Research for this study was made possible by scholarships at the University of Leiden (The Netherlands) and the Catholic University of Nijmegen (The Netherlands).
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 epidictic 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 by the author’s style, I even coined a new Dutch word for its title, ‘Proefpassages’ (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 gok 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 languages (which is a good argument why *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 / HENNIG). 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 due also 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 unremiring trust in me and I hope this book will please him in the coming years of his well-deserved *atisam cum dignitate*. Mr. Erik Hamer, a former student at the department of Classics in Nijmegen, out 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 those 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. Maaike Zimmerman, Wytze Keulen, Ilios Panayotakis, Berber Wesseling, Danielle van Mal-Maeder, and Tom McCready: 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 Puma, 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
Of Apuleius’ rhetorical works, the Apology can be understood and appreciated along Ciceroan 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 Ciceroan 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 Mer. and Fl. stands out as a particularly harsh example:

Dieser Mann [...] hat die Sprache ewndigt. Bei ihm feiert der in bacchantischen Taumel dahinschreitende, wie ein wilder Strom sich selbst überstürzende, in ein wechselndes Nebelmeer von Phantastik zergehende Stil seine Orgien: hier paart sich mit der ungeheurelichsten Schmutz die affektierteste Zierlichkeit: alle die Mätzchen, die dem weichlichen Wohlklang dienen, werden in der verschwenderischen Weise angebracht, als da sind Alliterationen, Ohren und Augen verwirrende Wortspiele, abgekürzte Satzzeichen mit genauerer Korrespondenz 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 ausgetauscht. (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 is 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 representatives 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.44).

A quick glance at the 25 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
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 thematic link between the fragments. In the collection as a whole, some recurrent themes may indeed be distinguished (see further below A.44), 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 1 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 laudatio of Carthage as city of culture), while other fragments could easily be connected here; the sanctissimum Ianum ciastrum 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. HEMANS 1994, 1722, referring to TLL, v.v. Floridos 926,5. 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 ἄρσηπος. Quoting this place, HORSFALL-SCOTT 1990b, 80 argues that a similar 'γραμματικά' 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 Florida is clearly stylistic: it refers to a 'florid' style. From Quintilian, we learn what sort of style this is in a passage discussing a threelode division of styles (Inst. 12,10,58-59). Here Quintilian distinguishes a genus subtilis apt for instructing, a genus grande et robustum apt for moving and a genus medium ex diaclous or floridum (Greek ἀριστοφαίος) apt for charming or conciliating the audience. The best qualities for these styles are, respectively, ἀμένα (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. 2 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 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

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1 It remains impossible to adduce proof here, but given the state of the collection, with very long texts seeming not to vary short or even minutely impenetrable 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.

2 HEMANS 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.
(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 that appear 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 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 talk, all this can serve the aim of a speaker starting on his speech, rather than to paper 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 professed 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 proconul Orfits, 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.3).

In classical rhetoric, drawing the attention of the audience, holding it, and gaining its sympathy (e.g. Cic. inv. 1,20 confidit audientem benevolentiam aut docilem aut attonitum) 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.

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1 For this conclusion, see also HUMANN 1994. 1723, who rightly opposes HESAN, XIX and AUGELLO, 415.

2 For an analysis of these texts, see notably MIAS 1949. 207-8 and GEORGADOU / LAMOUR 1993. In the latter study further references to scholarship on these pieces by Lucian may be found. On prolalia in Dio Chrysostom, see STUCK 1911. 41-66.

3 GEORGADOU / LAMOUR 1993. 104 actually suggest that the two Lucianan prolalia in question are variant preserves to the Vera Historia, used interchangeably by Lucian as introductions to his readings from this work.
Possibly, 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 HUMANS 1994, 1723. For earlier theories on the nature of the Florida, see HUMANS, 1720-.

More specifically, FOUCIER 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 SCOTT 1990b even develops the theory that the anthology (and the archetype of the Apuleian MSS tradition) was made in Constantinople. 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 CONO 1959 devotes a long analysis to the collection on the basis of the concept of philosophia. In her observations, DE CONO accordingly tends to take matters either too seriously or too lightly, while in the end she appears to appreciate the work merely as a proovise 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 Apuleian days, which was dominated by the Greek Second Sophistic. Apuleian's 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

2 KENNEDY follows a fourth-century treatise by Apollonius of Ancyra, a student of Libanius. Here, fourteen exercises are specified: mythos (fable), aleiphen (narrative), chrion (autobiography), gnomon (maxim), exochoria and kathula (exaltation and clarification), Anabasis topoi (conversational), exothenos and pargos (praise and invective), ektasten (repetition), ethopoeia (personification), alphabata (description), thesis (argument), nomos elephos (introduction of a law, either in defence or opposition). Although Apuleius lived long after Apollonius, many of these exercises seem relevant as basic models in the Florida too, notably narrative, mandita, maxima, conversational, praise, and description.

3 HARRISON, 135 supports the suggestion that this editor is no other but Cyprian Salustianus, who is known to have edited the Mile. and Apol. The solution is attractive indeed, but there is no proof whatsoever for it. cf. HUMANS 1994, 1720.

The latter theory is based on a concentration of hypophus and means not very plausible. For example, it leaves unexplained why Apuleius' Greek works have not been preserved, as HORSFALL SCOTTI, 1991 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 epic and oratory, declamation, didactic interests, narrative, squabbling 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. FOUCIER 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 VÖSSLING 1997, 436-47.

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 5) 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.

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

2 One might briefly consider the possibility of a chronological order of the fragments. This is actually suggested by ORSZIG 1984, 22-4. However, the few places where the date of a piece can be established with certainty (183 for Fl. 9; 165-6 for Fl. 17; see below, Introduction B) do not allow us to draw such a conclusion. The antiquarian seems to have been torn on literary style and interferring 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.

II 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.¹

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 Severians at his departure from office in 163 AD, while his successor Orfilus, 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. 22 there is no subscriptio in F6, 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. Beaufils, 164-8 and Morehead, 1-6. Those who 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 in absence is no proof that the work is not complete.² 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

¹ On the assumption that the scholar Salustianus, whose name figures in the MSS, was responsible for the anthology, it would have to be dated in the 6th century.

² 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 Met.
In matters of orthography, too, I have followed HELM and GC4: the spelling of F is retained 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 to F, which probably most closely resembles the emended copy by Sallahustus. The edition as presented here is, therefore, a fairly modest attempt to approach the text; cf. HUNANG 1994, 1777-?

As in the GC4, 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 French edition.

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.

1. Only in places where the MS. 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, 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 syntactic matters.

The principal aim of the commentary is to shed light upon elements of the text that until now have remained hidden or unobserved. 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 daily 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. Irrespective, 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

1 The only English commentary occasionally referred to by scholars is OTTEN 1974, but this book is an unpublished dissertation and is not easily available 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 Ottone’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 enigmatic 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, vagaries, 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 longitudinal 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, AGNELLO, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini (in the year of our Lord)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.o.</td>
<td>and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apol.</td>
<td>Apologia (Apology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>before Christ</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>capit</td>
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<tr>
<td>ca.</td>
<td>circa</td>
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<tr>
<td>cc.</td>
<td>capita</td>
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<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>confer (also used in ‘see’3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>crit. app.</td>
<td>critical apparatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esp.</td>
<td>especially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fl.</td>
<td>and following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCA</td>
<td>Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCN</td>
<td>Groningen Colloquia on the Novel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHSz</td>
<td>Leximani, Hofmann, Straszy, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSI</td>
<td>Liddell, Scott and Jones, A Greek-English lexicon</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>manuscript</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSS</td>
<td>manuscripts</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>note</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLD</td>
<td>Oxford Latin Dictionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>PIR</td>
<td>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</td>
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1. Often these two terms are used interchangeably to refer to ancient manuscripts, secondary literature, works of reference, or places elsewhere in this commentary. However, sometimes a slight distinction is made, ‘cf.’ indicating direct reference, and ‘see’ indicating more remote, less important references.
FLORIDA

RE : Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll s.n., Paulys Realencyclopadie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
w. : sic (that is, namely)
K.V. : sub voce (under heading)
TLL : Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
wu : with note

Numbers:
34-35 : 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
< B > : words or letters added by editors or translators
| Il 1 | words or letters omitted by editors

MSS:
F = Laurentianus 68.2
φ = Laurentianus 29.2
ι = later manuscripts and early editions
[I]

1) Vt ferme religiosis uiantum moris est, cum aliquid lucus aut aliquid locus sanctus in uia oblatus est, uotum postulare, pomum adponere, paulisper adsidere: 2)ita mihi ingresso sanctissimam istam ciuitatem, quam oppido festine, praefanda uenia et habenda oratio et inhibenda properatio est.

3)Neque enim iustius religiosam moram uiatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita aut spelunca floribus innumbrata aut quercus cornibus onerata aut fagiis pellibus coronata, 4)uit enim colliculus sepulchrum consecratus ut truncus dolamine effigiatus ut cespes libamine umigatus uel lapsis unguine delibutus. 5)Parua hae quippe et quamquam paucis percontantibus adorata, tamen ignorantibus transcursa.

[I]

1) At non itidem maior meus Socrates, qui cum decorum adulescentem et diutule tacetem conspicatus foret, 'Vt te uideam,' inquit, 'aliquid et loquere.' 2) Scilicet Socrates tacetem hominem non uidebat. Etenim arbitrabantur homines non ocularum, sed mentis acie et animi obrutum considerandos. 3)Nec ista re cum Plautino militte congruebat, qui ita ait:

'Pluris est ocularis testis unus quam auritis decem.'

4)Immo enim uero hunc uersum illud ad examinandos homines conuerterat:

'Pluris est auritis testis unus quam oculati decem.'

5)Ceterum si magis polluerint oculorum quam anini iudicia, profecto de sapientia foret aqualae concedendum. 6)Hominis enim neque longue dissita neque proxime adita possimus cernere, uerum omnes quoddam modo caecutimus: 7)ac si ad oculos et optum istum tellternum redigas et hebeterum, profecto uerrissime poeta egregius dixit uelut nebiam nobis ob oculos effusam nec cernere nos nisi intra lapidis iactum ualere.
Sed stultitiae maximum non enim uero cum seu aquila exuit, rursus clementi laeorumus uel dextrorum tanta mole corporis labitur, uelificatas alas quoad libit aduentem modico cauda gul[bernaculo], unde cuncta despiciens, ibidem primarum eminiens indefessa remigia; ac paletisper cinctabundio solutu paene eodem loco pendula circum tuetur et quaerit, quosurus potissimum in praedam supernae sese ruat fulmini uicerit; unde caelo inprouisa simul campis pectu simul monibus feras simul homines urbibus uno optatu sub eodem impetu cernens, unde rostro tran<sfodiat, unde ungubus inuincet uel agrum incuriosum uel leporem metelicolum uel quodcumque esse animatum uel lanaiatu fors obvult < >

[III]

Hyagnis fuit, ut fando acceptimus, Marsyae tibicinis pater et magister, rudibus adhuc musicae saculis solus ante alios cannt canere, nondum quidem tamen $f<\mid >$ eximium sono nec tamen pluriformi modo nec tamen multiformarii tuba; quippe adhuc arsa ista repertu noso commodium oriebat. Nec quicquam omni est quod po<5>nimo sit in primordio sui perfici, sed in omnibus ferme ante est spei rudimentum quam rei experimentum. Quodque igni et Hyagnis $n<\mid >$ nilh aliud plerique callabant quam Vergilianus upilio seu buseque: stirdati miserum stipula disperdere carmen.

Quod si quis uidebat paulo largius in arte promouisse, ei quoque tamen nos fuit una tuba uelit una uuba personare. Primus Hyagnis in causo manus discapendit, primus duas tubas uno spirita animauit, primus laetus et dexteris foraminibus, acuto tinnitu et graui bombo, concentum musican miscit.

Primo genus Marsyas cum in arteficio patrisserat tibicini, Phryx cereta et barbarus, ualuit ferino, trux, hispidus, intitubarbus, spinis et pilis obtiusu furr — pro nefas — cum Apolline certauisse, taeter cum decoro, agrestis cum erudito, belua cum deo. Musae cum Minerua dissimilantem gratia indices adstitero, ad deridendam soliciet monstri illius barbaram nec minus ad solilidatem poesien-
igitur est? Vnum pro his omnibus nuncut: sapientiam percolunt tam magistri seques quam discipuli iuniores. Nec quicquam aeque penes illos laxado, quam quod torporem animi et orum odorum.

igitur ubi mensa posita, prisquam edulis adponantur, omnes adolescentes ex diversis locis et officiis ad dapon convieniant, magistri perrogant quod factum a hac ortu ad illud diei bonum fecerit. Hic alias se commenmorat inter duas arbitraps delectum, sanata simulata, reconciliata gratia, purgata suspicione amicos ex inesse reddidisse; hic alienus esse panebat quaeipam impertinentus oboedisse, et aliis aliud mediatione sua repperisse uel alterius demonstratione didicerisse, <...> denique certei commenmorant. Qui nihil habet adifferere cur prandeat, impransus ad opus forsas extruditur.

Indi, gens populosa cultoribus et finibus maxima, procul ad orientem siti, prope oceanis reflexus et solis exortus, primis sideribus, ultimis terris, super Aegyptios eruditos et Iudaeos superstitiosos et Nabathaeos mercatores et fluxos usuum Arsiacidas et frugum pauperes Iyraeos et odorum diuiles Arabas — eorum ignis Indorum non aequo miror eboris strues et piperis menses et cinnami merces et ferri temperacula et argenti aurum et uellus et uelis uelis ille deprehendas.

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toreunatis idem uiger acerrimi bellatoris, idem ingenium maximim honoris, eadem forma uiridis iuuentae, eadem gratia relicinae frontis cernetur.

Quod utinam pari exemplo philosophiae edictum ultraeret, ne qui in imaginem eius temere adstimularet, uti pauci boni artifices, idem probe eruditi omnifiriam sapientiae studium contemplaret. Neu rudes, sordidi, imperiti pallio tenus philosophos imitarentur et disciplinam regalem tan ad bene dicendum quam ad bene uiueundum repertam male dicendo et similiter uiuendo contaminarent. Quod utrumque scilicet perfacile est.

Quae enim facilius res quam linguae rables et utilitas morum, alterum ex aliorum contumae, alterum ex sui? Nam uiliter semet ipsum colere sui contemptus est, barbarae alios insectari audientium contumelia est. An non sumnam contumeliam uobis imponat, qui uos arbiratur maledicit optimi ciusque gaudere, qui uos existimat mala et uitiosa uterra non intellegere aut, si intellegatis, boni consuleret? Quis ex rupiconibus, baiolis, tabernaris tam infans est, ut, si pallium accipere uelit, <non> disertius malecadat?

[VIII]

Hec enim plus tibi debet quam dignitari, quamquam nec haec illi sit cum aliis promiscua. Nam ex innumeris hominibus pauci senatores, ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere et ex iis consulaturus pauci boni et adhue ex bonis pauci eruditi. Sed ut loquar de solo honore, non licet insignia eius ussitum uel calceatum temere usurpare.

[IX]

Si quis forte in hoc pulcherrimo coena ex il<1> is imiseribus meis malignus sedet, quoquam ut in magna ciuitate hoc quoque genus inueritur, qui meliores obtractare malum quam imitari et, quorum similitudinem desperent, correndum adfectent simulatem, scilicet uti, qui suo nomine obscuri sunt, meo hincrescent, uel qui iigitur ex illis luxidiluigi splendidissimo huic audiitorio uelit quaedam macula se immiscuit, ueliam paulisper suas oculos per hunc incredibilem consensum circumferat contemplantique frequentiam tantum, quant

ante me in auditorio philosophi nonquam usitata est, 34 repueta cum animo suo, quantum periculum ceterumque exstimationis hic adeat qui contemni non conueuit, cum sit arduum et oppido difficile uel modicae paucorum expectationi satisfacere, praesertim mihi, cui et ante parta exstimationi et uestra de me benigna praesumptio nihil[non] quicaquam sinit neglegenter ac de summo pretore hiscere.


[II] Praeco procons. et ipse tribunal ascendit, et ipse togatus illic uidetur, et quidem per dies aut ambulat aut plemmque contentis.

[III] Et Hippias iste quoniam certamine Olympico Pisam, non minus cultu uiesendus quam elaborato mirandus. Quae se me extant in Camenis quam Hippiae in opificis operis. Quid istud sit, si animo attendatis, diligentius et accuratus disputabo.

Et Hippiae et numero sophistarum est, arium multitudine prior omnibus, eloquentia nulli secundus. Aetas illi cum Socrate, patria Ellis; genus ignornar, gloria uero magna, fortuna modica, sed ingenium noble, memoria excellens, studia varia, amnali multi. Venit Hippias iste quoniam certaminde Olympico Pisam, non minus cultu usitatum quam elaboratum mirandus. Quum sequu quoque habebat, nihil eorum [n]emerat, sed uisibi manibus confessederat et instumenta quibus indutos, et calicamenta quibus erat inducere, et gestamina quibus erat conscipiscar. Habebat induxit ad corpus
tunicam interulam tenuissimo textu, tripli licio, purpura cuplicit; ipse eam sibi solus domi texerat. 380Habebat cinctui balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus varieatum; nec in hac eum opera quisquam adducerat. 381Habebat aniciul pallium candidum, quod superne circumsecerat; id quoque pallium eo <m>perceris</m> ipsius laborem fuisset. 380Eum pedum tegumenta crepidas silicem compegerat; etiam anulum in laeva aurem faberrii insignae quoem ostentatbat, ipse eius anuli et orbiculum circularebat et palacl clauserat et gemmam insculperat.

381Nondum omnia eius commenmoraui. Enim non pigebit me comminuore, quod illum non padimus est ostentare, quia magno in coe[plu praedicavit, fabricatum semen sibi ampliam quoque olearium, quam gestabat, lenticuli forma, tereti ambitz, pressula rutunditate, 384utque honestam strigileculam, recta fastigatione cordaulae, flexa tubulatione ligulae, ut et ipsa in mensa capulo moraretur et sador ex ea risulo laboreter. 384Quis autem non laudavit hominem tam numerosa arte multisigna, totus ussinius perita daedalum?

