madauros**

**FLORIDA**

**edited with a commentary**

**by**

**Vincent Hunink**

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## CONTENTS

Preface	page	7
INTRODUCTION		9
TEXT		25
Notes on the text		54
COMMENTARY		55
Bibliography		215
Indexes		231

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## PREFACE

After the publication of my commentary on Apuleius' *Apology* in 1997 my interest in the works of the intriguing man from Madauros was by no means weakened.

Most of all I felt attracted by the brilliant fragments of rhetoric that are collected in his *Florida*. It is here that Latin oratory has found what in my view is one of its most glorious achievements. In his dazzling display of epideictic rhetoric, the African Apuleius proudly parades his mastery of the Latin language, which he uses in ways that classical Roman authors would have judged utterly distasteful. Apuleius freely combines words from widely different spheres, constantly looking for special effects of sound and rhythm, not hesitating to use refined new expressions, and openly rejoicing in reviving venerable archaisms or even coining new words. Perhaps only a non-native speaker of Latin such as Apuleius could have had the audacity and sense of freedom to handle Latin like this.

In the mid nineties, I attempted to turn Apuleius' versatile and inspiring *Florida* into Dutch. Led on by the author's style, I even coined a new Dutch word for its title, 'Pronkpassages' (meaning something like 'passages to show off with'). My Dutch editor was persuaded to publish this translation -- a commendable act of generosity in view of the fragmentary status of the texts and their extravagant 'Mediterranean' rhetorical style which seemed slightly out of place in modern Dutch culture, where one adage is 'doe maar gewoon, dat is al gek genoeg' ('Do what is normal, that is quite crazy enough').

I am confident that these texts have much to offer for those who love the Latin language (which is a good argument why the *Florida* should be read in Latin in the first place), and that the time is ripe for a new English commentary on all twenty-three fragments. Apart from some older translations and brief notes very little was available when I started to work on this book. Meanwhile, a full translation (with notes) of all three rhetorical works by Apuleius is due to appear in 2001 (HARRISON / HILTON / HUNINK). It is my hope that the present volume, in combination with these translations, will enable readers to gain a better understanding of Apuleian rhetoric.

Following academic tradition, I gladly take the opportunity to acknowledge the support I received from friends and colleagues. First of all, I thank the Faculty of Arts of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, which granted me a scholarship from 1997 to 1999, during which most of the research was completed. Thanks are also due to the staff of the department of Greek and Latin, who made it possible for me to come and work at Leiden University, notably Prof. C.M.J. Sicking and Prof. P.H. Schrijvers. I am particularly happy that I was able to work with Dr. Rudi van der Paardt. We even taught a course on Apuleius together in early 2000, which proved to be a very pleasant and profitable experience. Rudi van der Paardt has always supported my work on this project and kindly read parts of the commentary.

A new scholarship at the Catholic University of Nijmegen allowed me to conclude and revise the work, and provided the means and time to prepare the volume for publication. I warmly thank my loyal teacher Prof. J.H. Brouwers for his unremitting trust in me and I hope this book will please him in the coming years of his well-deserved *otium cum dignitate*. Mr. Erik Hamer, a former student at the department of Classics in Nijmegen, did some useful research work for this book, and I extend my thanks to him too.

Since 1991 I have had the privilege to be a member of the Groningen Apuleius Group. In these years, the joint work in Groningen was largely devoted to the commentaries on Book 9 of the *Metamorphoses* (published in 1995) and on the 'Amor and Psyche' tale (the first volume of which is forthcoming in 2001). The work on the

commentaries, and the numerous Groningen colloquia which were organized in the course of these years (most recently the ICAN 2000 conference), have been sources of great inspiration and pleasure to me, and I am delighted to be reckoned part of this widely acknowledged research group. Maaïke Zimmerman, Wytze Keulen, Stelios Panayotakis, Berber Wesseling, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, and Tom McCreight: thank you all for your help. Although the present volume differs in a number of aspects from the *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius*, I hope that it will not seem entirely out of keeping with the series.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Hilton of the University of Natal (Durban, South Africa), who in a comparatively late stage agreed to read the entire text of the introduction and commentary, and who provided me with countless valuable suggestions for improvement. John Hilton made it possible for me to study the unpublished dissertation by Fabian Opeku (London 1974), which proved serviceable more than once. The commentary would have been much worse without his help. Needless to say that neither he nor anyone else is to be held responsible for what I have written or omitted.

Just a few days before the completion of the typescript, I was sent the new separate commentary on *Florida* 16 by Prof. Alberto Toschi (University of Parma, Italy). I am pleased that I could refer to this useful volume in a number of places, and I greatly appreciate the kind attention of the author who sent me his book so expeditiously.

It is once again a pleasure for me to thank the publisher, Mr. J. C. Gieben, who agreed to publish yet another commentary by me, and who kindly accepted most of my proposals for its design. Finally, without the help and support of Marco Balvers this book could not have been made in the first place. Studying ancient texts is one of the most rewarding activities I know, but it would be hard to do it all alone.

Nijmegen, Christmas 2000  
Vincent Hunink

## INTRODUCTION

Of Apuleius' rhetorical works, the *Apology* can be understood and appreciated along Ciceronian lines, to some extent at least. It is, after all, a long judicial speech, delivered by its writer in court or, alternatively, rewritten or fully composed in his study as a literary masterpiece. In the speech all conventions of the genre, best known from Cicero's speeches, are employed. The clever tricks and schemes, the display of pathos, and the shrewd invective all sound familiar to ears used to hearing Cicero.

Things are different, however, where Apuleius' *Florida* are concerned. This work has no parallel in the Ciceronian corpus, or indeed in Latin Literature before the 2nd century AD. Perhaps accordingly, it has widely met with disapproval. The judgement of the German scholar Eduard Norden on Apuleius' style in the *Met.* and *Fl.* stands out as a particularly harsh example:

*Dieser Mann (...) hat die Sprache entwürdigt. Bei ihm feiert der in bacchantischem Taumel dahinrasende, wie ein wilder Strom sich selbst überstürzende, in ein wogendes Nebelmeer wüster Phantastik zergehende Stil seine Orgien; hier paart sich mit dem ungeheuerlichsten Schwulst die affektierteste Zierlichkeit: alle die Mätzchen, die dem weichlichsten Wohlklang dienen, werden in der verschwenderischsten Weise angebracht, als da sind Alliterationen, Ohren und Augen verwirrende Wortspiele, abgezirkelte Satzteilchen mit genauester Korresponion bis auf die Silbenzahl und mit klingelndem Gleichklang am Ende. Die römische Sprache, die ernste würdige Matrone, ist zum prostibulum geworden, die Sprache des lupanar hat ihre castitas ausgezogen.* (NORDEN 1909, 600-1).

Norden's rage, brilliantly expressed in language curiously reminiscent of the very stylistic bacchanals it denounces, sounds exaggerated and even strange by now. It sums up much of the prejudice of earlier generations against ancient literature that did not fit the classical pattern, either in content or in style. For more examples of negative qualifications of the *Florida*, see e.g. TOSCHI 2000, 5-6.

The *Florida* are decidedly unclassical both in content and in style. In addition, their fragmentary nature has not really helped to further scholarly sympathy for these texts.

Only in recent years, the interest has no longer been restricted to exemplary and sublime texts with a complex structure and a lofty tone. Antiquity also produced base pamphlets, pornographic tales, journals, riddles and jokes, simple poetry and occasional speeches. Regrettably, most of this material has been lost, but occasionally it has left traces even in extant literary works. In a broader sense, cultural developments in the post-classical periods now tend to be approached with less prejudice and are given closer attention. This may certainly be said of the phenomenon of the 'Second Sophistic', of which the Greek representants have gained wide interest. It is into this context that the *Florida* must be considered: the texts are unique examples of Second Sophistic literature in Latin (see also below A.(4)).

A quick glance at the 23 pieces in the *Florida* shows a surprising variety of themes dealt with in a dazzling style: themes range from the flight of the eagle to the strigil of Hippias, from Indian philosophers to the colours of the parrot. We also read many personal statements on Apuleius' literary activity and sections of elaborate praise of magistrates. Some of the fragments are only a few lines long, others go on for many

pages. The texts are full of references to historical and mythological persons, scientific realia, and in particular to literary texts, such as those of Homer, Vergil, Accius, and Plautus. Apuleius chooses rare words or coins new ones, and crams his texts with colourful epithets, strange adverbs, and strong sound effects, including rhyme. Apparently, any means of attracting the attention of his audience will do. And 'audience' is to be taken literally: in the *Florida* we see Apuleius as a sophist delivering his showpieces in public buildings such as a theatre, as several of the texts show.

## A THE ANTHOLOGY

### (1) Four books

So what are these *Florida* really? With this question, we enter the field of controversy, since there is much disagreement among scholars. Two things at least seem beyond dispute: the pieces are mostly fragments and Apuleius is their author.

In Medieval codices, the collection is divided into four books (Book I: 1 - 9,14. Book II: 9,15 - 15. Book III: 16-17. Book IV: 18-23). Compared to the average book length of other ancient works, this results in strikingly short books. For example, 'Book I' would comprise no more than eleven pages instead of a more usual figure like thirty to fifty. Because of this, it is generally assumed that the text as we have it is a late classical excerpt from a much larger collection of speeches by Apuleius which has gone lost (see also below, B).

The book division in the middle of *Fl.* 9 is, of course, problematic. No satisfactory explanation can be given: we can assume that there may have occurred an error in the process of transmission, although that is not the only solution; for further discussion see HARRISON 2000, 90-1, and the commentary on 9,14.

As to the contents of such a collection we can only guess. The arrangement in four books may well stem from it, but its original length remains hard to estimate. Nor can it be ascertained whether it contained longer portions of the same speeches that are now represented in the *Florida*, or fragments of other speeches that have gone lost.

### (2) Selection

All in all, the original from which the *Florida* must have been excerpted is largely unclear to us. Perhaps worse, the criterion adopted in the selection of speeches remains vague. One natural assumption is that it forms an anthology of 'the best of Apuleius', a collection of brilliant, famous highlights from his most famous speeches. Evidently, some pieces qualify for this, such as *Fl.* 1, 2, 6, 7, or 9. But some of the sections are far too long to be considered 'highlights', notably *Fl.* 15, 16, and 18, whereas some of the shorter ones are so unspectacular that they can hardly count as Apuleius' major oratorical achievements, e.g. *Fl.* 8 and 11.

Another possibility is a thematical link between the fragments. In the collection as a whole, some recurrent themes may indeed be distinguished (see further below A.(4)), but nothing strikes the eye that could be considered a unifying theme in all the pieces. At best, a relatively superficial element could be thought of here, such as a formal relation to the town of Carthage and the province of Africa, or the general picture of culture and education presented in the fragments. The assumption, then, would be that the anthologist

(whether Apuleius himself, or, more likely,<sup>1</sup> someone else), did his work from a personal sense of national pride, or with his eyes set on a clearly marked audience, e.g. the city elite in Carthage. Indeed, several fragments, mostly the longer ones, show a remarkable attention for the city of Carthage, esp. *Fl.* 9, 16, 17, 18, and 20 (ending in a proper *laudation* of Carthage as city of culture), while other fragments could easily be connected here; the *sanctissimam istam ciuitatem* of *Fl.* 1 might be Carthage (though not necessarily so); and the theatre of *Fl.* 5 could be the same place as the one in *Fl.* 18, situated in Carthage.

The title *Florida* can offer some help here. At first sight, the word may seem to render a word like 'anthologia' in Latin, but for such a sense no parallels can be given; cf. HIJMANS 1994, 1722, referring to TLL s.v. *floridus* 926,5f. The nearest parallel would be Gel. *pr.* 6, where a number of titles for miscellaneous works such as the *Noctes Atticae* are listed, among them ἀνθηρῶν. Quoting this place, HORSFALL-SCOTTI 1990b, 80 argues that a similar 'gusto compilatorio' is far from strange to the *Florida*, and assumes that the Latin title refers to a 'miscellanea'. However, the fact that all fragments in our collection come from speeches makes the argument anything but compelling.

The attested meaning of *floridus* is clearly stylistic: it refers to a 'florid' style. From Quintilian, we learn what sort of style this is, in a passage discussing a threefold division of styles (*Inst.* 12,10,58-9). Here Quintilian distinguishes a *genus subtile* apt for instructing, a *genus grande et robustum* apt for moving and a *genus medium ex duobus* or *floridum* (Greek ἀνθηρῶν) apt for charming or conciliating the audience. The best qualities for these styles are, respectively, *acumen* (discernment), *vis* (force) and *lenitas* (gentleness).

Quintilian even describes the effects of this third style in some detail (*Inst.* 12,10,60). It is a style, he says, which frequently uses metaphor and figures of speech, introducing beautiful digressions, being neat in rhythm, and containing fine *sententiae*. It steadily flows like a bright river overshadowed by green woods on either side.<sup>2</sup>

Much of this description may be said to apply to Apuleius' *Florida*, although it should perhaps be added that the style in this collection is not always 'moderate' and 'gentle'. But Quintilian is quick to acknowledge that a division in only three styles would be too rough: in fact, there are many intermediate styles. The gentle style, he adds, may rise to greater force or sink to milder tones. (12,10,66-7). The *Florida* would seem to qualify for the former variant; cf. e.g. the extraordinarily long period that makes up most of *Fl.* 21 (see on 21,1).

Considering the evidence for a technical, stylistic sense of *floridus*, the title *Florida* may well point to a stylistical rather than a thematic criterion for the selection: these are passages in a fine, florid style, possibly assembled and excerpted for students of rhetoric

<sup>1</sup> It remains impossible to adduce proof here, but given the state of the collection, with very long texts standing next to very short or even manifestly incomplete ones, and in the absence of a preface or dedication, it would seem unlikely that Apuleius himself is responsible for it. See also HARRISON 2000, 132.

<sup>2</sup> HIJMANS 1994, 1722-23 quotes these passages from Quintilian and adds one or two parallels for the use of *floridus* as a technical term of rhetorical style.

(see below, A.(3)).<sup>1</sup> See also discussion in HARRISON 2000, 92-4. For the florid style of the *Florida*, see also BERNHARD 1927, 286-304. A general survey of features characteristic of declamations may be found in e.g. ZINSMAIER 1993, 56-84.

### (3) Rhetoric

But is florid style the only connecting element? One would assume that the pieces must have something more in common. There may be stronger generic or thematic links than appears at first sight. To learn more about this, we can only rely on a careful reading of the texts.

Some of the *Florida* seem intended to make a strong impression upon the audience. Powerful descriptions like that of the religious atmosphere in *Fl.* 1, the eagle in *Fl.* 2, or the marvels of India in *Fl.* 6 are bound to have struck the audience with awe. Popular philosophical tones in some other sections (e.g. *Fl.* 22 and 23) would perhaps be less surprising but no less effective in making the audience silent and attentive.

In some other pieces, Apuleius is evidently making a run up to a another theme. Often, it seems to be his main concern to capture and retain the attention of his audience and prepare it for what is to follow. A funny story, a joke, or a marvel from the world of science and learning, a personal confession or superficial talks, all this can serve the aim of a speaker starting on his speech, better than serious talk or stern admonishments.

The fragments seem to lead up to other, major themes, which are sometimes announced in the texts themselves. For instance, the brief fragment 20 first gives a survey of all the literary genres Apuleius professes to master, and then seems to announce a piece of elaborate praise of Carthage. Similarly, *Fl.* 17, after a number of rather apologetic remarks and observations on the use of the human voice, clearly announces a section of praise of the proconsul Orfitus, starting with an examination of all his virtues which the audience is invited to consider together with the speaker (17,22). Here too, at a moment where things really seem to get going, the fragment breaks off. Other sections which end by announcing a theme to follow are *Fl.* 16 and 18, and *Soc.* prol.5 (on which see further below, C.)

In classical rhetoric, drawing the attention of the audience, holding it, and gaining its sympathy (e.g. Cic. *Inv.* 1,20 *conficiens auditorem benevolum aut docilem aut attentum*) are functions of the prooemium in a speech. In Apuleius' time, this was still true, but the practice of an orator had become rather different from what it had been in the days of Cicero. No longer was the courtroom the central place to display one's oratorical talents. Apuleius delivered speeches of a different, non-judicial nature, before a much wider audience. He performed in a theatre or large public building for considerable audiences expecting to be entertained and instructed. In the period of the Second Sophists, rhetoric was no longer primarily an instrument in justice and politics, but it had become an element of culture.

It is in this context that we must try to understand the texts of the *Florida* and their preparatory function. The classical prooemium seems to have developed into a distinct form or subgenre of speeches, which has been identified as the *prolalia* (or *proagon*,

<sup>1</sup> For this conclusion, see also HIJMANS 1994, 1723, who rightly opposes HELM, xix and AUGELLO, 415.

*dialexis*, or just *lalia*): a separate short introductory speech to a longer work. The first scholar to connect the *Florida* to this phenomenon was MRAS in his study of 1949; see further e.g. RUSSELL 1983, 77-8.

The word *prolalia*, which one feels tempted to render with a neologism as 'forespeech', is not attested as a technical term in antiquity. It first occurs in manuscripts from the 10th century, in the titles of two writings of Lucian: Προλαλία. Ἡρακλῆς and Προλαλία. Διώνυσος.<sup>1</sup> But even though there is no technical discussion of this sort of texts in antiquity, they seem to be more than just an idiosyncrasy of Lucian, since texts of other Second Sophists can be ranged here too, notably Dio Chrysostom 5 and 57.

*Prolaliae* must be, for one thing, relatively short: if they lasted for more than the equivalent of a few pages, they would become independent speeches rather than preparatory talks. Secondly, they deal with various themes, often loosely bound together. In the case of Lucian, it has been pointed out that the author avoids giving too much interpretative guidance, which would risk connecting the introduction to one particular work: if the thematical links are vague and general enough, a text can be used on several occasions.<sup>2</sup> At least it must give the impression that the speaker feels relaxed and comfortable ('das Gebot der Zwanglosigkeit' as MRAS 1949, 210 calls it.) Another element which seems typical is the presence of personal remarks of the speaker on his own life and performance, such as Lucian's observations about his old age (*Herc.* 7). As a rule a *prolalia* was a rather quiet, polite introduction in syntactically simple form, that was courteous to the audience. As RUSSELL 1983, 78 adds, it dealt in anecdotes, elaborate comparisons, mythological elements, and witty allusions to the classics.

Surely, Apuleius must have known *prolaliae* from the Greek orators of his days, and it seems only natural that he followed their practice in Latin.

Among the *Florida* there are some pieces that certainly qualify as full *prolaliae*. They amuse and thrill the public with a wide range of material: stories, funny anecdotes, fascinating examples of erudition and impressive effects, all displayed in extremely powerful, highly rhetorical language. Apuleius' fascination for beautiful words, strong rhythms and luxurious style is usually more ardent than his sense of logic and overall consistency. The rhetorical technique employed in such pieces may best be termed 'associative'. The finest examples are provided by the longer pieces, *Fl.* 9; 16; 17; and 18. Most of the shorter passages simply do not allow definite conclusions in this sense: they may stem from *prolaliae*, but could also be have been part of other ('main') speeches, e.g. as digressions or graphic descriptions or examples; cf. also VÖSSING 1997, 439-40wn1492.

In fact, all pieces can qualify as rhetorical showpieces, exhibiting various techniques that were also taught in Roman schools: description and panegyric, metaphor and simile, anecdote and witty saying, enumeration, and others; for a convenient survey of such

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of these texts, see notably MRAS 1949, 207-8 and GEORGIADOU / LARMOUR 1993. In the latter study further references to scholarship on these pieces by Lucian may be found. On *prolaliae* in Dio Chrysostom, see STOCK 1911, 41-66.

<sup>2</sup> GEORGIADOU / LARMOUR 1993, 104 actually suggest that the two Lucianean *prolaliae* in question are variant prologues to the *Vera Historia*, used interchangeably by Lucian as introductions to his readings from this work.

'progymnasmata' see KENNEDY 1994, 202-8.<sup>1</sup> Possibly, this technical, rhetorical aspect is equally the common ground of all texts and has been a dominant factor in the collection, if not an additional principle of selection. Cf. e.g. CONTE 1994, 556, who states that the pieces have been anthologized for their virtuosity and 'without regard for the content.' HARRISON 2000, 133-4 concludes that the *Florida* have been collected by a later editor as technical models for the rhetorical instruction of later generations, a theory also taken in consideration by HIJMANS 1994, 1723.<sup>2</sup> For earlier theories on the nature of the *Florida*, see HIJMANS, 1720-2.

More specifically, FOUCHER 1979, 136-9 advances the hypothesis that the selection was made by a teacher of rhetoric in Carthage for the benefit of his pupils, while HORSFALL SCOTTI 1990b even develops the theory that the anthology (and the archetype of the Apuleian MSS tradition) was made in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> A different theory is defended by DOWDEN 1994, 421-4, who argues that the *Florida* must have been brought to Rome by Apuleius himself, and that the work could only survive because it circulated in the capital. Attractive as such theories may seem, they are not sufficiently supported by evidence in the actual texts.

#### (4) Themes and interests

As widely different as the texts in the collection may be, there are many links and recurring motifs that further tie up the work. Even though it probably includes mostly excerpts, these connections provide the reader with a sense of unity in diversity.

Until comparatively recently, many scholars had great difficulty in assessing the *Florida* as far as their content is concerned. For instance, DE' CONNO 1959 devotes a long analysis to the collection on the basis of the concept of *philosophia*. In her observations, DE' CONNO accordingly tends to take matters either too seriously or too lightly, while in the end she appears to appreciate the work merely as a precursor to the great novel that is the *Metamorphoses*. Surely the cultural context of the collection should be taken into account here in a more serious way.

All pieces clearly attest to the mainstream of culture in Apuleius' days, which was dominated by the Greek Second Sophistic. Apuleius' works are now regarded as unique specimens of this cultural phenomenon in Latin. The best general survey of the field is now provided by SANDY 1997. One may profitably consult his study for an analysis of

<sup>1</sup> KENNEDY follows a fourth century treatise by Aphthonios of Antioch, a student of Libanios. Here, fourteen exercises are specified: *mythos* (fable), *diegema* (narrative), *chreia* (anecdote), *gnome* (maxim), *anaskeue* and *kataskue* (refutation and confirmation), *koinos topos* (commonplace), *enkomion* and *psogos* (praise and invective), *synkrisis* (comparison), *ethopoeia* (personification), *ekphrasis* (description), *thesis* (argument), *nomou eisphora* (introduction of a law, either in defence or opposition). Although Aphthonios lived long after Apuleius, many of these exercises seem relevant as basic models in the *Florida* too, notably narrative, anecdote, maxim, commonplace, praise, and description.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISON, 135 supports the suggestion that this editor is no other but Crispus Sallustius, who is known to have edited the *Met.* and *Apol.* The solution is attractive indeed, but there is no proof whatsoever for it; cf. HIJMANS 1994, 1720.

<sup>3</sup> The latter theory is based on a concatenation of hypotheses and seems not very plausible. For example, it leaves unexplained why Apuleius' Greek works have not been preserved, as HORSFALL-SCOTTI, 88n41 admits.

Apuleius' education as a 'Latin sophist' (1-14) and the general cultural climate of his time, with its stress on encyclopedic learning and literature (15-91). SANDY's general survey of the *Florida* (p.148-75) touches on many important themes, such as epideictic oratory, declamation, didactic interests, narrative, squabbles among sophists, and word-pictures. A very good general analysis of the *Florida* can also be found in HARRISON 2000, 89-135, which is also particularly useful for the analysis of the individual fragments. Some general observations about thematic connections between fragments are further made by e.g. FOUCHER 1979 and BAJONI 1989.

A closer reading of the *Florida* now also allows us to see more concrete thematic links. Thus 1 and 21 share the theme of slowing down and incurring a delay (which seems a fitting theme both at the start and the end of the collection), whereas 2 and 19 are interlinked by the notion of sharp sight and good vision. The philosopher Crates is the main character in 14 and 22 (cf. also 20,5) and in a way symbolizes the numerous popular moralistic elements that occur again and again in the *Florida*, such as the contrast of honest poverty and false riches, or of external and internal values, the simplicity and truth of philosophy, and the importance of virtue. Very prominent too are long sections of praise of magistrates and of the city of Carthage.

Throughout the *Florida* famous names from Greek philosophy and literature figure conspicuously. Stories about Presocratics and Sophists abound (e.g. 9; 15; and 18) and seem to have been greatly appreciated as a source of entertainment. There is, of course, a serious note to it: they bring the world of traditional wisdom and excellence, the world of classical Greek culture, within reach of the 2nd century African audience. Even though the audience is separated from this culture by no less than six hundred years, it is given the feeling of belonging to the same stream of prestigious culture. In many instances we see how the speaker attempts to let all who attend share in it, e.g. by greatly extolling both himself and the audience alike. On the dominant role of culture and education in the *Florida* and the subtle bonds these establish between the speaker and his audience, see also VÖSSING 1997, 436-67.

To add some more examples of thematic links, one may consider the theme of animals (2; 6; 10; and 12), of music (3; 4; and 15) and what may be seen as their combination: animal sounds (13 and 17). A theatrical setting dominates 5; 16 and 18 while medical expertise may be seen in 16; 19; and 23.

The order of the fragments as they stand does not seem entirely coincidental. In many cases a fragment resumes a theme or an element from the preceding one, e.g. the exotic India of 6 leads up to Alexander the Great in 7, and the parrot of 12 is followed by other birds in 13. For more examples, see the introductory notes to the individual sections.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the major factor in all the fragments is the prestige and the achievements of the speaker himself. On many occasions he adds a personal note, or inserts a detail on his

<sup>1</sup> One might briefly consider the possibility of a chronological order of the fragments. This is actually suggested by OPEKU 1974, 22-4. However, the few places where the date of a piece can be established with certainty (163 for *Fl.* 9; 163-4 for *Fl.* 17; see below, *Introduction B*) do not allow us to draw such a conclusion. The anthologist seems to have been keen on literary style and interesting themes rather than on preserving a chronological order.

private life (such as his travels, his education, or his twisted ankle). The most important themes that connect the *Florida* come together in a few passages where Apuleius extols his own erudition and literary talents (notably 3; 9; and 20). Here the general interests and the personal tone subtly fuse, and Apuleius effectively presents himself as the living example of the culture he extols.

## B DATE AND CIRCUMSTANCES

Whereas the *Apology* could be dated with a certain degree of precision, since the actual trial took place in 158/9 AD (see *Apol.* Introduction A.1 (1), this is not possible for the present collection of fragments. Since it is not known by whom and where the excerpts were assembled, no certain date can be fixed for the origin of the collection. It seems not unreasonable, however, to assume a date in late antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

On the assumption that the excerpts were made from an earlier, larger collection of speeches or fragments by Apuleius, obviously an earlier date would be required for that original. This could range anywhere between the 160's, if it was published by Apuleius himself, to some later date, if it took place after Apuleius' death.

The only dates that can be ascertained are connected with some of the individual pieces in the collection: *Fl.* 9 celebrates Severianus at his departure from office in 163 AD, while his successor Orfitus, the addressee of *Fl.* 17, was proconsul in 163-4; in addition, both *Fl.* 16 and *Fl.* 18 could perhaps be dated in the 160's (see introductory sections and notes to the respective pieces).

Some of the pieces were clearly delivered in a theatre, notably 5 and 18, and Carthage is the certain location of 9; 16; 17; 18; and 20. Therefore, it seems not implausible that all or nearly all other pieces equally come from performances in public places in Carthage.

## C THE PREFACE OF *SOC.*

After the concluding words of *Fl.* 23 there is no *subscriptio* in F $\phi$ , as there was after the first three 'books' of the *Florida* (see on 9,14; 15,27; 17,22). This is taken by several scholars as an argument that the *Florida* did not end here but once included the seemingly disjointed prologue of *De Deo Socratis*; thus e.g. HARRISON 2000, 130 (and 91-2) and cf. BEAUJEU, 164-8 and MORESCHINI, 1-6, who both explicitly present this prologue as texts that originally belonged to the *Florida*.

There is, however, no positive evidence that this prologue ever formed part of the *Florida*, and the negative argument is not strong: there is no *subscriptio* marking the end of 'book 4', but its absence is no proof that the work is not complete.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the MSS clearly mark off the disputed prologue as a part of *Soc.*, to which it may very well belong as a *prolalia*, given the themes it develops. For the whole issue, see extensive

<sup>1</sup> On the assumption that the scholar Salustius, whose name figures in the MS F, was responsible for the anthology, it would have to be dated in the 4th century.

<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the end of the *Met.* is not marked by a *subscriptio* after the last words of book 11, nor is there a *subscriptio* at the end of *Mun.*

discussion in HUNINK 1995 (with references); further HIJMANS 1994, 1771 and SANDY 1997, 192-6. Given this state of affairs, the text of the prologue of *Soc.* is neither included nor commented upon in the present edition.

## D THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF APULEIUS' WORKS

For the transmission of Apuleius' *Apology*, *Florida*, and *Metamorphoses*, our main witness is a Florentine MS (F = Laur. 68,2) of the 11th century. On this all other MSS depend. Cf. HELM (in his introduction to the *Fl.*); and REYNOLDS 1983, 15-6.

Recently this position has been challenged by PECERE 1987, who argues for a tradition independent from F; the so-called Assisi fragments (C) would be an example of this. However, his examples are hardly of any consequence for our constitution of the text. Not even PECERE denies the central importance of F for this purpose.

Closely related to F is  $\phi$  (= Laur. 29,2), which often presents the correct reading when F is illegible. Some more recent MSS appear useful in other cases where F $\phi$  agree in obviously wrong readings. On the whole, the authority of F $\phi$  has been widely accepted in modern Apuleian scholarship. For the *Metamorphoses* cf. especially the *Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius (GCA)*, where readings of F $\phi$  are consistently defended wherever possible; cf. also HIJMANS 1994, 1770-80 and HIJMANS 1995. Among earlier scholars defending F in difficult places, cf. e.g. ARMINI 1928.

As far as the *Florida* is concerned, the same principle can be adopted. Several proposals by scholars to change the text are unnecessary, since they concern passages where F's reading makes good sense and is otherwise undisputed. In the majority of problematic passages, emendation can be discarded in favour of readings found in F $\phi$ . For the principles followed in this edition, see further below E.1.

On the various works of Apuleius, their chronology and shared themes, see introduction to the *Apology*, section B; further HARRISON 2000, 10-4 (extant works) and 14-36 (dubious and lost works).

## E SCOPE AND AIMS OF THE PRESENT EDITION

The present edition is intended as a sequel to my edition of the *Apology* and its aims are very similar. There are, however, differences as well; see below (E.2). For the sake of methodological clarity, the main principles adopted in this edition are specified below.

### E.1 THE TEXT

In this edition of the text the practice of *GCA* has been adopted. That is, the text as constituted by HELM has been taken as the starting-point, and no new collation of the MSS has been made; on some points, however, I have attempted to improve on HELM's text. These points may be listed as follows:

#### (1) Readings and spelling

In a fairly large number of places it appeared possible to defend the reading of F $\phi$ , even where HELM had judged that emendation was required.

In matters of *orthography*, too, I have followed HELM and *GCA*: the spelling of F is deviant even where it is deviant from standard classical practice, provided that it is attested elsewhere as an alternative spelling (a mention in OLD is the test here). Internal consistency has not been sought and normalization has been avoided.

This text does *not* pretend to reconstruct the spelling and readings chosen by Apuleius himself, to which we simply have no access. The closest we can get is F, which probably most closely resembles the emended copy by Sallustius. The edition as presented here is, therefore, a fairly modest attempt to approach the text; cf. HJLMANS 1994, 1772-3.

As in the *GCA*, no critical apparatus has been added, but all instances where the reading in this edition differs from HELM's are listed separately. A full discussion can be found in the appropriate places in the commentary.

## (2) Presentation

*Punctuation* of an ancient Latin text is a matter for its editor to decide. Normally, the practice followed in the editor's native language is tacitly adopted as a guideline. For example, German editions tend to print far more commas than English or French ones.

This edition is aimed at an international, English-speaking readership. Therefore, on a fairly large number of places, HELM's punctuation has not been followed. Notably, many commas have been omitted, more use has been made of colon and semicolon, and some of HELM's longer sentences have been split. Meanwhile, no attempt has been made to radically apply English (or, for that matter, Dutch) standards. Usually, a practical compromise seemed the best solution.

Like punctuation, the manner of *visually presenting* the text depends on the individual habits and taste of the editor. I have basically wished to provide a text which is pleasant and easy to read. To achieve this, I have chosen a 'classic' font, in a fairly large pitch, surrounded by broad margins and headers. The opening letter of a sentence is printed as a capital, in accordance with modern practice.

Individual fragments are indicated by large numbers in the margin; for the *subdivision* of pieces, the arrangement of VALLETTE's French edition has been applied. For convenience's sake, this arrangement has been preferred to the rather inconvenient references to page and line of HELM's Teubner edition.<sup>1</sup>

The division of the text into *paragraphs* (with the first line indented) has been executed with some care, also on the basis of modern practice. For instance, a new paragraph is normally started where a new thought is dealt with or where another person is addressed. By doing this, I have consciously avoided the common practice of editors of classical texts, who all too often present the reader with Greek or Latin texts that look like 'impenetrable blocks.' It is my firm conviction that we should be cautious and 'conservative' where the *readings* of the MSS are concerned, but unhesitatingly apply our own, contemporary standards where the *presentation* of the text is concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Only in places where the *Met.* is quoted, HELM's numbers have been added. For Apuleius' philosophical works, the traditional arrangement in chapters has been added in brackets.

## E.2 THE COMMENTARY

In the case of the *Apology*, there was an existing, older commentary, which still proved useful for matters of style and grammar. For the *Florida* no such edition was readily available,<sup>1</sup> and accordingly, this commentary pays more attention to such practical information, as well as to the correct rendering of difficult phrases. In addition, the rather different style of the *Florida* required more lemmata and remarks about lexicographic and stylistic matters.

The principal aim of the commentary is to shed light upon elements of the text that until now have remained hidden or unnoticed. Wherever possible, literary aspects and elements of rhetorical strategy are given particular attention, in order to get a better understanding of the speeches as works of art. However, the fragmentary nature of many pieces did not allow for the same amount of attention to Apuleius' long term strategy and literary pursuits as in the case of the *Apology*.

The commentary follows the Latin text of the fragments. Each of these is introduced by a separate paragraph, which consists of a paraphrase of the text (printed in italics) and an analysis of the argumentation and matters of general interest.

### (1) Textual problems

Any interpretation or analysis of a Latin text must start by establishing whether the text itself is sound. In the case of the *Fl.* we may safely say that the text as a whole is fairly reliable. Nonetheless, there remain a number of problematic or even disputed passages which require some attention. Therefore, even though this commentary is mainly of a rhetorical and literary nature, textual problems are discussed whenever necessary. For the general policy followed here, see above (E.1).

### (2) Events and realia

Non-literary realia are duly explained, as far as this seemed useful. Even indirectly, the *Florida* present a lively picture of life in Roman Africa in the second century, and the texts include many details on the author's personal life. Since we have no reliable independent sources relating to this, the text itself is often used to reconstruct our information about it. I have tried to remain aware of the dangers involved in this approach, and not to take Apuleius' words always for granted. Inevitably, they present his view on things and his selection of information, which may be dominated by specific rhetorical aims, rather than a search for truth. The *Florida* are literary texts rather than historical documents.

### (3) Literature

On a literary level, there are numerous occasions where Apuleius quotes from or refers to ancient authors. Here the commentary provides elementary help to the reader by referring

<sup>1</sup> The only English commentary occasionally referred to by scholars is OPEKU 1974, but this book is an unpublished dissertation and it is not easily accessible to readers. Therefore, I have generally omitted detailed references to it. In a number of places, however, where the structure or specific character of fragments is discussed, I have taken OPEKU's views into account.

to the most modern editions. In addition, it tries to add something more. For instance, one may ask *why* a specific author or reference is included. It can also be interesting to ask *from what source* Apuleius has taken his material. Especially in the case of works which have been lost, some *encyclopedical* information is sometimes added. In most cases, quotations from Greek texts are given in English translation.

Equally on a literary level, Apuleius' own artistry is focused upon. His clever use of images, examples, striking words, and sounds effects is highlighted in a great number of places. Comparisons to his other literary works, notably the *Apol.* and (to a lesser extent) the *Met.* are also included. These illustrate the unity and coherence of his literary oeuvre, even where their content shows internal inconsistencies.

#### (4) Strategy

Throughout the commentary an attempt has been made to take a critical look at the words of the speaker, and to uncover aspects he seems to be hiding. For instance, the notes make the speaker's insinuations explicit, point out obscurities, and clarify possible double meanings of words and clever puns. Inconsistencies, vagueness, twisted arguments are noticed, as are, on the other hand, cases of conspicuous display of his learning and familiarity with authorities. Given the nature of the collection, questions concerning a longtime strategy of the speaker are most relevant where we can read longer fragments (9; 15; 16; 17; and 18).

#### (5) This commentary and other commentaries

Although this commentary shares a number of principles and methods followed in the *GCA*, it also differs from them in its dimensions and organization. Notably, the present commentary is less detailed in its discussions of scholarly literature and textual questions. Naturally, references to relevant contributions on the *Fl.* are duly included. It must be added here that such contributions are comparatively rare, since until recently the *Fl.* have not been given much scholarly attention.

Furthermore, the sections of the commentary are arranged differently, as a quick comparison with the *GCA* will easily show. I have, for instance, not included a Latin text and translation for every new sentence. Within individual notes the order is different, too: as a rule, the most 'important' aspects for a first-time reader are dealt with first, followed by less important ones, while minor observations and more speculative points are relegated to footnotes.

The principles adopted in this commentary are basically the same as those of my edition of Apuleius' *Apology* of 1997. Although the present edition is arranged in such a fashion that it can be used independently, readers are regularly referred to the earlier edition.

### E.3 BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEXES

Like other commentators I have made extensive use of earlier editions, translations, commentaries, and studies. In the case of a text as the *Florida*, on which there is only a relatively limited amount of secondary literature, the importance of good translations for the general interpretation can hardly be overestimated. I profited most from the translations by VALLETTE, AUGELLO, and, most recently, HILTON. It is recommended that readers regularly consult one or more of these translations.

For further information on the bibliography and indexes, see the introductory lines to the items at the end of this volume.

### F ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from references to scholarly literature and ancient authors (as set out at the beginnings of the Bibliography and the Index of Passages respectively), the following abbreviations have been employed:

#### *Abbreviations*

AD	:	Anno Domini (in the year of our Lord)
ad loc.	:	ad locum (on the passage mentioned)
a.o.	:	and others
<i>Apol.</i>	:	<i>Apologia (Apology)</i>
B.C.	:	before Christ
c.	:	caput
ca.	:	circa
cc.	:	capita
cf.	:	confer (also used is 'see' <sup>1</sup> )
crit.app.	:	critical apparatus
esp.	:	especially
ff.	:	and following
GCA	:	<i>Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius</i>
GCN	:	<i>Groningen Colloquia on the Novel</i>
LHSz	:	Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i>
LSJ	:	Liddell, Scott and Jones, <i>A Greek-English lexicon</i>
MS	:	manuscript
MSS	:	manuscripts
n.	:	note
OLD	:	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
PIR	:	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>

<sup>1</sup>. Often these two terms are used interchangeably to refer to ancient texts, scholarly literature, works of reference, or places elsewhere in this commentary. However, sometimes a slight distinction is made, 'cf.' indicating direct references, and 'see' indicating more remote, less important references.

RE	:	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll a.o., <i>Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
sc.	:	scilicet (that is; namely)
s.v.	:	sub voce (under heading)
TLL	:	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
wn	:	with note

*Numbers:*

34-5	:	34-35
34ff	:	34 and following
134-69	:	134-169
8,34 (...) 89	:	8,34 and 8,89 (mainly in lists of parallels)

*Signs (with words or letters):*

w... w	:	the combination of indicated words that do not immediately follow each other
w - w	:	the entire phrase included between the first word and the last word
( w )	:	in headword of an entry: the word occurs in the next or previous lemma
(...)	:	words in a quotation that have been left out
< ll >	:	words or letters added by editors or translators
[ ll ]	:	words or letters omitted by editors

*MSS:*

F = Laurentianus 68.2

ϕ = Laurentianus 29.2

ς = later manuscripts and early editions

TEXT

## APVLEI FLORIDA

## [I]

<sup>(1)</sup> Vt ferme religiosis uiantium moris est, cum aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in uia oblatu est, uotum postulare, pomum adponere, paulisper adsidere: <sup>(2)</sup>ita mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam ciuitatem, quanquam oppido festine < m >, praefanda uenia et habenda oratio et inhienda properatio est.

<sup>(3)</sup>Neque enim iustius religiosam moram uiatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita aut spelunca frondibus inumbrata aut quercus cornibus onerata aut fagus pellibus coronata, <sup>(4)</sup>uel enim colliculus sepimine consecratus uel truncus dolamine effigiatus uel cespes libamine umigatus uel lapis unguine delibutus. <sup>(5)</sup>Parua haec quippe et quanquam paucis percontantibus adorata, tamen ignorantibus transcurra.

## [II]

<sup>(1)</sup> <...> At non itidem maior meus Socrates, qui cum decorum adulescentem et diutule tacentem conspicatus foret, 'Vt te uideam,' inquit, 'aliquid et loquere.' <sup>(2)</sup>Scilicet Socrates tacentem hominem non uidebat. Etenim arbitrabatur homines non oculorum, sed mentis acie et animi obtutu considerandos. <sup>(3)</sup>Nec ista re cum Plautino milite congruebat, qui ita ait:

'Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem.'

<sup>(4)</sup>Immo enim uero hunc uersum ille ad examinandos homines conuerterat:

'Pluris est auritus testis unus quam oculati decem.'

<sup>(5)</sup>Ceterum si magis pollerent oculorum quam animi iudicia, profecto de sapientia foret aquilae concedendum. <sup>(6)</sup>Homines enim neque longule dissita neque proxume adsita possumus cernere, uerum omnes quo[d]dam modo caecutimus; <sup>(7)</sup>ac si ad oculos et optutum istum terrenum redigas et hebetem, profecto uerissime poeta egregius dixit uelut nebulam nobis ob oculos effusam nec cernere nos nisi intra lapidis iactum ualere.

<sup>(8)</sup>Aquila eniuero cum se nubium tenus altissime sublimauit euecta alis totum istud spatium, qua pluitur et ninguitur, ultra quod cacumen nec fulmini nec fulguri locus est, in ipso, *ut ita dixerim*, solo aetheris et fastigio hiemis <sup>(9)</sup>— cum igitur eo sese aquila extulit, nutu clementi laeuorsum uel dextrorsum tanta mole corporis labitur, uelificatas alas quo libuit aduertens modico caudae gu[r]bernaculo, <sup>(10)</sup>inde cuncta despiciens, ibidem pinnarum *eminens* indefessa remigia; ac paulisper cunctabundo uolatu paene eodem loco pendula circumtuetur et quaerit, quorsus potissimum in praedam superne sese ruat fulminis uicem; <sup>(11)</sup>de caelo inprouisa simul campis pecua simul montibus feras simul homines urbibus uno optutu sub eodem impetu cernens, unde rostro tran<*s*>fodiat, unde unguibus inuncet uel agnum incuriosum uel leporem meticulosum uel quodcunque esui animatum uel laniatui fors obtulit <...>

### [III]

<sup>(1)</sup>Hyagnis fuit, ut fando accepimus, Marsyae tibicinis pater et magister, rudibus adhuc musicae saeculis solus ante alios cantus canere, nondum quidem tamen f<*l*>*exanimò* sono nec tamen pluriformi modo nec tamen multiforati tibia; <sup>(2)</sup>quippe adhuc ars ista repertu nouo commodum oriebatur. Nec quicquam omnium est quod po<*s*> sit in primordio sui perfici, sed in omnibus ferme ante est spei rudimentum quam rei experimentum. <sup>(3)</sup>Prorsus igitur ante Hyagni<*n*> nihil aliud plerique callebant quam Vergilianus upilio seu busequa

‘stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen.’

<sup>(4)</sup>Quod si quis uidebatur paulo largius in arte promouisse, ei quoque tamen mos fuit una tibia uelut una tuba personare. <sup>(5)</sup>Primus Hyagnis in canendo manus discapedinauit, primus duas tibias uno spiritu animauit, primus laeuis et dexteris foraminibus, acuto tinnitu et graui bombo, concentum musicum miscuit.

<sup>(6)</sup>Eo genitus Marsyas cum in artificio patrisaret tibicinii, *Phryx* cetera et barbarus, uultu ferino, trux, hispidus, inlutibarbus, spinis et pilis obsitus fertur — pro nefas! — cum Apolline certauisse, taeter cum decoro, agrestis cum erudito, belua cum deo. <sup>(7)</sup>Musae cum Minerua dissimulamenti gratia iudices adstitere, ad deridendam scilicet monstri illius barbariam nec minus ad stoliditatem poenien-

dam. <sup>(8)</sup>Sed Marsyas, quod stultitiae maximum specimen, non intellegens se deridiculo haberi, priusquam tibias occiperet inflare, prius de se et Apolline quaedam deliramenta barbare effuttiuit, laudans sese, quod erat et coma relicinus et barba squalidus et pectore hirsutus et arte tibicen et fortuna egenus; <sup>(9)</sup>contra Apollinem — ridiculum dictu — aduersis uirtutibus culpabat, quod Apollo esset et coma intonsus *et* genis gratus et corpore glabellus et arte multiscius et fortune opulentus.

<sup>(10)</sup>‘Iam primum,’ inquit, ‘crines eius praemulsis antiis *et* promulsis caproneis anteuentuli et propenduli, corpus totum gratissimum, membra nitida, lingua fatidica, seu tute oratione seu uersibus malis, utrubique facundia aequipari. <sup>(11)</sup>Quid quod et uestis textu tenuis, tactu mollis, purpura radians? Quid quod et lyra eius auro fulgurat, ebore candicat, gemmis uariegat? Quid quod et doctissime et gratissime cantilat? <sup>(12)</sup>Haec omnia,’ inquit, ‘blandimenta nequaquam uirtuti decora, sed luxuriae accommodata’: contra corporis sui qualitatem prae se maximam speciem ostentare.

<sup>(13)</sup>Risere Musae, cum audirent hoc genus crimina sapienti exoptanda Apollini obiectata, et tibicinem illum certamine superatum uelut ursum bipedem corio exsecto nudis et laceris uisceribus reliquerunt. <sup>(14)</sup>Ita Marsyas in poenam cecinit et cecidit. Eniuero Apollinem tam humilis uictoriae puditum est.

### [IV]

<sup>(1)</sup>Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenidas, omnis uoculae melleus modulator et idem omnimodis peritus modificator, seu tu uelles Aeolion simplex siue <*l*>asti<*um*> uarium seu *Ludium* querulum seu *Phrygium* religiosum seu *Dorium* bellicosum. <sup>(2)</sup>Is igitur cum esset in tibicinio adprime nobilis, nihil aequae se laborare et animo angi et mente dicebat, quam quod monumentarii cerulae tibicines dicerentur.

<sup>(3)</sup>Sed ferret aequo animo hanc nominum communionem, si mimos spectauisset: animaduerteteret illic paene simili purpura alios praesidere, alios uapulare; <sup>(4)</sup>itidem si munera nostra spectaret: nam illic quoque uideret hominem praesidere, hominem depugnare; togam quoque parari et uoto et funeri, item pallio cadauera operiri et philosophos amiciri.

## [V]

<sup>(1)</sup>Bono enim studio in theatrum conuenistis, ut qui sciatis non locum auctoritatem orationi derogare, sed cum primis hoc spectandum esse, quid in theatro deprehendas. <sup>(2)</sup>Nam si mimus est, riseris, si funerep[us], timueris, si comoedia est, faueris, si philosophus, didiceris.

## [VI]

<sup>(1)</sup>Indi, gens populosa cultoribus et finibus maxima, procul a nobis ad orientem siti, prope oceani reflexus et solis exortus, primis sideribus, ultimis terris, super Aegyptios eruditos et Iudaeos superstitiosos et Nabathaeos mercatores et fluxos uestium Arsacidas et frugum pauperes Ityraeos et odorem diuites Arabas <sup>(2)</sup>— eorum igitur Indorum non aequae miror eboris strues et piperis messes et cinnami merces et ferri temperacula et argenti metalla et auri fluenta, <sup>(3)</sup>nec quod Ganges apud eos unus omnium amnium maximus

‘Eois regnator aquis in flumina centum  
discurrit, centum ualles illi oraue centum,  
Oceanique fretis centeno iungitur amni,’

<sup>(4)</sup>nec quod isdem Indis ibidem sitis ad nascentem diem tamen in corpore color noctis est, nec quod apud illos immensi dracones cum immanibus elephantis pari periculo in mutuam perniciem concertant: <sup>(5)</sup>quippe lubrico uolumine indepti reuinciunt, et illis expedire gressum nequeuntibus uel omnino abrumpere tenacissimorum serpentium squameas pedicas necesse fit ultionem a ruina molis suae petere ac retentores suos toto corpore oblidere. <sup>(6)</sup>Sunt apud illos et uaria colentium genera — libentius ego de miraculis hominum quam naturae disseruerim —; est apud illos genus, qui nihil amplius quam bubulcitare nouere, ideoque ad[co]gnomen illis ‘bubulcis’ inditum. <sup>(7)</sup>Sunt et mutandis mercibus callidi et obeundis proeliis strenui uel sagittis eminus uel ensibus comminus.

Est praeterea genus apud illos praestabile: gymnosophistae uocantur. <sup>(8)</sup>Hos ego maxime admiror, quod homines sunt periti non propagandae uitae nec inoculandae arboris nec proscindendi soli; non illi norunt aruum colere uel aurum colare uel equum domare uel taurum subigere uel ouem uel capram tondere uel pascere. <sup>(9)</sup>Quid

igitur est? Vnum pro his omnibus norunt: sapientiam percolunt tam magistri senes quam discipuli iuniores. Nec quicquam aequae penes illos laudo, quam quod torporem animi et otium oderunt.

<sup>(10)</sup>Igitur ubi mensa posita, priusquam edulia adponantur, omnes adolescentes ex diuersis locis et officiis ad dapem conueniunt, magistri perrogant quod factum a lucis ortu ad illud diei bonum feceri <n>t. <sup>(11)</sup>Hic alius se commemorat inter duos arbitrum delectum, sanata similitate, reconciliata gratia, purgata suspicione amicos ex infensis reddidisse; <sup>(12)</sup>itidem alius sese parentibus quaequam imperantibus oboedisse, et alius aliquid meditatione sua repperisse uel alterius demonstratione didicisse, <...> denique ceteri commemorant. Qui nihil habet ad[d]ferre cur prandeat, inpransus ad opus foras extruditur.

## [VII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Alexandro illi, longe omnium excellentissimo regi, cui ex rebus actis et auctis cognomentum ‘magno’ inditum est, ne uir unicam gloriam adeptus sine laude unquam nominaretur <sup>(2)</sup>— nam solus <a> condito aeuo, quantum hominum memoria extat, inexuperabili imperio orbis auctus fortuna sua maior fuit successusque eius amplissimo <s> et prouocauit ut strenuus et aequiperauit ut meritis et superauit ut melior; <sup>(3)</sup>solusque sine aemulo clarus, adeo ut nemo eius audeat uirtutem uel sperare, fortunam uel optare, <sup>(4)</sup>— eius igitur Alexandri multa sublimia facinora et praeclara edita fatigaberis admirando uel belli ausa uel domi prouisa, quae omnia adgressus est meus Clemens, eruditissimus et suauissimus poetarum, pulcherrimo carmine inlustrare.

<sup>(5)</sup>Sed cum primis Alexandri illud praeclarum, quod imaginem suam, quo certior posteris proderetur, noluit a multis artificibus uulgo contaminari, <sup>(6)</sup>sed edixit uniuerso orbi suo, ne quis effigiem regis temere adsimularet aere, colore, caelamine; quin saepe solus eam Polycletus aere duceret, solus Apelles coloribus deliniaret, solus Pyrgoteles caelamine excuderet; <sup>(7)</sup>praeter hos tris multo nobilissimos in suis artificiis si quis usquam repperiretur alius sanctissimae imagini regis manus admolitus, haud secus in eum quam in sacrilegum uindicaturum.

<sup>(8)</sup>Eo igitur omnium metu factum, solus Alexander ut ubique imaginum sim<illim>us esset, utique omnibus statuis et tabulis et

torematis idem uigor acerrimi bellatoris, idem ingenium maximi honoris, eadem forma uiridis iuuentae, eadem gratia relicinae frontis cerneretur.

<sup>(9)</sup>Quod utinam pari exemplo philosophiae edictum ualeret, ne qui imaginem eius temere adsimularet, uti pauci boni artifices, idem probe eruditi omnifariam sapientiae studium contemplant, <sup>(10)</sup>ne rudes, sordidi, imperiti pallio tenus philosophos imitentur et disciplinam regalem tam ad bene dicendum quam ad bene uiuendum repertam male dicendo et similiter uiuendo contaminarent. <sup>(11)</sup>Quod utrumque scilicet perfacile est.

Quae enim facilius res quam linguae rabies et uilitas morum, alterum ex aliorum contemptu, alterum ex sui? <sup>(12)</sup>Nam uiliter semet ipsum colere sui contemptus est, barbare alios insectari audientium contumelia est. An non summam contumeliam uobis imponit, qui uos arbitratur maledictis optimi cuiusque gaudere, qui uos existimat mala et uitiosa uerba non intellegere aut, si intellegatis, boni consulere? <sup>(13)</sup>Quis ex rupiconibus, baiolis, tabernariis tam infans est, ut, si pallium accipere uelit, <non> disertius maledicat?

### [VIII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Hic enim plus tibi debet quam dignitati, quanquam nec haec illi sit cum aliis promiscua. Nam ex innumeris hominibus pauci senatores, <sup>(2)</sup>ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere et ex iis consularibus pauci boni et adhuc ex bonis pauci eruditi. Sed ut loquar de solo honore, non licet insignia eius uestitu uel calceatu temere usurpare.

### [IX]

<sup>(1)</sup>Si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coetu ex illis inuisoribus meis malignus sedet, <sup>(2)</sup>quoniam ut in magna ciuitate hoc quoque genus inuenitur, qui meliores obtrectare malint quam imitari et, quorum similitudinem desperent, eorundem adfectent simultatem, scilicet uti, qui suo nomine obscuri sunt, meo innotescant, <sup>(3)</sup>— si qui igitur ex illis liuid[in]is splendidissimo huic auditorio uelut quaedam macula se immiscuit, <sup>(4)</sup>uelim paulisper suos oculos per hunc incredibilem consessum circumferat contemplatusque frequentiam tantam, quanta

ante me in auditorio philosophi nunquam uisitata est, <sup>(5)</sup>reputet cum animo suo, quantum periculum conseruandae existimationis hic adeat qui contemni non consueuit, cum sit arduum et oppido difficile uel modicae paucorum expectationi satisfacere, <sup>(6)</sup>praesertim mihi, cui et ante parta existimatio et uestra de me benigna praesumptio nihil[non] quicquam sinit neglegenter ac de summo pectore hiscere.

<sup>(7)</sup>Quis enim uestrum mihi unum soloecismum ignouerit? Quis uel unam syllabam barbare pronuntiatam donauerit? Quis incondita et uitiosa uerba temere quasi delirantibus oborientia permiserit blaterare? Quae tamen aliis facile et sane meritissimo ignoscitis. <sup>(8)</sup>Meum uero unumquodque dictum acriter examinatis, sedulo pensculatis, ad limam et lineam certam redigitis, cum torno et coturno uero comparatis. Tantum habet u[er]itas excusationis, dignitas difficultatis. <sup>(9)</sup>Adgnosco igitur difficultatem meam nec deprecor, quin sic existimetis. Nec tamen uos parua quaedam et praua similitudo falsos animi habeat, quoniam quaedam, ut saepe dixi, palliata mendicabula obambulant.

<sup>(10)</sup>Praeco procons. et ipse tribunal ascendit, et ipse togatus illic uidetur, et quidem per diu stat aut ambulat aut plerumque contentissime clamitat; <sup>(11)</sup>enim uero proconsul ipse moderata uoce rareret et sedens loquitur et plerumque de tabella legit, <sup>(12)</sup>quippe praeconis uox garrula ministerium est, proconsulis autem tabella sententia est, quae semel lecta neque augeri littera una neque autem minui potest, sed utcumque recitata est, ita prouinciae instrumento refertur.

<sup>(13)</sup>Patior et ipse in meis studiis aliquam pro meo captu similitudinem; nam quodcumque ad uos protuli, excerptum ilico et lectum est, nec reuocare illud nec *autem* mutare nec emendare mihi inde quidquam licet. <sup>(14)</sup>Quo maior religio dicendi habenda est, et quidem non in uno genere studiorum. Plura enim mea extant in Camenis quam Hippiae in opificiis opera. Quid istud sit, si animo attendatis, diligentius et accuratius disputabo.

<sup>(15)</sup>Et Hippias e numero sophistarum est, artium multitudine prior omnibus, eloquentia nulli secundus. Aetas illi cum Socrate, patria Elis; genus ignoratur, gloria uero magna, fortuna modica, sed ingenium nobile, memoria excellens, studia uaria, aemuli multi. <sup>(16)</sup>Venit Hippias iste quondam certamine Olympio Pisam, non minus cultu uisendus quam elaboratu mirandus. <sup>(17)</sup>Omnia secum quae habebat, nihil eorum [m]emerat, sed suis sibi manibus confecerat: et indumenta quibus indutus, et calciamenta quibus erat inductus, et gestamina quibus erat conspicatus. <sup>(18)</sup>Habebat indutui ad corpus

tunicam interulam tenuissimo textu, triplici licio, purpura duplici; ipse eam sibi solus domi texuerat. <sup>(19)</sup>Habebat cinctui balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus uariatum; nec in hac eum opera quisquam adiuuerat. <sup>(20)</sup>Habebat amictui pallium candidum, quod superne circumiecerat; id quoque pallium *co<m>perior[is]* ipsius laborem fuisse. <sup>(21)</sup>Etiam pedum tegumenta crepidas sibimet compegerat; etiam anulum in laeua aureum faberrimo signaculo quem ostentabat, ipse eius anuli et orbiculum circulauerat et palam clauserat et gemmam insculpserat.

<sup>(22)</sup>Nondum omnia eius commemorauit. Enim non pigebit me commemorare, quod illum non puduit ostentare, qui magno in *coe[p]tu* praedicauit, fabricatum semet sibi *ampullam* quoque oleariam, quam gestabat, lenticulari forma, tereti ambitu, pressula rutunditate, <sup>(23)</sup>iuxtaque honestam strigileculam, recta fastigatione *coelaulae*, flexa tubulatione ligulae, ut et ipsa in manu capulo moraretur et sudor ex ea riuulo laberetur. <sup>(24)</sup>Quis autem non laudauit hominem tam numerosa arte multiscium, totiugi scientia magnificum, tot utensilium peritia daedalum?

Quin et ipse Hippiam laudo, sed ingenii eius fecunditatem malo doctrinae quam supellectilis multiformi instrumento aemulari, <sup>(25)</sup>fateorque me sellularias quidem artes minus callere, uestem de textrina emere, baxeas istas de sutrina praestinare, <sup>(26)</sup>enimvero anulum nec gestare, gemmam et aurum iuxta plumbum et lapillos nulli aestimare, strigilem et *ampullam* ceteraque balnei utensilia nundinis mercari. <sup>(27)</sup>Prorsum enim non eo infititias nec radio nec subula nec lima nec torno nec id genus ferramenti *<s>* uti nosse, sed pro his praeoptare me fateor uno chartario calamo me reficere poemata omnigenus apta uirgae, lyrae, socco, coturno, <sup>(28)</sup>item satiras ac *<g>riphos*, item *<h>*istorias uarias rerum nec non *<o>*rationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis <sup>(29)</sup>atque haec *<et>* alia[et] eiusdem modi tam Graece quam Latine, gemino uoto, pari studio, simili stilo.

<sup>(30)</sup>Quae utinam possem equidem non singillatim ac discretim, sed cunctim et concertatim tibi, proconsul, *uir* optime, offerre ac praedicabili testimonio tuo ad omnem nostram Camenam frui! <sup>(31)</sup>Non hercule penuria laudis, quae mihi dudum integra et florens per omnes antecessores tuos ad te reseruata est, sed quoniam nulli me probatiorem uolo, quam que *<m>* ipse ante omnis merito probo. Enim sic

natura comprobatum est, ut eum quem laudes etiam ames, porro quem ames etiam laudari te ab illo uelis.

<sup>(32)</sup>Atque ego me dilectorem tuum profiteor, nulla tibi priuatim, sed omni publicitus gratia obstrictus. Nihil quippe a te impetraui, quia nec postulauit. <sup>(33)</sup>Sed philosophia me docuit non tantum beneficium amare, sed etiam maleficium magisque iudicio impertire quam commodo inseruire et quod in commune expediat malle quam quod mihi. Igitur bonitatis tuae diligunt plerique fructum, ego studium. <sup>(34)</sup>Idque facere adortus sum, dum *mo[do]derationem* tuam in prouincialium negotiis contempler, qua effectius te amare debeant experti propter beneficium, expertes propter exemplum. <sup>(35)</sup>Nam et beneficio multis commodasti et exemplo omnibus profuisti.

Quis enim a te non amet discere, quanam moderatione optineri queat tua ista *grauitas* iucunda, mitis austeritas, placida constantia blandusque uigor[em]. <sup>(36)</sup>Neminem proconsulum, quod sciam, prouincia Africa magis reuerita est, minus uerita: nullo nisi tuo anno ad coercenda peccata plus pudor quam timor ualuit. Nemo te alius pari potestate saepius profuit, rarius terruit, nemo similiorem uirtute filium adduxit.

Igitur nemo Carthagini proconsulum diutius fuit. <sup>(37)</sup>Nam etiam eo tempore quo prouincia *<m>* circumibas, manente nobis Honorino minus sensimus absentiam tuam, quam te magis desideraremus: <sup>(38)</sup>*paterna* in filio aequitas, *senilis* in inuene [auctoritas] prudentia, *consularis* in legato auctoritas; prorsus omnis uirtutes tuas ita *effi<n>*git ac repraesentat, ut medius fidius admirabilior esset in inuene quam in te parta laus, nisi eam tu talem dedisses.

<sup>(39)</sup>Qua utinam perpetuo liceret frui! Quid nobis cum istis proconsulum uici[ci]bus, quid cum annis breuibus et festinantibus mensibus? O *celer<e>*s bonorum hominum dies, o praesidium optimorum citata curricula! Iam te, Seueriane, tota prouincia desideramus. <sup>(40)</sup>Enimvero Honorinum et honos suus ad praetoram uocat et fauor Caesarum ad consulatum format et amor noster inpraesentiarum tenet et spes Carthaginis in futurum spondet, uno solacio freta exempli tui, quod qui legatus mittitur, proconsul ad nos cito reuersurus est.

## [X]

&lt;...&gt;

<sup>(1)</sup>'Sol qui candentem feruido curru atque equis  
flammam citatis feruido ardore explicas'

itemque luminis eius Luna discipula nec non quinque ceterae  
uagantium potestates: <sup>(2)</sup>Iouis benefica, Veneris uoluptifica, pernix  
Mercuri, perniciosa Saturni, Martis ignita.

<sup>(3)</sup>Sunt et aliae mediae deum potestates, quas licet sentire, non  
datur cernere, ut Amoris ceterorumque id genus, quorum forma  
inuitata, uis cognita.

<sup>(4)</sup>Item in terris, utcumque prouidentiae ratio poscebat, alibi  
montium arduos uertices extulit, alibi camporum supinam planitiem  
coaequauit, itemque ubique distinxit amnium fluores, pratorum  
uiores, item dedit uolatus auibus, uolutus serpentibus, cursus feris,  
gressus hominibus.

## [XI]

<sup>(1)</sup>Patitur enim quod qui herediolum sterile[m] et agrum scruposum,  
meres rupinas et senticeta miseri colunt: quoniam nullus in tesquis  
suis fructus est nec ullam illic aliam frugem uident, <sup>(2)</sup>sed

'infelix lolium et steriles dominantur [h]aenae,'

suis frugibus indigent, aliena furatum eunt et uicinorum flores  
decerpunt, scilicet ut eos flores carduis suis misceant.

Ad eundem modum qui suae uirtutis sterilis est <...>

## [XII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Psittacus auis Indiae auis est. Instar illi minimo minus quam  
columbarum, sed color *non* columbarum; non enim lacteus ille uel  
liuidus uel utrumque, subluteus aut sparsus, est, sed color psittaco  
uiridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola ceruice  
distinguitur. <sup>(2)</sup>Enimuero ceruicula eius circulo mineo uelut aurea  
torqui pari fulgoris circumactu cingitur et coronatur.

Rostris prima durtia: cum in petra <m> quampiam concitus  
altissimo uolatu praecipitat, rostro se uelut anchora excipit. <sup>(3)</sup>Sed et  
capitis eadem durtia quae rostri. Cum sermonem nostrum cogitur

aemulari, ferrea clauicula caput tunditur, imperium magistri ut  
persentiscat; haec discenti ferula est.

<sup>(4)</sup>Discit autem pullus usque ad duos aetatis suae annos, dum facile  
os, uti conformetur, dum tenera lingua, uti conuibretur: senex autem  
captus et indocilis est et obliuiosus. <sup>(5)</sup>Verum ad disciplinam humani  
sermonis facilius est psittacus, glande qui uescitur et cuius in pedibus  
ut hominis quini digituli numerantur. <sup>(6)</sup>Non enim omnibus psittacis id  
insigne, sed illud omnibus proprium, quod eis lingua latior quam  
ceteris auibus; eo facilius uerba hominis articulant patientiore plectro  
et palato.

<sup>(7)</sup>Id uero quod dicit, ita similiter nobis canit uel potius eloquitur,  
ut, uocem si audias, hominem putes: nam <coruum> quidem si  
audias, + idem conate non loqui +.

<sup>(8)</sup>Verum enim uero et coruus et psittacus nihil aliud quam quod  
didicerunt pronuntiant. Si conuicia docueris, conuiciabitur diebus ac  
noctibus perstrepens maledictis: hoc illi carmen est, hanc putat  
cantonem. <sup>(9)</sup>Vbi omnia quae didicit maledicta percensuit, denuo  
repetit eandem cantilenam. Si carere conuicio uelis, lingua excidenda  
est aut quam primum in siluas suas remittendus est.

## [XIII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Non enim mihi philosophia id genus orationem largita est, ut natura  
quibusdam auibus breuem et te <m> porarium cantum commodauit:  
hirundinibus matutinum, cicadis meridianum, noctuis serum, ululis  
uesperinum, bubonibus nocturnum, gallis antelucanum. <sup>(2)</sup>Quippe haec  
animalia inter se uario tempore et uario modo occinunt et occipiunt  
carmine, scilicet galli expergifico, bubones gemulo, ululae querulo,  
noctuae intorto, cicadae obstreporo, hirundines perarguto.

<sup>(3)</sup>Sed enim philosophi ratio et oratio tempore iugis est et auditu  
uenerabilis et intellectu utilis et modo omnica.

## [XIV]

<sup>(1)</sup>Haec atque hoc genus alia partim cum audiret a Diogene Crates,  
alia[s] ipse sibimet suggereret, denique in forum exilit, rem  
familiarem abicit uelut onus stercoris magis labori quam usui, dein

coetu facto maximum exclamat: <sup>(2)</sup>‘Crates,’ inquit, ‘Crates, te manumitte[s]!’ Exinde non modo solus, uerum nudus et liber omnium, quoad uixit, beate uixit.

Adeoque eius cupiebatur, ut uirgo nobilis spretis iunioribus ac ditioribus procis ultron<ea> eum sibi optauerit. <sup>(3)</sup>Cumque interscapulum Crates retexisset, quod erat aucto gibbere, peram cum baculo et pallium humi pos[s]uisset eamque suppellectilem sibi esse puellae profiteretur eamque formam quam uiderat <sup>(4)</sup>— proinde sedulo consuleret, ne post querela[m] eam caperet — enimvero Hipparche condicionem accipit. <sup>(5)</sup>Iam dudum sibi prouisum satis et satis consultum respondit, neque ditiosem maritum neque formonsiore<m> uspam gentium posse inuenire; proinde duceret quo liberet.

<sup>(6)</sup>Dux Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco celebri, coram luce clarissima accubuit, coramque uirginem inminuisset paratam pari constantia, ni Zeno procinctu palliastri circumstantis coronae obtutu<m> magistri in secreto defendisset.

## [XV]

<sup>(1)</sup>Samos Icario in mari modica insula est — exaduersum Miletos — ad occidentem eius sita, nec ab ea multo pelagi dispescitur: utrumuis clementer nauigantem dies alter in portu sistit. <sup>(2)</sup>Ager frumento piger, aratro inritus, fecundior oliueto, nec uinitori nec hol<it>ori scalpitur. Ruratio omnis in sarculo et surculo, quorum prouentu magis fructuosa insula est quam frugifera. <sup>(3)</sup>Ceterum et incolis frequens et hospitibus celebrata. Oppidum habet, nequaquam pro gloria, sed quod fuisse amplum semiruta moenium multifariam indicant.

<sup>(4)</sup>Enimvero fanum Iunonis antiquitus famigeratum; id fanum secundo litore, si recte recordor uiam, uiginti haud amplius stadia oppido abest. <sup>(5)</sup>Ibi donarium deae perquam opulentum: plurima auri et argenti ratio in lancibus, speculi<s>, poculis et cuiuscemodi utensilibus. <sup>(6)</sup>Magna etiam uis aeris uario effigiatu, ueterrimo et spectabili opere: uel inde ante aram Bathylli statua a Polycrate tyranno dicata, qua nihil uideor effectius cognouisse; quidam Pythagorae eam falso existimant.

<sup>(7)</sup>Adulescens est uisenda pulchritudine, crinibus <a> fronte parili separatu per malas remulsis; pone autem coma prolixior

interlucentem ceruicem scapularum finibus obumbrat; ceruix suci plena, malae uberes, genae teretes, at medio mento lacullatur, eique prorsus citharoedicus status: <sup>(8)</sup>deam conspiciens, canenti similis, tunicam picturis uariiegatam deorsus ad pedes deiectus ipsos, Graecanico cingulo, chlamyde uelat utrumque brachium ad usque articulos palmarum, cetera decoris [i]striis dependent; <sup>(9)</sup>cithara balteo caelato apta strictim sustinetur; manus eius tenerae, procerulae: laeua distantibus digitis neruos molitur, dextra psallentis gestu pulsabulum citharae admouet, ceu parata percutere, cum uox in cantico interqueiuit; <sup>(10)</sup>quod interim canticum uidetur ore tereti semihiantibus in conatu labellis eliquare.

<sup>(11)</sup>Verum haec quidem statua esto cuiuspian puberum, qui[s] Polycrati tyranno dilectus Anacreonteum amicitiae gratia cantilat. <sup>(12)</sup>Ceterum multum abest Pythagorae philosophi statuam esse: et natu[s] Samius et pulchritudine adprime insignis et psallendi musicaeque omnis multo doctissimus, ac ferme id aeu, quo Polycrates Samum potiebatur, sed haudquaquam philosophus tyranno dilectus est. <sup>(13)</sup>Quippe eo commodum dominari orso profugit ex insula clanculo Pythagoras, patre Mnesarcho nuper amisso, quem comperio inter sellularios artifices gemmis faberrime sculpendis laudem magis quam opem quaesisse. <sup>(14)</sup>Sunt qui Pythagoran aiant eo temporis inter captiuos Cambyse regis Aegyptum cum adueheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroast<r>en, omnis diuini arc[h]ani antistitem, posteaque eum a quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe reciperatum.

<sup>(15)</sup>Verum enimvero celebrior fama optinet sponte eum petisse Aegyptias disciplinas atque ibi a sacerdotibus caerimoniarum incredundas potentias, numerorum admirandas uices, geometriae sollertissimas formulas <didicisse>; <sup>(16)</sup>nec his artibus animi expletum mox Chaldaeos atque inde Bracmanos — hi sapientes uiri sunt, Indiae gens est — eorum ergo Bracmanum gymnosophistas adisse.

<sup>(17)</sup>Chaldaei sideralem scientiam, numinum uagantium statos ambitus, utrorumque uarios effectus in genituris hominum ostendere nec non medendi remedia mortalibus latis pecuniis terra caeloque et mari conquisita. <sup>(18)</sup>Bracmani autem pleraque philosophiae eius contulerunt, quae mentium documenta, quae corporum exercitamenta, quot partes animi, quot uices uitae, quae diis manibus pro merito suo cuique tormenta uel praemia.

<sup>(19)</sup>Quin etiam Pherecydes Syro ex insula oriundus, qui primus uersuum nexu repudiato conscribere ausus est passis uerbis, soluto locutu, libera oratione, eum quoque Pythagoras magistrum coluit et infandi morbi putredine in serpentium scabiem solutum religiose humauit.

<sup>(20)</sup>Fertur et penes Anaximandrum Milesium naturabilia commentatus nec non et Cretensem Epimeniden inclitum fatiloquum et piatorem disciplinae gratia sectatus <sup>(21)</sup>itemque Leodamantem Creop<h>yli discipulum (qui Creop<h>ylius memoratur poetae <H>omeri hospes et aemulator canendi fuisse).

<sup>(22)</sup>Tot ille doctoribus eruditus, tot tamque multiugis calicibus disciplinarum toto orbe haustis, uir praesertim ingenio ingenti ac profecto super captum hominis animi augustior, primus philosophiae nuncupat[i]or et conditor, <sup>(23)</sup>nihil prius discipulos suos docuit quam tacere, primaque apud eum meditatio sapienti futuro linguam omnem coercere uerba <que>, quae 'uolantia' poetae appellant, ea uerba detractis pinnis intra murum candentium dentium premere. <sup>(24)</sup>Prorsus, inquam, hoc erat primum sapientiae rudimentum: meditari condiscere, loquitari dediscere.

<sup>(25)</sup>Non in totum aeuum tamen uocem desuescebant, nec omnes pari tempore elingues magistrum sectabantur, sed grauioribus uiris breui spatio satis uidebatur taciturnitas modificata, loquaciores enim uero ferme in quinquennium uelut exilio uocis punieba<n>tur.

<sup>(26)</sup>Porro noster Plato, nihil ab hac secta uel paululum deuius, pythagorissat in plurimis; aequae et ipse <ut> in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptarer, utrumque meditationibus academicis didici: et, cum dicto opus est, impigre dicere, et, cum tacito opus est, libenter tacere. <sup>(27)</sup>Qua moderatione uideor ab omnibus tuis antecessoribus haud minus oportuni silentii laudem quam tempestiuae uocis testimonium consecutus.

## [XVI]

<sup>(1)</sup>Priusquam uobis occipiam, principes A<fricae> u<iri>, gratias agere ob statuam, quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis et absentia benigne decreuistis, prius uolo causam uobis allegare, cur aliquam multos dies a conspectu auditorii afuerim <sup>(2)</sup>contulerimque me ad Persianas aquas, gratissima prorsus et sanis natabula et aegris

medicabula <sup>(3)</sup>— quippe ita institui omne uitae meae tempus uobis probare, quibus me in perpetuum firmiter dedicaui: nihil tantum, nih<i>l tantulum faciam, quin eius uos et gnaros et iudices habeam — <sup>(4)</sup>quid igitur de repentino ab hoc splendidissimo conspectu uestro distulerim.

<sup>(5)</sup>Exemplum eius rei paulo secus simillimum memorabo, quam inprouisa pericula hominibus subito oboriantur, de Philemone comico. De ingenio eius qui satis nostis, de interitu paucis cognoscite. An etiam de ingenio pauca uultis?

<sup>(6)</sup>Poeta fuit hic Philemon, mediae comoediae scriptor, fabulas cum Menandro in scaenam dictauit certauitque cum eo, fortasse impar, certe aemulus. Namque eum etiam uicit saepenumero — pudet dicere. <sup>(7)</sup>Repperias tamen apud ipsum multos sales, argumenta lepide inflexa, adgnitus lucide explicatos, personas rebus competentes, sententias uitae congruentes, ioca non infra soccum, seria non usque ad coturnum. <sup>(8)</sup>Rarae apud illum corruptelae, [e]tuti errores, concessi amores. <sup>(9)</sup>Nec eo minus et leno periurus et amator feruidus et seruulus callidus et amica illudens et uxor inhiens et mater indulgens et patruus obiurgator et sodalis opitulator et miles proelior, sed et parasiti edaces et parentes tenaces et meret<r>ices procaces.

<sup>(10)</sup>Hisce laudibus diu in arte comoedica nobilis forte recitabat partem fabulae quam recens fecerat cumque iam in tertio actu, quod genus in comoedia fieri amat, iucundiores adfectus moueret, imber repentino coortus, ita ut mihi ad uos uenit usus nuperrime, differri auditorii coetum et auditionis coeptum coegit: <sup>(11)</sup>relicum tamen, uariis postulantibus, sine intermissione deincipiti die perlecturum.

Postridie igitur maximo studio ingens hominum frequentia conuenere. <sup>(12)</sup>Sese quisque exaduersum quam proxime collocat; serus adueniens amicis adnuit; locum sessui impertiunt; extimus quisque excuneati queruntur; <sup>(13)</sup>farto toto theatro ingens stipatio, occipiunt inter se queri; qui non adfuerant percontari ante dicta, qui adfuerant recordari audita, cunctisque iam prioribus gnaris sequentia expectare.

<sup>(14)</sup>Interim dies ire, neque Philemon ad condictum uenire; quidam tarditatem poetae murmurari, plures defendere. Sed ubi diutius aequo sedetur nec Philemon uspiam comparet, missi ex promptioribus qui acci[p]erent, atque eum in suo sibi lectulo mortuum offendunt. <sup>(15)</sup>Commodum ille anima edita obriguerat, iacebatque incumbens toro, similis cogitanti: adhuc manus uolumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro

impressus, sed enim iam animae uacuuus, libri oblitus et auditorii securus.

<sup>(16)</sup>Stetere paulisper qui introierant, perculsi tam inopinatae rei, tam formonsae mortis miraculo. <sup>(17)</sup>Dein regressi ad populum renuntiauere Philemonem poetam, qui expectaretur, qui in theatro fictum argumentum finiret, iam domi ueram fabulam consummasse; enimuero iam dixisse rebus humanis ualere et plaudere, suis uero familiaribus dolere et plangere; <sup>(18)</sup>hesternum illi imbrem lacrimas auspicasse; comoediam eius prius ad funebrem facem quam ad nubtialem uenisse; proin, quoniam poeta optimus personam uitae deposuerit, recta de auditorio eius exequias eundum, legenda eius esse nunc ossa, mox carmina.

<sup>(19)</sup>Haec ego ita facta, ut commemorauit, olim didiceram, sed hodie s<u>m e meo periculo recordatus. Nam, ut meministis profecto, cum impedita esset imbri recitatio, in propinquum diem uobis uolentibus protuli, et quidem Philemonis exemplo paenissime; <sup>(20)</sup>quippe eodem die in palaestra adeo uehementer talum inuerti, ut minimum a[d]fuerim, quin articulum etiam a crure defregerim. Tamen articulus loco concessit exque eo luxu adhuc fluxus est. <sup>(21)</sup>Et iam dum eum ingenti plaga reconcilio, iamiam sudoro adfatim corpore diutule obrigui; <sup>(22)</sup>inde acerbus dolor intestinorum coortus modico ante sedatus est, quam me denique uiolentus exanimaret et Philemonis ritu compelleret ante letum abire quam lectum, potius implere fata quam fanda, consummare potius animam quam historiam.

<sup>(23)</sup>Cum primum igitur apud Persianas aquas leni temperie nec minus utiquam blando fomento gressum reciperam, <sup>(24)</sup>nondum quidem ad innitendum idonee, sed quantum ad uos festinanti satis uideba[n]tur, ueniebam redditum quod pepigeram, cum interim uos mihi beneficio uestro non tantum clauditem dempsistis, uerum etiam pernicitatem addidistis.

<sup>(25)</sup>An non properandum mihi erat, ut pro eo honore uobis multas gratias dicerem, pro quo nullas preces dixeram? Non quin magnitudo Carthaginis mereatur etiam <a> philosopho precem pro honore, sed ut integrum et intemeratum esset uestrum beneficium, si nihil ex gratia eius petitio mea defregisset, id est, ut usque quaque esset gratuitum. <sup>(26)</sup>Neque enim aut leui mercede emit qui precatur, aut par<u>um pretium accipit qui rogatur, adeo ut omnia utensilia emere uelis quam rogare. <sup>(27)</sup>Id ego arbitror praecipue in honore obseruandum; quem qui laboriose exorauerit, sibi debet <u>nam

gratia<m>, quod impe<t>rarit; qui uero sine molestia ambitus adeptus est, duplam gratiam praebentibus debet, et quod non petierit et quod acceperit.

<sup>(28)</sup>Duplam igitur uobis gratiam debeo, immo enimuero multiugam, quam ubique equidem et semper praedicabo. <sup>(29)</sup>Sed nunc inpraesentiarum libro isto ad hunc honorem mihi conscripto, ita ut soleo, publice protestabor: certa est enim ratio, qua debeat philosophus ob decretam sibi publice statuam gratias agere, <sup>(30)</sup>a qua paululum demutabit liber, [e] quem Strabonis Aemiliani excellentissimus honor flagitat — quem librum sperabo me commode posse conscribere; satis eum hodie uobiscum probare — <sup>(31)</sup>est enim tantus in studiis, <ut> praenobilior sit proprio ingenio quam patricio consulatu.

Quibusnam uerbis tibi, Aemiliane Strabo, uir omnium, quot umquam fuerunt aut sunt aut etiam erunt, inter optimos clarissime, inter clarissimos optime, inter utrosque doctissime, <sup>(32)</sup>quibus tandem uerbis pro hoc tuo erga me animo gratias habitum et commemoratum eam, qua digna ratione tam honorificam benignitatem tuam celebrem, qua remuneratione dicendi gloriam tui facti aequiperem, nondum hercle repperio. <sup>(33)</sup>Sed quaeram sedulo et conitar,

‘dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.’

Nam nunc inpraesentiarum — neque enim diffitebor — laetitia facundiae obstreperit et cogitatio uoluptate impeditur; ac mens occupata delectatione mauult inpraesentiarum gaudere quam praedicare.

<sup>(34)</sup>Quid faciam? Cupio gratus uideri, sed prae gaudio nondum mihi uacat grati<a>s agere. Nemo me, nemo ex illis tristioribus uelit in isto uituperare, quod honorem meum non minus mereor quam intellego, quod clarissimi et eruditissimi uiri tanto testimonio exulto. <sup>(35)</sup>Quippe testimonium mihi perhibuit in curia Carthaginensium non minus splendidissima quam benignissima uir consularis; cui etiam notum esse tantummodo summus honor est, is etiam laudator mihi apud principes Africae uiros quodam modo astitit.

<sup>(36)</sup>Nam, ut comperior, nudius tertius libello misso, per quem postulabat locum celebrem statuae meae, cum primis commemorauit inter nos iura amicitiae a commilitio studiorum eisdem magistris honeste inchoata; tunc postea uota omnia mea secundum dignitatis suae gradus recognouit. <sup>(37)</sup>Iam illud primum beneficium, quod condiscipulum se meminit. Ecce et hoc alterum beneficium, quod

tantus diligi se ex pari praedicat. Quin etiam commemorauit et alibi gentium et ciuitatum honores mihi statuarum et alios decretos.

<sup>(38)</sup>Quid addi potest ad hoc praeconium uiri consularis? Immo etiam docuit argumento suscepti sacerdotii summum mihi honorem Carthaginis adesse. Iam hoc praecipuum beneficium ac longe ante ceteros excellens, quod me uobis locupletissimus testis suo etiam suffragio commendat. <sup>(39)</sup>Ad summam pollicitus est se mihi Carthagini de suo statuam positurum, uir, cui omnes prouinciae quadriuges et seiuges currus ubique gentium ponere gratulantur.

Quid igitur superest ad honoris mei tribunal et columnen, ad laudis meae cumulum? Immo enim uero, quid superest? <sup>(40)</sup>Aemilianus Strabo, uir consularis, breui uotis omnium futurus procons., sententiam de honoribus meis in curia Karthaginiensium dixit, omnes eius auctoritatem secuti sunt. Nonne videtur hoc uobis senatus consultum esse?

<sup>(41)</sup>Quid quod et Karthaginienses omnes, qui in illa sanctissima curia aderant, tam libenter decreuerunt locum statuere, ut illos scires iccirco alteram statuam, quantum spero, in sequentem curiam protulisse, <sup>(42)</sup>ut salua ueneratione, salua reuerentia consularis sui, uiderentur factum eius non aemulati sed secuti, id est ut integro die beneficium ad me publicum perueniret.

<sup>(43)</sup>Ceterum meminerant optimi magistratus et beniuolentissimi principes mandatum sibi a uobis quod uolebant. Id ego nescirem ac <non> praedicarem? Ingratus essem. <sup>(44)</sup>Quin etiam uniuerso ordini uestro <pro> amplissimis erga me meritis quantas maximas possum gratias ago atque habeo, qui me in illa curia honestissimis adclamatibus decorauerunt, in qua curia uel nominari tantummodo summus honor est.

<sup>(45)</sup>Igitur, quod difficile factu erat quodque re uera arduum, non existimabatur: gratum esse populo, placere ordini, probari magistratibus et principibus, id — praefascine dixerim — iam quodam modo mihi obtigit. <sup>(46)</sup>Quid igitur superest ad statuam meam honorem, nisi aeris pretium et artificis ministerium? Quae mihi ne in mediocribus quidem ciuitatibus unquam defuere, ne ut Karthagini desint, ubi splendidissimus ordo etiam de rebus maioribus iudicare potius solet quam computare.

<sup>(47)</sup>Sed de hoc tum ego perfectius, cum uos effectius. Quin etiam tibi, nobilitas senatorum, claritudo ciuium, dignitas amicorum, mox ad dedicationem statuam meam libro etiam conscripto plenius gratias

cana <m> eique libro mandabo, <sup>(48)</sup>uti per omnes prouincias eat totoque abhinc orbe totoque abhinc tempore laudes benefacti tui ubique gentium semper annorum repraesentet.

## [XVII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Viderint, quibus mos est oggerere se et otiosis praesidibus, ut inpatientia linguae commendationem ingenii quaerant et adfectata amicitiae uestrae specie gloriantur.

Vtrumque eius a me, Scipio Orfite, longe abest. <sup>(2)</sup>Nam et quantulumcunque ingenium meum iam pridem pro captu suo hominibus notius est, quam ut indigeat nouae commendationis, <sup>(3)</sup>et gratiam tuam tuorumque similium malo quam iacto, magisque sum tantae amicitiae cupitor quam gloriator, quoniam cupere nemo nisi uere [putem] potest, potest autem quiuis falso gloriari.

<sup>(4)</sup>Ad hoc ita semper ab ineunte aeuo bones artes sedulo colui, eamque existimationem morum ac studiorum cum in prouincia nostra tum etiam Romae penes amicos tuos quaesisse me tute ipse locupletissimus testis es, ut non minus uobis amicitia mea capessenda sit quam mihi uestra concupiscenda.

<sup>(5)</sup>Quippe non prompte ueniam impertire rarerentur adeundi adsiduitatem eius requirentis est, summumque argumentum amoris frequentibus delectari, cessantibus obirasci, perseuerantem celebrare, desinentem desiderare, quoniam necesse est <gratam praesentiam> eiusdem esse, cuius angat absentia.

<sup>(6)</sup>Ceterum uox cohibita silentio perpeti non magis usui erit quam nares grauedine oppletae, aures spiritu obseratae, oculi albugine obducti. <sup>(7)</sup>Quid si manus manicis restringantur, quid si pedes pedicis coartentur, iam rector nostri animus aut somno soluatur aut uino mergatur aut morbo sepeliatur? <sup>(8)</sup>Profecto ut gladius usu splendescit, situ robiginat, ita uox in uagina silentii condita diutino torpore hebetatur. Desuetudo omnibus pigritiam, pigritia ueternum parit. Tragoedi adeo ni cottidie proclament, claritudo arteriis obsolescit; igitur identidem boando purgant rauim.

<sup>(9)</sup>Ceterum ipsius uocis hominis exercendi ca<s> labor superuacaneo studio plurifariam superatur, <sup>(10)</sup>si quidem uoce hominis et tuba rudore toruor et lyra concentu uariator et tibia questu delectabilior et fistula susurru iucundior et bucina significatu

longinquior. <sup>(11)</sup>Mitto dicere multorum animalium immeditatos sonores distinctis proprietatibus admirandos, ut est taurorum grauis mugitus, luporum acutus ululatus, elefantorum tristis barritus, equorum hilaris hinnitus <sup>(12)</sup>nec non auium instigati <cl>angores nec non leonum indignati fremores ceteraeque id genus uoces animalium truces ac liquidae, quas infesta rabies uel propitia uoluptas ciant.

<sup>(13)</sup>Pro quibus homini uox diuinitus data angustior quidem, sed maiorem habet utilitatem mentibus quam auribus delectationem. <sup>(14)</sup>Quo magis celebrari debet frequentius usurpata, et quidem non nisi in auditorio, tanto uiro praesidente, in hac excellenti celebritate multorum eruditorum, multorum benignorum. Equidem et si fidibus adprime callerem, non nisi confertos homines consecrarem. <sup>(15)</sup>In solitudine cantilauit

Orpheus in siluis, inter delphinas Arion,  
 quippe, si fides fabulis, Orpheus exilio desolatus, Arion nauigio praecipitatus, ille immanium bestiarum delenitor, hic misericordium beluarum oblectator, ambo miserrimi cantores, quia non sponte ad laudem, sed necessario ad salutem nitebantur. <sup>(16)</sup>Eos ego impensius admirarer, si hominibus potius quam bestiis placuissent. Auibus haec secretaria uti[n]quam magis congrueri<n>t: merulis et lusciniis et oloribus. <sup>(17)</sup>Et merulae in remotis tesquis fringultiunt, luscinae in solitudine Africana canticum adulescentiae garriunt, olores apud auios fluuios carmen senectae meditantur.

<sup>(18)</sup>Enimuero qui pueris et adulescentibus et senibus utile carmen prompturus est, in mediis milibus hominum canat, ita ut hoc meum de uirtutibus Orfiti carmen est, <sup>(19)</sup>serum quidem fortasse, sed serium, nec minus gratum quam utile Carthaginiensium pueris <et> iuuenibus et senibus, <sup>(20)</sup>quos indulgentia sua praecipuus omnium proconsul subleuauit temperatoque desiderio et moderato remedio dedit pueris saturitatem, iuuenibus hilaritatem, senibus securitatem.

<sup>(21)</sup>Metuo quidem, Scipio, quondam laudes tuas attingi, ne me inpraesentiarum refrenes uel tua generosa modestia uel mea ingenua uerecundia. <sup>(22)</sup>Sed nequeo quin ex plurimis quae in te meritissimo admiramur, ex his plurimis quin uel paucissima attingam. Vos ea mecum, ciuues ab eo seruati, recognoscite.

## [XVIII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Tanta multitudo ad audiendum conuenistis, ut potius gratulari Karthagini debeam, quod tam multos eruditionis amicos habet, quam excusare, quod philosophus non recusauerim dissertare. <sup>(2)</sup>Nam et pro amplitudine ciuitatis frequentia collecta et pro magnitudine frequentiae locus delectus est.

<sup>(3)</sup>Praeterea in auditorio hoc genus spectari debet non pauimenti marmoratio nec proscaenii contabulatio nec scaenae columnatio, sed nec culminum eminentia nec lacunarium refulgentia nec sedilium circumferentia, <sup>(4)</sup>nec quod hic alias mimus halucinatur, comoedus sermocinatur, tragoedus uociferatur, funerepus periclitatur, praestigiator furatur, histrio gesticulatur ceterique omnes ludiones ostentant populo quod cuiusque artis est, <sup>(5)</sup>sed istis omnibus supersessis nihil amplius spectari debet quam conuenientium ratio et dicentis oratio.

<sup>(6)</sup>Quapropter, ut poetae solent hic ibidem uarias ciuitates substituere, ut ille tragicus, qui in theatro dici facit:

‘Liber, qui augusta haec loca Cithaeronis colis,’

<sup>(7)</sup>item ille comicus:

‘perparuam partim postulat Plautus loci  
 de uostris magnis atque amoenis moenibus,  
 Athenas quo sin<e> architectis conferat,’

<sup>(8)</sup>non secus et mihi liceat nullam longinquam et transmarinam ciuitatem hic, sed enim ipsius Karthaginis uel curiam uel bybliotheacam substituere. <sup>(9)</sup>Igitur proinde habetote, si curia digna protulero, ut si in ipsa curia me audiatis, si erudita fuerint, ut si in bybliothea legantur.

<sup>(10)</sup>Quo<d> utinam mihi pro multitudine auditorii prolixa oratio suppeteret ac non hic maxime clauderet, ubi me facundissimum cu[m]perem. <sup>(11)</sup>Sed uerum uerbum est profecto, qui aiunt nihil quicquam homini tam prosperum diuinitus datum, quin ei tamen admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, ut etiam in amplissima quaque laetitia subsit quaequam uel parua querimonia coniugatione quadam mellis et fellis: ubi uber, ibi tuber.

<sup>(12)</sup>Id ego cum [in] alias, tum etiam nunc inpraesentiarum usu experior. Nam quanto uideor plura apud uos habere ad commendationem suffragia, tanto sum ad dicendum nimia reuerentia uestri cunctatior, <sup>(13)</sup>et qui penes extrarios saepenumero promptissime disceptaui, idem nunc penes meos haesito ac — mirum dictu — ipsis

inlecebris deterreo et stimulis refrenor et incitamentis cohibeor. <sup>(14)</sup>An non multa mihi apud uos adhortamina suppetunt, quod sum uobis nec lare alienus nec pueritia inuisitatus nec magistris peregrinus nec secta incognitus nec uoce inauditus nec libris inlectus improbatuue? <sup>(15)</sup>Ita mihi et patria in concilio Africae, id est uestro, et pueritia apud uos et magistri uos et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic inchoata est, <sup>(16)</sup>et uox mea utraque lingua iam uestris auribus ante proximum sexennium probe cognita, quin et libri mei non alia ubique laude carius censentur quam quod iudicio uestro comprobantur.

<sup>(17)</sup>Haec tanta ac totiuga inuitamenta communia non minus uos ad audiendum prolectant quam me ad aud[i]endum retardant, faciliusque laudes uestras alibi gentium quam apud uos praedicarim: ita apud <s> uos cuique modestia obnoxia est, apud extrarios autem ueritas libera. <sup>(18)</sup>Semper adeo et ubique uos quippe ut parentis ac primos magistros meos celebros mercedemque uobis rependo, non illam, quam Protagora sophista pepigit nec accepit, sed quam Thales sapiens nec pepigit et accepit. Video, quid postuletis: utramque narrabo.

<sup>(19)</sup>Protagora, qui sophista fuit longe multiscius et cum primis rhetoricae repertoribus perfacundus, Democriti physici ciuis aequaeuus — inde ei suppeditata doctrina est —, <sup>(20)</sup>eum Protagoran aiunt cum suo sibi discipulo Euat <h>lo mercedem nimis uberem condicione temeraria pepigisse, uti sibi tum demum id argenti daret, si primo tirocinio agendi penes iudices uicisset.

<sup>(21)</sup>Igitur Euathlus postquam cuncta illa exorabula iudicantium et decipula aduersantium et artificia dicentium uersutus alioqui <n> et [i] ingeniatus ad astutiam facile perdidicit, <sup>(22)</sup>contentus scire quod concupierat coepit nolle quod pepigerat, sed callide nectendis moris frustrari magistrum diutuleque nec agere uelle nec reddere, <sup>(23)</sup>usque dum Protagoras eum ad iudices prouocauit, expositaque condicione, qua docendum receperat, anceps argumentum ambifariam proposuit: <sup>(24)</sup>'nam siue ego ui[n]cero,' inquit, 'soluere mercedem debebis ut condem[p]natus, seu tu uiceris, nihilo minus reddere debebis ut pactus, quippe qui hanc causam primam penes iudices uiceris. <sup>(25)</sup>Ita, si uincis, in condicionem incidisti: si uinceris, in damnationem.' <sup>(26)</sup>Quid quaeris? Ratio conclusa iudicibus acriter et inuincibiliter uidebatur.

Enimuero Euathlus, utpote tanti ueteratoris perfectissimus discipulus, biceps illud argumentum retorsit. <sup>(27)</sup>Nam 'si ita est,' inquit, 'neutro modo quod petis debeo. Aut enim uinco et iudicio

dimittor, aut uinco et pacto absoluo, ex quo non debeo mercedem, si hanc primam causam fuero penes iudices uictus. Ita me omni modo liberat: si uinco <r>, condicio, si uinco[r], sententia.'

<sup>(28)</sup>Nonne uobis uidentur haec sophistarum argumenta obuersa inuicem uice spinarum, quas uentus conuoluerit, inter se cohaerere, paribus utrimque aculeis, simili penetratione, mutuo uulnere? <sup>(29)</sup>Atque ideo merces Protagorae tam aspera, tam senticosa uersutis et auaris relinquenda est: cui scilicet multo tanta praestat illa altera merces, quam Thales memorant suasisse.

<sup>(30)</sup>Thales Milesius ex septem illis sapientiae memoratis uiris facile praecipuus — enim geometriae penes G <r>aios primus repertor et naturae rerum certissimus explorator et ast <r>orum peritissimus contemplator — maximas res paruus lineis reperit: <sup>(31)</sup>temporum ambitus, uentorum flatus, stellarum meatus, tonitruum sonora miracula, siderum obliqua curricula, solis annua reuerticula, i <ti>dem lunae uel nascentis incrementa uel senescentis dispendia uel deli <n>quentis obstitacula. <sup>(32)</sup>Idem sane iam procliui senectute diuinam rationem de sole commentus est, quam equidem non didici modo, uerum etiam experiundo comprobauit, quoties sol magnitudine sua circulum quem permeat metiatur.

<sup>(33)</sup>Id a se recens inuentum Thales memoratur edocuisse Mandraytum Prien[n]ensem, qui noua et inopinata cognitione impendio delectatus optare iussit, quantam uellet mercedem sibi pro tanto documento rependi. <sup>(34)</sup>'Satis,' inquit 'mihi fuerit mercedis,' Thales sapiens, 'si id quod a me didicisti, cum proferre ad quospiam coeperis, <non> tibi adsciueris, sed eius inuenti me potius quam alium repertorem praedicaris.' <sup>(35)</sup>Pulchra merces prorsum ac tali uiro digna et perpetua; nam et in hodiernum ac dein semper Thali ea merces persoluetur ab omnibus nobis, qui eius caelestia studia uere cognouimus.

<sup>(36)</sup>Hanc ego uobis mercedem, Karthaginienses, ubique gentium dependo pro disciplinis, quas in pueritia sum apud uos adeptus. Ubique enim me uestrae ciuitatis alumnum fero, ubique uos omnimodis laudibus celebros, uestras disciplinas studiosius percolo, uestras opes gloriosius praedico, uestros etiam deos religiosius uenero.

<sup>(37)</sup>Nunc quoque igitur principium mihi apud uestras aures auspicatissimum ab Aesculapio deo capiam, qui arcem nostrae Karthaginis indubitabili numine propitius [s]t[r]egit. <sup>(38)</sup>Eius dei

hymnum Graeco et Latino carmine uobis *ecce <iam>* canam [iam] illi a me dedicatum. Sum enim non ignotus illi sacricola nec recens cultor nec ingratus antistes, ac iam et prorsa et uorsa facundia ueneratus sum, <sup>(39)</sup>ita ut etiam nunc hymnum eius utraque lingua canam, cui dialogum similiter Graecum et Latinum praetexui, in quo sermocinabuntur Safidius Seuerus et Iulius Perseus, <sup>(40)</sup>uiri et inter se mutuo et uobis et utilitatibus publicis merito amicissimi, doctrina et eloquentia et beniuolentia paribus, incertum, modestia quietiores an industria promptiores an honoribus clariores. <sup>(41)</sup>Quibus cum sit summa concordia, tamen haec sola aemulatio et in hoc unum certamen est, uter eorum magis Karthagine *<m>* diligat, atque summis medullitus uiribus contendunt ambo, uincitur neuter.

<sup>(42)</sup>Eorum ego sermonem ratus et uobis auditu gratissimum, mihi compositu congruentem et dedicatu[r] religiosum[mo], in principio libri *facio* quendam ex his, qui mihi Athenis condidicerunt, percontari a Perseo Graece quae ego pridie in templo Aesculapi disseruerim, <sup>(43)</sup>paulatimque illis Seuerum adiungo, cui interim Romanae linguae partes dedi. Nam et Perseus, quamuis et ipse optime possit, tamen hodie uobis atticissabit.

## [XIX]

<sup>(1)</sup>Asclepiades ille, inter praecipuos medicorum, si unum Hippocratem excipias, ceteris princeps, primus etiam uino repperit aegris opitulari, sed dando scilicet in tempore: cuius rei obseruationem probe callebat, ut qui diligentissime animaduertat uenarum pulsus inconditos uel praeclaros.

<sup>(2)</sup>Is igitur cum forte in ciuitatem sese reciperet et rure suo suburbano rediret, aspexit in pomoeriis ciuitatis funus ingens locatum plurimos homines ingenti multitudine, qui exequias uenerant, circumstare, omnis tristissimos et obsoletissimos uestitu. <sup>(3)</sup>Propius accessit ut incognosceret more ingenii quisnam esset, quoniam percontanti nemo responderat, an uero ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte reprehenderet. Certe quidem iacenti homini ac prope deposito fatum attulit.

<sup>(4)</sup>Iam miseri illius membra omnia aromatis perspersa, iam os ipsius unguine odoro dilibutum, iam eum pollinctum, iam paene paratum contemplatus enim, <sup>(5)</sup>diligentissime quibusdam signis animaduersis, etiam atque etiam pertrectauit corpus hominis et inuenit

in illo uitam latentem. <sup>(6)</sup>Confestim exclamauit uiuere hominem: procul igitur faces abigerent, procul ignes amolirentur, rogam demolirentur, cenam feralem a tumulo ad mensam referrent!

<sup>(7)</sup>Murmur interea exortum; partim medico credendum dicere, partim etiam inridere medicinam. Postremo propinquis etiam hominibus inuitis, quodne iam ipsi hereditatem habebant, an quod adhuc illi fidem non habebant, <sup>(8)</sup>aegre tamen ac difficulter Asclepiades impetrauit breuem mortuo dilationem atque ita uisillonum manibus extortum uelut ab inferis postliminio domum rettulit confestimque spiritum recreauit, confestim animam in corporis latibulis delitescentem quibusdam medicamentis prouocauit.

## [XX]

<sup>(1)</sup>Sapientis uiri super mensam celebre dictum est: 'Prima, inquit, creterra ad sitim pertinet, secunda ad hilaritatem, tertia ad uoluptatem, quarta ad insaniam.' <sup>(2)</sup>Verum enimuero Musarum creterra uersa uice quanto crebrior quantoque meracior, tanto propior ad animi sanitatem. <sup>(3)</sup>Prima creterra litteratoris rudimento excitat, secunda grammatici doctrina instr[au]it, tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat.

Hactenus a perlisque potatur. <sup>(4)</sup>Ego et alias cretteras Athenis bibi: poeticae comptam, geometriae limpidam, musicae dulcem, dialecticae austerulam. Iam uero uniuersae philosophiae inexplebilem scilicet *<et>* nectaream. <sup>(5)</sup>Canit enim Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos, Xenophon historias, [Xeno]Crates satiras: <sup>(6)</sup>Apuleius uester haec omnia nouemque Musas pari studio colit, maiore scilicet uoluntate quam facultate, eoque propensius fortasse laudandus est, quod omnibus bonis in rebus conatus in laude, effectus in casu est, <sup>(7)</sup>ita ut contra in maleficiis etiam cogitata scelera, non perfecta adhuc uindicantur, cruenta mente, pura manu. <sup>(8)</sup>Ergo sicut ad poenam sufficit meditari punienda, sic et ad laudem satis est conari praedicanda.

<sup>(9)</sup>Quae autem maior laus aut certior quam Karthagini benedicere, ubi tota ciuitas eruditissimi estis, pene *<s>* quos omnem disciplinam pueri discunt, iuuenes ostentant, senes docent? <sup>(10)</sup>Karthago prouinciae nostrae magistra uenerabilis, Karthago Africae Musa caelestis, Karthago Camena togatorum!

## [XXI]

<sup>(1)</sup>Habet interdum et necessaria festinatio honestas moras, saepe uti malis interpellatam uoluntatem. Quippe et illis, quibus curriculo confecta uia opus est, <sup>(2)</sup>adeo uti praeoptent pendere equo quam carpento sedere, propter molestias sarcinarum et pondera uehicularum et moras orbium et salebras orbitarum <sup>(3)</sup>— adde et lapidum globos et caudicum toros et camporum riuos et collium cliuos — <sup>(4)</sup>hisce igitur moramentis omnibus qui uolunt deuitare ac uectorem sibimet equum deligunt diutinae fortitudinis, uiuacis pernicitatis, id est et ferre ualidum et ire rapidum,

‘qui campos collesque gradu perlabitur uno,’

ut ait Lucilius, <sup>(5)</sup>tamen cum eo equo per uiam concito peruolant, si quem interea conspicantur ex principalibus uiris nobilem hominem, bene consultum, bene cognitum, quanquam oppido festinent, <sup>(6)</sup>tamen honoris eius gratia cohibent cursum, *releuant* gradum, retardant equum et ilico in pedes desiliunt, fruticem, quem uerberando equo gestant, eam uirgam in laeuam manum transferunt, <sup>(7)</sup>itaque expedita dextra adeunt ac salutant et, si diut<*ule*> ille quippiam percontetur, ambulant diutule et fabulantur, denique quantumuis morae in officio libenter insumunt.

## [XXII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Crates ille Diogenis sectator, qui ut lar familiaris apud homines aetatis suae Athenis cultus est <sup>(2)</sup>— nulla domus unquam clausa erat nec erat patris familias tam absconditum secretum, quin eo tempestiue Crates interueniret, litium omnium et iurgiorum inter propinquos disceptator atque arbiter; <sup>(3)</sup>quod Herculem olim *poetae* memorant monstra illa immania hominum ac ferarum uirtute subegisse orbemque terrae purgasse, similiter aduersum iracundiam et inuidiam atque auaritiam atque libidinem ceteraque animi humani monstra et flagitia philosophus iste Hercules fuit: <sup>(4)</sup>eas omnes pestes mentibus exegit, familias purgauit, malitiam perdomuit, seminudus et ipse et claua insignis, etiam Thebis oriundus, unde Herculem fuisse memoria extat <sup>(5)</sup>— igitur, priusquam plane Crates factus, inter proceres Thebanos numeratus est, lectum genus, frequens famulitium, domus amplo ornata uestibulo, ipse bene uestitus, bene praediatus.

<sup>(6)</sup>Post ubi intellegit nullum sibi in re familiari praesidium legatum, quo fretus aetatem agat, omnia fluxa infirmaque esse, quidquid sub caelo diuitiarum est, eas omnes ad bene uiuendum <*ne*> quicquam esse <...>

## [XXIII]

<sup>(1)</sup>Sicuti nauem bonam, fabre factam, bene intrinsecus compactam, extrinsecus eleganter depictam, mobili c<*l*>auo, firmis rudentibus, procerō malo, insigni carchesio, splendentibus uelis, postremo omnibus armamentis idoneis ad usum et honestis ad contemplationem, <sup>(2)</sup>eam nauem si aut gubernator non agat aut tempestas agat, ut facile cum illis egregiis instrumentis aut profunda hauserint aut scopuli comminuerint!

<sup>(3)</sup>Sed et medici cum intrauerint ad aegrum uti uisant, nemo eorum, quod tabulina perpulchra in aedibus cernant et lacunaria auro oblita et gregatim pueros ac iuuenes eximia forma in cubiculo circa lectum stantis, aegrum iubet uti sit animo bono, <sup>(4)</sup>sed ubi iuxtim consedit, manum hominisprehendit, eam pertrectat, uenarum pulsum et momenta captat: si quid illic turbatum atque inconditum offendit, illi renuntiat male morbo haberi. <sup>(5)</sup>Diues ille cibo interdicitur; ea die in sua sibi copiosa domo panem non accipit, cum interea totum eius seruitium hilares sunt atque epulantur, nec in ea re quicquam efficit condicione.

## Notes on the text

The text in this edition is basically that of HELM (Teubner-ed., with *Addenda et corrigenda* (Add.)). The following list refers to all places where a different reading has been chosen. Changes in punctuation, lay-out, and division into paragraphs are not specified; see *Introduction E.1* (2). The subdivision of chapters is that of VALLETTE.

<i>This edition</i>	<i>Helm</i>	<i>This edition</i>	<i>Helm</i>
2,7 effusam	offusam	15,1 utramuis	utramuis
2,11 obtulit <...>	obtulit.	15,2 hol <it> ori scalpitur	holeris cul <tori cul> patur
3,1 cantus	ca[n]tus	15,7 lacullatur	lacullatur <a>
4,1 Ludium	Lydium	16,1 A <fricae> u <iri>	Africae uiri
6,5 et illis... necesse fit	ut illis... necesse sit	16,12 impertiant	impertiant
6,12 <...> denique	<alia> denique	16,18 illi	illi <s>
7,6 quin saepe	quin saepe <scripsit>	16,20 defregerim	defringerem
7,10 philosophos	filosophos	16,30 liber, [e] quem	libro, [e]quem
7,11 alterum... alterum	altera... altera	16,30 probare	parare
7,11 ex sui	ex sui <nata>	16,34 mereor	uereor
8,1 tibi	sibi	16,35 splendidissima	splendidissimum
8,2 ex iis consularibus	ex iis <pauci consulares, ex> consularibus	16,35 benignissima	benignissimum
9,10 procons.	proconsul(is)	16,40 procons.	proconsul
9,13 excerptum	exce[r]ptum	17,1 eius	enim
9,23 coelaulae	cymulae	17,6 spiritu	spurcitie
9,24 laudauit	laudabit	17,17 fringultiunt	<cantilenam pueritiae> fringultiunt
9,30 concertatim	coaceruatim	17,21 refrenes	refrenet
9,30 uir optime	[ut] optime	18,21 alioqui	alioqui <n>
9,31 comprobatum	comparatum	18,27 si uinco <r,condicio	<sententia> si uinco
9,33 maleficium	maleficium <negare>	18,27 si uinco[r], sententia	condicio, si uincor
9,35 queat	queat ...;	18,31 obstitacula	obstacula
9,35 uigor	uigor est	18,33 Mandraytum	Mandrolytum
9,37 quam te	quam <quam> te	18,39 Safidius	Sabidius
10,3 inusitata	inu <i> sitata	19,1 animaduerterat	animaduerteret
11,2 indigent	indigent <es>	19,1 praeclaros	praeuaros
12,2 anchora	anc[h]ora	19,3 ut incognosceret	utin <e> cognosceret
12,7 dicit	<di> dicit	19,3 more ingenii	more ingenii <humani>
12,7 †idem conate	id est crocitare,	19,3 reprehenderet	deprehenderet
13,2 obstreporo	obstrepero	19,4 dilibitum	delibitum
14,2 Crates, te manumitte[s]	Crates! te manumittes	19,4 paratum	<rogum> paratum
14,3 suppellectilem	sup[p]ellectilem	19,6 abigerent	abicerent
14,4 — proinde... caperet—	: proinde... cape- ret;	20,4 comptam	commotam
14,4 querela[m] eam	querelae causam	21,7 diutule ille	diut <ule> ille
14,6 dux	dux <it>	22,6 <ne> quicquam	<nihil> quicquam

## COMMENTARY

## I A SPEECH AS AN ACT OF PIETY

*Like religious travellers, who halt when they come across some sacred spot, I must rest in this saintly city and deliver a speech. A religious stop is, indeed, no less appropriate than at any normal manifestation of worship.*

The first piece of the *Fl.* is a very small fragment from a speech delivered by the speaker shortly after entering a town. The text gives no definite clues about the identity of the town, but we may assume it was Carthage or another important city in North Africa (see below on *ingresso - ciuitatem*). Although the text is short, it seems a purposeful and fitting opening of the collection, both for its lofty subject matter and for its stylistic colour, which may properly be called 'flowery' (on the possible relationship between this term and the title *Florida*; see *Introduction A (2)*).

The first words may have been the opening lines of a speech or *prolatia*; on the latter concept, see *Introduction A (3)*. The fragment breaks off at a suitable point (see last note on 1,5); the original sequel probably developed the contrast of plain religion and impressive sanctity, and the more general contrast of countryside and city.

The piece is dominated by elements that are typical of pagan religion; cf. in general DOWDEN 2000, notably 58-77 (stones and trees), 89-116 (groves). All elements listed by Apuleius show the same syntactical pattern and word order: a noun followed by a participle with an adjunct in the ablative (*ara floribus redimita*). The words seem carefully chosen to impress the audience by their very sound; for example, the first four elements have female endings (*redimita, inumbrata, onerata, coronata*), whereas the second group of four has male endings (*consecratus, effigiatus, umigatus, delibutus*). The resulting homoeoptoton creates a deliberate rhyme, while further complex sound patterns are produced by additional internal correspondence in rhythm, number of syllables, and sound (e.g. *sepimine, dolamine, libamine, unguine*); cf. further STEINMETZ 1982, 194-7<sup>1</sup> and SCOTTI 1988. For some detailed observations on Apuleius' style in the *Florida*<sup>2</sup> see BERNHARD 1927, 386-304 (e.g. 291-2 on the accumulation of *tricola*); further FERRARI 1969 (e.g. 178-87). On *Fl.* 1 as a whole see further HARRISON 2000, 94-5. In general on ancient pilgrimages by pagans, see HUNT 1984.

The fragment seems a conscious celebration of Roman religious customs, and perhaps even of traditional, that is: non-Christian religiosity; for the latter suggestion cf. HUNINK 2000. Apuleius was clearly interested in religious knowledge, as appears from his works; see *Apol.* 55,8 (with note) and below *Fl.* 18, esp. 18,38; further e.g. RIVES 1995, 201.

Meanwhile, the religious element also serves the speaker's more immediate rhetorical aims. The fragment is, basically, a sustained comparison: Apuleius argues that it is his duty to deliver a speech, no less than he would have to call a halt to his journey on

<sup>1</sup> Discussing the succession of eight clauses, STEINMETZ, 196 refers to 'the modern style as employed by Seneca and defended by Aper in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus.' The splitting up of the period into brief *commata* may as such recall Seneca, but on the whole Seneca's style is rather far removed from Apuleius' own ideal.

<sup>2</sup> Apuleius' flowery style has not found favour with all; cf. e.g. FERRARI 1968, 114 'Tutto il capitolo è artisticamente limato fino allo scrupolo, anzi fino alla pedanteria.'

religious grounds when coming across a spot marked by devotional symbols. This, of course, is a great honour for the city where the speech is delivered. Furthermore, the comparison implicitly works the other way around too: the present speech is a sacred task and its speaker a holy man. The images of the speaker and a worshipper are effectively combined and fused in the notion of the 'traveller'.

1,1 **Vt... ita:** the basic nature of the fragment is that of a comparison. See also below on 1,3 *neque enim iustius...* HARRISON 2000, 95n17 compares the similar first lines of Lucian, *Ver.Hist.* and assumes it is a sophistic opening.

**religiosis uiantium:** for other such combinations involving a genitive, cf. *Apol.* 38,1 *antiquos philosophorum*; Tac. *Ann.* 14,8 *obuios seruorum*; 3,61 *supplicibus Amazonum*; see SCOTT 1988, 127. The participle form *uians*, formed from a verb *uio* (not attested as a finite verb in Latin), does not occur before Apuleius; see FERRARI 1968, 144. Cf. *Met.* 10,5 (240,14) *uianti marito* and 6,26 (149,1) *quis... uiantium*. In the latter case it is used as a noun, as here.

**moris est:** 'it is customary'; see OLD s.v. *mos* 3b.

**lucus... locus:** a similar play on these words occurs in the parallel passage *Apol.* 56,5 *nullus locus aut lucus consecratus*. Cf. further Cic. *Prov.* 7 *qui locus aut lucus in Graecia tota tam sanctus fuit...*; and Ter.Maur. 1871 *qui locus ante fuit, lucus ut esse queat*. Similar puns based on paronomasia are particularly frequent in the *Fl.*; see the list in BERNHARD 1927, 300-1. For the central role played by groves in pagan religion, cf. in general DOWDEN 2000, 89-116.

**uotum - adsidere:** three religious observances are referred to here: demanding something, offering some fruit, taking a rest. The order is not entirely logical, *paulisper adsidere* normally coming first. For the speaker's purpose however, it is this third element that matters most, since he too will be 'taking a break.' This may explain its prominent, final position. Alternatively, the sitting posture may be more closely associated with the act of worship; cf. OPEKU 1974, 46-7.

The middle element, *pomum adponere* (for which cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4,54 *poma, ut erant apposita*), is marked by the repeated *po*-sound, with further *p*-alliteration in the surrounding *postulare* and *paulisper* (of which the first syllable was perhaps also pronounced as *po*). For numerous cases of alliteration in the *Florida* see e.g. FERRARI 1969, 139-156.

1,2 **ingresso - ciuitatem:** evidently, the speaker has entered the town only shortly before. By emphasising his entry into a *sanctissima ciuitas*, he not merely compares himself to a pilgrim, but becomes an example of such a person.

What is the identity of the town? The text presents no other clue other than the complimentary epithet *sanctissima*. One might think of Rome (see next note), but the *Fl.* invariably suggest an African context of the fragments; cf. *Introduction A* (2). Therefore, several scholars (e.g. AUGELLO) suggest Carthage, since this city is mentioned and celebrated at several places in the *Florida* (see 9; 16; 17; 18; and 20); in 16,41 the *curia* of Carthage is called *sanctissima*. On the other hand, the speaker says he is in a hurry and he seems to be just passing by, heading for another destination; cf. HIJMANS 1994, 1732n73. This could also suggest some provincial town. Oea seems a possible candidate: in *Apol.* 72 Apuleius tells of a journey to Alexandria, during which he had to stop at Oea.

The religious imagery of *Fl.* 1 might well have found special favour with the *religiosis Oeensibus*; cf. *Apol.* 55,10-11.

**istam:** there is no negative connotation to the word; cf. *Met.* 11,26 (287,25) *sacrosanctam istam ciuitatem* (of Rome). Neutral use of *iste* is, in fact, quite normal in Apuleius; cf. CALLEBAT 1968, 273.

**oppido:** 'utterly', one of Apuleius' favourite, expressive adverbs (cf. on *Apol.* 3,12). For the whole clause cf. *Fl.* 21,5 *quanquam oppido festinent*. The adverb is also used in 9,5 and 15,4. Inevitably, it involves a pun when used in close proximity to the mention of a city (here: *ciuitatem*), as in *Apol.* 62,5 *toto oppido et quidem oppido*.

**festine <m>:** the generally accepted emendation of Oudendorp for *festine* of F $\phi$ , an adverb not attested in Latin before Cassiodorus; cf. TLL s.v. 622,54-9.<sup>1</sup>

**praeafanda - properatio:** the three actions of the traveller are mirrored by three tasks of the speaker, expressed by means of gerundives. *Veniam praeafari* means 'to ask for indulgence'; see OLD s.v. *praefer* 1c. The same expression is used in the famous prologue of the *Met.*: 1,1 (1,13) *praeafamur ueniam*. There is a strong, double rhyme in *habenda-inhibenda* and *oratio-properatio*.

1,3 **neque enim iustius...:** as the comparative *iustius* indicates, the comparison is continued, but in a slightly elliptical way. Only the behaviour of the religious traveller is illustrated, not the analogous conduct of the speaker.

**ara floribus redimita:** the first of eight concrete illustrations of Roman religion; on the syntactical structure and sound pattern, see the introductory note. An altar adorned with flowers is an almost universal religious symbol; in Roman literature cf. e.g. *Ov. Tr.* 3,13,15 *fumida cingatur florentibus ara coronis*; *Stat. Silv.* 3,3,211; and *Sil.* 16,309. In addition, the occurrence of *flores* here may also be related to the title *Florida* (cf. also on 11,2).

**frondibus:** the reading originates in  $\phi$ , where it is written above the original reading *floribus*, also found in F. Since *floribus* occurs four words before, the second *floribus* can hardly be right. In addition, *frondibus* gives a much more natural sense for the covering of a cave. For the Roman religious awe felt for impressive spots in nature, such as woods or caves, cf. *Sen. Ep.* 41,3 (partly quoted by AUGELLO).<sup>2</sup> A famous cave with strong religious dimensions is the *spelunca* of the Sibyl in *Verg. A.* 6,237.

**quercus cornibus onerata:** trees and particularly oaks play an important role in Roman religion; cf. e.g. *Ov. Met.* 8,743-5; *Luc.* 3,434 (a *quercus* in Gaul). Apuleius here refers to the Roman custom of hunters hanging horns and other parts of captured animals on a tree as offerings for a god; cf. *Prop.* 2,19,19-20 *incipiam captare feras et reddere pinu / cornua*; *Ov. Met.* 12,266-7. HILDEBRAND also quotes *Symm. Epist.* 68 *nam ut honori numinum datur cornua sacrare ceruorum...* For other offerings hung on trees, cf. e.g. *Verg. A.* 10,423; *Luc.* 1,136-8.

<sup>1</sup> HIJMANS 1994, 1777 rejects this argument, adding that there are many examples of a word first used by Apuleius and reappearing only centuries later. He does not, however, explain how the adverb would have to be constructed here. Furthermore, *oppido* is regularly combined by Apuleius with a verb or adjective, but there is no other example with an adverb.

<sup>2</sup> Apuleius may also have read Varro's lost work on ancient Roman religion, discussed by Augustine, *Civ.Dei* 6,3. In this work, religious places were given considerable attention (books 6-12).

**pellibus:** editors refer to Stat. *Theb.* 9,194-5, where a captured lion is nailed to a roof or hung in a wood. No 'skins' however, are specified there.

1,4 **uel...:** after four elements introduced by *aut* there now follow four other ones introduced by *uel*. The choice reflects a desire for variation, which is also apparent in the different sound pattern connecting the second group of four combinations (cf. the introductory remarks to *Fl.* 1).

**colliculus seipimine consecratus:** probably a reference to a *bidental*, a spot hit by lightning and then consecrated; cf. Hor. *Ars* 471. Apuleius uses rare words here: the diminutive *colliculus* occurs mainly in obscure technical writers and Christian texts (cf. TLL s.v. 1601,51-67). On Apuleian diminutives in general see ABATE 1978, and for those used in the *Fl.* see the full list in BERNHARD 1927, 294-5; further FERRARI 1968, 117-22. Neither the noun *s(a)epimen* nor the following *dolamen* is attested elsewhere; cf. FERRARI 1968, 114-5. Obviously, Apuleius' search a strong rhythm and rhyme has determined his use of words; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 126, who also adduces e.g. *Met.* 11,9 (272,24-5) *mulieres candido splendentibus amicimine, uario laetantes gestamine, uerno florentes coronamine.*

**truncus dolamine effigiatus:** a *stipes* hewn into shape, and sometimes honoured with flowers; cf. Tib. 1,11-12 *Nam ueneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris / seu uetus in triuio florida sarta lapis.* For *dolamine* see preceding note. *Effigiatus* does not occur before Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 144-5); cf. also *Apol.* 14,3 *imagines uariis artibus effigiatas* and *Met.* 11,11 (275,10); further Min.Fel. 3,1 (quoted below). The finite form *effigient* is used by Apuleius in the poetical fragment *Anechomenos* (Beaujeu p. 169, 8); on that fragment see HARRISON 1992 (and for text and notes COURTNEY 1993, 397-400).

**caespes libamine umigatus:** an altar made of turf (OLD s.v. *caespes* 3b), moistened by libations. Cf. Sen. *Med.* 797-8 *tibi sanguineo caespate sacrum / sollemne damus.* Ff read *fumigatus* ('smoked'), which certainly makes sense in this context of offering; however, the initial *f* was written in another hand and ç write (*h*)*umigatus*, which is accepted by modern editors and the OLD. The verb *umigare* does not occur elsewhere, but in the present context another Apuleian coinage is only to be expected; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 143.

**lapis unguine delibutus:** an anointed stone, a final, more familiar, religious element.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the invective against the 'irreverent' and 'atheist' Aemilianus in *Apol.* 56,6: *negant uidisse se qui fuere unum saltem in finibus eius lapidem unctum aut ramum coronatum* (also quoted by DOWDEN 2000, 64-5); further e.g. Theophr. *Char.* 1,4; Lucian. *Alex.* 30.

In his discussion of the text, PURSER 1910, 145 argues that a quadrisyllabic noun form is needed here in view of the other clauses, and after considering *unguedine* (*Met.* 3,21 (68,7)), he proposes *ungumine*. However, his argument to change the text is not strong, particularly given the minor variations in syllable numbers between successive clauses. The text of the MSS is to be kept.

<sup>1</sup> The custom was considered typical for pagan religion. In the eyes of the Christians, however, it was *idolatria*. This may be seen in Min.Fel. 3,1, where the Christian Octavius criticizes the narrator for remaining silent when a friend of his makes a reverent gesture at the sight of *lapides... effigiatos sane et unctos et coronatos.*

1,5 **parua haec...:** after the impressive period on religious symbols, the speaker seems to insert a relativizing note. As the fragment breaks off, its function is not entirely clear. Most likely, it explains *neque iustius* (1,3): these are fitting but minor acts of piety, performed by only a few devout people and neglected by most, whereas the present act of speaking may certainly not be omitted.

**paucis percontantibus:** note the alliteration of *p*, started already in *parua*. Tacitly, Apuleius ranges himself among this small group of people interested in religion: the very words he pronounces prove that he himself has 'made inquiries' on the subject. The *philosophus Platonicus* Apuleius would by no means ever reckon himself among the *ignorantes*. He gives a well-known picture of his religious outlook in *Apol.* 55,8 (see note there with further references) and shows his learning and erudition throughout his works.

**transcursa:** 'passed by without taking notice'. The word resumes the idea of a religious stop, with which the fragment had started: the ignorant do not care for a *religiosa mora*, but hurry past sacred spots or little wayside shrines. The thought is not fully concluded (see on *parua haec...*), but the fragment makes a fairly coherent whole, and so the cut at this point seems well-chosen.

## II THE EYE OF THE EAGLE

*Socrates measured human beauty with the eye of the mind and soul. Indeed, if the judgement of the eye were the criterion, we would be defeated in wisdom by the eagle. For we humans possess only limited sight, whereas the eagle can spot his victims even from high in the air and surveys all that is on the ground.*

The second piece of the *Florida* is another impressive display of oratory. The greater length of the fragment allows the reader to follow somewhat more closely how Apuleius develops his theme.

After some name-dropping (Socrates), the orator refers to the contrast of sight and hearing, by means of a line from Plautus which he quotes and varies. He then smoothly shifts the contrast to that of perception by sight and by the soul and the mind. This in turn proves to be merely the stepping stone for an elaborate description of the keen-sighted eagle, which takes up no less than two thirds of the fragment. In this passage the speaker can show his rhetorical fireworks and literary skills.

As the first words of the fragment refer to something that has preceded, it cannot have been the actual opening of a speech, but its nature is clearly introductory. The end of the text may be incomplete; for the syntactical problem see below on 2,9-11. The description of the eagle is obviously the speaker's main concern in the fragment and it may well be the cause for the inclusion of the text in the *Florida*.

Taken in isolation, the eagle fragment is, indeed, of considerable stylistic and literary sophistication (for the style, see individual notes below). Notably, we may observe its strongly Homeric and epic echoes. Apuleius not merely refers to Homer (*poeta egregius*, 2,7) but also builds on Homeric images of the eagle, especially his keen sight and predatory nature; cf. particularly Hom. *Il.* 17,674-8: 'glancing warily on every side as an eagle, which, men say, has the keenest sight of all winged things under heaven, of whom,

though he be on high, the swift-footed hare is not unseen as he crouches beneath a leafy bush, but the eagle swoops upon him and forthwith seizes him, and robs him of life.' (tr. A. Murray, with small changes).

One is further reminded of the description of the two eagles sent by Zeus as omen in *Od.* 2, 146-54: the Greek text refers to their high flight, moving of the wings, sharp sight and clutching claws. See also comparisons such as *Il.* 15,690-2; 21,252-3 and *Od.* 19,538-9. Apuleius may even be said to be reworking and illustrating some Homeric epithets of the eagle, like *δέξυτατος δέρκεσθαι, ύψιπέτης, or άγκυλοχέλλης*. Images of eagles are not restricted to Homer, but may also be found in e.g. Aeschylus and Pindar (e.g. *N.* 3,80-2). In Roman literature, cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 11,751-6 and *Sil.* 5,283-4. The majestic flight of the eagle is also described by Apuleius in *Met.* 3,23 (69,5-9) and 6,15 (140,3-7).

A vivid interest in animals is manifest in the *Florida*; cf. e.g. the details on snakes and elephants in *Fl.* 6 or the portrait of the parrot in *Fl.* 12. This reflects not only literary concerns, but also a degree of biological interest. The sharpness of the eagle's sight was a well-known fact that was also recorded in technical works (cf. Arist. *HA* 620a; Plin. *Nat.* 10,191). Although we need not assume Apuleius consulted such technical works for this point of common knowledge, his penchant for the biological sciences appears clearly in the *Apol.* (e.g. 36,3 and 36,5).

In the end, the eagle passage is 'only' an illustration of visual perception, which was suggested to be *inferior* to the insight of the soul such as inspired Socrates. So given the speaker's argument, the eagle passage as a whole may have led up to other, serious ideas, e.g. the intelligence of philosophers. The notion of the physical superiority of animals in respect of their strength or longevity, as against the mental excellence of humans, was a topos in philosophy (cf. e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 10,1,2; *Ben.* 2,29 and see ALFONSI 1970, 33-5). The philosophy in the piece is also evident in its motif of 'perception', which may be called the fundamental theme of epistemology, and in the contrast between what is external (here the senses) and what is essential (wisdom); cf. e.g. *Fl.* 23.

Finally, the piece may also be regarded as a basic rhetorical exercise after the manner of the handbook; HARRISON 2000, 97 refers to the use of formal comparisons as a *progymnasma*. The tone and stylistic bravura, as well as the introductory nature of the theme makes it likely that *Fl.* 2 was originally part of an introductory speech; on *praefationes*, see *Introduction A* (3). According to HARRISON 2000, 96, Apuleius may have presented himself as a Socrates reborn. We cannot be sure of that, but he certainly identified with Socrates, as he did with other philosophers.

Numerous other elements in the text also connect it to the rest of the *Florida*. Socrates is the first, and perhaps the most important, in a long list of Famous Greek Philosophers, such as Hippias (*Fl.* 9), Pythagoras (15), or the Seven Wise Men (18). Here Socrates is mentioned in close connection to Plautus, a combination that brings out Apuleius' pursuit of Romanizing Greek subject matter and archaizing taste, evident throughout his work, and his method of inserting poetical quotations. Finally, the elaboration of an element that is, in fact, only marginally relevant shows the 'pleasure of description' characteristic of the epideictic orator Apuleius. In this no doubt he pleased his audience too.

2,1 <...> at non...: the first extant words are not the opening words of the speech. There is no problem with *at* in initial position; cf. the famous opening words in *Met.* 1,1 (1,1-2): *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio...uarias fabulas conseram*. However, a finite verb is lacking here. Moreover, *non itidem* clearly implies a contrast to something mentioned shortly before. It may have been a brief thought like 'Some people think that sight is a most reliable sense'; cf. also SANDY 1997, 108-9.

**maior meus**: 'my master'. *Maior* is used for one who is 'superior' in power or reputation (OLD s.v. 6). Here it is Socrates' wisdom and learning which earns him this title. A close parallel is *Apol.* 36,3 *maiores meos, Aristotelen dico et Theop<h>rastum et Eudemum et Lyconem ceterosque Platonis minores*. The word can be used for founders of philosophical schools; TLL s.v. *magnus (maiores)* 46,37-43 compares e.g. Cic. *de Orat.* 3,126 and Gel. 19,1,13.

**Socrates**: the first name of a person in the *Florida*. For Apuleius, who was a self-professed *philosophus Platonicus* (cf. *Apol.* 10,6), the name of Socrates must have come easily to his mind. Socrates figures prominently in Apuleius' works, notably in the philosophical discourse *De Deo Socratis* (and probably the lost Greek part of the discourse that preceded it); cf. HUNINK 1995, 302. In the *Fl.* he will reappear in 9,15 as a contemporary of Hippias and in 20,5 as a singer of hymns.

**decorum adulescentem**: the homo-erotic element in Socratic and Platonic philosophy<sup>1</sup> is alluded to without a particular sense of either shame or arrogance; cf. below on 15,11. The handsome boy may have been Charmides; see below on 'ut loquere'.

**diutule**: a diminutive characteristic for Apuleius' taste and style, since it is formed of a word referring to *great* dimensions, here of time. Other examples are *longule* (below, 2,6); *saepicule* (e.g. *Met.* 1,12: 11,4), *altiuscule* (e.g. *Met.* 2,7: 30,19), *ampliusculus* (*Apol.* 75,5), and *plusculum* (e.g. *Met.* 2,17: 39,14). In Apuleius' works, *diutule* occurs only in the *Fl.*, where it is used five times; cf. 16,21; 18,22; and 21,7 (twice). Apuleius' contemporary Gellius also uses *diutule* once (5,10,7), in the context of an anecdote about Euathlus and Protagoras, a tale also told by Apuleius (*Fl.* 18). On diminutives in Apuleius' works see further ABATE 1978.

**conspicatus foret**: the verb *conspicari* has an archaic or formal ring; see examples in OLD. The choice here seems to have been made merely for the sake of variation: the normal *uidere* is used below.

'**ut... loquere**': the words attributed to Socrates are not found in so many words in the works of Plato. The anecdote, however, freely reflects Plato *Charm.* 154-5. There Socrates proposes to have a look at the soul of handsome young Charmides, 'for anyhow, at that age, I am sure he is quite ready to have a discussion' (154 E, transl. W. Lamb).

2,2 **scilicet...:** Socrates' thought is rephrased twice. There is no need to qualify the words *scilicet - uidebat* as a gloss, as NOUGARET 1928, 45 does. The explanations both clarify the idea to the entire audience and enable the speaker to insert a quotation.

<sup>1</sup> In the discussion of the Platonic concept of love in *Apol.* 12, Apuleius explains how the 'heavenly Venus' may make people feel attracted toward beautiful bodies (*si quando decora corpora commendet* 12,4), but refrain lovers from corrupting them. The bodily beauty will only make them recall the heavenly beauty that they once saw among the Gods (12,5).

**animi obtutu:** the noun *obtutus* is normally used only of physical gazing; OLD s.v. compares our place to Cic. *de Orat.* 3,17 and *Tim.* 27 *animus autem oculorum effugit obtutum*. There is a closely parallel expression in *Ascl.* 34 (79,8 M.) *mentis... obtutu*.

2,3 **cum... congruebat:** the connection with *cum* is normally found when *congruo* has the more general sense of 'correspond' (OLD s.v. 2). Here its sense is 'agree' (idem s.v. 4).

**Plautino milite:** cf. *Soc.* 11 *prorsus quod Plautinus miles... gloriatur*, followed by a quotation of Pl. *Mil.* 4. Apuleius likes to form adjectives from famous names; in the same chapter of *Soc.* he refers to a *Homeric Minerua* and a *Vergiliana Iuturna*. On the great influence of Plautus on Apuleius, notably on his choice of idiom, see particularly MATTIACCI 1986, 192-200.

**pluris est...:** the quotation from Plautus given here is Pl. *Truc.* 489 (which continues in 490 as follows: *qui audiunt audita dicunt, qui uident plane sciunt*). The thought that sight is more convincing than hearing is a commonplace;<sup>1</sup> cf. e.g. Hdt. 1,8; Hor. *Ars* 180-1; Sen. *Ep.* 6,5 *quia homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt*.

This is only the first of a number of verse quotations in the *Fl.*: see 3,3; 6,3; 10,1; 11,2; 16,33; 17,15; 18,6; 18,7 (also from Plautus' *Truc.*); and 21,4. Verse inserts are frequent also in the *Apol.* (both of Apuleius himself and of others), and in *Soc.*

2,4 **conuerterat:** the subject is Socrates. Since he lived from 469 to 399 B.C. and Plautus from around 250 B.C. to 184 B.C. it is, of course, impossible that Socrates rewrote a Latin verse of Plautus. What Apuleius suggests is that Socrates' behaviour amounted to a reversal of the thought as expressed by Plautus.

The transposition of *oculatus* and *auritus* brings a slight change of rhythm, but both lines are metrically correct; the verse form is the trochaic catalectic octonarius (or tetrameter), better known as the trochaic septenarius, a common verse form in Plautine dialogues.

2,5 **ceterum:** the standard rendering of the adverbial use is 'for the rest', 'in addition' (OLD s.v. *ceterus* 5); however, the word here seems to introduce a further explanation and so have a causal sense; see HELM 1957, 136 (with further examples from *Fl.* and *Apol.*).

**si magis pollerent:** a clearly unreal proposition. It enables the speaker to touch upon the picture of the eagle, which he will elaborate from 2,8 onward.

**de sapientia:** for *concedere* in this sense with *de*, cf. Cic. *Att.* 12,47,2 *de cupiditate nemini concedam*; Tac. *Hist.* 3,64.

2,6 **longule dissita:** for the diminutive *longule* cf. above on 2,1 *diutule*. The combination with *dissita* is also used in *Met.* 9,15 (214,19) (*auribus grandissimis praeditus*) *cuncta longule etiam dissita (facillime sentiebam)*.

Both *dissitus* and the following *adsitus* seem to be Apuleian neologisms after the model of *positus*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 133-4; further FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 149-50. The homoeoteleuton is obviously an intended effect.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For both thought and idiom, we may also compare Pl. *As.* 202 *semper oculatae manus sunt nostrae, credunt quod uident*; further examples of 'seeing is believing' can be found in OTTO 1890, 251.

<sup>2</sup> The contrast between *dissita* and *adsita* here is, in fact, strained: it is surely true that we cannot see objects at a great distance, but a human incapacity to see 'things very near us' is less obvious.

**quodam modo caecutimus:** the verb *caecutio* 'to be blind' (formed from *caecus* like *balbutio* from *balbus*), is used before Apuleius only by Varro (*Men.* 30 and 193) and after him mainly by Christian authors; cf. TLL s.v. 47,48-80. Here its strong sense seems rather exaggerated. Hence it is softened by the preceding *quodam modo*.

2,7 **optutum... terrenum... et hebetem:** in F, the spelling of words such as *obtutus*, *nuptiae*, and *uerto* varies. The present edition makes no attempt to normalise spelling variants that are attested outside Apuleius; see *Introduction E.1 (1)* and cf. note on *Apol.* 3,12. This case may seem radical, since *obtutu* was spelled with *b* only a few lines above (2,2).

The view of man is called 'earthly', as a literal contrast to the eagle's view from high in the air. In addition, *terrenus* strikes a more philosophical note, in suggesting a contrast with a 'celestial' or spiritual preception; cf. OLD s.v. 5. The combination of *hebes* with *obtutus* is used in a similar context in *Soc.* 4 (128) *pars eorum tantummodo obtutu hebeti uisuntur, ut sidera*. For the topos of limited human sight, cf. e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 89,2.

**redigas:** 'relate (it) to'; the object of the verb is not expressed in this sentence. It may be supplied from *cernere* in the preceding sentence.

**poeta egregius:** the poet *par excellence*, Homer, who in *Apol.* 7,4 and 32,5 was called *poeta praecipuus*. In the *Fl.* Homer is mentioned by name only in 15,21.

**uelut nebulam...:** a reference to the well-known verses Hom. *Il.* 3,10-12: 'even as when the South Wind sheds a mist over the peaks of a mountain, a mist that the shepherd does not love, but that to the robber is better than night, and a man can see only so far as he casts a stone' (tr. A. Murray, with small changes).<sup>1</sup>

Apuleius gives a specific twist to these lines. Homer compares the dust under the feet of the Trojans to a fog in the mountains spread by Notos, which reduces the sight to a stone's throw. In the present place the comparative element is absent and the statement has a general, epistemological value. On other occasions too, Apuleius' quoting or paraphrasing of other texts is imprecise or even deliberately one-sided; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 26,5 (with note).

**effusam:** this is the reading of F $\phi$ . All modern editors follow Oudendorp and read *effusam*. It certainly makes the text run more smoothly, and one might also point to the resulting strong assonance of three words starting with *o-*. But the MSS reading is not impossible, *effundere* being a more common word with a broader range of meanings, which can perfectly render the Homeric *κατέχευεν* (*Il.* 3,10). The element of impeding sight, which would be implied in the prefix *off-*, is already expressed in *ob oculos*.

**intra lapidis iactum:** a brief paraphrase of Hom. *Il.* 3,12. For the expression of an amount of space, cf. Verg. *A.* 11,608 *intra iactum teli*.

2,8 **aquila eniuero...:** the eagle, already mentioned in 2,5, now becomes the centre of the speaker's interest. What follows is an extended and majestic description of the eagle's flight and keen sight. For the literary and other backgrounds of the picture, see the introductory note.

The syntax of the whole description is intricate, particularly in the light of normal Apuleian practice, and the division into clauses is not beyond doubt. I have printed

<sup>1</sup> OPEKU 1974, 61 also quotes Verg. *A.* 2,604-6 with the comment by Servius, who mentions the eagle in this context: *dicitur enim nebula orta de tenebris obesse nostris obtuibus, unde aquila, quia supra nebulam est, plus uidet*.

semicolons after 2,10 *remigia* and 2,10 *uicem*, thereby analysing the passage into three main parts. The main verbs of the first two parts are, respectively, *labitur* and *circumtuetur ac quaerit*; for the third part see below on 2,11 *de caelo*...

The long first part until 2,10 *remigia* may be analysed as follows: the subject *aquila*, put emphatically in first position, governs the finite verb *labitur*, which comes rather late and is followed by a threefold participle construction (*aduertens; despiciens; eminens*). Between subject and verb comes a temporal clause (*cum se... sublimauit*) including a participle construction (*euecta spatium*) that leads to an elaborate indication of the space where the eagle flies; the sentence threatens to end up in an anacoluthon, but then the temporal clause is resumed (*cum... sese aquila extulit*).

**se... sublimauit**: an unusual way to refer to a bird's upward movement. *Sublimare* is normally used transitively: 'to raise', but cf. the medio-passive use with reference to birds in *Soc.* 8 (139) *nulla earum ultra Olympi uerticem sublimatur*. For the adjective *sublimis* in a similar context of an eagle's flight; cf. *Met.* 3,23 (69,5-7) *at mihi scelus istud depellant caelites, inquam, ut ego, quamuis ipsius aquilae sublimis uolatibus toto caelo peruius...*

**euecta... spatium**: 'having passed beyond the space' cf. OLD s.v. *euehor* 2b for this medio-passive use with the accusative.

**totum - ninguitur**: the aether. The description of the bird's territory owes something to the Homeric picture of the serene Olympus in *Od.* 6,42-6, and particularly to its parallel in Lucretius 3,19-22 on the tranquil abode of the gods: *quas neque concutiant uenti nec nubila nimbis / aspergunt neque nix acri concreta pruina / cana cadens uiolat semperque innubilis aether / integit et large diffuso lumine ridet*.

The impersonal passive forms *pluitur* and *ninguitur* occur only here, and may have an innovation by Apuleius. Normally, both verbs are used in the active forms with impersonal sense. For Apuleius' use of the impersonal passive cf. GCA 1977,22 on *Met.* 4,1 (74,10) and GCA 2001 on 4,33 (101,7-8).

**nec fulmini nec fulguri**: the two phenomena are related but different, with *fulmen* specifically denoting lightning that strikes; cf. *Sen. Nat.* 2,16,1 *Quid ergo inter fulgurationem et fulmen interest? Dicam. Fulguratio est late ignis explicitus, fulmen est coactus ignis et in impetum iactus*; further *Lucr.* 6,160-218 (*fulgur*) and 219-422 (*fulmen*). Here the juxtaposition is also made for the sake of the sound effects.

**ut ita dixerim**: this remark introduces two hyperbolic, dignified combinations: 'the floor of the aether' and 'the top of the storm'. Both expressions fairly exactly describe the highest point that an eagle could reach: the border between the *aer* and the pure *aether*.

2,9 **cum igitur...**: the conjunction of the two hyperboles (see previous note) almost makes the sentence end in an anacoluthon. However, with *cum igitur*, the speaker resumes his initial construction.

**sese... extulit**: the reflexive verb echoes 2,8 *se... sublimauit*.

**laeuorsum uel dextrorsum**: the former is a neologism modelled upon the latter, for which cf. e.g. *Pl. Cur.* 70 and *Hor. S.* 2,3,50 *ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit*. Apuleius uses *laeuorsum* also in *Met.* 1,21 (19,7).

**uelificatas alas**: 'its sail-like wings'. The poetical image of the bird moving through the air like a ship at sea,<sup>1</sup> prepared by *labitur*, is now fully developed. This example of transitive *uelifico* is classified by OLD s.v. under 3b 'to direct the course of'. However, as often in his works, Apuleius seems to be re-etymologizing the word, interpreting it according to its roots as 'to make as a sail'; for other cases cf. e.g. *Met.* 9,5 (206,14) *insinuatis manibus* (with further references); for the *compositum* with *ueli-* see LINDNER 1996, 200. The governing verb *aduerto* is often used in relation to ships; cf. OLD s.v. 1b (and 2).

**caudae gubernaculo**: 'with the steering-oar of its tail'. Again, the eagle is pictured as a ship. The inspiration of this exquisite, unparalleled expression (cf. TLL s.v. *gubernaculum* 2342,79-80) appears to be the more common poetical image of 'wings as oars', for which see next note.

2,10 **pinnarum... remigia**: the nautic imagery reaches its climax: the wings are compared to oars. The image has a long literary history, originating in the imagery on the vultures in *Aesch. Ag.* 52 *περυγῶν ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι*, which was followed by i.a. *Eur. I.T.* 289. Perhaps most famously, the image was taken over by Vergil in *A.* 1, 300-1 *uolat ille per aera magnum / remigio alarum* (on Mercury) and 6,19 (on Daedalus); cf. also e.g. *Ov. Met.* 5,558. Apuleius certainly knew his Vergil but he seems to have modelled his expression rather on *Lucr.* 6,743 *remigi oblatae pennarum uela remittunt*. Lucretius too uses the image in relation to birds, that in his case are falling down on the ground. The presence of the 'sailing' element (cf. *uela* with Apuleian *uelificatas alas*) confirms the intertextual link.

The present passage has a close parallel in Apuleius' works in *Soc.* 8 (140) on birds: *ceterum cum illis fessa sunt remigia pinnarum, terra ceu portus est*. Cf. further the eagle passage in *Met.* 6,15 *remigium dextra laeuoque porrigens*; and cf. *Met.* 5,25 (of Eros) *remigio plumae*.

**eminens**: Fφ have *eminus* here, which would leave *pinnarum... remigia* without a governing verb. *Eminens* is the excellent suggestion by HELM, who compares a similar transitive use of the verb in *Met.* 2,21 (42,12-3) *infimis conclusis digitis ceteros eminens*. This reading is now generally preferred to earlier suggestions.

**ac paulisper...**: the beginning of a second main sentence; cf. analysis above on 2,8. The construction is simpler than in the surrounding sentences; *cunctabundo uolatu* and *pendula* may be said to replace participle constructions. After the broad and free movements in the higher regions, as suggested in the preceding sentence, the eagle now comes almost to a standstill. It is quietly hanging in the air, keenly looking for a prey.

**fulminis uicem**: 'like lightning'. An image suggestive of divine majesty,<sup>2</sup> extreme danger and swiftness. The last element sharply contrasts the balance and calm that

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, *Quint.* 8,6,18 discourages the orator to use imagery like *per aera nare* (compare *Verg. G.* 4,58-60) for the movement of birds. Apuleius, of course, would not have considered himself obliged in any way to conform to the 'classicist' rules given by Quintilian. In addition, it must be observed that the *Fl.* do not belong to the forensic type of oratory Quintilian had in mind.

<sup>2</sup> The eagle is the bird of Jupiter; in Apuleius' works, cf. *Met.* 3,23 (69,7) *supremi Iouis certus nuntius*.

dominate in 2,9-10. For *uicem* instead of the more common *uice*, cf. GCA 1985, 276 and OLD s.v. *uicis* 9a.

**sese ruat**: the reflexive use of *ruo* ('to charge upon') is comparatively rare; cf. OLD s.v. 5. Here it may have been influenced by the earlier reflexive verbs *se... sublimauit* (2,8) and *sese... extulit* (2,11).

2,11 **de caelo...**: the third part of the period according to the analysis given above on 2,8. The syntax is complex, as in the first part, and there is no agreement among scholars whether or not the text is complete.

The main difficulty is that a finite verb seems to be lacking. HELM argues we should supply either *conspicit* after *optutu*, or assume some verb has been lost after the concluding word *obtulit*. HELM's first option would produce a logical structure: *conspicit* governing the three objects *pecua*, *feras*, and *homines*, and the indirect questions with *unde...* being dependent on *cernens*. On the other hand, this solution involves a strong change of the text, and no further paleographical explanation can be given for the omission, except, perhaps, that the scribe simply got confused by the complex syntax and inadvertently missed a verb.

For the second option, HELM offers no examples. One might think of a phrase that would finish the eagle's natural movement downwards, like *in terram deuolat* or *subito delabitur*. In that case, the indirect questions with *unde...* would be loosely constructed either with *impetu* or, as HELM's German translation seems to take it, 'apo koinou' with *cernens*. This does not seem implausible, but one wonders then why the text was broken off at this point. VALLETTE rather freely renders the indirect questions as if they were dependent on an adjective: 'prêt à bercer...' (cf. also AUGELLO), but he does not explain what exactly he thinks is missing. HARRISON 2000, 97 argues that the fragment is syntactically complete, but he does not explain the indirect questions with *unde...* either.<sup>1</sup>

We may take into account that Apuleius is reworking Homeric models here (cf. introductory notes to *Fl.* 2). Given our uncertainty about the syntax of Homeric comparisons, it would not seem impossible that Apuleius wished to imitate this irregularity too. In that case, he may deliberately have *avoided* a fully transparent and correct syntactic structure. The very image itself, with its accent on floating and slow movements, could be seen to support this.<sup>2</sup> In the end, however, it seems difficult to accept such an 'experimental' tendency in a text by Apuleius. A clear solution seems impossible here; I have chosen the least drastic option and follow VALLETTE and AUGELLO in printing <...> at the end of the sentence.

<sup>1</sup> The only way to account for the text would be to make the indirect questions with *unde...* dependent upon *quaerit* (2,10), just as the earlier question *quorsus...*. The entire participle construction *de caelo - cernens* would then be subordinate to either *ruat* or *quaerit*, which seems not impossible but produces rather harsh syntax.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the intricate sentence in *Met.* 4,35 (102,22-103-5) where Psyche is carried through the air by Zephyrus and laid down in a beautiful valley. No verb seems to be missing there, but the structure is not immediately clear, due to a great number of participles and clauses. These are not clearly marked off from each other and so create the impression of a smooth fusion of elements, probably reflecting the weak state of mind of Psyche.

**de caelo - cernens**: a long participle construction, with the participle coming only at the end. The word order effectively brings out that the eagle is overlooking everything with a bird's eye view.

**improuisa**: the normal sense would be: 'occurring without warning, unexpected', but in this context of vision the primary sense must be 'not seen by others'.

**homines urbibus**: as the animals are observed by the eagle in their natural habitat, so men are seen in cities. Since Apuleius is probably delivering this speech in a town, it suits him best to omit references to farmers living in the countryside or slaves labouring in the fields.

**optutu**: a key-word in the passage on the eagle's sight. For the spelling, cf. above on 2,7.

**unde...**: it is unclear on what word or element the following indirect questions depend. See discussion above on *de caelo...*

**transfodiat**: 'to pierce'. The verb denotes brutal action, usually performed with a weapon; cf. OLD s.v. 2. In the closing lines of the fragment, the main accent is no longer on the eagle's sharp sight, but on his properties as a fierce bird of prey. The verbs *transfodiat* and *inuncet* govern the threefold object *uel agnum - obtulit*.

**inguibus inuncet**: a special juncture for which no parallel can be adduced; cf. TLL s.v. *inunco* 245,73-5. No doubt, the sound effect was an important factor for the speaker's choice.

**incuriosum... meticulosum**: both animals are given common properties, the lamb being 'unsuspecting' and the hare 'timorous.' The second word is comparatively rare and is usually spelled *metuculosus* (cf. OLD s.v.).

**quodcunque - obtulit**: a third possible object of the bird's beak and claws. After two specific animals, this object is left indefinite as 'any living being offered by Fortune', which could even refer to human beings, who were mentioned among what the eagle sees from above. This underscores the menacing aspect of the eagle (cf. above on *transfodiat*). The final sentence probably lacks a finite verb; see above on 2,11 *de caelo...*

Apuleius decorates the clause with two rare dative forms *esui* 'to eat' and *laniatui* 'to tear', used predicatively to indicate a purpose. For the former, see examples from agricultural and technical writers in OLD s.v. *esus*, for the latter V.Max. 9,2,ext.11 *donec... laniatui sint animalibus*.

### III MARSYAS AND APOLLO

*Hyagnis, the father of Marsyas, was the first real musician and certainly the first to use a double pipe. His son followed him in this art. Although Marsyas was a rude barbarian, he dared to challenge Apollo for a contest. The Muses and Minerva came to have a laugh at him. Marsyas, however, in his foolishness praised his own rough looks and talents and criticized Apollo for his fine hair, body, and clothes. His words made the Muses laugh indeed. Marsyas lost. He was flayed alive and left for dead.*

The fragment about Marsyas who foolishly challenged Apollo seems a complete anecdote. Nothing is openly missing at either the beginning or the end. Its structure is relatively

simple, the first part (3,1-5) dealing with Hyagnis' musical talents, which are mostly praised, and the somewhat larger second part (3,6-14) focusing on the contest between Marsyas and Apollo.

The Hyagnis section is embellished by refined language and a quote from Vergil. In the Marsyas tale, the speaker underscores the extreme contrasts between the rude man and the elegant god, and he drives home his point by having Marsyas deliver a short speech that illustrates his stupidity. This inserted speech shows the delicate linguistic taste of Apuleius, rather than the barbaric qualities attributed to Marsyas.

The speaker is manifestly intent on telling a good story. Mythology serves him just as well as history, science, or philosophy, which are the fields of interest in most of the other fragments. No specific mention is made of the fictional character of the tale and its protagonists.<sup>1</sup> The material of the story is traditional. The invention of the double *aulos* is attributed to Hyagnis, as in Ps.Plut. *De Musica* 5 (and earlier in e.g. Dioscorides *AP* 9,340). In other traditions, this was an accomplishment of Athena (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1341b1-8; Apollod. 1,4,2 and Hyg. *Fab.* 165) or Marsyas (e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 7,204). The contest of Marsyas and Apollo, commonly located in Celaenae in Phrygia, was very famous; cf. notably Ov. *Met.* 6,382-400, a version which Apuleius seems to imitate and emulate here (see below on 3,13-14). The tale is also told by Hyg. *Fab.* 165 and 191 and often alluded to; e.g. Liv. 38,13,6 and Juv. 9,2. In Roman visual art too, the contest of Marsyas and Apollo was given considerable interest; see RAWSON 1987; for full material see LIMC 6,1,366-78. It also enjoyed a rich afterlife in Renaissance art; see WYSS 1996 and MARANO 1998. For the background and significance and the various versions of the myths about Hyagnis and Marsyas in the context of the history of ancient music, cf. LANDELS 1999, 153-8.

Apart from linguistic and rhetorical concerns, the fragment brings out other dominant motifs in the *Florida*, notably that of music<sup>2</sup> (also in 4; 15 and 20,4), and of inventions and culture (cf. 9). There is a moralistic undertone in the tale: the arrogant and foolish man is cruelly punished in the end. Several other fragments show such moralizing tendencies (e.g. 7 and 23). In the background, the refined speaker Apuleius (cf. *Apol.* 4) may be engaging in polemics against ignorant opponents or rivals speaker. This is clearer in e.g. *Fl.* 7; 11; and 12. Here, several traits of Apollo could apply to Apuleius himself and as HARRISON 2000, 99 suggests, the speaker may even have continued to compare himself more explicitly to the god, as he compares himself to e.g. Hippias (9), Pythagoras (15) or Philemon (16). This is bound to have remained within limits: those other instances concern famous human beings, not gods. In fact, the foolishness and danger of equating oneself to gods is precisely the point of the present text. Apuleius clearly identifies with Apollo; see below on 3,10.

<sup>1</sup> DE' CONNO 1959, 67 and 72-3 gives a rather sombre reading of *Fl.* 3, detecting a 'religious crisis' behind the tale and a general sense of devaluation of myths. However, this reads too much into the text. By contrast, the *Florida* clearly show Apuleius as a proud representant of pagan religiosity; cf. e.g. *Fl.* 1 and 18,37.

<sup>2</sup> Apuleius' interest in music is obvious. Some places from his works have been collected without further analysis in AVALLONE 1993.

The wider context of the present fragment is impossible to establish. It may have been part of either a *praefatio*<sup>1</sup> or a regular speech, in which it might have been inserted as an instructive or amusing anecdote; for the latter suggestion, cf. the anecdote about Sophocles in *Apol.* 37. In the present collection, the Greek mythology of *Fl.* 3 follows the 'Homeric' image of the eagle in *Fl.* 2 in a fairly natural way.

3,1 **Hyagnis:** the anecdote starts *in medias res* by mentioning the name of a main character or place. This may be called common practice in Apuleius' rhetorical works. In the *Fl.* see 6,1 *Indi*; 7,1 *Alexandro illi*; 12,1 *psittacus*; 15,1 *Samos*; 19,1 *Asclepiades ille*; 22,1 *Crates ille*. Cf. further e.g. *Apol.* 37,1 *Sophocles poeta*; 39,1 *Q. Ennius*; 49,1 *Plato philosophus*; 86,1 *Athenienses*; *Soc.* 1 (115) *Plato*.

On the relatively little-known character Hyagnis, who is sometimes also credited with the invention of the Phrygian *harmonia*, see RE 8,2624. Curiously, Hyagnis seems to have been thought of as a historical person living in early Athens. On the contest of Marsyas and Apollo, ample material has been collected in RE s.v. *Marsyas*, 14,1990-2 (1986-95 on Marsyas in general). Both names were misspelled in Fϕ, as *hi agnis* and *marsie* respectively. Corrections were made in ζ.

**fando accepimus:** expressions such as *fando audire* 'to learn of by hearsay' are common; see OLD s.v. *for* 1b. The combination with *accipere* was also used by Pl. *Am.* 588 (*quae...*) *neque fando umquam accipit quisquam*.

**rudibus - saeculis:** Hyagnis is presented as a pioneer in the field of music, which at his time was not yet cultivated. This means that the praise for his accomplishment is qualified.

**solus ante alios:** the phrase is only slightly redundant. Hyagnis was 'the only one' who used to play songs, and he did so in time 'before all others' (OLD s.v. *ante* 7b). There is no Latin parallel for the *solus* followed by the infinitive, but the verb may be taken as a historical infinitive as in Sal. *Jug.* 6,1 *leonem... primus... ferire*.

**cantus canere:** the text of the MSS is sound. For the first word HELM prints Colvius' conjecture *catus* ('clever'), constructed with an infinitive as in Hor. *Carm.* 3,12,10 *catus... iaculari*. This, however, is not necessary. At first sight, *cantus canere* seems to refer to 'singing songs', but in the light of what is to come, 'playing songs' is more suitable; cf. below on 3,5 in *canendo*.

**nondum - tibia:** the relatively primitive state of musical knowledge at the time of Hyagnis is expressed by means of an artful *tricolon*, with each part consisting of a long and rare adjective followed by a noun. The first two refer to general qualities of music: sounds were not yet very persuasive and rhythm or melody not yet diverse. The expressive *flexanimus* is used by Pac. *trag.* 187 (W) *o flexanima atque omnium regina oratio!*; for this archaism see FERRARI 1968, 102; for its formation (as a *compositum* with *flexi-*) LINDNER 1996, 73-4. For *modus* as a technical term in music, cf. OLD s.v. 7-8.

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, Menander Rhetor 2,392,18f. encourages speakers of prefatory speeches to mention famous flute-players as examples to compare themselves with, as HARRISON 2000, 98 notes, referring to e.g. D.Chr. 1,1-8; Lucian. *Harm.* 1 and Philostr. *VS* 574. Apuleius, however, compares himself to Apollo rather than to Hyagnis and Marsyas, as HARRISON himself argues.

The third, more concrete, element is that of a pipe which as yet did not have many holes; the word *tibia* does not mean 'flute' but '(reed-blown double) pipe'; see LANDELS 1999, 24-5. The phrase is adorned with the Apuleian neologism *multiforabilis* (FERRARI, 137-8; LINDNER, 118), for which there is even a variant in *Met.* 10,32 (263,12-3) *iam tibiae multiforabiles cantus Lydios dulciter consonant*;<sup>1</sup> after Apuleius it only occurs in *Sid.Ap. Ep.* 8,9,1. In the earliest days, pipes had only a few holes, as is testified by e.g. *Hor. Ars* 202-3 *tibia... foramine pauco*; *Ov. Fast.* 6,697-8.

*Tamen flexanimo* is HELM's restoration for F *tam infexa anima* (based on the emendation *flexanimo* by Lipsius). HELM's *tamen* does justice to *in-* of F, while it also avoids a change of the two following cases of *tamen* in *tam*, as e.g. VALLETTE and AUGELLO print, following ζ.

3,2 **repertu nouo**: the noun may be an Apuleian neologism, *repertus* being used elsewhere only in *Met.* 11,2 (267,5) and 11,11 (275,5). The sentence merely repeats the thought already expressed in *rudibus adhuc musicae saeculis*.

**commodum**: 'just at that time', one of Apuleius' favourite adverbs, used mainly in the *Met.* (25 times); see CALLEBAT 1968, 435n190.

**nec quicquam - experimentum**: the speaker still dwells on the same point by inserting a cliché ('nothing is perfect at the start'); cf. *Cic. Fin.* 5,58 *omnium enim rerum principia parua sunt*. The conventional thought is given new interest through its repetition in the unusual words *spei rudimentum - rei experimentum*. The combinations are isosyllabic (due to the running together of *rei* and *ex-*) and show double rhyme. The two words are also used in *Soc.pr.* 1 (103) *qui me uolulistis dicere, accipite rudimentum post experimentum*.<sup>2</sup>

3,3 **ante Hyagnin...**: the primitive state of musical expertise in Hyagnis' time (see above on 3,1 *nondum tibia...*) is now illustrated by reference to his predecessors.

**Vergilianus upilio seu busequa**: the same phrase is used as an outright insult in *Apol.* 10,6 *sed Aemilianus, uir ultra Virgilianos opiliones et busequas rusticanus*; see notes there. For the form *Vergilianus*, cf. above on 2,3 *Plautino milite*; for the rare *busequa* FERRARI 1968, 132.

**'stridenti - carmen'**: the quotation is *Verg. Ecl.* 3,27, where it is an insult of musical incompetence flung at Damoetas by Menalcas. For verse quotations in the *Fl.* see above on 2,3 *pluris est...* Apuleius' quotations of Vergil usually lend authority to elements of learning in his texts; see MATTIACCI 1986, 163-5.

3,4 **largius**: 'to a greater extent' (cf. OLD s.v. *large* 3). The adverb is used instead of the more neutral *plus*, which may have been avoided on purpose because of the alliteration with *paulo* and *promouisse* that would ensue from it. Such an alliteration could distract attention from surrounding sound effects, such as the following *tibia... tuba*.

<sup>1</sup> TLL s.v. *multiforabilis* ranges *Met.* 10,32 under this heading too, adopting a conjecture of Leumann. But in that case the MSS clearly read a form of *multiforabilis*. This word does not occur elsewhere, but is regularly formed. It should, therefore, be a separate entry in TLL. The form is also defended by GCA 2000, 388-9 ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> In that passage *rudimentum* has the slightly different sense: 'first essay' rather than 'initial stage.'

**una tibia... una tuba**: the primitive nature of the music of pipers before Hyagnis is reflected in the staccato style to this point, with anaphora of *una* and alliteration (for anaphora in the *Florida* see FERRARI 1969, 157-64). The point here is that a *tuba* consists of one piece. This prepares for Hyagnis' invention of the double pipe.

3,5 **primus**: Hyagnis was held to be the first *auletes* and the inventor of the double pipe; cf. WEST 1994, 330-1 and LANDELS 1999, 153; on the *aulos* in general see WEST 81-109; LANDELS, 24-46. This is an example of the old poetic motif of the 'first inventor' of human crafts; cf. e.g. *Verg. G.* 3,112; 4,283; *Hor. Carm.* 1,3,12; *Tib.* 1,7,29; *Luc.* 3,193 with commentators on these various poets.

The speaker revives his literary topos by the triple *primus...*, which also splits up the simple statement in three successive phases: separating the hands, blowing the pipes, and producing sound. The refined language illustrates the technical advance of Hyagnis' invention.

**in canendo**: the verb clearly refers to playing instruments (OLD s.v. 5). In 3,1 *cantus canere* this was still ambiguous

**discapedinauit**: a conspicuous word for the plain notion of 'separating the hands'. The verb does not occur elsewhere; cf. TLL s.v. 1275,4-5; and FERRARI 1968, 141-2.

**uno spiritu animauit**: both *spiritus* and *anima* can refer to physical breath and to the more spiritual dimension of life. There is a play on both senses here: by means of his breath Hyagnis 'inspires' the pipe.

**tinnitu... bombo**: the same contrast, with the same adjectives, is used of a *tibicen* in *Met.* 10,31 (262,18) *permiscens bombis grauibus tinnitus acutos*; cf. GCA 2000, 382 ad loc. Other instruments that can produce *tinnitus* are e.g. the sistrum (*Met.* 11,10: 273,23) or the trumpet (*Sil.* 13, 146). In *Lucr.* 4,544-8 we find a strong contrast of reverberating boom (*raucum... bombum*) and melodious lament.

**concentum musicum**: the idea of a musical 'concord' is, again, taken quite literally. It is illustrated by the preceding two contrasts of 'left and right' and 'dark and ringing sounds' and further brought out by the verb *miscere*. The noun *concentus* is also used in 17,10.

3,6 **eo genitus**: the element of Marsyas' birth starts a fairly long sentence that contains a number of details on his looks (*Phryx - obsitus*) and an additional tricolon in which he is compared to Apollo (*taeter - deo*). Marsyas is here called the son of Hyagnis. Some versions of the tale mention others as his father, e.g. *Oiagros* (*Hyg. Fab.* 165).

**cum - tibicinii**: unusual language to express the simple notion that Marsyas was a pipe-player like his father. *Patrissare* 'to imitate one's father' is a rare Grecism employed earlier only by the authors of comedy; cf. *Pl. Mos.* 639 and *Ter. Ad.* 564; see FERRARI 1968, 95-6. Perhaps the word already prepares for the laugh at Marsyas (3,13).

**Phryx cetera**: 'a Phrygian in other respects'. These words disqualify Marsyas beforehand as a serious man of culture. A Phrygian was almost synonymous with a barbarian; cf. *Cic. Orat.* 27; *Q.fr.* 1,1,19; and *Curt.* 6,11,4. Marsyas' barbaric nature is further elaborated in five physiognomic features: his face is bestial, he looks savage, he is shaggy, his beard is unwashed, and he is all covered with bristles and hair. There is a curious parallel with Apuleius' ironical self-portrait as a philosopher with long, unkempt hair in *Apol.* 4,11-2 (see notes there). One may also compare standard descriptions in

ancient physiognomy, where abundant body hair was valued very negatively; cf. OPEKU 1979, 473.

**inlutibarbus**: in the middle of the list of negative details (see previous note), the element of Marsyas' beard is given special attention through the use of a remarkable epithet that is not attested elsewhere; cf. TLL s.v. 399,69-70; FERRARI 1968, 137 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 152 (who also points to the sound effect with *barbarus*).

**spinis**: the sense required here is 'rough hairs, bristles', the common sense being 'thorns' or 'spines'.<sup>1</sup> Normally, this sense applies only to animals, as in Cic. *N.D.* 2,121 *spinis hirsutae*.

**pro nefas**: cf. *Apol.* 4,1 and 98,9; further *Met.* 2,8 (31,24 *quod nefas dicere*. Here too, the speaker seems to be conscious of the connection of *nefas* with *fari* 'to speak': Marsyas would have done better to keep silent.

**cum Apolline certausse**: the contest of Marsyas and Apollo is a well known tale of mythology (see introductory note). Apollo does not occur in the other fragments of the *Florida* and only rarely in the rest of Apuleius' works. No doubt his best known appearance is in *Met.* 4,32 (100,18-20) *sed Apollo, quanquam Graecus et Ionicus, propter Milesiae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit*; on that much disputed passage see GCA 2001 ad loc.

**taeter - deo**: although *taeter* is already a strong term, the tricolon works towards a further climax: the contest is one of 'beast against god'.

3,7 **Musae cum Minerua**: the goddess Minerva (Athena) is not mentioned in other ancient written versions of the story and she is not named again in the rest of the fragment. This may have prompted the reading *sus cum Minerua* in ζ, taken as a fourth element in the preceding sentence. But there is no problem in F, and Minerva seems well at her place in this tale, since she generally represents culture and learning. Moreover, in artistic representations of the contest of Marsyas and Apollo, the goddess is often present; see LIMC 6,1,366-78. That she can be pictured with weapons, as in *Met.* 10,30 (261,21-4), adds a further, threatening touch. Apuleius may even have been tempted to insert her name here because of the resulting alliteration.

**dissimulamenti gratia**: 'for the sake of pretence, for show'. The only other place where *dissimulamentum* occurs is *Apol.* 87,6, also in combination with *gratia*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 115-6. The real intentions of the 'judges' are revealed in the rest of the sentence.

**monstri illius**: the negative qualification certainly reflects the speaker's judgement, and possibly also the point of view of the Muses, who consider Marsyas a barbarian.

**stoliditatem**: a comparatively rare word (cf. e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 10,2), chosen here probably as a variation of the more normal *stultitia*, that is used in 3,8.

3,8 **quod... specimen**: sc. *est*. The words explain what follows immediately: a fool does not understand he is being made fun of. For the rare predicate dative *deridiculo*, cf. Pl. *Mil.* 92 and Tac. *Ann.* 3,57.

<sup>1</sup> A passage that may have inspired the portrait of Marsyas is Verg. *A.* 3,593-4 *dira inluuies immissaque barba, / consertum tegimen spinis; at cetera Graius* (of Achaemenides). There, however, *spinae* refers to thorns holding together the man's clothes. Cf. on the same man Ov. *Met.* 14,166 *iam... spinis conserto tegmine nullis*.

**deliramenta barbare effutiuit**: 'uncouthly blattered out nonsense'. Uncommon words expressing contempt; for the noun cf. *Apol.* 29,1; for the verb *Apol.* 3,6. *Barbare* will return in *Fl.* 7,12 and 9,7. It is, of course, perfectly natural for a *barbarus* (3,6) charged with *barbaria* (3,7) to speak *barbare*. But as a matter of fact, Marsyas will deliver a short, elegant, and carefully arranged speech, adorned with all the stylistical flourish displayed throughout the *Florida* and without a trace of *barbaria*.

**laudans sese**: Marsyas takes pride in five personal qualities, the first three of them involving forms of 'hair', and the last one his earthly possessions. Only the fourth element refers to his talents as a musician. The whole sequence resembles the description of a wild boar in *Met.* 8,4 (179,7-11), notably its accent on hair: *pilis inhorrentibus corio squalidus, setis insurgentibus spinae hispida*; on the style of that passage see GCA 1985, 51-4.

**coma relicinus**: 'with his hair swept back from the forehead'. In Apuleius' days, handsomeness in respect of hair was apparently viewed differently; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 63,7 on a beautiful statuette of Mercury: *em uide... ut in capite crispatus capillus sub imo pilleae umbraculo appareat*. The adjective *relicinus* occurs only in the *Fl.* (here and 7,8) and in Plin. *Nat.* 37,14. It is probably related to *licium* 'cord'.

**arte tibicen**: here the word *tibicen* is surprisingly weak: as a normal word to characterize Marsyas, it already occurred (3,1) and returns later (3,13; cf. 3,6). We would expect a more remarkable and sonorous epithet, like BRAKMAN's *unimodus*.<sup>1</sup> This would make it correspond to *squalidus*, *hirsutus* and *egenus*, and produce a combination of 5 syllables (allowing for the elision). Such a word would also perfectly contrast the following *multiscius*, to which it is obviously connected. Perhaps *tibicen* has somehow slipped into the text, replacing an original reading, as VALLETTE remarks in his critical apparatus. But in the absence of further clues, I leave the text unchanged.

**fortuna egenus**: under normal circumstances, poverty is something Roman moralists praise highly. In the context of his self-defence, Apuleius dwells at considerable length at the topos of *laus paupertatis*; see *Apol.* 17-23, notably 18.

3,9 **aduersis uirtutibus**: 'with the opposite virtues'. The five virtues specified in the rest of the sentence faithfully mirror the five features of Marsyas: the first three again involve hair (of the head, the face, and the rest of the body), the fourth refers to skills and the last one to wealth. The parallel is exact even on the level of style (epithets accompanied by a noun in the ablative).

**glabellus**: 'smooth, hairless'. An exquisite word probably coined by Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 119. It is also used in *Met.* 2,17 (38,19) *glabellum feminal*; 5,22 (120,21-2) *corpus glabellum*. It carries a distinct touch of the divine: in the last instance it refers, as here, to a male god (Eros), and the other case involves the girl Fotis, who is pictured like Venus.