Quin et ipse Hippian laudo, sed ingeni eius fecunditate malo doctrinae quam sapellectilis multiformi instrumento aemulari, 385faeoreque me sellularias quidem artes minus callere, uuestem de teuritia emere, baxea istas de sutrina praestuere, 386entiumero anulum nec gestare, gerrman et aurum iuxta plumbum et lapillos nulli aestimare, strigile et ampullam ceteraque balnei usuissi incondiis merari. 387Prorsum enim non eo inintulit[as nec] radii nec su[bla nec lima nec toro nec id genus ferramentae<.> uti nosse, sed pro his praepote me fatoor uno chartario calamo me reficere poemata omnigenus apta urgae, lyrae, socco, coturn, 389item satiras ac <g>riphos, item <h>istorias uariantes rerum nec non <c>rationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis 390utque haec <er> alia[et eiusdem] modi tam Graece quam Latine, gemino uoto, pari studio, similis stilo.

389Quae utinam possem euqidem non singillatim ac discretum, sed cupistim et concertati in tibi, proconsul, air optime, offerre ac praedabicili testimonio tuo ad omnem nostram Canenam frui! 390Non hercule penuria laudis, quae mihi dudum integra et flores per omnes antecessores tuos ad te reseruata est, sed quoniam nulli me probatorem uolo, quam <m>ipse ante omnis merito probe. Enim sic natura comprobatum est, ut eum quem laudes etiam ames, porro quem ames etiam laudari te ab illo uelis.

390Asque ego me dillectorem tuum profiteor. nulla tibi pruiaum, sed omni publicius gratia obstrectus. Nihil quippe a te imperau, quia nec postulaui. 390Sed philosophia me docuit non tantum beneficium amare, sed etiam maleficium magisque judicium impetere quam commodo inserire et quod in commune expediat malle quod quod mihi. Ignor bonitatis tuae diligent plerique fractum, ego studium. 391Idque facere adorat sum, dum moludperationem tuum in prouniciuam negotios contemplor, quia effectuus te amare debent experi propter beneficium, expertes propter exemplum. 392Nam et beneficio multis commodasti et exemplum omnibus prohfiti.

Quis enim a te non amet discere, quamnan moderatione optimi optinere quae tua ista gratias iucunda, mitis austeritas, placida constantia blandusquae uitor[em]. 393Neminem proconsulam, quod sciam, prounica Africa magis reruerita est, minus uerita: nullo nisi tuo anno ad coerceda peccata plus pudor quam timor ualuit. Nemo te alius pari postesate saepius profuit, rarius terruit, nemo similorem uirute filium adduxit.

Ignot nemo Carthagini proconsulum diuitius fuit. 395Nam etiam eo tempore quo prounicia<m> cum circumbas, manente nobis Honorius minus sensibus absentiam tuam, quam te magis desidereramus: 396paterna in filio aequitas, senilis in iuvene [auctoritas] prudentia, consularis in legato auctoritas; prorsus omnis uirutes tuae ista 397officiarum est: 398saepe represeantur, ut medius fictus admirabilius esset in iiuenes quam in te parte laus, nisi eam tu tamet dedissere.

399Quae utinam perpetuo licet frui! Quod nobis cum istis proconsulam uic[ci]bus, quid cum annis brevibus et festinantisbus mensibus? O celer<e>s> honorum hominum dies, o praesidium optimorum ciuata curricula! Iam te, Sueriane, tota prouinicia desidereramus. 401Ante prohbono Honorium et honos suos ad praeturm uocat et fauer Caesarum ad consultam format et amor noster inpraesentiuram tenet et espes Carthaginis in futurum spondet, uno solacio freta exempli tui, quod qui legatus mittiur, proconsul ad nos cito reservatur est.
aemulari, ferræ clauscula caput tunditur, imperium magistri ut persentiscat; haec discenti ferula est.

Discit autem aetatis suae annos, dum facile candentem feruido curni atque equis, uti conformetur, dum tenera lingua, uti comübretur: senex autem captus et indociulis est et obitiliosus. Verum ad disciplinam humani sermonis facilitor est psittacus, gaudia per eum et eis in pedibus ut hominis quin digiti numerantur. Non enim omnibus psittacis id insignia, sed illud omnibus proprium, quod eis lingua laior quam ceteris aibus; eos facilis uerba hominis articulant patentiore specto et palato.

Id uero quod dicit, ita similiter nobis canit vel potius quam didicerunt pronuntiant. Si conuicia conuiciabitur et coruum si est, noctibus perstrepens hoc illi carmen est, hanc putat cantionem.

Verum enimero et coruus psittacus nihil aliud quam quod didicerunt pronuntiant. Si conuicia conuiciabitur et coruum si est, noctibus perstrepens hoc illi carmen est, hanc putat cantionem. Si carere conuicio est aut in siluas est.
coetu facto maximum exclamavit: Crates, iniqui, Crates, te
manumvit[is]! Exinde non modo solus, serum nudus et liber omnium,
quod uixit, beate uixit.

Audeoque eius cupiebat, ut urgo nobilis spretis junioribus ac
ditoriibus proelis ultron <er> eum sibi optaminet. Cumque
interscapulam Crates retoxisset, quod est autco gibbere, peram cum
baculo et pallium humi pos[is]uisit earque suppellectilum sibi esse
puellae profiteretur earque formam quam uiderat 44 — proinde ieculo
consulenter, ne post querela[m] eam caperet — enimnue Hipparche
condicionem accipit. Iam dudum sibi proustum satis et satis
consultum respondit, neque dixerent maritum neque formam
siure <em> uspiam gentium posse inuenire; proinde duceret quo
liberet.

Dux Cynicus in porticum. Ibidem, in loco celebri, coram luce
clarissima accubuit, coramque urginem immundiuisset parasam pari
constantia, ni Zeno proxincu palliisri circumstantis coronae
obitu <em> magistri in secreto defendisset.

[XV]

Samos Icario in mari modica insula est — exduersum Miletos —
ad occidentem eius sita, nec ab ea mala pelagi displicitur: utrumuis
clementer nauignantem dies alter in portu sustit. Ager frumento piger,
aratro inritus, fecundior olueto, nec uinitori nec hol <er>ori
sculptur. Ruratio omnis in sarculo et sacculo, quorum proventu magis
fructuosa insula est quam fragfiera. Ceterum et incinis frequentem et
hospitibus celebrata. Oppidum habet, nequaquam pro gloria, sed quod
fuisset amplum semiruta moenium multifariam indicant.

Enimnue fanum luxonis antiquissimam famaguratum; id fanum
secundo istore, si recte recorder siam, uigitiri baud amplius stadia
oppido abest. Absi donarium deae perquam opulentum: plurima aur et
ergenti ratio in lancibus, speculii <er>, polulis et cuiuscoemodi
utensilibus. Magna statim eius aeris tario effugatrum, ueterinro et
spectabilior operae: uel inde ante aram Bathilii statua a Polycrate tyranno
dicata, qua nihil uideo effectus cognosisse; quadrum Pythagorae eam
calso existimant.

Adulescentis est usienda pulchritudine, criniibus <er> fronte
parili separatu per malas remultiis; pone autem coma prolixior
etiam Pherecydes ex insula oriundus, qui primus uersuum nesu repudiato conscribere ausus est passis uerbis, soluto locutu, libera oratione, eum quoque Pythagoras magistrum coluit et infandi morti patredine in serpentinum scabrem solutum religioso humanit.

Ferrur et penes Anaximandrum Milesium naturalia commen-
tatus nec non et Cretensi Eppimenid in clinatum fatiologiaq
et platorem disciplinae gratia sectatus d[50]temque Lexiaman
Creop<34> et discipulum (qui Creop<34> plius memoratur poetae
H<34>) omeri hospes et aemulator canendi frisse.

Tot ille doctoribus eruditus, tot tamque multiugis caficibus disciplinam in toto orbe haustis, iui praecepto ingenuo ingensi ac profecto super captum hominis animi augastor, primus philosophiae nuncupat[50]or et conditor, nihil prius discipulos suos docuit quam
tacere, praemque apud eum meditatio sapiens futuro lingua omnem coecere uerba<34>, quae 'uolantia' poetae appellant, ea uerba
detactis pinnis intra murmum cantendium dantium premere.

Prorsus, inquam, hoc erat primum sapientiae rudimentum: meditari loquari deductedere.

Non in totum aequum tamen uocem desausecabant, nec omnes pari tempore eliengae magistram sectabantur, sed grauiores uiriores breui spatio satis uidebatur taciturnitas modifacta, locogaciiores enim uero ferme in quinquennium uelut exilio uocis punieb<34> tur.

Porro noster Plato, nihil ab hac sccta uel paululum deuus, pythagoriesat in plurimis: acque et ipse <u<34> in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptauer, uerrunquie meditatioinibus academicis dedicetu et, cum dictu opus est, ingpire dicere, et, cum tacito opus est, libenter tacere.

Qua moderatione uideor ab omnibus tuis antecessoris haud minus opportunity silentii uaudem quam tempustiae uocis testimonium consecutus.

[XVI]

Prinsuam uobis operiam, principes A<feriae> u<iri>, gratias agere ob statuum, quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis et absenti beneigne decreuistis, prius uolo causam uobis allegare, cur aliquam multos dies a conspectu auditorii afferuin <comuilerinquae me ad Persianas aquas, gratissima prorsus et sanis natubula et aegris medicabula>. Quo ipse instituit omne uitate meae tempus uobis probare, quibus me in perpetuum firmiter dedicati: nihil tantum, nih<1>1 tantum faciam, quin eius usos et gnatos et iudices habeam — quid igitur de repentino ab hoc splendidissimo conspectu uestro distulerim.

Exemplum eius rei paulo seculum similimum memorabo, quam impressa percula hominibus subito obiurantur, de Philemono comico. De ingeno eius qui satis nostis, de interiu paucis cognoscite. An etiam de ingeno pauca uisint?

Poeta fuit hic Philemon, mediae comodiae scriptor, fabulas cum Menandro in scanern dictasuit certauncque cum eo, fortasse impar, ueste aequus. Nusque eum eius usus uniu s<5> actum esse — pedes dicere.

Repperias tamen apud ipsum multos sales, argumenta lepide in reflexivity, adgnitus lucide explicatos, personas rebus competentes, sententias uitate congruenter, loca non intra soccos, seria non usque ad coturnum. 

Raro apud illum corruptela, ejus errores, concessi amores. 

Nec eo minus et leno perituros et amator feridus et seruius callidus et amica uxor.

Porro noster Plato, nihil ab hac sccta uel paululum deuus, pythagoriesat in plurimis: acque et ipse <u<34> in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptauer, uerrunquie meditatioinibus academicis dedicetu et, cum dictu opus est, ingpire dicere, et, cum tacito opus est, libenter tacere.

Qua moderatione uideor ab omnibus tuis antecessoris haud minus opportunity silentii uaudem quam tempustiae uocis testimonium consecutus.
Neque enim aut leui mercede emit qui precatur, aut par <a> un premium accept qui rogatur, adeo ut omnia utulitiam emere uelis quam rogare. Id ego arbitratus praecipe in honore obseruandum; quem qui laboriose exorauerit, sibi debet <a> nam gratia <m>, quod impe <i> rarit; qui uero sine molestia ambitus adeptus est, duplam gratiam praebentibus debet, et quod non petierit et quod acceperit.

Dum illum uobis gratiam debeob, immo includu multigam, quam ubique equidem et semper praedicabo. Sed nunc impresentarum libro isto ad hunc honorem mihi conscripto, ina ut solecte, publice protestabo: certa est enim ratio, quas debeat philosop- phae ob decretam sibi publice statuam gratus agere. A qua paululum demutavit liber, [e] quem Strabonem Aemiliani excellentsimus honor flagitat — quem librum sperabo me commodo posse conscribere; setis eum hodie uobiscum probate — esse enim tantus in studiis, <ut> praenobiliis sibi proprio ingenio quam patrioc consulta.

Quibussum uerbis tibi, Aemiliane Srabo, utr omnium, quorumquam fuerunt aut sunt aut etiam erant, inter optimos clarissimos, inter clarissimos optime, inter utroque doctissime, quibus tandem uerbis pro hoc tuo erga me animo gratias habitum et commemoratum eam, qua digna ratione tam honorificam benignitatem tuam celebrum, qua remuneratione dicendi gloriam sui facti aqueperem, nondum hercle repperio. Sed quaeam sedulo et conitar,

dum memori ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

Nam nunc impresentarum — neque enim diffitebo — laetitia facundiae obtrept et cogitatio utulisse impeditur, ac mens occupata delectatione muliui impresentarum gaudere quam praedicare.

Quid faciam? Cuiusque uideri, sed prae gaudio nondum mihi uacat grati <a> s agere. Nemo me, nemo ex illis triororibus uelit in isto uinuperare, quod honorem meum non minus merore quam intellego, quod clarissimi et erudissimi uiri tanto testimonio exullo.

Quiippe testimonium mihi perhibat in curia Carthaginisium non minus splendidissisma quam benignissima uestiori consularium, cui etiam eorum esse tantummodo sumnum honor est, etiam laudator mihi apud principes Africam iuos quodam modo ostitit.

Nam, ut comperior, modius tertius libello misso, per quem postulabat locum celebrum statuam esse, cum primis commemorant intes isorum amicitiae a commilitio studiorum eidem magistris honeste inchoapat; nunc postea uesta omnia secundum dignitatis suae gradum recognoti. Iam illud primum beneficium, quod condictivum se meninist. Ece et hoc alterum beneficium, quod
tans diligi se ex pari praedicat. Quin etiam commemorauit et alibi gentium et ciuitatum honores mihi statuam et alios decretos.

39Quid addi potest ad hoc praecorum urii consularis? Immo etiam doceit argumento suspetit sacerdotis sumnum mihi honorem Carthaginis adesse. Iam hoc praecipuam beneficium ac longe ante ceteros excellens, quod me uobis locupletissimus testis suo etiam suffragio commendat. 40Ad summae pollicitus est se mihi Carthagini de suo statuam postiurum, utr, cui omnes provinciae quadriuages et seiuies currus ubique gentium ponere gratiam.

Quid igitur superest ad honoris mei tribunal et columna, ad laudis meae cumulu? Immo enimuoer, quid superest? 44Etiamus Strabo, urior consularis, breui uotis omnium funus procons., sententiam de honoribus meis in curia Karthaginensis dixit, omnes eius auctoritatem seuti sunt. Nonne videtur hoc uobis senatus consultum esse?

45Quid quod et Karthaginenses onres, qui in illa sancissima curia aderant, tam libenter decreuerunt locum statuere, ut illos scires iecirco alteram statuam, quantum spero, in sequenti uariam prorulisse, 46ut salua ueneratione, salua reverentia consularis sui, siirentent factum eius non aemulati sed secuti, id est ut integro die beneficium ad me publicum perueniret.

47Ceterum meminerat optimi magistriatus et benevolentissini principes mandatum sibi a uobis quod uclebant. Id ego nescirem ac \( \textit{no} \) praedicarem? 48Quin etiam unius exordi uestro \( \textit{pro} \) amplissimis erga me meritis quantas maximas possunt gratias agere atque habeo, qui in me illa curia honestissimis adclamatio

nibus decoru\ae, in qua curia uel nominari tantummodo summus honor est.

49Igitur, quod difficile factum erat quaque re uera arduam, non existimabatur: gratum esse populo, placere ordini, probati magistra-

tibus et principibus, id — praefascine diversum — ibam quodam modo mihi obtigit. 50Quid igitur superest ad statuae meae honoren, nisi acri pretium et artificio ministerium? Quae mihi ne in mediocribus quidem ciuitatis unquam defuere, ne ut Karthagini desint, ubi splendidissimus ordo etiam de rebus maiusribus iudicare potius solet quam computare.

51Sed de hoc tum ego perfectus, cur uos effectus. Quin etiam sibi, nobilitas senatorum, claritudo ciu\ae, dignitas amicorum, mor ad dedicationem statuae meae libro etiam conscripto plenius gratias cana\(<m>\) rique libro mandabo, 52ut per omnis prouincias eat totoque abhine orbe totoque abhine tempore laudes benefacti tui ubique gentium semper amorum repraesenteret.

[XVII]

53Viderint, quibus mos est ogerere se et otiiosis praesidibus, ut inpatrientia linguae commendationem ingenii quaedam et adeacta amicitiae uestrae specie glorientur.

Virrumque ipsis a me, Scipio Or\(\textit{io}\), longe abest. 54Nam et quantulumcumque ingenium meum iam priudem pro capitu suo hominibus uobis est, quam ut iisdemque nostris commendationibus, 55et gratiam tuam tuorumque similium malo quam iacto, magisque sum tantae amicitiae cupitor quam glorior, quoniam cupere nemo nisi uere [postem] potest, potest autem quois falsi gloriari.

56Ad hoc ita semper ab ineunte aequo temporibus, eamque existimationem morum ac studiorum cum in provincia nostra tum etiam Romae pene amis colui, etiam prompte uerum amicorum etiam prompte ad ueniendam mihi uestra consilia.

57Quoque non prompte ueniam imperire rarende auendi adsiduitatem eius requirit, sumnumque argumentum amoris frequentissimae facti, cessaquis obiaceri, perseuerantem celebrare, desintentem desiderare, quam neesse est \( \textit{gratiam proesentiam} \) eiusdem esse, cuius angat absenter.

58Ceterum uox cohibita silentio perpeti non magis usui est quam nascis graudine opplaea, aures spiritui obseraret, oculi albugine obducti. 59Quid si mancis manicas restringantur, quid si pedes podicis coarctarent, iam rector nostri animus aut sonno tollatur aut utro mergatur aut morbo sepeliatur? 50Profecto ut gliudi uos splendidescit, situ robigintat, ita uox in uagina silentii cohibita silentii temporibus heberatur. Desuetudo omnibus pigrissim, pigrissim uterum pari. Tragœdi adeo ni condirne proclamant, claritudo artis obsolet; iginus ideminiti boudo purgant raum.