<sup>1</sup> The word then would not have the sense 'of uniform nature' as in Pl. 2,5 (227) but refer to *modus* as term of music. Pursuing this line of thought, another possibility would be *uniformis*, occurring in *Met.* 11,5 (269,15). Finally, I tentatively propose *unicanus* 'producing music in one tone', a word that is not attested in Latinity, but would be formed in close analogy to *omnicanus*, an Apuleian neologism in 13,3.

**multiscius**: another Apuleian word, now with a Homeric echo; see *Apol.* 31,5; further *Met.* 9,13 (213,6). The word will return in *Fl.* 9,24 (also with *arte*) of Hippias and in 18,19 of Protagoras.

3,10 **iam primum...**: some words of Marsyas are now presented in direct speech. After Marsyas' initial characterization we might expect a clumsy string of harsh insults. As a matter of fact, the speech shows a careful structure and the flowery style typical of Apuleius himself.<sup>1</sup> Particularly noteworthy here are the numerous rare and uncommon words (see next note) and the three rhetorical questions starting with *quid quod*.

One may wonder whether Marsyas' words add a new thought of his, or merely illustrate part of the 'summary' given by the speaker (3,8-9). At first sight, the plain order of the entire passage would suggest the former. However, Marsyas' words in 3,10-12 contain criticism of Apollo that closely corresponds to the elements already mentioned in 3,9: he deals with Apollo's hair and smooth body, his skills (prophecy in prose and poetry, and singing), and his riches (clothing and equipment). The second interpretation, therefore, seems preferable. The speaker makes his point and then reworks part of it in words that are attributed to a character in the anecdote in this case. The technique of expansion and variations is characteristic of demonstrative oratory.

It may be assumed that the fine speaker Apuleius identifies with the patron god of culture rather than with the uncouth Phrygian. The speaker may well have been aware that their names are similar: *Apuleius* / *Apollo*. Marsyas' criticism of the god closely recalls the slander and charges (notably the charges of beauty and eloquence) leveled against Apuleius, to which he reacts in the first part of the *Apology*.

**crines - propenduli**: a striking combination of neologisms. 'His hair sticks out and hangs down in front, with cowlicks and forelocks licked down and slicked forward' (tr. John Hilton). The words express a single thought ('his locks fall freely over his forehead') in a number of variations by means of resounding synonyms. *Anteuentulus* refers to the same movement as *propendus* (cf. the opposite in 3,8 *relicinus*), *antiae* and *caproneae* both mean 'locks', and *praemulcere* and *promulcere* ('to smooth down') differ only in their prefix, without an apparent difference in meaning. Five out of six words look like new coinages by Apuleius; only *caproneae* is an archaism, used in *Lucil.* 321 (W);<sup>2</sup> cf. full material in FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 150-1; further FERRARI 1968, 145. *Anteuentulus* also occurs in *Met.* 9,30 (225,21).

According to FACCHINI TOSI (and earlier FERRARI 1968, 123 and 137) the vocabulary underscores the 'caricatural' nature of Marsyas' speech. However, given Apuleius' propensity for archaisms and neologisms, manifest especially in the *Fl.*, this conclusion is unfounded. It is the thought, rather than the idiom, that marks Marsyas as a fool.

There is an important parallel description in the *Met.* of Amor, when Psyche first gets sight of him. Cf. *Met.* 5,22 (120,13-24), notably its beginning: *uidet capitis aurei*

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that 'linguistic realism', so prominent in Petronius' portrayal of the freedmen in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, is never Apuleius' aim. In the *Met.* too, even the lowliest characters use the same elevated, artistic style characteristic of Apuleius.

<sup>2</sup> The *Lucilius* passage *iactari caput atque comas fluitare capronas / altis frontibus immissas, ut mos fuit illis* may well have been in Apuleius' mind. According to Krenkel (Fr. 281-2), the satirist's lines probably compare a woman with a horse.

*genialem caesariem ambrosia temulentam, ceruices lacteas genasque purpureas pererrantes crinium globos decoriter impeditos, alios antependulos, alios retropendulos* (120,13-17). The rest of the passage describes the god's beautiful body and his customary arms. The clear sense of wonder and beauty in the ephrasis of Amor may confirm the idea that no 'caricature' is intended in the present passage either.

**corpus - nitida**: cf. *Met.* 5,22 (120,21-2) *corpus glabellum atque luculentum* (on that parallel passage see previous note).

**lingua fatidica**: Apollo is, of course, the god of prophecy. Cf. also above on 3,6. For *fatidicus* in relation to Apollo, cf. e.g. *Luc.* 5,70 *Dephica fatidici... penetralia Phoebi*.

**seu... oratione seu uersibus**: the reference here to 'prose or poetry' comes unexpectedly, since ancient oracles were almost invariably delivered in verse. Apuleius himself professes expertise in both prose and poetry in *Fl.* 18,38 *iam prorsa et uorsa facundia ueneratus sum*; cf. also 9,27-9.

**aequipari**: 'equal'. This is yet another word not attested before Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 137), for which one may compare the archaic *aequiperabilis* in *Soc.* 3 (124), which occurs in *Pl. Trin.* 466 (and with the spelling *aequiparabilis* in *Cur.* 168).

3,11 **Quid quod...**: three rhetorical questions follow, connected by the repeated *quid quod*. In the first question, specifying three parallel qualities of the god's dress, we may understand a finite verb like *est*.

**lyra**: the second question has three details of Apollo's musical instrument, that is richly decorated with gold, ivory, and jewels. The three finite verbs each focus on the visual impact: glittering, white appearance, and varying colours. The last of the three, *uariogare*, is used only by Apuleius (5 times); cf. notably *Soc.* 23 (172) *ex auro et argento et gemmis monilia uariogata*; further *Fl.* 9,19 *miris coloribus uariogatum*; see also FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 115-6. On ancient *kytharai* and lyres in general, see WEST 1994, 48-70 and LANDELS 1999, 47-68.

**doctissime et gratissime**: the idea behind the final reproach is particularly foolish. It recalls the accusation allegedly leveled against Apuleius himself in *Apol.* 4,1 *accusamus apud te philosophum formosum et tam Graece quam Latine - pro nefas! - disertissimum*.

**cantilat**: this verb, probably formed from *cantilena* ('song') is used only by Apuleius, e.g. *Met.* 4,8 (80,14); see TLL s.v. 286,70-4 and FERRARI 1968, 142.

3,12 **blandimenta**: 'charms'. The word sums up all that Marsyas finds fault with in Apollo.

**luxuriae accomodata**: Marsyas' argument that all Apollo's qualities merely serve the aims of *luxuria* make him sound like a Roman moralist. It may be observed that Marsyas' point sounds familiar and is perhaps justified, if the description of Apollo's looks and instruments is accurate. However, it is not met here with a counter-argument. Marsyas' words are simply not taken seriously and only laughed at.

**contra - ostentare**: the speaker himself almost interrupts Marsyas. The Phrygian's criticism of Apollo was given in direct speech, but the corresponding self-praise, announced in 3,8, is only briefly recapitulated. The infinitive *ostentare* loosely continues the direct speech.

**maximam speciem**: 'as if it were the highest beauty'.

3,13 **risere**: the Muses finally have the fun they were looking for from the outset; cf. 3,7 *ad deridendam... barbariam* (further 3,9 *ridiculum dictu*). The laughing of the Muses, joined

in by the speaker himself (3,14), contrasts with the reaction to Marsyas' fate in Ovid's version of the tale, in which Fauns, satyrs, and nymphs all shed abundant tears, which turn into the river Marsyas: *Ov. Met.* 6,392-400.

**crimina - exoptanda:** a very similar remark is made about poverty in *Apol.* 18,1 *acceptum philosopho crimen et ultro profitendum*. In the present text too, the obvious candidate for the *sapiens* is none other than Apuleius himself, as HARRISON 2000, 99 rightly argues.

**certamine superatum:** after the detailed description and speech, the story is rapidly brought to an end. In a few lines we read how Marsyas loses his match, is flayed and abandoned. Such unexpected accelerations of the narrative are frequently used in Apuleius' novel; cf. e.g. *Met.* 4,30 (98,24-95,2).

We hear nothing about the sort of contest Marsyas and Apollo are actually engaging in. It may be a music contest, as traditional versions of the myth present it (LANDELS 1999, 156-8). But in the present text it could equally be a contest in beauty or in oratory.<sup>1</sup> And whatever the nature of the contest, it remains unclear exactly how Apollo wins it.

**ursum bipedem:** some details in *Fl.* 3 already seemed to associate Marsyas with animals (see 3,6). Now the comparison is even closer: he is treated like a bear. The detail 'on two legs', normally considered a distinctive quality of human beings (Roman examples may be found in TLL s.v. *bipes* 2003, 30-41), here is probably intended to make double fun of Marsyas. The Romans seem to have considered a heavy bear standing or walking on two feet an amusing sight. For the detail as such, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8,130 on bears *ingrediuntur et bipedes*. Bears frequently featured in public shows; cf. e.g. Mart. *Sp.* 7,3 or 11,1. On bears in Roman art, see TOYNBEE 1973, 93-100.

**corio exsecto:** typically, the attention is immediately taken from the action and redirected at some brutal particulars of the flaying of Marsyas. A bear is literally flayed in *Met.* 4,14 (85,21-4) *eiusque probe nudatum carnibus corium... tenuamus*.<sup>2</sup> For the idiom, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2,446 *pellibus exsectis*.

Of course, the flaying of Marsyas was a standard element in the myth, but it is given a prominent place here, just as in Ovid's tale, which concentrates on the flaying for seven full verses (*Ov. Met.* 6,385-91). Apuleius' liking for macabre scenes and particularly of cruel punishments is apparent throughout the *Met.*; cf. GCA 1985, 193 on 8,22 (194,18-24).

**nudis - uisceribus:** for the expression cf. *Met.* 5,27 (124,21) *laceratis uisceribus*.

3,14 **cecinit et cecidit:** the speaker joins in the fun of the Muses, who are mocking Marsyas. Here the horrible end of Marsyas is merely an occasion for the speaker to insert a play on the Latin words: Marsyas 'sang and fell'.

There is not a trace of compassion for the Phrygian's sad fate, as modern readers may feel. The Roman sense of humour was a good deal more cruel than present-day

<sup>1</sup> If the last suggestion is to the point, one wonders what a counter-speech by Apollo could have sounded like, since Marsyas' display of oratory was already quite impressive.

<sup>2</sup> In the rest of the tale, this hide is then used by a man, Thrasyleon, to hide himself in. However, this 'bear' is finally ripped asunder in 4,21 (90,23) *utero bestiae resecto ursae* and Thrasyleon gets killed.

standards consider tasteful; one may think of the jokes made by Martial on executions and other gory scenes in his book *De Spectaculis*.

**humilis uictoriae:** an intriguing final touch, in a juncture that is unparalleled. The victory is, from Apollo's point of view, 'insignificant' or even 'abject' or 'ignoble' (OLD s.v. *humilis* 6-7) and the god even feels ashamed and embarrassed by it. This comes unexpectedly after the triumphant tones of the preceding text, where all seemed to turn against Marsyas.

Of course, Apollo is not likely to be pictured as feeling pity for Marsyas or mercy for human beings in general. He must be thinking that the contest was so easy as to be well below his standards: Marsyas was simply not comparable with himself. On the assumption that the brilliant speaker Apuleius identifies with the god (see also introductory note), the words apply to himself too: he is working at a level where he has no serious rivals, and defeating them is hardly a cause for pride.

#### IV ANTIGENIDAS

*There was a piper named Antigenidas, who was an expert on the pipe in every mode. He strongly objected to the term 'pipers' being used for funeral hornplayers. But if he had watched mimes or games, he would have seen that people or objects that look similar sometimes play opposite roles.*

A short, rather enigmatic fragment on the piper Antigenidas comes after the story of Marsyas. It first underscores the musical expertise of the man in question, in terms somewhat reminiscent of Hyagnis in *Fl.* 3. Then the text takes a surprisingly moralistic turn: Antigenidas did not like the title *tibicen* to be used for musicians at funerals, but the speaker thinks he was wrong: in theatrical performances he might have observed how a man or an object can appear in various, opposite circumstances.

Initially, the theme of the piece seems to be 'music' again, and this obviously connects it to the preceding fragment. It then appears to be more philosophical, as in the proverb 'les extrêmes se touchent.' The element of the theatre, prominent in the second half, connects the piece to the following one. It probably reflects the circumstance that Apuleius is actually delivering his speech at such a location, as in *Fl.* 18.<sup>1</sup> The shortness of the fragment and the lack of further clues make it impossible to say more with certainty about the original context. The fragment could even belong to the same speech as either *Fl.* 3 or *Fl.* 5 (cf. HARRISON 2000, 100 and 101), or even both. It may have led up to some comparison to Apuleius himself again, as the final reference to *philosophos* would suggest.

Antigenidas was a famous virtuoso player from Thebes, who was most active from about 400 to 370 B.C. (AUGELLO wrongly locates him in the times of Alexander the Great). He was known for an advanced playing technique of the pipe and for his use of

<sup>1</sup> According to HARRISON 2000, 100 the context may have been a festival including theatrical and amphitheatrical performances in Carthage. However, the fact that amphitheatrical elements are named in the text, does not mean they were part of its immediate context.

special shoes and a yellow cloak (*Suda* 1,235,10-2); cf. further RE s.v. *Antigenidas* 2400-1; WEST 1994, 367. He forms a second example of 'a famous person from classical Greece', after Socrates in *Fl.* 2.

In D.Chr. 49,12 a similar story is told about a certain Ismenias: 'But one of the philosophers who lived a short time ago has well said that it made Ismenias especially angry that the pipers at funerals should be called flautists' (tr. H. Lamar Crosby).

4,1 **tibicen**: the function and skill of Antigenidas form an obvious link to the preceding fragment about Hyagnis and Marsyas (3,1 *Marsyae tibicinis pater*; further 3,6).

**quidam... Antigenidas**: Antigenidas was a famous Greek musician active in the late fifth and early fourth century B.C.; see introductory note. He is introduced here as if he were not well known to all. But in the *Fl.* even important persons are commonly introduced by means of some extra information; e.g. 7,1 *Alexandro illi, longe omnium excellentissimo regi*.

**melleus**: 'honey-sweet'. Here it is exceptionally used of sound, as in *Met.* 6,6 (132,25) *aves melleis modulibus suaue resonantes*.

**modulator... modifactor**: the impressive words are carefully chosen for their similarity in sound and formation, which is reinforced by the *m*-sound in *melleus* and *omnimodis*. The first noun refers to a 'maker of tunes'; for the combination with *uox*, cf. Col. 1 pr.3 *uocis et cantus modulatoremodum*. *Modifactor* is a new word, probably coined here by analogy with *modulator*, and is not attested elsewhere; see FERRARI 1968, 109-10 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 133. It denotes someone who works according to a pattern or system; this is further explained in the next sentence.

**omnimodis**: before Apuleius, this adverb is only used by Lucretius; e.g. 1,683; 2,489. So it adds to the solemn tone of the opening line. The next sentence brings out how Antigenidas is literally an expert *omnibus modis*, with *modus* taken in a technical, musical sense (for which see below).

**seu tu uelles**: for the introduction of variant possibilities cf. 3,10 *seu tute... malis*.

**Aeolion simplex - Dorium bellicosum**: five traditional scales used in ancient music are specified. The Greek term is *harmoniai*, expressed in Latin with *modi* or *moduli* (in the present text we may add in thought *modum* to each name). In ancient tradition each *modus* was associated with a certain mood. The standard text referring to old Greek scales is Plato *Pol.* 398c-400c, in which plain modes such as the Dorian are considered suitable, unlike some other softer or wilder ones. For a survey cf. notably WEST 1994, 177-84 and see further LANDELS 1999, 100-109.<sup>1</sup> Some of these modes occur in *Met.* 10,31.

Four out of five items in Apuleius' list refer to well-known modes; only the Aeolian mode is rare. The epithets given by the speaker to the various modes are not in complete agreement with the classical Greek sources.

**Aeolion simplex**: typically, Apuleius starts with one of the lesser known modes, which seems to have gone out of use after Pindar. Clear references to it are scarce; cf.

<sup>1</sup> The various geographical names were also used for another musical concept, that of *tonoi* or 'keys'. After the classical Greek period, the two concepts of modes and keys came to be mixed up, as WEST, 179 and LANDELS, 98-99 say.

Lasus *PMG* 702; Pratinas *PMG* 712. In the later period the term was apparently reintroduced in musical theory to allow for a standard system of Dorian, Aeolian, and Ionian modes. There is no parallel for Apuleius' epithet of the mode as 'straightforward'; cf. WEST 1994, 178 and 183.

**Iastium uarium**: 'the variable Ionic mode'. The name was confused in  $F\phi$ , which read *asii*. The emendation is commonly accepted, on account of *Met.* 10,31 (262,11) *Iastia concinente tibia* (but the text is not certain here either; cf. GCA 2000, 380 ad loc.) and the general characteristics of the Ionic mode. As a matter of fact, it was both seen as 'soft and sympotic', along with the Lydian mode (Plato *Pol.* 398e); or, by contrast, as 'austere and hard' (Ath. 14,625bc). However, the luxurious associations seem to have been dominant. Aristophanes uses the name for songs of prostitutes (*Eccl.* 883) and Lucian calls it 'elegant' (*Harm.* 1); cf. further WEST 1994, 182.

*Iastius* instead of *Ionicus* does not seem to occur in Latin outside Apuleius; it is a Latinization of Greek  $\text{ἰάστιος}$  (and the adverb  $\text{ἰαστί}$ ), used specifically for music; cf. examples in LSJ.

**Ludium querolum**: cf. *Met.* 4,33 (101,11-2) *querolum Ludii modum*. The Lydian mode was, like the Ionian one, mostly considered soft and high-pitched. The classical Greek sources referred to by WEST 1994, 182 do not particularly associate it with a 'plaintive' mood as here. For example, Aristotle thought it was the best mode for boys to learn, since it was decorous and educative (*Pol.* 1342b-30f). The plaintive element was, however, linked to the so called Mixolydian mode (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1342b1f); cf. WEST, 182wn89. Evidently, the distinction between Mixolydian and Lydian was confused or lost by the time of Apuleius.

The spelling *Ludium* for *Lidium* ( $F\phi$ ), as suggested by HELM (who prints the vulgate *Lydium*), was also accepted by VALLETTE.

**Phrygium religiosum**: the Phrygian mode was best known as a wild kind of music, used particularly at ecstatic festivals as for Cybele; in that sense it occurs in *Met.* 8,30 (201,21). But its mood could also be more quiet and cheerful. It is because of this latter aspect that the mode is accepted by Plato as suitable in his 'ideal' state, along with the Dorian mode; see Plato *Pol.* 399a-c.<sup>1</sup> See further WEST 1994, 180-1.

The mention of 'Phrygian' may also be seen as a minor element connecting the present fragment to *Fl.* 3 about the Phrygian Marsyas (3,6).

**Dorium bellicosum**: the last mode mentioned by Apuleius was one of the most widely used ones in the Greek classical period. It was employed for processions, paeans, songs of love and tragic laments, and it was generally considered to be the most manly and dignified; cf. e.g. Pind. *Fr.* 67; Plato *Lach.* 188d; and Arist. *Pol.* 1342b12; further material in WEST 1994, 179-80. For the epithet of the stern, war-like mode, cf. *Met.* 10,31 (262,17-8) *tibicen <D>orium canebat bellicosum*.

4,2 **tibicinio**: cf. 3,6 *in artificio... tibicinii*.

**adprime**: a favourite adverb of Apuleius in the context of skill and expertise; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 31,5 *adprime peritum* (about Homer); *Soc.* 17 (157) *Socrates, uir adprime perfectus*.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle disagrees here as far as the Phrygian mode is concerned: *Pol.* 1342a32-b12.

**quam quod - dicerentur:** Antigenidas' great distress (expressed by *laborare* and *angi*) appears to concern only the fact that other musicians are given the name of *tibicines* too. He felt this honour was not due to musicians blowing horns at funerals. His aversion may have concerned the technical difference between the instruments or the ominous element of funerals. More likely still, the crucial point was artistic and social: these players no doubt gave less creative performances and since they were paid for their work, they must have been held in lower esteem.

**monumentarii ceraulae:** 'hornblowers playing near graves'. A combination of very rare words, of which the adjective does not occur elsewhere; cf. FERRARI 1968, 135. The noun is a Grecism, used only here and twice in the *Carmina Epigraphica*; cf. TLL s.v. 856, 39-44. A more common term is *cornicines*. Hornblowers playing funereal melodies occur with comic effect in Petr. 78,6 *consonuere cornicines funebri strepitu*.

4,3 **aequo animo:** the fragment takes an unexpected turn, with Apuleius delivering a philosophical comment on Antigenidas' opinion. It brings in the theatrical element of *mimus* Apuleius' audience was familiar with: had the Greek musician watched mimes, he would not have been annoyed at the other use of the same word *tibicen*. The implication is that Antigenidas could have learned something from second century Roman Africa. So an element of Greek culture is effectively drawn into the actual Roman context of the speaker and his audience.<sup>1</sup>

**mimos:** in Apuleius' days, mimes were a popular form of theatrical entertainment. Apuleius himself was familiar with them; cf. *Fl.* 5,2 and 18,4. The influence of mime may be seen in both the *Apol.* and the *Met.*; on the former see HUNINK 1998, on the latter GCA 2000, 424-5 on *Met.* 10,2-12. In general on Roman mime, see PANAYOTAKIS 1995, xii-xix with notes. In the Roman tradition, the social status of *mimus* was relatively low; cf. examples in RE s.v. *mimus* 1748,45 f. This produces a subtle irony here: Antigenidas, with his rather elitist attitude to lower forms of culture, might have learned some philosophy from Roman mime.

**simili purpura:** the colour refers to both the real purple dress of the presiding magistrate and the reddish cloak of players who get beaten on stage.

4,4 **munera nostra:** an even clearer reference to contemporaneous Roman culture: the gladiatorial shows in the arena. Like most other Romans, Apuleius feels no disgust for these performances.<sup>2</sup> With *nostra* he further strengthens the link between himself and his audience.

**praesidere:** the same verb is used as in 4,3, but the contrast is both more general and stronger. Now the action of 'a man presiding' and that of 'a man fighting in the arena' are opposed; cf. OLD s.v. *depugno* 2. The common term here is no more than the

<sup>1</sup> According to AUGELLO, Apuleius' remark is the bitter comment of a philosopher, given the vulgarity of Roman mime in his days. However, the text itself and the rhetorical situation suggest otherwise. In *aequo animo* we hear the mild and wise observation of a real *philosophus* who advises against violent emotion. Moreover, he does not distance himself from his audience, but rather plays on its experience and sympathies and creates the impression that he shares them. This is also brought out by the following *munera nostra*.

<sup>2</sup> However, in less than a generation after Apuleius, the African Christian Tertullian would fiercely attack such shows in his *De Spectaculis*.

general *homo*, whereas the other three elements of the comparison refer to some element of dress (purple coloured dress, toga, and pallium).

**toga... pallium:** the official Roman dress is put alongside the light and easy cloak of (Greek) philosophers. The contrast will be described at considerable length by Apuleius' fellow African Tertullian in his epideictic speech *De Pallio*; cf. Tert. *Pall.* 6,2 '*a toga ad pallium!*'<sup>1</sup> Both dresses have different uses, from lofty to lowly and even ominous; in general on these forms of dress, see POTTHOFF 1992, 196-201 (*toga*) and 151-5 (*pallium*).

The funereal element (*funeri* and *cadauera*) serves as an 'extreme' point to illustrate the wide gap between opposites. It also establishes a closer link to the anecdote of Antigenidas; see 4,2 *monumentarii ceraulae*. In general, we may that close attention is paid to motifs related to illness and death in the *Florida*; cf. notably *Fl.* 16 on Philemon; 19 on the cure of an apparent dead man; and 23 on a grave illness.

**cadauera... philosophos:** the final contrast is the strongest and most daring one. According to MESSINA 1999, 291 it alludes to the 'false philosophers' against whom Apuleius fought in other pieces of the *Florida* (notably 7); a similar suggestion is made by SANDY 1997, 120-1. However, the second element (*philosophi*) is not openly negative. On the contrary, it rather leads the thought back to Apuleius himself. The word order also suggests that a positive climax is reached here: in the earlier examples the lofty element was mentioned first, before the low element, but here the order is reversed. Throughout the *Florida*, a *pallium* is a typical feature of philosophers, whether serious or not, cf. 7,10 and 13; 9,9 (*palliata mendicabula*); 9,20 (of Hippias); 14,3 and 14,6 (of Crates and Zenon). For a *pallium* as a cover of corpses, see *Met.* 3,9 (59,1).

## V IN THE THEATRE

*You did well to come to the theatre: for what matters is not the location in which a performance takes place, but what may be found in it. When it is an artist, you will be amused, but when it is a philosopher, you will learn something.*

This is the shortest piece of the *Florida*, consisting of no more than 41 words. There is room for no more than a single thought: this is that compared with artists performing in the theatre, a philosopher may prove instructive to his audience. The same thought will be expressed in a more abundant form in 18,1-5.

The texts prove that Apuleius' rhetorical performances regularly took place in a theatre. Traditionally, the Roman elite held the theatre in low esteem, as it was primarily associated with the vulgar pleasures of the lower classes; cf. TONER 1995, 68-70. But in Apuleius' days, the theatre had also become the place where famous sophists presented their shows and hence also a place of high culture. However, some of the old suspicion of the theatre still shows in the cautious attitude of the speaker in 5,1. For the references to the theatre, see also STEINMETZ 1982, 345-6.

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian's speech, written in notoriously difficult Latin, shows remarkable parallels to Apuleius' *Florida*, with which it shares the generic identity. A new edition with English translation and full commentary is being prepared by the author of the present book.

The present fragment contains no neologisms or spectacular sound patterns, as some of the other pieces do. It seems to be the unusual reference to a philosopher in a short list of performing artists that has motivated its selection. Through the element of 'theatre', and particularly *mimus*, it is firmly connected to the previous fragment, and it might have come from the same speech.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the final mention of a *philosophus* (cf. 4,4) clearly points to the speaker himself. The thought is not original; HARRISON 2000, 101 rightly compares D.Chr. 12,5, where the speaker also congratulates his audience for gathering to listen to him rather than to other literary performers.

For the first time in our collection, the speaker directly addresses his audience. Whereas this phenomenon occurs very frequently in the *Apology*, it is relatively rare in the *Florida*, in which many fragments form an isolated description or anecdote. Major addresses to the audience are found in 9,1-14; 16,1-5; and 18,1-18 (the first and last passages also in a theatrical context). As is to be expected, in such passages the speaker takes pains to attract the attention of the audience, to hold its interest, and to gain its sympathy, in accordance with normal oratorical practice. Such direct addresses are important in confirming the communication between speaker and audience, and in strengthening the bond between them.

The introductory nature of the thought makes it likely that the fragment comes from the beginning of a speech, although it is probably not an actual opening; cf. below on 5,1 *enim*. Inevitably, the brevity of the text precludes any further conclusions about its original context.

5,1 **bono... studio**: the audience is addressed by the speaker; see introductory remarks. He immediately makes them feel perfectly comfortable: they are sitting in a theatre for very good reasons.

**enim**: the word shows that the text does not form the actual opening of a speech, although it may have followed directly after its first words.<sup>2</sup> The persons who collected the fragments of the *Florida* felt no hesitation in marking off fragments in this way; cf. *enim* as second word in 8,1; 11,1; and 13,1. All three cases occur in short or very short fragments. For abrupt openings cf. further 2,1 *at non...*

**locum - derogare**: there is an implied criticism here. The location of a theatre was obviously not generally felt to be suitable for an orator dealing with serious themes. Traditionally, members of the Roman elite were suspicious of the theatre; see introductory remarks.

**spectandum**: a theatrical word that comes in naturally in this context; cf. 4,3 *si mimos spectauisset* and 4,4 *si munera nostra spectaret*. Here it is used in the more general sense of 'to examine', as in 18,3 and 18,5.

5,2 **si... si...:** in a simple syntactical structure, four possible *spectacula* are specified, with four ensuing reactions of the audience. The references are to mime, a tight-rope acrobat,

<sup>1</sup> If this is correct, the present text with its introductory character would probably have preceded the more anecdotal *Fl.* 4.

<sup>2</sup> These may have sounded like 'There is no need for you to feel ashamed' or 'Ancient Romans such as Cato felt that the theatre was not serious enough, but this does not concern you and me today'.

comedy, and a philosopher. The audience will laugh, feel fascination or enthusiasm, or be instructed.

Although no hierarchy of values is indicated in the syntax, and no negative qualifications or emotions are mentioned, the last element is clearly presented as the most positive one. There is a distinct preoccupation with 'learning' and 'teaching' in the *Florida*. Words like *discere* and its cognates *disciplina* and *discipulus* occur frequently in the collection; OLDFATHER lists no less than 12 occurrences for *discere*.

**mimus**: the word may refer either to a person, an actor of mimes (as in 18,4), or to the spectacle, mime (as in 4,3). In this context, it is difficult to decide, since the other three examples concern both categories. For Roman mime in general, see on 4,3.

**funerepus**: not surprisingly, the rare word for a 'tightrope acrobat' led to problems in the MSS.  $F\phi$  originally read *funere plus*, later changed to *funereus plus*. The correction is due to a late hand in  $\phi$ . Given the parallel in 18,4 *quod hic... funerepus periclitatur*, the only other occurrence of the word (see TLL s.v. *funirepus* 1594,25-8) it is no doubt right.

Tightrope walkers, commonly referred to in Latin as *funambuli* or *funiambuli*, were a well known and popular phenomenon in Roman culture, also in the theatre. In the prologue to Ter. *Hec.* 4 it is told that a first performance of Terence's play was a failure because the audience was distracted: *ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo (animum occuparat)*. Tightrope walkers are regularly mentioned in Roman literature, though mostly in passing; some examples are Man. 5,651-5; Sen. *Dial.* 2,12,4; Juv. 3,77 (*schoenobates*); in Suet. *Galb.* 6 there is even a reference to *elephantos funambulos*. The parallel in *Fl.* 18,4 (quoted above) also shows that the shows in which they appeared must have been dangerous<sup>1</sup> and awe-inspiring; cf. also in a later period Aug. *Ep.* 120,5 *nam et in theatris homines funambulorum mirantur, musicis delectantur; in illo stupetur difficultas; in his retinet iocunditas*. Full details on Roman tightrope walkers may be found in DAREMBERG/SAGLIO II, 1361-3.

**comœdia**: the subject of comedy will return at length in *Fl.* 16 on Philemon.

## VI THE MIRACLES OF INDIA

*What I admire most of the exotic people of India, is not any of the natural riches of their land, nor the marvels of biology and zoology, nor the special functions people perform. Instead, it is the 'gymnosophists' whom I esteem most. They are in constant search of wisdom and detest idleness. Let me illustrate this: at dinner every pupil has to describe some good deed he has done that day, and whoever has nothing worthwhile to relate is driven out without a meal.*

The sixth fragment is a show-piece about the fascinating land of India. Various forms of marvels and exotic details of its land and people are evoked, leading up to a brief mention

<sup>1</sup> In SHA *Marc.Ant.* 12,12 it is told that Marcus Aurelius, after an accident involving a tightrope walker, ordered that a mattress should be spread under such artists. The author of the biography asserts that in his own days a net is still used for the same purpose.

of the famous *gymnosophistae*. The mention of their name is immediately followed by an illustrative anecdote about learning and education.

The text shows the easy development of thought characteristic of many of the pieces in the collection and we may assume it was part of an introductory part of a speech or a *praefatio*. The main theme to which it led up might have been a subject from popular philosophy, such as the importance of behaving well or of receiving a good education.

Even a quick look at the text shows that the speaker wants to do more than aptly formulate one moralistic thought. All the elements of India he says he holds in lesser esteem are admirable and fascinating, and they are all described with great care and stylistic flourish. Clearly, these introductory remarks are intended to capture the attention and excite the curiosity of the audience.

Within the collection, the fragment greatly broadens the geographical and historical spectrum covered by the speaker: now even old traditions of the far east are dealt with. The element of 'learning', meanwhile, also connects it to the preceding piece. Observations about animals and the insertion of some lines of poetry are further points that connect it to the rest of the *Fl*.

India had been a source of marvel and curiosity for Greeks and Romans for many centuries. After Alexander the Great (who is the subject of *Fl*. 7) had conquered the East and reached India, information about the country became abundant and commercial relations were established; cf. especially the extant Greek account of India in Arr. *Ind.* mainly based on Megasthenes. But for Apuleius' audience, living in Roman Africa of the second century, India still must have been as fascinating and strange as ever. References to India in Roman literature have been collected by ANDRÉ / FILLIOZAT 1986; on the 'wonders of the East', see further ROMM 1992, 82-120 and KARTTUNEN 1997, 129-252. The exotic country was a fruitful area for sophisticated display; cf. e.g. Max. Tyr. 2,6 and D.Chr. 35,18-24 (on the latter see JONES 1978, 65-70). Apuleius himself will return to the *gymnosophistae* in 15,16.

The fragment contains largely traditional material (cf. also separate notes below) and is most noteworthy for its technique of amplification and refined style. The first paragraphs actually have the form of a priamel, a list of examples (here, as often, with negations), followed by a pointed or preferred element; the classic example is Sappho 16 (L.P.); in general see RACE 1982. In this case, the ultimate element, that of the gymnosophists, is introduced by means of another priamel (6,8; see also on 6,9). On the whole fragment see also HARRISON 2000, 101-3.

6,1 **Indi...**: the long first sentence does not more than introduce the name 'Indians' and illustrate it with a wealth of particulars. The people is said to be large and possessing an extensive territory situated in the far East. This point of the extreme location is made by means of references to geography (the Ocean), astronomy (sun and stars) and ethnography (a comparison with other, equally exotic but less distant peoples). Obviously, Apuleius is reworking traditional material here; see also introductory note. For the stock form of the opening sentence, cf. Philostr. *VS* 574 on Arabia (referred to by SANDY 1997, 170); for its style (with extensive use of tricola) BERNHARD 1927, 292.

**populosa cultoribus**: the added ablative seems redundant, since the great number of 'inhabitants' is already expressed by *populosa*. However, it can be considered functional

in creating a contrast of population density and territorial extent, two different aspects of the *gens*. The adjective *populosus* is first attested in Apuleius; see GCA 1985, 195 ad *Met.* 8,23 (194,27).

**orientem**: the African audience must have situated itself, by contrast, in the *occidens*; for the terms, cf. *Met.* 6,4 (131,12-3) *cunctus oriens... omnis occidens*.

**prope Oceani reflexus**: 'near the turning-points of the Ocean', a cryptic phrase involving the rare word *reflexus*, which is actually not attested elsewhere. As FERRARI 1968, 127-8 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 130 rightly observe, it was most likely coined to produce a rhyme with the following *exortus*.

The exact meaning of the phrase is not easy to define. Apuleius seems to allude to an idea of the 'ultimate edge of the world', where the waves of the Ocean turn back upon themselves; cf. also PURSER 1910, 146 'the sweep round north when the ocean reaches the extreme east.' On ancient concepts of the 'boundaries' of Ocean, see ROMM 1992, 11-26. On the other hand, as AUGELLO remarks, a man of education such as Apuleius can hardly have believed the world was flat; cf. further his scientific observations on the Ocean in *Mun.* 6.

The obscurity here is probably deliberate: Apuleius does not wish to provide exact information, but to impress his audience. The plural forms *reflexus* and *exortus* would also suggest this. The whole phrase recalls traditional literary expressions such as Verg. *Aen.* 7,225-6 *tellus extrema refuso.../ Oceano*.

**primis sideribus, ultimis terris**: two rather loosely constructed ablatives of quality, that unlike the previous detail must have been easy to understand for all. India is the distant land where the stars rise first. The contrast of stars and land is, of course, artificial and introduced merely for the sake of the effect: India is the land of extremes.

**super Aegyptios... Arabas**: the distant location of India is further underlined by references to six famous peoples which it surpasses in this respect. The various names are given epithets illustrating their typical properties. In the first three cases a single adjective suffices, while the latter three have a combination of an adjective with a noun in the genitive (a poetical use, according to VON GEISAU 1916, 248).

The first two and the last one refer to rather well-known ethnographical topics. In antiquity, the Egyptians were traditionally thought to be wise and the Jews superstitious; for the latter see e.g. Juv. 14,96-106, and full material in SCHÄFER 1997, 1-118. The generic term *Arabes*, and their renown for various fragrances and pleasant scents, were commonplaces since Herodotus; cf. e.g. Hrdt. 3,107 and 113.

The three examples mentioned in between are somewhat less well known. The Nabathaeans were an old Arabic tribe living in North-west Arabia, subjected by Rome as late as 106 A.D. They were active as traders; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 12,98. The Arsacides were the dynasty of kings ruling the Parthians; here the name is more or less synonymous with that of the Parthians, a people that had come to be seen as part of the Persians. For the loose form of dress associated with various eastern peoples, cf. the description of Persian clothes given by Amm. Marc. 23,6,84; further e.g. Tac. *Ger.* 17,1. The Ityraei were a Syrian-Arabic desert people living in what is now Lebanon. Their name is sometimes mentioned in Roman poetry; e.g. Verg. *G.* 2,448; Luc. 7,514. The epithet *frugum*

*pauperes* probably refers to a supposed 'nomadic' existence, often attributed to eastern peoples.<sup>1</sup>

6,2 **eorum igitur Indorum**: a repetition of a name in the habitual style of Apuleius; cf. note on *Apol.* 4,8 *eum quoque Zenonem*. A full list of instances of such repetitions in the *Fl.* may be found in BERNHARD 1927, 288-9.

**non aequae miror**: a description of the various riches of India follows. However, the speaker says they are less wonderful than what he will mention at the end of his description. The literary form is that of the priamel; cf. introductory note (final paragraph).

**eboris strues**: all six elements referring to wealth are similarly expressed by means of a noun indicating 'great quantity' (the first three ending in *-es*, the others in *-a*) and a genitive (ending in *-is* or *-i*) for the precious material. Ivory, spices, and metals are simply listed together. Indian ivory is often referred to in Roman literature, particularly in poetry; cf. e.g. *Catul.* 64,48; *Verg. G.* 1,57; *Hor. Carm.* 1,31,6.

**piperis... cinnami**: two commodities that are often associated with India. For the former cf. *Plin. Nat.* 12,27 (*bregma*); and *Solin.* 54,8. For the latter, *Sid.Ap. Carm.* 9,326 and 22,50. In a much later source they are mentioned in combination: *Isid. Etym.* 14,3,6. On Roman spice trade in general, see MILLER 1969, esp. 42-7 (cinnamon) and 80-3 (pepper); on cinnamon and pepper as Indian products, see further KARTTUNEN 1997, 148-151.

**ferri temperacula**: 'smelting-furnaces for iron'. India was not particularly known for its iron (a non-precious metal not likely to be exported to the West). Apart from the present place, it is rarely mentioned; ANDRÉ / FILLIOZAT 1986, 438 refer to *Curt.* 9,8,1 (white iron); *Epist.Alex.* 64 and *Jul.Val.* 3,24; see also KARTTUNEN 1997, 250. The noun *temperaculum* does not occur elsewhere; cf. FERRARI 1968, 125.

**auri fluenta**: the ethnographic element is that of a river carrying small particles of gold, something associated notably with rivers in the luxurious East, such as the Pactolus or the Hermus (e.g. *Verg. G.* 2,137) (cf. also OLD s.v. *fluentum*).<sup>2</sup> It was also believed that such rivers existed in India; cf. *Curt.* 8,9,18 *aurum flumina uehunt*; *Plin. Nat.* 33,66 (of the Ganges); see also below on 6,8 *aurum colare*. But given the rhetorical context here, Apuleius may also have wished to evoke a hyperbole of 'streams of gold', to form a first climax in the enumeration of the riches of India.

6,3 **Ganges**: the great river in eastern India, often mentioned in Roman poetry, e.g. *Verg. G.* 2,137; *A.* 9,31; *Luc.* 3,230 and others.

**'Eois - amni'**: three lines of hexametric poetry celebrating the Ganges are inserted, without reference to its author. Given their exotic theme and the mention of Clemens in 7,4 as the author of a poem on the conquests of Alexander the Great, many scholars assume that this Clemens must be the author of the present lines too, e.g. STEINMETZ 1982, 296; see also MATTIACCI 1986, 162-3n13. This is certainly possible, but we have

<sup>1</sup> According to AUGELLO, it is the Ityraeans' reputation of archers and brigands that is alluded to. However, this would leave the link with 'poverty of grain' rather unclear.

<sup>2</sup> In the west, the Spanish *Tagus* was commonly said to carry such gold dust; cf. e.g. *Catul.* 29,19; *Ov. Mer.* 2,251; *Plin. Nat.* 4,115.

no further proof. Alternatively, in the absence of a name or clue, Apuleius himself could be the author.<sup>1</sup>

The three lines might be described as Asianistic or outright 'bombastic'; HARRISON 2000, 102 speaks about 'a pastiche of Vergilian style'. The lines elaborately picture the Ganges and its numerous estuaries, rounded up at 'one hundred'; cf. *Eur. Ba.* 406 on the Nile. The element of 'a hundred' is then varied three more times: a hundred valleys, a hundred mouths, and a hundred torrents. Vergilian touches (see below) further enhance the lofty atmosphere.

**regnator aquis**: as an adjunct not of a God but of a river this is a Vergilian echo; cf. *Verg. A.* 8,77 *corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum*.

**discurrit**: cf. *Verg. G.* 4,292 (of the Nile) *et diuersa ruens septem discurrit in ora*.

**centum... oraque centum**: for the repetition of *centum* cf. *Verg. G.* 2,43 *non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum*; (=A. 6,625); further e.g. *Verg. A.* 1,634-5; *Ov. Am.* 3,4,19.

**centeno**: the singular of *centeni* is comparatively rare. It is used in poetry in a multiplicative sense; cf. examples in OLD s.v. 3.

6,4  **nec quod isdem...**: two more ethnographic details follow, one on the colour of the inhabitants and one concerning animal life (see below).

**sitis ad nascentem diem**: cf. above *ad orientem siti* (6,1). The point is repeated for the sake of the (rather strained) thought that the Indians' location in the regions where 'day' begins contrasts their skin, which has 'the colour of night'.

**color noctis**: the detail of the dark skin of the Indians was, not surprisingly, a stock characteristic; cf. e.g. *Verg. G.* 4,293 *coloratis... Indis*; *Tib.* 3,8,19-20 *niger... Indus*; *Juv.* 11,125 *Mauro obscurior Indus*. For the combination used here, cf. *Petr. Fr.* xix,3 *tinctus colore noctis* of an Egyptian boy; further *Sen. Her.F.* 862 (in a different context).

**immensi dracones - elephantis**: for the fabulous story of snakes and elephants perpetually engaging in combat, cf. notably *Plin. Nat.* 8,32-4, whose account Apuleius seems to follow here (cf. HARRISON 2000, 102); further *Solin.* 25,10-4 and other late sources. Full material on Indian elephants may be found in KARTTUNEN 1997, 187-201; further 227-8 for the stories on fighting snakes and elephants. As KARTTUNEN adds, in nature there are no snakes capable of presenting problems to elephants.

Apuleius seems to have no doubt about the zoological reality of the story. In his account, the anecdote on battling animals brings new entertainment for the audience after the somewhat less exciting last few particulars. The contest of the exotic animals is presented in vivid, dramatic fashion. Even on the level of language the *immensi* snakes seem to match the *immanes* elephants.

**pari periculo**: the combat always ends in death for both; cf. Pliny's words *conmoritur ea dimicatio uictusque conruens complexum elidit pondere* (*Nat.* 8,32). The idea is stated explicitly in the following words *in mutuum perniciem*.

<sup>1</sup> It might be objected that Apuleius then would probably have mentioned the fact: in his poetical self-quotations in the *Apol.* he not merely refers to his own authorship, but even conspicuously takes pride in it. But the rhetorical context in the *Apol.* is somewhat different: there he has been censured for his verse and feels obliged to defend himself, whereas there is no such need here.

6,5 **lubrico uolumine**: the adjective *lubricus*, fairly common for snakes (e.g. Lucr. 4,60), is now applied to their curling movements or 'coils'.

**reinciunt**: 'restrain them' (sc. the elephants). The verb is taken in a literal sense. It will be resumed by the exquisite juncture *squameas pedicas*.

**et... fit**: Fϕ read *et... sit..* This prompted the early correction *ut* by Floridus, which produces easy, correct syntax and is accepted by most modern editors. Alternatively, we may retain *et* and change *sit* in *fit*, which is paleographically easy to explain. The reading *fit* is actually found in an early edition (ed.Bas.). The latter option produces a paratactic construction, which is quite in line with Apuleius' rhetoric style in general, particularly in the context of this fragment with its many enumerations. In reading both *et* and *fit*, I also follow the example of HILDEBRAND.

**illis...**: the elephants cannot loosen the grip of the snakes and are wounded and defeated. Further details on the battle are provided by Plin. *Nat.* 8,33, e.g. that the elephants often become blinded by the snakes. When the elephants ultimately collapse, they crush their attackers (*uictusque corruens complexum elidit pondere*; idem, 8,32).

Apuleius' relatively long sentence gradually builds up the tension and presents the result with some additional pathos, by attributing a desire for revenge to the elephants. This presentation makes his story more lively and attractive.

**pedicas**: the word takes up *reinciunt*. It is used with reference to animals also in Plin. *Nat.* 11,81 (of the spider).

**retentores**: the word is not attested before Apuleius. For Apuleian neologisms with the productive, expressive suffix *-tor*, see FERRARI 1968, 106-11 and FACCHINI-TOSI 1986, 132-5.

6,6 **libentius - disseruerim**: having captured his audience with some marvels of the Indian nature and animal world, the speaker now moves on to the human sphere, which is bound to fascinate the audience even more.<sup>1</sup> First, some groups of special workers among the Indians are specified: farm-labourers, traders, and warriors.

This actually reflects the caste system of India, as it is set out at some length by Arr. *Ind.* 11-12. In this Greek text, based on observations by Megasthenes, seven distinct castes are dealt with: sophists, farmers, cattle-keepers, artisans and merchants, warriors, inspectors, and consellers. The rigid dividing lines between these Indian castes are rather played down by Apuleius; cf. the faint *nihil amplius quam... nouere*. Furthermore, Apuleius mentions only four of the seven castes. In the context of this speech, there is of course no need for him to be precise and exhaustive. On Indian castes see further e.g. Strabo 15,39-49 and Plin. *Nat.* 6,66.

**est apud illos genus**: an almost verbal repetition of *sunt apud illos... genera*.

**bubulcitare**: 'to drive or tend cattle'. A rare word (cf. TLL s.v. 2223,8-13), which as FERRARI 1968, 96 assumes, may well be part of the technical language of landsurveying, although it is not attested in texts of the Roman *agrimensores*. Apuleius may have taken the word from Plautus; cf. FERRARI, 97.

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that one detail concerning humans has already been mentioned, namely the dark skin of Indian people (6,4). Apparently, this was not one of the *miracula hominum* but one of the *miracula naturae*.

**ideoque adgnomen**: a vexed place, Fϕ having *idque adcognomen*, which was emended in various ways by scholars (see HELM's apparatus). For the first word, HILDEBRAND prints *indeque*, which seems just as good as *ideoque*, accepted by many others. The second word is probably due to a confusion between *agnomen* and *cognomen*, and one has to choose between the two. HELM's *adgnomen* has a parallel in *Apol.* 56,7 *adgnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, (...) Mezentius*, but for the other one might adduce *Fl.* 7,1 *cui cognomentum 'magno' inditum est*.

**'bubulcis'**: Apuleius seems to present the name as something special, but as a matter of fact, it occurs quite frequently in Roman literature; see places in OLD.

6,7 **sunt et...**: traders and warriors are referred to. Note the similarity of expression: an adjective combined with a gerundive construction in the dative.

**mutandis mercibus**: the juncture *mutare merces* is a standard expression for trade; cf. e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 4,39; Hor. *S.* 1,4,29; and Tac. *Ann.* 4,13,4.

**sagittis - comminus**: this is, of course, hardly an original type of contrast. Cf. e.g. Cic. *Sen.* 19 *eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis*; Curt. 7,8,18 *sagitta eminus, hasta comminus*; and Sil. 15,373-4.

**est... uocantur**: paratactical turns are characteristic of Apuleius' style, although according to BERNHARD 1927, 288 they are less frequent in the *Florida* than in the *Met.*

**gymnosophistae**: finally, the speaker reaches the most important theme of the fragment, the class of Indian *Bracmani* known in the Greco-Roman West as 'gymnosophists' on account of their nudity (cf. Arr. *Ind.* 11,7). Cf. *Fl.* 15,16 on Pythagoras: *atque inde Bracmanos — hi sapientes uiri sunt, Indiae gens est — eorum ergo Bracmanum gymnosophistas adisse*. In Greek literature, the gymnosophists are mostly dealt with in the context of the conquests of Alexander the Great in the East; e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 64; Arr. *Ind.* 11,1-8 and *An.* 7,2. In Roman literature outside the *Florida* their name occurs only in Plin. *Nat.* 7,22. See further *Neuer Pauly* s.v. 28-9 (with further literature) and O'BRIEN 1992, 156-7wn5; further KARTTUNEN 1997, 55-64.

6,8 **periti non...**: the gymnosophists, the final element of the long first priamel (6,2-7) are introduced by means of yet another priamel, listing nine qualities which the speaker does *not* so much admire in them. With one exception (*aurum colare*), all of these examples refer to agriculture and animal husbandry, areas clearly outside the scope of the gymnosophists. The parallels are listed in two groups: one of three gerundives (dependent on *periti*) and one of six simpler complements of a noun and a verb (of *norunt*). The division is not thematic: in the second group, two examples still refer to agriculture (*aurum colere* and *taurum subigere*).

**propagandae - arboris**: propagating plants and grafting trees were techniques commonly associated with the West rather than with India; cf. Verg. *G.* 2,63-4 *propagine uites / respondent* and idem, 73-82; and Col. 11,2,59.

**proscindendi soli**: apparently a technical expression, since it is used elsewhere mainly by Columella; e.g. Col. 6,16,1 and 11,3,56.

**aurum colare**: an example that stands out from its surroundings, since it refers to metallurgy rather than farming. Metals actually were part of the initial characterisation of India. More in particular, gold carried by rivers was alluded to in *auri fluenta* (6,2). Here the 'washing' of gold comes in naturally. But Apuleius seems to have been attracted mainly by the mere sound of words: *aurum colare* closely echoes *aruum colere*; cf.

FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 153-4. For the juncture *colare aurum*, PURSER 1910, 147 compares Vulg. *Malachi* 3,3 *colabit eos quasi aurum et quasi argentum*.

**equum domare**: an example from the sphere of animal husbandry. It is yet another proof of Apuleius' interest in animals, manifest throughout in the *Florida* and earlier in the present fragment.

**taurum subigere**: strictly speaking, this refers to agriculture again, since the bull is brought under the yoke for the purpose of ploughing, as in Verg. *G.* 1,45.

**ouem - pascere**: two examples of a noun and a verb effectively combined in a more complex unit: shearing and pasturing sheep and goats. For *tondere* and *pascere* used in close connection (but in a rather different context), see Verg. *G.* 2,431-2.

6,9 **unum pro his omnibus**: an abundant expression, for which cf. e.g. *Met.* 4,31 (99,6-7) *unum atque pro omnibus unicum* with GCA ad loc. Cf. also on 3,1 *solus ante alios*.

**sapientiam percolunt**: a rather unremarkable feat, after the many marvels of India listed so far. But certainly *sapientia* ranked high in the scale of values shared by the speaker and his public. In their exclusively devoting their lives to contemplation, the gymnosophists may be said to represent the ideal of sages. The verb *percolere* resumes and strengthens *colere / colare* of 6,8.

**tam - iuniores**: a double contrast, of both age and knowledge. For learning and teaching, cf. above on 5,2.

**nec quicquam... aequae laudo**: cf. *non aequae miror* (6,2). The words announce a new climax, and in effect create a compact, third priamel: of India nothing is so marvellous as the gymnosophists; of these, nothing is so wonderful as their quest for wisdom; and in this wisdom, nothing is as admirable as the general aversion to idleness.

6,10 **igitur...**: the general statement of 6,9 is elaborated by means of an illustrative example. The method is typical of Apuleius' demonstrative rhetoric.

**edulia**: an old word for 'food'; cf. Afran. *com.* 259; Var. *L.* 7,61 and *R.* 2,9,8. It seems to have been resuscitated in Apuleius' day; cf. *Met.* 6,28 (150,16); Gel. 6,16,4. For later examples, see TLL s.v. *edulium* 124,83ff. The effect here is sustained by the old and poetic word *daps*, used instead of the normal *cena* or *prandium*.

**conueniunt, ... perrogant**: the structure of the sentence is not entirely clear. Some editors (HELM originally, VALLETTE) punctuate: *conueniunt*; But a comma after *conueniunt*, as printed by e.g. HILDEBRAND and HELM (Add. et Corr.), seems better, even if it leaves a certain ambiguity.<sup>1</sup>

**quod... bonum fecerint**: a self-examination of one's conscience as a daily routine is also known from Pythagorean circles, and Apuleius may well have taken his inspiration there; cf. notably the Pythagorean *Carmina Aurea* (lines 40-4) on the questions to be put at the end of the day, before sleeping (see HARRISON 2000, 103wn40). For Apuleius' vocabulary here (with the Plautine *factum... facere*) see FERRARI 1969, 166wn3.

<sup>1</sup> Advocates of the first option apparently assume two separate sentences, with *conueniunt* as main verb of the first one (to *ubi mens posita* we must then add in mind *est*). On the other hand, with a comma we would either have a main sentence with two asyndetically connected verbs (a structure largely corresponding to that of the first option), or, alternatively, a subordinate clause *ubi... conueniunt* (with an ablative absolute *mensa posita*) and a main verb *perrogant*. This last option would best bring out what must be the speaker's intention: it is the masters' question, not the gathering for dinner, that illustrates the hatred of idleness.

**a lucis - dei**: the exact time is hard to establish, but given the reference below in 6,12 to a *prandium* ('meal eaten about midday'), it may be paraphrased as 'during the morning'.

6,11 **sanata - suspicione**: three sonorous cases of ablative absolute (with marked *a*-sound) illustrate the positive effect of mediation.

6,12 **itidem...**: some more examples of a good act: duly obeying one's parents, and formulating a sensible thought or learning it from others.

<...> **denique**: something has apparently fallen out. ARMINI 1928, 330-1 defends the text as it stands, taking *commemorant* in an absolute sense as 'uerba faciunt'; this, however, seems hard to accept: the verb *commemorant* clearly needs an object here. One may think of <*alia*> *denique ceteri* (HELM), <*sua*> *denique ceteri* (Leo), or *denique <cetera> ceteri* (VAN DER VLIET) but in the absence of further clues I have just indicated a lacuna, as did VALLETTE.<sup>1</sup>

**habet adferre**: this use of the infinitive with *habere* belongs to colloquial speech; cf. VON GEISAU 1916, 274-5.

**inpransus**: 'not having had one's morning meal'. The word seems to carry associations of comedy and satire; cf. e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 528; Hor. *S.* 2,2,7. Similarly, the drastic *foras extrudere* recalls Pl. *Aul.* 44. For the combination cf. notably Pl. *Cas.* 788-9 *incenatum senem foras extrudunt mulieres*.

The fragment on India ends on a moralistic rather than a polemical note, but the notion of idleness and laziness may well have been further developed in a more polemical way. For instance, the real wisdom of the gymnosophists could have been contrasted with the false wisdom of fake philosophers such as Apuleius' opponents.

## VII ONLY THE GREATEST

*One of the most glorious achievements of Alexander the Great is his strict selection of artists who were allowed to represent his likeness. That is why his portrait is always identical. If only the same rule would apply to philosophy and only the best were allowed to touch upon it! Now, uncivilized men pollute this noble study by living and speaking badly, thereby showing their contempt for themselves and for you.*

In a fairly natural order, the piece on India is followed by a fragment of roughly the same length dealing with Alexander the Great, whose conquests of the East led him as far as India. The pictorial arts being a dominant motif in the piece, there is much room for art in general (even poetry: 7,4) and fine description in particular. The names of famous Greek artists are mentioned with manifest pleasure. The descriptive section ends on some remarks of more immediate concern to the speaker. He wishes that philosophy possessed the same power as Alexander and allowed only the best to study her. As it is, false

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, one might consider not inserting a word, but deleting *ceteri* and omitting the comma after *didicisse*: the verb *commemorant* would thus be governed by the preceding subjects *itidem alius... et alius...*

philosophers wrongly claim her. These men, by denigrating good people, actually debase themselves and insult their audience.

There are clear links with the preceding fragment. Apart from Alexander, there is the poet Clemens (7,4), who might be the author of the lines quoted in 6,3 (see note there). A similar structure may be detected as in *Fl.* 6: an interesting, partly exotic theme is brought up, and some colorful paragraphs are devoted to it; then the speaker quickly strikes a more philosophical note, which appears to have been his main concern all along. In this way, anecdote is turned into morals.

Given the parallels between *Fl.* 6 and 7, both pieces may be assumed to stem from the same original; see also HARRISON 2000, 103 and 104. But the argument may also be reversed: the parallels, especially that of the structure, also speak against a close connection in one speech, rather suggesting the speaker's use of the same techniques on different occasions.

The moral end of *Fl.* 7 carries a polemical tone that is much more overt than in any of the preceding fragments, such as *Fl.* 3 and (to a much smaller extent) 5. Fierce polemics also occur later on (e.g. *Fl.* 11); taking a stand against 'false philosophers' was almost a commonplace during the Second Sophistic; see SANDY 1997, 155. Here, the notion that the speaker's rivals are speaking badly is given most attention. This enables him to raise the support and sympathy of his audience in a clever way: for it is the audience, so he argues, that is insulted by such words.

Many ancient philosophers found fault with Alexander the Great on account of his lack of moderation, impulsive behaviour, and desire for power; cf. e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 94,62 and *Nat.* 3 pr.5. This widespread critical attitude does not find an echo in *Fl.* 7. The reason is easy to understand: in the present text, the speaker puts Alexander on a par with philosophy, in order to compare good philosophers (that is, himself) with famous artists. As philosophy is presented as superior and blameless, so Alexander must be seen as a model of virtue. Praise of Alexander appears to have been one of the standard topics in rhetorical training, and Alexander remained popular during the Second Sophistic; cf. HARRISON 2000, 104 (with further references).

The material on Alexander is traditional; on Alexander's wish only to be represented by selected artists (here presented as a command), cf. Plin. *Nat.* 7,125 and Hor. *Ep.* 2,1,239-41, both of whom seem to be followed here by Apuleius, as HARRISON 2000, 104 argues. Alexander, it may be added, was a popular theme in Second Sophistic and Roman declamation; cf. SANDY 1997, 64-6. The scholarly literature on Alexander is vast; a modern biography is O'BRIEN 1992.

7,1 **Alexandro...**: the initial dative is not properly constructed in the sentence. After a long parenthesis (7,2-3), the name is resumed with *eius igitur Alexandri... facinora*. In these circumstances, the anacoluthon seems to come in almost naturally, especially in the loose style of Apuleius' demonstrative rhetoric (cf. also e.g. 21,1-4). It should best be left unchanged, as HELM rightly indicates. For the opening of the text with a name, see on 3,1.

**ex rebus actis et auctis**: the combination looks like an Apuleian invention. *Res actae* is, of course, perfectly normal Latin, but the sound may have invited the speaker to

enhance the expression. In the light of Alexander's conquests which greatly enlarged his empire, *auctae* is perfectly fitting (cf. 7,2 *imperio... auctus*).

**cognomen 'magno'**: the audience is no doubt familiar with Alexander and his name, and is not likely to have wondered about its origin. But Apuleius does not want to provide new information, but to repeat details known to all, in order to make the audience feel at ease; cf. also on 4,1. The combination *Alexander magnus* occurs without further comment in *Apol.* 22,8. For *cognomen* see also on 6,6 *adgnomen*.

7,2 **nam solus...**: a short digression on the exploits of Alexander the Great, which are bound to be easily recognized by the audience. Basically, the speaker says hardly more than that Alexander's record is impressive, a thought that is amplified at some length.

< a > **condito aeuo**: for the expression (here perhaps used on the analogy of *ab urbe condita*) Plin. *Nat.* 7,120 and 141.

**inexuperabili - auctus**: the solemn diction (cf. TLL s.v. *augeo* 1355,2ff) achieves a slightly pompous effect. For *augere* with words of power and might, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3,601-2 *Aeneas regno... auctus erat*; Vitruv. 9 pr.9 *Hiero... auctus regia potestate*.

**fortuna sua maior**: a pun on Alexander's surname, which was prepared by the earlier *magno*. Similar puns on Pompey 'the Great' abound in Latin literature; cf. e.g. Hunink on Luc. 3,5 (with references). For Apuleius' concept of *fortuna* in his minor works, cf. FRY 1984, 139n12 and HIJMANS 1987, 444-8.

**successus - melior**: a tricolon illustrating Alexander's 'imitation and emulation' of his own fortune. His great qualities (cf. *strenuus*, *meritus*, *melior*, the latter two also being connected in sound) are the ultimate cause of his glory.

7,3 **sine aemulo clarus**: an exceptional situation. Alexander is so great that he is, effectively, beyond the reach of human rivals. In the preceding sentence (7,2) he was seen as the rival of his own fortune. *Aemulatio* is an important notion in the *Florida*, notably referring to rivalry in arts; cf. e.g. 9,15 *aemuli multi* (of Hippias); 9,24; 12,3 (of the parrot); 15,21; 16,6 (Philemon as *aemulus* of Menander); 18,41. Cf. further e.g. *Apol.* 37,1 *Sophocles Euripidi aemulus*.

**uirtutem - optare**: note the close similarity of the two cola, both in sound and number of syllables. Alexander's *uirtus* and *fortuna* have both been dealt with in 7,2.

7,4 **eius igitur Alexandri**: a resumption of *Alexandro* in 7,1 (for the construction, see note there). The repetition of a name in this manner belongs to Apuleius' style; cf. 6,2 *eorum igitur Indorum*; and see *Apol.* 4,8 *Zenonem illum... eum quoque Zenonem* with note.

**sublimia - edita**: Alexander's unique performances are referred to in expressions not attested before Apuleius. *Facinora* and *edita* ('exploits', OLD s.v. 2) are direct objects of *mirando*, with *uel belli ausa uel domi prouisa* as a double attribute (the finite verb is *fatigaberis*).

**adgressus est... illustrare**: the verb *aggredior* can mean 'to set about a task, undertake, deal with' (OLD 4a with examples). But in this context, the openly military sense of the word (OLD 3a-b) seems relevant as well.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words *quae omnia* seem to suggest this too. Although Alexander is famous without a rival (7,3), his achievements are, in a way, challenged by Clemens, who has tried to tackle 'all of Alexander's feats' in a poem.

**meus Clemens:** nothing is known about this poet, from whose work some lines may actually have been quoted above (see on 6,3).<sup>1</sup> Nor is his exact relation to Apuleius clear, *meus* expressing family ties or the attitude of a teacher to his pupil, or simply friendship and esteem. Cf. also 2,1 *maior meus Socrates*.

**eruditissimus et suauiissimus:** the superlatives (cf. also *pulcherrimo*) underscore Clemens' superior qualities as a poet. In this respect, he actually seems to match Alexander, who was called *longe omnium excellentissimo regi*.

7,5 **sed... illud praeclarum:** of Alexander's numerous deeds, one particular feat is singled out. The thought is given the form of a brief priamel, as in *Fl.* 6 (see on e.g. 6,8). *Praeclarum* is simply repeated from 7,4 *praeclara edita*.

A somewhat similar story expressing great concern about one's image is told by Apuleius about Agesilas (ca. 400 B.C.). This Spartan king forbade any picture or image to be made of himself, because he considered himself ugly: see *Apol.* 15,1.

**quo certior... proderetur:** 'to ensure it would be more faithfully transmitted'. The subject of the verb is *imago*. The verb has probably been selected (instead of e.g. *traderetur*) because of its sound: the initial *p-* matches that of *posteris*, as well as of *primis* and *praeclarum*.

**contaminari:** a strong word from the sphere of religion. If Alexander's image could be profaned, it means that it was to be considered sacred (cf. 7,7 *sanctissimae imagini regis*).

7,6 **edixit... ne quis...:** the story about Alexander's edict was well known; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2,1,239-41 *edicto uetuit, ne quis se praeter Apellen / pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera / fortis Alexandri uoltum simulantia*; and notably Plin. *Nat.* 7,125 *idem hic imperator edixit ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret*. That Alexander would only suffer statues of himself to be made by Lysippus, is also stated by Plut. *Alex.* 3,4 and Arr. *An.* 1,16,4, while the detail on Pyrgoteles is repeated by Plin. *Nat.* 37,8: *edictum Alexandri magni, quo uetuit in hac gemma ab alio se scalpi quam ab Pyrgotele, non dubie clarissimo artis eius*. For full material see STEWART 1993, 360-2.

The notion of an edict of Alexander (rather than a personal preference for certain artists) may have emerged in the Hellenistic period, in the court of some Hellenistic king who wished to control his portraiture. Apuleius present the edict in its most developed form. Here, the story tells little about Alexander but much about Roman imperial portraiture and autocratic control of images; see STEWART 1993, 27-8.

Apuleius' phrasing seems to have been inspired mainly by Plin. *Nat.* 7,125, given expressions such as *edixit... ne quis, ex aere ducere, and deliniare*, as well as the mention of three artists and their arts. Curiously, however, two differences appear in Apuleius' account: within the group of three, Lysippus has been replaced with Polycletus, and the division of arts is not the same, Pyrgoteles now being represented as Alexander's favourite engraver rather than glyptographer (see below on *Pyrgoteles*).

Polycletus obviously does not belong in the story, since he lived a century before Alexander (approximately 450-410 B.C.). Apuleius' variant version may be due to the

<sup>1</sup> On a rather curious note, it has been argued by HERMANN 1951-2 that the Christian writer Clement of Alexandria was meant. This suggestion has rightly been rejected by e.g. MORTLEY 1972, 585n6.

wide renown of the name Polycletus; cf. also HUMANS 1994, 1734n81. It may also be simply explained as an error of the speaker (thus e.g. AUGELLO ad loc.).

**suo:** the reflexive possessive is significant. Since Alexander has conquered a huge empire, he can issue orders for 'his entire world'.

**adsimularet:** the speaker refers to three forms of artistic representation: sculpture in bronze, painting, and relief-work. For Apuleius' vocabulary referring to the arts, cf. *Apol.* 14 *Enimuero quod luto fictum uel aere infusum uel lapide incussum uel cera inustum uel pigmento illitum uel alio quopiam humano artificio adsimulatum est, non multa intercapedine temporis dissimile redditur*. In that passage, various pictorial arts are rhetorically compared to the mirror.

**caelamen:** a rare noun instead of the more common *caelatura*. Apuleius also uses it further down in the sentence, and in *Met.* 5,1 (103,17) and *Soc.* 2 (121), where it seems to be ascribed to Ennius. Before Apuleius, TLL s.v. 64,16-25 only quotes Ov. *Met.* 13,291.

**quin:** the reading of the MSS. It was changed to *cum* by Leo, which was adopted at first by HELM, who later changed his mind and proposed *quin saepe* <*scripsit*>. Another possibility would be a change to *ut*, as proposed by PURSER 1910, 147-8. However, *quin* is not to be interpreted as a conjunction, but as a strongly affirmative adverb accompanying a command (*duceret*); cf. OLD s.v. A 1b. The addition of a word like <*scripsit*> or <*edixit*> is not necessary. If a semicolon is printed before *quin*, the sentence may be taken as an instance of free indirect speech (hence the subjunctive *duceret*), together with the following clause *praeter hos... uindicaturum*.

**saepe:** all modern translators appear to be puzzled by *saepe*, which they leave untranslated. Scholars either delete the word or argue that its force is reduced (Löfstedt, Beiträge 43 sqq., as referred to by HELM). *Saepe* does, however, add an important point: the three artists are the *only ones* (note the emphatically repeated *solus*) who are allowed to make images of the King, but they must do so *frequently*.<sup>1</sup>

**Polycletus:** the famous Greek sculptor, who lived in the second half of the fifth century B.C.). His inclusion in this story about Alexander cannot possibly be right; see above on *edixit... ne quis*. A recent article on the art of Polycletus is BORBEIN 1996.

**aere duceret:** the key-words *aere, colore, and caelamine* are repeated in the same sentence, but now in remarkable combinations. For the first, *aere ducere*, see Plin. *Nat.* 7,125 (quoted above). The subjunctive *duceret* reflects in free indirect speech what would have been a command in direct speech.

**Apelles:** the most famous Greek painter of antiquity. Unfortunately, none of his works is extant. Apelles is known to have been the court painter of Alexander the Great and made many portraits of the King; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 35,85-6 and 93; 7,125; Plut. *Alex.* 4,2; and see O'BRIEN 1992, 66.

**deliniaret:** before Apuleius, the verb is used only in Plin. *Nat.* 35,89. Curiously, this is in another anecdote concerning Apelles: *carbone... imaginem in pariete delineauit*.

**Pyrgoteles:** a rather less celebrated Greek artist of the fourth century B.C. He was known in antiquity as a glyptographer (a maker of cameos). In this function he is

<sup>1</sup> Apelles actually made numerous paintings of Alexander, as is attested by Plin. *Nat.* 35,93: *Alexandrum et Philippum quotiens pinxit, enumerare superuacuum est*.

associated with Alexander by Plin. *Nat.* 7,125 and 37,8 (both quoted above). There is no parallel for Apuleius' description of Pyrgoteles as a carver of relief sculptures and it is probably mistaken.

7,7 **praeter hos...**: another sentence in free indirect speech. It forms a repetition and amplification of Alexander's command, adding a threatening note.

**manus admolitus**: 'to lay hands on', an expressive, rare expression. Before Apuleius cf. only Pl. *As.* 570 *ubi sacro manus sis admolitus*. Apuleius uses it also in *Met.* 1,10 (9,23); 6,10 (135,17). The syntax of *repperiretur admolitus* is somewhat strained. Generally speaking, nominative and infinitive constructions are quite rare in Apuleius; cf. VON GEISAU 1916, 276.

7,8 **solus**: the word takes up the triple *solus* of 7,6.

**ubique imaginum**: 'in all of his portraits'. The use of *ubique* with a genitive seems typical of Apuleius; OLD s.v. *ubique* 2 quotes *Met.* 1,24 (22,1) *itineris ubique*; *Apol.* 35,4 *ubique litorum*. In the *Fl.* cf. also *ubique gentium* in 16,39; 16,39; and 18,36.

**sim <illim> us**: the commonly accepted correction of HELM (on the basis of other, mostly longer proposals) for *simus* of F $\phi$ .<sup>1</sup> The form naturally fits the context with its other superlatives. Nonetheless, a case may also be made for the older correction *similis* (by Floridus), which would be paleographically easier to explain.

**toreumatis**: 'engravings in relief'; for the form (instead of *toreumatibus*) cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 104. With the 'statues' and 'pictures', the words point back to the three arts and artists mentioned before.

**idem - frontis**: a brief ecphrasis on Alexander's portrait, summarizing the ideal image he apparently wished to present of himself. Four qualities are mentioned, all expressed in closely parallel phrases of four words each, and divided in two subgroups (two with anaphora of *idem* and two with *eadem*). This ideal Alexander looks not only like a fierce warrior and a man of great class, but also like a charming young man with his forehead free of hair. For *relicinus*, see on 3,8, where the same physiognomic detail appeared to carry a negative connotation. For a description of the physical appearance of Alexander, see also e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 4; and further material in STEWART 1993, 341-50.

7,9 **quod utinam...**: finally, the transition is made from the historical example to the speaker's more immediate purpose. A similar strict edict as that of Alexander is said to be needed for philosophy.

**ne... temere adsimularet**: the parallel with Alexander's edict is expressed in almost the same words; cf. 7,6 *ne quis effigiem regis temere adsimularet*. The idea that philosophers somehow produce 'an image of philosophy' is rather far-fetched, but the audience may have thought that it somehow sounded Platonic.<sup>2</sup>

**pauci boni**: good and erudite philosophers (such as Apuleius considered himself to be most of all) are implicitly put on a par with famous classical Greek artists.

<sup>1</sup> On a somewhat wilder note PURSER 1910, 148-50 defends the old emendation of the passage to *ubique imaginissimus* ('everywhere a perfect portrait').

<sup>2</sup> The comparison of philosophy with various arts, and of philosophers with artists and craftsmen (doctors, captains, trainers) is, of course, quite common in the works of Plato; see also *Fl.* 23.

**omnifariam**: a rare adverb, used only here in the *Fl.*; cf. also *Met.* 2,20 (41,20); *Soc.pr.* 1 (104), 3 (107); *Ascl.* 16 (54,21 M); and see CALLEBAT 1968, 137. Apuleius manifestly likes adverbs formed with the suffix; in his extant works we also find *ambifariam* (*Apol.* 4,8; *Fl.* 18,23), *trifariam* (*Apol.* 49,2), *quadrifariam* (*Met.* 2,4), *plurifariam* (*Met.* 6,10); *multifariam* (*Fl.* 15,3; *Met.* 9,7). All of these adverbs occur more than once in his works.

Here *omnifariam* is most likely to be taken with *sapientiae studium contemplarent*, as all modern translators interpret it (cf. also OLD s.v. *omnifariam* 2). It would not be impossible to take it with the preceding *eruditi*, but that participle is already qualified by the adverb *probe*.

7,10 **pallio tenuis**: 'as far as the pallium'. The imitation of real philosophers (a depreciating remark by itself) involves only the external appearance. For the contrast between dressing as philosopher and acting accordingly cf. Gel. 9,2,4 'uideo,' inquit Herodes, 'barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum uideo'. For the *pallium* as the typical dress of philosophers, cf. on 4,4.

**philosophos**: the curious spelling of F $\phi$  *philosophos* is maintained by HELM. As a rule, inconsistent spellings should be kept if they are attested elsewhere; cf. *Introduction E.1* (1). But an inconsistency of spelling within one word seems hard to accept, and Apuleius invariably writes *philosophus* and *philosophia*. The spelling must therefore be due to a scribal error.

**imitarentur**: it is tempting to follow HILDEBRAND and change the finite verb to *imitarent*, which would produce a perfectly Apuleian jingle *contemplarent, imitarent, contaminarent*. TLL s.v. *imitor* 432,70f. does attest an active form *imito*, so this is not impossible. However, this is not a sufficient reason to change the text.

**disciplinam regalem**: 'royal branch of study', an unusual description of philosophy. Cf. the designation of the head as *regalem partem* in *Apol.* 50,4 (with note there). Here the adjective seems inspired not merely by the concept of reason as the ruling element in the body, but also by the context about king Alexander.

**dicendum... uiuendum**: the pair of words, closely connected by the syntax and homocoteleuton, will be repeated in the same sentence: *male dicendo et similiter uiuendo*. The fairly simple and repetitive mode of expression lends force to the argument. Likewise *contaminarent* takes up 7,5 *contaminari*.

The idea that philosophy was partly invented for good speaking is, of course, typical of the Second Sophist Apuleius, rather than for ancient philosophy as such; on the combination of eloquence and 'philosophy', cf. SANDY 1997, 178-83.

7,11 **quod - est**: living and speaking badly is an easy thing to do, so the speaker suggests. The implication is that philosophy, by contrast, requires virtue and a persistent effort.

**rabies**: a particularly strong word, often used by Apuleius in relation to animals, notably dogs: cf. *Met.* 4,3 (76,19); 6,20 (143,19); 9,36 (230,24).

Almost inevitably, one thinks of the contemporary Cynic philosophers as possible targets of Apuleius' scornful remarks here. The relation between *Kynikoi* and dogs was evident for those all who knew even a little Greek. Apuleius scolds the Cynics for being ignorant in e.g. *Apol.* 39,1 *philosopho non secundum Cynicam temeritatem rudi et indocto*; see also on *Apol.* 22,7 and HAHN 1989, 38wn22. The Cynics also seem to be the speaker's target in 9,9.

**alterum... sui:** HELM normalized the text to *altera ex aliorum contemptu, altera ex sui <nata>*. But the change to feminine forms is not necessary, and the addition of a participle would only be required if we wished Apuleius to comply with the norms of Ciceronian Latin.

7,12 **uuliter...:** more repetitions drive home the point. *Vuliter* and *sui contemptus* both echo words from the preceding sentence. There are also repetitions of *contumelia*, *intelligere*, and cf. *qui uos arbitratur / qui uos existimat*.

**uobis:** the speaker has cleverly worked towards this climax, making a tacit shift from a general remark to a direct address to his audience: *ex aliorum contemptu --> audientium contumelia --> summam uobis contumeliam*. Moreover, the vague 'bad speaking' of false philosophers now turns out to be malicious slandering of specific persons, namely the best of them, no doubt persons such as the speaker himself: *male dicendo --> barbare alios insectari --> maledictis optimi cuiusque*. So, the speaker appears to be engaged in a sort of personal polemics, rather than in an abstract defence of culture and philosophy, and he calls in his audience in support of himself. The repetitive style of the passage has allowed him to give his argument the necessary twist.

**qui uos arbitratur...:** a conspicuous attempt to gain the sympathy of the audience. The African audience is allegedly keen on linguistic purity of Latin, if we may believe Apuleius in *Fl.* 9,7-8, so they would feel indignant at their comprehension of Latin being underestimated.

**uitiosa uerba:** the combination will return, in a slightly different sense, in 9,7.

**boni consulere:** an additional point of insult; either the audience does not understand the *maledicta*, so the opponents are assumed to think, or if it does, it is satisfied with them. This would imply moral badness on the part of the audience and so equate it to Apuleius' rivals. So the audience is strongly induced to take sides with the speaker.

7,13 **quis...:** a final note of invective against Apuleius' opponents: they use such bad language that even the lowest of persons would outdo them in eloquence. There seems to be a small shift of thought again: 'speaking badly' no longer refers to slandering but to a wrong or defective use of language.

**rupiconibus:** 'bumpkins'. *Rupico* does not occur elsewhere; see FERRARI 1968, 132. It is used instead of *rupex*, a word related to *rumpere*.

**baiolis, tabernariis:** 'porters and shopkeepers', two groups of workers who stand at the bottom of the social scale, and so are far removed from the personal world of the speaker.

**<non> disertius:** the insertion of *non* (proposed by Van der Vliet), commonly accepted, seems inevitable if we want to understand the sentence: anyone assuming a *pallium* would surely try to be more eloquent and thereby, by implication, show less contempt of his audience. Paleographically, however, the omission of *non* (or abbreviated *n̄*) remains difficult to account for.

Alternatively, the reading *disertis*, as printed in early editions, also makes sense: 'who is so inarticulate that he speaks evil of those who are eloquent?'<sup>1</sup> But this sense

<sup>1</sup> In the latter case, *infans* ('unable to speak', 'inarticulate') might convey the additional notion of childishness, as in *Apol.* 33,6, and *diserti* would, again, refer to persons such as Apuleius himself.

would be less well-suited to the pragmatics of the immediate context, which strongly appeals to the *audience* rather than concentrates on the speaker himself.

## VIII A SPECIAL POSITION

*This man owes more to you than to his dignity. For there are only very few erudite, excellent senators. As far as honour is concerned, not anyone may assume the external insignia.*

This is, again, a very short fragment, consisting of only a few words more than *Fl.* 5. It refers to a senator whose position is due to someone's special favors rather than to his excellence. Nevertheless, his worth is considerable and based on his social preeminence and, most importantly, his erudition.

The senator in question is highly praised by the speaker, most of all on account of his erudition. Learning and culture are, of course, of crucial importance to Apuleius; we may compare his constant flattering in the *Apology* of the judge, Claudius Maximus. However, the words of this fragment seem to be a flattering address not of the senator, but of a magistrate to whom the senator owes much (cf. below on 8,1 *tibi*). There is no clue about the identity of either person involved. Lavish praise of magistrates is also found in *Fl.* 9; 16; and 17. Since these speeches take place in Carthage, we may assume this fragment was also part of a speech delivered there.

According to HARRISON 2000, 105 the piece is a useful model for the rhetorical technique of encomium. Indeed, the fragment has probably been selected for its second sentence, with its carefully constructed gradual exclusion of everyone but the individual in question. As it stands, the final sentence lacks coherence with the rest of the text. Perhaps it was added mainly to give the fragment a minimum length. There are no further obvious links with surrounding fragments, except for the rather weak motif of 'having a special position', which may also be said to be typical of Alexander the Great (*Fl.* 7) and Hippas (*Fl.* 9).

8,1 **hic enim:** the opening word *hic* ('this man') refers to a senator of unknown identity, perhaps a local celebrity in Carthage. He is also referred to in the following *illi*. For *enim* see note on 5,1.

**tibi:** Apuleius addresses another person, whose identity is also unknown. *Tibi* is the reading of the MSS. It is commonly replaced by editors (HELM among them) with Colvius' conjecture *sibi*, which gives a rather different sense: 'this man owes more to himself' that is: to his own merits. However, *tibi* seems excellent and should be retained: several of the *Fl.* are addressed to persons, mostly in praising or flattering terms (e.g. *Fl.* 17). The fact that we cannot know who is referred to by *tibi* does not justify altering the text. With HILDEBRAND and HIJMANS 1994, 1779 I retain the MSS' text.

**ex innumeris...:** in four steps, working towards a climax, the senator is singled out as a unique person. The technique of amplification is conventional in rhetorical texts. In the *Fl.* cf. especially 16,31 on Aemilianus Strabo: *uir omnium, quot umquam fuerunt aut sunt aut etiam erunt, inter optimos clarissime, inter clarissimos optime, inter utrosque*

*doctissime*. This rhetorical figure, in which each element is repeated before the next is introduced, is known as the *gradatio* or *climax*; see Quint. 9,3,54-7, who also quotes some examples.

8,2 **et ex iis consularibus...**: the third grade of excellence. The 'few senators of noble birth' of the preceding step now return as *consulares* 'men of consular rank'. The speaker avoids a repetition of a word, as it occurs in the other steps. This creates some variation and adds weight to the following elements *boni* and *eruditi*.

Most editors doubt the text here. HELM and others print *et ex iis <pauci consulares, ex> consularibus*, on the basis of a conjecture of Gronovius. Admittedly, this renders the text logical, in adding a fifth grade in the line of comparison. However, the text of Fφ is not only fully clear, but in its subtle variation it is also stronger than with a strictly schematic division such as editors assume.

**eruditi**: the special *dignitas* of the *hic* of 8,1 is that of an erudite, morally good, noble senator. The element of erudition and learning is highly valued by Apuleius throughout his rhetorical works; cf. also introductory note.

**insignia**: as AUGELLO rightly notices, this is a reference to the outfit typical of senators: a toga and tunic with a broad purple stripe (*latus clauus*) and shoes having a crescent-shaped buckle (*calcei lunati*). For the former cf. e.g. V.Max. 5,1,7, for the latter e.g. Mart. 1,49,31 *lunata... pellis*. The combination is referred to in Cic. *Mil.* 28 *Milo autem cum in senatu fuisset... domum uenit, calceos et uestimenta mutauit*. For *insignia* in general cf. also *Apol.* 75,7 *insignia dignitatis abiecit*.

**uestitu uel calceatu**: the combination of the words is not unusual; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 78,1; further e.g. Gel. 13,22 (pr.). Apuleius often selects or creates abstract nouns ending in *-tus*; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 129-31.

**temere usurpare**: Apuleius' whole expression finds a close echo in Tert. *Apol.* 6,2 (*leges*) *quae dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere nec impune usurpari sinebant*.

## IX VARIED TALENTS

*If there are people among you who are ill-disposed towards me, let them realize the difficulty of my task. Given my reputation, you would never forgive me even the smallest linguistic error! I accept this high standard, but I ask you, do not believe those false philosophers. My situation is like that of a proconsul: whatever he pronounces in person is entered on the record forever, without any chance for changes. So I must be very accurate, and in more than one type of study. For I have covered more areas than Hippias the sophist.*

*This famous man once visited the Olympic games, wearing clothes and accessories he had all manufactured himself. I too sing his praise, but I emulate his talents in intellectual rather than manual pursuits. One pen suffices for me: this I use to write literature in various genres, both in Greek and Latin.*

*If only, dear proconsul, I could offer all this work together to you! There is no-one whose respect I wish to earn more than yours. I admire you and thank you, not for any personal favour I received, but for your services to the community. You are an example to*

*all, inspiring respect rather than fear. Your son Honorinus, who possesses all your qualities, earlier made your temporary absence from Carthage less painful to us. Now you are, alas, relinquishing your office. We miss you already now! Fortunately, your son is preparing himself for higher offices, and we may hope for his return as a proconsul in the near future.*

This is the first long piece among the *Florida* (consisting of over 1,000 words), and it may even be a complete speech. There are no obvious elements missing either at the beginning or the end. Some personal remarks open the speech and fully-elaborated praise concludes it. Of course, more may have preceded or followed the text as we have it, but the piece reads as a coherent and complete speech; cf. also HUMANS 1994, 1750 and HARRISON 2000, 106.

It consists of three main parts. The long opening section (9,1-13) is devoted to the speaker himself. In a clearly polemical outburst (as in the earlier pieces *Fl.* 3; 4; and 7) he tries to gain the sympathy of the audience by pointing out the difficult situation he finds himself in: expectations are high in case of a man of great talents, and so he cannot make the slightest error of language or style. Like a proconsul's texts (such as his edicts), his words are unalterable. The negative formulation as a self-defence (implying the rhetorical topos of the speaker's 'problems' and 'lack of skills') in fact amounts to self-praise. Apuleius takes pride in his linguistic skills elsewhere too; cf. notably *Fl.* 20,3-6; and *Apol.* 38,5-6.

The second part (9,14-29) develops a detailed, positive portrait of the sophist Hippias, focusing, rather surprisingly, on his various manual skills in making clothes and instruments. This forms an easy transition to a second piece of self-praise of the speaker and his literary talents, now no longer veiled but quite blatant and overt (9,27-9). Since Hippias is first pictured as a clever and admirable inventor of material things, the speaker has no difficulty in presenting himself as superior to his Greek model. His own intellectual achievements are obviously intended to impress the audience even more than those of the ancient sophist. Moreover, the audience itself may be said to take part in this glory, for it was addressed at the start (9,7-8) as linguistic experts and connoisseurs. So the seemingly defensive attitude of the beginning of the speech has turned in a proud celebration of both speaker and audience.

The third part (9,30-40) finally turns to what must have been the occasion of the performance: the departure of the proconsul Severianus (mentioned in 9,39), who is ending his year of office and who is saluted and sent-off with lavish praise. Inevitably, the qualities of the proconsul that are singled out are hardly more than stereotypes: his promotion of the common interest, his inspiring qualities, his balanced character. In a clever way, Apuleius extends his praise to the magistrate's son Honorinus, thereby managing to flatter both at the same time, and making it possible to conclude the speech on a high note of hope.

Laudatory speeches of magistrates entering or resigning their office must have been a common phenomenon in Roman provinces such as Africa. As a rule, local orators will have been the ones to deliver such speeches on behalf of the community. The average quality of such speeches is likely to have been unremarkable or mediocre. The traditional rules of propemptic speeches may be found in Menander Rhetor 2,395,1-399,10. Outside

the *Florida* only very few such ceremonial speeches are extant; one may compare two Greek examples by Aelius Aristides (17 K and 21 K), on which see BURTON 1992.

The present specimen by Apuleius does not seem to have been selected because of the praise of the magistrate and his son: these lines seem not particularly noteworthy for their style or thought. It is rather the exotic details and the learned display about Hippias that must have appealed, first to the real audience (the local African elite and the dignitaries from Rome), and secondly to the anthologist and his readership. Through the many references to classical Greek philosophy, all could feel they were partaking in a classical culture.

Most of all, it is the speaker himself who stands out in this speech: it is he who with his literary talents surpasses Hippias, much to the delight of his African admirers and he clearly does not address the proconsul in a humble or submissive way. On account of his fame and high position he feels free to adopt a self-confident tone and to deliver a speech that, while being duly polite, treats the proconsul as a person of equal standing. We may assume that Severianus appreciated the tribute and formed a positive opinion of Apuleius. For Apuleius' approach we may compare his attitude towards judge Claudius Maximus in the *Apology*: the magistrate is constantly addressed and flattered as a man of letters, a philosopher, and an expert in literature on the same cultural level as the defendant. In the end, everyone is likely to have felt satisfied by this rhetorical show: the proconsul and his son were appropriately honoured, the African elite was excellently represented by their illustrious son Apuleius, and the speaker himself could glorify and praise his audience and addressee, while outshining them all nonetheless. For other examples of ceremonial speech in the *Florida* see 16 and 17.

The speech is a typical example of Second Sophistic performances as we commonly know them from Greek literature.<sup>1</sup> It shares their 'cult of the past', here manifest in the long passage on Hippias, and shows great, or even exaggerated, concern for the right word and the use of authorized language; for the latter see SANDY 1997, 50-60. For contemporary interest in Hippias, see e.g. Philostr. *VS* 495-6 and further HARRISON 2000, 107-8. The story of Hippias' own manufacture of clothing and accessories goes back to Plato *Hp.Mi.* 368b-d<sup>2</sup> and is also given by Cic. *de Orat.* 3,127, Quint. 12,11,21; and D.Chr. *Or.* 71,2. For recent studies on the sophist Hippias, see BILIK 1996 (who does not refer to the *Fl.*); for a summary of his life and teaching cf. e.g. RANKIN 1983, 52-8.

The place and date of Apuleius' speech are certain: Carthage is mentioned (9,36 and 40), and so is the proconsul Severianus (9,39). Sextus Cocceius Severianus Honorinus is known to have been the proconsul of Africa in 162-3 and the predecessor of Scipio Orfitus (for whom see *Fl.* 17); cf. SYME 1959, 318; and PIR<sup>2</sup> 1230 (II, p.294-5). Apuleius also mentions Severianus' son Honorinus; see PIR<sup>2</sup> 1218 (II, p.289).

<sup>1</sup> As ANDERSON 1990, 103 aptly puts it, Apuleius here neatly subsumes sophistic literature with history.

<sup>2</sup> The dialogue is now considered by many as non-authentic, but the *philosophus Platonicus* Apuleius is no less likely to have studied it and to have regarded it as a genuine work. Meanwhile, a comparison of the passage in *Hp.Mi.* with the present text show remarkable differences (see also separate notes below). For one thing, the Greek description is given by Socrates, who ironically praises Hippias only to make a fool of him. This irony is entirely absent here.

In the MS F, the speech is divided between two 'books', a *subscriptio* being added after 9,14. Though it would not be impossible to consider 9,1-14 and 9,15-40 separately, the text is clearly a coherent whole, and the division is hardly relevant; see further note on 9,14. On *Fl.* 9 as a whole, see also MRAS 1949, 210-1; SANDY 1997, 109-110; HIJMANS 1994, 1750-5 (a detailed analysis of rhythms); and HARRISON 2000, 105-9. For a full translation of the piece see also TATUM 1979, 167-71.

9,1 **pulcherrimo**: the text starts on a note of praise of the assembly where the speech is delivered. It was (and is), of course, common practice for orators to praise the place where they are going to discourse; cf. e.g. Quint. 3,7,27.

**il<1>is inuisoribus**: a reference to an apparently well-defined group of critics of Apuleius. In other pieces in the *Fl.* we are given the impression that the orator had fierce rivals, but the motif of 'jealousy' (obviously reflecting the speaker's personal view of the matter) has not yet occurred. *Inuisor* 'jealous person' is a rare word, not found before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 109.

9,2 **quoniam - innotescant**: one long causal clause, showing careful construction. It opens with what looks like a commonplace ('there are always those who slander the great'), which is repeated in more colourful words involving a pun and sound effects. Finally, it appears to be a rather personal statement highlighting the person and renown of the speaker himself.

**hoc genus**: the word *genus*, referring to a group, is followed by a relative clause in the plural (*qui malint*); cf. note on 18,1.

**similitudinem... simultatem**: the words have obviously been chosen for their close similarity in sound (paronomasia). The pun may even include the number of syllables of the word: those who despair of *similitudo* content themselves with what is conveyed by a smaller word: *simultas* ('animosity').

**obscuri**: the imagery is familiar. The 'obscurity' of lack of renown forms a contrast with the light of fame; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 16,10-13. The imagery will be continued shortly in *splendidissimo*.

9,3 **igitur**: the particle marks the resumption of the clause started in 9,1.

**liuidis**: this is Fulvius' emendation, adopted by most modern editors, for the impossible *libidinis* of Fφ. One may add that a slightly longer word would seem necessary to explain the form as it is written in the MSS. Scholars have proposed forms like *liuidineis* and *liuidinis* (e.g. HIJMANS 1994, 1777), but these words are not attested in authors before Apuleius.<sup>1</sup>

**macula**: 'stain'. The word is only rarely used for persons; OLD s.v. 5 quotes Cic. *Prov.* 13 *has duplicis pestis sociorum... prouinciarum uastitates, imperii maculas*; cf. also TLL s.v. 26,15f. and 75f.

9,4 **incredibilem consessum**: the compliment concerns the sheer numbers of the audience. It may seem that the speaker is wildly exaggerating here for the sake of his argument, but

<sup>1</sup> One may reconsider *liuidulis*, as proposed by THOMAS 1910, 146. The rare adjective *liuidulus* ('inclined to envy'), found in Juv. 11,110, would be more striking than the regular *liuidus*. Being a diminutive it would also be quite after Apuleius' taste. A parallel problem occurs at *Met.* 9,12 (212,2), where editors equally print *liuidis*. In that case Markland proposed *liuidulis*.

other passages in the *Fl.* also testify to huge audiences; cf. notably 18,1 *tanta multitudo ad audiendum conuenistis...* Apuleius delivered what may be called rhetorical shows or 'performances' even in real theatres; cf. *Fl.* 5. Such a location is perfectly possible for the present speech too, although the references made by the speaker remain rather vague (*coetu, auditorio, consessum*).

9,5 **cum animo suo**: the apparent superfluous indication of *animus* with *reputare* is, in fact, paralleled in literary tradition; cf. Pl. *Trin.* 256 *haec ego quom cum animo meo reputo*; Sal. *Jug.* 13,5 *facinus suum cum animo reputans*; further e.g. Liv. 21,41,16.

**conseruandae existimationis**: the speaker shows that he is already enjoying a favourable reputation. He has, so it seems, much to lose and little to win.

**arduuum... difficile**: the two words, equivalent in sense, will appear in reverse order in 16,45 *quod difficile factu erat quodque re uera arduuum*. The implication of what is said is clear: if it is already difficult to satisfy the modest expectations of a small audience, it will be impossible to meet the huge demands of the present massive audience.

9,6 **praesertim mihi...**: the following clause merely reformulates in an explicit manner what was implied in the preceding words. This is partly obscured by the use of striking idiom (see below).

**praesumptio**: the noun reinforces the repeated *existimatio* by its rhyme. Normally, *praesumptio* carries a rather negative sense; see GCA 1985,249 on *Met.* 8,18 (199,14-18).

**nihil[non]**: the element *non*, written in  $F\phi$ , was deleted by Scriuerius, who was followed by HELM, but kept by VALLETTE and AUGELLO. *Nihil non* would normally produce a strongly affirmative statement, such as *nemo non, numquam non* (OLD s.v. *non* 14). It seems, therefore, difficult to defend here, since a negative sense is plainly required. One might consider an early suggestion by HILDEBRAND (which he later discarded): *nihilum quicquam*. This would account for the form in the MSS, but produces a rather unusual rhythm.

**de summo pectore**: given the context, the sense must be 'only superficially' (as the opposite of *de imo pectore*); cf. OLD s.v. *pectus* 3c. The expression is rare; the only parallel seems to be Gel. 17,13,7. The use of *hiscere* in the sense 'to utter' is somewhat less uncommon (OLD s.v. 2b).

9,7 **quis...**: three rhetorical questions, linked by anaphoric *quis* and subjunctives expressing (im)possibility, drive home the point that the public will not allow the speaker to make even a small error of language.

**soloecismus**: a technical term for a grammatical or stylistic error or barbarism.<sup>1</sup> For the various forms it may take, see LAUSBERG 1960, 268-74 (with examples). The word is derived from *Soli*, the name of a town in Cilicia founded by Solon, where according to tradition the pure use of language (Attic) first became corrupted. The use of the technical term implies some subtle flattery of the audience: they are treated as experts in the field.

**pronuntiatam**: the second element specifically refers to pronunciation, an aspect of the Latin language that must have been a major concern for non-native speakers such as

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of the term gave rise to some discussion among specialists; cf. e.g. Quint. 1,5,34-54; further *Rhet.Her.* 4,17.

Apuleius and his African admirers and critics. On spoken Latin in Africa, see MILLAR 1968; further PETERSMANN 1998.

**incondita et uitiosa uerba**: the third point concerns the choice of suitable idiom and register. For the terms, cf. *Apol.* 87,4 *tam uitiosis uerbis, tam barbaro sermone*. In 7,12 *uitiosa uerba* occurred in a slightly different meaning. Here, the linguistic sense is associated with insanity. Of course, *quasi delirantibus oborientia* invites the listeners to think of the very opposite: carefully studied words chosen by the learned.

**blaterare**: an expressive verb for 'uttering in a babbling way', which is used repeatedly by Apuleius, e.g. *Apol.* 3,7; *Met.* 4,24 (93,4).

**et sane meritissimo**: the speaker contrasts himself to all others, who are allowed such linguistic errors. They may even do so 'very deservedly'. This can only mean that they really are insane (*delirantes*) and cannot do any better.

9,8 **acriter examinatis**: the first of four consecutive expressions for the painstaking control the audience is said to exert upon the speaker's words. The next three expressions will be of increasing length, and involve rare words and various sound effects. The terms of craftsmanship attribute a professional quality to the audience; for this SANDY 1997, 161 compares Lucian's work *Zeuxis*.

**pensiculatis**: 'you weigh in the mind'. The rare verb is used in relation to written texts in *Soc.Pr.* 1 (105) *scripta enim pensiculatis et examinatis, repentina autem noscitis simul et ignoscitis*; cf. further Gel. 13,21,11.

**ad limam et lineam certam**: an alliterating combination, that appears to be almost proverbial (cf. OTTO 1890, 194). Both nouns refer to instruments used by craftsmen such as carpenters: the 'file' and the 'plumb-line.' *Limam* is frequently applied to literary work, mostly in poets; cf. GCA 1985,89 on 8,8 (183,5-7); such use of *linea* is exceptional.<sup>1</sup> Both nouns are now combined with the verb *redigere* 'to bring into line, to relate to' (OLD s.v. 11).

**cum torno et coturno**: 'with a turner's lathe and the high boot of the tragic actor', another combination, also involving a sound effect. Again, two physical objects from the sphere of the arts and crafts are paired, but now they are clearly unrelated and so appear to be chosen only for the sake of the phonological play. Both words will return separately below in 9,27.<sup>2</sup> For *cot(h)urnus* cf. also 16,7; *Met.* 10,2 (237,13) *a socco ad coturnum*. The text has been questioned here by earlier scholars; PURSER 1910, 150-1 defends the old emendation *cum torno et circino* ('compasses').

**uilitas**: 'meanness' or 'mediocrity'. The original reading in F is *utilitas* ('usefulness'), which was corrected already in later MSS. Editors generally accept the correction.

<sup>1</sup> TLL s.v. *linea* 1432,11f. does not even mention the present passage. Still, the concrete sense of *linea* imposes itself here, given the other terms for physical tools used in the immediate context (*lima, tornus, coturnus*).

<sup>2</sup> For the combination cf. also Prop. 2,34,41-3: *desine et Aeschyleo componere uerba cothurno / desine et ad molles membra resoluere choras. / Incipe iam angusto uersus includere torno...*

**difficultatis:** the noun resumes *difficile* (9,5) and echoes the preceding clauses in sound: note the ending in *-atis* (now nominal instead of verbal) and the alliteration with *dignitas*. The word will be repeated in the next sentence.

9,9 **uos... falsos animi habeat:** the phrase reflects archaic language; cf. Ter. *Eu.* 274 *ut falsus animist!* and Sal. *Jug.* 10,1 *neque ea res falsum me habuit*; cf. further Soc. 8 (138) *falsum sententiae meritissimo dixeris*.

**parua... praua:** an obvious pun on the sense of both closely similar words.<sup>1</sup>

**palliata mendicabula:** a striking juncture, both in sense and idiom. *Palliata* refers to the *pallium*, the typical philosopher's dress (see on 4,4). For *mendicabulum* ('a beggar's instrument') used of persons, TLL s.v. 705, 54f. hesitatingly compares Pl. *Aul.* 703 and other places in Apuleius: *Apol.* 22,9 and *Met.* 9,4 (205,19) (of Lucius the ass); see further FERRARI 1968, 98-9.

So *ut saepe dixi* probably does not refer to the exact words used here, but rather to the general invective against 'false philosophers', which has indeed been frequent in the *Fl.* until now (e.g. the ending of *Fl.* 7). Given the taunt of poverty inherent in *mendicabula*, the Cynics may be the target here, as STOK 1985, 362 argues; cf. also MESSINA 1999, 291-2.

9,10 **praeco:** this is the start of a long comparison (9,10-13). As a proconsul sits quietly and issuing written decrees that will be unalterable, while his herald is running around and making loud proclamations, so the speaker himself cannot make any changes in his words once he has formulated them.

The longwinded comparison appears to be relevant to one main point: the impossibility of making subsequent changes. In particular, the mention of the proconsul's herald here seems not very logical. If the proconsul is a model for Apuleius himself (an association that by itself would be complimentary to the speaker), strictly speaking, the herald would represent the *palliata mendicabula*, who are free to say whatever they wish. Some details would seem to fit in here: the herald too is wearing a formal dress while moving around and making much noise. But the comparison does not hold good in the end. For one thing, the herald is a servant rather than an opponent of the proconsul, announcing what he is ordered by him to say, rather than contradicting or opposing him.

**procons.:** the abbreviation used in F has been maintained here (as in *Apol.* 85,2). Editors generally supply the apparently missing letters: *proconsulis*, but perhaps we should understand *proconsularis*.<sup>2</sup> There is a subtle link between the proconsul of this comparison and the real proconsul Severianus to whom this entire speech is addressed.

**et ipse:** the suggestion is that there is a close parallel between the behaviour of the herald and persons mentioned earlier; see, however, above on *praeco*.

<sup>1</sup> The words are used in close vicinity in Sil. 12,463-4, but one may doubt whether a pun is intended there.

<sup>2</sup> HILDEBRAND proposes to read *praeco ceu proconsul*, changing the text and taking the last word as a nominative. This seems less likely, if only because it would stress the similarity of *praeco* and *proconsul* rather than their difference.

**togatus:** 'wearing a toga'; cf. the earlier *palliata* (9,9). The word may either carry the negative associations of the dress of clients or prostitutes (OLD s.v. *toga* 1)<sup>1</sup> or the positive ones of formal dress, peace, and Roman culture in general; for the latter, cf. 20,10 *Karthago Camena togatorum!* Here both shades of meaning seem relevant, given the speaker's rather critical view of the *praeco*.

**contentissime clamitat:** the expressive superlative is rare; of the adverb, this is the only instance listed in TLL, s.v. *contente* 670,70f. For the alliterating combination with the verb see also *Met.* 4,10 (82,11) *contentissima uoce clamitans*.

9,11 **rarenter:** an archaic adverb used instead of the more normal *raro* (cf. Gel. 2,25,8); it occurs as early as in Andr. *trag.* 24 (W) *rarenter uenio*. Apuleius uses it again below in 17,5.

**sedens:** in all respects, the proconsul is pictured as the opposite of his herald (cf. 9,10 *stat aut ambulat*).

9,12 **praeconis - sententia:** the statement is compressed, but the sense is clear. For the herald babbling is his job, but for the proconsul reading a document amounts to giving his verdict. It may be noted that the focus is tacitly shifting to written instead of spoken text.

**prouinciae instrumento:** 'to the provincial archive'. The sense of *instrumentum* is technical, as in Suet. *Vesp.* 8,5 (see TLL s.v. 2013,84f.; there is no reference to this meaning in the OLD lemma).

9,13 **aliquam - similitudinem:** the construction with *patior* is a somewhat unusual way to say 'something similar happens to me'. *Pro meo captu* ('for me', 'comparatively') adds a note of (false) modesty; for the phrase cf. *Apol.* 7,6 and below 17,2 *pro captu suo*.

**excerptum:** the reading of Fφ. The form was changed already in some of the lesser MSS in *exceptum*, which is accepted in modern editions. For *excipere* as a technical term for 'taking down spoken words' see examples in OLD s.v. 6; cf. also the more general sense of 'picking up, seizing upon' (*idem* s.v. 14). Some of the foregoing passages would, indeed, suggest that Apuleius is thinking of an oral performance here, as was his starting-point in 9,6-7. So *Fl.* 9,13 (with *exceptum*) is often used as the main argument for the notion that Apuleius' speeches were stenographed; cf. notably WINTER 1969, 612; further e.g. GAIDE 1993, 227n2; VÖSSING 1997, 446-7 wn1511.

However, with the reading *excerptum* of our main MSS, *quodcumque ad uos protuli* may equally refer to the publication of written speeches; cf. OLD s.v. *profero* 6 (of literary and artistic works). The immediately preceding example of the proconsul and his *tabella*, contrasted with his herald and his voice, points to a written text too (9,12). Moreover, Apuleius will shortly be referring to his various *opera* (9,14). The words *atque lectum* seem perfectly natural after *excerptum*: 'whatever I publish is immediately excerpted and read.' The two verbs *excerpere* and *legere* appear in the same order in *Apol.* 83,3 *cum... epistulam istam Rufinus mala fide excerpere, pauca legeret*.

In the larger context of the *Florida* as a whole, the word *excerptum* raises interesting questions. After all, the work is, most likely, a collection of *excerpts*, brought together by an unknown person. The present instance could indicate that excerpts of Apuleius' speeches circulated even during his lifetime. The MSS reading, therefore, makes excellent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Met.* 10,33 (264,2) where *togatus* is used in a context of abuse of lawcourts (*uulissima capita, immo forensia pecora*), *immo uero togati uulturii*; see GCA 2000, 395 ad loc.

sense and has been retained here; cf. also my forthcoming paper 'Was Apuleius' speech stenographed? (Fl. 9,13)', in: *CQ* 51, 2001. In general on the publication and circulation of texts in Roman culture, see STARR 1987.<sup>1</sup>

**reuocare... mutare... emendare:** in any case, the three verbs refer to written texts of Apuleius brought into circulation by people other than the author himself, whether excerpts or stenographed versions (see previous note).

**autem:** the emendation of Lipsius for *a me* of  $F\phi$ , which seems impossible to keep, in view of the following *mihi*. Alternatively, the words might be deleted (Novak) or *inde* (Stewich) might be written. Other suggestions have also been advanced.

9,14 **religio dicendi:** 'scruples with regard to my use of language'. With particularly strong terms Apuleius resumes his initial theme from 9,6-8, now connecting it to his activity as an author in various genres. This literary versatility triggers the following passage about Hippias.

**Camenis:** 'in the field of the Muses', to be linked with *opera*. This is a traditional way of referring to higher forms of literature. One is inclined to think above all of poetry (cf. OLD s.v. 2), and Apuleius will actually focus on his poetic works in 9,27. However, works in prose are referred to as well (9,28) and the whole oeuvre is called *omnem nostram Camenam* (9,30). The term then applies to literature in general. For the origin and early history of the name *Camena* in Rome, see CAMILLIONI 1998.

**in opificiis opera:** 'works in forms of constructive labour'. The text is not quite certain, with  $F\phi$  reading *in opificiis operibus*. Editors generally adopt the vulgate reading *opera*, which is also to be combined with *in Camenis*.<sup>2</sup> The plural of *opificium* is rare (TLL refers only to very late authors such as Chalcidius), but seems not impossible.

Surprisingly, the name of Hippias is associated not with philosophy or high culture in general, but with craftsmanship, although contempt for manual crafts was widespread in antiquity; cf. e.g. Pl. *Pol.* 495de and Xen. *Oec.* 4,2-3. The speaker may have thought in these terms because of the earlier references to tools of carpenters and other artisans in 9,8. In Apuleius' references we may discern a veiled attack upon the manual crafts, as it was traditional in Platonism; see MESSINA 1999, 292-4, who rightly contrasts 6,8-9, on the ideal gymnosophists who only devote themselves to contemplation (293n38). So inevitably, the comparison of the speaker and the artisan Hippias turns out to the disadvantage of the latter: even before the tale is told, one might say, Hippias has already lost the contest.

**disputabo:** after this word, the MSS mark the end of 'book I' of the *Florida*: APVLEI PLATONICI FLORIDORV LIB.I explic. INCIP. II. Though there is a major pause and transition in the speaker's account, it seems awkward that the break thus comes right in the middle of *Fl.* 9. According to some scholars, e.g. MRAS 1949, 217-8 and

<sup>1</sup> In discussing publication of texts by others, STARR neither specifically refers to stenography during live performances nor to excerpting written texts. Either practice, therefore, seems to have been exceptional. A curious, late testimony of both phenomena used in combination is Sid. Ap. 9,9,8.

<sup>2</sup> TLL follows this reading with some doubt, listing our text as the only example in a separate entry ? *opificius*. However, this adjective is not attested elsewhere. Among recent editors AUGELLO omits *opera*, while regarding *opificiis* as a form of the noun *opificium*.

HARRISON 2000, 90 and 109, it is due to an error in the transmission of the text: a scribe may have misplaced the book-division.

This may of course be correct, but it is not the only possible explanation. Perhaps *Fl.* 9, though generally acknowledged to be a coherent piece, was actually divided into two separate parts that were assigned to different books by the anthologist who edited the *Florida*: the first piece would then have focused on the speaker, his difficulties and education, whereas the second would have included the sections on Hippias, the self-praise, and the praise of the proconsul. The general connection between both parts would thus have been abandoned, but they could fit quite well into the *Florida* as individual pieces. Generally speaking one gets the impression that the anthologist cared rather less for unity and thematic coherence within texts, and more for stylistic colour and momentary rhetorical effect. One may compare e.g. the earlier fragments 3, 4, and 5; and the combination of 6 and 7. In these cases too, passages from one speech may well have been assigned to different fragments.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also HIJMANS 1994, 1730, who argues that the epitomator may simply have been not interested or unable to make the end of the book coincide with the end of a piece, as in the case of 'Cupid and Psyche' in the *Met.*

In the end, it seems wisest not to attach too much importance to these *subscriptiones*, whether they are present, as here, or absent, as after 23 (see discussion there), and avoid drawing far-reaching conclusions on account of them about the *Florida* as a whole.

9,15 **et Hippias...:** after preparing for the transition to the new topic, Apuleius now starts what seems a piece of conventional praise of Hippias. However, the praise will soon turn out to be limited, in the sense that the speaker's own talents are presented as superior.

The talented and well-known sophist Hippias no doubt functioned as a model for orators in the Second Sophistic.<sup>2</sup> In *Fl.* 18 other sophists will appear, namely Protagoras and Euathlus. Here, the opening words *et Hippias - est* suggest that the speaker delivered discourses about famous sophists on other occasions too. The initial *et* has been doubted by some scholars and emended to *ut*, *is* or *hic* (to which one might add *at*), but should best be retained: Hippias, too, is one of those famous sophists.

**sophistarum:** the word has positive connotations here, as in 18,18-19 (but unlike 18,28).

**aetas...:** an 'encyclopedia-like entry on Hippias', as SANDY 1997, 155 aptly calls it, follows. Briefly, some highlights of the sophist's life and career are presented. The syntax has been reduced to the simplest possible form: a paratactical list of short main clauses (*est* or *sunt* having to be supplied in most cases).

**cum Socrate:** not only was Hippias a contemporary of Socrates, but Greek literature repeatedly pictures him in lively discussions with the great philosopher; see the two dialogues in the Platonic corpus named after Hippias; further Xen. *Mem.* 4,4. His native

<sup>1</sup> A rather different position is that of OPEKU 1974, 25-7, who argues that both sections are in fact passages from two entirely different orations, brought together by the anthologist. However, combining separate sections would represent a much stronger editorial intervention and therefore seems less likely. The continuity of sense in 9,14-15, with its interest in Hippias, rather pleads for the unity of *Fl.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. a list of four famous sophists in Max. Tyr. 17,1, where Hippias figures as the expert on genealogy, along with Prodicus, Gorgias, and Thrasymachus (none of the other three names occurs in Apuleius' extant works).

town Elis was the town was the subject of a laudatory speech by Gorgias, which Apuleius may well have known.<sup>1</sup>

**genus...**: seven more pieces of information follow. The only significant one is *memoria excellens*, referring to Hippias' fame for his mnemonic exercises; cf. e.g. Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368d and Xen. *Symp.* 4,62.

9,16 **Hippias iste**: the pronoun is not derogatory here, although it commonly is. The neutral usage is frequent in Apuleius; cf. CALLEBAT 1968, 269-75.

**certamine Olympio**: for sources of the story on Hippias' self-declared expertise in various arts and crafts, see introductory note. The detail of Olympia as the place of the anecdote goes back to Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368b and is mentioned by some of the later sources.

**elaboratu**: a word not attested elsewhere, most likely formed by the speaker to make a perfect match with *cultu*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 128 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 130, who add more such Apuleian neologisms of abstract nouns in *-tus*.

9,17 **omnia... nihil eorum**: the syntax is loose, underscoring the colloquial tone of what is made to look like an improvised speech.

**indumenta... calciamenta... gestamina**: the three relative clauses of the tricolon are carefully constructed so as to be closely parallel to one another. Curiously, the first participle, *indutus*, is without *erat*, which disturbs the balance. Garments, shoes, and personal ornaments are equally specified with some further details in Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368 bc. Apuleius' syntax echoes the parallel passage about Hippias in Cic. *de Orat.* 3,127 (*gloriatu est anulum quem haberet, pallium, quo amictus, soccos, quibus indutus esset, se sua manu fecisse*).

**inductus**: the verb *induco* is regularly used of putting on shoes; cf. OLD s.v. 15. The verb was probably also chosen for its similarity in sound to *indutus*.

9,18 **habebat indutui...**: the thought of 9,17 is resumed and elaborated, no doubt to show the speaker's linguistic virtuosity. The first element, clothing, is subdivided into three parts: the tunic (with three special features), the belt (*balteus*), and the mantle (*pallium*). The threefold subdivision is clearly marked by the rare dative forms *indutui... cinctui... amictui...* The idea that Hippias made all clothing himself is repeated after every element.

**tunicam interulam**: an undergarment of unknown shape, worn by both sexes; cf. POTTHOFF 1992, 137-8 (and 206-15 on *tunica* in general). *Interula* occurs first in Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 120); cf. *Met.* 8,9 (184,4), where it is a noun, but it remains rare. For the adjective the only other place given by TLL s.v. 2304,38-40 is Mart.Cap. 9,888.

**triplici licio**: 'of triple thread', a refined detail for a tunic, (normally a simple garment), as is the following 'double purple', which probably refers to a repeated colouring of the garment. The initial letter of *triplici* continues the strong alliteration of *t* in the sentence.

**ipse - texuerat**: the first of three repetitions of the thought; cf. further 9,19 *nec - adiuuerat* and 9,20 *id quoque... fuisse*.

9,19 **cinctui**: the use of the dative of *cinctus* is not attested elsewhere. Here it serves to match *indutui* and *amictui*.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Rh.* 3,14 (1416a) has preserved only its opening words: 'Elis, happy town'.

**quod - Babylonica**: 'like coloured embroidery from Babylon'. For the Eastern element, cf. Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368c, where Hippias' girdle is said to be 'like the Persian girdles of the costliest kind'. Apuleius illustrates this detail by mentioning the rich colours of the garment. For *quod genus 'as', 'like'*, cf. 16,10 *quod genus in comoedia fieri amat*.

**uariogatum**: cf. 3,11 *gemmis uariogat* with note (s.v. *lyra*).

9,20 **pallium candidum**: as a real philosopher Hippias also wears a *pallium* (cf. 4,4 with note), although inevitably it is a special one of particularly bright colour or shining aspect. It is worn over his other clothes (cf. OLD s.v. *superne* 2b). Clothing appears to be a recurrent motif in earlier passage of the *Florida*; cf. e.g. 3,11; 4,3-4; 6,1; 7,10; 8,2; and 9; and also in subsequent pieces, cf. notably *Fl.* 14.

**comperior**: the MSS text *comptoris* has been emended by Goldbacher, whose proposal is accepted by modern editors. One could also consider *compertum est* (Salm).

9,21 **etiam pedum tegumenta...**: after amplifying the theme of Hippias' clothes, the other elements (first mentioned in 9,17) are resumed, first the shoes, then the personal ornaments. The suffix used in *tegumenta* recalls 9,17 *calciamenta*. The anaphoric *etiam* and repeated use of the pluperfect make the words sound like a catalogue.

**crepida**: a typical Greek shoe (see OLD s.v.). The Greek model in Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368c merely refers to sandals (*ὑποδήματα*). In Cic. *de Orat.* 3,127 the term used is *soccus*.

**anulum**: the ring of Hippias was given more prominence in the Greek text and the Ciceronian passage: Plato's Socrates even says that Hippias himself started boasting about the fact that he had made it himself (*Hp. Mi.* 368 b).

**signaculo**: a rare diminutive for 'seal';<sup>1</sup> cf. also the following *orbiculum*. The words suggest the exquisite nature of the jewel.

**palam clauserat**: the second of three technical details of the ring. *Pala* is a rare noun for the bezel of a ring; cf. Cic. *Off.* 3,38 *cum palam eius anuli ad palmam conuerterat*.

9,22 **commemorare... ostentare**: the former word repeats *commemorauit* and rhymes with the latter. The parallel is strengthened by the impersonal constructions *pigebit me* and *illum puduit est*. The implication of the sentence is, of course, negative: the Romans considered work such as the manufacture of an oil-flask or a strigil quite unsuitable for a freeborn gentleman.

**ampullam... oleariam... strigileculam**: both oil-flask and strigil are also mentioned in Plato *Hp. Mi.* 368 c, without further comment. The two objects are also mentioned together in Pl. *Per.* 124-5 (concerning the necessary outfit of a *parasitus*) *ampullam, strigilem, scaphium, soccos, pallium / marsuppium habeat*; further in Cic. *Fin.* 4,30.

**lenticulari forma...**: 'in the form of a lentil, with smooth outlines and of somewhat flattened roundness'. The oil-flask is pictured in a very detailed manner. Rare words, such as the unique formations *lenticularis* and *pressulus*, and the long noun *rotunditas*, underline the novelty of Hippias' invention.

9,23 **honestam strigileculam...**: 'a handsome little strigil, with straight tapering of the small sprout and curved grooving of the blade; (made) in such a way that it could be kept in hand by its handle and that the sweat could run from it through the channel.' An even more complex description of an even more ingeniously made object. Words that do not

<sup>1</sup> As FERRARI 1968, 124n4 observes, after Apuleius the word is used frequently by Christian authors.

occur elsewhere appear again are: *strigecula* and *coelaulae* (see below). The description also uses rare words (*fastigatio* and *tubulatio*, the latter not attested before Apuleius) and combinations (*flexa tubulatione ligulae*), arranged in corresponding cola. They all attest to the author's pleasure in description and his search for novelty of diction; cf. FERRARI 1968, 120-1 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 119 and 128.

**coelaulae:** the text here is difficult and involves a rare word of Greek origin. For a full discussion, see my paper 'Apuleius, Florida IX, 34f', in: *Hermes* 123, 1995, 382-4. The MSS read *cylaulae* (or *-e*), generally replaced by editors with HELM's *cymulae*, rendered by OLD as 'a small moulding'. However, this remains unsatisfactory in sense and hardly explains the MSS reading. Alternatively, we could retain *cylaulae* and explain it as 'of a groove-like pipe'. In *Hermes* (referred to above) I proposed *coelaulae*, which remains close to the original reading and makes good sense: 'of a hollow pipe'. The special nature of Hippias' strigil is thus brought out: the hollow pipe provides a perfect channel to lead off the sweat from the body. Its forms cannot be established exactly, but it may be considered to have been an improvement on the common strigil with its plain, solid shaft.

9,24 **laudauit:** this is the text of F $\phi$ , generally discarded in favour of *laudabit*, proposed by Wower (or *laudauerit* of Kronenberg). Scribal confusion between *u* and *b* is certainly not exceptional, but here the text makes good sense as it is, with a perfect: 'who (sc. in all history) has not praised Hippias?'. I have not found a parallel for a rhetorical question *quis laudabit*?

**multiscium... magnificum... daedalum:** the rhetorical question is adorned with a tricolon containing very complimentary words; for *multiscius*, cf. *Apol.* 31,5 *Homerum, poetam multiscium uel potius cunctarum rerum adprime peritum* and *Fl.* 3,9 (of Apollo) *arte multiscius*, with note there. The use of *daedalus* 'dexterous' with a long adjunct (*tot utensilium peritia*) is unusual; OLD s.v. quotes e.g. *Lucr.* 1,7 *daedala tellus* and *Verg. A.* 7,282 *daedala Circe*.

**totiugi:** 'so many together'. The adjective seems to occur only in Apuleius, who uses it a few times in the plural; e.g. *Met.* 2,24 (45,56-7) *totiugis iam diebus*; and below 18,17 *totiuga inuitamenta*. Here it appears to be a singular, but of the third instead of the second declension; hence it is given a separate lemma *totiugis* in OLD. The neologism is formed on the model of *multiugus/multiugis*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 138.

**ipse Hippias laudo, sed...:** the praise required of the speaker is subtly given a negative twist. Hippias' expertise in manual crafts is obviously not something that the Second Sophist Apuleius would really wish to praise. Weighty, sonorous words (*fecunditatem, suppellectilis multiformi instrumento*) make the criticism less sharp.

**doctrinae:** the contrast of learning and material concerns is facile. Apuleius clearly distances himself from the banausic arts.

9,25 **sellularias.... artes:** 'the sedentary arts', that is, work performed in a sitting position. The more honourable activities were nearly all done standing.<sup>1</sup> The disparaging association is clear in *Gel.* 3,1,10 (on people who love money) *negotiis enim se plerumque umbraticis et sellulariis quaestibus intentos habent, in quibus omnis eorum*

<sup>1</sup> The first activity likely to come to mind is no doubt that of delivering a speech.

*uigor animi corporisque elanguescit et, quod Sallustius ait, 'effeminatur'*; cf. also *Liv.* 8,20,4 *opificum quoque uulgus et sellularii*. The adjective will return in *Fl.* 15,13.

**textrina... buxtrina:** the oblique remarks at Hippias become increasingly sharp; the speaker now argues that he himself simply goes to ordinary shops to buy his clothing. Shopkeepers were commonly considered to be of low social status. The noun *textrina* is actually very rare in literature; before Apuleius, it occurs only in *Vitr.* 6,4,2.

**baxea:** a kind of sandal, mainly used by women and comic actors; cf. *Pl. Men.* 391; further CALLEBAT 1968, 60-1. A similar Plautine colour characterizes *praestinare*, one of Apuleius' favourite verbs for 'to buy'; cf. e.g. *Capt.* 848 and see CALLEBAT, 484-5.

9,26 **anulum...:** the speaker does not stop here. Now he even rejects some of Hippias' praised objects as unnecessary<sup>1</sup> or worthless, or barely good enough to buy on the market place.

**plumbum:** lead was held in low esteem, although it was widely used by the Romans. For the combination of gold and lead, cf. notably the proverbial expression in *Petr.* 43,7 *in manu illius plumbum aurum fiebat*.

**mercari:** another synonym for 'buying', illustrating the speaker's versatility in the use of idiom. Note also the persistent *a* sound in the verbs used.

9,27 **radio...:** as earlier (9,8) some instruments of artisans are listed: a teacher's pointed rod, a shoemaker's awl, a file, a turner's lathe and other iron tools. Together they are contrasted with a single pen which, of course, outdoes them all. For *tornus* and *coturnus*, see above 9,8 *cum torno et coturno uero*.

**chartario calamo:** 'with a reed pen used to write on papyrus'. The adjective *chartarius* is rare; before Apuleius, cf. only *Plin. Nat.* 1,22,60. OLD s.v. *calamus* distinguishes this pen from the metal *stilus* for writing on waxed tablets. The distinction seems relevant here too, given the reference to *ferramenta*. The *calamus* represents the light and elegant tool of the literary author. Its refined associations are also manifest in *Met.* 1,1 (1,3-4) *papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam* and *Apol.* 9,14,12 (at the end of one of Apuleius' poems) *uicta tuo dulciloquo calamo*.

**reficere poemata:** the verb is generally rendered by translators as 'to compose', although there is no parallel for such a meaning. Apuleius seems to allude to its primary sense 'to restore (an artefact), to repair' (OLD s.v. 1), which is surely relevant in this context.

**omnigenus:** 'of all kinds'. This is a rare, indeclinable adjective, existing alongside the declinable *omnigenus* (e.g. *Verg. A.* 8,698), which is to be distinguished from the homonym *omnigenus* 'all-producing', used by authors in late antiquity. The indeclinable form occurs e.g. in *Gellius* (14,6,1 *doctrinae omnigenus*) and in the MSS of *Lucretius* (first in 2,759 *omnigenus... colores*).<sup>2</sup> Here its usage may have been inspired by the earlier phrase *id genus ferramentis* (9,27); cf. further *Fl.* 3,13 *hoc genus crimina*; 10,3; 13,1; 14,1; 17,2; and 18,3.

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius' statement that he neither wears a ring nor cares for jewelry seems rather exceptional, since such objects were common ways to show one's high social status; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 75,7 *anulos aureos et omnia insignia dignitatis*; further the satire of Trimalchio's ostentatious wearing of rings in *Petr.* 71,9.

<sup>2</sup> In most editions of *Lucretius*, the form is emended to *omne genus*, interpreted as an adverbial expression; cf. Bailey's note ad loc.

**apta - cotorno:** 'fit for the rapsode's rod, the lyre, the comic's low-heeled shoe, or the tragic actor's high boot'. Again, concrete objects are selected to represent larger areas of expertise. The reference here is to poems in the three main literary genres: epic, lyric, and drama (comedy and tragedy); for *coturnus* see above on 9,8; *soccus* and *coturnus* will return in 16,7.

Apuleius professes his literary versatility elsewhere too; e.g. *Fl.* 20,5-6; on both passages see e.g. HARRISON 2000, 14-6) and some poetical pieces of his own are actually extant. Three of them are quoted in his *Apology* (see *Apol.* 6 and 9) and some more material can be found among the fragments. His extant poems may be said to belong to the category of lyrics, although the fragment known as *Anechomenos*, probably coming from an adaptation of Menander, belongs to the genre of drama (comedy); on this piece see also HARRISON 1992. For Apuleius' interest in comedy, see also below on *Fl.* 16. We do not know, however, of any epic poems by Apuleius. For a comprehensive study of Apuleius' poetic production and technique, see MATTIACCI 1985.

It may be observed that the mention of poetry occurs unexpectedly here: Apuleius was, and still is, mainly known for his activities as an orator and a writer of prose. The reference is all the more curious, since the starting-point of Apuleius' self-praise was his linguistic expertise and the challenges he faced in public performances as an orator, rather than as a poet (9,6-9). Perhaps Apuleius is merely echoing his model, Plato's account of Hippias in *Hp.Mi.* 368 c: Hippias too, is said to have brought with him 'poems, both epics and tragedies and dithyrambs, and many writings of all sorts composed in prose' (tr. H. Fowler). Significantly, these literary activities of Hippias are not mentioned here in relation to his name but only claimed by Apuleius himself. The contrast between Hippias and Apuleius is effectively simplified at the expense of the former.

9,28 **item satiras...**: more literary genres are added, most of them in prose: satire, riddles, stories (or various accounts; see separate note), speeches, philosophical dialogues, and others. The first two may refer to minor genres of literature; we have no evidence for Apuleius' production in these areas. The oratorical and philosophical works, here listed in final position, remind us of Apuleius as he is most familiar to us.

**griphos:** 'riddles'. In this sense the word is rare; TLL s.v. 2335,7f. also quotes Gel. 1,2,4. It is not clear whether a form of prose or poetry is meant here.<sup>1</sup> The unusual term posed difficulties for scribes, which led to confusion in the MSS (with  $F\phi$  reading *reppus*) as with some of other terms used here; see notes by HELM. *Griphoi* could be used for a didactic purpose; OPEKU 1993, 41 refers to Ath. 10,457 c and also suggests that Apuleius' *griphoi* may have been the same as his *conuiuiales quaestiones* (on which see HARRISON 2000, 30-1). There is, however, no clear indication for this.

**historias uarias rerum:** the reference is unclear. Some scholars compare *Met.* 1,1 (1,1) *uarias fabulas* and Photius' term *logoi diaphoroi*, both referring to the lost model of Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses*; see SANDY 1997, 6. However, this interpretation seems

<sup>1</sup> There is a poetical *Griphus* by the 4th century poet Ausonius (the curious *Griphus Ternarii Numeri*), but this is a very late example. The place in Gellius is concerned with philosophy and so refers rather to prose. In the present context, the term comes after a poetical genre (satire) and before various forms of prose, which makes it difficult to decide.

mainly inspired by a modern desire to date the novel.<sup>1</sup> The vague term might equally apply to a mixed work much like Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* or Aelianus' *Varia Historia*, or to a historiographical work (cf. *Fl.* 20,5 (*canit Xenophon historias*)). There actually is evidence that Apuleius composed a historical epitome; see Fr. 11-12 (Beaujeu p.174).

**laudatas disertis:** referring to praise by experts forms an 'argument from authority'. The technique has remained common in rhetoric throughout the ages and is still widely employed in modern commercials. For the self-declared popularity of Apuleius' speeches, cf. also *Apol.* 55,11 *ea disputatio celebratissima est, uulgo legitur, in omnibus manibus uersatur*.

**dialogos:** philosophical works in the form coined by Plato; cf. *Fl.* 20,5 (*canit Plato dialogos*). Here we should not think of Apuleius' best known philosophical works (*Soc.*; *Mun.*; *Pl.*; *De Int.*), but of some of his lost works, notably the dialogue devoted to Aesculapius, described below in *Fl.* 18,39-43, and the lost translation of the *Phaedo*; Fr. 9-10 (Beaujeu, p.173). In addition, we can also think of the extant dialogue *Asclepius*, which may well be authentic; see HUNINK 1996.

9,29 **tam Graece quam Latine:** in most of Roman Africa, knowledge of Greek was probably somewhat exceptional, although the urban elite in Carthage and other cities must have known some Greek. Apuleius repeatedly boasts about his bilingualism, cf. *Apol.* 4,1 *tam Graece quam Latine*, with my note. See in addition SANDY 1997, 9-12 and VÖSSING 1997, 375-6 and 469-76; further e.g. RIVES 1995, 193. Below in *Fl.* 18,38-9 Apuleius will announce a bilingual hymn and dialogue.

**gemino - stilo:** whereas we just read a simple repetition of *laudatus* (9,28 *laudatas disertis... laudatos philosophis*), here the speaker strives after variation: *gemino... pari... simili*. Note the tricolon with equal number of syllables (five) and final threefold alliteration of *s*. The 'double' element in *geminus* refers to Greek and Latin. One may compare *Soc.Pr.* 5, where it is alleged that the parts of a bilingual speech in Greek and Latin are evenly matched.

9,30 **quae utinam...**: a rhetorical wish commences the final section of *Fl.* 9 (9,30-40; see also introductory note). All the preceding display of modesty and erudition turns out to have been a mere prelude to a celebration of the departing proconsul and, indirectly, the speaker himself.

**singillatim - concertatim:** an unprecedented concentration of no less than four sonorous adverbs in *-tim*; cf. *Apol.* 35,2 *congestim et aceruatim*; *Met.* 4,8 (80,13-4) *aceruatim... aggeratim... agminatim*; *Soc.* 4 (126) *singillatim mortales, cuncti <m>... perpetui*. More examples are given by FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 141-2; cf. also FERRARI 1968 139-40.<sup>2</sup>

The four adverbs consist of two pairs (of seven syllables each) with contrasting sense: 'separately' versus 'all together'. Only the first word, *singillatim*, is attested before Apuleius (e.g. *Lucr.* 2,153); the rest may well be neologisms coined by him. For

<sup>1</sup> The text here, then, would, support an early date of the novel (before 162/3). The debate on the date of the novel is still continuing. Most scholars defend a late date, even as late as after 180.

<sup>2</sup> For a late example emulating Apuleius, cf. *Sid.Ap. Ep.* 8,6,6 *non sensim singulatimque, sed tumultuatim petitus et cunctim* (quoted by TLL s.v. *cunctim* 1392,67f.).

*discretim*, obviously from *discernere* (TLL s.v. *discerno* 1308, 57f.), see also *Met.* 6,1 (129,15); for *cunctim*, *Soc.* 4 (quoted above).

**concertatim**: the reading of Fφ. This fourth adverb is commonly printed as *coaceruatim* (the vulgate reading). Indeed, *coaceruatim* would give excellent sense and form a fitting contrast with *discretim*, as would also e.g. *congregatim* (Hildebrand) or *confertim* (Fulvius). But *concertatim*, though not attested elsewhere, may be kept. Its sense, to be derived from *concertare*, must be: 'in rivalry, in competitive fashion'. The adverb seems a new coinage by Apuleius, like his *controuersim* (*Apol.* 15,12) or *congestim* (*Apol.* 35,2), two more words unattested elsewhere. It functions as an original variant of the common adverb *certatim*. Indeed, there are many examples in Apuleius' work, where a neologism comes at the end of a series of words with strong internal sound effects; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986 (passim).

There is a clear contrast with *discretim*, in that *concertatim* points to a collective presence of elements as against individual elements. The additional notion of 'competition' adds liveliness and dynamics to the image: in the hypothetical situation the various works would be 'competing' for the proconsul's attention.

**tibi, proconsul**: the man is not yet named (cf. 9,39) but only addressed in his official capacity as a magistrate. He is Sextus Cocceius Severianus Honorinus; see introductory note.

**uir optime**: Fφ reads *ut optime*. *Vt* then was explained by Krüger as a dittography of the preceding *-ul* and hence deleted. This solution was widely accepted by scholars, but later MSS and early editions have *uir* here, which also fits perfectly. For *uir optimus*, cf. *Apol.* 94,8 *optimi uiri litteras*; for *optime* in a vocative *Apol.* 100,5 *filiorum optime*.<sup>1</sup>

**praedicabili**: 'praiseworthy', a fairly uncommon adjective, for which cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5,49.

**omnem nostram Camenam**: cf. 9,14 in *Camenis... opera* with note.

9,31 **non hercule...**: the speaker quickly corrects his deferential address to the proconsul. He is not lacking praise, he argues, since he has obtained it from both this magistrate and his predecessors, but rather wishes to be esteemed by the man whom he esteems himself. Thus, the praise of the proconsul is cleverly and politely connected with self-praise. The juncture *non hercule* is used by many authors but has a particularly Plautine and Ciceronian ring (usually in the forms *non hercle* and *non mehercule* respectively); cf. e.g. Pl. *As.* 450 and *Aul.* 640; Cic. *de Orat.* 2,180 and *Ver.* 2,3,46.

**florens**: there is, perhaps, another link here to the title of the collection, *Florida*; see notes on 1,3 and 11,2.

**ad te reseruata**: an indirect expression to convey the rather immodest notion 'I am praised by you'.

**comprobatum**: the reading of Fφ. After *probo*, the speaker does not shrink back from yet another echo of *comprobatioem*. HELM prints the vulgate reading *comparatum*, referring to Plin. *Ep.* 2,19,5 *ita natura comparatum est*; 3,4,6; and Sid.Ap. 7,2,9 (he might have added Plin. *Ep.* 5,19,5 and 8,20,1). However, since *comprobatum* makes sense, other editors such as VALLETTE and AUGELLO have rightly not followed HELM.

<sup>1</sup> Alternative proposals, such as *proconsulum optime* (Hertz) or *uir uel optime* (Hildebrand) also deserve consideration.

**ut eum quem laudes...**: the idea of reciprocity of praise is restated. The syntax (*quem laudes... ab illo*) is colloquial. For the somewhat proverbial tone, one may compare Naev. *Trag.* 17 (Warmington) *laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato uiro*; these words, spoken by Hector, were famous; cf. notably Cic. *Tusc.* 4,67 and Sen. *Ep.* 102,16.

9,32 **dilectorem**: the noun is first attested here and will repeatedly occur in Christian texts; see FERRARI 1968, 109. The neologism subtly directs the attention to the speaker. Its formation from *diligere* is clear enough for the audience to understand.

**priuatum**: the contrast between personal favours (allegedly not received) and public benefits enables the speaker to praise the proconsul without humiliating himself. For the opposition private/public, commonly expressed with *priuatum* and *publice* (rather than the archaic *publicitus*, chosen here), cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 16,15,6 *turpius est enim priuatum cadere quam publice*.

**postulauit**: note the rhyme with *impetraui*, continued below in *impertire / inseruire*.

9,33 **sed etiam maleficium**: 'but even unjury', also to be taken with *amare*. Taken at face value, this is a somewhat surprising statement, hardly compatible with ancient values.<sup>1</sup> One might suppose that Apuleius is referring to some earlier personal quarrel with Severianus, but that seems out of the question in this laudatory context. As VALLETTE rightly remarks, the speaker's words suggest that his sympathy is simply independent of any private concern. So HELM's insertion of *<negare>* after *maleficium* is not necessary.

**iudicio impertire**: the ellipse of the object is unusual. One would expect a word like *tempus* or even *me*; cf. OLD s.v. *impertio* 1c 'to devote or bestow a share of (one's time, effort, etc.)' and Sen. *Dial.* 11,7,3 *impertire te nec uoluptati nec dolori... potes*; further TLL s.v. *impertio* 593,45f., comparing Cic. *Off.* 1,92 *et amicis impertientes et rei publicae*.

**studium**: 'le sentiment qui l'inspire' (VALLETTE). Whereas others profit from the results (*fructum*) of the man's excellence, the speaker takes the stand of a fully detached philosopher: he admires the source from which the *bonitas* stems.

9,34 **moderationem**: obviously a great virtue for a magistrate. The term specifically echoes 9,11 *proconsul... moderata uoce* and so forms another link between the real consul Severianus and the earlier hypothetical proconsul whom the speaker uses as an example (see 9,10 with note).

**qua effectius te**: the reading of Fφ; other MSS have *efflictim* (used 6 times elsewhere in Apuleius). HELM prints Van der Vliet's *qua effec<is>ti ut*, but VALLETTE and AUGELLO rightly keep *effectius* ('stronger', 'perfect'). Apuleius uses the comparative form of the adverb also below in 16,47 (in a slightly different sense); cf. further the adjective (not the adverb, as FERRARI 1968, 140 says) in 15,6 *statua... qua nihil uideor effectius cognouisse*.

<sup>1</sup> The statement could, however, be explained as a reference to the general Stoic idea that all that happens must be accepted.

**experti... expertes:** the words look alike but are nearly opposites: 'those who have experienced it' (from *experior*) and 'those who have no share in it' (from *expers*).<sup>1</sup> The sound effect is continued in *exemplum*.

9,35 **beneficio - commodasti:** 'through your benefits you have obliged many people'. Polite and solemn words are used to make a rather unremarkable point. *Commodare* here is without a direct object, but with an indirect object (TLL s.v. 1920,26f gives more examples), perhaps by analogy with a verb such as *profuisti*.

**quis enim...:** the rhetorical question elaborates on the latter part of the preceding thought, namely that Severianus has set an example for all to follow. The virtues ascribed to him (other than *moderatio*), namely *grauitas*, *austeritas*,<sup>2</sup> *constantia*, and *uigor*, all form part of the conventional ideal of a Roman magistrate. The speaker attempts to convey a more personal note by adding epithets that soften these rather stern qualities: *iucunda*, *mitis*, *placida*, and *blandus*. Meanwhile, for the reader Severianus remains more or less impersonal, like all other officials addressed by Apuleius in the *Florida* and *Apology*.

**queat:** after this word, HELM assumes a lacuna, which is thought to have included something like *tuum munus*. However, fitting subjects to be taken with *optineri queat* follow right away: *grauitas* and the other virtues. The singular form of the verb is quite possible, since the subjects are a collective, forming parts of one character. Therefore, with VALLETTE and AUGELLO I do not follow HELM.

**blandusque uigor:** another, related textual problem. Fø read *blandumque uigorem*, which cannot stand. HELM writes *uigor est*, but this produces only weak sense: 'yours is that pleasant *grauitas*...' or 'that *grauitas* of yours is pleasant...'. The simplest correction is to write *uigor* in the nominative here (thus VALLETTE and AUGELLO).<sup>3</sup>

9,36 **reuerita... uerita:** another compliment directed at the proconsul: the province has respected no-one more, feared no-one less. For the pun on *reueoreo* and *ueoreo*, see *Apol.* 103,5 *possum securus existimationem tuam reuereri quam potestatem uereri*. Although the pun is a fairly obvious one, there are no exact parallels for it; the closest comes Plin. *Ep.* 1,10,7 *reueorearis occursum, non reformides*.

**pudor... timor:** a reformulation of the preceding sentence, with *pudor* corresponding to *reuerita*. The notion that fear played a small part in the governor's administration is varied yet again in *rarius terruit*. Note also the persistent alliteration of *p* (here *peccata plus pudor*, further *pari potestate... profuit*).

9,37 **Honorinus:** the son is mentioned by name before the father is (9,39). This may be a veiled attempt to flatter the young man, who was apparently expected to return as a proconsul in the near future; see the last words of the speech (9,40 with note there).

<sup>1</sup> A similar pun is later made by Augustine: August. *Conf.* 5,6,11 *expertus sum prius hominem expertem liberalium disciplinarum*.

<sup>2</sup> According to HARRISON 2000, 108 *austeritas* may point to the equivalent *seueritas*, which can be heard in the proconsul's name *Severianus*. The pun would be fine, but one wonders why Apuleius would not have ventured to use *seueritas* or *seuerus* in the first place; cf. the pun on *Honorinus* in 9,40.

<sup>3</sup> The vulgate reading *blandusque uigor animi* makes good sense too, but the third word *animi* seems to disturb the careful balance of the sentence.

**circumbas:** the magistrate normally traveled around his province to conduct the assizes.

**quam - desideraremus:** a natural sequel here would be 'we did not even miss you, for we had your son instead', but this would be offensive to Severianus. It is therefore turned into a compliment: 'we did not so much feel that you were absent, as we longed for your return.'

Various attempts have been made to correct the text. HELM prints *quam(quam)*, the conjecture of Lipsius, but this gives a weak sense. The reading of the MSS results in a subtle sententia well befitting Apuleius. The subjunctive can be explained as an instance of the general *modus subordinationis*.

9,38 **paterna - auctoritas:** a tricolon of yet more virtues of the father, now seen as reflected in the son. Each one is expressed in three words, the middle of which referring to the son. The close resemblance of father and son is thus brought out almost literally.

The third element is the most significant: in a tactful way, the speaker indicates that Honorinus is not just a good son, but fulfils an official function as *legatus*, i.e. as staff-officer of the governor; cf. below on 9,40.

**repraesentat:** for the idiom, cf. *Apol.* 14,5 *praecipua fide similitudinem repraesentat* (of a mirror).

**medius fidius:** for the colloquial interjection see *Apol.* 1,3 with note. It introduces yet another, sophisticated compliment: the excellence of the son might seem worthy of even greater praise but for the fact that it was brought along by his own father.

9,39 **perpetuo:** the speech ends in less complex tributes, not to say adulatory commonplaces. However, most of it is expressed in colourful and lively language. Remarks like 'one year is not enough for a proconsul!' are evidently made only for the sake of praise and should not be taken as serious political comments.

**festinantibus mensibus:** 'hurrying months' a lively, unparalleled combination (cf. TLL s.v. *festino* 618,8), used to revive the cliché of the 'swiftness of time.' This speed is also expressed by the change from years to months to days.

**o praesidium - curricula:** the notion that time goes by too fast in the case of good men is repeated in more elevated terms. *Curriculum* conveys the idea of the course of life, as in *Soc.* 15 (153) *curriculo uitae*; cf. TLL s.v. 1506,73f. It introduces a metaphor, either from astronomy (cf. 18,31 *siderum obliqua curricula*), or perhaps more likely from chariot-racing.<sup>1</sup> Note the concluding alliteration of *c*.

**desideramus:** the same verb as in 9,37. The subject is *tota prouincia*, from which a first person plural may be deduced ('all of us in the province').

9,40 **Honorinum...:** having waved a polite farewell to Severianus, Apuleius ends with a long sentence addressed to the son, from whom the province might expect future benefits; note the meaningful, resounding last words *reuersurus est*. The man who is now *legatus* (cf. 9,38) is expected to return himself as *proconsul* within a few years, after he has been *praetor* and *consul*. The sequence of offices reflects the customary *cursus honorum*. As a

<sup>1</sup> The second option better fits the epithet *citata* (cf. also 10,1) and may even contain an allusion to the proconsul's travel in the province (9,37). Moreover, since the speech may well be delivered in a theatre (see on 9,4), a reference to chariot-racing is quite in order.

matter of fact, things seem to have taken a different course; we have no evidence pointing to Honorinus succeeding his father as a proconsul of Africa.

**honos suos... amor noster:** the speaker cleverly manages to bring the African province into the tribute. Its attitude towards the proconsul's son is literally put alongside Honorinus' own *honor* (the pun on his name can hardly be overlooked; cf. HARRISON 2000, 109wn59) and the support of the emperors. Note the paratactic order in the sentence, that adds to the effect of praise: *uocat et - format et - tenet et - spondet*.

**Caesarum:** a reference to the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which dated from 161 to 169; cf. CARRATELLO 1973, 192; and SANDY 1997, 6n19.

## X VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE POWERS

*One can look at the sun, the moon, and the planets. There are other intermediate powers, invisible to us, such as Amor, who created order and variety upon the earth and among living beings.*

This is the first of a group of smaller fragments (*Fl.* 10-14). It briefly touches upon the theme of intermediate gods, prominent in several places in Apuleius' works; cf. notably *Apol.* 43,2 on *daemones*, with my extensive note there. Demonology is the main theme of *Soc.* as we have it, and *Fl.* 10 almost seems a brief version of that speech (cf. parallels listed in the notes). Regrettably, we cannot establish the relative chronology of *Fl.* 10 and *Soc.* The topic of demons was of great interest to second century audiences, and Apuleius is likely to have dealt with it on many different occasions. In the *Florida*, it is one of the more openly philosophical themes; cf. SANDY 1997, 185; further DE' CONNO 1959, 64-5, who in her discussion on the concept of *philosophia* in the *Florida* attaches great importance to this fragment. MESSINA 1999, 289 underscores the Platonic element in the piece.

The text starts with a quotation of two lines of poetry, that must have been preceded by, at least, some introductory remark (see below). It contains a number of remarkable and unique words and expressions, but it mainly seems to have been selected for its qualities as a small catalogue of divine powers and the poetic evocation of life on earth. We may further notice the recurrent themes of religion (cf. *Fl.* 1), and of animals and their distinctive qualities (cf. *Fl.* 2 a.o.). On this fragment, see also HARRISON 2000, 109-11.

**10,1 sol qui...:** 'o sun, who with fervid chariot and rushing horses, unfolds your white-hot flame in fervid heat...' The whole sentence as it stands (10,1-2 *sol - ignita*) is incomplete, for lack of a main verb. The fragment apparently starts in the middle of a sentence of the original. I have printed <...> before the first words to indicate this.<sup>1</sup> The words left

<sup>1</sup> HELM prints "\*" \* "\*" both here and at several other places (e.g. the beginning of 2, 7, 8, 11, 13, and others), as a sign that the texts appear to have been isolated from their context. But this is probably true for most of the pieces in the *Florida*. It makes more sense to restrict the use of a symbol to fragments starting with incomplete sentences.

out must have introduced the first list of items (sun, moon, and planets), e.g. 'there is a class of divine powers that human beings can actually see, such as...'

The opening words are two iambic senarii quoted from Accius' *Phoenissae*: Acc. *Fr.* 555-6 (Dangel) (585-6 Warmington). This itself is a reworking of Eur. *Ph.* 1-3, where the words are spoken by Iocaste. For a comparison of Accius' lines with their Greek model, see the note by Dangel, p. 359 (with further references). The quotation is also given by Priscian GLK 3,424,19f. with a textual variant (for which see next note) and two more lines: *quianam tam aduerso augurio et inimico omine / Thebis radiatum lumen ostentas <tuum>?* Apuleius uses only the two lines that describe the sun itself, not the specific address to it.

The missing opening words must also have contained the name of Accius, since the audience is not likely to have identified him without aid, as HARRISON 2000, 110 rightly notes. Elsewhere indeed, Accius is explicitly named as author; see *Soc.* 24 (176). For Apuleius' use of Accius, see MATTIACCI 1986, 180-1 and MATTIACCI 1994, esp. 55-7. For other poetical quotations in the *Florida*, see *Fl.* 2,3 with note.

**candentem feruido curru:** the third word is written in  $\Phi\phi$  as *cursu*, but that can hardly be right. The three words are quoted by Priscian as follows: *micantem candido curru*. This probably was Accius' original reading; cf. notably MARANGONI 1988, further MATTIACCI 1994, 56 and Dangel (*Fr.* 555, p. 218). However, there is no good reason to change the quotation here and read *candido* (as HARRISON 2000, 109n60 proposes). Apuleius may have read a variant text or he is quoting, as so often, somewhat imprecisely.<sup>1</sup>

**feruido:** in Apuleius' version of the quotation, the word already occurred in the first line; see previous note. The repetition is not unlike Apuleius; we might compare his own verse in *Apol.* 9,12, with line 3 referring to two boys as *ignis et ignis*.

**Luna discipula:** the moon's dependency upon the sunlight is described in some detail in *Soc.* 1-2 (116-7), which includes an imprecise verse quotation from Lucretius: *notham iactat de corpore lucem*; cf. *Lucret.* 5,575-6. For the divine sun, moon, and planets, cf. also e.g. *Mun.* 1 (290) and *Pl.* 1,10 (201).

**quinque... uagantium potestates:** the five planets (see also next note). Latin expressions for the planets usually involve a word referring to 'wandering' (*uagari, errare, uagus*); see LE BOEUFFLE 1977, 49-53. In Apuleius' work, cf. 15,17 *numinum uagantium*; *Pl.* 1,10 (203) *uagantium stellarum*; *Soc.* 2 (119) *quinque stellas, quae uulgo uagae ab imperitis nuncupantur*. At the last place, the common notion of 'wandering powers' is rejected, since the planets are said to have eternally fixed courses. Here, the speaker appears to be less concerned with astronomical precision. Roman authors generally referred to 'five' planets (cf. *Cic. N.D.* 2,51 with note by Pease), but occasionally to 'seven' (including sun and moon); e.g. *Manil.* 3,89.

<sup>1</sup> According to MARANGONI 1988, 45-7 Apuleius unconsciously conflated the line from Accius with one of its possible models, *Enn. Scen.* 280 V2 (*Trag.* 287 W) *sol qui candentem in caelo sublimat facem*. His argument, then, is that the original *micantem* was replaced with Ennius' *candentem*, which in turn required replacing the next word, *candido*, with another metrically suitable epithet. Ingenious as this theory may be, it remains open to question. For instance, one cannot see what Apuleius would have felt wrong with *candentem candido*.

**10,2 Iouis - ignita:** for the identification of the five planets, cf. also *Mun.* 2 (292), where they are listed with some variant names in the following order: Saturnus, Iuppiter, Mars, Mercurius, Venus; cf. also *Pl.* 1,11 (203). This represents the common scientific order in antiquity; cf. *Cic. N.D.* 2,52-3. In the present text, this order has been replaced with a rhetorical one, with Jupiter coming first and much stylistic refinement in the presentation: note the corresponding pairs *benefica/uoluptifica* and *pernix/perniciosa* and the final *ignita* resuming the initial motif of fire. *Voluptifica* is unattested elsewhere, a word clearly modelled upon *benefica*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 138 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 138-9. *Perniciosa* reflects the common astrological view of antiquity that the planet Saturn possessed a power for ill (cf. Goold's note in the Loeb Manilius, p. xcviij).

**10,3 mediae - potestates:** cf. *Apol.* 43,2 *inter deos et homines natura et loco medias quasdam diuorum potestates intersitas*, with note there.

**quas... non datur cernere:** the division of visible and invisible gods is traditional; cf. *Soc.* 2 (121)<sup>1</sup> and for an explanation of their invisibility *Soc.* 11 (144-5). The motif of limited human sight dominated *Fl.* 2,6-7.

**Amoris:** a crucial divine power in the Platonic tradition; Amor (Eros) is described as a prototype of a *daimon* in Plato *Symp.* 202d-204b. Readers of Apuleius will no doubt think of the tale of Amor and Psyche in *Met.* 4,28-6,24. In *Soc.* 16 (155), Amor is ranged among the sublime class of invisible *daemones* free from human bodies (cf. GERSH 1986, 311-3) and credited with the specific duty to be vigilant, as the counterpart of *Somnus*.

**inuitata:** this is the reading of Fφ, invariably changed by editors to *inuisitata* 'not seen, unvisited'. This invisibility, however, was already expressed in 10,3 *non datur cernere* and the change is not necessary if we take *inuitata* in its sense 'unfamiliar, strange' (OLD s.v.). Apuleius uses *inuitata* at *Apol.* 38,5, in a somewhat different sense 'not used before.'

**10,4 prouidentiae ratio:** a conspicuous reference to Providence as a higher divinity, whose orders are carried out by the intermediate power Amor. Apuleius' interest in the workings of Providence appears elsewhere too (e.g. *Apol.* 27,2), as is shown by HIJMANS 1987, 444-8; cf. also FRY 1984, 139.

**alibi montium...:** the effects of Amor on earth recall Lucretius' famous description of the creative powers of Venus throughout nature; see *Lucr.* 1,1-43. But as HARRISON 2000, 111 argues, there are no verbal parallels and we may also think of the topos of world-domination by Eros, as in *Soph. Ant.* 781-90. The impact of Amor is pictured in three steps, two consisting of two corresponding *cola* (mountains/plains, rivers/meadows), and one of four (three classes of animals, and man). Some neologisms (see below) add to the special atmosphere of this passage; on the whole paragraph see FERRARI 1968, 110-1 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 136.

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, Apuleius here lists twelve of such invisible powers, including the five names just specified for planets: Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter and Neptune. For some other apparently contradictory points involving *Fl.* 10, see discussion in HIJMANS 1987, 446-7wn217. Meanwhile, it may be observed that Apuleius' statements do not aim at consistency in a modern sense; cf. also his innerly divergent views of theology, as analysed by BEAUJEU 1983.

**montium arduos uertices:** for the juncture cf. e.g. *Met.* 3,29 (73,9-10) *montis ardui uertice*. The whole description evokes larger passages too; cf. e.g. *Met.* 1,2 (2,8-10) *postquam ardua montium et lubrica uallium et roscida cespitum et glebosa camporum emersimus*; further *Fl.* 2,11 (the eagle overlooking the earth). Amor's case is, of course, different in that he is not merely passing or watching the landscape but actually *shaping* it.

**supinam:** 'low-lying' (OLD s.v. 3). The epithet serves mainly as a poetical contrast to the equally abundant *arduos*.

**fluores... uirores:** Amor marks out the currents of rivers and the verdure of meadows. *Fluor* and *uirores* are first found in this sense<sup>1</sup> in Apuleius; the latter noun is coined to match the former; cf. FERRARI 1968, 110-1 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 136.

**uolutus:** 'undulating', as a means of progress. This is yet another neologism, again clearly modelled upon a preceding more common word, in this case *uolatus*; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 130. Serpents occurred earlier in 6,4-5. The use of the plural forms of *uolutus*, *uolatus*, *cursus*, and *gressus* is unusual. It is probably motivated by the resulting stronger sound effects and by the earlier plural forms in 10,4.

**hominibus:** the last word of the piece brings in the contrast of man and animal. This is a recurring theme in the *Florida*,<sup>2</sup> mostly explained in terms of the use of language rather than means of movement (e.g. *Fl.* 13; see also 12). Apuleius will expand on his own, nearly lost, capacity of *gressus* in 16,23.

## XI MORAL POVERTY

*Farmers of a piece of infertile land go out and steal from their neighbours. Much the same is done by whoever lacks true virtue.*

A very short fragment from a speech of unknown length or context. These few lines form a comparison between poor farmers and those who are poor in respect of their own virtue: both profit from other people's produce and effort. The wider context must have been a polemical one: the speaker is quite clearly attacking some of his rivals again, perhaps the 'false philosophers' from *Fl.* 7; the piece could even be from the same speech (cf. HIJMANS 1994, 1732n70). The comparison is adorned with a quotation from Vergil's *Georgics* and several remarkable words; cf. FERRARI 1968, 88-92; further HARRISON 2000, 111.

**11,1 enim:** cf. note on 5,1.

**herediolum:** 'a small inherited estate'. The same word is used twice in *Apol.* 101 (101,5 and 8) for a small estate bought by Apuleius' wife Pudentilla.

<sup>1</sup> *Fluor* occurs in medical contexts well before Apuleius in the sense of a 'morbid discharge'; see OLD s.v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The theme is also important in the *Met.*; see SCHLAM 1992, 99-112.

**sterile:** a key word, occurring no less than three times within this short fragment: cf. below 11,2 *steriles... auenae* and *qui suae uirtutis sterilis est*. For the agricultural metaphor in a polemical context, cf. *Apol.* 23,5-6. There Apuleius, confronted with criticism of his poverty, returns the charge and pictures his opponent as a poor farmer of a barren piece of land: cf. notably 23,5 *tanti re uera estis quantum habetis, ut arbor infecunda et infelix, quae nullum fructum ex sese gignit, tanti est in pretio, quanti lignum eius in trunco*.

**agrum - colunt:** this simple expression incorporates two archaic words and a neologism. *Scruposus* ('full of sharp rocks'), also used in *Met.* 6,31 (153,16), clearly has an archaic ring; OLD quotes i.a. *Pac. trag.* 272 (W.) *scruposum specum* and see more examples in FERRARI 1968, 89-90. *Senticetum* ('place full of thorns or brambles') is attested elsewhere only in *Pl. Capt.* 860. Finally, *rupina* 'a rocky chasm' occurs only in Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 132 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 136); cf. further *Met.* 6,26 (148,14) and 7,13 (164,10). The vocabulary is recherché and adds a literary colour to the comparison.

**tesquis:** another highly uncommon word, which will return in 17,17 *in remotis tesquis*. According to OLD *tesquum* is an augural term of uncertain sense, used by non-technical writers for 'a tract of wild or desolate land'. Cf. e.g. *Hor. Ep.* 1,14,19 *deserta et inhospita tesqua*.

11,2 **infelix - auenae:** a quotation of Verg. *G.* 1,154. Unlike other some verse quotations by Apuleius, the reference is accurate. The name of the poet is not given, which shows that the line must have been well known to the audience, which was expected to recognize it.<sup>1</sup> For Apuleius' quotations of Vergil, see MATTIACCI 1986, 163-6 (with full references in the notes). The *Georgics* are quoted at four other places in the Apuleian corpus: *Soc.* 1 (116) and 23 (173), *Mun.* 36 (369) and 38 (374).

**indigent:** most editors print the emendation of VAN DER VLIET *indigent <es>*. This, of course, makes excellent sense and creates a balanced sentence. But the reading of the MSS can easily be retained, *indigent, furatum eunt* and *decerptunt* producing a logical sequence explaining the first word of the fragment, *patitur*.

**furatum eunt:** a supine of the deponent *furor*; cf. *Pl. Rud.* 111 *quin furatum... uenias*; *Trin.* 864; further e.g. *Cic. Tull.* 48. Supine forms of deponents are fairly normal in archaic Latin, but rare in subsequent periods. Much the same goes for the use of a supine with a form of *eo*, which had become nearly obsolete by the time of Apuleius; for both observations see LHSz 2, 382 and 380-1. The expression, then, is a clear example of Apuleius' archaizing tendencies.

**flores:** after the mention of *fructus* and *fruges*, curiously the poor farmers are said to go out and pick flowers. The speaker's thought seems to be already leaving the original metaphor. According to HARRISON 2000, 111, *flores* here stand for choice flowers of speech, as possibly in the title *Florida*.

<sup>1</sup> In the present context, the speaker might have commenced his Vergilian quotation slightly earlier: cf. Verg. *G.* 1,152-4 *intereunt segetes, subit aspera silua / lappaeque tribilique, interque nitentia culta / infelix lolium...* Particularly the neighbouring *nitentia culta* would fit the comparison here. That the passage from the *Georgics* is in the speaker's mind is brought out by the following *carduis* 'thistles', *carduus* being the first word in *G.* 1,152.

**ad eundem modum...** the second part of the comparison breaks off after the analogy has been made clear. The thought is easy to supply: 'so those who are poor in virtue come to other, more gifted and successful men to utilize their thoughts and words.' Copying Apuleius' words is what his accusers are actually said to do in *Apol.* 33,7 (cf. 34,3).

## XII THE PARROT

*The Indian parrot is brilliantly coloured and has a tough beak. It can be taught human speech by being struck on the head, but only when it is caught young and when it belongs to a specific species of parrots. Whatever it has learned sounds fairly human, but it can do no more than reproduce what it has been taught, whether that is to curse or to sing.*

Animals play an important role in the *Florida*; cf. notes on *Fl.* 2; 3 and 6. But the present piece goes further in that it is entirely devoted to a bird, thus even surpassing the splendid *Fl.* 2 which dealt mainly (but not exclusively) with the eagle. The description is so elaborate that it merits the term *ecphrasis*, even if we do no longer possess the context from which it once stood out.

The first paragraph is devoted to the parrot's general shape and colour, with five colours discarded and green marked out as its main colour. Then the focus falls on the parrot's tough beak and head. The parrot is struck on the head with an iron rod when being taught human speech. This human faculty, that of learning speech, dominates the rest of the description. A subspecies of parrot that has five toes is singled out as the one that is best equipped to learn human sounds. Although much of the piece seems to be in praise of the parrot, it ends with an important restriction: the bird can only 'parrot' what others have taught it. This thought can easily be completed: the parrot cannot invent words, and cannot say anything new of its own accord, unlike Man.

The fragment clearly attests Apuleius' joy in description and his interest in zoology, which is also apparent in his other works, notably *Apol.* and *Met.*; cf. also LE BOHEC 1996, 65, who even speaks about 'une vraie fiche de scientifique' here. Parrots are not uncommon in Roman literature, as appears from TOYNBEE 1973, 247-9. Cf. notably *Ov. Am.* 2,6 (on which see BOYD 1987) and *Stat. Silv.* 2,4 (on which see the notes by Van Dam). Apuleius' description may further be compared with *Plin. Nat.* 10,117, from whom he seems to have copied some details (see notes below), and itself finds a close parallel in the 3rd century author Solinus (*Solin.* 52,43-5). For ornithological details on the parrot, see ANDRÉ 1967, 134; CAPPONI 1979, 458-61. In the Second Sophistic too, the parrot attracted attention; HARRISON 2000, 112 refers to a lost encomium of the parrot by Dio Chrysostom (*Philostr. VS* 487; see also JONES 1978, 15) and to *Ael. NA* 13,18. As an animal mainly known from India, it had an exotic quality in keeping with the reputation of that country (cf. *Fl.* 6); see KARTTUNEN 1997, 202-205.

The present text about the parrot no doubt has a wider significance. According to HARRISON 2000, 112, the main point is that pupils, like parrots, absorb what they are taught and should therefore not be taught improper things but be educated with care. This is not impossible, but the location of the piece after the polemical *Fl.* 11 and the negative

remarks here at the end rather suggest that Apuleius is engaged yet again in a controversy with his rivals, who can merely echo what they have heard from others (for that thought cf. 11,2).

Given the importance of the theme of human speech both here and elsewhere in the *Florida*, there are even stronger philosophical overtones: the speech<sup>1</sup> may have developed the contrast of man and animal and the ideal use of human language. The latter idea, cautiously suggested by HUMANS 1994, 1735 (cf. 1747) can be carried somewhat further: as in the speaker's view human speech finds its culmination in the works of philosophers, this is particularly true of his own achievements; see 9,27-9 and 20,6. The parrot surpasses many animals in its capacity to learn, but it is in turn surpassed by Apuleius, who in the next fragment claims to 'sing every sort of tune', unlike birds who sing just a single melody; cf. 13 and 17,17-19. In some clearly poetical allusions by Persius and Martial to parrots, the parrot stands for 'the bad poet', obviously opposed to the author himself; cf. Pers. *Prol.* 8 and Mart. 10,3,7. So in the present text, the parrot may well have served as a contrast to mirror Apuleius' own manifold talents of human speech.

For a translation of *Fl.* 12 see also TATUM 1979, 164-5.

12,1 **psittacus**: the first word of the piece refers to its main theme; cf. e.g. 6,1 *Indi*; 7,1 *Alexandro*. For other Roman texts where parrots are mentioned, see introductory note; further BOYD 1987, 200n3. For the whole opening sentence, with its reference to exotic India, cf. the first line of Ov. *Am.* 2,6 *Psittacus, Eois imitatrix<sup>2</sup> ales ab Indis*. For the Indian provenance of the bird cf. also e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 10,117.

**instar**: 'stature', cf. TLL s.v. 1969,53f., where the sense here is described as a synonym of *imago, simulacrum, forma, species*. The noun, normally used with a genitive, here functions without a complement, next to *color*. OLD s.v. wrongly ranges our place under the sense 'equivalent in measure'.

**minimo minus**: 'just a little less', a unique combination; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 158. *Minimo* is ablative of measure to be taken with *minus* only. Apuleius no doubt liked the effect of the words; note also the following juxtaposition of *color* and *columbarum*.

**non enim lacteus...**: the indication of the bird's main colour, green, is amplified by the mention of five different hues which it has not: milk-white, greyish-blue, a combination of both, yellowish, or speckled. The last term, *sparsus*, does not denote a specific colour but the manner in which colour appears. *Subluteus*, formed with the expressive prefix *sub-*, does not occur before Apuleius; after him, see Arnob. 5,164.

<sup>1</sup> According to OPEKU 1974, 191, that the description of the parrot is included in the collection as a model passage rather than as part of a speech actually delivered by Apuleius. However, given the nature of the other pieces in the collection, we may safely assume that this *ecphrasis* too formed part of a speech.

<sup>2</sup> The parrot's capacity of imitating human speech is also immediately noted by Stat. *Silv.* 2,4 in the second line: *humanae sollers imitator psittace linguae*. Cf. also Petr. Fr. 41 Bücheler (*Anth.Lat.* 691), an epigram on a speaking parrot, esp. line 1 *Indica purpureo genuit me litore tellus* and line 4 *mutavi Latio barbara uerba sono*.

**uiridis**: a standard colour for the parrot; cf. e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 2,4,25 *psittacus, ille plagae uiridis regnator Eoae* and Plin. *Nat.* 10,117 (quoted below).<sup>1</sup>

**palmulis**: 'at the pinions of its wings'. This is a special use of the word, normally used for the palm of the human hand; see OLD s.v. *palmula* 1b; and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 154. In poetry it can also be used for an oar (e.g. Catul. 4,4), a sense that may be relevant here, given the nautic imagery used in 2,10. Note the correspondences and contrasts in sound and sense between *intimis plumulis* and *extimis palmulis*.

**nisi - distinguitur**: the detail about the band of red in the neck (12,1-2)<sup>2</sup> is a clear echo of Plin. *Nat.* 10,117 *uiridem toto corpore, torque tantum miniato in ceruice distinctam*. Here again, Apuleius' technique of amplification may be observed in detail: using the same words (*ceruice, distinguitur, mineo, torquis*) the description is expanded by means of repetitions and synonyms (e.g. *ceruicula, circulo, pari... circumacta cingitur*, and *coronatur*), and resounding long words, marked by the alliteration of *c(i)-*.

12,2 **rostri prima duritia**: the details on the beak too, seem to be derived from Pliny's description (quoted below). For *primus* as 'first class, prime', see OLD s.v. 13.

**praeipitat**: the image of the parrot rushing down from on high recalls the picture of the eagle's flight in 2,10-11. Since the parrot rather inelegantly decelerates using its curved beak, a slightly comic effect may be intended: the parrot is not as majestic as the eagle, but rather funny (cf. also next note).

**rostro - excipit**: the special feature is also noted by Plin. *Nat.* 10,117: *cum deuolat, rostro se excipit, illi innititur leuioremque ita se pedum infirmitati facit*. Apuleius' reference to an anchor recalls the more impressive nautic imagery in his description of the eagle (see on 2,9-10). The spelling of *anchora* with *-h-* does not need to be normalized, as HELM and other editors assume. It is widely attested as a variant spelling; cf. OLD s.v. *ancora*.

12,3 **capitis...**: another curious detail about the parrot: it is trained to pronounce words by being struck on the head with an iron rod. Again the information seems to be based on Pliny, the first statement being an almost verbatim copy of the scholar's words. See Plin. *Nat.* 10,117 *capiti eius duritia eadem quae rostro. Hoc cum loqui discit, ferreo uerberatur radio; non sentit aliter ictus*.

Apuleius' version of the idea is marked by rare words such as *clauicula* ('rod') and *ferula* ('stick') (for both see FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 122), and the archaic and comic *persentiscat* (cf. GCA 1985, 193); and by powerful sound effects, notably of *c-*; cf. also *persentiscat* and *discenti, ferrea* and *ferula*. Finally, it may be noted that Pliny's order of the details about head and beak is reversed. Here the feature of the bird's head comes first as a highlight of the description, since it brings in the topic of human speech.

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, TOYNBEE 1973, 247 notes that a grey species of the parrot from West Africa is mentioned nowhere in the ancient sources. One would imagine that Apuleius had personally seen this grey bird, but he nonetheless seems to conform to Greek and Roman literary tradition.

<sup>2</sup> A picture of an Indian parrot by G. de Buffon closely corresponding the present description may be found on the cover of my Dutch translation of the *Florida* (Amsterdam 1994).

There is no need to bracket the words *haec discenti ferula est* as a gloss, as NOUGARET 1928, 46 argues. Far from being a prosaic explanation that spoils the word *clauicula*, the rephrasing even adds to the funny effect.

12,4 **usque ad duos - annos**: the restrictions in 12,4-5 (youth, the species that eats acorns and has five toes) all seem to stem from Pliny too: *Nat.* 10,118-9 *uerum addiscere alias negant posse quam ex genere earum quae glande uescantur, et inter eas facilius quibus quini sint digiti in pedibus, ac ne eas quidem ipsas <nisi> primis duobus uitae annis*. However, Pliny by then is speaking not about parrots, but about *picae* ('jays' or 'magpies'). Apuleius seems to have overlooked this change of species in his model; ornithologists confirm that the details are wrongly applied to the parrot here; see CAPPONI 1979, 458-61 s.v. *siptace*.<sup>1</sup>

The first element, age, is lengthened by the speaker with some apparently zoological detail about the shape of the mouth and tongue, presented in rhetorical fashion,<sup>2</sup> and with an additional, rather more humanlike observation - that the bird becomes 'unteachable and forgetful' in old age.

**conuibretur**: a rare verb, here used transitively 'to be set in motion'; in this sense it does not occur before Apuleius (see TLL s.v. *convibro* 872,24f.). The verb is used of the quick movement of fire in *Mun.* 15 (322).

12,5 **glande**: for the detail and the speaker's ornithological error, see note on 12,4.

**ut hominis**: with the feature of 'five toes', the speaker can no longer resist drawing a parallel between the animal and man. Until here, the analogy was no less clear, but remained implicit (as in the remark on old age in 12,4).

12,6 **lingua latior**: parrots in general are said to have a characteristically broad tongue. The detail takes up the mention of the tongue in 12,4. We may compare Pliny's general remark in *Nat.* 10,119 on broad tongues of speaking birds: *latiores linguae omnibus in suo cuique genere, quae sermonem imitantur humanum*; cf. further e.g. Arist. *PA* 660a29-34.

**patientiore plectro et palato**: a conspicuous, resounding expression rounds off the physical part of the description. *Plectrum*, a musical term for the instrument used for striking the strings of a lyre (cf. 15,9 *pulsabulum*), is here a recherché metaphor for the tongue.

12,7 **dicit**: this is the reading of  $F\phi$ , commonly changed to *didicit*. The ingenious emendation (by Stewich) has been accepted by all modern editors. Nevertheless, *dicit* should be retained, since the verb can actually be used for the utterance of a bird; TLL s.v. *dico* 989,18-20 quotes Pl. *Men.* 654 *quae "tu tu" usque dicat tibi*, where *dicere* is used for the sound of a *noctua* ('night-owl'); cf. also HJUMANS 1994, 1779. In the present fragment

<sup>1</sup> The same error is made in Solin. 52,43-5, who therefore may be following Apuleius. However, CAPPONI, 459n3 (=460-1) rejects the idea that Apuleius (or Solinus) directly used Pliny's text, and rather assumes a common model to all sources, that is now lost. But Apuleius follows Pliny elsewhere in the *Florida* too (e.g. in *Fl.* 7), and so we need not assume an intermediate source. The difference may be explained as an error on Apuleius' part, perhaps due to hasty reading or extempore composition.

<sup>2</sup> One cannot escape the impression that the speaker is inserting the picturesque detail mainly for a certain emotional force it conveys. Most of his audience is likely to have been familiar with the greater possibilities to train young animals in general.

both 'learning' and 'uttering' are relevant concepts, but the previous sentence (12,6) concentrates on the parrot's ability to articulate sound. The connection, therefore, is smooth: the parrot's 'speaking' is the issue.

**canit**: the neutral *dicere* (see previous note) is followed by more precise and colourful verbs: *canere* and *eloqui*. The parallel between bird and man is emphasized once again; cf. also MESSINA 1999, 301.