59Ceterum ipsius uociis morum exercend\(<a>\)s labor perquam etiam caro iunctau uno omnibus queum. 60Alii quidem uoce hominum et tuba audire toraior et lyra concentu uariiur et tibia questu delectabilior et fistula susurr iucundior et buca significatu
longinquior. Mitto dicere multorum animalium immediatos sonores distinctus proprietatibus admirandos, ut est taurorum grauis mugitus, taurorum acutus ululatus, elefantorum tristis barritus, equorum hilaris hinnitus. Nec non aium instigati angores nec non leonum indignati fremores ceteraque id genus uoces animalium truces ac liquidae, quas infesta rables uel propitia auluptas ciant.

Pro quibus homini uox diuinitus data angustior quidem, sed maiorem habet utilitatem mentibus quam auribus delectionem. Quo magis celebrari debet frequentius usurpata, et quidem non nisi in auditorio, tano uiro praesidente, in hac excellenti celebrata multorum eruditorum, multorum benignorum. Equidem et si fidibus adprime callem, non nisi confortis homines consecrare.

In solitudine cantilaut Orpheus in siluis, inter delphinas Arion, quiique, si fide fabulis, Orpheus exitio desolatus, Arion nauigio praecipitus, ille immanum bestiarum delenitor, hic misericordium belurarum oblectator, ambo miserrimi quia non sponte ad laundem, sed necessario ad salutem nitebantur.

Eos ego impensius admirarer, si hominibus potius quam bestias placuissent. Aubus haec secretaria ut(n)quam magis congrueri: merulis et lusciniis et oloribus. Et merulae in remotis tesquis fringuliunt, tusciniae in solitudine Africana canticum adolescentiae garrunt, olores apud auros floius carmen senecte meditatur.

Orfemuer qui pueros et adolescenzus et senibus utile carmen prompturus est, in medius milibus hominum canit, ita ut hoc meum de urinantibus Orfii carmen est, seruandum quidem fortasse, sed seruandum, nec minus gratum quam uile Carthaginianum puertus istius et uenibus et senibus, quos indulgentia sua praecipua omnium proconsin subleueait tepatetorumque desiderio et moderato remedio dedit pueros sanitaire, uenibus hilaritate, senibus secturitate.

Meno quidem, Scipio, quando laudes tuae atigi, ne me inventurum refrenes uel tua generosa modestia uel mea ingenua uerenicnda. Sed nequeo quin ex plurimis quaie in me tertissimo admiramur, ex his plurimis quin uel pauciussima attingam. Vos ea mecum, cliues ab eo servati, recognoscite.
inlecebris deterreor et strenuis refrenor et incitamens cobiore. 44An non multa mihi apud uos adhortamina suppleunt, quod sum uobis nec lare alices nec pueritia iniustatus nec magistri peregrinias nec secta incognitas nec soce inauditus nec libris inlectus improbatussus? 45Ita mihi et patria in concilio Africæ, id est uestro, et pueritia apud uos et magistri uos et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic inclinato est. 45Et uos ma a uroque lingua iam uestrus aureus ante proxumum sesxiannium probe cognita, quin et libri mei non alia uique laude carius censetur quam quod iudicio uestro comprobantur.

46Hac tanta ac toluita invitantam communia non minus uos ad audientiam prolectant quam me ad audientiam retardant, facilissiue laudes uestras alibi gentium quam apud uos praedicarium: ita apud <s>u</s>uos cuique modestia obvixua est, apud extrarios autem ueritas libera. 46Semper udeo et ubique uos uippe ut parentis ac primos magistros meos celebro mercedemque uobis repondo, non illam, quam Protagora sophista pepigit nec accept, sed quam Thales sapiens nec pepigit et accept. Video, quid postuilet: utrique narrabo.

47Protagora, qui sophista fuit longe multisius et cum primis rhetoricae repertoribus perfacundus, Democriti physici eius acueaeus — inde ei suppledita doctrina est —, 47cum Protagoran aium cum suo sibi discipulo Euat<e>u</e> lo mercedem simim uererem condicione temeraria pepississe, ut sibi nos demum ic argenti dare, si primo tricioio agendi penes iudices uisisset.

48Id est Euathius postquam cuncta illa xorabora ludicantium et decipula adversuantem et artificia dicentum ueritatis alioqui<5>a>n. 48et[i] ingeniatus ad astitiam facile perdidicit: 48<20>contentus scire quod concupierat coeptit nolle quod pepigerat, sed collide uocendis moris frustrari magistri diutuleque nec agere uelle nec reddere, 48usque dum Protagoras eum ad iudices prouocuit, expostua conditione, qua docendum receperat, aecps argumentum ambifiaiam proposeit: 48nam siue ego ueltrcoro, 48inquit, 'soleure mercedem debebis ut condimpiatus, seu tu uiceris, nihil minus reddere debebis ut pactus, quippe qui banc causam primam penes iudices uiceris. 48Ista, si uincis, in conditionem incusti: si uiceris, in damnationem.' 48Quid quaeris? Ratio conclusa iudicibus acriter et inuincibiliter uidebatur.

49Enimuo Euathius, upote tanti uestatoris perfectissimus disciplibus, biceps illud argumentum retorsit. 49Nam 'si ita est,' inquit, 'neutro modo quod petis debeo. Aut enim uinco et iudicio dimittor, aut uinco et pacto absoluor, ex quo non debeo mercedem, si haec primam causam fuero penes iudices uicit. Ita me omnino modo liberat: si uinco<5>cr>, condicio, si uinco[r], sententia.'

49Nonne uobis uidentur haec sophistarum argumenta observa inuicem uice spinarum, quas uentus consuoluerit, inter se cohaereere, paribus uitrice spinaribus, similii penetratione, mutauo uahere? 49Atque ideo merces Protagorae tam aspera, tam sentensia uerutius et auras relinqua est: cui scilicet multo tanta praestat illa altera merces, quam Thalen memorant squashisse.

49Thales Milesius ex septem illis sapientiae memoratis uiris facile praecipuis — enim geometriae penes G<r>aios primos repetor et naturae rerum certissimus explorator et ast<r>orum periennis contemplator — maximas res paruis lineis repetit. 49Temperam ambitus, uentorum flatus, stellarum meatus, soles sonora miracula, siderum obliqua curricula, solis annua uerum, etiam commentus est, quam equidem non didici modo, uerum etiam expressi comprobavi, quotes sol magnitudine sua circulum quem permutet metiatur.

50Id a se recens inuentum Thales memoratur edocuisse Mantray- tum Prisenjemem, qui nosa et inopinat cognitione impendo detectans optare lussit, quantum uellet mercedem sibi pro anto documento rependi. 50'Satis,' inquit 'mihi fuerit mercedes, Thales sapiens, si id quod a me didicisti, cum proferre ad quosiam cooperis, <aut> tibi desiderares, sed eius inuenti me potius quam aliam repertorem praedicaris.' 50Pulchra merces prorsus ac tali uiro digna et perpetua; nam et in hodiernum ac dem semper Thaï ea merces persoluerat ab omnibus nobis, qui eius caelestia studia uere cognosuimus.

50Hanc ego uobis mercedem, Karthaginenses, ubique iirium dependo pro disciplinis, quas in pueritia sum apud uos adeuus. Vbhique enim me uestrae ciuitatis alium uero, ubique uos omnino inuidibus celebro, uestras disciplinas studiisuis percolono, uestras opes gloriosius praedico, uestros etiam deos religiosius ueneror.

50Nunc quoque ignar principium mihi apud uestras uarior auspiciatissimum ab Aeschuloio deo capiam, qui arcem nostrae Karthaginis indubitabili nomine propitius [sic]<r>legit. 50Eius dei
hymnum Graeco et Latino carmine uobis ecce <lam> canam [iam] illi a me dedicatum. Sum enim non ignotus illi sactiole nec recentior cultor nec ingratans antistes, ac iam et prorsus et uorsa factum est generat. Nec ulla ut etiam nunc hymnum eius utraque lingua canam, cui dialogum similiter Graecum et Latinum praetexul, in quo sernocinabuntur Saffidius Seuerus et lialis Persaeus, uiri et inter se munus et usus et utilisitut publicis merito antistissimi, doctrina et eloquientia et benevolentia paribus, incertum. Modestia quietiores an industria promptiores an honoribus clariores. Quibus cum sit summum concordia, tamen haec sola aemulatio et in hoc omnium certamen est, uer eorum magis Karthagine <et> diligat, atque summis mediatibus uiuribus contentum ambo, uincitour neuter.

Eorum ego sermonem ratus et usus auditu gratissimum, qui composita congruentem et dedicatu [r] religiosan[e], in principio libri facti quendam ex his, qui mihi Athenis condidierunt, percontari a Perseo Graeco quae ego pridie in templo Arsculapi dissueuerit,
paulatinique illius Seuerum aduion, cui interim Romanae linguae partes dedi. Nam et Perseus, quamuis et ipsius optimae possit, tamen hodie uobis artissabi.

[XIX]

Asclepiades ille, inter praecipuos medicorum, si unum Hippocratem excipias, ceteris princeps, primus etiam uino reperirit aegris opitulati, sed dono scilicet in tempore: cuius rei observatium probe callegat, ut qui diligentissime animaduerterat aenarum pulsus inconditis uel ueracior.

Is igitur cum forte in ciuitatem sese recipiter et rure suo suburbano rediret, aspexit in ponoreus ciuitatis unus ingenios locatum plurimos homines ingenii multitudine, qui eterque uenerant, circumstare, omnis tristissime et obsoléssimos ueri, propius accessit ut incognoscetor more ingenii quinsum esset, quoniam percontanti nemo responderat, ut uero ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte reprehenderet. Certe quidem incerti homini ac prope deposito fatum atuili.

Iam miseris illius membra omnia aromatu perspsera, iam os ipsius uguine odorodilobum, iam eum polincentum, iam paene paratum contemplatus enim, diligentissime quibusdam signis animaduerest, etiam atque etiam perfectuar corpore hominis et inuenti

in illo uiam latenter. Confestim exclamauit uiere hominem: procul igitur faces aibigerent, procul ignes amolidrentur, rogum demodirentur, cenam feralum a tumulto ad mensam referrent!

Murmur interea eorum: partim medicus cedendum dicere, partim etiam irridere medicinam. Postremo propinquus etiam hominibus inuinit, quodne iam ipsi hereditatem habebant, an quod adhuc illi fidem non habebant. *nec* tamen ac difficulter Asclepiae des impetrat breuem mortuo dilationem atque ita usipilionum manibus eorum uelut ab inferis postliminio domum retulit confestimque spiritum recreavit, confestim aniam in corporis labilibus delitiiscentem quibusdam medicamentis prouocauit.

[XX]

Sapiens us ui super mensam celebtre dictum est: ‘Prima, inquit, creterra ad situm pertinat, secunda ad biscuterat, tertia ad uoluptatem, quarta ad insaniam.' Verum enimuo Musarum creterras ueste uice.

Nam etiam illius Seuerum adiungo, inter se uero atticissa etiam.

Propius scelera, non aegre tamen difficulter Asclepia des impetrat breuem mortuo dilationem etita ita usipilionum manibus eorum uelut ab inferis postliminio domum retulit confestimque spiritum recreavit, confestim aniam in corporis labilibus delitiiscentem quibusdam medicamentis prouocauit.

Hacetem a périssque potatur. Ego et alias creterras Athenis bibi: poeticae comptam, geometriae lippiam, musicae dulcem, dialecticae austerulam. Iam uero uinuerue philosophiae insexplebilem scilicet <et> nectareum.

Canit enim Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicarmus modos, Xenophon historias, [Xeno]Crate' satiras.

Apuleius uester haec omnia souenque Musas paro studio colit, maiore scilicet uoluuntate quam facultate, coque propensissime fortasse laudandum est, quod omnibus bonis in rebus conatus in laude, effectus in casu est, [lita ut contra in maleficiis etiam cogitata scelerat, non perfecta adhuc uindicantur, cruenta mente, puru manu. Ergo sciat ad poenam suffici meditari punienda, sic et ad laudem sitis est contari praedictanda.

Quae autem maior laus aut certior quam Karthagini benedicere, ubi tota ciuitas eruditissimi estis, pene<et> quos omnes disciplinam puerti distuem, tuuenes ostenfant, senes docent! Karthago proutiaciae nostrae magistra uenerabilis, Karthago Africai Musa caelestis, Karthago Camera togatorum!
[XXI]

0Habet interdum et necessaria festinatio honestas mosas, saepe uti malis interpellata est. Quipe et illis, quibus curriculorum confecta uia opus est, 0adeo uti praepoptent pendere quod quem carptento sedere, propert molestias sarcinorum et pondera uellicorum et moras orbium et talebras orbitorum 0add ad et lapidum globos et caudicum toros et camporum ruos et collium cliuos — 0his ignitor moramentis omnibus qui solunt deliari ac sectorem shinet equum deligent diutinae fortitudinis, uiascis perniciatis, id est et ferre uulsum et ire rapidum,

‘qui campos collesque gradu perlabitur uno,’

ut ait Lucilius. 0tanen cum eo equo per uiam concito peruuolant, si quem interea conspicientur ex principalibus uiris nobilium hominem, bene consultum, bene cogitatum, quamquam oppido festinatio saepe sument uti, quod ueteranum ex terris marem transfereant, 0uque expedite dextra adeun et saluante et, si diut 0quem peruentuer, ambulant diutule et fabulantur, denique quantumvis morae in officio liberter insunt.

[XXII]

0Crates ille Diogenis sector, qui ut lar familiaris ipud homines actatis suae Athenis cultus est 0nulla domus unquam clausa erat nec erat patris familialis tam absconditum secretum, quin zo tempestue Crates interueniriet, litium omnium et surgorum inter propinquos disceptrator atque arbiter; 0quod Herculem olim poetae memorant

monstra illa immania hominem ac ferarum uirtute obsequio uellicaque terreae purgasse, similiiter adversum iracundiam et inuidiam atque avaritiam atque libidinem ceteraque animi hominum monstru et flagitia philosophus iste Hercules fuit: 0eas omnes pestes metibus exeget, familias purgavit, malitiam perducit, semindus et pse et clauu insignis, etiam Thebis oriundus, unde Herculem fuisse memoria extat 0igitur, priusquam plane Crates factus, inter proceres Thebanos numeratus est, lectum genus, frequens familiarium, domus amplio ornata uestibulo, ipse bene uestitus, bene praedius.
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.

This edition

- 2.7 effusam
- 2.11 obiit...>
- 3.1 comm
- 4.1 cardium
- 6.2 et illa... inesse fin
- 6.32... Antiquae
- 7.6 quae nape
- 7.11 philosophus
- 7.11 alumn... alumn
- 7.11 et sui
- 8.2 et in consolabas
- 10.9 process.
- 11.3 eoripsum
- 12.3 coacto
- 12.4 laudatis
- 12.5 coactram
- 12.6 aor sprung
- 12.7 in...orate
- 12.8 omporos
- 12.8 Cynus, te manum...(2)
- 14.3 supplicem
- 14.4<br>pro... caper
- 14.6 deit

This edition

- 15.1 summam
- 15.1 bellum citr. sculptur
ter
- 15.7 laicat
- 15.8 A...u...u...
- 15.10 tiv; pr quem
- 15.30 probat
- 15.34 arens
- 15.35 spoliolivis
- 15.35 magis
- 15.40 proceed.
- 17.1 eis
- 17.6 spiritu
- 17.17 figuralen
- 17.6...imum
- 17.8...imum
- 18.21 altoqui
- 18.27 si...condicio
- 18.29...obnita
- 18.30...entia
- 18.31...tita
- 18.32...tita
- 18.33...olum
- 18.39...ficti
- 19.1...menter
- 19.1...menter
- 19.5...menter
- 19.6...menter
- 19.6...menter
- 19.8...menter
- 19.9...menter
- 19.10...menter
- 19.10...menter
- 19.10...menter
- 20.4...menter
- 21.7...mente
- 22.6...quiquam

This edition

- 2.7 effusam
- 2.11 obiit...>
- 3.1 comm
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- 6.2 et illa... inesse fin
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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 a 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 ingressu - ciuitatem). Although the text is short, it seems to 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 Floridia; see Introduction A (2)).

The first words may have been the opening lines of a speech or prolalia; 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 (houses 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 (circa floribus redimire). The words seem carefully chosen to impress the audience by their very sound; for example, the first four elements have female endings (redimila, innumbrata, cernuta, coronata), whereas the second group of four has male endings (consecratus, effigiatus, amigatus, delibitus). The resulting homoepototon creates a deliberate rhyme, while further complex sound patterns are produced by additional internal correspondence in rhythm, number of syllables, and sound (e.g. sepemine, dolamine, libamine, urguante); cf. further STEINMETZ 1982, 194-7 and SCOTTI 1988. For some detailed observations on Apuleius' style in the Florida see BERNER 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. HUNNIK 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

1 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 stringing up of the period into brief clauses may as such recall Seneca, but on the whole Seneca's style is rather far removed from Apuleius' own ideal.

2 Apuleius' flowery style has not fared favor with all; cf. e.g. FERRARI 1988, 114 'Tutto il capitolo è allegorizzato finito fino al sopremo, senza fine 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 image of the speaker and a worshipper are effectively combined and fused in the notion of the 'traveller'.
polllux: editors refer to Stat. Thet. 5,194-5, where a captured lion is nailed to a roof or hung in a wood. No 'skin' however, are specified there.

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

collucius septinm conoscoscutus: probably a reference to a bidnial, a spot hit by lightning and then consecrated; ct. Hor. car. 471. Apuleius uses rare words here: the diminutive colluvius occurs mainly in obscure technical writers and Christian texts (cf. TLL s.v. 1601,51-67). On Apuleius diminutives in general see Abate 1978, and for those used in the Fl. see the full list in Brenhard 1927, 294-5; further Ferrari 1968, 117-22. Neither the noun stlepieion nor the following dolamen is attested elsewhere; ct. Ferrari 1968, 114-5. Obviously, Apuleius' search for a strong rhythm and rhyme has determined his use of words; cf. Facchin Toni 1986, 126, who also adjoins e.g. Met. 11,9 (272,24-5) maieres candido splendentes amicinime, maria laetanties gestamente, uerno florientes coronatamente.

trunx dolamini efficiatus: a nipes driven into shape, and sometimes honoured with flowers; cf. Tib. 1,11-12 Num semenur, seu stipes habet deserts in aggis / seu setus in tria floros tertiis laquis. For dolamini see preceding note. Efficiatus does not occur before Apuleius (Ferrari 1968, 144-5); cf. also Apol. 14,3 imagines uarit.arthob efficiatus and Met. 11,11 (275,10); further Men.Fel. 3,1 (quoted below). The finite form efficiatus is used by Apuleius in the poetical fragment Anchomoneus (Beausang p. 166, 8); on that fragment see Harrison 1992 (and for text and notes Courtney 1993, 397-400).

copris libaminis amnigatus: an altar made of turf (OLD s.v. carpos 3b), moistened by libations. Cf. Sen. Med. 797,8 ibid sanguineo caespite sanctum / sollusus damus. Fas read funigatus ('smoked'), which certainly makes sense in this context of offering; however, the initial f was written in another hand and c write Funigatus, which is accepted by modern editors and the OLD. The verb amnigatur does not occur elsewhere, but in the present context another Apuleian coinage is only to be expected; cf. Facchin Toni 1986, 143.

lapis anguinei delibetius: an anointed stone, a final, more familiar, religious element. Cf. the invective against the 'irrevent' and 'at Hist' Arethusa in Apol. 56,6: nemang uindet se quat fuere amus avse in Simhus eis lapide syntum eum sanctum coronatum (also quoted by Dowden 200K, 64-5); further e.g. Theophr. Char. 1,4, Lucan. Alex. 30.

In his discussion of the text, Pursel. 910, 145 argues that a quadrasyllabic noun form is needed here in view of the other clauses, and after considering anguina (Met. 3,21 (68,7)), he proposes angumine. 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.

1 The custom was considered typical for pagan religion. In the eyes of the Christians, however, it was idolatrous. This may be seen in Men.Fel. 3,1, where the Christian Octavius criticizes the narrator for remaining alone when a friend of his makes a reverse gesture at the sight of lapides... efficiatus same et sancti et coronaent.
though he be on high, the swift-footed hare is not unseen as he crouches beneath a leafy bush, but the eagle sweeps 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 clenching claws. See also comparisons such as Fl. 15.690-2; 21.223-3 and Od. 19.338-9. Apuleius may even be said to be reworking and illustrating some Homeric epithets of the eagle, like ἄρετος ἁπαχθέω, ἑκέπτεις, or ἀναγαλος; 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. 1.751-6 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 on 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 620u; 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; Rem. 2.25 and see Alcione 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 programmata. 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 (13), or the Seven Wise Men (18). Here Socrates is mentioned in close connection to Plato; a combination that brings out Apuleius’ pursuit of Romanizing Greek subject matter and archaising taste, evident throughout his work, and his method of inserting poetic quotations. Finally, the elaboration of an element that is, in fact, only marginally relevant shows the ‘pleasure of description’ characteristic of the episteric 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 (1-2): At ego tibi sermone into Mox...aetatis fabulae consummat. However, a finite verb is lacking here. Moreover, non avidum 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.

mater mens: ‘my master’. Mater is used for one who is ‘superior’ in power or reputation (OLD s.v. mater). Here it is Socrates’ wisdom and learning which earns him this title. A close parallel is Apol. 36.2. maturae mens, Aristoteles aico et Theop. A> varium et Eulamum et Lyceorum ceterisque Platonis minores. The word can be found for use with philosophical schools; TLL s.v. magnus (maiores) 46,37-43 compares e.g. Cic. de Off. 3.126 and Gal. 19.1,13.

Socrates: the first name of a person in the Florida. For Apuleius, who was a self-styled philosofus 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 Duo Socratis (and probably the lost Greek part of the discourse that preceded it); cf. HUNN 1995, 302. In the Fl. he will reappear in 9.15 as a contemporary of Hippias and in 20.5 as a stinger of hymns. For abrunens adolescentem: the homo-erotic element in Socratic and Platonic philosophy is alluded to without a particular sense of either shame or arrogance; cf. below on ut ‘loquere’.

diutule: a diminutitive characteristic for Apuleius’ taste and style, since it is formed of a word referring to great dimensions, here of time. Other examples are longuulae (below, 2.6); saeculae (e.g. Met. 1.12: 11.4), ahicert (e.g. Met. 2.7: 30.19), ampliusculus (Apol. 75.5), and placulums (e.g. Met. 2.17: 39.14). In Apuleius’ works, diutuluce occurs only in the Fl., where it is used five times; cf. [10.21; 18.22; and 21.7] (twice). Apuleius’ contemporary Gellius also uses diutuluce once (5.10.7), in the context of an anecdote about Eschilus and Protagoras, a tale also told by Apuleius (Fl. 18). On diminutives in Apuleius’ works see further ASRATE 1978.

cospiuscurus forset: the verb convenire 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 sitiure 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 Cherm, 154-5. There Socrates proposes to have a look at the soul of handsome young Charmides, ‘for anything, at that age, I am sure he is quite ready to have a discussion’ (15 E; transl. W. Lamb).

2.2 scellucet... Socrates’ thought is repeated twice. There is no need to qualify the words scellucet - sidebat as a gloss, as NOUVELLE 1928, 45 does. The explanations both clarify the idea to the entire audience and enable the speaker to insert a quotation.

1 In the discussion of the Platonic concept of love in Apol. 12, Apuleius explains how the ‘harmody Venus’ may make people fall attracted toward beautiful bodies (as gaudios deorum corpora commadoni 12.4), but refuses lovers from corrupting them. The boldy beauty will only make them recall the heavenly beauty that they once saw among the Gods (12.5).
ANIMI OBUTUM: THE EYE OF THE EAGLE (II)

1 For both thought and idiom, we may also compare Pl. As. 202 zappor ocellatus manus uxor nostrae, cernere quod ubi; further examples of 'seeing is believing' can be found in Olym. 1890, 251.

2 The contrast between oculus and ophthalum 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.

2,7 QUODAM MODO CAECITATUM: THE EYE IS TO BE BLIND (FORMED FROM CAECUS LIKE BAILITUS FROM BALITUS), is used before Apuleius only by Varro (Men. 30 and 193) and after him mainly by Christian authors; cf. TLL s.v. 67.48-80. Here its strong sense seems rather exaggerated. It is softened by the preceding quodam modo.

OPTIMUM... TERRERUM... ET HEBOTEM: In F, the spelling of words such as obutum, nutritum, and aurot varium. The present edition makes no attempt to normalise spelling variants that are attested outside Apuleius; see Introduction E1 (1) (and cf. note on Apol. 3.12). This case may seem radical, since obutum was spelled with b only a few lines above (3.2).

The view of m at is called 'easily', as in a literal contrast to the eagle's view from high in the air. In addition, terrerus strikes a more philosophical note, in suggesting a contrast with a 'celestial' or spiritual precept; cf. OLD s.v. 5. The combination of hebæus with obutum is used in a similar context in Sec. 4 (128) pure corum neumurmodo obetibus secumstare, ut sitera. For the tops of limited human sight, cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 89.2.

REDDIG: 'citate (i) to'; the object of the verb is not expressed in this sentence. It may be supplied from cernere in the preceding sentence.

PICA ECRIPTRIX: the poet par excellence. Homer, who in Apol. 7.4 and 32.5 was called poeta praeclarus. In the Fl. Homer is mentioned by name only in 15.21.

SUAT ACHILAM: a reference to the well-known version Homer, II. 3.10-12: 'even as when the South Wind shed 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).

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 Notes, 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).

EFSAMUS: this is the reading of F2. All modern editors follow Oudemordt and read Esfamos. It certainly makes the text run more smoothly, and one might also point to the remaining strong assurance of three words starting with ò-. But the MSS reading is not impossible, efandere being a more common word with a broader range of meanings, which can perfectly render the Homeric scorchere (II. 3.10). The element of impeding sight, which would be implied in the prefix off, is already expressed in ob oculos.


AQUILA EMILISMUS: 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
semicolons after 2.10 remigio and 2.10 aequo, thereby analyzing the passage into three main parts. The main verbs of the first two parts are, respectively, labitur and circumvestitur as ausenti; for the third part see below on 2.11 de caelo...

The long first part until 2.10 remigio may be analyzed 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 (adaepto; despiegata; emunus). Between subject and verb comes a temporal clause (cum... sublimauit) including a participle construction (euercto spatium) that leads to an elaborate indication of the space where the eagle flies, the sentence threatens to end up in an anacolou, but then the temporal clause is resumed (cum... uelue aquila extulit).

... 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) nullius earum ultra Olympi suerit sublimarum. For the adjective sublimis in a similar context of an eagle's flight; cf. Met. 3.23 (69,3-7) at mihil sibiis itid spectat caeli, inequa, ut ego, quamuis ipse aequus sublimis velatiibus totos caelos percipiat...

euercto... spatium: "having passed beyond the space" cf. OLD s.v. aequor 2b for this medio-passive use with the accusative.

totum - ningitur: the author. The description of the bird's territory owes something to the Homeric picture of the serene Olympia in Od. 6,4-6, and particularly to its parallel in Lucretius 3.19-22 on the tranquil abode of the gods: quas neque concussum venti nec nubila nimbus / asperrumque norque acer acri crebria / com casus violentus aether / inagit et largo diffuso lamine rite.

The impersonal passive forms plautus unde ningitur 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 4.3 (101,7).

see fulmini nec fulguri: the two phenomena are related but different, with fulmen specifically denoting lightning that strikes; cf. Sen. Nat. 2.16,1 Qui ergo inter fulgurationem et fulmen intendit? Dicam. Fulguratio est latre ignis explicatus, fulmen est consecas ignis et in imperium tactus; further Luc. 6,180-218 (fulger) and 219-422 (fulmen). Here the juxtaposition is also made for the sake of the sound effects.

ut sua diviner: this remark introduces two hyperboleis, 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 air and the pure aether cum ligni...: the conjunction of the two hyperboleis (see previous note) almost makes the sentence end in an anacolou. However, with cum ligni, the speaker resumes his initial construction.

see... extulit: the reflexive verb echoes 2.8 sc... sublimauit.

laeausornum uel destrorem: the former is a neologism modeled upon the latter, for which cf. e.g. Pl. Cae. 70 and Hor. S. 2.13,30 ille interincus, hic destrorem ubi. Apuleius uses laeausornum also in Met. 1.21 (19,7).

uficitas an alas: 'its sail-like wings'. The poetical image of the bird moving through the air like a ship at sea,2 is prepared by labitur, is now fully developed. This example of transitive aequo 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) inquitutu manus in (with further references); for the compositum with aequo see Luc. 1996,200. The governing verb adaepto is often used in relation to ships; cf. OLD s.v. 1b (and 2).

candae gubernaculo: 'with the steering-ouf 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.

pinmarum... remigia: the visionary image 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. Ap. 52 xvarioyn curetuxen loamores, which was followed by i.a. Eur. I.F. 289. Perhaps most famously, the image was taken over by Vergil in A. 4,1, 300-1 ustril ile per aera magnam / 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 obitius perennis aurum resistent. 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 Apuleius uelicitas an alas) confirms the intertextual link.

The present passage has a close parallel in Apuleius' works in Soc. 8 (140) on birds: ceterum cum illis feras sunt remigia pinmarum, terra seu portus est. Cf. further the eagle passage in Met. 6,15 remigium dextra laeausorum portigens; and cf. Met. 5,25 (of Eras) remigio plumas.

eminens: Fec habemus here, which would leave pinmarum... remigia without a governing verb. Emero is the excellent suggestion by HRDM, who compares a similar transitive use of the verb in Met. 2.21 (42,12-3) infintos concluxis dignatis ceteros emiren. This reading is now generally preferred to earlier suggestions.

ae palaipiper... the beginning of a second main sentence; cf. analysis above on 2.8. The construction is simpler than in the surrounding sentences; punctum praesum 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, slowly looking for a prey.

fulminis uicum: 'like lightning'. An image suggestive of divine majesty,2 extreme danger and swiftness. The last element sharply contrasts the balance and calm that
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 optumae, or assume some verb has been lost after the concluding word obstat. HELM's first option would produce a logical structure: conspicit governing the three objects pocus, ferox, and homones, 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 denuaerar velibus delabebatur. In that case, the indirect questions with unde... would be loosely constructed either with imperf or, as HELM's German translation seems to take it, 'apo kairos' 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: 'petit à briser...'. (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. 1

We may take into account that Apuleius is reworking Homeric models here (cf. introductory notes to Fr. 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 flooding and slow movements, could be seen to support this. 2 In the end, however, it seems difficult to accept such an 'experiential' 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 cernens in place of unde... at the end of the sentence.

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1 The only way to account for the text would be to make the indirect questions with unde... dependent upon quaurum (2,10), just as in the earlier question quaurum... The entire participle construction de caelo... cernens would then be substitutized to either rau or quaurum, which seems not impossible but produces rather harsh syntax.

2 Cf. the indeterminate sentence in Mat. 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 closely packed off from each other and so create the impression of a smooth fusion of elements, probably reflecting the weak state of mind of Psyche.

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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.

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

hominum urbis: 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.

optumae: a key word in the passage on the eagle's sight. For the spelling, cf. above on unde... 2

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 choosing lists of the fragments, 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 inaudito convey the threatening object set agnus: obtulit.

uagellus inuent: a special juncture for which no parallel can be adduced; cf. T.LL s.v. iuncuro 245.75-8. No doubt, the sound effect was an important factor for the speaker's choice.

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

quodcumque... obstat: a third possible object of the bird's beak and claws. After two specific animals, this object is left indeterminate 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 esset 'to eat' and laniaturus 'to tear', used predicatively to indicate a purpose. For the former, see examples from agricultural and technical writers in OLD s.v. eius, for the latter V.Max. 9,2,ext.11 donec... laniaturus sint animalibus.

III MARSYS 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 Marseys was a rude barbarian, he dared to challenge Apollo for a contest. The Muses and Minervas 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 instead. Marseys lost. He was flayed alive and left for dead.

The fragment about Marseys 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. 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. Diarhardis AP 9,340). In other traditions, this was an accomplishment of Athena (e.g. Arist. Pol. 3341b1-8; Apollod. 1,4,2 and Hyg. Fab. 165) or Marsyas (e.g. Pline. 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 Wiss 1996 and Mabano 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, 133-8.

Apart from linguistic and rhetorical concerns, the fragment brings out other dominant motifs in the Florida, notably that of music (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 himself more explicitly to the god, as he compares himself to e.g. Hippasus (9), Pythagoras (15) or Philonemon (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.

2 Di Cosmo 1959, 67 and 72-3 gives a rather sombre reading of Fl. 1, designating a "religious crisis" behind the tale and a general sense of desecration of myths. However, this reads too much into the text. By contrast, the Florida clearly show Apuleius as a proud representative of pagan religiosity; cf. e.g. Fl. 1 and 18,17.

2 Apuleius' interest in music is obvious. Some pieces 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 prosopata 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 Alexandre illisi; 12,1 pittaceis; 15,1 Sameni; 19,1 aesepiades illis; 22,1 Crates illis. Cf. further e.g. Apol. 37,1 Sophocles poetis; 39,1 Q. Emestis, 49,1 Plato philosophus; 86,1 Atheniensis; 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 8,2024. Curiously, Hyagnis seems to have been thought of as a historical person living in early Athens. On the context 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 Pfr. as bi agnys and marius respectively. Corrections were made in c.

fando acceptum: expressions such as fando audire "to learn by heart" are common; see OLD s.v. forn. The combination with accipere was also used by Fl. Am. 388 (quae... neque fando unquam accepto quipuam).

ruhdus - raneculis: 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.

solas ante alius: the phrase is only slightly redundant. Hyagnis was 'the only one' who used songs, and he did so in time 'before all others' (OLD s.v. ante 76).

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. Aug. 6,1 lexemn... primas... ferre.

castus canere: the text of the MSS is bad. For the first word HELM prints Colvis' conjecture cana ("clever"), constructed with an infinitive as in Hor. Carm. 3,12,10 cana... audaci. This, however, is not necessary. At first sight, cana 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 cantus.

monenum - this: the relatively primitive state of musical knowledge at the time of Hyagnis is expressed by means of an artful tricolon, with each part containing 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 flavissimam is used by Pac. trag. 187 (W) o flavissima atque omnium reoriam; for this archaisms see Perrott 1965, 102; for its formation (as a composition with flexas) Lindner 1996, 73-4. For modus as a technical term in music, cf. OLD s.v. 7-8.

2 Curiously, Manzack Rhetor 2,102,18E encourages speakers of profane epistles to mention famous flute-players as examples to compare themselves with, as HARRISON 2000, 96 notes, referring e.g. D.Osc. 1,1-8; Lucan. Musm. 1 and Phlebus: 19,574. 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 ‘tune’ but ‘(reed-blown double) pipe’; see LANDELS 1999, 24-5. The phrase is adopted from the Apuleian neologism multiflottatius (FERRARI, 137-8; LINDNER, 118), for which there is even a variant in Mor. 10.32 (262.12-3) iam tibiae multiflottatiae cantus Lydior dulectur consonans; after Apuleius it only occurs in St. Ag. 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... foraminae pance; Ov. Fast. 6.697-8.

Tubae flexanimo is HELM’s restoration for F fam infesta anima (based on the emendation flexanimo by Lipusat). HELM’s tamen does justice to in- of F, while it also avoids a change of the two following cases of tamen in tibi, as e.g. VALLERIOE prin, following c.