**nam <coruum> quidem si audias**: the *coruus* is mentioned in 12,8, and the word must obviously be inserted here, as HELM proposed, to make sense of the text. Alternatively, COULON 1925, 21-2 suggested *nam quidem <coruinam>*, arguing that *nam quidem* must not be separated; cf. however *Met.* 11,4 (269,2) *nam dextra quidem*. The rest of the sentence seems to be corrupt beyond repair:  $\vdash idem conate non loqui \vdash$ . No satisfying solution seems possible, in spite of the numerous attempts by scholars, for which see the discouraging list in HJUMANS 1994, 1779-80 (to which may be added *idem crocitare non loqui <videtur>* by FRASSINETTI 1991, 1207).

It is very likely that some comparison was made between between the skilled parrot and the *coruus* with its ugly sound.<sup>1</sup> Especially for the element '*conate*', numerous proposals have been advanced, such as *crocitare* or *groccire* as in *Soc.pr.* 4 (both suggested by HELM). Perhaps the best guess here is *sonare* (ARMINI 1928, 331), which seems defensible from a paleogeographical point of view. In the absence of further clues, the phrase is best left obelized.

12,8 **uerum enimuero**: an emphatic combination of adversative particles, used by Apuleius three times in the *Fl.*; cf. also 15,15 and 20,2; further e.g. *Met.* 2,6 (30,4).

**pronuntiant**: a verb typical for human speech, as is shown in e.g. *Fl.* 9,7 *uel unam syllabam barbaram pronuntiatam*; cf. OLD s.v. (esp. senses 6-8). Thus the word (also used in Plin. *Nat.* 10,117 *quae accipit uerba pronuntiat*) underscores the simile between animal sound and human speech.

**conuicia**: 'insulting talk, abuse'. In antiquity, as in modern times, this may have been a popular thing to teach parrots, although other passages usually refer to more proper tricks. Notably, in several sources the parrot is said to be taught to pronounce the emperor's name; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 10,117 *imperatores salutatur*; Mart. 14,73,2 *Caesar, aue!* (with Leary's note ad loc.); further Stat. *Silv.* 2,4, 29-30 (with Van Dam's note ad loc.). Other polite utterances can be found in Ov. *Am.* 2,6,48 *Corinna uale!*; Pers. prol.8 *Chaere!*; and cf. the poetic lines ascribed to a parrot in Petr. *Fr.* 41 Bücheler (*Anth.Lat.* 691).

**cantionem**: the word serves as a synonym of *carmen*, to be varied itself in the following *cantilenam* (12,9). In *Fl.* 13 we will also read *cantus*, as well as several more specialised terms to describe birds' sounds.

12,9 **ubi omnia - remittendus est**: the fragment ends on a comic (if partly brutal) note, that seems to be supported by the fairly light rhythm. If the parrot's master wants the 'same old song' of cursing to stop, only two rather drastic measures can help him: cutting out the tongue or releasing the bird to let it return to its native woods in distant India. The reference to 'woods' may partly have been inspired by Ov. *Am.* 2,6,49-58, with its

<sup>1</sup> Significantly, in the fable about the *coruus* and the clever fox in *Soc. pr.* 4, the raven's lack of vocal ability, as opposed to the song of swans, is the crucial element.

picture of the Elysian woods where deceased 'pious birds' such as Corinna's parrot end up.

After *remittendus est*, the fragment breaks off. The sequel of the original lecture is likely to have highlighted *human* speech as superior, in being creative and productive, and it may even have celebrated Apuleius' own achievements in the field; cf. introductory note.

### XIII BETTER THAN BIRDS

*Philosophy has not given me speech like the song of birds: brief and of short duration. No, a philosopher's wisdom and eloquence are continual and instructive, and he sings every sort of tune.*

A very brief fragment again, but the thought is easy to follow and coherent. The lines celebrate the philosopher's lofty capacities, contrasted with the songs of various birds, that are always limited both as to the time of day at which they are heard and in character. The theme of birds and bird-song closely links the fragment to *Fl.* 12 (see also introductory note there), and it might even stem from the same original (cf. HUMANS 1994, 1732n71). For the comparison of bird-song and learned speech, cf. also 17,16-18.

The contrast between birds' song and a philosopher's eloquence is fairly easy to make: of course the birds could never win. A similar contrast occurs in *D.Ch.* 12,1-6 and *Max.Tyr.* 1,7,<sup>1</sup> and so seems to have been a sophistic commonplace; cf. SANDY 1997, 166 and HARRISON 2000, 113. But the main element for which *Fl.* 13 has been excerpted seems to be not this idea, but the way in which various species of birds and their specific sounds are listed. The speaker's great love of the sound of Latin shows clearly again.

A translation of *Fl.* 13 may be found in TATUM 1979, 166-7.

13,1 **enim**: cf. note on 5,1.

**philosophia... orationem**: in Apuleius' world, the distinction between a philosopher and an orator had become virtually non-existent for most people. Philosophy and rhetoric both are facets of one, broad domain of culture and education; see note on *Apol.* 1,3 (with references) and cf. further SANDY 1997, 176-188.

**commodauit**: 'put at their disposal', 'gave them'. A resounding synonym for *largita est*. It is immediately followed by other long words (with various sound effects, notably of *-a-*).

**hirundinibus matutinum...**: a first list of examples, specifying birds that sing at different times of the day. The order in which animals are presented follows a twenty-four hour cycle of night and day, starting in the morning and ending at the following

<sup>1</sup> Earlier in that discourse, a philosopher's versatility was compared to human music: *Max.Tyr.* 1,2.

dawn.<sup>1</sup> The adjectives all refer to *cantum*. For some other extensive lists in the *Florida*, see e.g. FERRARI 1969, 184-7.

Among the six creatures in the list there are no less than three species of owls: night owls, screech owls, and horned owls. The owl was, of course, a symbol of wisdom already in antiquity, and this may partly have inspired the choice.<sup>2</sup> Particularly surprising is the mention of *cicadae*, which do not belong to the category of birds, but to that of insects. There does not seem to have been any doubt in antiquity about this status of *cicadae*. Nor is Apuleius likely to be wrong here, since his zoological interests are well attested; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 38. Apuleius no doubt inserted them here because of their familiar sound, as TATUM 1979, 166n6 rightly observes. See also next note.

13,2 **animalia**: in the second list of special features, several words are repeated, but *aves* is now changed to the general *animalia*. It looks as if the speaker tacitly corrects himself, after having mentioned the *cicadae* (see previous note).

**uario tempore et uario modo**: the former element summarizes the preceding list of different times of the day at which birds are heard (13,1), the latter the following list of their different songs (13,2).

**occinunt et occipiunt**: 'break in with a song and commence'. Two verbs that are closely similar in sound and sense (they are two subsequent lemmata in OLD), the first one being more specific for birds and trumpets, the second one more general.

**scilicet galli...**: the second list of features refers to the same six creatures as in 13,1, whose songs are now characterized as sounds. The order in which animals are presented is the exact reverse of 13,1, with cocks coming first and swallows last.

**expergifico**: sc. *carmine*, as with the other adjectives. The word does not occur before or after Apuleius and seems to have been coined by him for the occasion. Much the same goes for the following *gemulus* ('plaintive') and *obstreporus* ('noisy'), both words also attested only here. For the combination of neologisms, see FERRARI 1968, 122-3 and 138; further FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 124.<sup>3</sup>

**intorto**: 'indrawn'. The word is used for a bird's sound also by Plin. *Nat.* 10,81.

**obstreporo**: this is the reading in *Fϕ*. Modern editors commonly adopt the early emendation *obstrepero*. However, since the word occurs only here (cf. previous note) there is no good reason for the change, especially since the adjective seems regularly formed; one may compare e.g. *canorus*, *sonorus*, and *saporus*. The reading of *Fϕ* is also defended by HILDEBRAND and ARMINI 1928, 331; and it is rightly given preference in TLL s.v. 250,58f.

<sup>1</sup> One could raise doubts about the element *noctuis serum*, which normally would be taken as a reference to an owl singing at night. But *serus* vaguely refers to 'an advanced hour', and in the present context it may best be interpreted as 'at dusk'.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the *bubo* was associated with the underworld and death; see e.g. Verg. *A.* 4,462-3. The bird appears in a negative context of magic in *Met.* 3,21 (68,12); see VAN DER PAARDT ad loc. (with further reff.).

<sup>3</sup> AUGELLO ad loc. is remarkably hostile: 'anche qui, e più di prima, siamo dinanzi ad una sequenza di gusto tetro'. AUGELLO's repeated references to Saint Ambrose in the notes to *Fl.* 13 suggest a rather different sympathy.

13,3 **ratio et oratio**: these may be called key-words in the *Florida*; cf. BAJONI 1989, 256-7; further MESSINA 1999, 299-300. For the combination, see below 18,5 and *Soc.* 4 (126) *homines ratione plaudentes, oratione pollentes*; cf. also *Pl.* 1,3 (188) and 1,14 (212); earlier examples may be found in e.g. *Cic. Rep.* 2,66; *Tusc.* 4,38; 4,60 and *Quint.* 2,20,9.

Four qualities of the philosopher's speech are given. All of these seem to be lacking in the calls of the various creatures mentioned in the fragment: it is continual, venerable (unlike birds' sounds, that are merely pleasant to hear), meaningful, and versatile.

**modo omnica**: 'that produces music of every tone' (OLD s.v. *omnicanus*). *Modo* takes up 13,2 *uario modo*, and *omnicana* is yet another word not attested elsewhere (TLL s.v. 588,57f.; FERRARI 1968, 138).

#### XIV CRATES AND THE OTHERS

*Having publicly abandoned his possessions and liberated himself from materialism, Crates henceforth lived in perfect happiness. When a noble woman fell in love with him, he pointed out to her his poverty and physical ugliness, advising her to think twice. The woman, Hipparche, declared that she could not wish for a better husband. Crates then took her to the colonnade and would have made love with her in public, but for Zeno who held his cloak in front of them.*

Now follows an anecdote without gods, animals, or music, that is more closely related to popular philosophy and recalls the Cynic diatribe. Crates of Thebes (ca. 365-285 B.C.), a pupil of Diogenes of Sinope, was one of Apuleius' favourite celebrities from the past, who is also the main subject in *Fl.* 22 (Crates as Hercules) and *Apol.* 22, where even a parodic line of his is quoted. Central elements in the present anecdote are the radical rejection of worldly riches, the charm ascetics exerted over others (a woman in this case), and the absence of ordinary propriety or modesty, as was typical of Cynics.

As the first sentence of the fragment indicates, it was originally preceded by some lines about Diogenes, most likely some similar anecdote about Diogenes' contempt for richness. The piece ends with Zeno's modest protection of Crates' intimacy with Hipparche, which can hardly be the conclusion of a speech. The anecdote then is not an isolated text, but must have been embedded in a somewhat larger display of popular philosophy, either as an introductory speech, or as part of a main speech. For the latter, one may compare the long excursus on poverty in *Apol.* 17-23 (see notes there).

Apuleius' intention is not fully clear, given the rather unexpected final twist in the anecdote. No doubt there is a moralizing element in the generally negative attitude towards riches and possessions, of which Crates is a clear model, and in the implicit message that we must look beyond superficial appearances; cf. TATUM 1979, 124 (where a translation of *Fl.* 14 and brief notes can be found). According to SANDY 1997, 149 both *Fl.* 14 and 22 'appear to have been full-scale, didactic discourses on the development of the Cynic requirement to renounce wealth.' However, though much of this piece must have fascinated the audience, hardly anyone will have seriously fancied the idea of following Crates' example: his display of public indecency can hardly be called 'morally

instructive' in the sense that it invites others to follow his example. The final lines seem to commend the action of the Stoic Zeno rather than the Cynic Crates (see note on 14,6 *Zeno*). There may well be, on the other hand, some relationship between *Fl.* 14 and *Fl.* 22 (see introductory note there).

In the end, we may say that the present piece seems to be both instructive and entertaining, as TATUM, 124-5 rightly concludes. Crates' behaviour can hardly be called less 'exotic' than the strange details about e.g. mythological characters, India, Alexander, or animals from the East described in the other pieces.

In the *Florida*, the piece represents another anecdote about famous philosophers, such as Socrates (2), Hippias (9) and Pythagoras (15). For the negative approach to worldly and external possessions, cf. also the two final pieces (22 and 23). As with many other such anecdotes, it is not possible to establish Apuleius' exact source. Meanwhile, it seems at least possible that he used books by Crates' pupil Zeno, of whom it is known that he wrote about Crates (Diog.Laert. 6,91), as HARRISON 2000, 114 argues.

The lives of Crates and Hipparchia (Hipparche) are documented in Diog.Laert. 6,85-93 and 96-8, and in various other sources, collected by GIANNANTONI V H (Crates) and V I (Hipparchia); the present text is split into two by GIANNANTONI V H 5 and 24. On Crates see also GOULET-CAZÉ 1994, 496-500 and particularly NAVIA 1996, 119-43. In the latter, highly sympathetic, account, he appears as the modest, inspiring 'door-opener', who (unlike e.g. Diogenes) always spread peace and joy and delivered a spritual message to mankind (cf. also *Fl.* 22). For the Romans' rather ambivalent approach of Cynics, particularly because of their shamelessness, see now GRIFFIN 1996 and KRUEGER 1996; in general one may also consult DUDLEY 1937 on the history of Cynicism. In the *Florida*, Apuleius easily combines his sympathy for Crates both with his professed Platonism and with polemical remarks that seem intended against the Cynics as such (e.g. 9,9); see MESSINA 1999, 289-91.

14,1 **haec - a Diogene**: a reference to what has preceded the fragment in the original context, probably some drastic examples or saying illustrating Diogenes' pursuit of poverty.<sup>1</sup> For the Cynic Diogenes of Sinope, see *Apol.* 9,22 and 22,7 with notes. Crates of Thebes was his pupil. For Crates, see references given above in the introductory note.

**suggereret**: 'brought forward', of ideas; cf. OLD s.v. *suggero* 3b with examples. Crates is pictured as an intelligent pupil, who adds analogous thoughts on his own accord.

**rem familiarem abicit**: cf. *Apol.* 22,3 *rem familiarem largam et uberem populo donauit, multis seruis a sese remotis solitatem delegit, arbores plurimas et frugiferas prae uno baculo spreuit, uillas ornatissimas una perula mutauit*. The image is not of Crates dumping large material objects in the market-place, but giving away his capital. This also appears from parallel versions of the story in Greek sources, notably Diog.Laert. 6,87, who gives three accounts of how Crates disposed of his wealth, and who estimates Crates' capital after sale of his possessions at 200 talents.

**onus stercoris**: a particularly strong expression, comparing wealth to the very lowest: waste matter. *Stercus* should not be taken as 'dung' (thus e.g. VALLETTE), which as a

<sup>1</sup> At Diog.Laert. 6,87 we read about Diogenes' advice to Crates to throw into the sea any money that he had.

fertilizer most certainly was *usui*; cf. the numerous references to it in the agricultural writers (notably Cato and Columella). The comparison may have been inspired by Pl. *Truc. 556 qui bona sua pro stercore habet / foras iubet ferri*.

**magis - usui**: for the general idea and the idiom, cf. *Apol. 19,4 Etenim omnibus ad uitae munia utendis quicquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui exuberat*.

14,2 **Crates, te manumitte!**: first, HELM printed *Crate[s]te <m> manu mitt <it>': et* ("sets Crates free" and'), which was accepted by VALLETTE and others and is defended again by HARRISON 2000, 113n74.<sup>1</sup> The text of Fφ, *Crates te manumittes*, is harder to interpret: "Crates! You will set yourself free." It is defended, with some caution, in HELM's *Addenda et Corrigenda*. But the future tense seems out of place, since Crates is already liberating himself. So perhaps a correction to an imperative *manumitte* (which has not yet been proposed by scholars) is due. This would require only a small change. An imperative would be quite fitting for Crates pathetically addressing himself.

**nudus... omnium**: the adjective *nudus* refers to loss or abandoning material possessions; cf. OLD s.v. 1b and 10. Here the primary sense of 'nude' seems relevant as well, for Crates will literally uncover his upper back (*interscapulum*) and take off his *pallium* (14,3). Moreover, the fragment culminates in outright sexual intercourse performed by Crates and Hipparche (14,6).

**eius cupiebatur**: an exceptional case of an impersonal passive of *cupio*, here with a genitive as in Pl. *Mil. 963 quae cupiunt tui*; for more examples see TLL s.v. *cupio* 1430,12 (where the present place is not referred to). For the impersonal passive, see note on 2,8. PURSER 1910 wishes to follow the second hand in F, which added *uita* after *cupiebatur*. This, however, looks like a normalization, and we should rather keep F's original text.

**uirgo nobilis**: the woman is not yet mentioned by name. Only in 14,4 is she called Hipparche. This woman, named Hipparchia in the Greek sources, was the sister of Metrocles, a pupil of Crates, and became a pupil of Crates herself. She was born in Maroneia of noble parents; cf. Diog.Laert. 6,96. For all testimonia relating to the marriage of Crates and Hipparche, see GIANNANTONI V H 19-25; the role of Hipparche and her marriage with Crates are lovingly praised by NAVIA 1996, 131-6.<sup>2</sup>

14,3 **interscapulum**: 'the part of the body between the shoulder blades'. The rare word is not attested before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 123.

**aucto gibbere**: 'with a large hunchback', an ablative of quality; the preceding *quod* is probably the relative pronoun, referring to *interscapulum*. Crates was remarkably ugly, as

<sup>1</sup> For this HELM in his app.crit. quotes a comparable Greek line of Gregorius of Nazianzus about Crates, with the indicative *ἐλευθεροῖ*; on account of that same line NOUGARET 1928, 42-3 proposed to change also *manu mittit* in our text to *Thebanum manumittit*, a change that is superfluous). Other Greek sources, to be found together in GIANNANTONI, p.707-9, present variants of the same statement, also with the verb in the indicative mood. However, most of these sources are much later than Apuleius. Moreover, Apuleius seems to be following a different model for the tale (see note on 14,6).

<sup>2</sup> NAVIA is keen to give a highly positive picture of Crates. This leads him to present the evidence in a rather romantic and modern light. One may, for instance, wonder whether the Cynic marriage really helped to destroy old social prejudices concerning women and other groups (cf. NAVIA, 136).

e.g. Diog.Laert. 6,91 attests. His hunchback was typical of him, to the extent that he is said to have addressed it himself in verse at his dying moment: 'You are going, dear hunchback, you are off to the house of Hades, - bent crooked by old age.' (Diog.Laert. 6,92, transl. R.Hicks).

**peram cum baculo**: this standard equipment of the Cynic Crates is celebrated at some length in *Apol. 22* (cf. note to *Apol. 22,1*). Here, the inevitable *pallium* of the philosopher is added.

**suppellectilem**: the reading of F which was corrected in φ. Since the spelling of this word with double -p- is well attested (cf. OLD s.v. *supellex*), I have printed it here. The word also occurs in the passage on Crates in *Apol. 22,2* (with a single -p-); cf. further *Fl. 9,24*.

14,4 - **proinde - caperet** -: after the threefold temporal *cum*-clause (*retexisset, posuisset, profiteretur*), the last verb leads Apuleius to insert some of Crates' words in free indirect speech. The period 14,3-4 is then resumed with *enimvero* (here the equivalent of *tamen*, see PURSER 1910, 154) and ends in the main finite verb *accipit*. To clarify the syntax, dashes have been added here.<sup>1</sup>

**querela eam**: the easiest correction for *querelam eam* of Fφ. This reading, found in less MSS and early editions, is also adopted by HILDEBRAND and BOURGERY; HELM chooses *quaerelae causam* of Colvius. The syntax is somewhat unusual, with *querela* as the subject and the person as the object, but this could be explained as a mocking allusion to the traditional Homeric way to describe feelings 'overcoming' human beings.

*Querela* can have judicial associations, but it is certainly not confined to this sphere, as AUGELLO ad loc. wrongly suggests. The following *condicio* has a rather stronger judicial colour (see OLD s.v.).

**Hipparche**: her name is given only here; see on 14,2 *uirgo nobilis*.

14,5 **sibi proisum**: Hipparche unhesitatingly answers that she has already given the issue ample thought, and she is not deterred. This may be considered an act of *constantia*, as HUMANS 1987, 466n308 calls it (the word will actually be used in 14,6).

**uspium gentium**: the combination is not attested elsewhere, unlike similar expressions such as *usquam gentium*, *ubi(que) gentium* a.o. (cf. OLD s.v. *gens* 4 and TLL s.v. 1856,64f.).

**proinde duceret...**: Hipparche's words are another case of free indirect speech (cf. above on 14,4).

14,6 **dux... in porticum**: the final element in the story is rather surprising. Hipparche's devotion and Crates' Cynic shamelessness are illustrated by his intention to make love to her in public. In the many ancient testimonies on Crates, this sexual element occurs only in Apuleius' version, which has led scholars to question its biographical relevance, since it seems to contradict the general picture of Crates as a gentle and modest man, unlike Diogenes; cf. NAVIA 1996, 124: 'one of the most curious and embarrassing moments in the history of Cynicism'.

<sup>1</sup> HELM, being unfamiliar with (or not accepting) the phenomenon of free indirect speech, remarks that a *uerbum monendi* has fallen out, or that the sentence is not ended correctly. Such explanations are unnecessary.

Whatever its worth as factual evidence, the anecdote raises questions about the general interpretation of *Fl.* 14 that are difficult to answer. Perhaps the sexual detail has been inserted to praise the Stoic Zeno (cf. below on *Zeno*), or it functions simply as an amusing element (cf. introductory note), or both effects have been intended.

**dux:** this is the text of  $F\phi$ , commonly replaced by editors with Stewich's *duxit*. Other MSS and some older editions have *ducit*, but the perfect tense seems to be more in line with the rest of the sentence. However, the original reading may well be defended. In the brief clause *dux Cynicus in porticum* ('the Cynic lead the way to the portico') *in porticum* is an attribute to the noun *dux* without a connecting verb. The result is a succinct, but powerful clause, effectively varying the previous *duceret quo liberet*.<sup>1</sup>

**Cynicus in porticum:** the juxtaposition of the apparently redundant name *Cynicus* and *porticus* is no doubt intentional, *porticus* clearly referring to another philosophical school, that of the Stoa; cf. OLD s.v. The pun will have been appreciated by the educated members of the audience.

**coram:** 'publicly', 'openly'. This is not a case of the preposition with ablative (as suggested by HELM's translation 'angesichts des hellsten Tageslichtes'), but of the adverb, here used without further complement. It will be repeated in *coram... imminuisset*.

**imminuisset:** in the explicit, sexual anecdote, the key verb referring to the actual deflowering is euphemistic: the verb normally means 'to spoil, to impair'. Apuleius takes pride in using discrete language for sexual matters elsewhere too; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 34; the same tendency may even be seen throughout in the *Met.* For other circumlocutions to denote deflowering, see ADAMS 1982, 195-6; further *Apol.* 92,8 *praeeflorata* (in a context rhetorically celebrating virginity).

**paratam pari constantia:** the resoluteness of Hipparche is underscored by the alliteration of *-p-*, to be continued in *procinctu palliastri*.

**Zeno:** Zeno of Citium (ca. 335-265 B.C.), who later became known as the founder of Stoicism, was one of the pupils of Crates. Several stories about Crates and Zeno are told by Diog.Laert. 7,1-3. Here Zeno performs an act of decency and modesty, by sheltering Crates and Hipparche from public view.<sup>2</sup> The present anecdote, for which there are no parallel sources, may well be loaded with deeper significance: the 'crude' Cynicism was 'cleaned up' by Stoicism; cf. KRUEGER 1996, 235n87 and NAVIA 1996, 124-5. Meanwhile, the exact ideological intention of the speaker of *Fl.* 14 remains unclear (see introductory note).

**procinctu palliastri:** the first noun is not to be taken in its normal sense of 'clothing', as OLD s.v. 2 suggests. Instead, Apuleius clearly focuses on the original verbal element *cingere* 'by holding... around them'. Similar cases of 're-etymologisation' abound in his work; cf. e.g. GCA 1995, 67 on *Met.* 9,5 (206,14) *insinuatibus manibus*. A

<sup>1</sup> This syntactical phenomenon (of the type *discessus a corpore*) is not uncommon in Latin, though it is restricted in the classical period; cf. LHS II,428. There are examples in Apuleius' work too; cf. e.g. *Met.* 1,12 (11,11) *illa cum gladio*; 9,10 (210,14) *pistor de proximo castello*; *Apol.* 12,3 *nullis ad turpitudinem stimulis*; see CALLEBAT 1968, 199-200. Since the phenomenon not infrequently involves nouns derived from verbs (e.g. *discessus*, *adventus*), the noun *dux* seems to be appropriate here.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously, at *Apol.* 9,11 Apuleius in his defence refers to the use of lascivious terms in books by Diogenes and Zeno. Here, Zeno is referred to for the very opposite quality.

*palliastrum* is 'poor cloak', as in *Met.* 1,6 (5,14) *scissili palliastro semiamictus*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 133. It is not attested before Apuleius.

**circumstantis:** the word seems superfluous, as the sense of 'standing around' is already expressed in *corona*. Perhaps the adjective is added to mirror *procinctu*.

**magistri:** the genitive form is not easy to understand here. It is best taken with *in secreto*, which so must mean something like 'in the private act of his master' ('bei den Heimlichkeiten seines Meisters', HELM). *Obtutum defendere* then means 'ward off glances' (cf. OLD s.v. *defendo* 1).<sup>1</sup>

## XV PYTHAGORAS

*On the small, poor island of Samos, there is a town with a temple of Juno. Among its rich decorations I have seen a fine statuette of Bathyllus consecrated by the tyrant Polycrates: it shows a handsome young man dressed as a lyre-player. Perhaps it is not Bathyllus who is represented, but it is not Pythagoras, as some people think.*

*Pythagoras did come from Samos, was handsome, and a musical expert, but he certainly was no friend of Polycrates. He even fled from Samos and went to Egypt, where he was taught all sorts of knowledge. This was not enough for him: he went as far as the gymnosophists in India, from whom he learned what was to become the most important element in his philosophy. Pythagoras also learned from other teachers. The main thing this wise philosopher taught his own pupils was: the importance of silence. Good characters were allowed to break their silence after a short while, but for others this might take up to five years.*

*Plato has taken over this Pythagorean element too. So I personally have been taught when to speak and when to be silent, and I have earned praise for both from your predecessors.*

After five consecutive short fragments, the collection continues with four relatively long pieces. The first of these, *Fl.* 15 develops several encyclopedic elements, only to end in yet another celebration of the speaker's own talents, here those of speaking at the proper time. The speech can be divided in three sections. In 15,1-10 a description of the island of Samos is followed by an ephrasis of a statuette, said to be of Bathyllus. This provides a smooth, though somewhat artificial transition to Pythagoras, who is said *not* to be the person represented, and whose biography, broad education, and teaching is elaborated upon in 15,11-25. Finally, in 15,26-7 the speaker briefly mentions his own talents.

<sup>1</sup> One may observe that the sentence would run far more smoothly if it read *obtutu magistrum... defendisset* 'protected his master against glances', and this is how some translators, as BOURGERY, actually render the text without, however, changing it. Both for *obtutu* and *magistrum* some support is possible (the former was corrected in F, the latter is found in some MSS and editions), but we would still require a preposition like *ab* before *obtutu*. All in all, it seems best to leave the text unchanged.

As appears from 15,27 *tuis antecessoribus*, the whole fragment is addressed to an unknown magistrate, probably a proconsul of Africa as in *Fl.* 9 and 17,<sup>1</sup> and again it clearly sets out to celebrate the speaker's expertise. It must have been followed by more, probably by a main speech, but there is nothing obviously missing at the start, which therefore may be the actual opening of the speech. We may notice the loose structure and rather associative connection of themes;<sup>2</sup> notably the connection between the beautiful statuette and Pythagorean wisdom is, in the end, narrow indeed. Given its development of themes and motifs, *Fl.* 15 is a good example of an introductory speech (*prolalia*).

For the whole, SANDY 1997, 154-6 compares Dio's orations, notably D.Chr. 12, which equally develops a description of a work of art into a more philosophical discourse. For the motif of autopsy of objects, used by the speaker to mediate between himself and his audience, SANDY, 170-1 also compares Lucian's *Dionysus* and *Hercules* (idem, 170-1); cf. earlier MRAS 1949, 207 ('eine zwanglose Plauderei'). The model of philosophy as it is represented in Pythagoras is discussed by DE' CONNO 1959, 67-9. For some remarks on the style of the piece, see HIJMANS 1994, 1755-7. On *Fl.* 15 as a whole, see also HARRISON 2000, 114-6, who shows (p.114) that sophistic orations could often start by presenting the speaker as a well-travelled and cosmopolitan figure.

There are many links to the previous passages in the *Florida*. Notably, Greek philosophy has become a dominant theme after the texts on Hippias (9) and Crates (14). The piece also touches upon the gymnosophists and India (cf. 6), ecphrasis of persons (cf. 3,6-11 and 9,15) and of geographical elements (cf. 6,3), the pictorial arts (cf. 7,5-8), musical instruments (cf. 3 and 4), moral lessons (cf. 6,9-12), travel and religion (cf. 1), and Apuleius' self-celebration (cf. notably 9,24-31). An element that has not yet been important in the *Fl.* is the reference to homo-erotic relationships (see on 15,11).

The double ecphrasis referring to Samos (both the place and a work of art), combines two types of description popular in the Second Sophistic; for the second, see Philostrates' *Imagines*. The combination may also be seen in the tourist guide of Pausanias, as HARRISON 2000, 114-5 rightly remarks, adding that Pausanias' text on the Heraion of Samos (7,4,4-7) shows a lacuna at the very point where a statue of Bathyllus might have been described.

For the life of Pythagoras, many sources must have been available to Apuleius. His account may be compared with Diog.Laert. 8,1-50, notably his origin and travels (1-3). The special focus on 'silence' probably reflects the well known Pythagorean command of secrecy concerning teachings (cf. e.g. Iamb. *VP* 104 and 246).

Pythagoras is mentioned repeatedly within Apuleius' works, more or less as a model of the wise man; cf. *Apol.* 4,7 (his beauty), 27,2 (allegation of magic), 31,2-5 (an

<sup>1</sup> It may be tempting to assume that either Severianus (*Fl.* 9) or Orfitus (*Fl.* 17), or even Aemilianus Strabo (*Fl.* 16), is addressed here too; cf. OPEKU 1974, 217 (who prefers Orfitus). However, the fact that we know these magistrates from Apuleius' texts does not justify such an identification.

<sup>2</sup> One should be wary of easy judgements here. For example, referring to *Fl.* 15 a.o. NESSELRATH 1990, 114 remarks that 'Apuleius seems to talk about whatever just comes into this head'. On the other hand HIJMANS 1994, 1735-6 speaks of 'a careful structure' and calls the line of arguments 'a studied affair'. Most likely the truth lies somewhere in between: Apuleius knew very well what he was doing, but *Fl.* 15 does not show stronger thematical cohesion than the other longer pieces.

anecdote with fishermen), 43,6 (a saying), 56,2 (his prohibition of wool); *Met.* 11,1 (267,2) (his teaching on the sacred number seven); further *Soc.* 20 (166) and 22 (169). The connection of Plato and Pythagoras is underlined in *Pl.* 1,3 (186). Apuleius clearly identifies with Pythagoras, as he does with other philosophers and wise men; cf. HARRISON 2000, 115-6.

15,1 **Samos:** the piece opens with a geographical description of the island of Samos. It will shortly appear that Apuleius has visited the temple himself, and so the description also functions as an indication of the speaker's own travel abroad. From Apuleius' own works, we know he also visited i.a. Carthage, Rome; Athens; and Phrygia; see *Apol.* 23,2 with note; further HARRISON 2000, 6-7. Since the following paragraphs will expand on the travels of Pythagoras, the geographical passage subtly puts the speaker on a par with the legendary philosopher. For the topography and history of Samos, cf. e.g. TÖLLE 1969.

**exaduersum Miletos:** editors generally put these words between dashes, taking *exaduersum* as an adverb and *Miletos* as a name in the nominative; a verb like *est* needing to be added in thought. A problem is that the following *eius* in the main clause can only refer to Miletos (the island is situated west of that town), which then would be syntactically irregular.<sup>1</sup> However, the objection is not so strong that a change of the text is required.

The town of Miletus definitely has literary echoes for the educated reader; one thinks of the *Milesian tales* and more particularly of the Amor and Psyche tale in the *Met.*, which is said to take place somewhere on the Ionian coast; see GCA 2001 on 4,29 (97,10-1) *insulas iam proximas* and 4,32 (100,16) *dei Milesii... oraculum*. However no special allusion appears to be intended here.

**dispescitur:** the commonly accepted correction by Colvius for *F dispicitur* (*despiscitur* φ), that is syntactically impossible. Apuleius uses *dispesco* 'to divide' also in *Soc.* 4 (127), and the verb occurs in earlier and later geographical passages (see OLD s.v. and TLL s.v. 1414,65f.).

**utrumuis:** the sense must evidently be 'in whatever direction', whether from Samos to Miletus or vice versa, but the form is hard to understand. It is replaced by most scholars since Oudendorp with *utramuis*, but the female form does not help.<sup>2</sup> One would expect *utrouis*, *utrimuis*, or even *utrauuis*. In the absence of further clues, the text is best left as it is.

**clementer:** not 'with mild weather conditions' (cf. VALLETTE, AUGELLO, and HUNINK) but 'at an easy pace', 'calmly'; cf. *Met.* 11,27 (288,20,1) *clementer incedebat* and OLD s.v. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, *exaduersum* could be taken as a preposition governing the accusative. We would then have to write *Miletum* or a Greek accusative *Mileton*. This suggestion is briefly made in a note by HILDEBRAND, who also describes some less likely attempts to explain the text. TLL s.v. *exaduersum* 1139,79 with hesitation accepts Scioippius' emendation *Mileto* (dative), also defended by PURSER 1910, 152.

<sup>2</sup> It cannot refer to the island or the town as the direct object of *naugantem*, since the verb allows a direct object only if it is a ship or a stretch of water; see OLD s.v. 3-4.

15,2 **ager...**: some details about agriculture on Samos follow, that seem quite irrelevant to the speaker's main themes. But it may be argued that they are inserted to capture the attention of the audience, notably by the striking words with which they are expressed (see below). Moreover, the natural poverty of the land provides a good transition to the riches of human arts that can be seen on the island, which in turn will give way to the transcendent wisdom of Pythagoras.

**frumento**: one may doubt whether *frumento*, *aratro*, and *oliueto* are ablatives or datives. Translations sometimes suggest the former, but the latter seems more likely; thus OLD s.v. *piger* 1b and *irritus* 3b ('leading to no result, ineffectual, unprofitable').

**nec holitori scalpitur**: 'and is not dug out with the nails by a vegetable-grower'. This is a difficult place, both in text and interpretation. Fφ reads *nec holeri scalpitur*, which seems impossible. What seems required is a noun parallel to *uinitori* ('vineyard worker') and a verb applicable to viticulture and agriculture.

As to the noun, Krueger's *holitori* ('vegetable-grower') seems excellent: the word perfectly suits the context, matches *uinitori* even in rhythm and sound, and is attested elsewhere in Apuleius' works (*Apol.* 24,4).

The verb is more problematic. *Sculpo* cannot stand here, since it refers to working material into some form or engraving upon a surface; cf. OLD s.v. Rohde's *culpatur*, printed by HELM,<sup>1</sup> would leave us with the following sense: 'its lands are not blamed by vineyard workers and vegetable growers', that is: the soil richly produces vines and vegetables. But the passage clearly makes the opposite point, namely that the island of Samos is *not* very rich in soil, and grows mainly olive trees, which are known to need a less fertile soil. VALLETTE rightly refers to Strabo 14,1,15, who confirms that Samos produces relatively little wine (not oil, as AUGELLO wrongly says).

With only a minor correction we can read *scalpitur*, a proposal by Becichem (although in F a similar correction seems to have been made at a late stage, according to HELM), accepted by VALLETTE. In relation to soil, *scalpo* is used for 'scratching' and 'digging out with the nails' (OLD s.v. 1c). This gives both the general sense required here, denying that the island is suited for these workers, and adds a lively, concrete image: they do not put their fingers in the ground but have to apply other means (see on *sarculo... surculo*).

**ruratio**: 'husbandry', a rare word, occurring not before Apuleius, who also uses it in *Apol.* 56,5; cf. FERRARI 1968, 131-2. Here it may also have been selected for its sound (-r- and -o- being dominant in the context).

**sarculo... surculo**: the rest of Samos' agriculture is executed 'with hoe and scion', that is: by hard work with instruments and by artificial propagation. As a result, Samos does yield produce, but cannot be called fertile (see next note). For archeological data on the Roman hoe (*sarculum*), see WHITE 1967, 43-7.

**fructuosa**: in conclusion, the island is *fructuosa* rather than *frugifera*. Here this does not refer to a special difference between tree-fruit and cereal crops, as OLD s.v. *frugifer*

<sup>1</sup> In his Addenda HELM adds another conjecture, printing *holeris cul <tori cul> patur*. However, *holeris cultor* sounds quite weak when compared to *holitor*, and involves a considerable change of the text.

(a) states.<sup>1</sup> The contrast is rather one of natural fertility (*frugifer*) and 'financial gain' or 'benefits' (*fructuosus*; cf. OLD s.v. 2-3).

15,3 **celebratum**: the participle means 'thronged', when used of places; cf. Sal. *Jug.* 47,1; see further TLL s.v. *celebro* 748,62f.

**oppidum**: the main town of the island was also called Samos. As the succinct expression *nequaquam pro gloria* (rather loosely constructed as an attribute) indicates, its renown was still great, but it had lost its ancient grandeur. Samos had, indeed, greatly suffered in the late Republic under the attacks of robbers and pirates, and although several emperors personally visited and decorated the island, it must have offered a rather impoverished and desolate view in Apuleius' days; cf. TÖLLE 1969, 26-31 (on the Roman era).

**semiruta moenium**: a poetic expression with a genitive plural, of a type much used by Apuleius; cf. *Met.* 1,2 (2,8-9) *ardua montium*; and GCA 1977,140 on *Met.* 4,18 (88,18-20) *cuncta rerum* (with further references). For the combination of *semirutus* and *moenia*, see Sal. *Hist.* 2,64.

**multifariam**: 'in many ways', to be taken with *indicant*. For adverbs in *-fariam*, see note on 7,9 *omnifariam*.

15,4 **fanum Iononis**: the temple of Hera (Juno) on Samos was famous; cf. e.g. Hdt. 3,60. It is described at some length by Pausanias 7,4,4-7; see further RE s.v. *Samos (Hereaion)* 2194-8 (2197 on testimonies of votive offerings); and WALTER 1990, esp. 154-89 (period of Polycrates) and 190-9 (Roman era).

**famigeratum**: 'celebrated'. The rare word, redolent of archaic Latin (in Plautus a *famigator* is a scandalmonger), aptly illustrates the venerable, old temple, itself called *fanum*. Apuleius also has *famigerabilis*; see *Met.* 2,21 (42,16) a.o.

**si recte recorder uiam**: a rather precise estimate of the temple's location ('about four kilometres') is inserted, but it is not geographical exactitude that seems the ultimate goal here. *Si recte recorder uiam* subtly conveys the message that the speaker has been visiting Samos himself (cf. also above on 15,1 *Samos*), and can therefore be trusted as an eye-witness.

**haud amplius**: for the place of the adverb and the case form of what follows it (not the normal ablative) cf. Cato *Agr.* 49,1 *binas gemmas ne amplius relinquito*.

15,5 **donarium**: 'a treasure chamber', as in *Met.* 9,10 (210,11). In it votive offerings could be stored, such as the ones specified here: dishes, mirrors,<sup>2</sup> cups and other objects.

**cuiuscemodi**: VALLETTE adopts the reading *huiuscemodi*, the emendation of Floridus, without further notice. This is unnecessary, for *cuiuscemodi* (or *cuiusque modi*) regularly occurs in the sense of *cuiuscumque modi*; see GCA 1985, 159 on *Met.* 8,17 (190,15).

15,6 **uis aeris**: copper or bronze is, of course, less precious than gold and silver, but the mention of the metal seems meaningful. Whereas gold and silver are represented in the form of mere *utilia* (cf. e.g. 9,26), the lesser metal is given the superior shape of impressive works of art.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably OLD here (and cf. also s.v. *fructuosus* 1a) interpreted the passage as a positive reference to Samos' produce in oil and wine, just as HELM understood the passage (see on *holitori scalpitur*).

<sup>2</sup> For mirrors as possibly magical objects, see the lengthy treatment of the theme in *Apol.* 13-16.

**14** **effigiatu:** a neologism for the 'shaping', 'carving' of plastic material. The word is not attested elsewhere (TLL s.v. 179,81f.; FERRARI 1968, 128-9). Apuleius also uses the verb *effigiare*; e.g. *Fl.* 1,4.

**uel inde:** the sense must be 'for example', 'among others', and this is how translators render the combination. Meanwhile, it seems unparallelled; we may compare OLD s.v. *inde* 8c and *uel* 4.

**Bathylli statua:** the speaker gradually reaches the point where he can start an elaborate description of a work of art, a bronze statue of Bathyllus. For this *ecphrasis*, cf. introductory note. In Apuleius' works we may compare above all the description of a statuette of Mercury in *Apol.* 63,7 (see note there). If the various details given here are considered in terms of ancient physiognomy, they suggest 'a somewhat docile, not very intelligent, and effeminate character', as OPEKU 1979, 473-4 argues.

The Greek Bathyllus (sixth century B.C.) is best known in ancient literature as one of the young men with whom the poet Anacreon was in love; cf. notably Hor. *Epod.* 14,9-10 *non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo / Anacreonta Teium* (with note by Mankin). The name does not occur in the extant fragments of Anacreon, but it is mentioned in the testimonies, such as Testim. 11 (Campbell), and in Greek poetry after Anacreon; cf. also ROSENMEYER 1992, 27.<sup>1</sup> Since Anacreon served at the court of Polycrates, the boy is likely to have been one of the tyrant's favourites.

**a Polycrate tyranno:** Polycrates governed Samos in the period 538-522 B.C. Much can be read about him in Hdt. 3, e.g. 3,39f.

**effectius:** 'more perfect'. For *effectus* in this sense, cf. Quint. 8,3,88 *quidquid in suo genere satis effectus est, ualet*; Plin. *Ep.* 2,3,3.

**Pythagorae:** a first mention of Pythagoras, said to be wrongly identified as the person represented by the statue. The speaker will return to Pythagoras in 15,12f.

**15,7 crinibus... remulsis:** the description focuses, as is usual, on the head, gradually moving down the body, to end with the hands in 15,9. Hair comes first, which does not seem surprising given Apuleius' preoccupation with it (see on *Apol.* 4,11). Earlier in the *Fl.* it played an important role in the description of Marsyas and Apollo: see 3,8-10.

The hair of the statue is described in two parts. The first one is concerned with the front side, where it is neatly divided over both cheeks. For *remulsis* 'smoothened back', from the verb *remulceo*, cf. notably 3,10 *crines eius praemulsis antiis et promulsis caproneis* with note. The form is Salmasius' emendation for the MSS reading *reuulsis*, which cannot stand, the sense 'tear loose', 'tear out' obviously being out of place here.

**pone...:** secondly, the back side of the hair is described. Here it is much longer, reaching to the shoulder-blades, while the white neck is showing through.

**suci plena:** the same detail occurs in the parallel description in *Apol.* 63,7 *uide quam facie eius decora et suci palaestrici plena sit*. For *sucus* as the vital fluid of human beings, see OLD s.v. 3b.

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, there is a poem among the 'Anacreontea' (nr.17 Campbell), where Bathyllus figures prominently: 'paint my Bathyllus, who is my comrade, such as I teach you...' Here a painter is asked to make a good portrait of the boy, for which a great number of physical details are supplied; regrettably, ROSENMEYER 1992, 88 only briefly mentions this piece rather than discusses it. Apuleius may have known the poem.

**malae... genae:** both words commonly refer to 'cheeks'. Here a difference must be meant, which given the next detail is probably that of 'cheek' and 'chin'.<sup>1</sup>

**at - lacullatur:** an exquisite little detail on the chin, which is not perfectly smooth and rounded (*teres*): there is a small depression at its middle. *Lacullo* 'to hollow out' is unattested elsewhere. Apuleius' new formations concern only relatively few verbs; cf. FERRARI 1968, 141-4. The passive form may be retained, although scholars have questioned it; thus HELM has proposed *lacullatus* and eventually prefers a noun *lacullatura*, while TLL defends *laculla* (the correction of Mueller and Rosbach) s.v. 857,3f.

**citharoedicus status:** 'the posture of a man who sings and plays on the lyre'; cf. OLD s.v. *status* 1b. For the instrument cf. on 3,11. The reference to a player of the lyre triggers the next section in the description, allowing the speaker to insert more refined details, illustrated by *recherché* words, rhythm and sound.

**15,8 uariegatam:** the verb was equally used in 3,11, but in that case for a *lyra* decorated with jewels.

**Graecanicam:** 'of Greek style'. The adjective has an association of refinedness, as in the famous passage *Met.* 1,1 (2,3) *fabulam Graecanicam incipimus*; further 10,29 (260,21).

**chlamyde:** a Greek cloak or cape. The word itself is Greek, and occurs only here in Apuleius. Earlier in the *Fl.* many different forms of clothing have already been mentioned; cf. notably 9,18-20. The subject of *uelat* is not the ablative *chlamyde* but the *adulescens* who is being described.

**articuli palmarum:** 'the wrists'.

**striis:** the emendation by Colvius for *istriis* of F. The word *stria* can mean 'furrow' or 'channel', but here it clearly refers to folds in drapery.

**15,9 balteus:** a 'shoulder-band' holding the instrument. In 9,19 it had referred to a 'belt'.

**procerulae:** another example of Apuleius' favourite diminutives referring to great or intense dimensions; cf. on 2,1 *diutule*. It may be observed that the description contains several diminutives: *gingulus*, *articulus*, *pulsabulum* and *labellum*. Cf. further FERRARI 1968, 121 and 124-5; and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 119.

**pulsabulum:** a 'plectrum'. The word, a diminutive, does not occur before Apuleius. The more usual word *plectrum* was used in 12,6 in relation to the parrot. Note the sustained alliteration of *p-* in the following *parata percutere*.

**15,10 quod interim - eliquare:** 'a song which he, meanwhile, seems to pour forth from his rounded mouth, with his small lips half-opened in the effort'. A delicate and sensual detail crowns the *ecphrasis*. In Roman eyes, the effect that a statue is so good that it seems to come alive, is a high compliment to the artistry of its manufacturer. For similar illusionary effects, cf. VAN MAL-MAEDER 1998, 109 on *Met.* 2,4 (27,11-17). The half-opened small lips form a clear echo of Catul. 61,213 (220) *semihiante labello*; cf. also *Met.* 10,28 *semihiantes... labias* (259,15-6) with GCA 2000, 347 ad loc.

<sup>1</sup> For a different distinction, see Isid. *Etyim.* 11,1,43 *Genae sunt inferiores oculorum partes, unde barbae inchoant (...)* *Malae sunt eminentes sub oculis partes ad protectionem eorum suppositae.*

1 15,11 **esto...**: having described the statue of Bathyllus at some length, the speaker now prepares for another point: perhaps the boy<sup>1</sup> was not Bathyllus, but most certainly it was not Pythagoras.

**qui... dilectus**: an indirect reference to the reason why Polycrates devoted the statue in the first place: his great love for boys, for which his entire court was famous. The pederastic motif appears to have been acceptable to Apuleius' audience if it was connected with Greek culture, exemplary as it was (cf. above on 2,1 *decorum adulescentem*), and with literary pursuits in general; Apuleius himself wrote two poems on boys, which are quoted and discussed in *Apol.* 9-13 (see notes there).

**Anacreonteum**: 'an Anacreontic song'. With an elegant twist, Apuleius brings in the name of Anacreon, known to have been the lover of Bathyllus (see on 15,6): the boy, represented as a singer and player of the lyre, may well be singing a song by Anacreon. Anacreon is associated with erotic poetry at *Apol.* 9,6 *Teius quidam*. For *cantilat* see on 3,11.

**amicitiae gratia**: one may doubt whose feeling of friendship is meant, that of Polycrates, of the boy, or even of Anacreon himself. The most natural explanation seems to be the second one: the boy is responding to the tyrant's love.

15,12 **multum abest - esse**: Apuleius repeats his point (15,6) that the statue cannot represent Pythagoras, adding that the philosopher possessed many qualities but certainly was not the favourite of a tyrant. Apuleius may feel so strongly about this point because he obviously identifies with Pythagoras himself (see introduction to *Fl.* 15).

**natu Samius**: Pythagoras was generally believed to have been born at Samos; cf. e.g. Diog.Laert. 8,1. For his beauty, *Apol.* 4,7 *Pythagoram (...) eum sui saeculi excellentissima forma fuisse*.

**musicaeque omnis... doctissimus**: Pythagoras is like Apollo in 3,11, who *doctissime et gratissime cantilat*. On Pythagorean preoccupation with music and harmonic theory, see ZHMUD 1997, 181-201.

15,13 **eo... orso**: Polycrates rose to power in about 540 B.C. In this period, Pythagoras, having lost his father, secretly fled from Samos, because he could not put up with the tyranny; the same details are given in Iamb. *VP* 10-11.

**clanculo**: the adverb does not occur before Apuleius; cf. TLL s.v. *clanculus* 1260,63f.; and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 140.

**gemmis faberrime sculpendis**: that Pythagoras' father Mnesarchus was an engraver of gems is also said by Diog.Laert. 8,1. In other versions his profession is that of a merchant; Porph. *VP* 1-2; Iamb. *VP* 1.

One may ask why Apuleius mentions the detail in the first place, since it seems hardly relevant. The issue may have been discussed by learned sources on Pythagoras, which Apuleius read and wished to show he had read (cf. *comperio*). In addition, the element seems to evoke the public's fascination for the 'un-Roman' behaviour of Pythagoras' father. His case closely echoes that of Hippias, who was credited with similar skills in the 'sedentary arts' (9,25), notably that of engraving gems (9,21 *gemmam insculperat*).

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, OLD s.v. *pubes* 1b gives the sense 'grown-up person, adult', but that cannot be correct here, given 15,7 *adulescens*. Quite clearly a young man or boy is represented in the statue.

15,14 **Aegyptum**: it was widely held that Pythagoras extensively traveled in the ancient world. However, many accounts differ as to the exact destinations and circumstances. The evidence is so meagre and unreliable that we cannot be sure he undertook such journeys at all. For an overview of sources, see ZHMUD 1997, 57-64, esp. 61-2 on his alleged travels to Egypt.

The story that Pythagoras was made prisoner by king Kambyes and taken to Babylon where he was initiated, goes back to various sources (such as Aristoxenos and Nearchus), but has little authority at all; cf. ZHMUD, 63-4. Apuleius seems to reject it himself in 15,15.

**Persarum magos**: for Persian magicians, see *Apol.* 25,9-11. Zoroaster is mentioned in the same text and at *Apol.* 26,2; see notes there.

**Gillo**: no king by this name is known to have ruled in Croton, but sources do mention a certain Pythagorean called *Syllos*; e.g. Iamb. *VP* 150 and 267. Rohde actually emended the present form to *Syllo*, which is accepted by HELM (*Addenda*). We cannot, however, be sure that Apuleius spelled the rather obscure name correctly.<sup>1</sup>

15,15 **optinet**: 'is generally believed', 'prevails', with *fama* as the subject. Cf. OLD s.v. *obtineo* 12.

**Aegyptias disciplinas**: the legendary sage Pythagoras was inevitably associated with all forms of wisdom. The 'Egyptian' lore suggested here includes religion, numerology, and geometry, shortly to be extended with oriental astrology, medicine, and philosophy. The sheer variety and breadth of Pythagoras' wisdom clearly reflects Apuleius' own interests and pursuits; for geometry cf. eg. *Fl.* 20,4. Cf. also the quest for wisdom attributed to Plato in *Pl.* 1,3 (186-8), a text in which Plato outdoes Pythagoras himself.

Note the tricolon *caerimoniarum - formulas*, with each element showing a parallel structure and containing impressive, long words (for *incredundas* cf. *Apol.* 47,3).

**numerorum... uices**: the combination is somewhat vague, given the complex meanings of *uicis*. The 'relation' or 'succession' of numbers seems to be meant; cf. OLD s.v. 4b and 7.

<**didicisse**>: the addition, already made in some of the MSS, makes the text easy to understand. But the various objects could, perhaps, be taken with the preceding *petisse*, as Purser and HILDEBRAND defend. With some hesitation, I keep the commonly accepted text.

15,16 **expletum**: 'satisfied', here with a genitive *animi*. For other uncommon combinations with *animi* in Apuleius, see VON GEISAU 1916, 243. Cf. e.g. 9,9 *falsos animi*.

**Chaldaeos**: originally a people in southern Assyria, but the term came to be widely used for soothsayers and astrologers; cf. e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1,1. For their bad reputation cf. e.g. *Apol.* 97,4. For Pythagoras' travel among the Chaldeans, see e.g. Diog.Laert. 8,3. The accusative form here is governed by *adissee*.

**Bracmanos**: on the Indian Bracmani or 'gymnosophists' (the latter here being treated as a special group of the former), see note on 6,7; for the variant spellings of the word in Greek and Roman sources (e.g. *Bracmani*, *Brachmanae*, and *Bragmanae*) cf. KARTTUNEN

<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there may be confusion with a story told by Hdt. 3,138 about a man from Tarentum named *Gillos*, who is said to have ransomed Persian captives from Iapygia and brought them back to king Darius.

1997, 57wn222. The added explanation *hi sapientes - est* makes it clear that *Fl.* 15 and 6 cannot have formed part of a single speech.

- 15,17 **Chaldaei...**: although the audience most likely knew what the term referred to, the speaker enters upon a small excursus on the *Chaldaei*. Using some rare words and combinations (including unusual plural forms, such as *genituris*), he highlights their knowledge of stars and planets and the effects of both on human lives at birth, and of various forms of medicine. By implication, these are branches of knowledge to be attributed to Pythagoras himself. The main verb of the period is *ostendere*, which may be explained as a historical infinitive.

**sideralem scientiam**: the combination occurs elsewhere only at *Plin. Nat.* 6,121 *sideralis scientiae*; 7,160; 19,1.

**numinum uagantium**: this refers to the planets, for which see on 10,1-2.

**remedia - conquisita**: medicine plays a fairly important role in Apuleius' self-defence and he was clearly much interested in it; cf. *Apol.* 40-52. For medicine in Pythagorean lore, see ZHMUD 1997, 226-57. The language presently used by the speaker remains stately: cf. *latis pecuniis* instead of *magna pecunia* and the grandeur of 'land, sky and sea'.<sup>1</sup>

- 15,18 **Bracmani**: the Indian philophsers are explicitly connected to Pythagorean wisdom, notably the practices of teaching and training, the theory on the soul and metempsychosis and on the various fates that people receive after death. The element of 'teaching' foreshadows the theme of Pythagorean silence, which is the climax to follow in 15,23-5. Note the careful structure of the five indirect questions (we may supply *sint* or *essent*): *quae... quae... quot... quot... quae...*

**mentium documenta**: 'instruction of minds'; *documentum* is taken in a somewhat unusual sense (cf. OLD s.v. 2). No doubt Apuleius selected it because of its etymological root *docere*. It is matched in sound and structure by the following *exercitamentum*, a rare word not used before Apuleius (TLL s.v.; FERRARI 1968, 117 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 127).

**quot uices uitae**: as such the phrase could mean 'le nombre... des phases successives de la vie' (VALLETTE and most other translators), but more likely an allusion to the famous doctrine of metempsychosis is intended: 'how many successions of life'.

**diis manibus**: 'the spirits of the dead', a common juncture (OLD s.v. *manes* 1). For the terminology, see also *Soc.* 15 (153).

- 15,19 **Pherecydes**: the first in an additional list of four legendary sages credited to have been teachers of Pythagoras. By now, the speaker's aim is obviously to drop as many famous names as he possibly can.

Pherecydes of Syros was a mythographer and cosmologist, who lived in the middle of the sixth century B.C. He is famous as one of the earliest Greek authors of prose, an element highlighted here too. His connection with Pythagoras, though attested in many ancient sources, is hardly more than legendary; cf. ZHMUD 1997, 50-1; SCHIBLI 1990, 11-3. Much the same can be said about the other teachers: antiquity tended to link figures

<sup>1</sup> For 'land, sky and sea', cf. e.g. *Cic. N.D.* 1,100 *caelum, terras, maria* (with more parallels given by Pease ad loc.); further *Verg. Ecl.* 4,51 *terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*, repeated in *G.* 4,222 and quoted by Apuleius in *Mun.* 38 (374). See also *Met.* 11,1 (266,18-9) *terra caelo marique*.

such as Pythagoras with all celebrities of his time. For testimonies and fragments of Pherecydes, see Diels-Kranz nr.7 and SCHIBLI 1990 (the present testimonium is SCHIBLI F11).

**Syro... oriundus**: Syros, one of the Cyclades, is a relatively unimportant island between Kythnos and Delos. For *oriundus* cf. 22,4; further *Apol.* 4,8 *Zenonem illum antiquum Velia oriundum, qui primum...*

**qui primus... ausus...**: ancient sources consistently attempt at pointing out persons who achieved or attempted something as the first one; cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1,3,12 with Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.; further e.g. *Luc.* 3,220-1 *Phoenices primi... ausi... uocem dignare figuris* with Hunink ad loc. Several 'first inventors' will follow in the *Fl.* (see notably 15,22; 18,19; 18,30; and 19,1). For the motif in the Second Sophistic see SANDY 1997, 79-83.

**uersuum - oratione**: Pherecydes is hailed as the inventor of prose, in accordance with the doxographical tradition; cf. e.g. *Plin. Nat.* 7,205<sup>1</sup> and *Strabo* 1,2,6 and see SCHIBLI 1990, 3-4; further e.g. JACOBY 1947, 20-4.

The feature no doubt greatly appealed to Apuleius, himself a prolific writer of prose. Here no less than four consecutive references are made to 'prose'. The first one (the 'rejection of the bonds of verses') also shows some real knowledge of literary history: early Greek literature consisted entirely of poetry.

**passis uerbis**: 'with unrestricted words'; cf. OLD s.v. *passus* (1) b; the combination seems to be unparalleled. The same can be said for *solutio locutu*, which involves the neologism *locutus* (cf. TLL s.v. *locutus* 1609,55f.), replacing the more common noun *locutio*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 128.

**humauit**: a biographical detail that seems to be of marginal relevance to the main themes here. Pythagoras is said to have paid due honour to his teacher, not shrinking back before burying him after he had died from a wasting disease. Apuleius inserts some rather unpleasant details<sup>2</sup> about the disease causing the body to putrefy and be covered by maggots. Other sources relating the same story add similar details on the disease, specified as *phtheiriasis*; see e.g. *Diog.Laert.* 1,118 and *Diod.Sic.* 10,3,4; further testimonia in SCHIBLI 1990, 149-55.

For *serpens* used in the derived sense of 'creeping animal, maggot', cf. OLD s.v. 3; it echoes *Plin. Nat.* 7,172 *ut Pherecydes Syrius serpentium multitudinem ex corpore eius erumpente exspirauerit*. Of course, Apuleius has outdone Pliny by some added sound effects, such as the sustained alliteration of *s-*. The whole picture seems intended as a shock effect striking the audience with awe and admiration for the wise Pherecydes.

- 15,20 **Anaximandrum**: Anaximander of Miletus, who lived in the first half of the sixth century B.C., was one of the famous Ionic philosophers. Though Pythagoras seems to have been influenced by his philosophy, the connection of the two persons as teacher and pupil

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Pliny names Cadmus in this respect: *Nat.* 5,112 *Cadmo, qui prius prorsam orationem condere instituit*. For the form *prorsam* see on *Fl.* 18,38.

<sup>2</sup> SANDY 1997, 84 speaks of 'sensationalism', but that is somewhat exaggerated. One may compare Apuleius' rather harshly realistic picture of the disease his wife Pudentilla is suffering from, at *Apol.* 69,1-3. We must be aware that his norms of decency are likely to have been different from modern standards.

seems to reflect later doxographical tendencies rather than historical fact; cf. ZHMUD 1997, 50.

**naturabilia**: 'natural science', a vague reference to the fields Anaximander worked in. The adjective (here used as a noun) does not occur before Apuleius and seems to have been coined for the purpose; cf. FERRARI 1968, 135.

**Epimeniden**: a legendary miracle worker, also mentioned in *Apol.* 27,2. Here he is called a 'soothsayer' and a 'performer of rites of expiation' by means of two exotic nouns: *fatiloquus* is attested before Apuleius only in Liv. 1,7,8 (as an adjective), and *piator* (the generally accepted correction by Lipsius for *Fϕ Platonem*) occurs only here (cf. FERRARI 1968, 110).

15,21 **Leodamantem Creophyli discipulum**: some further namedropping. Creophylus of Samos was a legendary 'Homerid', who lived in the seventh century B.C.; cf. RE s.v. *Homeridae*, 2150-2. We do not know a pupil of Creophylus called 'Leodamas',<sup>1</sup> but sources (e.g. Diog.Laert. 8,2) mention a son Hermodamas. So Apuleius seems to have made a mistake here.

**poetae Homeri**: this is the only time Homer is mentioned by name in the *Florida* (cf. on 2,7 *poeta egregius*), with the somewhat surprising epithet *poeta* referring to his main quality, as in *Apol.* 37,1 *Sophocles poeta*. Apuleius frequently refers to Homer; see *Apol.* 4,3 (with note), 7,4 a.o.; further e.g. *Soc.* 17 (158); *Met.* 10,30 (261,4) *uates Homerus*.

**hospes**: in Plato *Pol.* 600b Creophylus is called a friend of Homer. Literary tradition also connects Creophylus with Homer in a more concrete manner: he is credited with the preservation of Homer's poems; cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 4,4.

15,22 **tot... tot...**: the anaphora signals that the speaker is bringing his excursus to a close. Flowery expressions of lavish praise for Pythagoras prepare the audience for the climax to come: the essence of his teaching.

**multiugis calicibus**: the conjecture *calicibus* by VAN DER VLIET is now commonly accepted by scholars instead of *Fϕ comitibus*, which seems awkward both with *multiugis* and with *haustis* (although HILDEBRAND tried to defend this).

The imagery of 'drinking' will return in *Fl.* 20,1-4, where Apuleius tells of all the *creterrae* of learning he has emptied at Athens. *Multiugus* 'manifold' belongs to Apuleius' favourite impressive adjectives; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 55,9 *multiuga sacra* and *Met.* 8,22 (194,17-8) *multiuga scaturrigine*.

**super captum hominis**: 'beyond human capacity'; cf. *Met.* 1,3 (3,19-20) *supra captum cogitationis ardua*; further *Fl.* 9,13 *pro captu meo* (with note). The following *animi* should best be taken with *augustior*, as in 15,16 *animi expletum*.

**primus...**: Pythagoras was hailed as the first man to call himself a philosopher in *Apol.* 4,7 *Pythagoram, qui primum se esse philosophum nuncupavit*; the verb *nuncupare* corresponds with the noun *nuncupator*, used only here and obviously formed to match *conditor* (FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 133). For 'first inventors' see above on 15,19.

15,23 **nihil prius - tacere**: after the long start the sentence reaches its climax in a reference to Pythagoras' rule of silence. According to the ancient sources, pupils were obliged to stay silent for five years and only listen to Pythagoras' teaching; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 52,10 *apud*

<sup>1</sup> RE s.v. *Leodamas* mentions an Attic statesman (fifth century B.C.) by this name, as well as a pupil of Socrates. The name is further attested in e.g. Aeschin. *Tim.* 68-70 for a male prostitute.

*Pythagoram discipulis quinque annis tacendum erat: numquid ergo existimas statim illis et loqui et laudare licuisse?* More details on the Pythagorean practice may be found in Gel. 1,9, who also mentions a minimum length of time: *non minus quisquam tacuit quam biennium* (1,9,4). Cf. further e.g. Diog.Laert. 8,10 and Iamb. *VP* 72.<sup>1</sup>

**'uolantia'**: 'winged words' is a Homeric expression, for which see VIVANTE 1975. The African audience seems to have been familiar enough with the motif to understand the Homeric allusions of the speaker. For winged words, cf. esp. *Apol.* 83,2 *si uerba, ita ut poetae aiunt, pinnis apta uulgo uolarent...* In that passage Apuleius cleverly plays with the formula in picturing words as literally flying out of his opponent's hand.

**murum candentium dentium**: another Homeric expression ('wall of teeth'), for which see *Apol.* 7,4 *dentium muro* (with note). It is combined with a more Apuleian reference to 'shining teeth'. Toothbrushing is the central motif in *Apol.* 6-8. For the phrase with its striking sound effect, cf. notably *Anechomenos* 8 *candentes dentes effigient suauius* and *Met.* 7,16 (166,20) *dentiumque candentium*.

15,24 **condiscere - dediscere**: a variant of the preceding thought, apparently added for the sake of conspicuous vocabulary. There is an obvious contrast of learning thoroughly and unlearning, as in Pl. *Am.* 688; Cic. *Quinct.* 56; and Sen. *Ep.* 50,7 *uirutes discere uitia dediscere est*. For the rare, archaic deponent verb *loquitor* 'to keep talking', see Pl. *Bac.* 803 and FERRARI 1968, 97-8. Here it closely echoes the rhythm and sound of *meditari*.

15,25 **non in totum aeuum...**: the speaker rather elaborates the point, by repeating a thought in resounding words (here e.g. *elinguis* 'speechless'), and by making an artificial distinction, not attested in other sources, between serious and less serious disciples.

**breui spatio... modificata**: 'restricted to a short time'. The use of the dative is somewhat unusual, but the sense is clear.

**exsilio uocis**: the imagery of 'exile' of things is not very frequent; cf. e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 47,1 (*studia*) V.Max. 6,3, ext 1 (*carmina*); see further TLL s.v. *exilium* 1490, 46f.

**puniebantur**: the original reading in F and the reading of  $\phi$  was *puniebatur*, which might be defended as a form of the deponent *punior* (a variant form of the normal *punio*; see OLD s.v.); thus ARMINI 1928, 331-2. The subject then would be Pythagoras, the agent in 15,23 *docuit*. However, the 'n' was already added in F, and the plural form produces a much better correspondence with *sectabantur*.

15,26 **noster Plato**: the first explicit mention of the great philosopher, whose follower Apuleius professed to be; cf. *Apol.* 41,7 *Platone meo* (with note). For the 'intimacy with the great', cf. above 2,1 *maior meus Socrates*.

**nihil... uel paululum deuius**: the statement seems remarkably imprecise for a philosopher and a follower of Plato, since Plato's teaching shows many significant points of difference from Pythagoreanism.<sup>2</sup> However, Apuleius' rather eclectic Platonism includes elements from other philosophical traditions; cf. recently MESSINA 1999, 285-94. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that Apuleius is not expounding a theoretical lesson in

<sup>1</sup> A related, but different motif is the famous Pythagorean rule of secrecy concerning the teaching; cf. ZHMUD 1997, 85-91 (who doubts whether it really existed). This secrecy is not alluded to here.

<sup>2</sup> For Pythagorean influences upon Socrates and Plato, see ample bibliography in NAVIA 1990, 191-207 (over 60 titles).

philosophy here, but entertaining a large audience with a speech. We may also compare *Soc.* 22 (169), which has Socrates, Plato, and Pythagoras put along each other as models of a virtuous life. Elsewhere too, Apuleius stresses Plato's familiarity with Pythagorism but names other philosophical models as well; see *Pl.* 1,3 (186-8).

**pythagorissat:** a newly formed verb, with the curious suffix *-issare*, half Greek, half Latin, that so much pleased Plautus. See FERRARI 1968, 143, who quotes *Pl. Men.* 11-2 *hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen / non atticissat, uerum sicilicissat*; and compares 3,6 *patrissaret* and 18,43 *atticissabit*. To these places may be added *Soc.pr.* 5 (113) and *Apol.* 98,8 *graecissat*. In Greek, the verb Πυθαγορίσσω occurs as early as in Antiphon (see e.g. LSJ s.v.). Note the sustained alliteration of *p-* in the whole sentence driving home the parallel between Plato and Pythagoras.

**aeque et ipse...:** finally, the speaker reaches what must be his main point, a statement referring to his own rhetorical activity and proficiency, as in so many of the other pieces in the *Florida*. The link with Pythagoras is fairly meagre. Although the speaker suggests an allusion to his formal training as a student of Platonic philosophy (*ut*<sup>1</sup> - *adoptarer*), he does not claim to have kept a 'Pythagorean' silence. Instead, his point appears to be a basic rule of rhetoric: he claims to have learned when to speak and when to keep silent, and to have earned praise for this.

**meditationibus academicis:** the expression refers to the Academy, but probably not to the actual place in Athens, since Apuleius seems to have started his philosophical training in Carthage (*Fl.* 18,15), as SANDY 1993, 166 (and 1997, 26) rightly remarks.

**cum tacito opus est:** normally the phrase would have to mean 'when a silent man is wanted', but given the preceding *cum dicto opus est*, the form *tacito* probably represents a neuter and refers to 'silence', as in the expression *per tacitum* 'silently', (e.g. *Verg. A.* 9,31). A participle of the perfect is not unusual with *opus est*; OLD s.v. *opus* 12b quotes *Pl. St.* 632 *nunc consilio capto opust*; see further LHSz 2,123.

At the end of this rather long-winded piece in the *Florida*, one cannot help wondering whether the reference to 'oportune silence' would not have been received with something of a laugh. However, irony or self irony does not seem to be intended here at all.

15,27 **qua moderatione...:** the speaker compliments himself. *Moderatio* is, in Apuleius' eyes, a cardinal virtue; cf. e.g. *Fl.* 9,35.

**omnibus tuis antecessoribus:** cf. the closely parallel passage *Fl.* 9,31 *non hercules penuria laudis, quae mihi dudum integra et florens per omnes antecessores tuos ad te reseruata est*. In the present text, the identity of the magistrate Apuleius appears to be addressing is unknown; see introduction to *Fl.* 15. Until now it was not yet evident in the first place that he was addressing a specific person.

**consecutus:** sc. *esse*. The speech breaks off here. The sequel, that is no longer extant, may have developed the point concerning the right time to speak and to keep silent. Alternatively, the speaker may have started on his main subject, whatever it was he had been asked to speak about, as HIJMANS 1994, 1735n91 argues. After *consecutus*, the MSS mark the end of 'book II' of the *Florida*: APVLEI PLATONICI FLORIDORVM LIB.II EXPLIC. INCIP. III.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ut* is missing in the MSS, but must evidently be added somewhere in the sentence. Editors now follow Krueger's proposal.

## XVI THANKS FOR A STATUE

*Before I start thanking you for the statue you granted me I will relate why I was absent and stayed at the Persian Baths. A similar thing happened to the comic writer Philemon. This Philemon was a writer of Middle Comedy, a rival of Menander. In his work you may find all the stock characteristics of comedy. Once when he was reciting a new work, rain forced him to stop, just as it happened to me, and to postpone the rest of his performance to the following day. Next day the audience gathered and waited for him. When he did not arrive, some people went to his house and found him, lying dead on his bed, still holding a scroll. They returned and announced that the comedy had, in fact, ended in a funeral.*

*I too had to postpone a recital interrupted by rain, and I had a dangerous accident as Philemon did: I badly twisted my ankle and found myself very ill as a result. So I went to the Persian Baths for cure. As soon as I was somewhat recovered, I came back to fulfil my promise and even hastened to thank you for your honour. For you have granted me a statue although I did not ask for one, a great honour indeed, for which I owe you special thanks. For this moment, my speech of thanks must suffice, but I will also write a new book for the excellent and eminently learned magistrate Aemilianus Strabo.*

*I do not yet know how to praise him, but I will try. Joy and happiness are impeding my speech! For this man has requested a site for a statue of me. He did so in a complimentary address to you, in which he treated me as his equal, recommended me, and promised to pay for a statue for me. What greater honour could I obtain? Yes, the senate of Carthage even seemed to be willing to grant me another statue at public expense! I wish to express my warmest thanks. There remains only the expense for the bronze, but that cannot be a problem here. As soon as the plan has been realized, I will put my thanks down in a book that will sing your praise all over the world.*

Apuleius touches on biographical and literary matters in this piece, the longest in the collection. He draws an extensive parallel between himself and the comic poet Philemon, about whose death he gives a colourful anecdote. This tale in turn appears to introduce a long and fairly complex section of eulogy. Here the speaker's aim seems not merely to thank the people of Carthage for favours that have been granted, but mainly to stimulate them to add even more.

The facts are not entirely clear, but from Apuleius' account the situation may be summarized as follows. Apuleius had been forced to interrupt a recitation due to rain, and twisted his ankle, which caused him great pain. He went to the Persian Baths for treatment. On his return, he planned to resume his interrupted speech, but found himself obliged to thank the magistrate for an honour that had meanwhile been granted to him: the magistrate had praised Apuleius and had asked the senate for a location where he could erect a statue for him at his own expense. The proposal had been approved but the statue had not yet been erected. In the present text Apuleius starts to praise both the magistrate and Carthage, but also appears to postpone a more definitive expression of his gratitude to a later time. After cautiously alluding to a possible second statue the town might want to erect for him in the future, he addresses the elite of Carthage more directly and urges them to supply the bronze for the first statue themselves (rather than requiring the magistrate to pay for it). Only when the statue has been erected, he says, will a book in praise of Carthage be published.

If this reconstruction is correct, Apuleius' speech shows his considerable rhetorical skills and the versatile character of the longer pieces in the *Florida*: what opens as a personal and diverting story turns into a formal speech of thanks (*gratiarum actio*), only to end in a strong exhortation of the audience. Thus, the past and the present (both literary and personal) subtly merge with expectations of the future. For the overall structure and strategy, see also HIJMANS 1994, 1769-70 and TOSCHI 2000, 16-24.<sup>1</sup>

The speech does not show conspicuous omissions at the beginning or end, and so may well be a complete *prolatia*; cf. also TOSCHI 2000, 10-1. It is not clear what followed it. But since further praise of Carthage is postponed until later, the main part of the performance may well have been the postponed second part of the speech interrupted by rain (cf. 16,24 *ueniebam redditum quod pepigeram*); the nature and themes of that speech are entirely unclear. A rather different view is that of MRAS 1949, 212, who argues that *Fl.* 16 forms not just a complete *prolatia*, but actually contains a main speech (the provisional expression of thanks in 16,25-47); see discussion below on 16,25.

In the longwinded introduction to the issue of the statue (or statues), Philemon figures prominently. The famous Greek poet is given much attention, just as the sophist Hippias was in *Fl.* 9, and Pythagoras in 15. The graphic account of his literary activity and of the circumstances of his death (see on 16,14) was bound to capture the attention of Apuleius' audience, and serves as a mirror for the speaker's own experience. So he literally puts himself on a par with this great name from the past, thereby inserting himself once again into the ranks of Greco-Roman literary history.

The treatment of Philemon shows the speaker's knowledge of and interest in the literary genre of comedy: in fact he gives a fairly complete picture of what Middle Comedy amounts to (although the term New Comedy might be preferable); see notes on 16,6-9. One may, however, find fault with Apuleius' knowledge, which seems inexact and second-hand. For example, declamatory performance of New Comedy is unattested and may have been invented by the speaker here to aid the analogy with himself, as HARRISON 2000, 118 remarks. On Middle Comedy in general, see NESSELRATH 1990; for the testimonia on Philemon, see KASSEL/AUSTIN 1989 (*Poetae Comici Graeci* VII), 221-8 (the present *Florida* fragment is nr.7). A survey of Philemon's plays is given in WEBSTER 1970, 125-51.

The importance of statues in the ancient world can hardly be overestimated: these objects gave enormous prestige and were therefore sought after. For writers of the Second Sophistic, they could even turn into an obsession, as the example of Favorinus' Corinthian oration (extant as D.Chr. 37) shows; cf. also *Apol.* 14,2 and 73,2 with notes there. There is some evidence of two other statues of Apuleius in Oea (Augustine *Ep.* 138,19) and Madauros, where a base has been found with the following inscription: <phi> losopho <Pl> atonico <Ma> daureses ciues ornamento suo (cf. RE 14,1,202 s.v. Madauros; ILA 2115).

<sup>1</sup> According to the 17th century scholar Scioppius, the difficulties in the interpretation of *Fl.* 16 can be solved if we assume that a new fragment begins at 16,29 *sed nunc impraesentiarum*. However, this would produce many new difficulties; moreover, there is nothing in the text itself that would support such a division. Scioppius' view is rightly rejected by OPEKU 1974, 259-60.

In the present anthology, statues are an important motif in *Fl.* 7 (in relation to Alexander the Great; cf. notably 7,8) and the preceding piece, *Fl.* 15. The lavish praise of the magistrate may be compared to the ceremonial speeches *Fl.* 9 and 17. Literary quotations, e.g. from Virgil (16,33), the Carthaginian setting, puns (notably on Philemon's death compared to a play's end, 16,17-8), the interest in medicine (cf. 15,17; 19; and 23; further *Apol.* 40-52), and the use of refined language, also strongly link the piece to the rest of the collection.

The speech was obviously delivered in Carthage, but not in the *curia*, as appears from 16,41. From the mention of Aemilianus Strabo and the reference to his becoming a proconsul in the near future (16,40), we might deduce an approximate date: Strabo was *consul suffectus* in 156, together with a certain A. Avillius Urinatus Quadratus (CIL VI, nr.2086, 67); see also PIR<sup>1</sup> 674 (III, p.275-6). Since the period between a consulate and a proconsulate was at least thirteen years (VÖSSING 1997, 438n1488) the speech could date from the late 160's or early 170's; the year is estimated at 169 by SANDY 1997, 8n27; cf. earlier CARRATELLO 1973, 193. However, the reference to Strabo's future proconsulate does not allow us to consider it a fact; the speaker may well be complimenting Strabo, much as he flattered Honorinus in 9,40. Therefore, even an approximate date cannot be established with certainty.

On the whole speech, cf. further MRAS 1949, 211-2; SANDY 1997, 163-4; and HARRISON 2000, 116-20. For a separate edition of *Fl.* 16 with a commentary in Italian, see now TOSCHI 2000. The piece is also given special attention by TATUM 1979, 171-7, who in an appendix gives a full translation. For the Philemon section compared with the *Apol.*, see HUNINK 1998.

16,1 **principes Africae uiri**: 'leading men of Africa'. Fφ use an abbreviation here: *a.v.*, but its explanation by Lipsius is surely correct; cf. 16,35 *apud principes Africae uiros*.

This is a most flattering address of the audience, which turns out to be the Carthaginian elite; see 16,43-44 and cf. RIVES 1994, 283. Apuleius' phrase will be almost literally resumed in the opening words of Tert. *Pall.* 1,1 *Principes semper Africae, uiri Carthaginienses...* Less likely, VÖSSING 1997, 452n1528 and TOSCHI 2000, 13 argue (as OPEKU 1974, 161) that the address is intended for the entire populace of Carthage.

**quam - postulastis**: the situation is not entirely clear. Later in the text (16,36) it will be Aemilianus Strabo, who appears to have taken the initiative in proposing the statue. From the present words, notably the added *praesenti*, which must refer to the period before Apuleius had to stay at the Persian Baths, it might be deduced that a similar proposal by others had preceded the magistrate's suggestion. By all means, the speaker is eager to extend his praise in some way to the entire audience, in order to gain its sympathy right at the start.

The contrast between *praesens* and *absens* is, of course, conventional; one example among many is Cic. *Brut.* 11 'uos uero,' *inquam*, 'Attice, et praesentem me cura leuatis et absenti magna solacia dedistis'. The contrast is reinforced by the parallel structure of the two *cola*, including an adverb and a finite verb, both of the same length and rhythm.

**prius**: for the resumption of *prius* after *priusquam*, see 3,8; further e.g. Pl. *Poen.* 321-2 and Ps. 524-5.

**allegare**: 'to adduce in support of a request or plea' (OLD s.v. *allego* I 3). The verb, used instead of a more neutral verb like *dicere*, strikes a dignified note.

- 16,2 **Persianas aquas**: the name of baths functioning as a health resort.<sup>1</sup> The most likely candidate for the origin of their name is T. Iulius Perseus (cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> 456 (IV, p.245)). He was a businessman who under Antoninus Pius received the contract for the collection of taxes in Africa and who, therefore, must have been a man of wealth and status. Later in the *Florida* he is referred to in 18,39, with his munificence being underscored in 18,40.

The baths are likely to have been part of a shrine devoted by Perseus at Hammam Lif, across the bay from Carthage, at the foot of the Djebel bou Kournein. There an inscription has been found: *Aesculapio; T. Iulius Perseus, cond(uctor) III p(ublicorum) A(fricae)* (CIL VIII.1, 997). For this identification of the *Aquae Persianae*, see CHAMPLIN 1980, 43; RIVES 1994, 287wn29 and 1995, 183; and TOSCHI 2000, 55. According to RIVES 1995, 183 the hot springs of the shrine again became popular in the nineteenth century.

**gratissima - medicabula**: a striking dicolon with correspondencies of sound and sense, using newly coined nouns for 'a place for swimming'<sup>2</sup> and 'a place for cure'; see FERRARI 1968, 125; FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 124; and cf. 15,6 *pulsabulum*.

- 16,3 **quippe...**: in a parenthesis, the speaker affirms that he is most willing to tell everything about his life, the implication obviously being that he has nothing to hide or to be ashamed of; cf. e.g. *Apol.* 5,5. The impression of devotion to the audience underscores his bond with it.

- 16,4 **de repentino**: 'all of a sudden'. Here, as in *Soc.pr.* 3, Apuleius uses the adjective with a preposition rather than the adverb *repentino*; see OLD s.v. *repentinus* 1b and cf. earlier Caes. *Civ.* 3,11. This usage seems to be modelled on common combinations such as *de subito* instead of *subito* or *de improuiso* for *improuiso* (neither combination is attested in Apuleius' works).

**quid... distulerim**: the phrase must mean 'why I have postponed disappearing', 'why I have disappeared', but the intransitive use of *differre* in this sense is unusual. Hence proposals such as *distulerim me* (Oudendorp) or *distulerit* (Wower) are attractive. However, the text may be kept; HELM compares *Met.* 4,34 (102,12f.) and 5,21 (119,13f.) *festinat differt, audet trepidat...*

**ab hoc splendidissimo conspectu**: a similar praise of the audience was given at 9,3 *splendidissimo huic auditorio*. Cf. also below, 16,35 and 46.

- 16,5 **paulo secus**: 'not far off', 'very nearly'; cf. OLD s.v. *secus* A 4. In this sense, the combination does not seem to occur elsewhere, except in *Apol.* 23,1. Here it must be taken with *simillimum*.

**inprouisa pericula**: the speaker makes rather much of his absence. His calculated reference to 'danger' takes advantage of the natural curiosity of the audience. The next two sentences equally play on their feelings: by means of a suggestive question he makes

<sup>1</sup> A full survey of known ancient baths may be found in RE, and a convenient shortlist arranged geographically in *Neuer Pauly*, both s.v. *Aquae*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Apol.* 72,6 Apuleius expresses a similar fondness in relation to water. In that case it refers to having a view of the sea (*prospectum maris, qui mihi gratissimus est*).

room for himself to insert an anecdote, embedded in a enjoyable piece of literary history.<sup>1</sup>

- 16,6 **Philemon**: Philemon of Syracuse (or Soli in Cilicia) (ca. 365-265 B.C.), was a Greek writer of New Comedy; see references above in the introductory note. Only fragments of his works are extant.

**mediae comoediae scriptor**: no other ancient source reckons Philemon to Middle Comedy, to which he indeed does not belong any more than Menander. Apuleius is perhaps a bit careless in his reference here. See also discussion in NESSELRATH 1990, 62, who argues that Apuleius may be expressing a typological difference, in that Philemon used techniques that made him stand back behind the more 'modern' Menander.

**fabulas - dictauit**: 'he composed pieces for the theatre'. *Cum Menandro* obviously does not mean 'in cooperation with' but 'in the same period as' Menander.

**fortasse impar**: Philemon was generally regarded as being only second after Menander; cf. Quint. 10,1,72 *Philemon, qui ut prauis sui temporis iudiciis Menandro saepe praelatus est, ita consensu tamen omnium meruit credi secundus*; further e.g. Vell. 1,16,3. See also Demetr. *Eloc.* 193, who comments on Philemon's style, that makes his texts suitable for reading rather than staging. Comic authors like Menander and Philemon were both recommended by teachers of rhetoric; cf. e.g. Quint. 10,1,71.

**pudet dicere**: the moralizing judgement seems to belong to a certain tradition connected with the rivalry between Philemon and Menander. See notably the anecdote told by Gel. 17,4,1: *Menander a Philemone, nequaquam pari scriptore, in certaminibus comoediarum ambitu gratiaque et factionibus saepenumero uincebatur. Eum cum forte habuisset obuiam: 'Quaeso,' inquit, 'Philemo, bona uenia dic mihi, cum me uincis, non erubescis?'*

In the present context, this negative appreciation of Philemon is rather striking. Throughout the *Florida* Apuleius refers to famous Greek persons mostly as admirable models. In the rest of the anecdote, Philemon is only praised; e.g. 16,10 *his laudibus - nobilis*. Since the speaker is actually comparing himself to the Greek example, the negative element does not seem entirely appropriate.

- 16,7 **multos sales...**: Philemon, who was criticized in the previous sentence, is now credited with considerable qualities as a writer of comedy. His work shows all the usual features of New Comedy: wit, intricate plots, recognition scenes, good characterisation and an appropriate level of tone and style. Together with the following details about stock characters, Apuleius' description amounts to a definition of good comedy. It also seems to provide a fair account of Philemon's comic technique, as far as we know it; see the analysis in WEBSTER 1970, 142. The choice of idiom and the rhythm, with its parallel *cola* and enumerations of i.a. participles and nouns in *-tor* add to the splendour of the passage. The description of comedy given here can profitably be compared with the pattern of comedy that can be detected in Apuleius' own *Apology*; see HUNINK 1998.

<sup>1</sup> AUGELLO ad loc. supposes that the public is actually grumbling, since it wants to hear what happened to Apuleius right away. There is, of course no evidence for what the audience did or felt at all. Meanwhile, it seems quite unlikely that the speaker at the beginning of his speech of thanks aims at anything but pleasing his audience.

**lepide inflexa**: 'charmingly varied'. AUGELLO accepts the proposal by KASSEL 1962 to print *implexa* ('interlocked', 'entwined'), but the MSS text is rightly defended by FRASSINETTI 1991, 1207-8 who compares Sen. *Con.* 1 pr.23 *orationem inflectere*, and TOSCHI 2000, 63-4.

**adgnitus**: 'recognition'. This emendation of Casaubon for the impossible *adgnatos* in F $\phi$  is now generally accepted. Colvius' proposal *ac nodos* is defended by KASSEL 1962, but recent editors have not followed him. The word *agnitus* does not occur before Apuleius (TLL s.v. quotes only Paul.NoI. *epist.* 16,9; see also FERRARI 1968, 129).

**soccum... coturnum**: for these conventional symbols of comedy and tragedy, see on 9,27.

16,8 **corruptelae**: 'seductions'. In both Greek New Comedy and Roman comedy, rape of young women is a strikingly dominant motif; see ROSIVACH 1998, esp. 13-50. Rape is often used as a plot device,<sup>1</sup> and it is taken over by Roman authors from Greek New Comedy without significant difference; see ROSIVACH, 35-7, who gives a list of 25 common elements running through all the accounts of rape in comedy. There are, of course, differences between the ancient playwrights in their treatment of erotic matters. For instance, the motif of 'romantic love', that is so important in Menander's plays, is greatly reduced by Plautus; see ANDERSON 1993, 60-87.

[e] **tuti**: this correction by Leo for *et uti* of F $\phi$  is attractive indeed, but so is the original reading (still adopted by HILDEBRAND): *et uti errores* would be a further qualification of *corruptelae*: they were not numerous and 'like mistakes', i.e. not very destructive. However, the correction is favoured by the rhythm of the sentence with the resulting balanced tricolon.

16,9 **nec eo minus...**: although Philemon's pieces are said to have been of a higher moral standard, the dramatist did not leave out the stock characters of comedy that were, for the most part, firmly associated with sexual misbehaviour: the perjured pimp, the hot lover, the cunning slave, the cheating mistress, the nagging wife, the indulgent mother, the reprimanding uncle, the helpful friend; and the warrior soldier. Greedy parasites, steadfast parents, and frivolous whores complete the picture. The list of twelve characters is arranged in four groups of three cola consisting of two elements (with words ending in *-us*, *-ens*, *-(a)tor*, and *-aces*. For another short list of stock characters, cf. Ter. *Hau.* 37-40 and see further TOSCHI 2000, 68-70.

**sodalis opitulator**: most of the twelve stock characters mentioned are instantly familiar to readers of comedy and have been identified already by ancient critics. There is one exception: the 'helpful friend' mentioned here. But on closer examination, this character too enjoyed a fairly wide distribution in Greek and Roman comedy: see ANDERSON (W.S.) 1993, 34-46. *Opitulator* is not attested before Apuleius, who also uses it in *Soc.* 16 (156); here it matches the other nouns in *-tor*; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 133.

**miles proelior**: the second word has wrongly been questioned by some scholars. The soldier is, of course, not actually fighting, but merely bragging about the battles he has fought. One may think of the *miles gloriosus* of Plautus.

<sup>1</sup> Rape can function as a plot device in three different ways: sometimes it leads to marriage of the rapist and his victim; the revelation of other rapes can also allow the marriage of the victim's daughter; or the discovery of earlier rapes can temporarily complicate a recent marriage; see ROSIVACH, 14.

**edaces... tenaces... procaces**: three strong adjectives, with similar formation, accent and ending, accompany the last items of the list.

16,10 **hiscé laudibus... nobilis**: the critical remarks rating Philemon inferior to Menander (16,6) seem almost forgotten by now.

**recitabat**: a curious anachronism. The public reading of plays had become common practice in Apuleius' day. But in Philemon's time, this phenomenon was still unknown; cf. STARR 1991. Apuleius either does not care for historical precision or is simply not aware of the error. This casts further doubt on the authenticity of the story as it is presented here.

**tertio actu**: the third act of the comedy is said to provoke heightened, pleasant emotional effect, which is presented as a statement about comedy in general. As a general observation, it seems plausible, but I have found no such explicit theoretical statement on this matter by other ancient authors.<sup>1</sup>

**fieri amat**: 'is wont to happen'; cf. OLD s.v. *amo* 12. The use of *amare* here may be not accidental, given the importance of 'love' as a motif in comedy (cf. 16,8-9).

**ut mihi**: the clause readily drives home the factual parallel between Philemon and the speaker himself. He too had apparently been forced to interrupt a recital because of sudden rain.<sup>2</sup>

**auditorii - coeptum**: a conspicuous case of wordplay on the gathered audience and the undertaking of listening. For *coetum* and *coeptum* used in close vicinity, see Sil. 12,492-3, where they form the last words of consecutive lines.

16,11 **relicum...**: the syntax is not quite clear. The accusative and infinitive construction suggests a case of free indirect speech, reflecting Philemon's promise to his audience, but the ablative absolute *uariis postulantibus* rather seems a comment inserted by the storyteller.

**deincipiti die**: the adjective *deinceps* is extremely rare; cf. TLL s.v. *deinceps* 404,30f., where the only earlier example comes from a legal text (CIL I,198 *iudex deinceps*); cf. further FERRARI 1968, 101.

**conuenere**: a 'constructio ad sensum', with a plural verb form following a collective singular *frequentia*, as below in 16,12 *extimus quisque... queruntur*; cf. also 18,1.

16,12 **collocat...**: a long series of brief sentences with main verbs in the indicative graphically illustrates the eagerness and expectations of the gathering audience.

**exaduersum**: 'on the opposite side'. People try to take seats so as to face the reciting poet.

**adnuat... impertiunt**: the text as it has been transmitted gives two separate sentences, but most scholars refuse to accept this and combine them, adopting *amicis* (Wower) and

<sup>1</sup> OPEKU 1974, 271-3 suggests that Apuleius' expression does not refer to the third act in a play, but to the third element in another division: *protasis - epitasis - catastrophe*, that is, to the final part in which the plot is concluded. For this he quotes Cic. *Q.fr.* 1,1,46 *hortor ut tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusionem muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui tamquam tertius actus perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse uideatur*. However, this parallel is not strong (*tertius actus* is clearly triggered by the preceding *tertius annus*) and it involves a textual problem in the word *actus*.

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of rain in scientific terms elsewhere in Apuleius' works; see *Mun.* 9 (307-8).

*impertiant* (Rohde), the sense then becoming 'latecomers nod to friends to make room for them to sit'. However, the original two sentences make excellent sense: 'latecomers nod to friends; they give them room to sit'. The parataxis is typical of Apuleius' style and seems particularly functional here (cf. on *collocat*). There is therefore no reason to change the text.

**sessui**: the noun *sessus* 'the act of sitting down' is not attested before Apuleius, and seems to have been coined for the occasion, as is the following *excuneatus* 'pushed off the seats'; cf. FERRARI 1968, 129 (for the latter also FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 145).

16,13 **queri**: the nature of the complaints is not specified, but given the immediate context people are likely to have been murmuring about the massive crowd in the theatre.<sup>1</sup>

16 Unlike *queri* (dependent on *occipiunt*), the following forms *percontari*, *recordari*, and *expectare* are historical infinitives.

**gnaris**: the sense is passive: 'known, familiar'; cf. OLD s.v. *gnarus* 2. HELM in his app. crit. refers to an interpretation of *cunctis*... *gnaris* as a dative, but this is obviously wrong.

16,14 **dies ire - defendere**: another series of four historical infinitives.

**conductum**: 'appointment', a rare use of the participle as a noun, as in Gel. 20,1,54 and in later authors; see TLL s.v. *condico* 139,26.

**in suo sibi lectulo**: for the reinforcement of the possessive by *sibi* (as in 9,17; 18,20; and 23,5), see CALLEBAT 1968, 258-9 and GCA 1985, 134 on *Met.* 8,14, where it is noted that this occurs regularly in comedy, which is a nice linguistic touch in the present context. The diminutive seems to add to the effect.

16 **mortuum offendunt**: after the lively picture of the theatre, packed as it is with the eagerly waiting audience, this comes as a shock, even though the speaker had announced to tell of Philemon's *interitus* (16,5). The entire action of selecting deputies, their entering the house and finding Philemon, is condensed into just a few words. The change of tone is underscored by the change from infinitives to a finite verb, and by the rather prosaic adjective *mortuus*.

Apuleius then goes to some length (16,15-8) in presenting a pathetic and graphic picture of the dead poet, found with a scroll in his hand, having concluded the 'play of life', two points that lend themselves well for rhetorical elaboration.

The anecdote is merely one version of Philemon's death. According to variant stories, Philemon died after he had been awarded the crown of victory (Plut. *Mor.* 785 b), or from excessive laughter (e.g. Lucian. *Macr.* 25), or after he had dreamt about nine young women who were not allowed to stay with him (Suda); for these and other stories about the causes of death of comic poets see LEFKOWITZ 1981, 115-6; the testimonia on Philemon's death can be found in KASSEL/AUSTIN 1989, 221-3. Apuleius' version seems to match that of Aelian in his lost *Peri Pronoias*, as referred to by HARRISON 2000, 117.

16,15 **obriguerat**: 'had become stiff (with cold)'. This is a rather prosaic and clinical word, much as *mortuus*, which seems slightly at odds with the pathetic picture to follow shortly.

<sup>1</sup> Several proposals have been advanced to place *queri*, e.g. *garrire* (COULON 1925,24-5), *qui heri non adfuerant* (KRONENBERG 1928,48), or *quaeri* (FRASSINETTI 1991, 1208, with some hesitation). None of these emendations is necessary, neither for syntactical reasons, nor because the verb *queri* already occurred in 16,12.

To modern taste, Apuleius' language can appear to be crude wherever it touches upon physical or medical aspects. See also notes on 3,13 and 15,19.

**similis cogitanti**...: the poet is represented in a typical pose, lying on the bed, with his hand on the bookroll, held near his face (see next note). The picture owes something to epic representations: *incumbens toro* recalls Verg. *A.* 4,650 *incubuitque toro* and e.g. Ov. *Met.* 10,281; cf further below on *os - impressus*.

**manus - implexa**: Apuleius first focuses upon the poet's hand and mouth, which are each given a short clause. There is no need to change the text to e.g. *manum uolumini implexus*, a suggestion of Bosscha defended by PURSER 1910, 152.

**os - impressus**: Philemon is touching the book with his lips. The *liber* must be the same object as the *uolumen*, but its adjective *recto* is not immediately clear. The bookroll may be 'lying straight before him' (ELLIS 1901, 50 defending the text), or, as it is more commonly taken, it is still held upright by the poet. For the whole phrase cf. the picture of Dido in Verg. *A.* 4,659 *dixit et os impressa toro: 'Moriemur inultae...'*

**libri oblitus**: the pun on *liber* takes up the persistent *i*-sound in *similis* and *uolumini*.<sup>1</sup> The balanced tricolon *uacuuus, obliuus, securus* ('free from care about') ends the first impression the audience gets of the dead poet.

16,16 **formonsae mortis**: an unusual combination, for which the closest parallels are Prop. 2,28,2 *tam formosa... mortua* and Sen. *Nat.* 3,18,4 *nihil est moriente formosius*. For phrases like *mortis miraculo*, see Luc. 3,634 *uarii miracula fati* with note by Hunink.

**miraculo**: here the word merely refers to a surprising phenomenon. In other contexts, *miraculum* is an important word of ancient (pagan) religion; cf. discussion by TOSCHI 2000, 81-2 with references.

16,17 **Philemonem poetam**...: to Apuleius' audience, these words bring nothing new, since everybody knows whom the anecdote is about. The function of the words is to suggest that what follows is a faithful reproduction of the message.

**qui - finiret**: a second relative clause after *qui expectaretur*, added paratactically to increase the pathos. Editors generally print the text without a comma after *expectaretur* (*qui expectaretur qui - finiret*), thereby suggesting that the second *qui* (as an equivalent of *ut*) is not on the same level as the first one. But a paratactic order is more Apuleian and quite fitting in this pathetic context (cf. also note on *Philemonem poetam*). I follow HILDEBRAND and print a comma after *expectaretur*.

The sentence exploits the topos that life can be compared to a play. The idea is widespread, notably in moralizing texts: cf. e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 77,20 *quomodo fabula, sic uita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert* and 80,7; some other variants may be found in Cic. *Sen.* 5 and 70 (with Powell ad loc.); Marc.Aur. 3,8 and 12,36 (with Farquharson's note); further Suet. *Aug.* 99. Here the contrast between ending a fictional plot and the real story of life is obvious. It is broadened by the contrast of the public and private place, theatre and home.

**ualere et plaudere**: typical words to end a play, notably a comedy, as may be seen in e.g. Pl. *Men.* 1162 *nunc, spectatores, ualete et nobis clare plaudite*; Per. 858; *Truc.* 968; further Ter. *Eu.* 1094 *ualete et plaudite* (with Barsby ad loc.); *Hau.* 1067; and *Ph.*

<sup>1</sup> Being surrounded by *uacuuus* and *securus*, the pun may even be said to involve the adjective *liber* 'free', which is not actually used itself but clearly implied.

1055; further Hor. *Ars* 155. In the present text the words are fittingly ascribed to Philemon as his last words, directed to 'human affairs' in general, and so they continue the metaphor of life as a play. Cf. a similar use in Cic. *Sen.* 70 *neque sapientibus usque ad "plaudite" ueniendum est*. The following pair *dolere et plangere* is used correspondingly, but does not form a fixed combination as such.

16,18 **illi**: the word is commonly corrected to *illi* <*s*> (a suggestion by Rohde), but the change is not needed. The form *illi* might be interpreted as an adverb, the equivalent of *illic*, meaning 'there' (i.e. in the theatre), as KRONENBERG 1928,45 proposed. However, since the messengers are speaking at exactly the same place, the reference would be awkward. More naturally, *illi* can simply be taken as a pronoun 'to him': the rain has predicted to Philemon himself that tears were going to be shed, in this case by others.

**funebrem... nubtialem**: the analogy of 'wedding and funeral' has a long literary history. Apuleius uses it notably in *Met.* 4,33-4; see notes in GCA 2001 ad loc. A New Comedy often ended with a scene of merrymaking or a wedding, as in Menander's *Dyskolos*. For the spelling of *nubtialis*, cf. *Apol.* 67,3 and see *Introduction E.1 (1)*.

**personam uitae**: 'the mask of life', another variant of the metaphor of life as a play. On the term *persona* in Latin, see TOSCHI 2000, 65 with references.

**legenda**: a concluding pun. First the bones of the poet are to be gathered (after cremation), then his poems must be read; cf. OLD s.v. *lego* 1b and 8.<sup>1</sup> For similar puns, cf. e.g. *Sen. Ep.* 23,21 *malo te legas quam epistulam meam*; *Priap.* 68,2 *libros non lego, poma lego*.

16,19 **ut meministis**: having concluded the literary anecdote and after bringing in his own experience, the speaker makes sure the audience too can relate to it. The explicit reference to the assent of the audience (*uobis uolentibus*) strengthens their bond with the speaker as well.

**recitatio**: we have hardly any clue as to the contents of Apuleius' *recitatio*, apart from the imprecise mention of *historiam* in 16,22 (see there). The recitation may well have concerned a speech, but given the general context we cannot exclude the possibility that it was some form of comic drama; cf. 9,27 (*socco*); 9,28; 20,5-6. The occurrence of rain implies that the recitation probably took place during the winter.

**paenissime**: perhaps a comic touch, since the superlative of *paene* occurs outside Apuleius' works only in Plautus (three times): e.g. *Aul.* 466.

16,20 **palaestra**: it is difficult to imagine an intellectual such as Apuleius engaged in activities such as wrestling. The name *palaestra* covers a broader range of sports and gymnastic exercises.

**talum inuerti**: 'I twisted my ankle'. The joint was dislocated and nearly broken from the leg. Apuleius tried to realign it himself with much effort, which resulted in much perspiration, chilling, and strong pains of the intestines. For the incident, one may compare *Sen. Ep.* 104,18 *fregit aliquis crus aut extorsit articulum: non uehiculum nauemque conscendit, sed aduocat medicum ut fracta pars iungatur, ut luxata in locum reponatur*.

<sup>1</sup> Understandably, many translators cannot resist the opportunity for a pun in their own language on 'collecting' bones and poems, the latter as if for an edition of 'collected works'. In Latin, however, this sense of *legere* is not attested in relation to texts and books.

The detailed account serves to satisfy the obvious curiosity of the audience, eager to know everything about its famous orator. It also seems to be presented self-consciously to add to the general picture of the speaker: he takes great care of his body, knows much about diseases and medicine (see also introductory remarks to *Fl.* 16), and is able to cure himself.

**defregerim**: F has the impossible form *defringerim*. Evident corrections are *defringerem* or *defregerim*. HELM and others choose the former, but the latter has better MSS authority, being the reading of  $\phi$ , and seems to fit in better, as it produces a homocoteleuton with *afuerim*.

**luxu... fluxus**: a pun that is hard to replicate in English. The rather technical account of the injury is enlivened with rare words and sound effects, notably of *u*. The noun *luxus* in the sense 'sprain' does not occur before this place (and very rarely after it) and may have been coined to match *fluxus* 'feebly, shaky'; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 102.

16,21 **sudoro... corpore**: 'with perspiring body'. The adjective is reinforced by *adfatum*. For *diutule*, see 2,1.

**obrigui**: the word clearly echoes 16,15, where it was used in the description of Philemon's death. Apuleius himself nearly suffered the same fate; see next note.

16,22 **letum... lectum**: like Philemon, the speaker could *almost* have died. Three puns drive home the intimate connection between the two. The content of the puns is similar to those in 16,17-8, all referring to an premature ending of one thing before another. In the present series, more prominence is given to similarity in sound: *letum/lectum*,<sup>1</sup> *fata/fanda*.

**historiam**: a rather vague term, from which we should not necessarily deduce that Apuleius was reciting from a work of historiography (for this sense, see 20,5). Instead the word may refer to a story, or to any account or description (see OLD s.v. 1). See further on 16,19 *recitatio*.

16,23 **utiquam blando fomento**: though the first element of *temperies* can only refer to the quality of the baths ('moderate temperature', OLD s.v. *temperies* 2b), the same need not be true of the *fomentum*, as e.g. VALLETTE suggests. The word is commonly used for 'compress' or 'covering', which seems to make good sense in the case of a sprained ankle. The adverb *utiquam* 'in any way' is archaic and rare, and also occurs at 17,16 and *Apol.* 71,1.

**gressum reciperaui**: 'I had regained the power of walking' (cf. OLD s.v. *gressus* b). From the following clauses (16,24), it appears that the speaker cannot yet rest his full weight on the injured ankle, but still limps and probably needs a stick to lean on. The image is one of much pathos: the speaker poses as a man who cannot wait to reappear before his audience.

<sup>1</sup> *Abire* with the forms *letum* and *lectum*, that look like accusatives indicating direction used without a preposition, is highly unusual, but our passage is quoted without further notice in TLL s.v. *abeo* 68,72f. The construction seems to be modeled on the use of *abire* with a supine, frequent in Plautus (TLL s.v. *abeo* 69,1f.), as in *cubitum ire* 'to go to sleep', for which see OLD s.v. *cubo* 2 and s.v. *abeo* 2b. This turn may have inspired *lectum abire*, and hence, by further analogy, *letum abire*. A construction with a supine is actually used in 16,24 *ueniebam redditum*.

16,24 **ueniebam redditum...**: this refers to the earlier recitation by Apuleius interrupted by rain and his promise to finish the rest of it (16,19). For the construction of *uenire* with a supine, see OLD s.v. *uenio* 3a.

**beneficio uestro**: a still rather vague allusion to honours decreed to Apuleius in his absence. For a reconstruction of events see the introductory note to this section. *Beneficium* is a key-word in *Fl.* 16, as TOSCHI 2000, 91 rightly observes (as is *honor*, e.g. 16,25). The rhetorical commonplaces are further discussed by TOSCHI 2000, 29-41.

**pernicitatem**: a long, stately word for 'speed', obviously selected to match the preceding *clauditem*. The impressive effect is reinforced by the surrounding long forms *dempstis* and *addidistis*.

1 16,25 **an non...**: after the narration about Philemon and the comparison with himself, the speaker enters upon a long rhetorical passage, in which he develops ostentatious expressions of thanks, first to the audience and the city at large, later to Aemilianus Strabo, combined with cautious requests for additional honours; see the introductory note to this section. The opening sentence is a rhetorical question, embellished by the corresponding cola *multas gratias dicerem... nullas preces dixeram*.

According to MRAS 1949, 212 this is beginning of Apuleius' provisional speech of thanks to which the first part of *Fl.* 16 has formed the introduction, and he argues that this is one of the rare cases where we have both a *prolalia* and a main speech. Against this view, it may be adduced that the transition to 16,25f. is so smooth as to be virtually imperceptible. Moreover, Apuleius clearly announced that he would be expressing thanks in 16,1, which makes it likely that this element belongs to the introductory speech: nowhere else is the subject of a main speech announced at the start of a *prolalia*, but it is rather left open or, at best, referred to at the end (e.g. 18,37-43). It is more likely that the whole of *Fl.* 16 is a complete *prolalia*, originally followed by the postponed second part of the speech interrupted by rain (cf. 16,24 *ueniebam redditum...*); see also introductory note to *Fl.* 16.

**non quin...**: a compliment for city and speaker alike. Considering Carthage's importance, Apuleius might well have asked for the favour, but it is more honourable that it has been granted him for free. The connection of this idea with the 'need to hasten' is somewhat strained.

**defregisset**: 'had detracted from.' The same verb was used shortly before in a literal sense for the nearly broken ankle (16,20). Its repeated use here is surely on purpose.

16,26 **neque enim...**: an easy thought. Asking and accepting a favour is harder than simply obtaining what you want by using your own resources. Cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2,4,12 (ironical) *profecto hinc natum est: malo emere quam rogare*; further Sen. *Ben.* 2,1,4 *nulla res carius constat quam quae precibus empta est*.<sup>1</sup> Earlier in the *Florida*, *uensilia* were referred to in 9,24 and 26 and 15,5.

**quam**: for *quam* in the sense of *magis quam*, a usage frequent in later Latin, see LHSz 2,593.

<sup>1</sup> The desire for independence is older still and seems firmly rooted in Roman thought; cf. e.g. Cato *Agr.* 5,3, where the *uilicus* of the farm is prescribed to have only two or three households that he may ask for the loan of something, or to which he may give something in loan.

16,27 **duplam gratiam**: the thought is amplified. The 'undiminished thanks' for what one has received unasked-for now appear to be 'double thanks', that are, moreover, both addressed to the giver (rather than to oneself.)

16,28 **multiugam**: the sentence adds two new elements. The thanks are not merely double but 'manifold' (for *multiugus*, see on 15,22) and the speaker will proclaim his double thanks at all times and places.

16,29 **libro isto... conscripto**: a slightly problematic reference. Apuleius refers to a written text that appears not to be the future, definitive speech of thanks, but what text could he mean? Not surprisingly, editors have proposed changes to the Latin here. Instead of *isto*, VALLETTE prints the suggestion of Rohde, *iusto*. Before *conscripto*, HELM initially added <*nondum*>, a proposal he later withdrew. Both proposals are unnecessary. Most likely Apuleius is referring to the present *liber*, that is, the provisional speech he is presently delivering; thus also HIJMANS 1994, 1736wn95; and TOSCHI 2000, 23 and 96.

**philosophus**: the reading of *Fφ philosopho* was defended by ARMINI 1028, 332, but *debere* with a dative would be rather awkward Latin. HELM and VALLETTE are no doubt right in following Colvius' emendation.<sup>1</sup>

16,30 **a qua paululum...**: unlike the previous sentence, here the speaker apparently alludes to the future, definitive speech of thanks, that Apuleius feels an obligation to make to Strabo. The text has been corrected at several places (F reads *a qua paululum demutauit libere quam*, which does not seem to make sense).<sup>2</sup>

The future speech is said to deviate from the normal pattern. That is, it will be much more complimentary, on account of the outstanding qualities of Strabo (16,31), which almost defy expression (16,32). The two clauses coming in between (*quem librum - probare* 16,30) can best be considered as a parenthesis.

**satis - probare**: the short clause confronts us with another cluster of textual problems. *Satis* (Rohde) for *scitis* of *Fφ* is commonly accepted. For *probare* HELM first adopted *parare* (Van der Vliet), but eventually (in his edition with German translation) returned to the MSS text. The infinitive is dependent on *satis* (sc. *est*).

**eum**: this refers either to the future *liber*, mentioned shortly before, or to the person of Strabo, the subject of the next sentence. It is difficult to choose between the two alternatives. The sense of *probare* is, of course, bound up with the reference in *eum*: it will suffice to give 'a taste of the speech' or 'to speak in favourable terms of Strabo'.

16,31 **tantus in studiis**: for a Second Sophist, *studia* are the highest and best area in which to excell. The compliment to Strabo that his erudition gives him a higher standing than his noble birth and political honours closely resembles the short fragment *Fl.* 8.

**praenobilior**: the word is not attested before Apuleius; cf. GCA 1985, 32; FERRARI 1968, 136 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 144n125.

**quibusnam uerbis...**: Apuleius starts his proper address of Aemilianus Strabo with an impressive period. The four successive indirect questions (*quibusnam uerbis...*, *quibus*

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, one might consider *deceat philosophos* (Oudendorp) or *deceat philosopho* (Hildebrand).

<sup>2</sup> *Quam* has been explained as the equivalent of *ut* (see LHS 2,593) but the text would be hard to understand. HELM in his Addenda also changed *liber* to *libro*, but this would make *philosophus* the subject of *demutabit*, which seems strange.

*tandem uerbis... , qua digna ratione... , qua remuneratione dicendi... )* are all dependent on the final *nondum hercle repperio* (16,32); cf. the analysis in TOSCHI 2000, 99-100. The first three clauses involve traditional turns (cf. e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 5,35 *quibusnam uerbis eius laudes huius ipsius temporis consequi possumus?*) but the phrase *remuneratio dicendi* seems an original Apuleian coinage.

**uir omnium - erunt:** a traditional turn of phrase again. Cf. the famous lines of Catullus on Cicero: *disertissime Romuli nepotum / quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli, quotque post aliis erunt in annis...* (49,1-3); cf. also Catul. 21,2-3; 24,2-3.<sup>1</sup> Further Pl. *Per.* 777 *qui sunt, qui erunt quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac*; *Bac.* 1087; Cic. *Red. Pop.* 16.

**inter optimos clarissime...:** for the technique of amplification by means of a *gradatio*, cf. 8,1-2 *Nam ex innumeris hominibus pauci senatores, ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere et ex iis consularibus pauci boni et adhuc ex bonis pauci eruditi*; see note on 8.1. The list again highlights the erudition of Strabo and the eminence of *studia*: the climax is reached with the word *doctissime*.

16,32 **gratias habitum... eam:** again, Apuleius uses a construction with a supine. Cf. above on 16,24 and see OLD s.v. *eo* 12.

**dicendi:** to be taken with *qua remuneratione*, 'with what payment in return in the form of speech...'

16,33 **'dum - artus':** a verse quotation to express the idea 'as long as I will live'. The line is Verg. *A.* 4,336, where it is spoken by Aeneas to Dido.<sup>2</sup> Apuleius has numerous quotations from Vergil in his works; cf. above on 3,3. For specific references to the *Aeneid* see also *Apol.* 30,7 *in opere serio* and MATTIACCI 1986, 163wn16.

**inpraesentiarum:** the adverb (formed from *in praesentia rerum*: TLL s.v. *impraesentiarum* 673,72f.) is used twice, after it has already occurred in 16,29. The repetition may be intended to illustrate the speaker's difficulty in finding the right words, as he is overwhelmed by joy.

16,34 **ex illis tristioribus:** a rather vague reference to opponents of the speaker. Perhaps they are the same ones as in 9,1 *ex illis inuisoribus meis* and 9,3 *ex illis liuidis*; thus also TOSCHI 2000, 104.

**non minus mereor:** the reading of F $\phi$  produces a very arrogant statement. Editors have raised objections here and proposed various changes to make the text more modest; e.g. HELM first bracketed *non*, later kept *non* but wanted to read *ueeor* (which is accepted by AUGELLO). However, it is not too difficult to imagine Apuleius boasting that he has indeed merited the statue and understands its value. Such arrogance was not thought to be as reprehensible in antiquity as it is to many modern readers; one is reminded, for instance, of the notorious vanity of Cicero. The traditional reading is also

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius admired Catullus and knew his work well; see e.g. *Apol.* 6,5; further MATTIACCI 1986, 174-6. Since all three Catullan texts involve a form of irony, one wonders whether Apuleius is entirely sincere here. It is, of course, always difficult to assess the honesty of a speaker delivering lavish praise.

<sup>2</sup> Vergil's line must have been famous. It is also quoted in an anonymous poem on Alcesta: *Anth. Lat.* 15,144 (Riese I, 44).

defended by TOSCHI 1993 and 2000, 105, who renders 'io la merita non meno di quanto comprendo di meritarla.'

**exulto:** the speaker highlights his great joy, perhaps to sharpen the contrast with *illis tristioribus*. The verb *ex(s)ultare* seems to be not entirely positive; cf. the long note by TOSCHI 2000, 106-7, who adduces a definition by Nonius as 'gloriarum cum iactantia'.

16,35 **in curia Carthaginiensium:** Strabo had apparently made his proposal during a meeting of the senate. This reference also shows that Apuleius is presently delivering his speech elsewhere; contra RIVES 1984, 283, who mistakenly argues that Apuleius describes his speech as taking place in the *curia*.

**splendidissima... benignissima:** both words are highly complimentary adjectives to *curia*. Modern editors adopt *splendissimum* and *benignissimum* (to be taken with *testimonium*), as proposed by Van der Vliet. The result of the change would read excellently, but the reading of F $\phi$  clearly makes good sense and should therefore be kept.

**principes Africae uiros:** the phrase resumes the initial flattering address in 16,1 *principes Africae uiri*; see the note there.

**quodam modo:** the words somewhat lessen the force of *laudator mihi... astitit*. Strabo has 'in a way' acted as the eulogist of Apuleius. Without this qualification, Apuleius' words would have sounded intolerably disdainful and condescending, implying that the noble magistrate had rendered a humble service to the speaker.

16,36 **libello:** in a formal petition (TLL s.v. *libellus* 1264, 49f.), Strabo had requested that a good, well-frequented site should be given to the statue. In the written document he referred to their common studies and to Apuleius' congratulations at the successive stages of Strabo's career. For bonds of friendship resulting from common studies, see *Apol.* 53,10 *contubernio* (with note there). According to SANDY 1997, 8 these common studies may have been pursued in Rome; cf. also HARRISON 1996, 491. There is, however, no clue for this.

16,37 **condiscipulum:** Strabo had referred to their common studies, so by implication he and Apuleius were fellow pupils, which suggests they were of more or less the same age. Since Aemilianus Strabo was consul in 156, and 32 was the minimum age for the consulship was 32 at the time, this allows us to suppose that Apuleius was born in the 120s.

The present phrase merely rephrases the thought *commemorauit - inchoata* of 16,36, so the word *condiscipulus* need not actually have been used by Strabo. See also next note.

**ex pari:** 'on equal terms' (OLD s.v. *par* 9c). The speaker seems to take pains to raise himself to the level of Strabo. The fact that the magistrate had referred to Apuleius' expression of thanks to him is interpreted as a sign that their relation is one of equals.

**alibi gentium et ciuitatum:** a tantalizingly vague expression for 'other regions and cities'. There is some evidence for statues of Apuleius in Oea and Madauros (see introductory note). The impressive phrase seems to suggest more distant locations such as Greece and Rome, but we do not know of any honorary statues decreed to Apuleius outside Africa.

**honores - et alios:** the words are commonly interpreted as 'honorary statues and other honours', but it remains unclear what other honours are meant. The words might also be translated simply as 'other honorary statues too'.

**16,38** **suscepti sacerdotii**: an important biographical detail, although we have no certainty what priesthood is meant. Apuleius tells in *Fl.* 18,38 that he was a priest of Aesculapius, and Augustine (*Ep.* 138,19) reports that Apuleius has been *sacerdos provinciae Africae*. Either function may be referred to here. A case is made for the former by RIVES 1994; for the latter by HARRISON 2000, 8wn30.

**locupletissimus testis**: the same combination is used in 17,4. Cf. also Cic. *Flac.* 40 *locuples testis doloris*.

**suo etiam suffragio**: 'even by his own recommendation'.

**16,39** **de suo**: a confusing detail. Strabo has promised to pay for the statue of Apuleius and requested the city to accord it a proper place (16,36). However, in 16,46 it appears that the financial means to cover the fabrication of the statue have not yet been collected. See note there.

**quadriuges et seiuges currus**: 'four- and six-horse chariots'. The reference is, again, to monumental representations, not to real chariots; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 34,19 *equestres utique statucae Romanam celebrationem habent*. The dedication of golden *seiuges* in Rome is attested in the second century B.C. already; see Liv. 38,35,4.

**gratulantur**: the verb is here constructed with an infinitive (*ponere*) and should be rendered as 'to rejoice'.

**tribunal**: the word commonly refers to a platform, but is here used metaphorically under the influence of the following *columen* 'summit' and *columen* 'pinnacle'.

**16,40** **futurus procons.**: it is not known whether Strabo ever became a proconsul, but he was *consul suffectus* in 156;<sup>1</sup> see introductory note for the consequences of dating this speech. For the polite expression of a city's hope concerning such an honour, cf. 9,40 (on Honorinus). HELM and others print the full word *proconsul*, but the MSS present the abbreviated form here.

**16,41** **decreuerunt locum statuere**: this had been requested by Aemilianus Strabo (16,36). When the request was presented, probably by the presiding *duouir*, those who attended approved it unanimously and decreed a public site for the statue; for this reconstruction of the procedure see RIVES 1995, 177, who mentions our text as an example of how suggestions for new public cults might be made in Roman Carthage. Many honorific statues are known from the cities of Africa, erected by individuals but with the explicit approval of the *ordo*. The appropriate formula *locus datus decreto decurionum* was so common that it could be abbreviated *l.d.d.d.*; see RIVES, 185.

For *statuere*, VALLETTE and AUGELLO adopt the easier reading *statucae* (Colvius), while PURSER 1910 defends *statucae meae*. However, the MSS reading *statuere* 'to appoint' makes excellent sense.

**alteram statuam**: 'the (decision about a) second statue'. Until now, no mention has been made of another statue. It seems not unlikely that Apuleius himself brings up the idea, suggesting that the city of Carthage should follow the good example of the magistrate and grant him one. Apuleius cleverly adds that the matter would merit a separate meeting of the senate, so as not to detract in any way from the favour of the

<sup>1</sup> According to HJIMANS 1994, 1723 Aemilianus Strabo actually held the office of proconsul in 166, but there is no source to confirm this. There may be some confusion of both year and office here.

magistrate nor to rival his benefaction. The speaker almost manages to hide the fact that he is asking for a second statue, as HJIMANS 1994, 1770 observes.

**16,43** **optimi magistratus**: Apuleius is addressing the elite of Carthage (16,1), and it is these men who are meant by the following *uobis*. The plural *magistratus* and *principes* cannot refer to Aemilianus Strabo, but must refer to the senate and local dignitaries. Nonetheless, the exact reference of the sentence remains vague: the speaker implies some sort of public demand or order upon the senate, but it is hard to see how local magistrates could be given a *mandatum*.

**ego nescirem**: thus the words are divided in Fφ. Van der Vliet changed it into *egone scirem*, which HELM adopted, adding <non> to *praedicarem*: 'how should I know about it and not proclaim it?' However, the former change is not necessary. The text may be interpreted as follows: 'how should I be unaware of it and not proclaim it?'<sup>1</sup>

**16,44** **ordini uestro**: 'your order', i.e. the *ordo decurionum*, for which see RIVES 1995, 32-3. Apuleius is not delivering his speech of thanks in the *curia*, as appears again from *in illa curia* (with a form of *ille* rather than *hic*); cf. above on 16,35. However, many among the local elite whom he is addressing (16,1) will also have been members of the senate. So the sharp division between senate and the present audience (cf. 16,43) seems to have become blurred.

**adclamationibus**: the word recalls the theatrical context of the anecdote on Philemon. In general on the forms and functions of Roman acclamations, see BIVILLE 1996.

**in qua curia - honor est**: the flattery nearly literally copies the one addressed to Strabo in 16,35: *cui etiam notum esse tantummodo summus honor est*.

**16,45** **non existimabatur**: 'not merely in appearance'. The words function as the opposite of *re uera*.

**populo... ordini... magistratibus**: the speaker says that he pleases the whole population, and mentions the most important social categories in ascending order. For a similar thought, cf. 17,19-20. In that case, different age groups are specified.

**praefascine**: 'to avert bad luck'. This rare adverb, also spelled as *praefiscini* of *praefiscine*, is archaic: cf. Pl. *As.* 491 *praefiscini hoc nunc dixerim*; see FERRARI 1968, 102-3 and TOSCHI 2000, 115-6. It expresses a form of superstition, and is thus used to characterize Trimalchio in Petr. 73,6. In the present place, the word merely serves to add weight to the speaker's triumphant words.

**16,46** **quid... superest**: the same turn as in 16,39.

**aeris pretium**: although Strabo has pledged to pay for the statue (16,39), it now appears that the money for the bronze has not yet been made available and that no sculptor has started working on it. The speaker adds some remarks expressing confidence

<sup>1</sup> One might even refrain from adding *non* to *praedicarem*, arguing that the negation must be, as it were, repeated from *nescire* (thus HILDEBRAND); this however, would produce rather awkward Latin. A more drastic change would be *praedicare <cessare>m*, the emendation of Walter, printed by VALLETTE and AUGELLO.

that the city of Carthage will eventually pay; these remarks clearly function as an exhortation.<sup>1</sup>

**ne ut:** here *ne* is the equivalent of *nedum* (OLD s.v. *ne* (1) 11c), but there is no reason to actually change the text and read *ne<dum> ut*, as PURSER 1910, 155 proposes.

**iudicare... computare:** a rhetorically effective contrast between passing judgements on important matters (obviously something honourable to do) and the more ordinary activity of counting costs. The speaker takes advantage of the widespread elitist disdain of 'ignoble counting' in the ancient world.

**16,47 perfectius... effectius:** Apuleius promises to deal with the matter in a more extensive way as soon as the audience will actually have granted the money for the statue. The expression is succinct (no verbs are used) and there is strong use of homoeoteuton. The comparatives of the adverbs *perfecte* and *effecte* are not attested before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 140. For the form *effectius*, cf. earlier 9,34 and 15,6.

**tibi:** a direct address to the audience, now specified as 'senators, citizens and friends'. Each of these groups is referred to by means of impressive, complimentary expressions.

**libro - conscripto:** cf. 16,29. Here the words seem to refer to a future, definitive expression of thanks. Again, the speaker's reference to such a literary work and the great renown it will give to the city imply an exhortation of the audience to grant the favour; cf. on 16,46 *aeris pretium*.

**canam:** the verb would seem to indicate that the promised laudatory piece will be a poem, as is argued by HIJMANS 1994, 1736n97.

**16,48 uti... repraesentet:** a stately clause finishes *Fl.* 16, promising widespread and everlasting glory to the city. One may notice the double references to place and time and the unparalleled phrase *semper annorum*, formed analogously to *ubique gentium* (cf. LHSz 2,47 and 57).

For the image of a book traveling throughout the land, HARRISON 2000, 119n103 compares Hor. *Ep.* 1,20 and Ov. *Tr.* 3,1. However, in both these cases the personified book commends the author itself rather than its original audience.

## XVII THE HUMAN VOICE

*I am not like those people who impose themselves upon authorities and feel proud because they seem to be good friends with them. My talents, dear Orfitus, may be small but have gained me much prestige even in Rome. So you will be as eager to win my friendship as I for yours. A desire for frequent contact with somebody is proof of a genuine affection: if a person's absence is deplored, his presence is longed for. But a voice doomed to remain*

<sup>1</sup> There is no indication that Strabo has not kept his promise, and the audience has been thanked for its favours (16,44), which is obviously a reference to its according a suitable place for his statue (16,41). One may therefore argue that the issue of the first statue has been settled. Apuleius, then, would seem to be speaking about the 'second statue', which he expects from the city as a whole. This may equally be the statue referred to below at 16,47 *ad dedicationem statuæ meae*. However, the text remains unclear on this point.

*silent is of little use: daily practice must keep it in good shape. (In a way, exercising the human voice is a waste of effort, since it is easily surpassed by musical instruments and animal calls.) The human voice is of use to the mind rather than the ear, and it must be often employed before a fine and large audience. Orpheus and Arion sang in solitude and did not look for fame: they did what birds do. But whoever will sing a useful song, as I will do in praise of Orfitus, should do so before a huge audience. My song will edify everyone. Let us review some of Orfitus' outstanding qualities!*

This fragment of modest length is an introductory piece to a *carmen* by Apuleius on the virtues of proconsul Scipio Orfitus (see on 17,18). It brings out some of the typical characteristics of a *prolalia*, notably in its structure, which may be called loose and associative, or even deliberately vague.

The opening words of the piece, which may have been preceded by some other remarks (see on 17,1), start by criticising Apuleius' opponents rather than praising the proconsul. In polite words Apuleius ventures to argue that Orfitus should be as eager to win his friendship as Apuleius is to win his, but conceals this impertinent statement in some remarks that people generally miss their friends when separated from them. Probably Apuleius is taking a defensive stand here: Orfitus may have criticized him for not visiting him (and Carthage) or for failing to address him in public. Apuleius seems to accept the criticism, but appears to be reluctant to kowtow to the proconsul (see further on 17,5).

Instead he inserts a long, vaguely philosophical section on the use of the human voice (17,6-17), which takes up most of *Fl.* 17, and which may well have been the reason why the fragment was selected in the collection in the first place. Here the speaker takes his chance to digress with some examples from daily life. The section seems to have been patched together from various stock themes, such as the human voice compared to instruments, the variety of animal sounds, and the contrast between man and animal. Some famous names from mythology add to the lively mix. But strictly speaking, the relevance of the section about the human voice is only slight. The essential thought is that it is good to speak before such a proconsul and such an audience -- which is what the speaker is doing at that very moment.

After his facile observations Apuleius seems to embark on a section of praise of the proconsul Orfitus. It starts with an examination of all his virtues, which the audience is invited to look at (17,22). At this moment when the speech really seems to get going, the fragment breaks off. Obviously, the lost sequel must have comprised a prose section of lavish praise of Orfitus, culminating in the announced poem, for which the audience has been prepared from the start.

Sound reasoning and logic are only marginally present here. All the talking about Orpheus and Arion, animal calls, and birds singing their songs in remote places of nature, could have been omitted if philosophical consistency, brevity, or clarity were sought. But the speaker's aims are very different: for one thing, he wants to entertain the public and inspire it with admiration for himself. This he achieves, among other things, by artful and refined descriptions of the various calls, using rare words and producing splendid sound effects himself (e.g. 17,11-12 and 17). Secondly, there is the need to bridge the wide gap between self-praise and pride on the one hand, and the inevitable praise of Orfitus on the other hand. The dazzling description distracts the attention and obscures the clear

sequence of thought.<sup>1</sup> The speaker plays with his audience and addressee, wooing and manipulating them, drawing smoke curtains around them, and taking detours to reach his goal.

The motif of animals and animal calls firmly links the piece to earlier fragments, notably *Fl.* 13, which seemed to elaborate a similar theme. As a ceremonial speech in praise of a magistrate, it is closely associated with the preceding pieces *Fl.* 16 and 9. The setting in Carthage and the self-praise of the speaker are, by now, quite familiar to the reader.

The proconsul addressed by Apuleius can be dated with some precision (just as the addressee in *Fl.* 9): he is Servius Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus, proconsul of Africa in 163-164; cf. SYME 1959, 318-9; and PIR<sup>2</sup> 1447. For some further prosopographical observations on Scipio Orfitus, notably on his name Scipio, see STURCH 1974. The speech was delivered in Carthage (17,19) perhaps at the end of Orfitus' term of office in 164 (which would again parallel the situation of *Fl.* 9).<sup>2</sup>

The situation that a 'Scipio' is praised by a famous poet may have recalled the praise of Republican *Scipiones* by the great poet Ennius, as HARRISON 2000, 122 suggests. The parallel must have greatly appealed to Apuleius. For *Fl.* 17, see further MRAS 1949, 212-3; HIJMANS 1994, 1736-7 and 1769; SANDY 1997, 164-6; and HARRISON 2000, 120-2.

17,1 **uiderint**: 'let (...) see for themselves', 'it's up to (...)'. The tone is dismissive right from the start. The speaker is launching a veiled attack to unnamed opponents, who allegedly bother men such as the proconsul. For similar polemics with rivals, cf. e.g. *Fl.* 7; 9; and 11; further SANDY 1997, 164-9.

Something may have preceded the opening words of *Fl.* 17, perhaps an instructive example or a tale on troublesome and obtrusive people. On the other hand, there is no indication in the MSS of a lacuna and the text makes sense as it is; MRAS 1949, 212-3 refers to a similar seemingly abrupt beginning in Lucian's *Herodotus (Actio)*. In general, *prolaliae* characteristically begin abruptly, as SANDY 1997, 166 remarks.

**otiosis praesidibus**: many editors have found fault with the adjective and proposed various conjectures implying 'work' or 'occupation'; see HELM's apparatus. The point however, seems clear enough: some people keep on bothering magistrates even in their time of leisure.

**impatientia linguae**: 'by the intemperance of their speech'. The indirect reference to speaking makes it clear that rival orators are the target. TLL s.v. *impatientia* 526,45 is uncertain whether *linguae* is an objective or subjective genitive, but no doubt the latter is correct: the orators' tongues act without restraint; cf. 7,11 *linguae rabies*.

**utrumque eius... abest**: the reading of  $F\phi$  *eius* is often replaced by *enim*, found in some later MSS and defended by HELM. With BOURGERY I keep *eius*: it is slightly loosely constructed with *utrumque*.

<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, an analysis of the content of *Fl.* 17 would come down to something like this: 'I have not praised Orfitus. I am not trying to win his favour, I am famous enough myself... Now come, let us look at Orfitus' virtues and praise him for his favours!'

<sup>2</sup> Curiously, the parallel between *Fl.* 9 and 17 seems to have misled SANDY 1997, 1n3, who alleges that the same proconsul is eulogized in both pieces, a statement that is manifestly wrong.

Both ideas of 'using unrestrained speech to seek recommendation of one's talent' and 'glorifying oneself in the feigned impression of being friends' would not seem entirely out of place to describe what Apuleius himself is doing in *Fl.* 17 and elsewhere. Of course, the speaker firmly denies this.

**Scipio Orfite**: the proconsul of Africa in 163-164. See the introductory note to *Fl.* 17.

17,2 **pro captu suo**: cf. 9,13 *pro meo captu* with note there. The apparent modesty of *quantulumcumque* and *pro captu suo* is effectively combined with a display of pride and self-confidence: the speaker argues that he does not need further recommendation.

17,3 **tuorumque similium**: a subtle point. Scipio Orfitus is greatly flattered in this piece, but it is made clear at the start that he is by no means the only important person to whom the speaker is looking up. Grammatically, the use of the plural *tuorum* is unusual, since the regular construction is *tui similis*, as in *Met.* 2,25 (45,21-2) *teque ac tui similes... recondis*. The combination *tuorum(que) similium* may have been chosen here for its more impressive sound effect.

**malo quam iacto**: in a threefold sentence, a contrast is made between the conspicuous and false exhibit of friendly relations and a quiet, but real and strong friendship as felt by the speaker himself. Sound effects bring home the point: *malo / iacto* and *cupitor / gloriator* (resumed in *cupere / gloriare*). *Cupitor* is a rare noun in *-tor*, possibly coined by Tacitus (e.g. *Ann.* 12,7), here matching *gloriator*, which seems to be a new creation of Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 107-8 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 134.

**quoniam - gloriari**: for the thought, cf. *Apol.* 1,2 *quippe insimulari quibus innocens potest, reuinci nisi nocens non potest*.<sup>1</sup>

17,4 **ab ineunte aeuo**: for the argument and the idiom, cf. *Apol.* 5,1 *si ab ineunte aeuo unis studiis litterarum ex summis uiribus deditus*.

**etiam Romae**: Rome was, of course, the most important centre of culture, and Apuleius' claim to have achieved fame not merely in Africa but in the very heart of the Empire underscores his distinction as well as his self-conscious attitude. The African audience is likely to have looked up to the distant capital with a feeling of awe. The mention of 'the friends of Orfitus in Rome' strengthens the bond between speaker and magistrate.

This is the only place in Apuleius' works which seems to attest that he personally visited the city, although there is no suggestion of an extended stay, as SANDY 1997,3 rightly argues.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, the final scenes of the *Met.* are situated in Rome, but since the *Met.* is a fictional text, the travels of its protagonist Lucius should not be confused with those of its author. For Apuleius' travels, see further on 15,1 *Samos*.

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that in both texts the statement is not as correct as it seems. There is, in fact, no reason why 'wishing' would always have to be sincere.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, the present passage does not prove with certainty that Apuleius ever set foot inside Rome. Apuleius states that, as Orfitus can attest, he has always looked for esteem of his talent, even among Orfitus' friends in Rome. Although it seems highly probable that he did so in personal encounters with these men, the possibility that communication was more indirect, e.g. in the form of correspondence, cannot be excluded.

The reference provides significant information concerning Apuleius' life. If indeed he visited or lived in Rome, this stay most likely took place prior to his trial in 156. Furthermore, he probably owned or rented a house; COARELLI 1989 proposed a house at Ostia as the place where Apuleius lived. Perhaps more importantly, Apuleius may have met scholars and authors like Aulus Gellius (cf. HARRISON 2000, 6), and he may also have come into contact with Gnostics and Christians, who were all active in Rome at the time; cf. DOWDEN 1998 and HUNINK 2000, 87-8. Such encounters can hardly have been without consequence for Apuleius' ideas and beliefs. Regrettably, however, no certainty can be reached here, for lack of evidence.

**ut non minus - concupiscenda:** the speaker argues, rather impertinently, that friendship with him is as much to be sought as he himself desires that of the addressee. He clearly poses as a man who is on equal terms with Orfitus, mainly on account of his erudition and fame. The resounding verbal forms *capessenda* / *concupiscenda* underscore the statement.

**uobis:** the forms *uobis* and *uestra* point to more than one person, particularly since Orfitus himself was addressed in the same sentence in the singular (*tute, tuos*). Still, Orfitus obviously is the main person intended. The plural pronoun may be explained as a reference to 'Orfitus and his likes,' i.e. his colleagues; cf. 17,3 *gratiam tuam tuorumque similitum* and the use of *uester* in 17,1 *amicitiae uestrae*. Alternatively, the African audience at large could be meant, but the sense is not as good.

17,5 **quippe...** the immodest statement is slightly softened by some rhetorical reasoning: a critical attitude towards those who remain absent too long betrays sentimentality. Effects of rhythm and sound (e.g. *celebrare* / *desiderare*) embellish the long sentence.

Some criticism of Apuleius by Orfitus and the public at large appears to lie behind these polite words and somewhat complex phrasing. The speaker, it seems, has remained absent from Carthage too long. He has, consequently, been unable to spend time with the Carthaginian elite and to deliver a fitting expression of praise of Orfitus.<sup>1</sup> Instead of denying this, Apuleius turns the criticism into a compliment. For the rhetoric of the 'returning native son', see also SANDY 1997,165. See further below on 17,19 *serum*.

**rarenter adeundi:** to be taken with *ueniam* only. In the following clause there will be a clear contrast between *frequentibus* 'frequent visitors' and *cessantibus* 'those who fail to come'. For the adverb *rarenter* see on 9,11.

<**gratam praesentiam**>: the addition by Colvius is unavoidable and it is now commonly accepted by editors.

17,6 **ceterum uox...** a rather loose transition to the thought that a silent voice is of little use; see introductory note. The point is amplified with references to disorders of the nose, the ears, and the eyes. For Apuleius' general interest in medicine, cf. *Apol.* 42-52, with a detailed section on epilepsy in 50 and details on cures for diseases of the ear in 48,3-4 and 51,2. On medicine in Africa, see BENSEDDIK 1989 (esp. 665 for diseases of the eye).

<sup>1</sup> According to HARRISON 2000, 121 it was, conversely, Apuleius who previously complained about the absence of Orfitus, thereby reflecting some discontent of the Carthaginian elite. No doubt, the absence of a magistrate from the capital city could be a topic, as appears in *Fl.* 9,37. But in the present context, such criticism of Orfitus would be at odds with the whole line of the argument. It is rather the good will of the audience that the speaker is eager to earn.

**ares spiritu obseratae:** for the second word, found in Fφ, editors commonly adopt *spurcitie* of Désertine. The emendation is ingenious, producing an adjective of the same length and rhythm as the other two. But 'ear-wax' (OLD in the quotation s.v. *spurcitia/-es*) is not the required sense, although it sounds clinical. Just as *albugo* does not refer literally to dirt in the eye, but to a white opaque spot on the eye (OLD s.v. a) and *grauedo* not to mucus, but to a cold in the head (OLD s.v. 1), so too the middle element is likely to involve a medical explanation rather than a bodily substance.<sup>1</sup>

With *spiritu* Apuleius seems to refer to a medical theory of illness based on the collecting of air inside the body. As a matter of fact, this belongs to one of the three main explanations of disease in the Platonic tradition, as set out in *Apol.* 49: *Tertio in corpore concrementa uarii fellis et turbidi spiritus et pinguis humoris nouissima aegritudinum incitamenta sunt* (the first two explanations referred to by Apuleius involve various forms of disorder of the four elements or their compounds); cf. Plato *Tim.* 84 C.<sup>2</sup> In Apuleius' example, the ears are not (or not only) filled with ear-wax but blocked inside by air.

17,7 **manus... pedes:** two more bodily examples, involving the hands and the feet. The juxtapositions *manus manicis* and *pedes pedicis* are, of course, intentional. The combination and the whole image may owe something to Lucil. 1107 (W) *sic laqueis, manicis, pedicis mens inretita est*.

**rector nostri animus:** the almost inevitable climax of the human examples (a third *quid si* is to be added in mind). For the spirit as the dominant part, or 'governor', of man, cf. *Apol.* 50,4 with note.

Three causes of impediment are specified: sleep, wine, and disease. The tricolon is marked by sound effects (particularly the homoeoteleuton of the verbal forms and the alliteration of s-) and literary reminiscences; cf. notably Enn. *Ann.* 294 W (292 V) *uino domiti somnoque sepulti*; Lucr. 1,133 *morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis*; Verg. *A.* 2,265 *somno uinoque sepultam*; 9,189 *somno uinoque soluti*; further e.g. Liv. 41,3,10 *uino somnoque... mersos*. It is in the combination of words that Apuleius' talent shows; for instance, *morbo sepeleiri* is a daring juncture that is not paralleled.

17,8 **robiginat:** 'becomes rusty.' The verb is rare and does not occur before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 142. For the image of sword and sheath for oratory, HARRISON 2000, 121n110 rightly compares Quint. 8 pr. 15 *sine quo superuacua sunt priora et similia gladio condito atque intra uaginam suam haerenti*.

The metaphor as such is much older; cf. especially the words of Cato as quoted by Gel. 11,2,6 *nam uita, inquit, humana prope uti ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit. Item hominibus exercendo uidemus conteri; si nihil exerceas, inertia atque torpedo plus detrimenti facit quam exercitio*; further Hor. *S.* 2,1,39-41 *sed hic stilus haud petet ultro / quemquam animantem et me ueluti custodiet*

<sup>1</sup> According to PURSER 1910, 155-6 we should read *pruritu*, but he offers no explanation as to the connection with *obseratae*.

<sup>2</sup> OPEKU 1974, 314 refers to some places in Galen (12, p.642 Kühn; 15,p.599; 10,p.867), where a form of deafness is described, which is due to head-noises caused by wind. Given Apuleius' interest in medicine he is likely to have been familiar with such explanations.

*ensis / uagina tectus* (cf. id. 43 *pereat positum robigine telum*). Both passages may well have been in Apuleius' mind.

**desuetudo... pigritiam, pigritia ueternum:** the sentence forms a small instance of the figure of *gradatio*; see note on 8,1.

**proclamant:** the verb is used in the special sense of 'practising declamation', since *tragoedi* refers to actors in tragedy. As often, examples from the sphere of the theatre easily come to Apuleius' mind; cf. HUNINK 1998, 99 and 103. For tragic actors, cf. notably *Fl.* 18,4 *tragoedus uociferatur*; and *Apol.* 13,7. We may further compare the stress on the use of the voice by the *praeco* in *Fl.* 9,10-12.

**purgant rauim:** a Plautine expression. *Rauis* is an archaic word for 'hoarseness'; cf. e.g. *Pl. Aul.* 336. For the combination with the verb, cf. particularly *Pl. Cist.* 304 *expurigabo hercle omnia ad raucam rauim*, a parallel rightly adduced by FERRARI 1968, 92-3.

17,9 **ceterum...**: an elaborate and flowing sentence: the training of the voice is in vain and the effort is wasted, since the human voice is surpassed in many ways (examples introducing instruments and animals follow shortly). The whole thought is at odds with the previous lines, which, on the contrary, had argued that regular training of the voice is necessary. The inconsistency is largely obscured by the complex expression and intricate sound effects (such as the alliteration of *s-*). For adverbs on *-fariam*, see on 7,9.

17,10 **tuba...**: the qualities of the human voice compare unfavourably with those of musical instruments. Five of them are specified: trumpet, lyre, flute, pipe, and horn, each with a brief description of its main sound quality. It may be noted that the successive elements tend to become longer (from 8 to 12 syllables). Musical instruments occur frequently in the *Fl.*; in the preceding passages cf. notably 3; 4; and 15. The sentence contains various unusual forms; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 110 and notes below.

**rudore:** 'a roar, bellow'. This is a rare noun formed from the verb *rudere*, probably coined by Apuleius for the sake of its sound (with *u* and double *r*), which allows for a fine combination with *tuba* and *toruor*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 108-9. Apuleius also uses it in *Mun.* 18.

**uariatior:** another rare form, the comparative of the newly formed participle *uariatus* (from *uariare*). The use of this comparative is unparalleled.

**questu - longinquior:** the last three elements involve several other rare words. The comparative form of *delectabilis* does not occur before Apuleius (TLL s.v. 417,65f.). The form *susurru* is unusual in its variant ending (of the 4th declension rather than the 2nd); cf. CALLEBAT 1968, 122. The speaker's choice for *susurru* is easily explained: the noun now matches the surrounding nouns in *-u*; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 102-3. The last of these, *significatu*, is taken by Apuleius in its most literal sense: 'the act of making a sign' (OLD s.v. 1 and FACCHINI TOSI, 154).

17,11 **mitto dicere:** hardly surprisingly, the speaker does dwell at some length at the type of examples he suggests he will leave unmentioned. This class of examples concerns animals, a motif which is no less frequent in the *Fl.* than music. Here six examples are

given: bulls, wolves, elephants, horses, birds, and lions.<sup>1</sup> To each animal a two-word description of its peculiar sound is added, in some cases with onomatopoeic qualities (e.g. *acutus ululatus* and *hilaris hinnitus*) and with homoeoteleuton in the nouns (cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 130n92).

The thought that animals have more impressive voices than men is, of course, not original; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 76,9 *habet uocem: sed quanto clariorem canes, acutiorem aquilae, grauiorem tauri, dulciorem mobilioremque luscini?* That passage may have been in Apuleius' mind (for *luscini* see 17,16).<sup>2</sup> Apuleius' resounding list can even be read as an expression of 'the intricate bond between all things,' as DE' CONNO 1959, 66-7 suggests, but surely it is the rhetorical effect that is dominant here.

**immeditatos:** 'unstudied'. This is an additional point. Animals behave according to their instinct and do not have to train or prepare their performance, unlike human speakers (17,8). The word is newly formed and occurs after Apuleius; see FERRARI 1968, 146.

17,12 **instigati:** 'incited, provoked'. The examples of birds and lions involve sounds that are not entirely spontaneous but have a specific cause, such as *rabies* or *uoluptas*.

**clangores:** the commonly accepted correction of Becichem for *angores* of Fφ. The MSS reading seems difficult (though not utterly impossible) to defend, since *angor* in the sense 'anguish' is not used in relation to animals (see examples in TLL s.v.). The shortly following word *angustior* (17,13, referring to the human voice) can be taken as a confirmation of the error here.

17,13 **diuinitus:** the reference to a divine origin of the gift of speech indicates a turn of thought to a more conventional level. The human voice may be physically inferior but it is superior in another sense. According to BAJONI 1989, 257 the author is probably alluding to initiation into mystery rituals, but that reads too much into the text.

17,14 **quo magis...**: having suggested that exercising the human voice is necessary but of little use, given the animal examples, the speaker suddenly concludes that to speak frequently before this 'distinguished audience' is a good thing. The audience must have been too impressed by the verbal skills displayed by the speaker and too flattered by his compliments to notice the rather loose reasoning here.

**si - callerem:** a new thought that hardly adds to the coherence, but allows for further amplification. The speaker compares himself to an experienced lyre-player (*callere* with ablative meaning 'to be skilled in', see OLD s.v. 2).

17,15 **in solitudine cantilauit:** two contrasting examples from mythology follow. Both Orpheus and Arion did not, as Apuleius, address a wide audience but played in isolation. By implication, the speaker suggests that he himself surpasses those legendary bards. For *cantilare* see on 3,11.

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that, unlike the musical instruments, the animals are all designated in the plural form. This adds to the impression of liveliness and graphically suggests the superiority of animal calls to the human voice: men are outnumbered.

<sup>2</sup> Comparisons of the human faculty of speaking with the inarticulate sounds of animals are widespread. For some examples from Cicero, see HARRISON 2000, 122wn112; see also MESSINA 1999, 299-300. Here such parallels are less relevant, particularly since the animal sounds are argued to be physically superior.

'Orpheus - Arion': a verse quotation from Vergil (*Ecl.* 8,56). For such verse inserts from Vergil see earlier on 3,3. The quoted line reintroduces the motif of animal calls, thus tying together much of the preceding discussion. For the self-imposed exile of Orpheus after his loss of Eurydice see Verg. *G.* 4,507-27 and *Ov. Met.* 10,73-82. The best known version of the story of Arion and the dolphins is *Hdt.* 1,23-4 (retold by *Gel.* 16,19); cf. further *Ov. Fast.* 2,79-118.

**quippe...**: the stories of both Orpheus and Arion are summarized, mainly by means of closely parallel clauses, highlighting the role of music and animals.<sup>1</sup> The doubt expressed in *si fides fabulis* is conventional.

In the end, the examples of Orpheus and Arion cast a positive light again upon the speaker himself. The key-words here are *sponte ad laudem*. These imply that what Apuleius is presently delivering is, indeed, spontaneous praise of the proconsul, not the fulfilment of an imperative duty to save his life. In reality, the freedom and spontaneity of the speaker may have been more limited than he wishes to show.

**oblectator**: a neologism, clearly formed to match *delinitor*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 109 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 135.

17,16 **hominibus potius**: almost in passing another criticism is leveled at Orpheus and Arion: they 'merely' sang to animals. The miraculous and incantative effect of their music is deliberately omitted.

**auibus**: the speaker uses the occasion to insert yet another comparison with some animals, namely of three birds that commonly sing in solitude: blackbirds, nightingales, and swans. To each bird he also devotes a separate sentence. The passage seems to serve no other purpose than to extend the 'joy of description'. For ornithological detail and ancient testimonies on the three birds see CAPPONI 1979, 334-7 (*merula*), 359-63 (*olor*), and 314-8 (*luscini*).

**secretaria**: 'hiding-places' (OLD). Three examples of such places follow shortly.

17,17 **tesquis**: a *tesquum* (*tescum*) is a 'tract of wild or desolate land' (OLD), an augural term of uncertain origin. Cf. e.g. *Hor. Ep.* 1,14,19 *deserta et inhospita tesqua*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 91-2.

**fringultiunt**: 'twitter, chirp'. Before the verb, modern editors insert <*cantilenam pueritiae*>, a luminous addition by Kronenberg. The second and third clauses seem to imply a parallel object in the first. What precedes *adulescentia* and *senecta* can only be *pueritia* and *cantilenam* is a fitting synonym for song. The three generations will return shortly in 17,18.

Brilliant as this suggestion is, it does not find any justification in the MSS, which present no problems here. Moreover, as such, *fringultiunt* may well be used intransitively<sup>2</sup> and there is no urgent need to assume a threefold parallel rather than the

<sup>1</sup> The *miseriordia belua* are, of course, the dolphins. The motif of 'friendly monsters' will greatly flourish in periods after Apuleius, notably the Middle Ages. To mention one example, in the *Nauigatio Brendani* (composed in Ireland around 800) a prominent place is given to a moving island that appears to be a whale-like fish called *Jasconius* (*Nav. Brend.* 10).

<sup>2</sup> OLD even marks 'intr.' in the lemma of *fringultio* and explains Kronenberg's addition as 'internal acc.' In the present place the word is first used in relation to birds; cf. TLL s.v. *fringultio/fringultio*.

pair *adulescentia / senecta*. Apuleius' first clause with its old and rare words is remarkable enough as it is and the text of the MSS should be kept.

**in solitudine Africana**: nightingales did also occur in Europe, but being migratory birds they spent the winter in Africa; see CAPPONI 1979, 315. The remark seems intended to add a lively colour to the picture and make it more familiar to the African audience. There is no need to follow VALLETTE and AUGELLO, who print *arcana* (Haupt).

**olores**: the sweet song of the swan at the approach of its death was a widespread legendary motif already in antiquity; cf. e.g. Plato, *Phaed.* 84e-85b; *Hyg. Fab.* 154; *Ov. Met.* 14,430 (with Bömer's note ad loc.); further ARNOTT 1977. *Meditor* 'to work over a song in performance' is poetical; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1,2 and other examples in OLD s.v. 7.

17,18 **enimvero qui...**: the speaker only gradually returns to his actual situation. Now he makes the transition from animals to men, and from singing in solitude to singing before a large audience. The element that his song will be *useful* to all generations implies a negative thought about the last few animal sounds, which did not serve a clear purpose. Apuleius' lack of modesty is slightly softened by the word order, *ita ut - carmen est* following not directly after *utile carmen prompturus est*.

**pueris - senibus**: cf. also 17,17 and 19. Enumerations of successive age groups are not uncommon; cf. e.g. *Sen. Ep.* 49,3 and 121,15.

**de uirtutibus Orfiti carmen**: the name of Orfitus was left unmentioned since 17,1. Only now the speaker appears to be introducing not merely a piece of praise of the magistrate, but a proper poem<sup>1</sup> celebrating his qualities. The text of this poem has not been preserved; see HARRISON 2000, 35.

17,19 **serum... serium**: the subtle note that the poem might be seen as a rather 'late' tribute seems to indicate some criticism of Apuleius on the part of Orfitus; see earlier on 17,5. The point is immediately softened by the claim that the poem will also be very useful and is likely to find favour with the entire audience. The wordplay *serus / serius* adds to the desired effect. A similar wordplay is made in *Met.* 3,29 (73,11) *mihi sero quidem, serio tamen subuenit ad auxilium* and *Met.* 5,6 (107,15-6) *tantum meminere meae seriae monitionis, cum coeperis sero paenitere*.

17,20 **quos... securitatem**: an effective piece of flattery. The excellent proconsul is said to have pleased and served the young and the old alike. The repeated references to *pueri, iuuenes*, and *senes* now prove functional, in that they tie together Apuleius' poem, the proconsul, and the audience at large.<sup>2</sup> The three nouns *satietatem, hilaritatem, and securitatem* are closely parallel in sound, rhythm, and length.

**temperato - remedio**: rather vague terms for 'moderate and reasonable conduct' of the magistrate, with which he has given every generation what it needed.

17,21 **refrenet**: this is the reading of F $\phi$ , which is commonly changed to *refrenet* (a suggestion by Piccart). With *refrenet*, the nouns *modestia* and *uerecundia* would simply be

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have argued that *carmen* here refers to a composition in prose; e.g. OPEKU 1974, 328, who adduces the example of Cato's *Carmen de Moribus* (cf. *Gel.* 11,2,2) and the Twelve Tables (cf. *Cic. Leg.* 2,59). But apart from these scanty references to archaic texts, *carmen* no doubt refers to a song or poem; cf. OLD s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously, AUGELLO here notes that Orfitus has understood the 'secret message of the song of the birds'. This rather misses the mark.

nominatives. However, it is possible to retain the MSS reading, with HILDEBRAND, if we interpret the nouns as ablatives: 'I fear... that you will hold me back on account of your noble mildness or my natural modesty.' In the expression *mea ingenua uerecundia* we see Apuleius' false modesty at its best.

17,22 **nequeo quin**: the achievements of the proconsul are said to be so great that they *must* be celebrated at some length. For the whole thought cf. *Apol.* 48,5 *Hic ego, Maxime, quanquam sedulo inpraesentiarum a laudibus tuis tempero, necubi tibi ob causam istam uidear blanditus, tamen sollertiam tuam in percontando nequeo quin laudem.*

**attigam**: the reference to what exactly is to follow is not fully clear. According to HARRISON 2000, 122 'the extract clearly stops just at the point where the promised poem is to be recited.' This, however, does not account for Apuleius' words in 17,21-22, which would seem strange in relation to an already finished poem that is about to be recited. With the suggestion of improvisation (*nequeo quin...*), they rather suggest that before the *carmen* about Orfitus will be presented, a prose survey of Orfitus' many virtues follows. The use of the rather technical *recognoscite* 'examine, check' seems to confirm this. The situation would then be more or less parallel to that of *Fl.* 18: a preparatory speech leading up to further literary work, in that case hymns preceded by a dialogue (18,38-9).

**ciues... seruati**: an impressive and formal way of addressing the audience.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, it is not clear in what sense the Carthaginians had been 'saved'.

After *recognoscite* the end of 'book III' is marked in F with a *subscriptio* as follows: *APVLEI PLATONICI FLORIDORVM LIB. III. EXPLIC. INCIPIT IIII.*

### XVIII CARTHAGE'S GREATEST REWARD

*I do not need to apologize for my speaking in a theatre: you have come in great numbers. I hope my speech will rise to the occasion (I often perform less well before a home audience)! I always highly estimate you as my parents and teachers, and so you get more value than Protagoras did. This talented sophist trained his pupil Euathlus to become an orator, but the young man refused to pay the salary he was due. The teacher and the pupil harassed each other with petty, sophistic arguments that could be inverted. How much better was the reward of the philosopher Thales! When he told someone about one of his astronomical discoveries and was asked how much he wished to receive for it, he answered that it was enough for him to be acknowledged as the inventor.*

*This too, Carthaginians, is my remuneration to you: I celebrate you all over the world! Today I will sing a bilingual hymn of your patron god Aesculapius. It will be preceded by an equally bilingual dialogue between Safidius Severus and Julius Perseus, two excellent men. The text will start in Greek, but Severus will perform the Latin part.*

This is the last of the longer pieces in the collection (9; 15; 16; 17; and 18). In length it does not come far behind the longest piece (16), and it parallels it in appearing to be a more or less complete preparatory speech. The lavish praise of the city Carthage and its

inhabitants, the loosely connected anecdotes about famous Greek philosophers, and the self-conscious attitude of the speaker mark it as a typical product of the Second Sophistic.

There is nothing conspicuously missing at the beginning, which may therefore be the actual opening of the speech. The first paragraphs start in a rather apologetic tone, similar to 16 and 17. In this case, it is the location of a theatre that apparently needs some justification. The thought, very akin to that of the short *Fl.* 5, is developed at some length with ample illustrations and ornaments, notably two verse quotations from ancient drama.

This is followed by some ostentatious expressions of modesty and doubt, that strengthen the ties between the audience and the speaker and prepare the ground for the antiquarian anecdotes. As in many of the earlier pieces (e.g. 9; 14; 15; and 16) these involve some famous names from classical Greek philosophy. But *Fl.* 18 is special in that it has *two* successive anecdotes that are partly contrasting: the first story about Protagoras and Euathlus (Diels-Kranz, Protagoras A4) focuses upon paradoxes and sophistic tricks and is left unresolved, with even some outright negative qualifications (18,28). The second story, about Thales (Diels-Kranz, Thales A19), is then presented as a positive example of a 'good' sort of reward, not consisting in money but in esteem. Of course, it is the second example which Apuleius himself claims to follow. Both stories must have belonged to common Second Sophist repertoire; for the former cf. Diog.Laert. 9,56 and Gel. 5,10 (where the story is told at length, as an example of *argumenta reciproca*); further Quint. 3,1,10; for the latter see Julian *Or.* 3,162,2. The style employed by Apuleius in these two anecdotes is somewhat simpler than in the surrounding parts, which show a clearly epideictic style; cf. STEINMETZ 1982, 197-202.

Having thus positioned himself even further, Apuleius proceeds to the sequel of his the preparatory speech: a religious hymn to Aesculapius (Asclepius), preceded by a dialogue in prose. This double follow-up resembles that of *Fl.* 17 (see note on 17,22). Both the poem and the dialogue are said to be bilingual. Again, the texts in question have not been preserved. In his preparatory remarks, Apuleius cleverly adds to the praise of Carthage with which the piece opened, while making sure to celebrate himself too as a famous citizen, a priest, and a literary artist. The religious atmosphere recalls the solemn tones of *Fl.* 1 (see notes there), while the element of 'bilingualism' was already touched upon in 9,29.

Although the initial impression may be one of superficial, careless talk, as in some of the other pieces (notably *Fl.* 17) the sequence of thought is well-ordered and seems studied to celebrate Apuleius himself as a man of culture and religion. The text creates an lively impression of improvisation and festivity and it may stand as one of the most accomplished pieces in the collection.

The setting is made clear in the text itself: Apuleius is addressing the people of Carthage in the local theatre or odeon (STEINMETZ 1982, 197). On the other hand, there is no way to establish an exact date for the piece; it may have been some time in the mid 160s (cf. on 18,16). The characters in the dialogue may have been pupils of Apuleius. One of them, Julius Perseus could be the same as the man after whom the *Aquae Persianiae* were named (see note on 16,2). The context of Apuleius' performance might be a festival of Aesculapius, as HARRISON 2000, 123 suggests. For *Fl.* 18 as one of the pieces concerned with *studiis ornata Carthago*, see SANDY 1997, 16-20. For the text as a

<sup>1</sup> HARRISON 2000, 122 compares the Roman *corona ciuica* granted *ob ciues seruatos*.

whole, see HJLMANS 1994, 1737 and 1770; and HARRISON 2000, 122-5; further MRAS 1949, 213-5.

- 18,1 tanta multitudo...**: an impressive opening, focusing upon the quantity of the audience. Cf. the opening remarks about the large audience in 9,1-6. Here the opening remarks function both as an indirect compliment to the audience and the speaker itself, and as a justification for their presence in the theatre. For the singular *multitudo* with a finite verb in the plural, see LHSz 2,436-7 (in the *Fl.* cf. further 9,1; 16,11 and 20,9).

**eruditionis amicos**: flattery of the audience becomes more outspoken. By implication, the reference extolls the speaker, who will apparently deliver a speech full of *eruditio*.

**dissertare**: the verb is used intransitively, as in *Apol.* 5,5-6 and 7,3. Apuleius' use of *disserere* and *dissertare* in relation to philosophical discourse (here exemplified by the word *philosophus*) may be considered symptomatic for the development of second century philosophy; cf. SANDY 1997, 191wn42.

- 18,2 pro amplitudine**: nothing negative is conveyed in the preposition. The large crowd is 'in conformity with' the city's populace, as is the location with the crowd.

**locus**: the theatre of Carthage, as will appear beyond doubt from the rest of the text. Although the theatre was an important element in several of the earlier pieces in the *Fl.* (notably *Fl.* 5; 9; and 16), it is more prominently present in *Fl.* 18, which even has concrete references to parts of the building. For a recent archeological survey of what is known about Roman theatres, see GROS 1996, 272-307; for theatres in Africa also ROMANELLI 1970, 153-169; on the culture of Roman Carthage and its material remains, see e.g. ELLIGER 1990, 126-66.

- 18,3 spectari debet non...**: the general argument is the same as in the parallel fragment *Fl.* 5, from a speech equally delivered in a theatre: *...qui sciatis non locum auctoritatem orationi derogare, sed cum primis hoc spectandum esse, quid in theatro deprehendas*. In the present case, the thought is amplified, with the speaker dwelling on various elements to which the audience should, slightly paradoxically, *not* pay attention. First, six architectural elements of the theatre are listed, in two groups of three closely parallel cola (marked by words that are rare or do not occur elsewhere, and homoeteleuton). These six elements are carefully ordered to represent the point of view of the audience: the pavement, the proscenium, and the stage are what spectators see right in front; the roof and the ceiling are above or alongside them, and the *sedilia* refer to their own position. The next group of illustrations concern various performances in the theatre (as in 5,2). It consists of six specific examples (three of them also listed in 5,2) and a seventh, general one.<sup>1</sup> On the whole passage see FERRARI 1968, 130-1 and the long note by AUGELLO ad loc.

The enumeration is, of course, hardly necessary for the point the speaker wishes to make. It rather attests to his 'joy of description', allowing him to show his linguistic talent and to attract the attention of the audience.

<sup>1</sup> The parallels and differences between *Fl.* 5 and 18 convincingly show that the pieces have not been parts of a single performance.

**marmoratio... contabulatio... columnatio**: 'marble covering', 'flooring, boarding', and 'supporting with pillars'. Three conspicuous nouns in *-tio*, the first and the last ones not attested before Apuleius, the middle one occurring as a technical term in Caesar and Vitruvius (e.g. Vitruvius 10,15,3). See further previous note.

**proscenii... scaenae**: for the difference between the proscenium ('stage') and the *scaena* ('stage-building') itself, cf. Vitruvius 5,6,1 and 5,6,6, where some rules for the columns are also given. General schemes of Roman theatres may be found in handbooks on archeology; e.g. GROS 1996, 273.

**eminentia... refulgentia... circumferentia**: 'projection', 'resplendence', and 'circumference'. Another series of rare nouns (all feminine singular), the second one being a neologism, the third one a technical term occurring earlier only in Hyg. Gr. *agrim.* p.152; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 135.

Apuleius is obviously referring to a kind of roof or side-shelter in the theatre. Its underside was formed by a panelled ceiling, of which the 'resplendence' suggests decoration with precious metals or in strong colours. In his description of a Roman theatre, Vitruvius (5,6,4) briefly deals with a roof of the colonnade, on the highest row of seats, to be made level with the back wall of the stage.

**sedilium**: the last element comes closest to the spectators themselves; cf. note on *spectari debet non*.

- 18,4 mimus halucinatur**: the *mimus* is the first of six specialized artists performing in the theatre. He was also mentioned first in 5,2. In that passage, four groups were specified (the philosopher included), with an indication of the effect of their performance. In the present list, it is the performers' actions that are named. (*H*)*alucinari* is rendered as 'to wander in mind' by OLD s.v., but that sense is hardly appropriate here.<sup>1</sup> Some less drastic qualification of the *mimus*' performance seems required here, such as 'to fool' (cf. BUTLER's 'the foolery of the mime'). On actors in mimes, see also on 4,3.

**sermocinatur**: 'uses language of ordinary conversation' (OLD s.v.). The verb is used as a contrast to the more lofty and pathetic language of the tragic actor (*uociferatur* 'utters loud cries'). Later in *Fl.* 18 the verb will return to describe the action of two speakers in a written dialogue (18,39).

**funerepus**: for tightrope walkers, see note on 5,2.

**praestigiator**: 'juggler'; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 45,8 *sic ista sine noxa decipiunt, quomodo praestigatorum acetabula et calculi, in quibus me fallacia ipsa delectat*.<sup>2</sup> Like other theatrical performers, they enjoyed a reputation that was not unblemished. Notably, they later occur in negatively coloured lists illustrating 'immoral' luxury; cf. e.g. Hist. Aug. *Ver.* 6,11; a Christian example is Arnob. 2,38 (*quid prodest mundo...*) *quid pantomimos, quid mimulos histriones cantores tuba tibiis calamoque flantes? quid cursores, quid*

<sup>1</sup> Other translators have widely varying guesses here: 'foots' (Anonymous, Bell edition); 'jouer des rôles burlesques' (VALLETTE); 'Grimassen schneidet' (HELM); 'se entrega a sus fantasías' (SEGURA MUNGUÍA); '(il mimo) con le sue cantafavole' (AUGELLO); 'grollen uitkraamt' (HUNINK). The most recent translator (HILTON) simply renders it as 'hallucinates'. TLL s.v. *alucinor* 1878,24f. offers no explanation of the sense.

<sup>2</sup> The passage from Seneca illustrates the sort of entertainment a juggler could bring: *acetabula* refers to small cups used in thimble-rigging, and *calculi* to small stones.

*pugiles, quadrigarios desultores grallatores funiambulos praestigiatos?* Apuleius may have known the word from Plautus, where it can mean 'trickster' (e.g. *Am.* 830).

**furatur:** here the normal sense 'to steal' (as in *Fl.* 11,2) must be softened. The word has obviously been selected for its form, being a deponent just as the surrounding verbs. The reference is to a juggler's trick of making objects disappear to show his dexterity.

**histrion gesticulatur:** the sixth example refers to a performer in pantomime making mimic gestures. For the *histrion* cf. e.g. *Apol.* 13,7, where he is also mentioned in combination with actors of tragedy and mime.

**ludiones:** a *ludio* is a relatively rare old word for a stage-performer (for whom *ludius* is more common); cf. e.g. *Liv.* 7,2,6. Sometimes, the sense is more specific 'dancer' (cf. OLD s.v.), but here the more general meaning is to be preferred, since the remark concludes the list on a general note.

**18,5 ratio... oratio:** finally, we hear what does deserve consideration for the speaker and his spectators: their motivation for gathering and the speech he will pronounce. The pair *ratio* / *oratio* already occurred in 13,3 (see note there). Here, *ratio* connected with the audience is somewhat strained, but it has obviously been chosen for the effect of the combination.

**18,6 ille tragicus:** the identity of the tragic poet and the origin of the quoted line (*Inc.* 81 Warmington [II,612]) are unknown. Some scholars follow Ribbeck in assuming that it comes from the *Antiopa* of Pacuvius; cf. MATTIACCI 1994, 53wn5 and HARRISON 2000, 123, but there is no definite clue as to this. By all means, the poet is likely to have been famous, as is shown by the parallel expression *ille comicus*, referring to Plautus. Similarly too, the line may have come from the prologue of a tragedy. The geographical location indicated by the line, to which the poet has transported his audience, must be Thebes, the Cithaeron being a mountain near this town.

**18,7 ille comicus:** this is Plautus, as the first line of the fragment itself makes entirely clear. Many of his plays are set in Greek cities. The lines are the opening of Plautus' *Truculentus*.<sup>1</sup> The line must have appealed to Apuleius not only for its mention of the poet and the location (Athens), but also for the abundant alliteration and the archaic forms. For verse quotations in the *Fl.* see on 2,3 (another line from the *Truc.*).

**18,8 non secus...:** although the speaker's own performance has been argued to differ from other forms of theatrical show, the speaker now cleverly uses a theatrical convention as a parallel for his own performance. Meanwhile, his example is closer to home: the audience is invited to imagine themselves in the senate or the library of Carthage. The repetition of *substituere* (cf. 18,6) drives home the parallel.

**bybliothecam:** the public library of the town, which was apparently well-stocked. On the library of Carthage, not much is known apart from the present text, see GROS 1996, 372-3.<sup>2</sup> In *Apol.* 91,2 Apuleius mentions public libraries as a source of his information.

<sup>1</sup> In MSS of Plautus, the lines seem to have been corrupted. The Oxford edition by Lindsay prints the lines as they are given by Apuleius and Prisc. *De metr. Ter.* (Keil 3,421,14f.) only replacing *partim* with *partem*.

<sup>2</sup> GROS compares *Anth. Pal.* 284 (Shackleton-Bailey) *pomposi fori scrinia publica*, which might refer to a library, and specifies a building in the town that might be identified as the library. Cf. also RIVES 1995, 27, who suggests that Apuleius may refer to a relatively new building of Antonine date, constructed at the western end of the southern plaza of Carthage.

The same speech also refers to private libraries (41,4 and 53-6). On the basis of Apuleius' extant oeuvre, we may safely assume that he disposed of an extensive library himself. The spelling *bybliotheca* is a common variant for *bibliotheca*.

**18,9 habetote:** according to CALLEBAT 1968, 502-4 Apuleius uses the imperative in *-to* under the influence of comedy, but that is not the only possible explanation (cf. also discussion in GCA 1985, 205). Here, the archaic and formal imperative surely adds to the weight of the passage. Elsewhere in the *Fl.* it only occurs at 15,11 *esto*.

**18,10 pro amplitudine auditorii:** the repeated reference to the numerous crowd provides a smooth transition to the next apologetic thought.

**prolixia:** the reference is, of course, not to sheer length, but to other qualities of a speech: it must be 'copious' or 'wide-ranging' to match the qualities of the audience. For the combination with *oratio*, cf. *Fro. Ant.* 1,2,4 (Haines II,40). Its opposite is *claudere* 'to limp' (a metaphor regularly used in connection with speech; cf. OLD s.v. 2).

**18,11 uerbum... qui aiunt...:** the construction is probably loose, *qui* being the nominative plural of the relative pronoun. Alternatively, *qui* could be explained as the relative adverb (as e.g. HILDEBRAND).

**querimonia:** 'a subject for complaining' (OLD s.v. c). For the general idea that no blessing comes without a disadvantage, HELM compares *Pl. Am.* 634-6.

**mellis et fellis:** the combination of gall and honey had become proverbial, notably in the context of love. Cf. e.g. *Pl. Cist.* 69 *Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus*; further e.g. *Cas.* 223; and see MATTIACCI 1986, 196-7. In Apuleius' works, cf. *Met.* 2,10 (33,8-9) *caue ne nimia mellis dulcedine diutinam bilis amaritudinem contrahas* (with notes in GCA ad loc.). For a non-metaphorical example, see e.g. *Plin. Nat.* 28,167.

**ubi uber, ibi tuber:** literally 'where there is a (woman's) breast, there is a swelling'. For this graphical proverb there is no parallel; see OTTO 1890, 352 (nr.1803); and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 160-1. Modern languages do not seem to have an exact equivalent. The sense equals that of 'there is no rose without thorns' (OLD s.v. *uber* 1, 1).

**18,12 sum - cunctatior:** surely, Apuleius' display of timidity and hesitation is no more than a pose intended to win the audience over. *Cunctatior* is a rare comparative of the participle *cunctatus* 'more hesitant', which occurs in *Suet. Jul.* 60 *nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus est* (a passage Apuleius may have had in mind).

**18,13 disceptau:** for the verb, cf. on 18,1 *dissertare*.

**inlecebris - cohibeor:** the paradox that appearing before a home audience is more difficult, after it has been introduced by the standard formula *mirum dictu*,<sup>1</sup> is elaborated in three parallel cola, each containing an oxymoronic combination of a noun and a verb.

**18,14 adhortamina:** 'incentives'. The word is not used before Apuleius and is coined with one of his favourite suffixes (*-men*); see FERRARI 1968, 112-5, who also points out (113-4) that it must have sounded solemn.

The speaker argues that he might well feel confident since he is well known and loved throughout the city. His idiom is effective, with six parallel cola mentioning elements of his biography in chronological order: birth and youth, schooldays and training in philosophy (*secta*), and works delivered orally and in written form. In a further display

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, this expression is used no less than 13 times by Pliny the Elder, much more than any other author; cf. e.g. 8,128; and 9,63.

of modesty all six elements are expressed by means of double negations. The last element suggests that Apuleius was actually read by the Carthaginians and met with their approval.

**18,15 ita mihi et patria...**: the thought of 18,14 is repeated and amplified in 18,15-6. The order of the various elements remains the same: *patria, pueritia, magistri, secta, uox, libri*. Some elements are merely mentioned once again (*pueritia, magistri*), while others are given additional details. Notably, in the first and fourth last element the speaker wishes to highlight the Carthaginian connection. In the case of (Platonic) philosophy, which was so firmly connected with Athens, the most he can make of it is that his training started in Carthage.