3.2 repertu sonno: the noun may be an Apuleian neologism, repertus being used elsewhere only in Mor. 11.2 (267.3) and 11.11 (275.5). The sentence merely repeats the thought already expressed in midibus aethere musicis sacculus. commolum: ‘just at that time’; one of Apuleius’ favourite adverbs, used mainly in the Met. 25 times; see CALLERI 1968, 454a190.

 nec quiquam - experimentum: the speaker still dwells on the same point by inserting a cliché (‘nothing is perfect at the start’); cf. Cic. Fin. 3.58 omnium enim rerum principia pars aera. The conventional thought is given new interest through its repetition in the unusual words speci rudimentum - rei experimentum. The combinations are isomythical (due to the running together of ret and ev-) and show double rhyme. The two words are also used in Soc.pr. 1 (103) qui me ualitatis diuere, occupie rudimentum post experimentum.

3.3 ante Hyagnis:... the primitive state of musical expertise in Hyagnis’ time (see above on 3.1 nondum tibia...). is now illustrated by reference to his predecessors. Vergiliianus upilio see busequa: the same phrase is used as an outright insult in Apol. 10.6 red Armenian, uitrua Vergilianum epilones et busequas rusticanas; see notes there. For the form Vergiliianus, see above on 2.3 Plautino mulie; for the rare busequa FERRARI 1968, 132.

‘stridenti - carmen’: the quotation is Verg. Ecl. 3.27, where it is an insult of musical incompetence fling at Damores at Menalca. For verse quotations in the Fl. see above on 2.3 plavis est... Apuleius’ quotations of Vergil usually lend authority to elements of learning in his text; see MATTIACCI 1986, 165-3.

3.4 largius: ‘to a greater extent’ (cf. OLD s.v. large 3). The adjective is used instead of the more neutral plus, which may have been avoided on purpose because of the alliteration with paulus and promunere that would arise from it. Such an alliteration could distract attention from surrounding sound effects, such as the following tibia... tiba.

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1 TLL s.v. multiflottatius ranges Mor. 10.32 under this heading too, adopting a conjecture of Leumann. But in that case the MNS clearly read a form of multiflottus. 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.

2 In this passage rudimentum has the slightly different sense: ‘first entry’ rather than ‘initial stage.’

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

3.5 primus: Hyagnis was held to be the first aulete and the inventor of the double pipe; cf. WEST 1994, 330-1 and LANDELS 1999, 153; on the auleus 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 points. The speaker revises his literary topos by the trope primus... which also splits up the same 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 comes canere this was still ambiguous.

discedopinam: 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 spirito animae: 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.

cinaria... bomba: the same contrast, with the same adjectives, is used of a tibicon in Mor. 10.31 (262.18) permissos bombas graulis attus simplicius; 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 (Sid. 13.14). In Luc. 4.544-8 we find a strong contrast of reverberating boom (tumultu... bombam) and melodious lament.

consecutum musiceum: the idea of a musical ‘concert’ 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 consecutum 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 about his looks (Phylus - obtusum) and an additional trichotomy in which he is compared to Apollo (bodar - doris). Marsyas is here called the son of Hyagnis. Some versions of the tale mention others as his father, e.g. Ohiogenes (Hyg. Fab. 165).

canum - tibicinum: unusual language to express the simple notion that Marsyas was a pipe-player like his father. Phylus etc. to imitate one’s father’ is a rare Greekism employed earlier only by the authors of comedy; cf. Pl. Men. 693 and Ter. Ad. 504; see FERRARI 1968, 95-6. Perhaps the word already prepares for the laugh at Marsyas (3.13).

Phylus cetera: ‘a Phylus in other respects’. These words disqualify Marsyas beforehand as a serious man of culture. A Phylus was almost synonymous with a barbarian; cf. Cic. Oatr. 27; Q.fr. 1.1.19; and Curt. 6.11.4. Marsyas’ barbaric nature is further elaborated in five phoneticemic features: his face is bestial, he looks savage, he is shaggy, his beard is unkempt, 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. Oppikofer 1979, 473.

*inhabilibus* 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 Facchinetti Toi 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’. Normally, this sense applies only to animals, as in Cic. N.D. 2,121 spinis hierasae.

pro rebus: cf. Apol. 4,1 and 98,9; further Met. 2,8 (3,24) good needis discrete. Here too, the speaker seems to be conscious of the connection of *sufax* with *fari* ‘to speak’. Marsyas would have done better to keep silent.

cum Apolline certaminis: 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) where Apollo, quamquam Graecus et lonius, propere Mileiusae conditorem sic Latina sorte respondit; on that much disputed passage see GCA 2001 ad loc.

taeter - duo: although taeter is already a strong term, the tricolon works towards a further climax: the contest is one of ‘beast against god’.

Musae cum Minerva: 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 reader sur *cum Minervae* in *c*; 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 LDMC 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 have even been tempted to insert her name here because of the resulting alliteration.

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

monstrum 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 modern *stoliditas*, that is used in 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 denuocidus*, cf. Pl. Mil. 92 and Tac. Ann. 3,57.

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1 A passage that may have inspired the portrait of Marsyas is Verg. A. 3,393-4 de homine omnimodo barbaro. / *consuetum ingenii gianum* et *eterna Graiae* (cf. Acharn. 340). There, however, *spinis* refers to thorns holding together the man’s clothes. Cf. on the same man Or. Met. 14,166 *spiro* *consue* *consuetum ingenii mali*.

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MARSYS AND APOLLO (III)

delicamenta barbarae effusit: ‘uncouthly blunter 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 barbaric. 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*.

laufans sive: 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 in accent on hair: *pilis inharribus cortis equalibus, setis insensibus spinis hpicibus*; on the style of that passage see GCA 1985, 51-4.

cosa religiosa: ‘with his hair swept back from the forehead’. In Apuleius’ days, handsome in respect of hair was apparently viewed differently; cf. e.g. Apol. 63,7 on a beautiful statuette of Mercury: *em... in cappa cristiis capitas sub uno pillo umbilico apparat*; the adjective *religiosus* occurs only in the Fl. (here and 7,8) and in Plin. Nat. 37,14. It is probably related to *licium cord*.

arte tibicini: here the word *tibicini* 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 Braxman’s *amunikos*.

This would make it correspond to *equirs*; *hierasae* and *egrum*, and produce a combination of 5 syllables (allowing for the elision). Such a word would also perfectly contrast the following *multicosius*, to which it is obviously connected. Perhaps *tibicini* has somehow slipped into the text, replacing an original reading, as *valletus* remarks in his critical apparatus. But in the absence of further clues, I leave the text unchanged.

fortuna egens: under normal circumstances, poverty is something Roman moralists praise highly. In the context of his self-defense, Apuleius dwells at considerable length at the sores of *poeninae*; see Apol. 17-23, notably 18.

adversus urbituros: ‘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 femina*; 5,22 (120,21-2) *cuspis 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 as Venus.

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1 The word then would not have the sense ‘of uniform nature’ as in Fl. 2,3 (227) *sus* refer to *modulus* as a term of music. Pursuing this line of thought, another possibility would be *asquens*, occurring in Met. 11,3 (269,15-16). Finally, I tentatively propose *oquens* ‘producing music in one tone’, a word that is not stressed in Latinity, but would be formed in close analogy to *cquens*, as Apuleian neologism in 13,3.
multistress 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 areus) of Hippas and in 18.19 of Protegoras.

The first progression... 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. Particularly noteworthy here are the numerous rare and uncommon words (see auxa senex) 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 in 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 stuck forward (tr. John Hilton). The words express a single thought (‘his locks fall freely over his forehead’) in a number o variations by means of resounding synonyms. Antwunduetae refers to the same movement as propendulus (cf. the opposite in 3.8 reticinate), antiae and capronae both mean ‘locks’, and propendure and promendure ‘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 capronae is an archaism, used in Lucil. 321 (W).2 cf. full material in FACCHINI TOBI 1986, 150-1; further FERRARI 1968, 145. Antwunduetae also occurs in Met. 9.30 (225.21).

According to FACCHINI TOBI (and earlier FERRARI 1968, 123 and 137) the vocabulary underscores the ‘caricaturi’ nature of Marsyas’ speech. However, given Apuleius’ propensity for archaisms and neologisms, manifested especially in the Fl., this conclusion is unfounded. It is the thought, rather than the idiom, that marks Marsyas in this process. 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: uisid captus aurei

1 It may be noted that ‘linguistic realism’, as provisions in Proustian’s portrayal of the femininity in the Cena Trimalchiana, is never Apuleian’s aim. In the Met. too, even the lowliest characters use the same elevated, artistic style characteristic of Apuleius.

2 The Latin passage inerret caput anque coroa fuitura capronae / alias fronsbus intermittat, or met fuit illa may well have been in Apuleia’s mind. According to Konuk (Fr. 281-2), the satirist’s lines probably compare a woman with a horse.
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 crimine et ulter proficiendum.* In the present text too, the obvious candidate for the suprise 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 Apuleian's 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. And whatever the nature of the contest, it remains unclear exactly how Apollo wins it.

**unum 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. *Apex* 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 ingredietur et bipedes. Bears frequently featured in public shows; cf. e.g. *Martial* *Sp. 7.3* or 11.1. On bears in Roman art, see *Toussier* 1973, 93-100.

**corio excitato:** 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) *etique probe nudatum carinis corium... tenueus.* For the idiom, cf. *Ov. Fast. 2.446 pelibus excirest.*

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).

**audis - uniscirribus:** for the expression cf. *Met. 5.27* (124.21) *lacrimalis uniscirribus.*

**cecidit et cececit:** the speaker joins in the fun of the Muses, who are mocking Marsyas. Here the horrible end of Marsyas is merely a 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 standards consider tasteful; one may think of the jokes made by Martial on executions and other gory scenes in his book *De Spectaculis.*

**humilis victoria:** an intriguing final touch, in a juncture that is unparalleled. The victory is, from Apollo's point of view, 'insignificant' of even 'object' or 'ignorable' (OLD s.v. *humilis* 6-7) and the god even feels ashamed and embarrassed by it. This comes unexpectedly after the triumphant lines 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 Antigendias

There was a name named Antigendias, 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 minor 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 Antigendias 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: Antigendias did not like the title 'nubicus 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 extremes te 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.* 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.

Antigendias was a famous virtuoso player from Thelves, 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...
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 Iomenias: 'But one of the philosophers who lived a short time ago has well said that it made Iomenias especially angry that the pipers at funerals should be called faunias' (tr. H. Lamar Crosby).

4.1 Flute: the function and skill of Antigenidas form an obvious link to the preceding fragment about Hygaius and Marsyas (3.1; Marsyas 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 Pl. even important persons are commonly introduced by means of some extra information; e.g. 7.1 Alejandro illi, longe omnium excellentissimo rege.

mellius: 'honey-sweet’. Here it is exceptionally used of sound, as in Met. 6.6 (132.25) aut melißus modulos suae resonantes.

modulator... modulatorum: the impressive words are carefully chosen for their similarity in sound and formulation, which is reinforced by the m-sound in mellius and omniummodulatorum. The first noun refers to a 'maker of tunes', for the combination with aux, cf. Col. 1 pr 3 soviet or cursum modulatorum. Modulator is a new word, probably coined here by analogy with modulator, and is not attested elsewhere; see FERRARE 1968, 109-10 and FACCINI Tosi 1986, 133. It denotes someone who works according to a pattern or system; this is further explained in the next sentence.

omniummodulatorum: 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 omniummoduli, with modus taken in a technical, musical sense (for which see below).

seu tu suelis: for the introduction of variant possibilities cf. 3.10 seu tuit... malis

Aeolian simplex - Dorius belllicosum: five traditional scales used in ancient music are specified. The Greek term is harmonias, expressed in Latin with modi or moduli (in the present text we may add in thought modum to each name). In ancient tradition each mode 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 LAMPELS 1999, 100-109. 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.

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

1 The various geographical names were also used for another musical concept, that of sound 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.

4.2 tibicines: cf. 3.6 in artificio... tibicines.

adprime: a favourite adverb of Apuleius in the context of skill and expertise; cf. e.g. Apol. 31.5 adprime peritus (about Homer); Soc. 17 (157) Socrates, suis adprime perfectus.

1 Acoustic differs here as far as the Phrygian mode is concerned: Pol. 1342a31-b12.
quam quad · discrentur: Antigenidas’ great distress (expressed by laborare and angis) appears to concern only the fact that other musicians are given the name of orbicines 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 cerasulae: ’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 Greekism, used only here and twice in the Cartina Epigraphica; cf. TLL s.v. 856, 39-44. A more common term is cornicius. Hornblowers playing funereal melodies occur with comic effect in Petr. 78,6 consanuere cornicius fanumeria strepita.

4.3 aequo animo: the fragment takes an unexpected turn, with Apuleius delivering a philosophical comment on Antigenidas’ opinion. It belongs in the theatrical element of minos Apuleius’ audience was familiar with: had the Greek musician watched mines, 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.1

minime in Apuleius’ days, mines were a popular form of theatrical entertainment. Apuleius himself was familiar with them; cf. Fl. 5,2 and 18,4. The influence of mines 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 mine, see PANATOTTASE 1995, xii-xix with notes. In the Roman tradition, the social status of minas was relatively low; cf. examples in RE s.v. minas 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 mine.

similis 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.2 With nostro he further strengthens the link between himself and his audience.

praesides: the same verb is used as in 4,3, but the context 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. depono 2. The common term here is no more than the

1 According to AUGELLO, Apuleius’ remark is the bitter comment of a philosopher, given the vulgarity of Roman mine 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 philosopher who abhors 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.

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

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. TONE 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 STURMELT 1982, 345-6.

1 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 round 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 inclusion. Through the element of 'theatre', and particularly minus, it is firmly connected to the previous fragment, and it might have come from the same speech. Likewise, the final mention of a philosophus (cf. 4,4) clearly points to the speaker himself. The thought is not original; Hekateron 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 it 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 oratorial 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. Incidentally, the brevity of the text precludes any further conclusions about its original context.

5,1 bone... 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.

einem: 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.2 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 3.1 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 actor 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 minus spectaculio and 4.4 si minera nostra spectaretur. Here it is used in the more general sense of 'to examine', as in 18.5 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 minire, a tight-rope acrobat, 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 text 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; OLDHATHER lists no less than 12 occurrences for discere.

minatios: the word may refer either to a person, an actor of minae (as in 18.4), or to the spectacle, minre (as in 4.3). In this context, it is difficult to decide, since the other three examples concern both categories. For Roman minae in general, see on 4.3.

funebraus: not surprisingly, the rare word for a 'tightrope acrobat' led to problems in the MSS. TQG originally read funereus, later changed to fumeraus. The correction is due to a late hand in 4. Given the parallel in 18.4 quod hic... fumeraus percipiamt, the only other occurrence of the word (see TII s.v. funereus 1594.25-8) is no doubt right.

Tightrope walkers, commonly referred to in Latin as funambuli or funibuli, were a well known and popular phenomenon in Roman culture, also in the theatre. In the prologue to Ter. Aec. 4 it is told that a first performance of Terence's play was a failure because the audience was distracted: its popular studio impetibus in funabulis (minimum occupant). Tightrope walkers are regularly mentioned in Roman literature, though mostly in passing; some examples are Man. 4,651-5, Sen. Dial. 2.12.4, Juv. 3.77 (schorumatibus); in Strab. 11.64 there is even a reference to elephantes funambulus. The parallel in Fl. 18.4 (quoted above) also shows that the shows in which they appeared must have been dangerous1 and awe-inspiring; cf. also in a later period Aug. Ep. 120.5 nam et in theatris hominem funambulam montarum, manusio delectatur, in illo superstum difficulitas; in his retinet locumante. Full details on Roman tightrope walkers may be found in DAIREDEBARG/SACCO II, 1361-3.

condemn: 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 'gaumorphists' whom I esteem most. They are in constant search of wisdom and desire 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

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1 TQG s.v. funeratus 12.12 it is told that Marcus Aurelius, after an accident involving a tightrope walker, ordered that a murderer should be spread under such artists. The author of the biography asserts that in his own days a is not still used for the same purpose.

2 These may have sounded like 'There is no need for you to feel inhabit' or 'Ancient Romans such as Cato felt that the theatre was not serious enough, but this does not concern you and me today.'
of the famous gymnosophists. 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 Att. 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 KARThEN 1997, 229-252. The exotic country was a fruitful area for Sophistical 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 gymnosophists 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 praefatum, 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 praeinitial (5,8; see also on 5,9). On the whole fragment see also HARRISON 2000, 101-3.

61. Infl.:... 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 use 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 terms of an opening sentence, cf Philostr. V. 474 on Arabia (referred to by SANDY 1907, 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 populosa is first attested in Apuleius; see GCA 1985, 195 ad Nerr. 8,23 (194,27).

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

prope Oceanus 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 ‘limiting edge of the world’, where the waves of the Ocean turn back upon themselves; cf. also PlineR 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 hardly could have believed the world was flat; cf. further his scientific observations on the Ocean in Man. 6.

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

primis sideribus, ultimis terris: two rather loosely constructed ablatives of quality, that unlike the previous detail must have been used to indicate for all India. 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 Aegyptos... Arabus: 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 GERNH 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 SCHAFER 1997, 1-118. The generic term Arabes, and their renown for various fragrances and pleasant scents, were commonplace since Herodotus; cf. e.g. Hdt. 3,107 and 113.

The three examples mentioned in between are somewhat less well known. The Nubianians 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. 12,58. The Arsacides were the dynasty of kings ruling the Parthians; here the name is more or less synonymous with the name 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 Ann. Marc. 23,6,84; further e.g. Tac. Ger. 17,1. The Lyrae 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 epitaph fragum...
The Miracles of India (VI)

...pauseparax probably refers to a supposed 'nomadic' existence, often attributed to eastern peoples.

6.2 eorum vigur Indorum: a repetition of a name in the habitual style of Apuleius; cf. note on Apol. 4.8 eum quaque Zenonem. A full list of instances of such repetitions in the Fl. may be found in BERNHARD 1927, 288-9.

...seuque mirur: 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).