**patria**: Madauros. The issue is dealt with at some length in Apuleius' self-defence; see *Apol.* 24-25,4. There Apuleius speaks with obvious pride about his native town, calling it a *splendidissima colonia* (*Apol.* 24,8). The city was permitted to send delegates to the provincial council, which met in the capital Carthage (hence *id est uestro*). This council was in charge of the provincial cult of the emperor and elected the annual provincial priest; cf. RIVES 1994, 283.

**Athenis Atticis**: a typically Plautine juncture: cf. *Pl. Epid.* 502; *Mil.* 100; *Ps.* 416; *Rud.* 741 *immo Athenis natus altusque educatusque Atticis*; and *Truc.* 497.<sup>1</sup> It is also used by Apuleius in *Met.* 1,24 (22,12) *apud Athenas Atticas*.

Apuleius here provides a small piece of evidence (often referred to by scholars) concerning his travels and education, attesting to his study in Athens. In *Apol.* 72,3 he refers to a stay in Athens *ante multos annos*. Since that speech is dated in 158/9, the stay in Athens must have taken place in his early youth. See further notes on *Apol.* 72,3 and *Fl.* 15,1 (travels).

**18,16 utraque lingua**: cf. note on 9,29 (with ref.). Here the 'bilingual' note serves to expand the fifth element, concerning the actual live performances by the speaker. It also foreshadows the bilingual display which the audience is promised in 18,38-43.

**ante proximum sexennium**: 'for the last six years'. For the spelling of the intermediate vowel in *proximum*, see ALLEN 1996, 56-9.

This is another piece of evidence for Apuleius' biography. At the time of *Fl.* 18 he had been active as a public speaker in Carthage for six years. This could be reconciled with the established fact that his trial took place in 158/9. He might, then, have moved to Carthage right after it had ended. This would result in a tentative date for *Fl.* 18 in the mid 160's; cf. also SANDY 1997, 4 and HARRISON 2000, 123.

**libri mei**: regrettably, we do not know what books Apuleius refers to. The relative and absolute chronology of his works presents various additional problems; cf. introduction to *Apology*, I,20-22.<sup>2</sup>

**non alia - comprobantur**: '(my books) are nowhere given other praise and are more highly rated than in your positive judgement.'

<sup>1</sup> In a context of bilingual expertise the combination occurs in Plin. *Ep.* 4,3,5 *Hominemne Romanum tam Graece loqui? Non mediis fidiis ipsas Athenas tam Atticas dixerim*. Cf. here *Fl.* 18,16 and 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> We may be tempted to assume that at least a more or less revised version of his self-defence was known and had become popular. However, not even of this can we be sure.

**18,17 totiuga**: see note on 9,24.

**uos - prolectant**: after the repeated references to a positive general attitude of the audience towards the speaker (notably *uideor - suffragia* 18,12; *multa - adhortamina* 18,14; and *iudicio uesto comprobantur* 18,16), this is one step further: the audience is said to feel enticed to listen.

**audendum**: Vossius' correction for  $F\phi$  *audiendum* is no doubt right. For another pun on *audire / audere*, cf. *Apol.* 18,12.

**18,18 mercedem uobis rependo**: Apuleius repays the Carthaginians for what they have taught him. This thought forms the transition to the two contrasting anecdotes to follow shortly. Tacitly, the speaker puts himself on a par with famous Greek sophists such as Protagoras and Thales, as he does so often. For the notion of repaying, cf. earlier 16,32 *remuneratione dicendi*.

**uideo quid postuletis**: a reference to a reaction from the audience. This creates a strong and vivid suggestion of improvisation. We may compare several instances in the *Apology*, e.g. 7,1; 55,12; and 98,2 (with notes). Further *Soc.pr.* 1 (103) *qui me uoluitis dicere ex tempore...*; and notably 5 (111) *iamdudum scio quid hoc significatu flagitetis*. Cf. also *Fl.* 16,5.

**18,19 Protagora**: the first of the two stories is about Protagoras of Abdera and his pupil Euathlus (Diels-Kranz, Protagoras A4). The parallel ancient versions of the tale present some differences. In Diog.Laert. 9,56, we read only Protagoras' argument launched at Euathlus, without further comment. Gel. 5,10 tells the story at some length as an example of *argumenta 'reciproca'*, with some additional details: half of the sum was paid in advance (5,10,6) and the trial was about the other half; the judges left the trial undecided (5,10,15). According to Quint. 3,1,10 Euathlus actually paid 10,000 sesterces and published Protagoras' teachings in a textbook: *Abderites Protagoras, a quo decem milibus denariorum didicisse artem, quam edidit, Euathlus dicitur*. It is, of course, impossible to detect the 'historical truth' in matters like this. The anecdote has clearly inspired variant versions, much as in mythological tales.

Protagoras is not mentioned elsewhere in Apuleius' extant works. For his description as a sophist, cf. e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 1,63 *Protagoras... sophistes temporibus illis uel maximus*; for his fees e.g. Plato *Prot.* 349a and Arist. *EN* 1164a24. As to the ending of Greek names in *-as*, Romans hesitated between *-as* and *-a* (see Quint. 1,5,61, adduced by HELM).

**multiscius**: cf. 3,9 (with note) and 9,24.

**cum primis - repertoribus**: Protagoras is generally counted among the first names in the history of rhetoric; cf. e.g. Plato *Phaedr.* 267c; further Diels-Kranz, Protagoras B6. Quint. 3,1,8-10 and others mention Corax and Tisias as the first writers of handbooks in this field; see e.g. KENNEDY 1994, 30-5. According to Cic. *Brut.* 12 Protagoras was the author of pieces later known as *loci communes*.

Earlier in the *Fl.* other Greeks were hailed as first 'inventors' of things; see notably 15,19 (Pherecydes), 15,22 (Pythagoras) and cf. Hippias as the maker of various utensils in *Fl.* 9. See also below on 18,30 (Thales).

**Democriti**: this philosopher (460-371 B.C.), mentioned in *Apol.* 27,1, is named here for the sake of name-dropping, so it seems. Both Protagoras and Democritus were born in Abdera in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and may therefore be called

contemporaries. Protagoras, however, was about 30 years older (he lived ca. 492-421 B.C.), and is generally considered the teacher rather than the pupil of Democritus. The latter, however, is suggested here (*ei* refers to *Protagora* and *doctrina* probably to Democritus' expertise as a *physicus*). For the tradition that Protagoras was his pupil, see e.g. Diog. Laert. 9,50 and 53; and Gel. 5,3; further DAVISON 1953, 38-9 who suggests that this version may be due to the Epicureans.

- 18,20 eum Protagoram:** for the repetition of the name, cf. on *Apol.* 4,8 *eum quoque Zenonem*.  
**cum - Euathlo:** Euathlos is only known from the ancient sources that tell the present anecdote about his teacher Protagoras. Gel. 5,10,5 calls Euathlos *adulescens diues* and see also Quint. 3,1,10 (quoted above on 18,19). For *sibi* reinforced by *suo*, see on 16,14.  
**mercedem nimis uberem:** the point that a large sum of money was involved is confirmed in the parallel versions of the story (e.g. Gel. 5,10,6 *mercedem grandem pecuniam*), although details differ (see on 18,19).  
**tirocinio agendi:** cf. the similar expression in *Apol.* 94,3 *tirocinio orationis suae*.  
**18,21 igitur...:** here starts an unusually long sentence (18,21-3), of which the main verb is *coepit*.<sup>1</sup> Several conspicuous words and sound effects function as ornaments.  
**exorabula - dicentium:** three parallel cola, the first two involving rare words. *Exorabula* (neutr.pl.) 'entreaties' is used before Apuleius only by Pl. *Truc.* 27. For *decipulum* 'trap, snare', cf. *Met.* 8,5 (179,19) with note by GCA 1985 ad loc.; the word occurs in *Laev. poet.* 29 and appears to be archaic too. The third combination, however, is much more common, referring only to 'tricks of speakers'; cf. FERRARI 1968, 94-5.  
 Apuleius' tone here is deprecatory and his judgement of sophistic rhetoric seems very negative. This reflects a general prejudice that is likely to be shared by the audience. Cf. also below on 18,26 *ueterator*.  
**alioqui:** 'otherwise'. HELM prints *alioqui <n>*, but in F the word is written without final *-n*. I follow VALLETTE here.  
**uersutus... ingeniatus:** the teaching by Protagoras came in addition to his Euathlus' natural talents for cleverness. No Roman reader will have failed to notice the echo of the opening line of the first Roman epic, Liv. Andr. *Odissia* 1 (W), *uirum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum*. The word does, however, also occur in other authors, e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 3,25 (see Pease ad loc. for more places). *Ingeniatus* strikes another Plautine note; before Apuleius it occurs only in Pl. *Mil.* 731 (and once in Gellius).  
**18,22 nectendis moris:** 'by connecting delays' (cf. OLD s.v. *necto* 9b).  
**diutuleque - reddere:** for the adverb *diutule* see on 2,1. Apuleius uses a simple but effective contrast between *agere* (sc. *causam*) and *reddere* (sc. *mercedem*). The text has been slightly corrected by Brantius (F has *a se re uelle*, which is impossible to construct).  
**18,23 ambifariam:** 'in a way that places an opponent in a dilemma', 'in a way that proves an opponent's arguments to be self-contradictory' (OLD s.v.). The word occurs in a similar context in *Apol.* 4,8 (*Zenonem*) *qui primus omnium sollertissimo artificio ambifariam dissoluerit* (see note there for further discussion). For adverbs on *-fariam*, see on *Fl.* 7,9.  
**18,24 nam si...:** the agreement was that Euathlus had to pay as soon as he had gained a trial. Now Protagoras sues his pupil. He argues that (a) if Euathlus is condemned, he must pay

<sup>1</sup> Possibly it is the context of 'lessons in oratory' that has inspired Apuleius to produce a little showpiece himself.

on account of the verdict, and (b) if he wins his case, he must pay on account of the agreement. Euathlus argues the other way around: (c) if I am put in the right, I do not have to pay, and (d) if I lose my case, I do not have to pay either.

It would seem that the paradox can be solved, since two different types of arguments are involved: two based on the principle of common law (a and c), and two based on that of the particular agreement (b and d). If both parties had first come to terms as to which principle of the two was to prevail to settle their dispute, the matter would have been clear to them at least.<sup>1</sup> The judges, meanwhile, have good reason to feel baffled, and it is no surprise that according to other sources (see 18,19) the matter was left undecided.<sup>2</sup> If the matter had been judged according to Roman law, in the end the principle of 'equity' and 'fairness' would probably have worked in favour of Protagoras' case.

**inquit:** not all Greek sophists and thinkers in the *Fl.* are presented as speaking words in direct speech. Cf. only 2,1 (Socrates); 14,2 (Crates); 18,27 (Euathlus); 18,34 (Thales).

- 18,25 condicionem... damnationem:** Protagoras is aware of the two sets of principles: the terms of the agreement and common law (see previous note). But by not clearly distinguishing them, he may be said to have set a trap for himself, since his argument can easily be reversed.

- 18,26 quid quaeris?:** cf. *Apol.* 82,5 *quid quaeris? uerisimile omnibus uisum*. The reasoning (*ratio*) of Protagoras appears to have convinced to the judges; see, however, above on 18,23.

**inuincibiliter:** both adverbs, *acriter* and *inuincibiliter*, must be taken with *conclusa* (cf. OLD s.v. *concludo* 8). *Inuincibiliter* is not attested elsewhere and may have been coined by Apuleius; see FERRARI 1968, 140 and TLL s.v. 214,15f.

**ueteratoris:** 'old hand'; see on *Apol.* 77,2. The word is a very negative comment on Protagoras. By contrast, the speaker seems to have at least some sympathy for the clever pupil.

**biceps... argumentum:** a twofold argument or dilemma. The use of *biceps* in combination with the abstract *argumentum* is rare, but the choice of words is clearly influenced by the preceding *anceps* (18,23).

- 18,27 si uinco <r> - uinco[r] sententia:** there is a textual problem here, with F reading *uinco* and *uincor* respectively, which is clearly wrong. The common correction of the text is: *si uinco <r>, condicio, si uinco[r], sententia.* HELM in his *Addenda* solved the problem by transposing *sententia*, reading *liberat <sententia> si uinco, condicio, si uincor*. But the

<sup>1</sup> If common law was to prevail, Euathlus would simply have to pay or not, according to the decision of the judges. If, however, the private deal was to be the ultimate argument, Euathlus would *not* have to pay if the judges ruled that he should, since in that case he had not gained his trial; but he *would* have to pay if the judges ruled that he should not, since he then had won his first case.

<sup>2</sup> The story does not clearly say what exactly Protagoras had sued his pupil for. If we assume that he merely requested 'payment according to the terms agreed,' the judges might in fact have reached a decision. For strictly speaking, at the moment of their verdict no payment was yet due, since no trial had been won. It is only *after* their verdict had been pronounced and the trial had formally ended, that Euathlus could be said to have gained it and that the terms of the agreement applied. But then the matter would no longer concern the judges.

correction to *uincor* and *uinco* was made already in  $\phi$ , and the transposition of *sententia* involves a greater change; cf. also STEINMETZ 1982, 200n94.

**condicio... sententia:** Euathlus merely copies the two principles adduced by Protagoras (18,25).

**18,28 nonne uobis...**: having presented the anecdote in a rather negative manner (cf. on 18,21) the speaker now clearly takes advantage of the latent feelings of the audience. For all its admiration of Greek culture and philosophy, it is likely to have been ill-disposed to judicial hairsplitting and 'squabbling of sophists'.

**spinarum:** the contrasting arguments are compared with thorns that are blown forth by the wind but cling together. The image is a manifest echo of a Homeric comparison: cf. Hom. *Od.* 5,328-30 'as when in autumn the North Wind bears the thistle-tufts over the plain, and close they cling to one another, so...' (tr. A. Murray). *Spina* can also be used as a metaphor for 'thorny questions' (OLD s.v. 1b), an echo that is no doubt intended here too; cf. e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 4,79 *Panaetius nec acerbitatem sententiarum nec disserendi spinas probauit*.

**penetratione:** the noun does not occur before Apuleius and seems newly coined by him for the occasion, to elaborate the element of 'clinging together' in his Homeric echo; see FERRARI 1968, 131.

**18,29 senticosa:** 'thorny'. The word continues the Homeric image even further. For the rare word OLD quotes Afran. *com.* 1 *senticosa uerba*. The word further recalls *Fl.* 11,1 *senticeta*.

**multo tanta:** *tanta* should not be taken with *illa altera merces*, but reinforces *multo*. The phrase is Plautine and occurs repeatedly in Apuleius' works; see e.g. *Apol.* 3,11 (with note by Butler/Owen) and *Met.* 7,15 (165,15) *multo tanta pluribus*.

**18,30 Thales:** the second story is about a much more legendary figure, Thales of Miletus, who lived in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Before Apuleius tells the story, he starts by giving a summary of information about Thales' achievements in science. The story itself (Diels-Kranz, Thales A19) is less well known than the first one about Protagoras: there is only one, late variant in Julian. *Or.* 3,162,2.

**ex septem - uiris:** Thales was generally counted among the Seven Wise Men.<sup>1</sup> *Memoratus* does not refer to any earlier remark about the Seven Wise men, but has the common sense of 'notable'. For Thales' leading position among the Seven Wise Men, cf. e.g. Cic. *Ac.* 2,118 *Thales, unus e septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt...*; and *Leg.* 2,26 *Thales, qui sapientissimus in septem fuit*.

**geometriae... primus repertor:** Thales was generally renowned as a pioneer in Greek philosophy, just as Protagoras was hailed as one of the inventors of rhetoric (18,19; see note); some important testimonia for this are listed by Pease on Cic. *N.D.* 1,25. His fame is highlighted in a parenthesis with three parallel cola, in which a noun on

<sup>1</sup> The canonic list also includes Cleobulus of Lindus, Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, Pittacus of Miletus, Bias of Priene, and Periander of Corinth, but variant lists existed too; for the canonic list see Diels-Kranz I, nr.10, which also gives the famous maxims attributed to each of the seven men.

-*tor* stands out: *repertor... explorator... contemplator*.<sup>1</sup> For his fame in astronomy, cf. e.g. Hyg. *Astr.* 2,2,3 *Thales enim, qui diligenter de his rebus exquisiuit*.

**certissimus:** cf. *Apol.* 40,4 *omnis uetustatis certissimus auctor Homerus*.

**maximas:** Thales' discoveries concern important astronomical phenomena, some of which are specified in 18,31. Apuleius also playfully contrasts their 'greatness' with the 'small' geometrical lines by means of which Thales reached his conclusions.

**18,31 temporum ambitus...**: 'the cycle of seasons'. This is the first of a list of phenomena said to have been discovered by Thales. The list is carefully constructed, with elements of steadily increasing length: three combinations of a noun on *-tus* preceded by a genitive plural are followed by three combinations of three words each, consisting of a plural noun on *-cula* with an adjective and a genitive (*tonitruum - reuerticula*). The long final element concerns the phases of the moon and is internally divided into three closely parallel cola (*itidem lunae - obstacula*). The length of the list, the construction, the rhythm and the rare words all contribute to an impressive overall effect.

**reuerticula:** the new word *reuerticulum*, probably coined by Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 125-6 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 125), refers to the coming around again of heavenly bodies. Cf. also *Met.* 3,11 (60,9-10) *per annua reuerticula*. For Latin astronomical terms derived from the verb *uertere*, see LE BOEUFFLE 1987, 268-70.

**itidem:**  $F\phi$  has *idem* here, probably through confusion with 18,32 *idem*. Editors generally adopt Kronenberg's suggestion *itidem* (for which HELM compares 6,12). One may consider whether Colvius' *item* would not involve a smaller change.

**lunae:** for the various phases of the moon cf. notably *Soc.* 1 (116-7) *lunamque, solis aemulam, noctis decus, seu corniculata seu diuidua seu protumida seu plena sit, uaria ignium face, quanto longius facessat a sole, tanto largius illustrata, pari incremento itineris et luminis, mensem suis auctibus ac dehinc paribus dispendiis aestimans...* That passage shows parallels also on the level of vocabulary. For *senesco* used of the moon ('to wain'), see examples in OLD s.v. 3c.

**dispendia:** 'losses (of the waning moon)'. A rare use of *dispendium* instead of the normal *damnum*; see LE BOEUFFLE 1987, 111.

**delinquentis obstiticula:** a difficult phrase with a textual problem. The sense must be 'that which blocks it when it eclipses', 'its state of being concealed during an eclipse'. The form *obstiticula*, found in  $F\phi$ , produces a word not attested elsewhere. It is often changed to *obstacula* (HELM and others),<sup>2</sup> but is rightly defended by ARMINI 1928, 333-4 ('id quod impedimento datur') and retained by VALLETTE. Particularly its rhythmic structure and sound make it a perfect match of *miracula, curricula, and reuerticula*.

**18,32 experiundo comprobauit:** an interesting allusion by Apuleius to his own work in the field of science. We find scattered references in the *Apol.* too, e.g. 40,5 (zoology) and 48,1 (medicine); and cf. in general LE BOHEC 1996.

<sup>1</sup> For similar combinations cf. e.g. *Apol.* 22,10 *Hercules lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium dormitor*; further 64,7; 93,2 and 74,5 and 6 (in a context of invective).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also TLL s.v. *obstaculum* 238,33f, where some parallels from astronomical texts are adduced. Nonetheless, TLL does not exclude *obstiticulum*, which is given a separate entry, printed with a question mark (244,77). It is somewhat surprising to find FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 125n79 rejecting the reading of  $F\phi$  because it does not occur in other authors.

**quoties - metiatur:** 'how many times the sun with its diameter measures the orbit it passes along'. A rather complex astronomical notion,<sup>1</sup> of which it may be doubted that it was intelligible to the audience, especially since no further explanation is given. The speaker here obviously aims merely to impress his audience. For some technical observations on Thales' discovery, which appears to be quite accurate, see WASSERSTEIN 1955.

**18,33 Mandraytum Priensem:** the person is not known from other sources, which makes it somewhat difficult to establish his exact name. The form *Mandraytus* is given by Fϕ, for which HELM adops Crusius' emendation *Mandrolytum* (also in RE s.v. Mandrolytos). Since both names are rare, the MSS reading is to be preferred, as it is in VALLETTE's edition.

**impendio:** 'greatly'. An adverb often used by authors of comedy, e.g. Pl. *Aul.* 18, and by Apuleius, e.g. *Apol.* 3,9; *Met.* 2,18 (39,17).

**pro - rependi:** the same verb was used in 18,18 for Apuleius' *merces* paid to Carthage. This, of course, underscores the parallel drawn between Thales and Apuleius. For the sense of *documentum* (here clearly connected to (*e*)*docere*), see on 15,18.

**18,34 Thales sapiens:** no doubt is left about the excellence of Thales. He was given the same complimentary epithet *sapiens* in 18,18 and he was introduced in 18,30 as the most eminent among the seven Wise Men.

**repertorem:** Thales merely asks to be acknowledged as the founder of the theory. The great interest of Greeks and Romans in 'first inventors' already surfaced on several occasions in the *Fl.*; see 18,19 (with note).

**18,35 omnibus nobis:** the reference is mainly to erudite men and scholars such as Apuleius himself, who can appreciate and understand Thales' findings, or even personally check their accuracy (18,32). But the use of the first person plural surely also invites the audience to share in the feeling expressed by the speaker.

**caelestia studia:** the adjective pays another compliment to Thales, but its literal sense is clearly operative here too, given the context of astronomy. For a similar case, cf. *Apol.* 49,1 *caelesti quadam facundia*. Shortly, Carthage itself will be called *musa caelestis* (20,10).

**18,36 hanc - mercedem:** having finished both anecdotes he promised, the speaker returns to his initial point (18,18). By consistently repeating *merces* (and *rependo*) he clarifies his thought to even the least bright members of the audience. The rest of the sentence (*pro disciplinis - adeptus*) is an expression of gratitude for the education received, and so rephrases 18,14-5.

**ubique enim...:** a proud assertion intended to celebrate the Carthaginian audience and its speaker alike (note also the easy transition from *me* to *uos* and forms of *uester*). The sentence consists of five main clauses with verbs in *-o* in final position (the last four each counting three syllables). The first two clauses are connected by anaphora (of *ubique*), whereas the last three are closely parallel with an object (*disciplinas, opes, deos*) followed by a conspicuous adverb (*studiosius, gloriosius, religiosius*). The marked

<sup>1</sup> In Diog.Laert. 1,24 (partly restored on the basis of the present testimonium) we read even the 'exact' number: 720 times.

position of the religious element is deliberate, since it clearly prepares for the following lines on religion.

**18,37 principium:** the word may seem strange after some five pages of speech. This shows the flexible nature of introductory speech, where a new starting-point may be taken at virtually any given moment.

**Aesculapio:** the god Aesculapius is reverently praised as the special protector of Carthage. So it is this god who was meant with *uestros... deos* (18,36). Aesculapius (Asclepius) is clearly one of Apuleius' favourite deities.<sup>1</sup> In *Apol.* 55,10 he recalls a speech delivered on his arrival in Oea (155/6 AD) *de Aesculapii maiestate*. That speech, so it is claimed, enjoyed great popularity among the people of Oea, equally praised by Apuleius for their religious fervour. Below, Apuleius will add that he was a priest of Aesculapius (18,38; see also on 16,38). For Apuleius' connection with the god see further note on *Apol.* 55,10; and e.g. BEAUJEU 1983, 396-7. On the public cult of Aesculapius in Roman Carthage, see notably RIVES 1995, 181-4.

**indubitabili numine:** a rare, imposing juncture. TLL s.v. *indubitabilis* (a comparatively rare adjective by itself) does not quote a parallel.

**tegit:** this is one of several conjectures (this one by Krüger) for Fϕ *strepit*. One might consider retaining that original form, comparing Fro. *Aur.* 3,9 (Haines I, p.50) *lucum, qui Capitolium montem strepit*, where *strepo* seems to have an active sense 'fill with noise'; cf. also note by Van den Hout ad loc. (43,17; p.117). But that sense would seem quite inappropriate here, since it is difficult to conceive of any specific sound made by Asclepius; remarks to that extent by HIJMANS 1994, 1777 remain unconvincing, if only because they leave *indubitabili numine* and *propitius* out of account. *Tegit* 'guards, protects', is also used of a god by e.g. Sall. *Hist.* 1,77 and gives good sense. Alternatively, one could adopt the older, slightly longer conjecture *respicit*, defended by VALLETTE.

**18,38 hymnum:** on several occasions Apuleius refers to his own poetry. In the *Fl.* cf. notably the *carmen de uirtutibus Orfiti* (17,18); in the present case too, the poem itself has not been preserved; cf. HARRISON 2000, 34-5.<sup>2</sup> Apuleius himself counts *hymni* among the literary genres he masters; see 20,5. For references to his bilingual performances in Africa see 9,29 with note. This the only time a bilingual poem is announced.

The word *hymnus* is very rare in classical Latin (OLD does not even have an entry for it). Before Apuleius, the only certain occurrence is in a fragment of Seneca's lost work *De Matrimonio*, Sen. fr. (Haase 88). In Apuleius' works other than the *Florida*, it occurs in *Mun.* 29 (355) and 35 (368); further *Ascl.* 38 (83,3-4 M.) *hymnis et laudibus* (for the authenticity of the *Asclepius*, see HUNINK 1996). After Apuleius, the term is widely employed by pagans and Christians alike, invariably referring to a song in praise of the gods (or God); on the terminology see LA BUA 1999, 7-35, esp. 31-3.

<sup>1</sup> Apuleius' interest in the god seems to owe much to the syncretism of the deity with the Punic god *Eshmun*, a religious development which took place as early as in the third or second century b.c.; cf. BEAUJEU 1983, 397 and LIPINSKI 1994, 24.

<sup>2</sup> There is a Greek prose hymn on the god by Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 42).

**non ignotus - antistes:** Apuleius presents himself as a man of religion, much as in *Fl.* 1 and *Apol.* 55-6. All three nouns (*sacricola*, *cultor*, *antistes*) refer to his religious activity in relation to Aesculapius. *Sacricola* 'devotee' is rare; cf. only Tac. *Hist.* 3,74. The negative formulation recalls his self-portrait at 18,14 *nec lare alienus - inlectus improbatusque*. Apuleius' priesthood clearly is that of Aesculapius; cf. RIVES 1994 and 1995, 184<sup>1</sup> and see on 16,38.

**prorsa et uorsa facundia:** 'with fluency in both prose and poetry'. Prose and poetry are, of course, often juxtaposed, as in *Fl.* 3,10 *seu oratione seu uersibus malis*; cf. further e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 94,27 and see OLD s.v. *prorsus* (2) 2. Earlier in the *Fl.*, Pherecydes was mentioned as the inventor of prose: see 15,19 with notes.

18,39 **utraque lingua:** the same juncture was used in 18,16.

**dialogum:** the prose genre of 'dialogues' was, of course, inspired by the example of Plato. Apuleius elsewhere too claims to write in this genre; cf. 9,28 *nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis*; and 20,5-6 *Plato dialogos... Apuleius uester haec omnia*. Among the fragments of Apuleius' lost works, there are traces of a translation of the Platonic *Phaedo* (Fr. 9-10 Beaujeu; cf. HARRISON 2000, 23).

Little can be said with certainty about the dialogue presently announced, apart from what Apuleius tells us: it is bilingual (which seems to be an unique feature in the genre), it precedes the hymn, it has two contemporaries as speakers, and its beginning (with one speaker reporting events of the previous day) is clearly modelled on the pattern of Platonic dialogues; see HARRISON 2000, 34.

**Safidius Seuerus et Iulius Perseus:** both men are praised by Apuleius as men of outstanding qualities and special merits for Carthage. Their biography is largely unclear:<sup>2</sup> nothing more is known about Safidius, but Perseus may well be the tax collector who gave the *Aquae Persianae* their name (see note on 16,2). As HARRISON 2000, 125 cautiously suggests, both may be pupils of Apuleius, which is an attractive and plausible suggestion.

Both men are lavishly praised, but any signs of deference or comparison with Apuleius himself (as in cases where Apuleius praises magistrates) are missing. This gives the praise a slightly superior tone, which would be quite natural for a master in antiquity recommending his pupils. Moreover, if Severus and Perseus are Apuleius' pupils, the stories in *Fl.* 18 about the teaching of Protagoras and Thales gain further relevance and

<sup>1</sup> On a rather speculative note, RIVES 1995, 183-4 suggests that the cult of Aesculapius had been introduced in Carthage by Iuleus Perseus (see on 16,2 and 18,39). This wealthy man might have requested permission to build a temple for Aesculapius at his own expense. The ordo, then, presented with the opportunity of obtaining a temple in honour of a widely worshipped deity, would have accepted the proposal, added his cult to the *sacra publica*, and instituted a public priesthood. Apuleius, then, would have been given the honour of becoming one of the first priests. These hypotheses are attractive, but there is, of course, no evidence for them.

<sup>2</sup> Even the spelling of their names is not certain. Many editions spell the second name as *Persius*, on the basis of a reading of late MSS and early editions. In his *Addenda* HELM ultimately restored the reading of FΦ. On the other hand, all modern editors accept Scriuerius' correction of the first name, spelled in Fφ as *Safidius*, to *Sabidius*. But as OPEKU 1974, 369 rightly points out, the change is not necessary, since the name *Safidius* is attested in an inscription from Africa: *CIL* 8,4028 *SAFIDIO IULIANO ET SAFIDIAE VICTORIAE*. Therefore, the MSS' spelling is retained here for both names.

sense. By implication, Apuleius might even hope to receive a 'fitting reward' from the two men.

18,40 **uiri...:** a fairly long piece of praise, carefully constructed in three parts with three subdivisions. The first one focuses on their feelings of friendship for one another, the audience and the common benefit. The second one highlights their *doctrina*, *eloquentia*, and *beniuolentia*, and the third one compares them in three more qualities: *modestia*, *industria*, and *honores*.

**utilitatibus publicis:** for the combination expressed in the plural cf. e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 7,18,5; Suet. *Tib.* 33,1; and Gel. 6,3,18.

**incertum:** the neuter can be constructed with indirect questions, with an ellipse of a verb; OLD s.v. 6b quotes i.a. Liv. 31,41,2 *clausurant portas, incertum ui an uoluntate*.

18,41 **aemulatio:** the final point of praise cautiously alludes to a certain 'rivalry,' but only on the conspicuously noble point of patriotism.

**medullitus:** 'from the depths of the mind', an expressive adverb with a distinctly archaic colour; cf. FERRARI 1968, 100-1, who quotes examples from Plautus and Ennius; the word also occurs later in Christian authors; cf. TLL s.v. 602,40f.

18,42 **auditu - religiosum:** another *tricolon*, consisting of parallel expressions involving a supine in *-u*, two of which are very rare (only *auditu* occurs regularly; the other two are unique forms; cf. s.v. *compono* 2111,70f and s.v. *dedico* 257,76f.). For the combination of supine forms, cf. 13,3 *auditu uenerabilis et intellectu utilis...* The three cola subtly connect the audience that attends, the speaker who composes, and the god who is celebrated.

**dedicatu religiosum:** there are some textual problems here. Fφ read (*composite congruentem et*) *dedicatur religio summo*, which obviously cannot stand. The emended text adopted here is that of HELM and is mainly based on proposals by Lipsius. VALLETTE differs only on two minor points: he accepts Kronenberg's addition of <de> before *dedicatu* and Lipsius' <et> after *gratissimum*. There is a lengthy discussion of the textual point in HIJMANS 1994, 1777-8, but the solution offered by him (<et> *mihi composite congruentem [et]*) *dedicatur religio summa*. (*In principio...*) seems virtually unintelligible. The text of HELM still offers the best and most attractive reading.

**quendam - condidicerunt:** earlier Apuleius already referred to his studies in Athens (see note on 18,15). Now he has one of his former fellow-students open the dialogue, questioning Perseus about the author and speaker himself. The whole situation would seem to confirm the idea that Perseus was a pupil of Apuleius (see on 18,39). The unnamed person provides a direct motivation for the use of Greek. Meanwhile, it is quite clear that this use of Greek mainly serves for the author to parade his knowledge and to create a proper setting suggestive of Greek culture and philosophy. Most of the dialogue will have been in Latin; cf. on 18,43.

**in templo - disseruerim:** a vague reference to a speech by Apuleius in the temple of Aesculapius. This speech is not specifically listed or discussed by scholars reviewing the lost works (BEAUJEU and HARRISON 2000, 32-4).<sup>1</sup> The mention of the god is functional:

<sup>1</sup> It is not entirely impossible that this speech is the same as the speech *de Aesculapii maiestate* referred to in *Apol.* 55, but that seems rather unlikely. For in that case, the setting of the dialogue with Severus and Perseus would not be Carthage in recent years, as seems most natural, but Oea at about 155/6. Another

he must have been the starting-point in the dialogue and probably played a dominant part in the rest of the piece.

- 18,43 Seuerum:** Severus is gradually brought into the dialogue, but he is said to speak Latin, unlike the unnamed fellow-student of Apuleius, and Perseus. It is not made clear whether the conversation itself was bilingual, or that Severus merely spoke after the other two. On the whole, the latter seems more likely: Severus may have been invited to summarize Apuleius' speech, which was probably held in Latin, and the rest of the dialogue may equally have been in Latin.

**Romanæ linguæ:** similar periphrases for Latin are used in *Met.* 11,28 (290,4) *sermonis Romani*; and *Mun.* 11 (313) *Romana lingua*.

**possit:** sc. *Romanæ linguæ partes agere*, or simply *latine loqui*.

**atticissabit:** a funny 'Greekish' verb found in Plautus: cf. *Men.* 11-2 *atque adeo hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen / non atticissat, uerum sicilicissat*, also adduced by FERRARI 1968, 95. Apuleius uses it too in *Soc.pr.* 5 *satis oratio nostra atticissauerit*. Cf. also on 15,26 *pythagorissat*.

Regrettably, the text of *Fl.* 18 ends with this word. Apuleius must have continued as he announced: first with the bilingual dialogue (probably reporting his speech on Aesculapius), then with the hymn. It is not impossible that still more was to follow, but by all means a religious hymn would certainly be a fitting and festive conclusion to his performance.

## XIX AN EXPERT'S EYE

*Asclepiades was a famous, skilful doctor. Once on entering his town he came across a well-attended funeral and he asked for the identity of the dead man, who had already been laid out. On closer examination, however, Asclepiades noticed some signs of life. So he immediately called for the ceremony to stop. Meanwhile, the audience showed mixed reactions and the next of kin resisted his intervention. But he managed to persuade them and to save the man.*

After the long pieces 15-18 the anthology ends with five short fragments. The first of these is a miraculous story about a famous doctor resuscitating a man on the brink of his burial. The main character is Asclepiades of Prusa, a famous doctor from the first century B.C. (cf. e.g. Cic. *De or.* 1,62), who made his spectacular discovery in Rome. The anecdote is also told by Cels. 2,6,15 and Plin. *Nat.* 7,124 and 26,15.

The text in *Fl.* 19 is clearly a section of a larger speech, but there is no clue as to what exactly preceded it. The extant fragment is dominated by the motif of 'Scheintod' ('apparent death') which also figures prominently in Apuleius' *Met.* and in the ancient novel in general. Above all, one may compare the imbedded tale in *Met.* 10,5-12. There

case could perhaps be made for the work called *Asclepius*, a dialogue of unknown date transmitted among the philosophical works of Apuleius; most scholars reject its authenticity, e.g. HARRISON 2000, 12-3, but arguments in defence of Apuleian authorship are given by HUNINK 1996. However, in the absence of further clues, the matter must be left open.

a young man (accidentally poisoned by his wicked stepmother) is considered dead and is even buried, but the truth of the matter is revealed by a venerable, old doctor, who in the end brings the boy back from the grave. Although that tale is much longer and more complex,<sup>1</sup> there are obvious parallels with our anecdote. On the passage in *Met.* 10, see the extensive notes by GCA 2000 (further the appendix on Apuleius' 'Phaedra', p. 417-32). Another tale of apparent death is to be found in *Met.* 2,27-30 but there no doctor is involved. Some more examples of apparent death may be found in Plin. *Nat.* 7,174-6.

The text does not contain neologisms or other conspicuous elements of style, apart from one or two uncommon words. Therefore, it seems to have been included in the collection for its content.<sup>2</sup> As an instructive and fascinating anecdote about a famous Greek expert with whom the speaker can identify, the piece is clearly comparable with other fragments in the *Fl.* For Apuleius' interest in medicine, cf. note on 15,17 and the introductory note on 16. Interestingly, Asclepiades' authority does not remain unchallenged, since he faces some doubts from the bystanders. This seems to reflect widespread scepticism about the medical profession.

Given the various motifs in the piece, the speaker may have continued along several lines. For instance, he could have dwelt on the importance of medicine, or on the human soul and consciousness. But the anecdote could also easily have been followed by remarks about moral sluggishness and lack of trust, or the benefit of professional curiosity. As often, the matter must be left open.

Being a short piece, *Fl.* 19 has attracted comparatively little attention from scholars, but some useful remarks are made by HARRISON 2000, 125-6. For a translation see also TATUM 1979, 165-6. On Asclepiades in general see RAWSON 1982 (esp.367).<sup>3</sup> The text presents us with quite a few textual problems (see notes below).

- 19,1 Asclepiades ille:** the famous Asclepiades of Prusa, who gained wide renown as a doctor in Rome in the first century B.C. (cf. introductory note). The rather bold statement that he was second only to Hippocrates is not paralleled elsewhere. It may be an exaggeration only current in Rome, as RAWSON 1982, 367n62 says, or simply a hyperbole added by the speaker.

**Hippocratem:** this is the only time the famous Greek doctor is named in Apuleius' works. Given Apuleius' interest in medicine and classical Greek culture this is quite remarkable.

<sup>1</sup> For one thing, it involves some judicial dealings and the gradual revelation of events. The most important difference with *Fl.* 19 concerns the role of the doctor. In *Met.* 10,11-2 it turns out that due to the foresight of the doctor the boy has received not a poison but a sleeping potion. His resuscitation is, therefore, much less miraculous.

<sup>2</sup> According to OPEKU 1974, 374 the text is less carefully finished than most of the other fragments (he notes some cases where a word is repeated, and other 'inelegancies'), and was not in fact delivered as it now stands, but rather is a model passage intended for further use. However, it seems hazardous to draw this radical conclusion on the basis of such observations.

<sup>3</sup> A more recent, rather theoretical study on the philosophical foundations of Asclepiades' medical ideas, is VALLANCE 1990. Here, Asclepiades' life is hardly discussed and the present passage from Apuleius is not even mentioned.

**ceteris princeps:** the dative with *princeps* is unusual. According to LHSz 2,113-4 it is modelled on the use of *praestans*, as in Enn. *Ann.* 68 (W) *fluuius qui est omnibus princeps*.

**primus - opitulari:** Asclepiades is introduced as yet another inventor (cf. e.g. on 18,19). Here it is the element of curing sick people by means of wine; for the notion see Plin. *Nat.* 26,14 *alias uinum promittendo aegris dandoque tempestiue*; that passage seems to have been in Apuleius' mind, as it also adds the element of 'choosing the right time'. See further Plin. *Nat.* 7,124 (on Asclepiades) *reperta ratione qua uinum aegris medetur*.

Medical texts from antiquity usually discourage the use of wine, and in the case of many diseases the consumption of any liquid was considered harmful. This would make Asclepiades' approach unconventional and new indeed. Speaking about Asclepiades, Cels. 3,14,1 and Plin. *Nat.* 26,14 mention another inventor of the medicinal use of wine: Cleophrantus. According to Pliny, Asclepiades wrote a book on the subject (*Nat.* 23,31).

**animaduuerterat:** most editors read *animaduuerteret* (with *v*), but the reading of *Fϕ* makes good sense: it refers to an earlier discovery by Asclepiades, which naturally explains his expert view of patients.

**praeclaros:** here too, the reading of *Fϕ* has been retained and not replaced with *praeueros* (Scaliger). What is required here is not a synonym of *inconditos*, as most editors would have it, but rather its contrast. 'Excellent pulses', as HILDEBRAND aptly explains, are those 'qui bene discerni possunt et certa stataque habent momenta.'

19,2 **ciuitatem:** this must be Rome, since Asclepiades is reported by other sources to have been active there. One cannot help wondering why Apuleius leaves the name of the famous city unmentioned. Perhaps this anecdote originally had its place in a firmly 'African' or even 'Carthaginian' context. That would have made the name of Rome less suitable for the occasion.

**rure suo suburbano:** no geographical name can be specified here with certainty, since estates and country houses were located in several areas around Rome.<sup>1</sup> The reference to such a *suburbanum* implies that Asclepiades was prosperous.

**pomoeriis:** the old word *pomoerium* originally referred to the bare strip of land round the walls of a Latin or Etruscan town, notably Rome; cf. Liv. 1,44,4-5. Here its plural merely functions as a stately synonym for 'borders'.

**funus... locatum:** 'a funeral procession in the state of being arranged'. Grammatically this is the direct object of *circumstare*. For the conjunction *funus locare*, cf. e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 9,11,10 (other examples in TLL s.v. *funus* 1603,38f.).

**obsoletissimos:** the superlative is not attested elsewhere. Here it is no doubt inspired by the preceding *tristissimos*; cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 111.

19,3 **incognosceret:** the text *ut incognosceret* is often changed to *utin <e> cognosceret* (Van der Vliet), but the change is not necessary. There is an entry for *incognoscere* in the sense of *cognoscere* in both TLL (7,1, 964,61, though with a question mark) and OLD ('to become acquainted with, get to know'; with examples). Therefore the MSS reading has been kept.

<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the popular region of Campania is a very likely candidate.

**ingenii:** HELM and some others insert *<humani>* after this word, to produce a general statement on human nature. But the addition is not necessary, and the words quite naturally refer to the special *ingenium* of Asclepiades only.

**quoniam - responderat:** Asclepiades had first asked some bystanders who the dead man was and how he had died, and only when he did not get an answer, he set out to see for himself. Alternatively, Apuleius then adds, he may have acted on his own accord, out of scientific curiosity.

**reprehenderet:** 'catch, take hold of'. The emendation of Wower *deprehenderet* is defended by HELM. But *reprehendo* does not necessarily imply criticism or censure; cf. OLD s.v. 1 'to grasp so as to prevent from moving forward', 'catch and hold'. Here it is used in roughly the same sense as *deprehenderet*. *Reprehenderet* is also defended by VALLETTE.

**prope deposito:** 'almost buried'. The word is also used in the parallel passage *Met.* 10,12 (245,12-3) *sepulchrum, quo corpus pueri depositum iacebat* (see GCA 2000, 187)

**fatum attulit:** the juncture sounds rather ominous, given the normal senses of *fatum*, and it would be natural to take it as 'he brought death'. But strikingly,<sup>1</sup> the very opposite appears to be meant: Asclepiades functions as 'a messenger of fate,' which has decreed that the man be restored to life.

19,4 **iam miseri...:** a long period follows (19,4-5), of which the main verbs are *pertractauit* and *inuenit*. The careful description of the body dressed for the funeral and of the faint signs of life matches the close examination by Asclepiades.

**dilibutum:** the original spelling in *Fϕ*, commonly normalized to *delibutum*. Forms with *di-* are, however, attested even in Cicero (see OLD s.v. *delibutus*).

**pollinctum:** 'laid out for the funeral', the participle of the rare verb *pollingo*, found e.g. in Pl. *Poen.* 63 *quia mi pollictor dixit qui eum pollinxerat*. The word also occurs in one of the fragments of Apuleius' novel *Hermagoras*: Fr.8 *pollincto eius funere domuitionem paramus*; see HARRISON 2000, 22.

**paratum:** HELM adds *<rogum>* before this word, but it is simply to be taken with *eum*. The suggestion *iam paene pyr <ae lo> catum* by PURSER 1910, 154 is ingenious but equally superfluous.

**enim:** to be taken with the preceding word *contemplatus*. Its position in the sentence is unusually late.

19,5 **quibusdam signis:** these signs are not specified, which lends a somewhat mysterious quality to the doctor's inquiry. As a matter of fact, Asclepiades may have been looking for movements of the pulse and the heart, and for signs of respiration.

**latentem:** as a climax, the crucial word is put in the final position. This brings out Asclepiades' careful scrutiny; cf. also on *iam miseri...* (19,4). In the whole passage, Apuleius emphasizes the care taken by Asclepiades in his examination. No doubt, he identified with this famous doctor too, as he did with other famous sophists and specialists in the *Florida*. For his interest in medicine, see e.g. on 15,17 and 16,20.

<sup>1</sup> Several editors have found fault with the text and proposed emendations; see HELM's apparatus. TLL s.v. *fatum* 363,38 lists our passage as an example of *fatum auferre* and so supports Wower's conjecture *abstulit*. But the surprise effect of the ambiguous *fatum afferre* may well be intentional.

19,6 **procul... abigerent**: a very lively example of free indirect speech begins here; cf. e.g. the near-repetition *amolirentur - demolirent* that adds some pathos. For examples of free indirect speech earlier in the *Fl.*, cf. e.g. on 7,6 and 14,4. The change of *abigerent* to *abicerent* (Stewich), accepted by HELM, is not necessary.

**rogum**: in other contexts, words like *bustum* and *rogus* may refer in a general sense to tombs (and so to burial rather than cremation); see also *Met.* 2,20 (41,13) with discussion by GCA ad loc. But here the suggestion of cremation is strong indeed, given the double reference to fire.

**cenam - referrent**: the funeral meal must be taken to a real dinner table, to be turned into an ordinary meal. The movement is the opposite of what was said about the poet Philemon after his unexpected death in 16,18, esp. *recta de auditorio eius exsequias eundum*.

19,7 **partim... partim**: opinions among the audience appear to be divided, with one group even making fun of medicine in general. Negative judgments and prejudices against doctors were widespread in antiquity; for a convenient survey see GOUREVITCH 1984a, 347-414.

**propinquis**: unlike most other famous Greek persons in the *Fl.*, Asclepiades does not succeed right away. Instead, he has to put pressure even upon the relatives of the man, whom one might expect to feel some hope at his intervention. The speaker ascribes their reluctance to lack of confidence, or, worse, to their material interest as heirs. For the latter motive, equally in a context of a tale on apparent death, cf. *Met.* 2,27 (47,18-9) (*haec... adolescentem...*) *ob praedam hereditariam extinxit ueneno*; see further 10,28 (259,1). Legacy-hunting is also a motif in the *Apol.*; cf. e.g. on *Apol.* 89.

19,8 **breuem mortuo dilationem**: with great difficulty Asclepiades obtains some delay for the 'dead' man. The words express some irony, which must be on the part of the speaker, for it is unlikely that Asclepiades would have used such words in pleading his cause. The negative qualifications in the rest of the sentence seem to confirm this.

**uispillonum**: a *uispillo* is 'one who is employed to bury those too poor to afford a funeral' (OLD s.v.). The rare word occurs notably in Suet. *Dom.* 17,3 (see also Jones ad loc.), where it highlights the ignominious death of the hated emperor. If the association of the word with 'poverty' is valid even in Apuleius' days, this would make the motif of legacy-hunting (19,7) less probable.

**postliminio**: the ablative of *postliminium* 'resumption (of civic rights)' (OLD) is regularly used by Apuleius as an adverb in the sense of 'back'. On some occasions, it occurs with a genitive ('back from'), as here: cf. *Met.* 2,28 (48,6-7) (*qui...*) *pepigit reducere paulisper ab inferis spiritum corpusque istud postliminio mortis animare*; and 10,12 (245,16-7) *discusso mortifero sopore surgentem postliminio mortis deprehendit filium*. Both examples occur in similar contexts of a resuscitation from apparent death, and the first even shows verbal parallels with our text.

**confestim**: the adverb was already used in 19,6 and is now repeated twice, probably to underscore Asclepiades' efforts.

**quibusdam medicamentis**: again a vague description of the doctor's activity (cf. on 19,5). A line in the parallel passage *Met.* 2,28 (48,19-20) may reveal what must have been done here: *herbulam quampiam ob os corporis et aliam pectori eius imponit*.

**prouocauit**: the text ends on a brighter note of success: Asclepiades has managed to revive the dead man.

It would seem reasonable that Asclepiades earned some respect or applause from the sceptical bystanders, but Apuleius need not have entered into further detail here. Given the various motifs he has touched upon, the speaker may have continued along several lines of thought (see introductory note).

## XX THE BOWLS OF CULTURE

*The bowls of the Muses are unlike the normal ones: the more you drink, the more they promote spiritual health. In Athens I have drunk from more such bowls than most other people: those of various arts and philosophy. Works of mine are available in all literary genres. But perhaps I earn some praise for my aspirations rather than my achievements. And what is more praiseworthy than celebrating Carthage? Carthage, you are the Muse of Africa!*

A splendid little fragment, in which Apuleius parades his manifold talents without a trace of shame, working on towards some jubilant praise of Carthage. The final praise of the town provides a clue for the context from which the lines have been isolated. No doubt, the speech was delivered in Carthage and it is likely to have contained more praise of the town. It might be argued that Carthage was only praised in the final lines (20,9-10) and that the speaker moved on to other topics, but the laudatory texts elsewhere in the *Florida* show that something more elaborate was to be expected.

In the *Florida*, as in the *Apology*, there is an intimate link between the self-praise and the complimentary address: the glorious career and renown of the speaker reflect credit on whom or what he praises and upon the audience that shares in it: the speaker, the audience, and the subject matter become united in a common celebration. Here, the strong and explicit self-praise might therefore be a sign that a special festive speech was to follow. The last lines of this fragment may even have been part of a laudatory speech of Carthage, as HUMANS 1984, 1738 suggests. By all means the speaker presents himself as able to rise to the occasion.

Earlier in the *Fl.* Apuleius never seemed unduly modest about his achievements and talents; he glorified them most explicitly in *Fl.* 9,24-9; 15,26-7; and also in 16,45 and 17,4 and 18. The present case perhaps surpasses the other ones in its claim of nearly universal erudition and its explicit self-comparison with a catalogue of famous literary names. As HARRISON 2000, 127 rightly points out, the list names individuals who are either used by Apuleius elsewhere as parallels for himself, or generally considered in the Second Sophistic as famous philosophers.

On closer scrutiny, the transition from self-praise to praise of Carthage is somewhat artificial and loose, in the habitual style of the *prolalia*: the change comes with the words *laus* (20,9). On the other hand, the fragment is given an unusual degree of cohesion by the motif of the Muses (20,1 / 20,6 / 20,10). It is attractive to assume that Apuleius himself played a major role in promoting education in Roman Africa and making Carthage the cradle of higher education in the West, as OPEKU 1993 argues, but for lack of evidence the extent of Apuleius' contribution must remain unclear.

The element of 'wine' forms a (rather marginal) link of *Fl.* 20 with the preceding fragment (19,1), as OPEKU 1974, 388 points out. The piece is often referred to in the scholarly literature for the testimony it bears to Apuleius' education and literary activities. For a closer analysis, see HARRISON 2000, 126-7. A translation of *Fl.* 20 is also given by TATUM 1979, 125.

- 20,1 sapientis uiri:** the 'wise man' to whom the following saying is attributed is not mentioned by name, contrary to what one might expect in the *Florida*, where so many Greek authorities are paraded.

The saying closely resembles an anecdote about the legendary Anacharsis the Scythian (sixth century B.C.) as told by Diog. Laert. 1,103 'It was a saying of his that the vine bore three kinds of grapes: the first of pleasure, the next of intoxication, and the third of disgust.' For other versions of the saying see Eubulus 93 (94) (Poetae Comici Graeci 5,p.244), who refers to no less than ten bowls, and Stob. 3,18,25; and full documentation in KINDSTRAND 1981, 141-2. Anacharsis is mentioned by Apuleius in *Apol.* 24,6 *apud socordissimos Scythas Anacharsis sapiens natus est.*<sup>1</sup>

**insaniam:** 'madness' or 'fury'. No doubt, the last stage indicated here is that of drunkenness. But in a comparable passage in Fulgentius, *insania* is taken in a more literal sense: Fulg. *Myth.* 2,12 *quattuor sunt ebrietatis genera, id est prima uiolentia, secunda rerum obliuio, tertia libido, quarta insania.* Here too, *insania* is the last of four consequences of wine-drinking. For ancient views on the effects of excessive drinking, see PANAYOTAKIS 1998, 118-9.

- 20,2 Musarum creterra:** a smooth transition from the old saying to a new thought, in which the 'bowls' are taken metaphorically and have an opposite effects to the real ones. The combination *Musarum creterra* is not attested elsewhere. The Muses will return in 20,6 and 10. They were earlier personified in *Fl.* 3 (3,7 and 13), where they even had an active role in the tale.

- 20,3 litteratoris... grammatici... rhetoris:** the schoolmaster (who taught reading, writing, and arithmetic), the grammarian (who taught grammar and literature), and the rhetorician represent the normal first three stages in ancient education. This testimony by Apuleius is unusually clear and succinct, whereas other formulations tend to be rather vague; see discussion by OPEKU 1993, 31wn2.

Syntactically, it is not certain whether the three genitives should be taken with *prima creterra*, *secunda*, and *tertia*, or with *rudimento*, *doctrina*, and *eloquentia*. Translators generally opt for the former solution, but the second one is given by HELM, who proposes *excitat* instead of *eximit* to make sense of *rudimento*. In his German edition he renders: 'erweckt durch die Unterweisung des Elementarlehrers'. It is difficult to decide here, but the latter solution seems to produce a more balanced structure and, more importantly, maintains the image of the bowls *of the Muses* (rather than those of teachers). The text has been restored in several places here (see HELM's crit.app.)

**potatur:** the verbal form is an impersonal passive. See on 2,8.

<sup>1</sup> As the defensive stand in the *Apol.* text shows, the Scythians as a whole had a rather bad reputation. Possibly, the barbarian connotations of the name Anacharsis have motivated Apuleius' present silence on his identity.

- 20,4 ego - bibi:** a proud piece of self-assertion. The speaker continues the metaphor of bowls of Muses, here represented by the various higher arts. The mention of Athens is surely intentional. The name of the city of culture and education must have sounded impressive in Carthage. The Carthaginian audience may already have been familiar with the idea that Apuleius studied there. For Apuleius and his education in Athens, see on 18,15; further SANDY 1993, 166-7.

The metaphor of drinking is also used in relation to philosophy by Fro. *Aur.* 4,3,1 (Haines I, p.2) *philosophiae quoque disciplinas aiunt satius esse numquam adtigisse quam leuiter et primoribus, ut dicitur, labiis delibasse.* The caution expressed by Fronto contrasts with Apuleius' proud statement, as TATUM 1979, 142-3 rightly observes.

**poeticae comptam:** the first bowl is that of 'poetry'. That Apuleius composed poems is clearly attested already in the *Apol.*, where some of them are quoted (*Apol.* 6 and 9).

The adjective presents a textual problem. The reading of F (*comta* with ~ on both o and a and — on m) has been emended in various ways, listed in HELM's apparatus<sup>1</sup> and ARMINI 1928, 333-4. *Comptam* (Leo) would seem the best, since it retains the metaphor of the bowl, as do all the following adjective of the list. ARMINI explains its sense as 'mixed', HARRISON 2000, 127n127 as 'polished'.

**geometriae:** although Apuleius' interest in geometry, as would be expected of a Platonist, is evident (see e.g. *Apol.* 16,6; *Fl.* 15,15; 18,30) and he is quoted in late sources as a writher on arithmetic (see HARRISON 2000, 32), no clear testimony exists of any work by him in this field.

**musicae:** again, the speaker's fascination for music is obvious, particularly to readers of the *Fl.* (notably *Fl.* 3; 4; and 15). In this case, we do have an indication that Apuleius also wrote a book on the topic; see Cassiod. *Inst.* 2,10, quoted by HARRISON 2000, 31; cf. also AVALLONE 1993, 163.

**dialecticae austerulam:** the fourth bowl is that of dialectics. This refers to the theory of argumentation, and possibly also that of logic. In the Apuleian corpus, there is a book on logic, the *De interpretatione* or *Liber peri hermeneias*, which may well be authentic; see Introduction to *Apol.* under B and B1.

For the negative qualification, cf. Gel. 16,8,16 on dialectics: *huius disciplinae studium atque cognitio in principiis quidem taetra et aspernabilis insuauisque esse ac inutilis uideri solet.* Here it is softened by a diminutive form: 'slightly dry'; *austerulus* occurs only here (cf. TLL s.v. 1558,21f.), and may have been coined by Apuleius for the occasion; cf. also FERRARI 1968, 121. The negative note is also effectively placed after some more splendid examples and it is even overshadowed by the following, highly laudatory reference to philosophy.

<sup>1</sup> HELM himself initially accepted Leo's correction to *comptam*, but in his *Addenda* changed his mind and accepted *commotam* (WIMAN). VALLETTE's *commentam* would be excellent as far as poetry is concerned, but cannot (like *limpidam* and the other adjectives) be applied to the cup, as ARMINI rightly remarks. The same can be said against *commotam*, it may be added.

**inexplebilem... nectaream:** two more fine adjectives describe the most outstanding bowl, that of philosophy. With this bowl 'one can never be filled enough'<sup>1</sup> and it is sweet as nectar. With the latter word, the image of the liquid subtly fuses with that of the 'divine' nature of the teachings. *Nectareus* does not occur in prose before Apuleius; see GCA on *Met.* 2,10 (33,15).

**20,5 canit enim...:** a list of six famous names from Greek philosophy and literature. For such lists, one may compare e.g. *Apol.* 9,6; 27,1; and notably 27,3, where Empedocles, Socrates, and Plato are mentioned together. The verb *canit* naturally governs *carmina*, and by extension is equally applied here to more prosaic genres such as *dialogos* and *historias*.

Four of the six names seem familiar to Apuleius and his audience: the pre-Socratic philosopher and poet Empedocles is also quoted in Greek at *Mun.* 32 (361); Plato was mentioned in *Fl.* 15,26; Socrates in 2 and 9,15; and Crates is the main character in 14 and 22. On the other hand, Xenophon and Epicharmus are mentioned only here in Apuleius' works. The references to the literary output of these six figures are mostly vague and conventional. The section is discussed by CARRATELLO 1973, 211-4.

As on other occasions involving Greek names, the text required several minor corrections. For a somewhat greater problem, see below on Crates.

**Xenophon historias:** Xenophon (ca. 430-355 B.C.) was well known among the Romans and was often praised for his 'sweet' (though not very powerful) style;<sup>2</sup> cf. e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 32 *melle dulcior, sed a forensi strepitu remotissimus*. He is also mentioned by Apuleius' contemporaries Gellius and Fronto. There seems to have been some discussion on the genre to which he was thought to belong: while dealing with historiography, Quintilian remarks *Xenophon non excidit mihi, sed inter philosophos reddendus est* (Quint. 10,1,75). A modern study about Xenophon as a historian is DILLERY 1995.

**Socrates hymnos:** the inclusion of Socrates in the list suggests that he was thought of as an author of hymns. The only text to confirm this is Diog.Laert. 2,42, where Socrates is alleged to have composed a paean on Apollo (a line of which is quoted). No writings of Socrates are extant and we may well question the historical value of Apuleius' testimony. The association of Socrates and hymns may partly be due to Plat. *Pol.* 607a, where Socrates accepts hymns as the only permissible form of poetry in the model state.

**Epicharmus modos:** Epicharmus (ca. 530-440) is the main representative of the old Sicilian comedy, which influenced both Greek and Roman comedy. He is known as a writer of mime and hence some editors have adopted *mimos* (first proposed by Reich) instead of *modos*. Recently, HARRISON 2000, 16n65 argued that *comoedias* (Teuffel) seems most appropriate here. However, the plural *modi* can simply refer to 'songs', 'tunes' or 'verse' (OLD s.v. 8b) and may be kept, with HELM and VALLETTE.

<sup>1</sup> The sense is somewhat unusual. In relation to vessels, *inexplebilis* would normally mean 'that cannot be filled', but that would not make much sense here. Surely, Apuleius does not suggest that the bowl of philosophy is in any way deficient. Cf. also TLL s.v. 1326,53f., suggesting enallage or an active sense 'quo quis non satiatur'.

<sup>2</sup> It is precisely this point which may have made Xenophon's works less interesting to Apuleius. This could explain his silence on the author elsewhere.

As HJMANNS 1994, 1747n132 points out, Epicharmus was reckoned to be a pupil of Pythagoras (e.g. Diog.Laert. 8,78). He is, therefore, not out of place in this list of verbal artists from the field of philosophy.

**Crates:** *F*ϕ read *Xenocrates* here, but Rohde's emendation *Crates* has found general approval. It is excellent, not only because of Apuleius' special interest in Crates, but also from the point of view of literature (Crates wrote parodies in verse, as also appears from *Apol.* 22,5).<sup>1</sup>

**20,6 Apuleius uester:** the ostentatious display of modesty is effective: the speaker manages to mention his own name, and at the same time creates the impression that he 'identifies with the audience'. The public is thus subtly made to share in his literary and other glory.

In the *Apol.* the name of Apuleius is mentioned ten more times, but it is invariably put in the mouth of other persons, mostly in direct quotes of allegations, e.g. 9,4 'Fecit uorsus Apuleius'. The other undisputed works of Apuleius do not use the author's name; cf. however *De interpr.* 4 (267), where 'Apuleius' is named four times in an example.

**haec omnia:** Apuleius indirectly testifies that he was active in all genres mentioned. Four of them already occurred in the parallel passage on his literary talents 9,27-9 (*poemata... satiras... historias... dialogos*); and see further 18,38-9 for *hymni* (and the term *carmen*). The rather vague *modi* need not be problematic either, since we may think in general terms of his *carmina ludicra* (cf. on *Apol.* 6,1).

**pari studio:** cf., again, 9,29 *atque haec et alia eiusdem modi tam Graece quam Latine, gemino uoto, pari studio, simili stilo*.

**maiore... facultate:** the seemingly modest statement barely veils the speaker's pride and his wish to receive due praise from the audience; for a similar pose cf. e.g. *Apol.* 5,1-2 on his eloquence (5,2 *potius spero quam praesto*).

**conatus - casu est:** 'trying is something to be praised, while the outcome is a matter of coincidence', a rather contrived antithesis.

**20,7 cogitata scelera... uindicantur:** Roman law normally dealt with actions and facts rather than plans or desires, but some important exceptions existed in the field of criminal justice. Notably the intention to kill (which in some cases could be proved on the evidence of magical practices) appears to have been liable to punishment; cf. CLERC 1995, 176 (with references). In the present context, the idea is mainly used for the sake of its rhetorical effect; cf. further V.Max. 6,1,8 *animus in quaestionem deductus est, plusque uoluisse peccare nocuit quam nec peccasse profuit*.

**cruenta mente, pura manu:** the notion is captured in a poignant formula with a strong rhythm. It has been created by the combination of two fairly regular collocations, *mens pura* and *manus cruenta*. Apuleius may have been inspired by the sound effect *cruenta mente*.

**20,8 ergo sicut...:** the idea of 20,7 is rephrased to mirror the speaker's own situation: aspiring to do commendable things deserves praise in advance.

<sup>1</sup> Another interesting proposal is *Xenophanes* (Casaubon), but that seems difficult to defend, particularly because Xenophanes (sixth century B.C.) was known for his irreverent criticism of Greek gods, a point Apuleius must have found rather unwelcome. In addition, chronological reasons speak against it: the list more or less moves from older to newer names and Xenophanes would appear strange as a final name.

20,9 **quae autem maior laus...**: the sequence of thoughts is fairly loose. Having presented himself as an excellent speaker, Apuleius starts on some exuberant praise of Carthage. This seems to have been his main concern in what originally followed this fragment (cf. also introductory note). He suggests that even his intention to praise the city will earn him praise in return.

Not surprisingly, the city is pictured as the centre of culture and education, and by clear implication matches both Athens (20,4) and Rome (see on 20,10) in this respect. This makes Carthage seem a most fitting subject for the famous and educated speaker. Praise of cities was, of course, a traditional practice in oratory; cf. e.g. Quint. 3,7,26.

**ciuitas... eruditissimi estis**: for the plural verb, cf. 18,1 *tanta multitudo... conuenistis*.

**pueri... iuuenes... senes**: the three groups are mentioned in a similar context in 17,18-20. All groups show some interest or proficiency in 'learning' and are thereby given a share in the celebration of culture.

20,10 **Karthago - togatorum**: a striking threefold address to the city itself, hailed with lavish praise as the teacher of the province, the Muse of Africa, and the Camena of the erudite. Such extensive praise of Carthage is not paralleled in earlier texts.<sup>1</sup>

The address of Carthage (the last mention of the city in the *Florida*) is constructed as a diminishing tricolon (five, four, and three words), as BERNHARD 1927, 292 remarks. It clearly reaches a climax in the third element with its distinctly Roman color in both *Camena* (see also on 9,14) and *togati* (see also on 9,10): so Carthage not merely represents Athens, but even Rome itself. See further FINKELPEARL 1998, 141-3, who even suggests that Apuleius polemically opposes the notion that Rome is the only cultural centre.

Such a conclusion seems too strong, but it may be recalled that the general picture of Carthage in Roman literature is rather ambivalent. Of course, the town was best known as the great enemy of Republican Rome, but on the other hand there is Vergil's sympathetic portrait of Dido, queen of Carthage.<sup>2</sup> Since the Gracchi there had been a Roman colony in Carthage and the place eventually took on a strong Roman character. Given this ambivalence, to Roman ears Apuleius' praise of Carthage as *Camena togatorum* may have sounded strange indeed, while Carthaginians must have relished it all the more.

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a late Latin poem by a certain Florentinus composed in praise of Thrasamundus, king of the Vandals (496-523), which surpasses even Apuleius in its praise of the city (lines 28-36): *Nam Carthago suam retinet per culmina laudem. / Carthago in rege inuictrix, Carthago triumphat, / Carthago Asdingis genetrix, Carthago coruscat, / Carthago excellens Libycas Carthago per oras, / Carthago studiis, Carthago ornata magistris, / Carthago populis pollet, Carthago refulget, / Carthago in domibus, Carthago in moenibus ampla, / Carthago et dulcis, Carthago et nectare suavis, / Carthago flores, Thrasamundi nomine regnas*. The poem comes from the Codex Salmasianus and may be found in *Poetae Latini Minores* 4,p.426-7 (Baehrens). Half a line of this poem is incorrectly referred to by SANDY 1997, 18 (who quotes it as *studiis ornata magistris*).

<sup>2</sup> On allusions to the Vergilian tale of Dido in the *Met.*, notably 8,1-14 and 10,2-12, see FINKELPEARL 1998, 115-83.

## XXI DELAY CAN BE GOOD

*Sometimes there are good reasons for a delay. For instance, if people ride a horse to travel as fast as possible and see an important man, they will stop and dismount, greet him, and walk part of the way together.*

In this fragment the motif of haste and delay is central. The text is too short to allow for any definite conclusions as to the original context, but it might have been the introduction to a piece of praise of a magistrate, as HARRISON 2000, 127-8 suggests. Perhaps a provincial governor has arrived unexpectedly, HARRISON adds, thereby impelling Apuleius to speak in his honour and to show his powers of improvisation. This seems possible indeed, but it could also be considered a little inept to introduce a tribute to a real magistrate with the fictitious example of paying due respect to an important person. The piece may also have been occasioned by some other unexpected event.

The fragment shows strong parallels with *Fl.* 1, which also concerned religious motifs for a delay. The possibility should not be excluded that the two fragments somehow belonged together. The text does not contain ideas that might be called particularly original or noteworthy. It is in fact most remarkable for its syntax: after an introductory sentence (21,1), the rest belong to one, huge periodical construction (with 21,2-3 producing an anacoluthon), of which the main verbs come only in 21,6-7. Within the *Fl.* one may compare the similarly complex syntax of 2,8-11 (for which see note on 2,8).

Some graphic details about the inconveniences of travel and the qualities of a good horse (illustrated with a line from Lucilius), and the picture of the traveller who dismounts and pays respect to the 'VIP' add to the liveliness of the piece. These points may have commended it for inclusion in the anthology.

21,1 **festinatio**: an element linking this fragment with *Fl.* 1 *quamquam oppido festinem*. Cf. further 16,24 *quantum ad uos festinanti satis uidebatur*.

**interpellatam**: 'obstructed, impeded'. *Esse* is left out, as in *Pl. Aul.* 661 *emortuom ego mauelim leto malo*.

**quippe et...**: here starts an extraordinarily long period, which makes up the rest of the fragment. It may be analyzed as follows: the clause *quippe et illis qui...* seems to function as an indirect object, but the expected verb does not come. Instead, after a final clause (21,2) and a parenthesis (21,3), the construction is irregularly resumed by *qui uolunt deuitare ac... deligunt*, which is a subject clause, followed by two further clauses (a temporal and a conditional one; 21,5), and finally by no less than ten main verbs (*cohibent, releuant, retardant, desiliunt, transferunt, adeunt, salutant, ambulat, fabulantur, insumunt*; 21,6-7).

**quibus - opus est**: 'those who need to go some way quickly'. For *curriculo* 'at a run' cf. *Apol.* 44,6; for *opus est* with a noun and a participle of the perfect see TLL s.v. *opus est* 857,70f., adducing e.g. *Pl. Cur.* 302 *celeriter mi hoc homine conuento opus est* and *Cic. Att.* 10,4,11.

21,2 **uti praeoptent...**: the diction remains somewhat recherché. One may note the alliteration of *p* and *q* and homoeoteleuton of *pendere* and *sedere*. The juncture *pendere equo* ('to

hang on a horse') is exceptional, with *pendere* referring to a lofty position (OLD s.v. 7) and perhaps suggesting the awkwardness of travelling on horse-back.

**propter - orbitorum**: four inconveniences of travel by carriage are given, all expressed by polysyllabic phrases of a noun with a genitive plural: the luggage, the weight of the carriage itself, delays due to wheels (which easily broke), and bumpy roads. Apuleius' negative picture largely corresponds to what is known about land transport in the Roman world. For instance, wheels of carriages were not equipped with springs, and the use of lubricants was virtually unknown; see LANDELS 2000, 170-85, esp. 179-81.

21,3 **adde et...**: in a parenthesis four more difficulties of Roman roads are added, in combinations that are even more closely parallel in sound (all with an adjective in *-um* and a noun in *-os*) and number of syllables: stones, trunks, streams, and hills. Curiously, the series resembles the one in *Fl.* 1,4 *colliculus... truncus... cespes... lapis*.

21,4 **hisce igitur moramentis**: there is a change of construction here (see note above on 21,1 *quippe et...*); for the use of *igitur* to resume an earlier element, see e.g. on 7,4. *Moramentum* is a neologism, probably coined by Apuleius by way of a change for *mora*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 116. The syntax is unusual too, *his... moramentis* being either a dative (OLD s.v. *deuito*) or an ablative (TLL s.v. *deuito* 866,37f.) dependent on *deutare* (see OLD s.v.).

**uectorem...**: the image of a horse is introduced in a sonorous clause, using two parallel junctures of long words (*diutinae fortitudinis*, *uiuacis pernicitatis*), two shorter ones (*ferre ualidum*, *ire rapidum*), and a verse quotation. For the terms applied here to a horse, cf. *Apol.* 21,2 *equus si uirtutibus suis polleat, ut sit aequabilis uector et cursor pernix* and the extensive description in *Soc.* 23 (which gives a verse quotation from Vergil's *Georgics*).

**uiuacis**: F has *uiuacae*, changed in  $\phi$  to *uiuacis*. ARMINI 1928, 334 proposes *uiuatae* ('living', 'full of life'), a Lucretian word (Lucretius 3,409 *stat cernundi uiuata potestas*; 558; and 680).<sup>1</sup> This is attractive, given Apuleius' fondness of Lucretius, and the additional sound effect it would produce (*diutinae / uiuatae*), but the old change in  $\phi$  seems preferable because of its MS' authority.

**qui - uno**: the quotation is Lucil. 506 (W). The archaic satirist (second century B.C.) was very popular in the time of Apuleius, and he is repeatedly quoted in Apuleius' works, e.g. *Apol.* 10,4 and *Soc.prol.* 1; cf. further MATTIACCI 1986, 167-9. *Gradu... uno* means 'with one stride' or 'at one level pace', as Warmington notes. The quotation is fitting in the present context, for *campos collesque* resumes *camporum riuos et collium cliuos* (21,3).

21,5 **tamen cum...**: for the syntax, cf. note on 21,1.

**concito**: 'rapidly', a rare adverb. Elsewhere Apuleius uses the juncture *concito gradu* several times, e.g. *Met.* 4,18 (88,17).<sup>2</sup>

**si quem - cognitum**: on meeting an important person, one will stop and pay respect to him, no matter how great one's hurry. The emphasis on *nobilem... bene consultum*,

*bene cognitum* may be an indirect compliment to some real person, as HARRISON 2000, 128 suggests, but we cannot be sure of this. The reading *bene consultum* ('of excellent wisdom') should not be changed into *boni consultum*, as PURSER 1910, 156 is inclined to do.

For the situation sketched by Apuleius there is a close parallel in Sen. *Ep.* 64,10 *si consulem uidero aut praetorem, omnia quibus honor haberi solet faciam: equo desiliam, caput adaperiam, semita cedam*. One may further compare Gel. 2,2,13 for an example from Roman history.<sup>1</sup>

**quamquam - festinent**: the phrase closely echoes 1,2 *quamquam oppido festinem*. For the relation with *Fl.* 1 see also introductory note.

21,6 **cohibent cursum**: the first of a series of finite verbs, that round off the periodical construction (see on 21,1). Whereas Seneca (see above on *si quem - cognitum*) merely used three verbs to describe the action of the traveller, Apuleius goes to considerable length in specifying it. The sheer accumulation of short clauses seems to illustrate the *mora* the traveller imposes upon himself, and so the syntax mirrors the sense (as in the similarly intricate description of the eagle in 2,8-11). The first three verbs (*cohibent*, *releuant*, *retardant*) best exemplify the point: the idea of 'slowing down the horse' is phrased by means of three different expressions (for *releuare* see OLD s.v. 3b).

**eam uirgam**: the word resumes *fruticem*. The horseman takes the rod in his left hand, in order to have his right hand free (*expedita*) to make a reverent gesture of salutation.

21,7 **diutule**: cf. note on 2,1. The striking adverb is immediately repeated.

**fabulantur**: a verb derived from colloquial language and comedy. It expresses the relaxed atmosphere of the encounter, with the important person asking questions and the traveller responding at ease. The verb *fabulari* seems to be one of the motifs in *Soc.pr.*, where it occurs in 2 and 4; see HUNINK 1995, 307-8 and 310.

**libenter**: the word is given some stress. The *mora* incurred as a result of the encounter is not merely taken for granted, but positively welcomed (cf. 21,1 *ut malis interpellatam uoluntatem*).

Having thus concluded the thought, the speaker is likely to have embarked upon some improvised topic, either a eulogy of some important person or an entirely different theme (see introductory note).

## XXII CRATES AS THE SECOND HERCULES

*Crates was famous as a counsellor. Just as Hercules once freed the world from monsters, so Crates fought wrong passions of the human soul and conquered these evils. He was a second Hercules and also came from Thebes, where he was counted among the most illustrious and wealthy men. But when he understood that everything is fleeting...*

<sup>1</sup> Curiously, there is no lemma *uiuatus* in OLD, although the word is well-attested.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the occurrence of *gradu* in the quotation from Lucilius prompted him to avoid the more regular expression here.

<sup>1</sup> Gellius quotes a fragment from Claudius Quadrigarius, who tells how Q. Fabius Maximus, the famous general, had to dismount and pay respect to his son, one of the consuls of 213 B.C. Apuleius is likely to have known the text of Quadrigarius, and he may even have inserted the anecdote somewhere in his speech.

This is yet another brief fragment about the Cynic philosopher Crates, who was already central in *Fl.* 14. The text first elaborates the comparison between the legendary Hercules who fought real monsters, and the philosopher who combatted monsters of the human soul. At the end, a second point is embarked upon: Crates realized the transitory nature of everything he owned but abandoned everything, adopting a radical, Cynic lifestyle. Curiously, this last thought is not completed here, as the text breaks off after the temporary clause. Most of the pieces in the *Fl.* are fragments, but such abrupt endings are rare; cf. only 2,11 and 11,2.

The last thought may be supplemented on the basis of *Apol.* 22 where the same idea about Crates is expressed with some detail. The parallel is particularly strong, because *Apol.* 22 explicitly draws the analogy between Crates and Hercules, who is hailed as the cleanser of the world (22,9). For Crates see further notes on *Fl.* 14; he was also mentioned as a writer in 20,5. Hercules occurs only here in the *Florida*, but he was widely popular in Greek thought as a model of the ideal man; see note on *Apol.* 22,9; further in general GALINSKY 1972, 185-230.

The relationship between this piece and *Fl.* 14 is unclear. Apuleius may simply have touched upon the topic of Crates on different occasions, as HARRISON 2000, 128-9 assumes (cf. also HJUMANS 1994, 1732). On the other hand, the possibility should not be excluded that both are fragments from one original speech. In that case what is now *Fl.* 22, with its introduction of the figure Crates, would obviously have preceded *Fl.* 14. In their original context, the pieces would then have been separated by some instructive and provocative sayings of Diogenes about rejecting earthly wealth (referred to in 14,1).<sup>1</sup>

The whole text of *Fl.* 22 is included among the fragments relating to Crates as testimonium V H 18 (GIANNANTONI).

**22,1 Crates ille...**: the opening of the piece closely follows the model already established by *Fl.* 7,1-4: a name with a demonstrative pronoun, followed by an epithet, a relative clause, and some parentheses finally resumed in a syntactically irregular manner (here 22,5 *igitur priusquam plane Crates factus est*). In Apuleius' rhetorical works even the best-known figures from antiquity are briefly introduced to the audience; cf. on 4,1; further e.g. *Apol.* 37,1 (Sophocles). If *Fl.* 22 comes from the same context as 14, it must have preceded it, given the manner in which Crates is presented here (see also introductory note).

**Diogenis sectator**: Crates' teacher Diogenes of Sinope is also mentioned in 14,1. He inspired Crates to adopt the Cynic way of life.

**ut lar familiaris**: as it is Apuleius' habit, an aspect of Greek culture is presented in strikingly Roman terms, the *lar familiaris* being the typically Roman tutelary god of the hearth. Cf. also *patris familias* in 22,2.

**22,2 nulla domos...**: a parenthesis that breaks the regular syntax (see note on 22,1) starts here. Crates was welcome wherever he came. The detail is confirmed in other sources;

<sup>1</sup> In some older editions and translations, such as ANONYMOUS 1893, *Fl.* 22 is not given as a separate fragment, but is actually placed at the beginning of *Fl.* 14, with the number 22 then assigned to *Fl.* 23. The example here is the edition by Floridus (1688). All modern editors, however, divide the text as it is given in Fφ.

see notably Diog.Laert. 6,86: 'He was also known as the "Door-opener" (...) for his habit of entering every house and admonishing those within' (tr. Hicks); further Plut. *Quaest.Conv.* 2,1,6; (*Mor.* 632 E); Alciphr. *Ep.* 3,8,1. In later sources see also Julian. *Or.* 6, 201 B and Themist. *Peri aretes* p.45.

**litium - arbiter**: the description of Crates resembles Apuleius' self-portrait in *Apol.* 93,2 *ego uero quietis et concordiae et pietatis auctor, conciliator, fauisor non modo noua odia non serui, sed uetera quoque funditus extirpauit*. There may well be an implied parallel, as often in the *Fl.*, between the Greek figure who is celebrated and the speaker himself.

**22,3 quod... similiter**: the normal order is reversed here, and *quod* equals *aeque*; cf. LHSz 2,581 (d) on *quod* as a comparative particle.

**monstra**: for Hercules as the hero who cleansed the world and freed it from monsters, see *Apol.* 22,10 *Hercules lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor*. His legendary labours were widely celebrated in ancient literature, notably in Greek tragedy; e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1089-1102; and Eur. *Her.* 696-700. The monsters fought by Crates exist on a moral level, of course: being a *philosophus* he combats vices such as anger, jealousy, greed, and lust. The concluding words 'this philosopher was a Hercules' drive home the point. The double *monstra et flagitia* perhaps mirrors the double nature of what was fought by Hercules: human and animal monsters. Moralizing interpretations of Hercules' feats were given at an early stage; cf. the famous account by Prodicus of 'Hercules at the crossroads' presented in Xen. *Mem.* 2,1,21-34.

**22,4 familias purgauit**: by intermediating in various conflicts (22,2), Crates 'cleansed households.' The verbs employed here (*exigere, purgare, perdomare*) deliberately recall the labours of Hercules, specifically the task of cleansing the Augean stables.

**seminudus...**: three graphic details confirm the portrait given of Crates. Just as Hercules he is half nude, bears a stick, and comes from Thebes. The first two details belong to the standard outfit of the Cynic philosopher, as presented in the literature of late antiquity; see VOSS 1967, 125.<sup>1</sup> For Crates' case in particular cf. also 14,3 and *Apol.* 22,3 and 10. Many sources attest Hercules' Theban origin, starting with Homer (*Il.* 19,98-9).

**22,5 igitur...**: the construction is resumed and developed into its main clause. See note on 22,1. Some scholars wish to add <*is*> before *igitur*; cf. PURSER 1910, 156, who also wants to add <*Crates*> after *igitur*, which then produces a double use of the name as in 14,2. This, however, is not necessary.

**priusquam - factus**: before his conversion to Cynicism, Crates may be said to have been 'not his real self', 'not yet fully Crates.'<sup>2</sup> Earlier in the *Fl.* there also was some play with the question of his identity: *Crates, te manumitte!* (14,3).

<sup>1</sup> Voss suggests that this standard picture goes back to Apuleius' description in *Apol.* 22 and here. Although Apuleius' description certainly belongs to the earliest, it seems not safe to assume that his rhetorical texts influenced later generations to such an extent.

<sup>2</sup> Inevitably, one is also reminded of the metamorphosis of Lucius in the *Met.*, and particularly of his re-metamorphosis at the end, where he is transformed back into 'his former Lucius'; e.g. *Met.* 11,2 (267,23) *redde me meo Lucio*; further 10,29.

**inter proceres Thebanos:** the same point is made about Crates in almost the same words at *Apol.* 22,3 *uir domi inter Thebanos proceros diues et nobilis (...) habitus*.

**lectum genus...:** 'a distinguished family'. This is the first of five details illustrating Crates' former wealth and prominence. After the main verb *numeratus est*, the construction ends in rather free fashion again: the five details are added in paratactical order as separate nominatives.

The list includes two rare words. The noun *famulitium* ('domestic staff') is first attested in Apuleius; see GCA 1985,188 on *Met.* 8,22 (194,3-4). *Praediatus* ('possessing land') is a participle most likely coined by Apuleius for the occasion to match *uestitus*; cf. FERRARI 1968, 145 and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 143.

22,6 **nullum... praesidium:** Crates realizes that all his patrimony is of no avail as far as the good life is concerned. This cliché of moral philosophy will be varied in the final fragment on the sick man surrounded by useless wealth (23,3-5). For the implicit, moralizing exhortation cf. SANDY 1997, 186, who also adduces 2,2.

**eas omnes:** the construction is, again, rather loose. The pronoun *eas* most likely refers to what immediately preceded: *quidquid sub caelo diuitiarum est*, which should be taken as one whole: 'that the riches in the world are all in vain...'<sup>1</sup>

<ne> **quicquam esse:** the text is uncertain.  $\Phi\phi$  read *quicquam*, which seems hard to defend. Most editors write <nihil> *quicquam* (Van der Vliet), but the conjecture *nequicquam* (Becichem) involves a smaller change and is therefore preferred here.

Although the text breaks off here, the thought is fairly easy to supply: Crates radically rejected his possessions and adopted a Cynic lifestyle (see introductory note).

### XXIII WHAT REALLY MATTERS

*Take a ship - well-equipped as it may be, it will easily be destroyed if it does not have a helmsman. Or take a rich patient visited by a doctor - once he is ordered to abstain from food, his wealth is of no avail to him.*

A short, slightly enigmatic fragment is the last piece of the *Florida*. The text comprises merely two conventional examples from popular moral philosophy: the image of the ship that needs a steersman and the rich patient who needs a doctor. There can be no doubt that in the context the speaker must have highlighted the necessity of proper guidance by philosophy, contrasted with external circumstances that are useless by themselves.

Parallels between philosophy and navigation or medicine notably appear in Plato (e.g. *Pol.* 341 b-c); for a philosophical discussion of Socratic analogies of various forms of craftsmanship, see ROOCHNIK 1986. Maritime and medical analogies are also used by later authors, such as Maximus of Tyre; see TRAPP 1997, 75n33. MRAS 1949, 216 points to a Stoic background for the medical analogy. For the maritime metaphor, HUMANS 1994, 1738n102 refers to e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 76,13. Such parallels, it may be added, were

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, *quicquid - est* might be taken as a relative clause with the earlier *omnia; eas omnes* in that case would merely resume *diuitiae*. However, this would make the syntax even more irregular and would produce a less clear sense.

obviously so widely known, that the anthologist here could restrict himself to giving only the two examples, without explicitly relating them to a meaningful context. So whereas the text now dwells on irrelevant externals, what matters most is left implied.

This silence makes *Fl.* 23 a fitting piece to conclude the anthology. Behind many pieces in the collection there seems to be a deeper philosophical or religious significance, but the speaker usually refrains from really committing himself. He mostly prefers to allude to such higher wisdom as impressively and eruditely as he can, with the aim of giving a splendid performance to his public.

According to HARRISON 2000, 129-30 the extract most likely comes from the opening of a speech, on account of the fully elaborated similes (recalling *Fl.* 1 and 21). This is certainly possible, but given the conventional nature of the imagery, the fragment may have been extracted from virtually any place in a speech.<sup>1</sup> According to OUDENDORP, *Fl.* 23 was part of the same passage as 22. This seems less likely, if only because Crates is absent here, although both pieces might be fragments of one speech about the insignificance of wealth.

23,1 **sicuti...:** the fragment opens with the example of the excellent ship that will be damaged if it remains without a steersman. Since the exact notion for which the example is adduced has been left out,<sup>2</sup> the florilegist was clearly interested only in Apuleius' imagery. Moreover, given the circumstance that images of navigation and medicine were quite common in Platonic philosophy (see also introductory note), it is not the image as such but the particular expression by Apuleius which must have qualified this fragment for inclusion in the *Florida*.

The first sentence is relatively long and follows a syntactical pattern also used in other descriptive passages: the principal element (here *nauem*) is put in a front position and variously characterized, after which it is resumed (here *eam nauem* 23,2) and developed into a proper main clause. Cf. e.g. 22,1 with note.

**bonam - depictam:** the first group of characterizing elements consists of an simple adjective (*bonam*) and three participle constructions of increasing length (*fabre factam, bene intrinsecus compactam, extrinsecus eleganter depictam*). One may observe the additional effects of homoeoteleuton and alliteration (of *f-*), as well as the correlation between *intrinsecus* and *extrinsecus*.