...s ephor: stresses: all six elements referring to wealth are similarly expressed by means of a noun indicating 'great quantity' (the first three ending in -er, the others in -o) and a genitive ending in -o 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.

...pipéris, elammin: 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 ans 22.50. In a much later source they are mentioned in combination: Isid. Erym. 14.3.6. Cf 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 KARITUNEN 1997, 148-151.

...ferri temperacuta: '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; ANDRE / FILLIOZAT 1986, 438 refer to Curt. 9.8,1 (white iron); Epit. Alex. 64 and Jul. Val. 3.24; see also KARITUNEN 1997, 256. The smelting furnaces do not occur elsewhere; cf. FERRARI 1968, 125.

...auri fluens: 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 Paracud or the Hermon (e.g. Verg. G. 2.137) (cf. also OLD s.v. fluente). It was also believed that such rivers existed in India; cf. Curt. 8.9,18 aurum fluitans ubiunt; Plin. Nat. 33.66 (of the Ganges); see also below on 6.8 aurum colorae. 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.

...Ipsi elephantes: 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 MATTHIACI 1986, 162-3n13. This is certainly possible, but we have no further proof. Alternatively, in the absence of a name or clue, Apuleius himself could be the author.1

The three lines might be described as Asyntactic or outright 'bombastic'; HARRISON 2000, 102 speaks about 'a particle of Vergilian style'. The lines elaborately picture the Ganges and its numerous estuaries, rounded up at 'one hundred', cf. Eur. B. 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 corniter Hesperidum flatus regnator aquis.

...discurrat: cf. Verg. G. 4.292 (of the Nile) et diversus rumin septem discurris in oras.

...centum... oraque centum: for the repetition of 9 centum cf. Verg. G. 2.43 non muli si linguis centenis int oraque centum; (=A. 6.625); further cf. e.g. Verg. A. 1.634-5; Öv. Am. 3.4,19.

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

...seu quod indehm...: two more ethnographic details follow, one on the colour of the inhabitants and one concerning animal life (see below).

...silis ad nascentem diem: cf. above ad ostrem uiti (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 nostris: the detail of the dark skin of the Indians was, not surprisingly, a stock characteristic; cf. e.g. Verg. G. 4.293 colorante. India; Tib. 3.8.19 niger... Indus; Juv. 11.125 Mauro obscurior Indus. For the combination used here, cf. Petr. Fr. xiv.3 incites coloris noctis of an Egyptian boy; further Sm. Her.F. 862 (in a different context).

...immensi dracones - elephants: for the fabulous story of snakes and elephants perpetually engaging in combat, cf. notably Plin. Nat. 8.3-4, whose account Apuleius seems to follow here (cf. HARRISON 2000, 102); further Solin. 22.10-14 and other later sources. Full material on Indian elephants may be found in KARITUNEN 1997, 187-201; further 227-8 for the stories on fighting snakes and elephants. As KARITUNEN adds, in nature there are no snakes capable of presenting problems to elephants.

Apuleius seems to have no doubt about the ecological 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 particular. The context of the exotic animals is presented in vivid, dramatic fashion. Even on the level of language the immensi snakes seem to match the immensi elephants.

...pari percipias: the combat always ends in deaths for both; cf. Pliny's words commentari eu dimicato acutissimo conturiae coniunctis elidi pondere (Nat. 8.32). The idea is stated explicitly in the following words in autam pertinere.
6.5 lubrico volumnes: the adjective lubricus, fairly common for snakes (e.g. Lucr. 4.660), is now applied to their curling movements or 'coil'.

reiniciunt: 'restrain them' (wh. the elephants). The verb is used in a literal sense. It will be resumed by the exquisite junctorque spatamus pediculus.

... fit: Pi read et... sit. This prompted the early correction ut by Floridan, which produces easy, correct syntax and is accepted by most modern editors. Alternatively, we may retain et and change sit in fit, which is palaeographically easy to explain. The reading fit is actually found in an early edition (ed. Bus.). 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 Helderbrand.

ills:... 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 (lactuque cornes complexam eludit ponderis; idem, 8,32).

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

pedicas: the word takes up reenunciation. It is used with reference to animals also in Plin. Nat. 11.81 (of the spiders).

retentures: the word is not attested before Apuleius. For Apuleian neologisms with the productive, expressive suffix -tor, see Ferrai 1986, 106-11 and Facchin-Tosi 1986, 132-5.

6.6 libentius - dissuerein: 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. First, some groups of special workers among the Indians are specified: farm-labourers, traders, and warriers.

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: sophis, farmers, cattle-keepers, artisans and merchants, warriers, inspectors, and consellors. The rigid dividing lines between these Indian castes are rather played down by Apuleius; cf. the hint nihil amplius quam... nouere. Furthermore, Apuleus 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. Szabo 15,39-49 and Plin. Nat. 6,66.

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

bubulicide: 'to drive or tend cattle'. A rare word (cf. T.L.L. s.v. 2223,8-13), which as Ferrai 1986, 96 assumes, may well be part of the technical language of landusekeeping, although it is not attested in texts of the Roman agrimensores. Apuleius may have taken the word from Plautus; cf. Ferrai, 97.

1 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 metronomai louton but one of the metronomai nature.
FLORIDA

equum domum: 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.

6.9 unum pro his omnibus: an abundant expression, for which cf. e.g. Met. 4,31 (99,6-7) unum aliquo pro omnibus succincto with GCA as loc. Cf. also on 5,1 solus ante aeternam.
sapiens percolat: a rather unremarkable feat, after the many marvels of India listed so far. But certainly sapiens 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 percolare resumes and strengthens colere / color of 6,8.

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

6.10 quaeque uia... aequo laundo: cf. non aequo uter (6,2). The words announce a new climax, and in effect create a compact, third triad: 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 so admirable as the general aversion to idleness.

Advocates of the first option apparently assume two separate sentences, with consecutum as main verb of the first one (as also more positio we must then also add in mind). On the other hand, with a comma we would either have a main sentence with two syntactically connected verbs (a structure largely corresponding to that of the first option), or alternatively, a reflexive clause aequo... consecutum (with an affirmative absolute (a) positio) and a main verb percolare. This last option would best bring out what must be the speaker's intention: it is the menos' question, not the gathering for dinner, that illustrates the hatred of idleness.

VI

THE MIRACLES OF INDIA (VI)

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 susata - suspicione: three somewhat cases of ablative absolute (with marked a-sound) illustrate the positive effect of mediation.

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

1 Alternatives, one might consider not inserting a word, but deleting ester and omitting the comma after dicitur: the verb consecutum would thus be governed by the preceding subject idem 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: as 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 (in 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.3. 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 (hat 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. Philo. Nat. 7.125 and Hor. Ep. 2.1.320-41, 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, 64-64. The scholarly literature on Alexander is vast; a modern biography is O’Brien 1992.

7.1 Alexander...: the initial dative is not properly constructed in the sentence. After a long parenthesis (7.2-3), the name is resumed with eius igitur Alexander... facitores. 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 helium rightly indicates. For the opening of the text with a name, see on 3.1

ex rebus actis et aequis: 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. It is the light of Alexander’s conquests which greatly enlarged his empire, auctae is perfectly fitting (cf. 7.2 imperio... auctae). cognoscentem ‘magnum’ 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 cognoscentem see also on 6.6 adjectives.

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>: conditio aeque: for the expression (here perhaps used on the analogy of ab urbe condito Plin. Nat. 7.120 and 141. inexpressibilibus...: the solemn diction (cf. TLL s.v. aequus 1355.2ff) achieves a slightly pompous effect. For aequus with words of power and right, cf. Ov. Fast. 3.601-2 annos regios... aequus erat; Vir. 9 pr 9 Heros... aequus regia potestate. fortuna sua maior: a pun on Alexander’s surname, which was prepared by the earlier magnus. Similar puns on Pompey’s ‘great’ abound in Latin literature; cf. e.g. Hesych. on Luc. 3.5 (with references). For Apuleius’ concept of foruntia in his minor works, cf. Fry 1984, 139n12 and Humans 1987, 444-8. successus - melior: a tricolon illustrating Alexander’s ‘imitation and emulation’ of his own fortune. His great qualities (cf. strenua, meritis, melior, the latter two also being connected in sound) are the ultimate cause of his glory.

7.3 sine aequo 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. Aematus is an important notion in the Florida, notably referring to rivalry in arts; cf. e.g. 9.15 aemuli multi (of Hippia); 9.24, 12.3 (of the rivalry); 15.23, 16.6 (Philoxen as aemulus of Menander). 18.41. Cf. further e.g. Apol. 37.1, Sophocles Euripidi aemulos.

nurriturum... optare: note the close similarity of the two cola, both in sound and number of syllables. Alexander’s norma and fortune have both been dealt with in 7.2.

7.4 eius igitur Alexandri... a res uirtus...: a res uirtus...: for the expression, see on 7.1 (for the construction, see note there). The repetition of a name in this manner belongs to Apuleius’ style; cf. e.g. 6.2 eorum igitur Idomeno, and see Apol. 4.8 Xenonem illum... even quaeque Xenonem with note.

sublimia - edita: Alexander’s unique performances are referred to in expressions not attested before Apuleius. Facitores and edita (‘exploits’, OLD s.v. 2) are direct objects of miranda, with uel beli aequa aequa demum provia as a double attribute (the finite verb is ffitagetherein.)

adagens est... illustrare: the verb aggrandio 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.1

1 The words quae enim seem to suggest this too. Although Alexander a famous without a rival (7.3), his achievements are, in a way, challenged by Clemens, who has tried to teach ‘all of Alexander’s fans’ 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). 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.
ceritudinis et ususius: 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 regis. 7,5 sed... illud praecelarum: of Alexander’s numerous deeds, one particular feat is singled out. The thought is given the form of a brief proemium, as in Fl. 6 (see on e.g. 6.8). Pracelarum is simply repeated from 7.4 praecelara edita.
A somewhat similar story expressing great concern about one’s image is told by Apuleius about Agellus (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 certor... producet: ‘to ensure it would be more faithfully transmitted’. The subject of the verb is image. The verb has probably been selected (instead of e.g. traducetur) because of its sound: the initial p- matches that of potens, as well as of primus and praecelarum.
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 imaginis regis).
7,6 editi... ne quis...: the story about Alexander’s edit is well known: cf. Hor. Ep. 2.1.239-41 edito ueriat, ne quis se praeter Apellen / pingeret aut alias Lyssippos uiceret aera / fortis Alexander uelium simulantiam; and notably Plin. Nat. 7.125 idem hic imperator editi ne quis ipsum alias quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles sculpserat, quam Lyssippos ex aere uiceret. That Alexander would only suffer statues of himself to be made by Lysippus, it is also stated by Plut. Alex. 3.4 and Art. An. 1.16.4, while the detail on Pyrgoteles is repeated by Plin. Nat. 37.8: edictum Alexandrini magni, quo ueriat in hoc gemma ab alio se sculpti quam ab Pyrgotele, non dubie clarissimo artis eius. For full material see STEWART 1993, 360-2.
The notion of an edit 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 portraits. Apuleius presents the edit 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 editi... ne quis, ex aere ducere, and deliinquare, as well as the mention of three artists and their arts. Curiously, however, two differences appear in Apuleius’ account: within the group of three, Lyssippus 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 Pyrgotele).
Portraiture 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

1 On a rather curious note, it has been argued by HUBMANN 1951-2 that the Christian writer Clemens of Alexandria was meant. This suggestion has rightly been rejected by e.g. MORTLEY 1972, 56ff.

wide renown of the name Polycleitus; cf. also HUMANS 1994, 173n481. It may also be simply explained as an error of the speaker (thus e.g. AUGELLO ad loc.). use: the reflexive possessive is significant. Since Alexander has conquered a huge empire, he can issue orders for ‘his entire world’.
aduldraban: 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 Eumaeus quoed intro fustam uel aere infusion uel lapide incruorem uel ceru inustum uel pigmento illitum uel alio quosquam humano artifacto aduldraban est, non multa intercursae temporis distincte reddidit. In that passage, various pictorial arts are rhetorically compared to the mirror.
caelamem: a rare noun instead of the more common caelatura. Apuleius also uses it further down in the sentence, and in Met. 5.1 (105.17) and Soc. 2 (121). Where it seems to be ascribed to Eunius. Before Apuleius, TLL s.v. 64,16-25 only quotes Ov. Met. 13.291.
quae: the reading of the MSS. It was changed to can by Leo, which was adopted at first by HELM, who later changed his mind and proposed quae saepve <scriptum>.
Another possibility would be a change to or, as proposed by PIRIE 1910, 147-8. However, quae is not to be interpreted as a conjunction, but as a strongly affirmative adverb accompanying a command (duceret); cf. OLD s.v. A lb. The addition of a word like <scriptum> or <ediit> is not necessary. If a semicolon is printed before quae, the sentence may be taken as an instance of free indirect speech (hence the subjunctive ducernet), together with the following clause praeter uoluit... vindicaturam.
saepve: all modern translators appear to be puzzled by saepve, which they leave untranslated. Scholars either delete the word or argue that its force is reduced (LOTHMANN, Beiträge 43 sqq., as referred to by HELM). Saepve does, however, add an important point: the three artists are the only ones (note the emphatically repeated zeros) who are allowed to make images of the King, but they must do so frequently.1
Polycleitus: 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 editi... ne quis. A recent article on the art of Polycleitus is BORIN 1996. aere ducere: the key-words aere, color, and caelamem 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 ducernet 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.
deliinquare: before Apelles, the verb is used only in Plin. Nat. 35.89. Curiously, this is in another sandedal concerning Apelles: carbone... imagination pinete deliinam.
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
association 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 praecox hortus: another instance of free indirect speech. It forms a repetition and amplification of Alexander's command, adding a threatening note.

manus admodum: 'to lay hands on', an expressive, rare expression. Before Apuleius cf. only Pl. As. 570 aul sacro manus admodum. Apuleius uses it also in Met. 1.10 (9.23); 6.10 (133.17). The syntax of repertorius admodum is somewhat strained. Generally speaking, nominative and infinitive constructions are quite rare in Apuleius; cf. von Giesebrecht 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) iterini ubique. Apol. 35.4 ubique literam. In the Fl. cf. also ubique genitivum in 16.39, 16.39, and 18.36.

sim < Plin > in: the commonly accepted correction of Helms (on the basis of other, mostly longer proposals) for simul of Fl. The form naturally fits the context with its other superlatives. Nonetheless, a case may also be made for the older correction simili (by Floridos), which would be paleographically easier to explain.

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

idem = frontis: a brief epitaph 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 analogs of idem and two with aedem). 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 relinquis, 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. Phil. 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.

nee... temere adversarium: the parallel with Alexander's edict is expressed in almost the same words; cf. 7.6 ne qua effigiem regis temere adversarium. 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.1

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

1 On a somewhat wilder note Porter 1910, 148-50 defends the old rendition of the passage as ubique imagines inum ('everywhere a perfect portrait').

2 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; cf. 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); Aescl. 16 (54.21 Mi); and see Callebaut 1968, 137. Apuleius manifestly likes adverbs formed with the suffix; in his extant works we also find antefariam (Apol. 4.8; Fl. 18.23), trifariam (Apol. 49.2), quadrufariam (Met. 2.4), planusfariam (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 aupterius studium contemplata, as all modern translators interpret it (cf. also OLD s.v. omnifariam). It would not be impossible to take it with the preceding eruditu, but that particle is already qualified by the adverb probe.

7.10 palius temus: '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. Gal. 9.2.4 'aides,' inquit Herodes, 'barbam et pallium, philosophum nonam sides. For the pallium as the typical dress of philosophers, cf. on 4.4.

philosophos: the curious spellings of F6 philosophers is maintained by Hilmi. 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 work seems hard to accept, and Apuleius invariably writes philosophos and Philosophia. The spelling must therefore be due to a scribal error.

imicatorem: it is tempting to follow Hilmi and change the finite verb to imicaturum, which would produce a perfectly Apuleian jingle contemptulum, imicaturum, contaminatorem. TLL s.v. Anios 432.706. does attest an active form imitari, so this is not impossible. However, this is not a sufficient reason to change the text.

disciplinam regalen: 'royal branch of study', an unusual description of philosophy. Cf. the designation of the head as regalem parrum 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... atendere: the pair of words, closely connected by the syntax and homoeoteleuton, will be repeated in the same sentence: male dicendo et similius audiendo. The fairly simple and repetitive mode of expression lends force to the argument. Likewise contaminatorem takes up 7.5 contaminato.

The idea that philosophy was partly invented for good speaking is, of course, typical of the Second Sophist Auleius, rather than for ancient philosophy as such; on the combination of eloquence and 'philosophy', cf. Sandys 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.

cubare: 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' scurrilous remarks here. The relation between Kyneiros and dogs was evident for those all who knew even a little Greek. Apuleius scolds the Cynics for being ignorant in e.g. Apol. 31.1 philosophe nor sequamur Cynicum nomeniam radi et inductum, see also on Apol. 22.7 and Harnois 1989, 38wn22. The Cynics also seem to be the speaker's target in 9.9.
alterum...: HELM normalized the text to alterum & aliorum contempse, altera & sui <narr.>. But the change to feminine forms is not necessary, and the addition of a particle would only be required if we wished Apuleius to comply with the norms of Cicero's Latin.

7,12 ulliter...: more repetitions drive home the point. Ulliter and sui contemptus both echo words from the preceding sentence. There are also repetitions of contumelia, intelligere, and cf. qui uos arbitratus / qui uos excentra.

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 --> audientiam contumeli ... --> summum uobis contumeli. Moreover, the vague 'bad speaking' of false philosophers now turns out to be malicious slander of specific persons, namely the best of them, no doubt persons such as the speaker himself: male dicendo --> barbarae alii insensum --> maledictis optimi calasque. So, the speaker appears to be engaged in a sort of personal polemics, rather than in an abstract defense 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 arbitratus...: a conspicuous attempt to gain the sympathy of the audience. The African audience is allegedly not 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.

uitius urbe: 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 maloedris, so the opponent 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 quasi...: a final note of invective against Apuleius' opponents: they say 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 writing or defective use of language.

rupincellus: 'bampkins'. Rupinc (or Rupica) does not occur elsewhere; see FERRARI 1968, 132.

It is used instead of rupera, a word related to rumpere.

baiois, tabernariss: '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> disere: the insertion of non (proposed by Van der Vliet), commonly accepted, seems inevitable if we want to understand the sentence: anyone assuming a pulsim would surely try to be more eloquent and thereby, by implication, show less contempt of his audience. Palaeographically, however, the omission of non (or abbreviated n) remains difficult to account for.

Alternatively, the reading disere, as printed in early editions, also makes sense: "who is so inarticulate that he speaks evil of those who are eloquent?" But this sense 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 favor 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 Hippias (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 illf. 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 Colvis' conjecture sibi, which gives a rather different sense: 'this man owes more to himself' that is, to his own merits. However, sibi 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 sibi does not justify altering the text. With HILDEBRAND and HUMANS 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 Aemilius Strabo: 'ae quin omnium, quod quum fuerunt aut sunt aut etiam erant, inter optimos clarissimos, inter clarissimos optime, inter unique..."
8.2 et ex iis consulares...: the third grade of excellence. The two 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 eruditus.

Most editors doubt the text here. HELM and others print et ex iis <pauci consulares, etc> consulares, 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 FP is not only fully clear, but in its subtle variation it is also stronger than with a strictly schematic division such as editors assume.

eruditus: the special dignity of the loc. 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 AQUILIO rightly notices, this is a reference to the outfit typical of senators: a toga and mantle with a broad purple stripe (funicium); 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 (anata, pellis). The combination is referred to in Cic. Mil. 28 Milo autem cum in sevatis fuisse... domum venit, calceos et vestimenta mutavit. For insignia in general cf. also Apol. 75,7 insignia dignitatis abscitis.

useful not calcei: 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 -i: cf. FACCHINI TESI 1986, 129-31.

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

IX VARIOUS TALENTS

If there are any 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 flavour I received, but for your services to the community. You are an example to all, inspiring respect rather than fear. Your son Honorius, 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 office, 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 HIDAMS 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 text (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, personal portrait of the orator 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 interests, his inspiring qualities, his balanced character. In a clever way, Apuleius extends his praise to the magistrate's son Honorius, 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 proppmatic speeches may be found in Menander Rheter 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 orator and his oration; these items seem not particularly noteworthy for their style or thought. It is rather the exotic details and the learned display about Hippians 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 pronouncement in a humble or submissive way. On account of his fame and high position he feels free to adopt a self-confident tone to and deliver a speech that, while being duly polite, treats the pronouncement 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 pronouncement and his son were appropriately honoured, the African elite was excellently represented by their illustrious son Apuleius, and the speaker himself could gloriﬁy and praise his audience and addressen, while ousting 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. It shares their ‘cult of the past’, here manifest in the long passage on Hippia, and shows, great, or even exaggerated, concern for the right word and the use of authorised language; for the latter see SANDY 1997, 59-60. For contemporary interest in Hippia, see e.g. Philost. VS 493-6 and further HARRISON 2000, 107-8. The story of Hippia’s own manufacture of clothing and accessories goes back to Plato Hp. Mi. 368b-d and is also given by Cic. de Officiis. 3,127, Quint. 12,11.21; and D.Chr. Or. 71.2. For recent studies on the sophist Hippia, see BLIX 1996 (who does not refer to the Fl.); for a summary of his life and teaching cf. e.g. RANEN 1983, 52-6.

The place and date of Apuleius’ speech are certain: Carthage is mentioned (9,36 and 40), and so is the pronouncement Severianus (9,39). Sextus Coscullas Severianus Honorius is known to have been the pronouncement of Africa in 165-3 and the predecessor of Scipio Orfinus (for whom see Fl. 17); cf. SYME 1959, 318; and PIR² 1230 (B, p.294-5). Apuleius also mentions Severianus’ son Honorius; see PIR² 1218 (II, p.289).

1 As ANDERSON 1990, 103 aptly puts it. Apuleius here neatly subsumes sophistic literature with history.
2 The dialogue is now considered by many as not so authentic; the philosopher Pseudo-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 note separate page below). For one thing, the Greek description is given by Socrates, who ironically praises Hippia only to make a fool of him. This trope is entirely absent here.

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.

ii <10> is inimicitia: 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. Inimicus ‘jealous person’ is a rare word, not found before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1906, 109.

9.2 quasim dirae: 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 persona and renown of the speaker himself.

loque scire: the word genus, referring to a group, is followed by a relative clause in the plural (ani mulier). For note on 18,1.

simulatim... simulatur: 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 despise simulorum content themselves with what is conveyed by a smaller word: simulans (‘animosity’).

obscurs: the imagery is familiar. The ‘obscurs’ of reason forms a contrast with the light of fame; cf. e.g. Apol. 16,10-13. The imagery will be continued shortly in speniatisimus.

9.3 igitur: the particle marks the resumption of the clause started in 9.1.

Buclis: this is Fulvius’ emendation, adopted by most modern editors, for the impossible libidinis of Fl. 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 libidinum and libidinis (e.g. HUMANS 1994, 1777), but these words are not attested in authors before Apuleius.

macula: ‘stain’. The word is only rarely used for persons; OLD s.v. 5 quotes Cic. Prov. 13 has duplicita peritius sociorum... provinciarum utinatis, imperti macula; cf. also TLL s.v. 26,151; and 751.

4 incredibilis commercium: 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

1 One may reconsider libidinis, as proposed by THOMSEN 1910, 146. The verb adjective libidinum (‘inclined to envy’).Stand in Fl. 11,10, would be more익하기 than the regular libidinis. Being a demonstrative it would also be quite at home in Apuleius’ style. A parallel problem occurs at Mor. 9,12 (212,2), where editors equally print libidinis; in this case McGill proposed libidinis.
other passages in the Fl. also testify to huge audiences; cf. notably 18,1 tanta multitudine ad audientiam comitavit... Apuleius delivered what may be called rhetorical shows or 'performances' even in real theatres; cf. Fl. 3. Such a location is perfectly possible for the present speech too, although the references made by the speaker remain rather vague (coetus, auditorio, conversum).

9.5 *cum animo suo* the apparent superfluous indication of animo with repute is, in fact, paralleled in literary tradition; cf. Pl. Tim. 256 houc ego quum cum animo meo repufo; Sal. Jug. 13,5 factus natus cum animo repens; further e.g. Liv. 21,41,16.

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

arduum... difficile: the two words, equivalent in sense, will appear in reverse order in 16,45: *good difficile facta est quodque re arduum*. 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 *praeceptorinitia*: the following clause merely reformulates in an explicit manner what was implied in the preceding words. This is partly obscured by the usage of the striking word *pia* (see below).

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

nihil[non]: the element *non*, written in F6, was deleted by Scrivener, who was followed by HELM, but kept by VALLETTE and AUGILLO. *Nihil non* would normally produce a strongly affirmative statement, such as *nemo non, nuncquam 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 quinquam*. 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 *hieareo* in the sense 'to utter' is somewhat less uncommon (OLD s. v. 2b).

9.7 *quic...*: three rhetorical questions, linked by anaphoric *qui* 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.

sobocoenaus: a technical term for a grammatical or stylistic error or barbarism. For the various forms it may take, see LAUBERG 960, 286-74 (with examples). The word is derived from Sóli, the name of a town in Titus supported 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.

*pronunfactum*: 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 Apuleius and his African admirers and critics. On spoken Latin in Africa, see MILLAR 1968; further PETERMANN 1998.

*incoacta et nitiosa verba*: the third point concerns the choice of suitable idiom and register. For the terms, cf. Apol. 87,4 *omniter suae verbi, tam barbaro sermone*. In 7,12 *multa quas verba occurred in a slightly different meaning. Here, the linguistic sense is associated with insanity. Of course, *quae delirabant et obscurabant* invites the listeners to think of the very opposite: carefully worded words chosen by the learned.

blastereare: an expressive verb for 'uttering in a babbling way', which is used repeatedly by Apuleius, e.g. Apol. 3,7; Met. 4,24 (99,4).

et *saepe meritemissimo*: the speaker contrasts himself to all others, who may have been more sensitive to the use of language. 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 exaniematice*: 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 *Zeus*.

*penicillatis*: 'you weigh in the mind'. The rare verb is used in relation to written texts in Soc. Pr. 1 (105) *scripta enim periculatissimae et exaniimatissimae, repentina autem noxii* *simil et ignocticis*; cf. further GeL 13,21,11.

*ad linum et lineas certum*: an altering 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'. *Linum* is frequently applied to literary work, mostly in poets; cf. GCA 1985,89 on 8,8 (183,5-7); such use of *lineae* is exceptional. 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 9,27.7 For *coturhunus* cf. also 16,7; Met. 10,2 (237,13) a *socco ad coturnum*. The text has been questioned here by earlier scholars; PERRIER 1910, 150-1 defends the old emendation *cum tornor et cercinum* ('compasses')

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

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1 The exact meaning of the term gave rise to some discussion among specialists; cf. e.g. QUENT. 1,5,54-54; further Rhet.Her. 4,17.

2 For the combination cf. also Prop. 2,34,413: *desine et desceuloce composere verba coturno / desine et ad nóiun numero resuisse choros. / bice due angius venia includere tom...*
difficultatis: the noun resumes difficile (9,5) and echoes the preceding clauses in sound: note the ending in -itis (now nominal instead of verbal) and the alliteration with dignitas. The word will be repeated in the next sentence.

9,9 suso... falsus animal habebat: the phrase reflects archaic language; cf. Tert. Eus. 274 ut falsus animisti et Sal. Jug. 10,1 neque ea nos falsos me habebat; cf. further Soc. 8 (138) falsum sententiae meritisimō discurit.

parum... praua: an obvious pun on the sense of both closely similar words.¹

cf. Pulilu refers to the pallium, the typical philosopher’s dress (see on 4,4). For mendicabilum (‘a beggar’s instrument’ used of persons, TLL s.v. NO5, 24e) hesitatingly compare Pl. Aud. 702 and other places in Apuleius: Apol. 22,9 and Mot. 9,4 (205,19) (of Lucius the ass); see further PERRAM 1968, 98-9. So ut suso 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 cause of poverty inherent in mendicabilum, the Cyntus may be the target here, as STOC 1985, 362 argues; cf. also MESSINA 1999, 291-2.

9,10 proconsul: this is the start of a long comparison (9,10-13). As a proconsul sits quietly and issuing written decrees that will be unutterable, 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 mendicabilia, who are free to say whatever they wish. Some details would seem to fit in here: the herald is too 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 as opponent of the proconsul, announcing what he is ordered by him to say, rather than contradicting or opposing him.

proconsul: the abbreviation used in Fl. has been maintained here (as in Apol. 85,2). Editors generally supply the apparently missing letters: proconsul, but perhaps we should understand proconsularis.³ 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.

¹ The words are used in close vicinity in St. 12,403-4, but one may doubt whether a pun is intended there.

² HILDEBRAND proposes no need to make an identification of proconsul, changing the text and taking the last word as a demonstrative. This seems less likely, if only because it would stress the similarity of praeco and proconsul rather than their difference.

³ Cf. also Mot. 10,33 (264,2) where organum is used in a context of abuse of lavishness (vilicius capitis, insomnia servera vulgaris; 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 1987.1

revisare... mutaret... 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 Lipius for a ms of Fb, which seems impossible to keep, in view of the following mhs. Alternatively, the words might be deleted (Novak) or inde (Sieweck) might be written. Other suggestions have also been advanced.

9.14 religio dicendi: 'sculptures with regard to my use of language'. With particularly strong terms Apuleius reserves 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.

Camens: '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 ouvre is called ommium munus Camenum (9.30). The term then applies to literature in general. For the origin and early history of the name Camena in Rome, see CAMELIUS 1998.

in operibus opera: 'works in forms of constructive labour'. The text is not quite certain, with Fb reading in opificibus opera. Editors generally adopt the vulgar reading opera, which is also to be combined with in Camens.2 The plural of opificium is rare (TLL refers only to very late authors such as Chalcidian), but 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. 497bd 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, 192-4, who rightly contrasts 6.8-9, on the ideal gymnosophists who only devote themselves to contemplation (293a38). 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.

disputatio: after this word, the MSS mark the end of 'book I' of the Floridæ. AVELLI PLATONICI FLORIDORVI 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. MHAS 1949, 217-8 and

1 In discussing publication of texts by others, STARR never specifically refers to stenography during live performances nor to exemplifying written texts. Either process, therefore, seems to have been absent. A curious, late testimony of both phenomena used in combination is St. Ap. 9.9.8.

2 TLL follows this reading with some doubts, listing the text as the only example in a separate entry

opificium. However, this adjective is not attested elsewhere. Among recent editors AGGELIDIS omits opera, while regarding opificium 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 Floridæ: 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 proconnes. The general connection between both parts would thus have been abandoned, but they could fit quite well into the Floridæ as individual pieces. Generally speaking one gets the impression that the anthologist cared 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.3 Cf. also HUMANS 1994, 1730, who argues that the epistolarium 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 subscriptions, 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 Floridæ as a whole.

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.4 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 ai, est (or to which one might add ao), but should be retained: Hippias, too, is one of those famous sophists.

sophistorum: the word has positive connotations here, as in 18,18-19 (but unlike 18,28).

autem: an 'encyclopédia-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 est 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. Menon 4.4. His native

3 A rather different position is that of OPEKAND 1974, 25-7, who argues that both sections are in fact passages from two entirely different orations, brought together by the anthologist. However, compiling 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 plead for the unity of Fl. 9.

4 Cf. e.g. a list of four famous sophists in Mac.Tyr. 17.1, where Hippocratic figures in the expert on genealogy, along with with Prodicus, Gorgias, and Thrasymachus (none of the other three figures 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.2

9.16 Hilpas is ete: the pronoun is not derogatory here, although it commonly is. The neutral usage is frequent in Apuleius; cf. Caliphat 1968, 269-75.

9.17 omnia... nihil orum: the syntax is loose, underscoring the colloquial tone of what is made to look like an improvised speech.

9.18 habebat industria: 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 (beltus), and the mantle (pallium). The threefold subdivision is clearly marked by the rare dative forms industria... cinetulo... amictus... The idea that Hilpa made all clothing himself is repeated after every element.

9.19 triclini licio: ‘of triple thread’, a refined detail for a tunic, (nominally a simple garment), is as the following ‘double purple’, which probably refers to a repeated colouring of the garment. The initial letter of triclini continues the strong alliteration of t in the sentence.

1 Arist. Rh. 3.14 (1416a) has preserved only its opening words: ‘Elis, happy town’.

varied talents (IX)

2 As FERRARI 1968, 124th observes, after Apuleius the word is used frequently by Christian authors.
occur elsewhere appear again are: *strieguia* and *coelaulae* (see below). The description also uses rare words (*testacionis* and *tubulatio*), the latter not attested before Apuleius, and *conubii* (*testacionis tubulati* *ligula*), 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 TOI 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, 34', 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 'a groove-like pipe'. In Hermes (referred to above) I proposed *coelaulae*, which remains close to the original reading and makes good sense; 'a hollow pipe'. The special value of Hippias' *stigmata* 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 improved on the common strigil with its plain, solid shaft.

9.24 laudatio: this is the text of FeB, generally discarded in favour of *laudabilis*, proposed by Tosi (in *laudatorium* of Kronesberg). Schröl confusion between *a* and *h* 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 *qua laudabit?*

multiculum... *multiculum... daedalum*: the rhetorical question is adorned with a trichotomy containing very complimentary words: *multicurus*, cf. Apol. 31.5 *Homerum*, *postum masicus* *nec potius* *constans rerum adperitium perstum et Fl. 3.9 (cf Apoll.) *arte multicurus*; with note there. The use of *daedalum* 'dexterous' with a long adjacnt (as *ut gratum petitis* is unusual; OLD s.v. *quotes* e.g. Lu. 1.7 *daedalita tellus* and Verg. A. 7.282 *daedala Circe*.

tetling: 'so many together'. The adjective seems to occur only in Apuleius, who uses it a few times in the plural, e.g. Men. 2.24 (45.56-7) *tetlagis* *um diuibus*; and below 18.17 *tetlagis inimicata*. Here it appears to be a singular, but of the third instead of the second declension; hence it is given a separate lemma *tetlagis* in OLD. The neologism is formed on the model of *multicurus/multicus*: cf. FERRARI 1968, 138.

ipse Hippius laudus, 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 (*futilitatem, suppellectiles multiform instrumenti*) make the criticism less sharp.

document: the contrast of learning and material concerns is façade. Apuleius clearly distances himself from the bucolic arts.

9.25 sellularias... *arte*: 'the sedentary arts', that is, work performed in a sitting position. The more honourable activities were nearly all done standing. The disparaging association is clear in *Met. 2.1.10* (on people who love money): *negotii enim or pleurumque umbraticis et sellularis quarentibus inveniunt, in quibus omnis eorum

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1 The first activity likely to come to mind is no doubt that of delivering a speech.

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VARED TALENTS (IX)

ugor animi corporisque eamque est quo Salustianus ait, *effeminatus*: cf. also Liv. 8.20.4 *opificum quque exulce et sellularii*. The adjective will return in Fl. 15.13. *testrina... buestrina*: he obscure 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 *testrina* is actually very rare in literature; before Apuleius, it occurs only in Vit. 6.4.2.

baxea: a kind of sandal, mainly used by women and comic actors; cf. Pl. Men. 391; further CALLEBAT 1968, 61-1. A similar Plautine colour characteristics *praestinare*, one of Apuleius' favourite verbs for 'to buy'; cf. e.g. Cpr. 848 and see CALLEBAT, 484-5.

9.26 animum...: the speaker does not stop here. Now he even rejects some of Hippias' praised objects as unnecessary 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 god and lead, cf. not only the proverbial expression in Petr. 43.7 *in manum illius plumbam alem falsam*.