**mobili clauo - contemplationem:** the second group of six adjuncts zooms in on various parts of the ship: its helm, ropes, mast, mast-head, sails, and its sailing-gear in general. All elements are expressed in ablatives (which may be labeled as ablatives of quality), loosely combined with the preceding accusatives. The last element is the longest of the whole list: it has two adjuncts of itself, *idoneis ad usum et honestis ad contemplationem*).

<sup>1</sup> For example, one may compare the section on poverty in the *Apol.* (17-23), which is developed into a proper *laus paupertatis* and also involves stock arguments and images. See e.g. 19,2-5 and 21,4-5 ('riches as a burden'; with the maritime element *gubernacula* in 19,5 and *natare* in 20,5).

<sup>2</sup> It may have been something like 'the splendour of a city is of little worth if it misses the guiding hand of philosophy'.

For the elaborate description of a ship, cf. *Met.* 11,16 (278,24-279,4) (the cult ship of Isis), which mentions its *malus*, *carchesium*, and other parts.

- 23,2 **eam nauem**: these words resume what has preceded, in the usual manner of Apuleius.  
**non agat... agat**: the combination is somewhat contrived. 'If the ship is not in the power of a helmsmen, or is in the power of a storm' it will easily sink or be dashed against the rocks.
- 23,3 **medici**: the second example of *Fl.* 23 is presented in a different fashion. A more parallel order of topics would have been 'Or take a rich man's house, with its various decorations: if the owner is sick and needs medical attention, it is of no use to him.' Instead, attention is directed to the doctors, which has the effect of variation. Throughout his works, Apuleius shows great interest in medicine; cf. notably *Fl.* 19.  
**tabulina - stantis**: four illustrations of wealth are mentioned almost in passing by (fine rooms, richly panelled ceilings, boys and young men). Interestingly, two of the four examples concern human beings, probably slaves. The detail of the handsomeness of the *iuuenes* adds an erotic touch to the description of opulence. For *lacunaria* in the theatre of Carthage, see 18,3.  
**iubet**: the subject is *nemo eorum*. No doctor will tell his patient to have courage only on account of his wealth.
- 23,4 **iuxtim**: a comparatively rare adverb, used instead of the regular *iuxta*. It has been formed with the suffix *-tim*, one of Apuleius' favourites (cf. e.g. on 9,30).  
**uenarum - captat**: the medical notion of 'checking the pulse' is phrased in a meticulous manner, highlighting all the doctor's successive gestures. *Momentum* 'movement, impulse' (see OLD s.v. 1) is here a near- equivalent of *pulsus*. For the whole point cf. 19,1 about Asclepiades: *qui diligentissime animaduverteret uenarum pulsus inconditos*; cf. also *pertrectat* and 19,5 *pertrectauit*.  
**male morbo haberi**: 'that he was in a critical condition'. The use of *habere* is unusual. It seems to have been inspired by the reflexive *se habere* with an adverb; as in Ter. *Eu.* 634 *male me... habens* and Tac. *Ann.* 14,51 *ego me bene habeo*; see further OLD s.v. *habeo* 21a.
- 23,5 **sua sibi**: for the reinforced *sua* see on 16,14.  
**seruitium**: the abstract noun is used as a collective singular (OLD s.v. 3a). It is followed by a verb in the plural form; see on 18,1 *tanta multitudo...* The fragment ends on an almost Saturnalian note: the slaves are said to be merrily feasting while their master has been put on a strict diet.

After the concluding words of *Fl.* 23 there is no *subscriptio* in  $F\phi$ , as there was after the first three 'books' of the *Fl.* (see on 9,14; 15,27; 17,22). This has been taken by some as an argument that the collection once included the prologue of *De Deo Socratis*. See, however, *Introduction*, C (with references). There are no sufficient reasons to doubt that the *Florida* end here.

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The bibliography lists the texts and studies used in preparing the commentary. The items are given in alphabetical and chronological order. Not all entries are explicitly referred to in the body of the commentary. The bibliography of the 1997 edition of the *Apology* contains a number of general studies of Apuleius that have not been referred to again here.

In the first part, text editions of Apuleius are mentioned. In the commentary they are referred to by the name of the scholar, printed in small capitals. Current modern commentaries on Apuleius and on other ancient authors are not specified here. In the commentary these are referred to by the name of the scholar, written in lowercase.

In the second part, books and articles concerning Apuleius and the *Florida* are listed. In the commentary these items are referred to by the name of the scholar, written in small capitals, followed by the year of publication. Only initial letters, not first names, are given here.

Wherever possible, abbreviations for journals are used as in *L'Année Philologique*; otherwise, journals are mentioned by their full name. General abbreviations: t.: text; tr.: translation; comm.: commentary; diss.: dissertation; ed(d): editor(s); n.v.: *non uidi* (I have not seen (this item)); repr.: reprinted. For other abbreviations see *Introduction, F*.

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## INDEXES

## INDEX OF PASSAGES

The following index lists all texts by ancient Greek and Latin authors mentioned in the commentary. Numbers refer to the lemmata of the commentary (Roman numbers refer to the introductory sections). INT refers to the general introduction. Abbreviations generally follow standard dictionaries such as the OLD. Cross-references to the *Florida* have not been included.

ACCIIUS		APULEIUS	
<i>Fr.</i> 555-6 (Dangel)	10,1	<i>Anechomenos</i>	9,27
		<i>Apol.</i> 1,2	17,2
AELIAN		<i>Apol.</i> 1,3	9,38
<i>NA</i> 13,18	XII	<i>Apol.</i> 3,6	3,8
		<i>Apol.</i> 3,7	9,7
AELIUS ARISTIDES		<i>Apol.</i> 3,9	18,33
17 / 21	IX	<i>Apol.</i> 3,11	18,29
42	18,38 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 3,12	1,2; 2,7
		<i>Apol.</i> 4	III
AESCHINES		<i>Apol.</i> 4,1	3,6; 3,11;
<i>Tim.</i> 68-70	15,21		9,29
		<i>Apol.</i> 4,3	15,21
AESCHYLUS		<i>Apol.</i> 4,7	XV; 15,12;
<i>Ag.</i> 52	2,10		15,22
		<i>Apol.</i> 4,8	6,2; 7,4; 7,9;
			15,19; 18,20;
AFRANIUS			18,23
<i>com.</i> 1	18,29	<i>Apol.</i> 4,11	15,7
<i>com.</i> 259	6,10	<i>Apol.</i> 4,11-2	3,6
		<i>Apol.</i> 5,1	17,4
ALCIPHON		<i>Apol.</i> 5,1-2	20,6
<i>Ep.</i> 3,8,1	22,2	<i>Apol.</i> 5,5	16,3
		<i>Apol.</i> 5,5-6	18,1
AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS		<i>Apol.</i> 6	9,27; 20,4
23,6,84	6,1	<i>Apol.</i> 6-8	15,23
		<i>Apol.</i> 6,1	20,6
[ANONYMUS]		<i>Apol.</i> 6,5	16,31 n.
<i>Anacreontea</i> 17 C.	15,6 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 7,3	18,1
<i>Anth.Lat.</i> 15,144	16,33 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 7,4	2,7; 15,23
<i>Anth.Pal.</i> 284	18,8 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 7,6	9,13
<i>Nav.Brend.</i> 10	17,15 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 9	9,27; 20,4
<i>Poe.La.M.</i> 4,p.426-7	20,10 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 9-13	15,11
<i>Priap.</i> 68,2	16,18	<i>Apol.</i> 9,6	15,11; 20,5
<i>Rhet.Her.</i> 4,17	9,7 n.	<i>Apol.</i> 9,11	14,6 n.
<i>Suda</i> 1,235,10-2	IV	<i>Apol.</i> 9,12	10,1
<i>Trag.Inc.</i> 81 (W)	18,6	<i>Apol.</i> 9,14,12	9,27
		<i>Apol.</i> 9,22	14,1
APOLLODORUS		<i>Apol.</i> 10,4	21,4
1,4,2	III	<i>Apol.</i> 10,6	2,1; 3,3

*Apol.* 12 2,1 n.  
*Apol.* 12,3 14,6 n.  
*Apol.* 13-16 15,5 n.  
*Apol.* 13,7 17,8; 18,4  
*Apol.* 14 7,6  
*Apol.* 14,2 XVI  
*Apol.* 14,3 1,4  
*Apol.* 14,5 9,38  
*Apol.* 15,1 7,5  
*Apol.* 15,12 9,30  
*Apol.* 16,6 20,4  
*Apol.* 16,10-13 9,2  
*Apol.* 17-23 XIV; 3,8;  
 XIII n.  
  
*Apol.* 18,1 3,13  
*Apol.* 18,12 18,17  
*Apol.* 19,4 14,1  
*Apol.* 21,2 21,4  
*Apol.* 22 14,3; XIV;  
 XXII; 22,4 n.  
  
*Apol.* 22,1 14,3  
*Apol.* 22,2 14,3  
*Apol.* 22,3 14,1; 22,4;  
 22,5  
  
*Apol.* 22,5 20,5  
*Apol.* 22,7 7,11; 14,1  
*Apol.* 22,8 7,1  
*Apol.* 22,9 XXII  
*Apol.* 22,10 22,3; 22,4;  
 18,30 n.  
  
*Apol.* 23,1 16,5  
*Apol.* 23,2 15,1  
*Apol.* 23,5-6 11,1  
*Apol.* 24-25,4 18,15  
*Apol.* 24,4 15,2  
*Apol.* 24,6 20,1  
*Apol.* 24,8 18,15  
*Apol.* 25,9-11 15,14  
*Apol.* 26,2 15,14  
*Apol.* 26,5 2,7  
*Apol.* 27,1 18,19; 20,5  
*Apol.* 27,2 10,4; XV;  
 15,20; 20,5  
  
*Apol.* 29,1 3,8  
*Apol.* 30,7 16,33  
*Apol.* 31,2-5 XV  
*Apol.* 31,5 3,9; 4,2; 9,24

*Apol.* 32,5 2,7  
*Apol.* 33,6 7,13 n.  
*Apol.* 33,7 11,2  
*Apol.* 34 14,6  
*Apol.* 34,3 XII  
*Apol.* 35,2 9,30  
*Apol.* 35,4 7,8  
*Apol.* 36 II  
*Apol.* 36,3 2,1  
*Apol.* 37 III  
*Apol.* 37,1 7,3; 15,21;  
 22,1  
  
*Apol.* 38 13,1 n.  
*Apol.* 38,1 1,1  
*Apol.* 38,5 10,3  
*Apol.* 39,1 7,11  
*Apol.* 40-52 XVI; 15,17  
*Apol.* 40,4 18,30  
*Apol.* 40,5 18,32  
*Apol.* 41,7 15,26  
*Apol.* 42-52 17,6  
*Apol.* 43,2 X; 10,3  
*Apol.* 43,6 XV  
*Apol.* 47,3 15,15  
*Apol.* 48,1 18,32  
*Apol.* 48,5 17,22  
*Apol.* 49 17,6  
*Apol.* 49,1 18,35  
*Apol.* 49,2 7,9  
*Apol.* 50,4 7,10; 17,7  
*Apol.* 53,10 16,36  
*Apol.* 55 18,42 n.  
*Apol.* 55-6 18,38  
*Apol.* 55,8 I; 1,5  
*Apol.* 55,9 15,22  
*Apol.* 55,10 18,37  
*Apol.* 55,10-11 1,2  
*Apol.* 55,11 9,28  
*Apol.* 56,2 XV  
*Apol.* 56,5 1,1; 15,2  
*Apol.* 56,6 1,4  
*Apol.* 56,7 6,6  
*Apol.* 62,5 1,2  
*Apol.* 63,7 3,8; 15,6;  
 15,7  
  
*Apol.* 64,7 18,30 n.  
*Apol.* 69,1-3 15,19 n.

*Apol.* 71,1 16,23  
*Apol.* 72 1,2  
*Apol.* 72,3 18,15  
*Apol.* 72,6 16,2 n.  
*Apol.* 73,2 XVI  
*Apol.* 74,5-6 18,30 n.  
*Apol.* 75,5 2,1  
*Apol.* 75,7 8,2; 9,26 n.  
*Apol.* 77,2 18,26  
*Apol.* 82,5 18,26  
*Apol.* 83,2 15,23  
*Apol.* 83,3 9,13  
*Apol.* 85,2 9,10  
*Apol.* 87,4 9,7  
*Apol.* 87,6 3,7  
*Apol.* 89 19,7  
*Apol.* 91,2 18,8  
*Apol.* 92,8 14,6  
*Apol.* 93,2 18,30 n.; 22,2  
*Apol.* 94,3 18,20  
*Apol.* 94,8 9,30  
*Apol.* 97,4 15,16  
*Apol.* 98,8 15,26  
*Apol.* 100,5 9,30  
*Apol.* 101 11,1  
*Apol.* 103,5 9,36  
*Ascl.* 9,28; 18,42 n.  
*Ascl.* 16 7,9  
*Ascl.* 34 2,2  
*Ascl.* 38 18,38  
*De interpr.* 4 20,6  
*Fr.* 8 19,4  
*Fr.* 9-10 18,39  
*Fr.* 11-12 9,28  
*Met.* 1,1 1,2; 2,1;  
 9,27; 9,28;  
 15,8  
  
*Met.* 1,2 10,4; 15,3  
*Met.* 1,3 15,22  
*Met.* 1,6 14,6  
*Met.* 1,10 7,7  
*Met.* 1,12 2,1; 14,6 n.  
*Met.* 1,21 2,9  
*Met.* 1,24 7,8; 18,15  
*Met.* 2,4 7,9; 15,10  
*Met.* 2,6 12,8  
*Met.* 2,7 2,1

*Met.* 2,8 3,6  
*Met.* 2,10 18,11; 20,4  
*Met.* 2,17 2,1; 3,9  
*Met.* 2,18 18,33  
*Met.* 2,20 7,9; 19,6  
*Met.* 2,21 2,10; 15,4  
*Met.* 2,24 9,24  
*Met.* 2,27 19,7  
*Met.* 2,27-30 XIX  
*Met.* 2,28 19,8  
*Met.* 3,9 4,4  
*Met.* 3,11 18,31  
*Met.* 3,21 1,4; 13,1n  
*Met.* 3,23 II; 2,8; 2,10  
 n.;  
  
*Met.* 3,29 10,4; 17,19  
*Met.* 4,1 2,8  
*Met.* 4,3 7,11  
*Met.* 4,8 3,11; 9,30  
*Met.* 4,10 9,10  
*Met.* 4,14 3,13  
*Met.* 4,18 15,3; 21,5  
*Met.* 4,21 3,13 n.  
*Met.* 4,24 9,7  
*Met.* 4,28-6,24 10,3  
*Met.* 4,29 15,1  
*Met.* 4,30 3,13  
*Met.* 4,31 6,9  
*Met.* 4,32 3,6; 15,1  
*Met.* 4,33 2,8; 4,1  
*Met.* 4,33-4 16,18  
*Met.* 4,34 16,4  
*Met.* 4,35 2,11 n.  
*Met.* 5,1 7,6  
*Met.* 5,6 17,19  
*Met.* 5,21 16,4  
*Met.* 5,22 3,9; 3,10  
*Met.* 5,25 2,10  
*Met.* 5,27 3,13  
*Met.* 6,1 9,30  
*Met.* 6,4 6,1  
*Met.* 6,6 4,1  
*Met.* 6,10 7,7; 7,9  
*Met.* 6,15 II; 2,10  
*Met.* 6,26 1,1; 11,1  
*Met.* 6,28 6,10  
*Met.* 6,31 11,1

<i>Met.</i> 7,15	18,29	<i>Mun.</i> 9	16,10 n.
<i>Met.</i> 7,16	15,23	<i>Mun.</i> 11	18,43
<i>Met.</i> 8,1-14	20,10n	<i>Mun.</i> 15	12,4
<i>Met.</i> 8,4	3,8	<i>Mun.</i> 29	18,38
<i>Met.</i> 8,5	18,21	<i>Mun.</i> 32	20,5
<i>Met.</i> 8,8	9,8	<i>Mun.</i> 35	18,38
<i>Met.</i> 8,9	9,18	<i>Mun.</i> 36	11,2
<i>Met.</i> 8,14	16,14	<i>Mun.</i> 38	INT C n.;
<i>Met.</i> 8,17	15,5		15,17 n.
<i>Met.</i> 8,18	9,6	<i>Pl.</i> 1,3	13,3; XV;
<i>Met.</i> 8,22	15,22; 22,5		15,15; 15,26n.
<i>Met.</i> 8,23	6,1	<i>Pl.</i> 1,10	10,1
<i>Met.</i> 8,30	4,1	<i>Pl.</i> 1,11	10,2
<i>Met.</i> 9,4	9,9	<i>Pl.</i> 1,14	13,3
<i>Met.</i> 9,5	2,9; 14,6	<i>Pl.</i> 2,5	3,8 n.
<i>Met.</i> 9,7	7,9	<i>Soc.</i> pr.	INT C; 23,5
<i>Met.</i> 9,10	14,6 n.; 15,5	<i>Soc.</i> pr. 1	3,2; 7,9; 9,8;
<i>Met.</i> 9,12	9,3 n.		18,18; 21,4
<i>Met.</i> 9,13	3,9	<i>Soc.</i> pr. 3	7,9; 16,4
<i>Met.</i> 9,15	2,6	<i>Soc.</i> pr. 4	12,7; 12,7 n.
<i>Met.</i> 9,30	3,10	<i>Soc.</i> pr. 5	INT A(3);
<i>Met.</i> 10,2	9,8		9,29; 15,26;
<i>Met.</i> 10,5	1,1		18,18; 18,43
<i>Met.</i> 10,5-12	XIX; 20,10n	<i>Soc.</i> 1	11,2; 18,31
<i>Met.</i> 10,11-2	XIX n.	<i>Soc.</i> 1-2	10,1
<i>Met.</i> 10,12	19,3; 19,8	<i>Soc.</i> 2	7,6; 10,1;
<i>Met.</i> 10,28	15,10		10,3
<i>Met.</i> 10,29	15,8; 22,5 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 3	3,10
<i>Met.</i> 10,30	3,7; 15,21	<i>Soc.</i> 4	2,7; 9,30;
<i>Met.</i> 10,31	3,5; 4,1		13,3; 15,1
<i>Met.</i> 10,32	3,1; 3,1 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 8	2,8; 1,10; 9,9
<i>Met.</i> 10,33	9,10 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 11	2,3; 10,3
<i>Met.</i> 11,1	XV; 15,17 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 15	9,39; 15,18
<i>Met.</i> 11,2	3,2; 22,5 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 16	10,3; 16,9
<i>Met.</i> 11,4	12,7	<i>Soc.</i> 17	4,2; 15,21
<i>Met.</i> 11,5	3,8 n.	<i>Soc.</i> 20	XV
<i>Met.</i> 11,9	1,4	<i>Soc.</i> 22	15,26
<i>Met.</i> 11,10	3,5	<i>Soc.</i> 23	3,11; 21,4
<i>Met.</i> 11,11	1,4; 3,2	<i>Soc.</i> 24	10,1
<i>Met.</i> 11,16	23,1		
<i>Met.</i> 11,26	1,2	ARISTOPHANES	
<i>Met.</i> 11,27	15,1	<i>Eccl.</i> 883	4,1
<i>Met.</i> 11,28	18,43		
<i>Met.</i> 11,30	INT C n.	ARISTOTLE	
<i>Mun.</i> 1	10,1	<i>EN</i> 1164a24	18,19
<i>Mun.</i> 2	10,2	<i>HA</i> 620a	II
<i>Mun.</i> 6	6,1		

<i>PA</i> 660a29-34	12,6	64,48	6,2
<i>Pol.</i> 1341b1-8	III		
<i>Pol.</i> 1342b12	4,1	CELSUS	
<i>Pol.</i> 1342a32-b12	4,1 n.	2,6,15	XIX
<i>Rh.</i> 3,14	9,15 n.	3,14,1	19,1
ARNOBIUS		CICERO	
2,38	18,4	<i>Ac.</i> 2,118	18,30
5,164	12,1	<i>Att.</i> 10,4,11	21,1
		<i>Att.</i> 12,47,2	2,5
		<i>Att.</i> 16,15,6	9,32
ARRIAN		<i>Brut.</i> 12	18,19
<i>An.</i> 1,16,4	7,6	<i>de Orat.</i> 1,62	XIX
<i>An.</i> 7,2	6,7	<i>de Orat.</i> 2,180	9,31
<i>Ind.</i>	VI	<i>de Orat.</i> 3,17	2,2
<i>Ind.</i> 11-12	6,6	<i>de Orat.</i> 3,126	2,1
<i>Ind.</i> 11,1-8	6,7	<i>de Orat.</i> 3,127	IX; 9,17; 9,21
<i>Ind.</i> 11,7	6,7	<i>Div.</i> 1,1	15,16
		<i>Fin.</i> 4,30	9,22
ATHENAEUS		<i>Fin.</i> 4,79	18,28
10,457c	9,28	<i>Fin.</i> 5,58	3,2
14,625bc	4,1	<i>Flac.</i> 40	16,38
		<i>Inv.</i> 1,20	INT A(3)
ST. AUGUSTINE		<i>Leg.</i> 2,26	18,30
<i>Civ.Dei</i> 6,3	1,3 n.	<i>Leg.</i> 2,59	17,18
<i>Conf.</i> 5,6,11	9,34 n.	<i>Mil.</i> 28	8,2
<i>Ep.</i> 120,5	5,2	<i>N.D.</i> 1,25	18,30
<i>Ep.</i> 138,19	16,38; XVI	<i>N.D.</i> 1,63	18,19
		<i>N.D.</i> 1,100	15,17 n.
AUSONIUS		<i>N.D.</i> 2,51	10,1
<i>Griph.tern.num</i>	9,28 n.	<i>N.D.</i> 2,52-3	10,2
		<i>N.D.</i> 2,121	3,6
CAESAR		<i>N.D.</i> 3,25	18,21
<i>Civ.</i> 3,11	16,4	<i>Off.</i> 1,92	9,33
		<i>Off.</i> 3,38	9,21
CASSIODORUS		<i>Orat.</i> 27	3,6
<i>Inst.</i> 2,10	20,4	<i>Orat.</i> 32	20,5
		<i>Phil.</i> 5,35	16,31
CATO		<i>Prov.</i> 7	1,1
<i>Agr.</i> 5,3	16,26 n.	<i>Prov.</i> 13	9,3
<i>Agr.</i> 49,1	15,4	<i>Q.fr.</i> 1,1,19	3,6
<i>Mor.</i>	17,18	<i>Q.fr.</i> 1,1,46	16,10 n.
		<i>Quinct.</i> 56	15,24
CATULLUS		<i>Red.Pop.</i> 16	16,31
4,4	12,1	<i>Rep.</i> 2,66	13,3
21,2-3	16,31	<i>Sen.</i> 5	16,17
24,2-3	16,31	<i>Sen.</i> 19	6,7
29,19	6,2 n.		
49,1-3	16,31		

<i>Sen.</i> 70	16,17	7,1-3	14,6
<i>Tim.</i> 27	2,2	8,1	15,12; 15,13
<i>Tull.</i> 48	11,2	8,1-50	XV
<i>Tusc.</i> 4,38	13,3	8,2	15,21
<i>Tusc.</i> 4,67	9,31	8,3	15,16
<i>Tusc.</i> 5,49	9,30	8,10	15,23
<i>Ver.</i> 2,3,46	9,31	8,78	20,5
<i>Ver.</i> 2,4,12	16,26	9,50; 53	18,19
		9,56	XVIII; 18,19
COLUMELLA			
1 pr.3	4,1	DIOSCORIDES	
6,16,1	6,8	<i>AP</i> 9,340	III
11,2,59	6,8		
11,3,56	6,8	ENNIUS	
		<i>Ann.</i> 68 (W)	19,1
CURTIUS RUFUS		<i>Ann.</i> 294 (W)	17,7
6,11,4	3,6	<i>Scen.</i> 280 (V2)	10,1 n.
7,8,18	6,7		
8,9,18	6,2	EPISTULA ALEXANDRI	
9,8,1	6,2	64	6,2
		EUBULUS	
DEMETRIUS		93 (PCG)	20,1
<i>Eloc.</i> 193	16,6		
		EURIPIDES	
DIO CHRYSOSTOM		<i>Ba.</i> 406	6,3
1,1-8	III n.	<i>Her.</i> 696-700	22,3
5	INT A(3)	<i>I.T.</i> 289	2,10
12	XV	<i>Ph.</i> 1-3	10,1
12,1-6	XIII		
12,5	V	FRONTO	
35,18-24	VI	<i>Ant.</i> 1,2,4	18,10
37	XVI	<i>Aur.</i> 3,9	18,37
49,12	IV	<i>Aur.</i> 4,3,1	20,4
57	INT A(3)		
71,2	IX	FULGENTIUS	
		<i>Myth.</i> 2,12	20,1
DIODORUS SICULUS			
10,3,4	15,19	GALEN	
		10, p.867 (Kühn)	17,6 n.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS		12, p.642	17,6 n.
1,24	18,32 n.	15, p.599	17,6 n.
1,103	20,1		
1,118	15,19	GELLIUS	
6,85-93; 96-8	XIV	<i>pr.</i> 6	INT A(2)
6,87	14,1; 14,1 n.	1,2,4	9,28
6,91	14,3	1,9	15,23
6,92	14,3	2,2,13	21,5
6,96	14,2		

2,25,8	9,11	<i>Ars</i> 202-3	3,1
3,1,10	9,25	<i>Ars</i> 471	1,4
5,3	18,19	<i>Carm.</i> 1,3,12	3,5; 15,19
5,10	XVIII; 18,19	<i>Carm.</i> 1,31,6	6,2
5,10,5	18,20	<i>Carm.</i> 3,12,10	3,1
5,10,6	18,19; 18,20	<i>Ep.</i> 1,14,19	11,1; 17,17
5,10,15	18,19	<i>Ep.</i> 1,20	16,48
6,3,18	18,40	<i>Ep.</i> 2,1,239-41	VII; 7,6
6,16,4	6,10	<i>Epod.</i> 14,9-10	15,6
9,2,4	7,10	<i>S.</i> 1,4,29	6,7
11,2,2	17,18	<i>S.</i> 2,1,39-41; 43	17,8
11,2,6	17,8	<i>S.</i> 2,2,7	6,12
13,21,11	9,8	<i>S.</i> 2,3,50	2,9
13,22 pr	8,2		
14,6,1	9,27	HYGINUS	
16,8,16	20,4	<i>Astr.</i> 2,2,3	18,30
16,19	17,15	<i>Fab.</i> 154	17,17
17,4,1	16,6	<i>Fab.</i> 165	III; 3,6;
19,1,13	2,1	<i>Fab.</i> 191	III
20,1,54	16,14		
		HYG. GR.	
HERODOTUS		<i>agrim.</i> p.152	18,3
1,8	2,3		
1,23-4	17,15	IAMBlichus	
3,39f	15,6	<i>VP</i> 1	15,13
3,60	15,4	<i>VP</i> 10-11	15,13
3,138	15,14 n.	<i>VP</i> 72	15,23
		<i>VP</i> 104	XV
		<i>VP</i> 150	15,14
HISTORIA AUGUSTA		<i>VP</i> 246	XV
<i>Marc.Ant.</i> 12,12	5,2 n.	<i>VP</i> 267	15,14
<i>Ver.</i> 6,11	18,4		
		ISIDORE	
HOMER		<i>Etym.</i> 11,1,43	15,7 n.
<i>Il.</i> 3,10	2,7	<i>Etym.</i> 14,3,6	6,2
<i>Il.</i> 3,10-12	2,7		
<i>Il.</i> 3,12	2,7	JUL. VAL.	
<i>Il.</i> 15,690-2	II	3,24	6,2
<i>Il.</i> 17,674-8:	II		
<i>Il.</i> 19,98-9	22,4	JULIAN	
<i>Il.</i> 21,252-3	II	<i>Or.</i> 3,162,2	XVIII; 18,30
<i>Od.</i> 2,146-54	II	<i>Or.</i> 6	22,2
<i>Od.</i> 5,328-30	18,28		
<i>Od.</i> 6,42-6	2,8	JUVENAL	
<i>Od.</i> 19,538-9	II	3,77	5,2
		9,2	III
HORACE		11,110	9,3 n.
<i>Ars</i> 155	16,17	11,125	6,4
<i>Ars</i> 180-1	2,3		

14,96-106	6,1	506	21,4
		1107	17,7
LAEVIUS <i>poet.</i> 29	18,21	LUCRETIVS	
		1,7	9,24
LASUS <i>PMG</i> 702	4,1	1,1-43	10,4
		1,133	17,7
		1,683	4,1
LIVIVS ANDRONICVS		2,153	9,30
<i>trag.</i> 24 (W)	9,11	2,489	4,1
<i>Odissia</i> 1 (W)	18,21	2,759	9,27
		3,409	21,4
LIVY		3,558	21,4
1,7,8	15,20	3,680	21,4
1,44,4-5	19,2	4,60	6,5
7,2,6	18,4	4,544-8	3,5
8,20,4	9,25	5,575-6	10,1
21,41,16	9,5	6,160-218	2,8
31,41,2	18,40	6,219-422	2,8
38,13,6	III	6,743	2,10
38,35,4	16,39		
41,3,10	17,7	MANILIUS	
		3,89	10,1
LUCAN		5,651-5	5,2
1,136-8	1,3		
3,5	7,2	MARCUS AURELIUS	
3,193	3,5	3,8	16,17
3,220-1	15,19	12,36	16,17
3,230	6,3		
3,434	1,3	MARTIAL	
3,634	16,16	1,49,31	8,2
5,70	3,10	10,3,7	XII
7,514	6,1	14,73,2	12,8
		<i>Sp.</i> 7,3	3,13
LUCIAN		MARTIANVS CAPELLA	
<i>Alex.</i> 30	1,4	9,888	9,18
<i>Dionysus</i>	XV		
<i>Harm.</i> 1	III n.; 4,1	MAXIMVS OF TYRE	
<i>Herc.</i>	XV	1,2	XIII n.
<i>Herc.</i> 7	INT A(3)	1,7	XIII
<i>Herod.</i>	17,1	2,6	VI
<i>Macr.</i> 25	16,14	17,1	9,15 n.
<i>Ver.Hist.</i>	1,1		
<i>Zeux.</i>	9,8	MENANDER RHETOR	
		2,392,18f	III n.
LUCILIUS		2,395,1-399,10	IX
281-2 (W)	3,10 n.		
321	3,10		

MINUCIVS FELIX		<i>Cena Trim.</i>	3,9 n.
3,1	1,4; 1,4 n.	<i>Fr.</i> xix,3	6,4
		<i>Fr.</i> 41 (Bücheler)	12,1n; 12,8
NAEVIUS		PHILOSTRATUS	
<i>Trag.</i> 17 (W)	9,31	VS 487	XII
		VS 495-6	IX
OVID		VS 574	III n.; 6,1
<i>Am.</i> 2,6	XII; 12,1		
<i>Am.</i> 2,6,48	12,8	PINDAR	
<i>Am.</i> 2,6,49-58	12,9	<i>Fr.</i> 67	4,1
<i>Am.</i> 3,4,19	6,3	N. 3,80-2	II
<i>Fast.</i> 2,79-118	17,15		
<i>Fast.</i> 2,446	3,13	PLATO	
<i>Fast.</i> 3,601-2	7,2	<i>Charm.</i> 154-5	2,1
<i>Fast.</i> 6,697-8	3,1	<i>Hp.Mi.</i> 368	9,17; 9,21
<i>Met.</i> 2,251	6,2 n.	<i>Hp.Mi.</i> 368b	9,16
<i>Met.</i> 5,558	2,10	<i>Hp.Mi.</i> 368b-d	IX
<i>Met.</i> 6,382-400	III	<i>Hp.Mi.</i> 368c	9,19; 9,21;
<i>Met.</i> 6,385-91	3,13		9,27
<i>Met.</i> 6,392-400	3,13	<i>Hp.Mi.</i> 368d	9,15
<i>Met.</i> 8,743-5	1,3	<i>Lach.</i> 188d	4,1
<i>Met.</i> 10,73-82	17,15	<i>Phaed.</i> 84e-85b	17,17
<i>Met.</i> 10,281	16,15	<i>Phaedr.</i> 267c	18,19
<i>Met.</i> 12,266-7	1,3	<i>Pol.</i> 341b-c	XXIII
<i>Met.</i> 13,291	7,6	<i>Pol.</i> 398c-400c	4,1
<i>Met.</i> 14,166	3,6 n.	<i>Pol.</i> 398e	4,1
<i>Met.</i> 14,430	17,17	<i>Pol.</i> 399a-c	4,1
<i>Tr.</i> 3,1	16,48	<i>Pol.</i> 495de	9,14
<i>Tr.</i> 3,13,15	1,3	<i>Pol.</i> 600b	15,21
		<i>Pol.</i> 607a	20,5
PACUVIVS		<i>Prot.</i> 349a	18,19
<i>trag.</i> 187 (W)	3,1	<i>Symp.</i> 202d-204b	10,3
<i>trag.</i> 272	11,1		
PAULINVS OF NOLA		PLAVTUS	
<i>epist.</i> 16,9	16,7	<i>Am.</i> 588	3,1
		<i>Am.</i> 634-6	18,11
PAUSANIAS		<i>Am.</i> 688	15,24
7,4,4-7	XV; 15,4	<i>Am.</i> 830	18,4
		<i>As.</i> 202	2,3 n.
PERSIVS		<i>As.</i> 450	9,31
<i>Prol.</i> 8	XII; 12,8	<i>As.</i> 491	16,45
		<i>As.</i> 570	7,7
PETRONIVS		<i>Aul.</i> 18	18,33
43,7	9,26	<i>Aul.</i> 44	6,12
71,9	9,26 n.	<i>Aul.</i> 336	17,8
73,6	16,45	<i>Aul.</i> 466	16,19
78,6	4,2		

<i>Aul.</i> 528	6,12	PLINY THE ELDER	
<i>Aul.</i> 640	9,31	<i>Nat.</i> 1,22,60	9,27
<i>Aul.</i> 661	21,1	<i>Nat.</i> 3 pr.5	VII
<i>Aul.</i> 703	9,9	<i>Nat.</i> 4,115	6,2 n.
<i>Bac.</i> 803	15,24	<i>Nat.</i> 5,112	15,19 n.
<i>Bac.</i> 1087	16,31	<i>Nat.</i> 6,66	6,6
<i>Capt.</i> 848	9,25	<i>Nat.</i> 6,121	15,17
<i>Capt.</i> 860	11,1	<i>Nat.</i> 7,22	6,7
<i>Cas.</i> 223	18,11	<i>Nat.</i> 7,120	7,2
<i>Cas.</i> 788-9	6,12	<i>Nat.</i> 7,124	XIX; 19,1
<i>Cist.</i> 69	18,11	<i>Nat.</i> 7,125	VII; 7,6
<i>Cist.</i> 304	17,8	<i>Nat.</i> 7,141	7,2
<i>Cur.</i> 70	2,9	<i>Nat.</i> 7,160	15,17
<i>Cur.</i> 168	3,11	<i>Nat.</i> 7,172	15,19
<i>Cur.</i> 302	21,1	<i>Nat.</i> 7,174-6	XIX
<i>Epid.</i> 502	18,15	<i>Nat.</i> 7,204	III
<i>Men.</i> 11-2	15,26; 18,43	<i>Nat.</i> 7,205	15,19
<i>Men.</i> 391	9,25	<i>Nat.</i> 8,32	6,4; 6,5
<i>Men.</i> 654	12,7	<i>Nat.</i> 8,32-4	6,4
<i>Men.</i> 1162	16,17	<i>Nat.</i> 8,33	6,5
<i>Mil.</i> 4	2,3	<i>Nat.</i> 8,128	18,13 n.
<i>Mil.</i> 92	3,8	<i>Nat.</i> 8,130	3,13
<i>Mil.</i> 100	18,15	<i>Nat.</i> 9,63	18,13 n.
<i>Mil.</i> 731	18,21	<i>Nat.</i> 10,2	3,7
<i>Mos.</i> 639	3,6	<i>Nat.</i> 10,81	13,2
<i>Per.</i> 124-5	9,22	<i>Nat.</i> 10,117	XII; 12,1; 12,2; 12,3; 12,8
<i>Per.</i> 777	16,31	<i>Nat.</i> 10,118-9	12,4
<i>Per.</i> 858	16,17	<i>Nat.</i> 10,119	12,6
<i>Poen.</i> 63	19,4	<i>Nat.</i> 10,191	II
<i>Poen.</i> 321-2	16,1	<i>Nat.</i> 11,81	6,5
<i>Ps.</i> 416	18,15	<i>Nat.</i> 12,27	6,2
<i>Ps.</i> 524-5	16,1	<i>Nat.</i> 12,98	6,1
<i>Rud.</i> 111	11,2	<i>Nat.</i> 12,98	6,1
<i>Rud.</i> 741	18,15	<i>Nat.</i> 19,1	15,17
<i>St.</i> 632	15,26	<i>Nat.</i> 23,31	19,1
<i>Trin.</i> 256	9,5	<i>Nat.</i> 26,14	19,1
<i>Trin.</i> 466	3,10	<i>Nat.</i> 28,167	18,11
<i>Trin.</i> 864	11,2	<i>Nat.</i> 33,66	6,2
<i>Truc.</i> 1-3	18,7	<i>Nat.</i> 34,19	16,39
<i>Truc.</i> 27	18,21	<i>Nat.</i> 35,85-6;93	7,6
<i>Truc.</i> 489	2,3	<i>Nat.</i> 35,89	7,6
<i>Truc.</i> 497	18,15	<i>Nat.</i> 35,93	7,6 n.
<i>Truc.</i> 556	14,1	<i>Nat.</i> 37,8	7,6
<i>Truc.</i> 968	16,17	<i>Nat.</i> 37,14	3,8
		PLINY THE YOUNGER	
		<i>Ep.</i> 1,10,7	9,36

<i>Ep.</i> 2,3,3	15,6	8,3,88	15,6
<i>Ep.</i> 2,19,5	9,31	8,6,18	2,9 n.
<i>Ep.</i> 3,4,6	9,31	9,3,54-7	8,1
<i>Ep.</i> 4,3,5	18,15 n.	10,1,71	16,6
<i>Ep.</i> 5,19,5	9,31	10,1,72	16,6
<i>Ep.</i> 7,18,5	18,40	10,1,75	20,5
<i>Ep.</i> 8,20,1	9,31	12,10,58-9	INT A(2)
<i>Pan.</i> 47,1	15,25	12,10,60	INT A(2)
		12,10,66-7	INT A(2)
		12,11,21	IX
PLUTARCH			
<i>Alex.</i> 3,4	7,6		
<i>Alex.</i> 4	7,8	SALLUST	
<i>Alex.</i> 4,2	7,6	<i>Jug.</i> 6,1	3,1
<i>Alex.</i> 64	6,7	<i>Jug.</i> 10,1	9,9
<i>Lyc.</i> 4,4	15,21	<i>Jug.</i> 13,5	9,5
<i>Mor.</i> 632e	22,2	<i>Jug.</i> 47,1	15,3
<i>Mor.</i> 785	16,14	<i>Hist.</i> 1,77	18,37
		<i>Hist.</i> 2,64	15,3
PLUTARCH (PSEUDO)			
<i>De Musica</i> 5	III	SAPPHO	
		16 (LP)	VI
PORPHYRIUS			
<i>VP</i> 1-2	15,13	SENECA THE ELDER	
		<i>Sen. Con.</i> 1	16,7
PRATINAS			
<i>PMG</i> 712	4,1	SENECA THE YOUNGER	
		<i>Ben.</i> 2,1,4	16,26
		<i>Ben.</i> 2,29,1	II
PRISCIAN		<i>Dial.</i> 2,12,4	5,2
<i>GLK</i> 3,424,19f	10,1	<i>Dial.</i> 10,1,2	II
		<i>Dial.</i> 11,7,3	9,33
PROPERTIUS		<i>Ep.</i> 6,5	2,3
2,19,19-20	1,3	<i>Ep.</i> 23,21	16,18
2,28,2	16,16	<i>Ep.</i> 41,3	1,3
2,34,41-3	9,8 n.	<i>Ep.</i> 45,8	18,4
		<i>Ep.</i> 49,3	17,18
PYTHAGORAS		<i>Ep.</i> 50,7	15,24
<i>Carm.Aur.</i> 40-4	6,10	<i>Ep.</i> 52,10	15,23
		<i>Ep.</i> 64,10	21,5
QUINTILIAN		<i>Ep.</i> 76,9	17,11
1,5,34-54	9,7 n.	<i>Ep.</i> 76,13	XXIII
1,5,61	18,19	<i>Ep.</i> 77,20	16,17
2,20,9	13,3	<i>Ep.</i> 80,7	16,17
3,1,8-10	18,19	<i>Ep.</i> 89,2	2,7
3,1,10	XVIII; 18,19;	<i>Ep.</i> 94,27	18,38
	18,20	<i>Ep.</i> 94,62	VII
3,7,26	20,9	<i>Ep.</i> 102,16	9,31
3,7,27	9,1	<i>Ep.</i> 104,18	16,20
8 pr.15	17,8		

<i>Ep.</i> 121,15	17,18	15,39-49	6,6
<i>fr.</i> 88 Haase	18,38		
<i>Her.F.</i> 862	6,4	SUETONIUS	
<i>Med.</i> 797-8	1,4	<i>Aug.</i> 78,1	8,2
<i>Nat.</i> 2,16,1	2,8	<i>Aug.</i> 99	16,17
<i>Nat.</i> 3,18,4	16,16	<i>Dom.</i> 17,3	19,8
		<i>Galb.</i> 6	5,2
SERVIUS		<i>Jul.</i> 60	18,12
<i>ad Aen.</i> 2,604	2,7n	<i>Tib.</i> 33,1	18,40
		<i>Vesp.</i> 8,5	9,12
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS			
<i>Carm.</i> 9,326	6,2	SYMMACHUS	
<i>Carm.</i> 22,50	6,2	<i>Epist.</i> 68	1,3
<i>Ep.</i> 7,2,9	9,31		
<i>Ep.</i> 8,6,6	9,30 n.	TACITUS	
<i>Ep.</i> 8,9,1	3,1	<i>Ann.</i> 3,57	3,8
<i>Ep.</i> 9,9,8	9,13 n.	<i>Ann.</i> 3,61	1,1
		<i>Ann.</i> 4,13	6,7
SILIUS ITALICUS		<i>Ann.</i> 4,54	1,1
5,283-4	II	<i>Ann.</i> 12,7	17,3
12,463-4	9,9 n.	<i>Ann.</i> 14,8	1,1
12,492-3	16,10	<i>Ann.</i> 14,51	23,4
13,146	3,5	<i>Dial.</i>	I n.
15,373-4	6,7	<i>Ger.</i> 17,1	6,1
16,309	1,3	<i>Hist.</i> 3,64	2,5
		<i>Hist.</i> 3,74	18,38
SOLINUS			
25,10-4	6,4	TERENCE	
52,43-5	XII; 12,4 n.	<i>Ad.</i> 564	3,6
54,8	6,2	<i>Eu.</i> 274	9,9
		<i>Eu.</i> 634	23,4
SOPHOCLES		<i>Eu.</i> 1094	16,17
<i>Ant.</i> 781-90	10,4	<i>Hau.</i> 37-40	16,9
<i>Trach.</i> 1089-1102	22,3	<i>Hau.</i> 1067	16,17
		<i>Hec.</i> 4	5,2
		<i>Ph.</i> 1055	16,17
STATIUS		TERENTIUS MAURUS	
<i>Silv.</i> 2,4	XII; 12,1 n.;	1871	1,1
	12,8		
<i>Silv.</i> 2,4,25	12,1	TERTULLIAN	
<i>Silv.</i> 3,3,211	1,3	<i>Apol.</i> 6,2	8,2
<i>Theb.</i> 9,194-5	1,3	<i>Pall.</i>	4,4, n.
		<i>Pall.</i> 1,1	16,1
		<i>Pall.</i> 6,2	4,4
		<i>Spect.</i>	4,4 n.
STOBAEUS			
3,18,25	20,1		
STRABO			
1,2,6	15,19		
14,1,15	15,2		

THEMISTIUS		<i>A.</i> 11,751-6	II
<i>Peri aretes</i> p.45	22,2	<i>Ecl.</i> 1,2	17,17
		<i>Ecl.</i> 3,27	3,3
THEOPHRASTUS		<i>Ecl.</i> 4,39	6,7
<i>Char.</i> 16,5	1,4	<i>Ecl.</i> 4,51	15,17 n.
		<i>Ecl.</i> 8,56	17,15
TIBULLUS		<i>G.</i> 1,45	6,8
1,7,29	3,5	<i>G.</i> 1,57	6,2
1,11-12	1,4	<i>G.</i> 1,152	12,1 n.
3,8,19-20	6,4	<i>G.</i> 1,152-4	11,2 n.
		<i>G.</i> 1,154	11,2
		<i>G.</i> 2,43	6,3
VALERIUS MAXIMUS		<i>G.</i> 2,63-4	6,8
5,1,7	8,2	<i>G.</i> 2,73-82	6,8
6,1,8	20,7	<i>G.</i> 2,137	6,2; 6,3
6,3, ext.1	15,25	<i>G.</i> 2,431-2	6,8
9,2, ext.11	2,11	<i>G.</i> 2,448	6,1
		<i>G.</i> 3,112	3,5
VARRO		<i>G.</i> 4,58-60	2,9 n.
<i>L.</i> 7,61	6,10	<i>G.</i> 4,222	15,17 n.
<i>R.</i> 2,9,8	6,10	<i>G.</i> 4,292	6,3
<i>Men.</i> 30	2,6	<i>G.</i> 4,293	6,4
<i>Men.</i> 193	2,6	<i>G.</i> 4,507-27	17,15
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS			
1,16,3	16,6	VITRUVIUS	
		5,6,1	18,3
VERGIL		5,6,4	18,3
<i>A.</i> 1,300-1	2,10	5,6,6	18,3
<i>A.</i> 1,634-5	6,3	6,4,2	9,25
<i>A.</i> 2,265	17,7	9 pr.9	7,2
<i>A.</i> 604-6	2,7n		
<i>A.</i> 3,593-4	3,6 n.	VULGATE	
<i>A.</i> 4	20,10	<i>Malachi</i> 3,3	6,8
<i>A.</i> 4,336	16,33		
<i>A.</i> 4,462-3	13,1n	XENOPHON	
<i>A.</i> 4,650	16,15	<i>Mem.</i> 2,1	22,3
<i>A.</i> 4,659	16,15	<i>Mem.</i> 4,4	9,15
<i>A.</i> 6,19	2,10	<i>Oec.</i> 4,2-3	9,14
<i>A.</i> 6,237	1,3	<i>Symp.</i> 4,62	9,15.
<i>A.</i> 6,625	6,3		
<i>A.</i> 7,225-6	6,1		
<i>A.</i> 7,282	9,24		
<i>A.</i> 8,77	6,3		
<i>A.</i> 8,698	9,27		
<i>A.</i> 9,31	6,3; 15,26		
<i>A.</i> 9,189	17,7		
<i>A.</i> 10,423	1,3		
<i>A.</i> 11,608	2,7		

## INDEX OF LATIN WORDS, NAMES, AND SUBJECTS

The following index contains references to Latin words, names and subjects mentioned or discussed in the introduction and the commentary. Although many items have been included, the index is not exhaustive. Where numbers are preceded by 'e.g.', only a selection of references is given. Items which would require long lists of references have been left out.

abbreviation: INT F; 9,10  
 Abdera: 18,19  
*abire letum*: 16,22 n.  
 abrupt beginning: 17,1  
 abundant expressions: 3,1; 6,9;  
 9,5; 14,6  
 Academy: 15,26  
 Accius: 10,1  
 acclamations: 16,44  
*actus/auctus*: 7,1  
*ad limam et lineam*: 9,8  
*adfatis*: 16,21  
*adgnitus*: 16,7  
*adgnomen*: 6,6  
*adhortamen*: 18,14  
*adprime*: 4,2  
*adsitus*: 2,6  
 Aemilianus: 1,4  
 Aemilianus Strabo: XVI; 16,37;  
 16,40  
 Aeolian mode: 4,1  
*aequipar*: 3,10  
*aere ducere*: 7,6  
 Aesculapius: XVIII; 18,37  
 Aesculapius (introduction of cult):  
 18,38 n.  
 aether: 2,8  
 age groups: 17,18; 17,20; 20,9  
 Agesilas: 7,5  
*aggredior*: 7,4  
 agricultural metaphor: 11,1  
 air inside the body: 17,6  
*albugo*: 17,6  
 Alexander the Great: VI; 6,7; VII;  
 7,1  
 Alexander (edict of): 7,6  
 Alexander (physical appearance):  
 7,8

Alexandria: 1,2  
*allegare*: 16,1  
*amare*: 16,10  
*ambifariam*: 18,23  
 Ambrosius: 13,2 n.  
 Amor: 10,4  
 Anacharsis the Scythian: 20,1  
 Anacreon: 15,6; 15,11  
 Anacreontic song: 15,11  
 Anaximander: 15,20  
*angor*: 17,12  
 animals: II; 3,13; VI; 6,8; X;  
 XII; XVII  
 animals (sounds): XVII  
 animals (superiority): II  
 ankle: 16,20  
*anteuentulus*: 3,10  
*antiae*: 3,10  
 Antigenidas: IV; 4,1  
 Apelles: 7,6  
 Apollo: III; 3,6; 3,10  
 Apuleius (arithmetic): 20,4  
 Apuleius ('Asclepius'): 9,28; 18,42  
 n.  
 Apuleius (bilingualism): 9,29  
 Apuleius (biographical detail): XVI;  
 16,20; 18,14; 18,15  
 Apuleius (date of birth): 16,37  
 Apuleius (dialectics): 20,4  
 Apuleius (identification with others):  
 III; 3,10; 3,14; XV; 15,12;  
 (15,19); XVI; 18,33; XX; 22,2  
 Apuleius ('Liber peri hermeneias'):  
 20,4  
 Apuleius (literary activities): XX;  
 20,6  
 Apuleius (literary versatility): IX;  
 9,27; 20,6

Apuleius ('Ludicra'): 20,6  
 Apuleius (Met.; date of): 9,28  
 Apuleius (name mentioned): 20,6  
 Apuleius (native town): 18,15  
 Apuleius (other statues): 16,37  
 Apuleius ('Phaedo'): 9,28; 18,39  
 Apuleius (poetry): 6,3; 9,27; 20,4  
 Apuleius (priesthood): 16,38  
 Apuleius (religious outlook): 1,5;  
 18,38  
 Apuleius (Rome): 17,4  
 Apuleius (scientific work): 18,32  
 Apuleius (self-declared popularity):  
 9,28  
 Apuleius ('Soc. pr.'): INT C; 21,7;  
 23,5  
 Apuleius (travel): 15,1; 18,15  
 Apuleius (visit of Samos): 15,4  
 Apuleius (works): 18,16  
 Apuleius (writing on music): 20,4  
*Apuleius uester*: 20,6  
 archive: 9,12  
*ardua montium*: 10,4; 15,3  
*argumenta reciproca*: XVIII; 18,19  
 argumentation: 20,4  
 Arion: 17,15  
 arrogance: 16,34  
 Arsacides: 6,1  
 artists: 5,2  
 arts: 7,6  
 Asclepiades: XIX; 19,1  
 Asclepius (dialogue): 9,28; 18,42 n.  
 astronomical terms: 18,31  
 astronomy: 15,17; 18,30; 18,31  
*at*: 2,1  
 Athena: III; 3,7  
*Athenae Atticae*: 18,15  
 Athens: 18,7; 18,15; 18,42; 20,9  
*atticissare*: 18,43  
 audience (directly addressed): V;  
 18,18  
 audience (massive): 9,4  
*audire/audere*: 18,17  
*augere*: 7,2  
*aulos*: III  
 Ausonius: 9,28 n.  
*austeritas*: 9,35 n.  
 Babylon: 9,19

*barbaria*: 3,8  
 barbarism: 9,7  
 baths: 16,2  
 Bathyllus: XV; 15,6  
*baxea*: 9,25  
 bears: 3,13  
 belt: 9,18  
*bene consultum*: 21,5  
*beneficium*: 16,24  
 Bias of Priene: 18,30 n.  
*biceps argumentum*: 18,26  
*bidental*: 1,4  
 bilingualism: 9,29; XVIII; 18,16;  
 18,38; 18,39  
 birds: XIII; 17,11  
 birds (and philosophers): XIII  
 birds (in Africa): 17,17  
 birds (sounds, songs): 12,7; XIII;  
 17,16  
 blackbirds: 17,16  
*blaterare*: 9,7  
*bombus*: 3,5  
 book (end of): 9,14  
 book (traveling): 16,48  
 bookroll: 16,15  
 bowls of culture: XX; 20,2; 20,3  
 Bracmani: 15,16; 15,18  
 bragging warrior: 16,9  
*bubo*: 13,1 n.  
*bulbulcitare*: 6,6  
*bulbulcus*: 6,6  
 bulls: 6,8; 17,11  
 burial: 15,19  
 buying: 9,25; 9,26  
 Cadmus: 15,19 n.  
*caecutire*: 2,6  
*caelamen*: 7,6  
*caelestis*: 18,35  
*calamus*: 9,27  
*calcei lunati*: 8,2  
*callere*: 17,14  
*Camenae*: 9,14  
 Campania: 19,2 n.  
*cantilare*: 3,11; 17,15  
*cantio*: 12,8  
*cantus canere*: 3,1  
*capessendus/concupiscendus*: 17,4  
*caproneae*: 3,10

*captus*: 9,13; 15,22; 17,2  
*carmen* for prose: 17,18 n.  
 carriages: 21,2  
 Carthage: e.g. INT A (2); 1,2;  
     VIII; IX; XVI; 16,1; XVII;  
     XVIII; XX  
 Carthage (*camena togatorum*):  
     20,10  
 Carthage (extensive praise): 20,10  
 Carthage (library): 18,8  
 Carthage (theatre): XVIII; 18,2  
 caste system (India): 6,6  
 Catullus: 16,31  
*celebrare/desiderare*: 17,5  
*celebratus*: 15,3  
*centenus*: 6,3  
*ceraula*: 4,2  
 ceremonial speech: IX; XVI; XVII  
*certissimus*: 18,31  
*cespes*: 1,4  
*ceterum*: 2,5  
 Chaldaeans: 15,16; 15,17  
 chariot: 16,39  
 chariot-racing: 9,39  
 Charmides: 2,1  
*chartarius*: 9,27  
 cheeks: 15,7  
 Chilon of Sparta: 18,30 n.  
*chlamys*: 15,8  
 Christians: 17,4  
*cicadae*: 13,1  
 Cicero: 16,31  
 Cicero (vanity): 16,34  
*cinctus*: 9,19  
 cinnamon: 6,2  
 circulation of texts: 9,13  
*circumferentia*: 18,3  
 Cithaeron: 18,6  
 cities: 2,11  
*clanculo*: 15,13  
*claudere*: 18,10  
*clauicula*: 12,3  
 cleansing: 22,4  
 Clemens (poet): 6,3; IV; 7,4  
 Clement of Alexandria: 7,4 n.  
*clementer*: 15,1  
 Cleobulus of Lindus: 18,30 n.  
 clothes: 9,17; 9,18; 9,20  
*coelaula*: 9,23  
*coetum/coeptum*: 16,10  
*colare*: 6,8  
 collected works: 16,18 n.  
*colliculus*: 1,4  
*columnatio*: 18,3  
 comedy: 5,2; XVI  
 comedy (Apuleius' 'Apology'): 16,7  
 comedy (end of): 16,18  
 comedy (third act): 16,10  
 comic ending: 12,8  
*commodare*: 9,35; 13,1  
*commodum*: 3,2  
 common law: 18,24  
 common studies: 16,36; 16,37  
 comparison: 1,1  
*compositu*: 18,42  
*comprobator*: 9,31  
*comptus*: 20,4  
*concedere*: 2,5  
*concentus*: 3,5  
*concertatim*: 9,30  
*concito*: 21,5  
*condictum*: 16,14  
*condiscere/dediscere*: 15,24  
*confestim*: 19,8  
*congruere*: 2,3  
*conspicari*: 2,1  
 constructio ad sensum: e.g. 16,11;  
     18,1; 23,5  
*contabulatio*: 18,3  
*contaminari*: 7,5  
*contentissime*: 9,10  
*conuibrare*: 12,4  
*conuicium*: 12,8  
 'convivales quaestiones': 9,28  
 copper: 15,6  
*coram*: 14,6  
 Corax: 18,19  
*corona ciuica*: 17,22 n.  
*coruus*: 12,7  
*cothurnus*: 9,8  
 counting costs: 16,46  
 Crates: XIV; 20,5; XXII  
 Crates ('Door-opener'): 22,2  
 Crates (and Hercules): XXII  
 Crates (hunchback): 14,3

Crates (wealth): 14,1; 22,5  
 cremation: 19,6  
 Creophylus: 15,21  
*crepida*: 9,21  
 cruel punishments: 3,14  
*cruenta mente*: 20,7  
*cuiusquemodi*: 15,5  
*cunctatior*: 18,12  
*cunctim*: 9,30  
*cupere* with genitive: 14,2  
*cupitor/gloriator*: 17,3  
*curia*: 16,35; 16,44  
*curriculum*: 21,1  
*curriculum*: 9,39  
 cycle of seasons: 18,31  
 Cynicism, Cynics: e.g. 7,11; 9,9;  
     XIV; 22,4  
*daedalus*: 9,24  
*de repentino*: 16,4  
*de summo pectore*: 9,6  
 deafness: 17,6 n.  
 death: 16,14; 16,15  
*decipulum*: 18,21  
*decuriones*: 16,44  
*dedicatu*: 18,42  
*defendere*: 14,6  
 deflowering: 14,6  
*defrangere*: 16,20; 16,25  
*deinceps*: 16,11  
 delay: XXI  
*delectabilior*: 17,10  
*delinitor*: 17,15  
 Democritus: 18,19  
 demons: X  
*dentium murus*: 15,23  
*deridiculum*: 3,8  
 devotion to the audience: 16,3  
*dextrorsum*: 2,9  
 dialectics: 20,4  
 dialogues: 9,28; 18,39  
*dictare*: 16,6  
 Dido: 16,15; 20,10  
*differre*: 16,4  
*dilector*: 9,32  
 diminutives: 1,4; 2,1; 15,9  
 Diogenes: 14,1; XXII; 22,1  
 direct speech: 3,10; 3,12  
 direct speech (by sophists): 18,24  
*discapeinare*: 3,5  
*disceptare*: 18,13  
*discere*: 5,2  
*discessus a corpore*: 14,6 n.  
 discrete language: 14,6  
*discretim*: 9,30  
 diseases (of nose, ears, eyes): 17,6  
*dispendium*: 18,31  
*dispescere*: 15,1  
*dissertare*: 18,1  
*dissimulamentum*: 3,7  
*dissitus*: 2,6  
*diutule*: 2,1; 18,22; 21,7  
 doctors (prejudice against): 19,7  
*documentum*: 15,18; 18,33  
*dolamen*: 1,4  
 dolphins: 17,15  
*donarium*: 15,5  
 Dorian mode: 4,1  
 drama: 9,27  
 drinking (imagery): 15,22; 20,1;  
     20,4  
 drunkenness: 20,1  
 dung: 14,2  
*dux*: 14,5  
 eagle: II; 2,8  
 ecphrasis: XII; XV; 15,6  
 edge of the world: 6,1  
*edita*: 7,4  
*edulium*: 6,9  
*effectius*: 9,34; 16,47  
*effigatus*: 15,6  
*effundere*: 2,7  
 Egyptian lore: 15,15  
 Egyptians: 6,1  
*elaboratus*: 9,16  
 elephants: 6,4; 6,5; 17,11  
*elinguis*: 15,25  
*eliquare*: 15,10  
 Elis: 9,15  
 Elysian woods: 12,7  
*eminentia*: 18,3  
 Empedocles: 20,5  
 engraving gems: 15,13  
*enim*: 5,1; 19,4  
*enimvero*: 14,4  
 Ennius: 10,1n; XVII  
 epic: 9,27

Epicharmus: 20,5  
 Epimenides: 15,20  
 equity: 18,24  
 Eshmun: 18,37 n.  
 esus: 2,11  
 Euathlus: XVIII; 18,20  
 Eurydice: 17,15  
*ex pari*: 16,37  
*excerpere*: 9,13  
 excerpts: 9,13  
*excipere*: 9,13  
*excuneatus*: 16,12  
*exercitamentum*: 15,18  
 exile (imagery): 15,25  
*exorabulum*: 18,21  
 exotic countries: VI  
*expergeficus*: 13,2  
*expertus/expers*: 9,34  
*expletus animi*: 15,16  
*exultare*: 16,34  
 Fabius Maximus: 21,5 n.  
*fabulari*: 21,7  
*falsus* with genitive: 9,9  
*famigeratus*: 15,4  
*famulitium*: 22,5  
*fando audire*: 3,1  
*fatidicus*: 3,10  
*fatiloquus*: 15,20  
*fatum afferre*: 19,3  
*ferula*: 12,3  
*festinare*: 9,39; 21,1; 21,5  
 first inventor: 3,5; 15,19; 15,22;  
 18,19; 18,34; 19,1  
 flaying: 3,13  
*flexanimus*: 3,1  
*florens*: 9,31  
 Florida (book division): 9,14  
 Florida (Carthage): INT A (2)  
 Florida (circumstances): INT B  
 Florida (date): INT B  
 Florida (declamation): INT A (2)  
 Florida (division of books): INT  
 A (1)  
 Florida (end): 23,5  
 Florida (MSS): INT D  
 Florida (prolaliae): INT A (3)  
 Florida (rhetoric): INT A (3)

Florida (selection): INT (2), (3)  
 Florida (style): INT A (2)  
 Florida (thematical links): INT  
 A (2), (4)  
 Florida (themes and interests): INT  
 A (4)  
 Florida (title): INT A (2)  
 Florida (transmission): INT D  
 flowers: 1,3; 11,2  
*fluor*: 10,4  
 flute-players: III n.  
*fomentum*: 16,23  
*formosa mors*: 16,16  
 fox: 12,7 n.  
 free indirect speech: 7,6; 14,4;  
 14,5; 16,11; 19,6  
 friendly monsters: 17,15 n.  
*fringulire*: 17,17  
*fructuosus*: 15,2  
*frugifer*: 15,2  
*fulgur*: 2,8  
*fulmen*: 2,8  
 funerals: 4,2  
 funereal meal: 19,6  
*funerepus*: 5,2  
*funus*: 19,6  
*funus locare*: 19,2  
*furari*: 11,2; 18,4  
 gall and honey: 18,11  
 Ganges: 6,3  
 GCA: INT E.2 (5)  
*gena*: 15,7  
*genus*: 9,2  
 geometry: 18,30; 20,4  
 Gillus: 15,14  
*glabellus*: 3,9  
 gladiatorial shows: 4,4  
*gnarus*: 16,13  
 Gnostics: 17,4  
 Gorgias: 9,15  
 gory scenes: 3,14  
 'gradatio': 8,1; 16,31; 17,8  
*gradu uno*: 21,4  
*Graecanicus*: 15,8  
*graecissare*: 15,26  
 grafting trees: 6,8  
*grammaticus*: 20,3  
*gratulari*: 16,39

*grauedo*: 17,6  
 Greek in Africa: 9,29  
 Greek names in *-as/-a*: 18,19  
 Gregorius of Nazanzus: 14,2 n.  
*gressus*: 16,23  
*griphus*: 9,28  
 groves: 1,1  
*gubernaculum*: 2,9  
 gymnosophists: VI; 6,7; 6,8; 15,16  
*habere*: 23,4  
*habere* with infinitive: 6,10  
 hair: 3,8; 3,10; 15,7  
*halucinari*: 18,4  
 Hammam Lif: 16,2  
 handbooks of rhetoric: 18,19  
 haste: XXI  
*hercle*: 9,31  
*hercule*: 9,31  
 Hercules: XXII; 22,3  
 Hercules (labours): 22,3  
*herediolum*: 11,1  
 Hipparche: XIV; 14,2; 14,4  
 Hippias: IX  
 Hippias (career): 9,15  
 Hippias (craftsmanship): 9,14  
 Hippias (mnemonic exercises): 9,15  
 Hippias (poetry): 9,27  
 Hippias (praise of): 9,15  
 Hippias Minor (dialogue): IX n.  
 Hippocrates: 19,1  
*hiscere*: 9,6  
*historia*: 16,22; 20,5  
 historiography: 20,5  
*histrion*: 18,4  
 hoe: 15,2  
*holitor*: 15,2  
 Homer: 2,7; 15,21  
 Homer (preservation of poems):  
 15,21  
 Homeric comparisons: 2,7; 2,11;  
 18,28  
 Homeric expressions: 15,23  
 Homeric images: II  
 Homeridae: 15,21  
 homo-erotic elements: 2,1; XV;  
 15,11; 23,3  
*honor*: 16,24  
 Honorinus: IX; 9,37  
 Honorinus / *honor*: 9,40  
 horn: 17,19  
 hornblowers: 4,2  
 horses: 6,8; 21,4  
 human sight: 2,6-7; 10,3  
 human speech: XII  
 human voice: XVII  
*humigatus*: 1,4  
 hundred: 6,3  
 Hyagnis: III; 3,1  
*hymnus*: 18,38; 20,5  
*lastius*: 4,1  
 illness and death: e.g. 4,4; XIX  
 illusionary effects: 15,10  
*immeditatus*: 17,11  
*imminere*: 14,6  
*impatientia*: 17,1  
*impendio*: 18,33  
 imperative in *-to*: 18,9  
 impersonal passive: 2,8; 14,2; 20,3  
*impire*: 9,33  
*implexus*: 16,7  
 improvisation: e.g. XVIII; 18,18  
*in secreto*: 14,6  
*incertum*: 18,40  
*incognoscere*: 19,3  
*inde*: 15,6  
 independence: 16,26 n.  
 India: VI  
 Indians: 6,1  
 Indians (skin colour): 6,4  
*indubitabilis*: 18,37  
*inducere* (of shoes): 9,17  
*inexplebilis*: 20,4  
*infans*: 7,13 n.  
*ingeniatus*: 18,21  
*inlutibarbus*: 3,6  
*inpraesentiarum*: 16,33  
*inpransus*: 6,10  
*instar*: 12,1  
 instruments: 9,8; 9,27  
*instrumentum*: 9,12  
 intermediate gods: X  
*interscapulum*: 14,3  
*interula*: 9,18  
*inuincibiliter*: 18,26  
*inuisor*: 9,1

*inuncare*: 2,11  
*inusiatus*: 10,3  
 invective: e.g. 7,13; 9,9  
 Ionic mode: 4,1  
 iron (Indian): 6,2  
 Ismenias: IV  
*iste*: 1,2; 9,16  
 Ityraei: 6,1  
 Iulius Perseus: 16,2; XVIII; 18,39  
*iuxtim*: 23,4  
 ivory (Indian): 6,2  
 Jasconius: 17,15 n.  
 jewelry and status: 9,26 n.  
 Jews: 6,1  
 joy of description: e.g. 18,3  
 juggler: 18,4  
 Jupiter: 10,2  
 keys (musical): 4,1 n.  
*lacullare*: 15,7  
*lacumaria*: 23,3  
*laeuorsum*: 2,9  
 land, sky, and sea: 15,17 n.  
 land transport: 21,2  
*laniatus*: 2,11  
*lar familiaris*: 22,1  
*largius*: 3,4  
 last words: 16,17  
 Latin: 18,42; 18,43  
 Latin in Africa: 9,7  
*latus clauus*: 8,2  
 laughing: 3,13  
 lead: 9,26  
 legacy-hunting: 19,7  
*legere*: 16,18  
*lenticularis*: 9,22  
 Leodamas: 15,21  
*letum/lectus*: 16,22  
*libellus*: 16,36  
*liber*: 16,15; 16,29  
 library: 18,8  
 life as a play: 16,17  
*lima*: 9,8  
*linea*: 9,8  
 linguistic errors: 9,7  
 linguistic realism: 3,10 n.  
 lions: 17,11  
 lips: 15,10  
*litterator*: 20,3  
*liuidulus*: 9,3 n.  
 Livius Andronicus: 18,21  
 local elite: 16,43; 16,44  
*locuples*: 16,38  
*locus...lucus*: 1,1  
*longule*: 2,6  
*loquitare*: 15,24  
 lubricants: 21,2  
*lubricus*: 6,5  
 Lucilius: 21,4  
 Lucius (metamorphosis): 22,5 n.  
 Lucius Verus: 9,40  
*ludio*: 18,4  
*luxuria*: 3,12  
*luxus/fluxus*: 16,20  
 Lydian mode: 4,1  
 lyre: 3,11; 15,7; 17,10; 17,14  
 lyric: 9,27  
 Lysippus: 7,6  
*macula*: 9,3  
 Madauros: 18,15  
 madness: 20,1  
 magic and law: 20,7  
 magicians: 15,14  
 magistrate (absence): 17,5 n.  
 'Magnus': 7,1; 7,2  
 magpies: 12,4  
*maior*: 2,1  
*male se habere*: 23,4  
*malo/iacto*: 17,3  
 man and animal: e.g. XVII  
 Mandraytus: 18,33  
 mantle: 9,18  
*manumittere*: 14,2  
*manus/manica*: 17,7  
 Marcus Aurelius: 9,40  
 maritime analogy: XXIII  
*marmoratio*: 18,3  
 Marsyas: III  
 Marsyas (birth): 3,6  
 Marsyas (river): 3,13  
 Marsyas and Apollo (contest): III;  
 3,13  
 Martial: 3,14  
*medicabulum*: 16,2  
 medical analogy: XXIII  
 medicine: 15,17; 16,20; 17,6; XIX;  
 19,5; 23,3

*meditor*: 17,17  
*medius fidius*: 9,38  
*medullitus*: 18,41  
 Megasthenes: 6,6  
*mel / fel*: 18,11  
*melleus*: 4,1  
 Menander: 16,6; 16,8  
 metals: 15,6  
*meticulosum*: 2,11  
 metre: 2,4  
*meus*: 7,4  
 middle comedy: 16,6  
 Milesian tales: 15,1  
 Miletos: 15,1  
 mime: 4,3  
*mimus*: 4,3; V; 5,2; 18,4  
 Minerva: 3,7  
*minimo minus*: 12,1  
*miraculum*: 16,16  
 mirrors: 15,5 n.  
*mirum dictu*: 18,13  
 Mnesarchus: 15,13  
*moderatio*: 15,27  
 modesty: e.g. 9,34; 17,21; 18,14;  
 20,6  
*modifier*: 4,1  
*modulator*: 4,1  
*modus*: 3,1; 20,5; 20,6  
*momentum*: 23,4  
 monsters: 22,3  
*monumentarius*: 4,2  
 moon: 10,1; 18,31  
 moral poverty: XI  
 moralizing anecdotes: XIV  
*moramentum*: 21,4  
*morbo sepilire*: 17,7  
*multifariam*: 15,3  
*multiforailis*: 3,1  
*multiugus*: 15,22; 16,28  
*multiscius*: 3,9; 9,24; 18,19  
*multo tanta*: 18,29  
 murmuring (of crowd): 16,13  
 Muses: 9,14; XX; 20,2; 20,3  
 music: e.g. III; IV; 20,4  
 musical instruments: 17,10  
*mutare merces*: 6,7  
 mythology: III  
 Nabathaeans: 6,1  
 names (repetition): 7,4; 22,11  
*natabulum*: 16,2  
*naturabilia*: 15,20  
*nauigare*: 15,1 n.  
 nautic imagery: 2,9; 2,10; 12,2;  
 XXIII  
 Navigatio Brendani: 17,15 n.  
*nectareus*: 20,4  
*nectere*: 18,22  
*nefas*: 3,6  
 new comedy: XVI; 16,6  
 new comedy (features): 16,7  
 nightingales: 17,16; 17,17  
*ninguitur*: 2,8  
 nomads: 6,1  
 nominative and infinitive: 7,7  
*non hercule*: 9,31  
*noster*: 15,26  
*nudus*: 14,2  
 oaks: 1,3  
*oblectator*: 17,15  
*obrigescere*: 16,15; 16,21  
 obscurity / light: 9,2  
*obsoletissimus*: 19,2  
*obstiticulum*: 18,31  
*obstreporus*: 13,2  
*obtutus*: 2,3  
 Ocean: 6,1  
 Oea: 1,2  
 offerings on trees: 1,3  
 oil-flask: 9,22  
 olive trees: 15,2  
 Olympia: 9,16  
 Olympus: 2,8  
*omnicanus*: 13,3  
*omnifariam*: 7,9  
*omnigenus*: 9,27  
*omnimodis*: 4,1  
*opitulator*: 16,9  
*oppido*: 1,2  
*optimus (uir)*: 9,30  
*opus est* with participle: 15,26; 21,1  
 oracles: 3,10  
 oratory: 9,28  
 Orfitus: XVII  
*oriens*: 6,1  
*oriundus*: 15,19  
 Orpheus: 17,15

Ostia: 17,4  
 owls: 13,1  
 owls and magic: 13,1 n.  
 Pacuvius: 18,6  
*paenissime*: 16,19  
 pagan religion: I; 1,3; 1,4 n.  
*pala*: 9,21  
*palaestra*: 16,20  
*palliastrum*: 14,6  
*palliatu*: 9,9  
*pallium*: 4,4; 7,10; 9,9; 9,20; 14,3  
 paradox (judicial): 18,24  
 parasites: 16,9  
 parataxis: e.g. 6,7; 9,40; 16,12  
*pari studio*: 20,6  
 parrot: XII  
 parrot (African): 12,1 n.  
 parrot (beak): 12,2  
 parrot (colour): 12,1  
 parrot (head): 12,3  
 parrot (toes): 12,4  
 parrot (tongue): 12,6  
 Parthians: 6,1  
*paruus / prauus*: 9,9  
*patrissare*: 3,6  
 pederasty: 15,11  
*pedica*: 6,5  
 pen: 9,27  
*pendere equo*: 21,2  
*penetratio*: 18,28  
*pensiculare*: 9,8  
 pepper: 6,2  
*pera cum baculo*: 14,3  
 perception: II  
*perfectius*: 16,47  
 Periander of Corinth: 18,30 n.  
*pernicitas*: 16,24; 21,4  
*persentiscere*: 12,3  
 Perseus (T. Iulius): 16,2; XVIII;  
 18,39  
 Persiana aquae: 16,2  
 Persians: 6,1  
*persona*: 16,18  
*pes/pedica*: 17,7  
 Pherecydes: 15,19  
 Philemon: XVI; 16,6  
 Philemon (death): 16,14  
 Philemon (qualities): 16,7  
 philosophers and birds: XIII  
 philosophical dialogues: 9,28; 18,39  
*philosophus Platonicus*: 1,5  
 philosophy ('royal'): 7,10  
 philosophy and arts: 7,9  
 philosophy and oratory: 13,1  
 Phrygian: 3,6  
 Phrygian mode: 4,1  
*piator*: 15,20  
 pimps: 16,9  
 pipes: 3,1; 17,10  
 Pittacus of Miletus: 18,30 n.  
 pity: 3,14  
 planets: 10,1; 10,2  
 Plato: e.g. 15,26; 20,5  
 Plato and Pythagoras: 15,26  
 Platonic love: 2,1 n.  
 Plautus: e.g. 2,3; 18,7  
 play (life): 16,17  
*plectrum*: 15,9  
*plectrum* (the tongue): 12,6  
*pluitur*: 2,8  
 poem (laudatory): 16,47; 17,18  
 poetry (genres): 9,27; 9,28  
 polemics: e.g. III; VII; 7,12; 7,13;  
 IX; XII; 17,1  
*pollingere*: 19,3  
 Polycletus: 7,6; 15,6; 15,13; 15,11  
*pomoerium*: 19,2  
 population (social categories): 16,45  
*populosus*: 6,1  
 porters and shopkeepers: 7,13  
 porticus: 14,6  
 portraiture: 7,6  
*postliminium*: 19,8  
 poverty: 3,8; XIV; XXIII n.  
 poverty (moral): XI  
*praeco*: 9,10  
*praediatus*: 22,5  
*praedicabilis*: 9,30  
*praefascine*: 16,45  
*praemulcere*: 3,10  
*praenobilior*: 16,31  
*praesens/absens*: 16,1  
*praesidere*: 4,4  
*praestigiator*: 18,4  
*praestinare*: 9,25

*praesumptio*: 9,6  
 praise of magistrates: e.g. VIII; IX;  
 XVI; XVII  
*pressulus*: 9,22  
 priamel: 6,2; 6,9; 7,5  
 priesthood: 16,38; 18,38  
*princeps*: 19,1  
*principes uiri*: 16,1; 16,35  
*priuatim*: 9,32  
*pro meo captu*: 9,13  
*probare*: 16,30  
*procerulus*: 15,9  
*procinctus*: 14,6  
 Prodicus: 9,15 n.  
*Prolaliae*: INT A (3)  
*prolixus*: 18,10  
*promulcere*: 3,10  
*pronuntiare*: 12,8  
 pronuntiation: 9,7  
 propagating plants: 6,8  
 propemptic speeches: IX  
*propendulus*: 3,10  
*proscenium*: 18,3  
*proscindere*: 6,8  
 prose: 3,10; 15,19; 18,38  
 Protagoras: XVIII; 18,19  
 Providence: 10,4  
*proximus*: 18,16  
*psittacus*: 12,1  
 Psyche: 2,11n; 3,10; 15,1  
*pubes*: 15,11 n.  
 public indecency: XIV; 14,6  
 public reading of plays: 16,10  
 publication of texts: 9,13  
*pulsabulum*: 15,9  
 pulse: 19,1; 19,5; 23,4  
 punctuation: INT E.2 (2)  
 pupils of Apuleius: 18,39; 18,42  
 purple: 4,3  
 Pyrgoteles: 7,6  
 Pythagoras: XV  
 Pythagoras (Anaximander): 15,20  
 Pythagoras (born at Samos): 15,12  
 Pythagoras (Epicharmus): 20,5  
 Pythagoras (father): 15,13  
 Pythagoras (journeys): 15,14  
 Pythagoras (life): XV  
 Pythagoras (music): 15,12  
 Pythagoras (Plato): 15,26  
 Pythagoras (silence): XV; 15,23  
 Pythagoreans: 6,10  
*pythagorissare*: 15,26  
 Quadrigarius: 21,5 n.  
*quam for magis quam*: 16,26  
*querela*: 14,4  
 quest for wisdom: 15,15  
*quibusnam uerbis...?*: 16,31  
*quid quaeris?*: 18,26  
*quis laudabit?*: 9,24  
*quod genus*: 9,19  
*quodam modo*: 16,35  
*rabies*: 7,11  
 rain: 16,10 n.  
 rape in comedy: 16,8  
*rarenter*: 9,11; 17,5  
*ratio/oratio*: 13,3; 18,5  
*rauis*: 17,8  
 raven: 12,7  
 reciprocity of praise: 9,31  
*recitatio*: 16,10; 16,19  
*recognoscere*: 17,22  
*recto*: 16,15  
*rector animus*: 17,7  
*redigere*: 9,8  
*reficere poemata*: 9,27  
*reflexus*: 6,1  
*refulgentia*: 18,3  
*regnator*: 6,3  
 rejection of riches: XIV; 14,1  
*relicinus*: 3,8; 7,8  
 religion: e.g. I; X; XVIII  
 religious observances: 1,1  
*remulsus*: 15,7  
*repertus*: 3,2  
*repraesentare*: 9,38  
*reprehendere*: 19,3  
*retentor*: 6,5  
*reuereri/uereri*: 9,36  
*reuerticulum*: 18,31  
*rhetor*: 20,3  
 riddles: 9,28  
 ring: 9,21  
 rivalry: 7,3; 18,41  
 rivers carrying gold: 6,2  
*robiginare*: 17,7

Roman law: 18,24; 20,7  
 Romanizing: e.g. II  
 romantic love: 16,8  
 Rome: 1,2; 17,4; 19,2; 20,9  
*rotunditas*: 9,22  
*rudimentum*: 3,2  
*rudor*: 17,10  
*ruere*: 2,10  
*rupico*: 7,13  
*rupina*: 11,1  
*ruratio*: 15,2  
*sacricola*: 18,38  
*saepimen*: 1,4  
 Safidius Seuerus: 18,39  
 Samos: XV; 15,1  
 Samos (agriculture): 15,2  
 Samos (temple of Juno): 15,4  
 Samos (town): 15,3  
*sarculum/surculus*: 15,2  
*satietas/hilaritas/securitas*: 17,20  
 satire: 9,28  
 Saturn: 10,2  
 Saturnian note: 23,5  
*scaena*: 18,3  
 scales (musical): 4,1  
*scalpere*: 15,2  
 Scheintod: XIX  
 schoolmasters: 20,3  
 Scipio Orfitus: XVII  
*scruposus*: 11,1  
 Scythians: 20,1 n.  
 secrecy (Pythagorean): 15,23  
*secretaria*: 17,16  
*secta*: 18,14  
*secus*: 16,5  
 sedentary arts: 9,25  
 self-examination: 6,10  
 self-irony: 15,26  
 self-praise: e.g. XX  
*semper annorum*: 16,48  
 senatorial outfit: 8,2  
*senesco*: 18,31  
*sentietum*: 11,1  
*senticosus*: 18,29  
*sermocinari*: 18,4  
*serpens*: 15,19  
*serus*: 13,1 n.  
*serus/serius*: 17,19

*sessus*: 16,12  
 Seven Wise Men: 18,30  
 Severianus: IX; 9,35  
 sexual detail: 14,6  
 sexual misbehaviour: 16,8; 16,9  
 sheep and goats: 6,8  
 ship: 23,1  
 ship (parts): 23,1  
 shoes: 9,17; 9,21  
 shopkeepers: 9,25  
*sibi* with possessive pronoun: 16,14;  
 18,20; 23,5  
*signaculum*: 9,21  
*significatus*: 17,10  
 silence: XXIII  
*simultas*: 9,2  
*singillatim*: 9,30  
 site for a statue (procedure): 16,41  
 slaves: 23,3; 23,5  
 slowing down: 21,6  
 snakes: 6,4; 6,5  
 Socrates: II; 2,1; 9,15; 20,5  
*soloecismus*: 9,7  
 Solon: 18,30 n.  
*solus ante alios*: 3,1  
*sophista*: 9,15  
 sophistry (negative judgement of):  
 18,21; 18,28  
*sparsus*: 12,1  
*spectare*: 5,1  
 speech of thanks: XVI; 16,25  
 spelling: INT E.2 (1); 2,7; 7,10;  
 18,39 n.  
 spice trade: 6,2  
*spinae*: 3,6; 18,28  
*spiritus*: 3,5; 17,6  
 statue (second one): 16,41  
 statues: XVI  
*status*: 15,7  
 stenography: 9,13  
 stepmother: XIX  
*stercus*: 14,1  
 Stoa: 14,6  
 stock characters: 16,9  
 Stoicism: 9,33 n.  
*stoliditas*: 3,7  
*stria*: 15,8  
*strigecula*: 9,23

*strigil*: 9,22; 9,23  
 style (register): 9,7  
*sublimare*: 2,8  
*sublimis*: 2,8  
*subluteus*: 12,1  
 'subscriptio': INT C; IX; 15,27;  
 23,5  
*sucus*: 15,7  
 suffix *-fariam*: 7,9  
 suffix *-issare*: 15,26  
 suffix *-men*: 18,14  
 suffix *-tim*: 9,30; 23,4  
 suffix *-tor*: 6,5; e.g. 18,30  
 suffix *-tus*: 8,2; 9,16  
*suggerere*: 14,1  
 sun: 10,1; 18,32  
*supellex*: 14,3  
 superstition: 16,45  
 supine (combination of forms):  
 13,3; 18,42  
 supine (construction with): 16,22n;  
 16,24; 16,32  
 supine (with *ire*): 11,2; 16,32  
*supinus*: 10,4  
*susurrus*: 17,10  
 swan: 12,7n; 17,16; 17,17  
 sword and sheath: 17,8  
 syncretism: 18,37 n.  
 syntax (complex): 2,8-11; 18,21;  
 XXI; 21,1  
 Syros: 15,19  
 Tagus: 6,3 n.  
 teeth: 15,23  
*tegere*: 18,37  
*temperaculum*: 6,2  
*temperies*: 16,23  
*terrenus*: 2,7  
 Tertullian: 4,4; 4,4n; 16,1  
*tesquum*: 11,1; 17,17  
*textrina*: 9,25  
 Thales: XVIII; 18,30  
 thanks: 16,25  
 theatre: e.g. IV; V; 17,8  
 theatre (architectural elements): 18,3  
 theatre (attitude towards): V  
 theatres (in Africa): 18,2  
 Thebes: 22,4  
 third act of a comedy: 16,10

Thrasymachus: 9,15 n.  
*tibia*: 3,1  
*tibicen*: IV  
*tibicen*: 3,8  
 tightrope walkers: 5,2; 18,4  
*tinnitus*: 3,5  
*tirocinium*: 18,20  
 Tisias: 18,19  
*toga*: 4,4  
*togatus*: 9,10  
*toreuma*: 7,8  
*tormus*: 9,8  
*totiugi*: 9,24; 18,17  
 travel: I; XXI  
 travel (inconveniences): 21,2  
*tribunal*: 16,39  
*tuba*: 3,4; 17,10  
*tui similis*: 17,3  
 tunic: 9,18  
 Twelve Tables (law): 17,18 n.  
*ualete et plaudite*: 16,17  
*uariator*: 17,10  
*uariegare*: 3,11  
*uber/tuber*: 18,11  
*ubique* with genitive: 7,8  
*uector*: 21,4  
*uenire* with supine: 16,24  
*uerba uolantia*: 15,23  
*uester*: 17,4  
*ueterator*: 18,26  
*uians*: 1,1  
*uirga*: 21,6  
*uiror*: 10,4  
*uispillo*: 19,8  
*uiuatus*: 21,4  
*unicanus*: 3,8 n.  
 unpleasant details: 15,19; 16,15  
*uoluptificus*: 10,2  
*uolutus*: 10,4  
*uspiam gentium*: 14,5  
*utensilia*: 16,26  
*utilitates publicae*: 18,40  
*utiquam*: 16,23  
*utrumque eius*: 17,1  
*utrumuis*: 15,1  
 Vandals: 20,10 n.  
 Varro: 1,3 n.

vegetable-growers: 15,2  
Venus: 10,4  
Vergil: 3,3  
Vergil (Aeneid): 16,33  
Vergil (Georgics): 11,2  
*Vergilianus*: 3,3  
verse quotations: e.g. 2,3; 3,3; 10,1  
victory (ignoble): 3,14  
vines: 15,2  
VIP: XXI; 21,5  
virtues of a magistrate: 9,35  
votive offerings: 15,5  
water (fondness of): 16,2 n.  
wealth (uselessness): 22,6; XXIII;  
23,3-5  
wedding and funeral: 16,18  
wheels: 21,2  
wine: 17,7; 19,1; XX  
wings as oars: 2,10  
winter: 16,19  
wolves: 17,11  
Xenocrates: 20,5  
Xenophanes: 20,5 n.  
Xenophon: 20,5  
Zeno (Stoic): XIV  
Zeno of Citium: 14,6  
zoology: XII