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 pin which, of course, outdoes them all. For *tornas* and *columae*, see above 9.8 *ex torno et columa vero*. *chartari calamo*: 'with a reed pen used to write on papyrus'. The adjective *chartarius* is rare; before Apuleius, cf. only Plin. *Narr. 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. His refined associations are also manifest in *Met. 1.1 (1.3-4)* papyrus *egyptium argentum Nilti calami incipiam* and Apol. 9.14, 12 (at the end of one of Apuleius' poems) *scripta et noctes duodecim calamo*.

reficero poema: 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. *l. c.*), which is surely relevant in this context.

omnisgoo: 'of all kinds'. This is a rare, indeclinable adjective, existing alongside the declinable *omnigus* e.g. Verg. *A. 8.698*, which is to be distinguished from the homonym *omnigus* 'all-producing', used by authors in late antiquity. The indeclinable form occurs e.g. in Gellius (14.6.1 *discourse omnigus*) and in the MSS of Lucan: *tibi in 2.759 omnigus... coloris*. Here its usage may have been inspired by the earlier phrase *id genus ferramenti* (9.27); cf. further Fl. 3.13 *hoc genus crinum: 10.3; 13.1; 14.1; 17.2; and 18.3.

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1 Apuleius' statement that he neither wears a ring nor cares for jewelry avoids rather exceptional, since such objects were common ways to show one's high social status; cf. e.g. Apol. 79.5 *anares aurum et omnia insignia digesti*; further the notion of Tertullian's ostentatious wearing of rings in *Pet. 71.9.

2 In most editions of Lucan's, the form is emended to *ovum genus crinum*, interpreted in an adversarial expression; cf. Bailey's note ad loc.
Aptus • cortorum: 'fit for the rapiers’ 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); see.Etymon (see above on 9.4; source and etymology 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 Anachomanon, probably coming from an adaptation of Menander, belongs to the genre of drama (comedy); on this piece see also Harrison 1995. 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 Matteucci 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 e. Hippias too, is said to have brought with him ‘poems, both epic 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.

item satiricae...: 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.

griphoi: ‘riddles’. In this sense the word is rare; TLL s.v. 2335.7(e) also quotes Gel. 1.2.4: It is not clear whether a form of prose or poetry is meant here.

The unusual term posed difficulties for scholars, which led to confusion in the MSS (with F6 reading roppus) as with some of other terms used here; see notes by Helm. Graphei could be used for a didactic purpose; OPEKU 1995, 41 refers to Ath. 10.457 e and also suggests that Apuleius’ griphoi may have been the same as his compositae quaestiones (on which see Harrison 2000, 30-1). There is, however, no clear indication for this.

historias variis rerum: the reference is unclear. Some scholars compare Mer. 1.1 (1.1) variis fabulis et Phoemae term legiti diaphora, both referring to the lost model of Apuleius’ novel Metamorphosis; see SANDY 1997, 6. However, this interpretation seems very unlikely.

1 There is a poetical Griphus by the 4th century poet Ausaceus (the curious Griphus Terami Nampe), but this is a very rare example. The place to Gallinis 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.

2 The text here, dux, 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.
discretion, obviously from discernere (TLL s.v. discernere 1308, 571.), see also Met. 6, 1 (129,15); for cunctem, Soc. 4 (quoted above).

**conceality:** the reading of Fd. This fourth adverb is commonly printed as coocersation (the vulgate reading). Indeed, conceality would give excellent sense and form a fitting contrast with discretion, as would also e.g. congregatim (Hildebrand) or confiterit (Pulvius). But conceality, though not attested elsewhere, may be kept. Its sense, to be derived from concealer, must be 'in rivalry, in competitive fashion'. The adverb seems a new coinage by Apuleius, like his controvernis (Apol. 15, 12) or congregatim (Apol. 35, 2), two more words unattested elsewhere. It functions as an original variant of the common adverb certains. Indeed, there are many examples in Apuleius' work, where a neologism suits the end of a series of words with strong internal sound effects; cf. Facchini Tosi 1986 (passim).

There is a clear contrast with discretion, in that concealer 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 were be 'competing' for the proconsul's attention.

**ubi, proconsul:** the man is not yet named (cf. 9, 39) but only addressed in his official capacity as a magisterate. He is S. Coceus Severanus Honorius; see introductory note.

**aur aude:** Fd reads ur aude. If we assume that the reading aur aude is that of a scribe who is skilled in a sycophancy of the preceding -of and hence deleted. This solution was widely accepted by scholars, but later MSS and early editions have aur here, which also fits perfectly. For aur aude, cf. Apol. 94, 8 optima auris litteras; for optima in a vocative (apol. 100, 5 ficturum optima.1 praedictabilis: 'praiseworthy', a fairly uncommon adjective, for which cf. Cic. Tusc. 5, 49.

**omnem nostram Camamem:** cf. 9, 14 in Cienmecis: open with note.

**non hercole...** 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 magisterate 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 hercle is used by many authors but has a particularly Plautine and Cicornado ring (usually in the forms non hercle and non hercle respectively); cf. e.g. Fest. 450 and Ast. 69; Cic. de Orat. 2,180 and Ver. 1,3,46.

**florax:** there is, perhaps, another link here to the title of the collection, Florida; see notes on 1,3 and 11,2.

ad te resueta: an indirect expression to convey the rather inmodest notion 'I am praised by you'.

**comprobatum:** the reading of Fd. After probus, the speaker does not shrink back from yet another echo of comprobationem. Helms prints the vulgar reading comprobatum, referring to Plin. Ep. 2, 195 its natura comprobatum est; 3,4,6; and Sid.Ap. 7,2,9 (he might have added Plin. Ep. 5,19,5 and 8,20,3). However, since comprobatum makes sense, other editors such as VALLETTE and AUGELLO rightly not followed Helms.

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1 Alternative proposals, such as proconssuata optima (Htwor) or aur aude optima (Hildebrand) also deserve consideration.

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at eum quem laudare... the idea of reciprocity of praise is restated. The syntax (quam laudare... ab illo) is colloquial. For the somewhat proverbial tone, one may compare Naev. Trag. 17 (Wartignores) laetus sum laudari me ab tis, pater, a laudato ursi; these words, spoken by Hector, were familiar; cf. notably Cic. Tusc. 4,67 and Sen. Ep. 102,16.

9,32 **dictorum:** 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 dilegere is clear enough for the audience to understand.

**pristianem:** 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 pristianem and public (rather than the archaic publicius, chosen here), cf. e.g. Cic. Att. 16,15,6 turpis est enim pristianem cuidare quam publicere.

**postulant:** note the rhyme with imperatui, continued below in impertere / invertere.

9,33 **sed etiam maloficitionem:** 'But even unjustly', also to be taken with amare. Taken at face value, this is a somewhat surprising statement, hardly compatible with ancient values.1 One might suppose that Apuleius is referring to some earlier personal quarrel with Severians, 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 <nescire> after maloficitionem is not necessary.

**inadicio impertere:** the eclipse of the object is unusual. One would expect a word like tempus or even mel; cf. OLD s.v. imperative 'to devote or bestow a share of (one's time, effort, etc.)' and Sen. Dial. 11,7,3 imperative te nec aspeli nec doli... putes; further, TLL s.v. impertere 593,456; comparing Cic. Off. 1,92 and anicii imperterentis et rei publicae.

**stidium:** 'without sentiment qui tispiere' (VALLETTE). Whereas others profit from the results (fruitum) of the man's excellence, the speaker takes the stand of a fully detached philosopher: he admires the source from which the honia stems.

9,34 **moderationem:** obviously a great virtue for a magistrate. The term specifically echoes 9,11 proconsol... moderate auro and so forms another link between the real consul Severians and the earlier hypothetical proconsul whom the speaker uses as an example (see 9,16 with note).

**qua effectus te:** the reading of Fd; other MSS have effectus (and 6 times elsewhere in Apuleius). HELM prints Van der Vliet's qua effectus <de> te, but VALLETTE and AUGELLO rightly keep effectus ('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 stans... qua nihil ulterior effectus copiusse.

1 The source could, however, be explained as a reference to the general Stoic idea that all that happens must be accepted.
experiē... experē: the words look alike but are nearly opposites: 'those who have experienced it' (from experī) and 'those who have no share in it' (from experē).1 The sound effect is continued in exemplum.

9.35 beneficīō - commoditātēs: 'through your benefits you have obliged many people'. Polite and solemn words are used to make a rather unremarkable point. Commoditātēs here is without a direct object, but with an indirect object (TLL s.v. 1920.20f gives more examples), perhaps by analogy with a verb such as profāstī.

quīs 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 moderatīō), namely grāntūs, austoritās,2 comitātīō, and aūgōr, 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: ineāpud... and blandūs. Meanwhile, for the reader Severianus remains more or less impersonal, like all other officials addressed by Apuleius in the Florida and Apology.

quet: after this word, HELM assumes a lacuna, which is thought to have included something like tuum munus. However, fitting subjects to be taken with optōnītur, quēt follow right away: grāntūs... 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 VALLETTA and AUGELLO I do not follow HELM.

blandūsque aūgōr: another, related textual problem. For read blandūsque aūgorem, which cannot stand. HELM writes aūgōr est, but this produces only weak sense: 'yours is that pleasant grāntūs... or that grāntūs of yours is pleasant...'. 'The simplest correction is to write aūgōr in the nominative here (thus VALLETTA and AUGELLO).3

9.36 reseritā... uerīta: another compliment directed at the proconsul: the province has respected no-one more, feared no-one less. For the pun on reserēvit and vereō, see Apol. 103.5 possim versus existimāvit non tuum reserēvit quam potestatem aerēt. Although the pun is a fairly obvious one, there are no exact parallels for it; the closest comes Plin. Ep. 1.10.7 reserēvitis excursum, non reformātum. uerīta: a reformulation of the preceding sentence, with uerīta corresponding to reseritā. The notion that fear played a small part in the governor's administration is varied yet again in varius terrā: and in partibus terrā: and in partes terrā: and in parts terrā:. Note also the persistent alliteration of p (here peculā plus pudor, further pari potestātēs... profātis).

9.37 Honorīnus: 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).

1 A similar pun is later made by Augustus: Aug. Conf. 5.6.11 experē suōn prīnas homōnem experē suōn libentiam discipulītum.

2 According to HARRISON 2000, 108 authorities may point to the equivalent reserēvitā, which can be heard in the province's name Severianus. The pun would be fine, but one wonders why Apuleius would not have ventured to use suēretā or suāerēs in the first place; cf. the pun on Honorīnus in 9.40.

3 The vulgar reading blandūsque aūgōr aūterēs makes good sense too, but the third word aūterēs seems to draw the careful balance of the sentence.

circumvības: the magistrate normally traveled around his province to conduct the assises.

quām - desiderārumus: 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 made made to correct the text. HELM prints quām quaenam, the conjecture of Lipius, but this gives a weak sense. The reading of the MSS results in a subtle semeia well befitting Apuleius. The subjective can be explained as an instance of the general modus subordinatiōnēs.

9.38 patera - auctorītās: a ricolōn 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 Honorius is not just a good son, but fulfills an official function as legātus, i.e. as staff-officer of the governor; cf. below on 9.40.


medius flūns: 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 commonplace.

festinantibus mōntibus: 'hurrying months' a lively, unparalleled combination (cf. TLL s.v. festina 618.6), used to revive the cliche of the 'swiftness of time.' This speed is also expressed by the change from years to months to days.

o praeclārum - curricula: the notion that time goes by too fast in the case of good men is repeated in more elevated terms. Curricula conveys the idea of the course of life, as in Soc. 15 (153) currīculum sitāre; cf. TLL s.v. 1506.7f. It introduces a metaphor, either from astronomy (cf. 18.31 siderēm oblīqua currīculōs), or perhaps more likely from chariot-racing.4 Note the concluding alliteration of c.

desiderārumus: the same verb as in 9.37. The subject is nova provincia, from which a first-person plural may be deduced ('all of us in the province').

9.40 Honorīnus... 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 rerum narravit. cf. The man who is now legātus (cf. 9.38) is expected to return himself as proconsul within a few years, after he has been praeceptor et consiliarius. The sequence of offices reflects the customary cursus honorum. As a

4 The second option better fits the epithet citātus (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.

V A R I E D  T A L E N T S  (IX)
matter of fact, things seem to have taken a different course; we have no evidence pointing to Honorius succeeding his father as a proconsul of Africa.

honor... honor: the speaker cleverly manages to bring the African province in the tribute. Its attitude towards the proconsul’s son is literally put alongside Honorius’ own honor (the pun on his name can hardly be overlooked; cf. HARRISON 2000, 109n50) and the support of the emperors. Note the paratactic order in the sentence, that adds to the effect of praise: uocat et - format et - sent et - spoudēt.

Caesarum: a reference to the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which dated from 161 to 169; cf. CARBONELLO 1973, 192; and SANDY 1997, 6019.

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 for 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 demons, 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 read the relative chronology of Fl. 10 and Soc. The topic of demons was of great interest in 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 D’H. CONNO 1959, 64-5, who in her discussion on the concept of philosophy in the Florida attaches great importance to this fragment. MELIS 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, 1) and of animals and their distinctive qualities (cf. Fl. 2 a.s.o.). On this fragment, see also HARRISON 2000, 109-11.

10,1 sol quæ... 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 - (epitropia) 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.1 The words left out must have introduced the first list of items (sun, moon, and planets), e.g. ‘there is a class of divine powers that humans can actually see, such as...’

The opening words are too iambic semisyllable quoted from Accius’ Phœminæus: ACC. FR. 555-6 (Dangel) (585-6 Warnington). This itself is a rewriting of Eur. Ph. 1, 3, where the words are spoken by Icarius. 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 3.434.19f., with a textual variant (for which see next note) and two more lines: quinam um adversus augius et inimico ono / Thebii radiatum lumen ostentat <teama>... 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 MATTECCI 1986, 180-1 and MATTECCI 1994, esp. 55-7. For other poetical quotations in the Florida, see Fl. 2.3 with note.

candentem ferundo curae: the third word is written in Fb as cura, but that can hardly be right. The three words are quoted by Priscian as follows: succinctam candido cura. This probably was Accius’ original reading; cf. notably MARANGONI 1988, further MATTECCI 1994, 56 and Dangel (Fl. 555, p. 218). However, there is no good reason to change the quotation here and succincta cura (as HARRISON 5000, 1096e10 proposes). Apuleius may have read a variant text or he is quoting, as so often, somewhat imprecisely.1

feruido: in Apuleius’ version of the quotation, the word already occurred in the first line; see previous note. The operation 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 disciplula: the moon’s dependency upon the sunlight is described in some detail in Soc. 1.2 (116-7), which includes an impressive verse quotation from Lucan: noctum lactat de corpore lucem; cf. Lucr. 5.576-5. For the divine sun, moon, and planets, cf. also e.g. Mar. 1 (290) and Pl. 1, 10 (201).

quasique... sagantium potestates: the five planets (see also next note). Latin expressions for the planets usually involve a word referring to ‘wandering’ (sagittari, errare, augari); see LE BOËTIFHE 1977, 49-53. In Apuleius’ work, cf. 15,17 numerum sagantium; Pl. 1,10 (203) saculum numen; Soc. 2 (115) quaeque stellae; quaeque stella ab imperialis nuncupatur. 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.

1 According to MARANGONI 1988, 45-7 Apuleius unconsciously conflated the line from Accius with one of the Florida models. See, Soc. 380-302 (Pig. 287-9) ut qui cæstus in caro sublimatur facies. His argument, then, is that the original monosyllable was replaced with Ennias’ cæstus, which in turn required replacing the next word, candidus, with another metrically suitable syllable. Ignoramus as this theory may be, it remains open to question. For instance, our canes can what Apuleius would have left wrong with candidus candidus.
10.2 Losus • ignita: for the identification of the five planetae, cf. also Mav. 2 (202), where they are listed with some variant names in the following order: Saturnus, Jupiterius, 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/auspicia and pernici/perniciosa and the final ignita resuming the initial motif of fire. Voluptation is unattested elsewhere, a word clearly modelled upon benefica; cf. Ferrari 1968, 138 and Facciné 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 Manuscripts, p. xcviii).

10.3 medio: potestates: cf. Apol. 43.2, inter dea a homines natura et loco medias quantum diuersae potestates interiort, with note there.

qua... non dato cernere: the division of visible and invisible gods is traditional; cf. Soc. 2 (121) and for an explanation of their invisibility Soc. 11 (144-5). The motif of limited human sight dominated Fl. 2.6-7.

Amor: a crucial divine power in the Platonic tradition; Amor (Eros) is described as a prototype of a daumin in Plato Symp. 202d-504b. Readers of Apuleius will no doubt think of the tale of Amor and Psyche in Mer. 4.28-6.24. In Soc. 16 (155), Amor is ranged among the sublimes 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.

insistere: this is the reading of Fè, invariably changed by editors to insistire ‘not seen, unvisited’. This invisibility, however, was already expressed in 10.3 non dato thence and the change is not necessary if we take insistere in its sense ‘unfamiliar, strange’ (OLD s.v.). Apuleius uses insistere at Apol. 38.5, in a somewhat different sense ‘not used before’.

10.4 prorogatione 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 Himsans 1987, 444-8; cf. also Fè 1986, 139.

alibi montium...: the effects of Amor on earth recall Lucerius’ famous description of the creative powers of Venus throughout nature; see Lucr. 1.1-43. But as Harrison 2000, 111 argues, there are two verbal parallels and we may also think of the topos of world-domination by Eros, as in Soph. Ant. 78-90. 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 men). Some neologisms (see below) add to the special atmosphere of this passage; on the whole paragraph see Ferrari 1968, 110-1 and Facciné Tosi 1986, 136.

1 Caravaggio, Apuleius here lists twelve of such terribile powers, including the five names just specified for planetae: Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Neptune. For some other apparently contradictory points involving Pl. 10, see discussion in Himsans 1987, 446-7. Meanwhile, it may be observed that Apuleius’ statements do not aim at consistency in a modern sense; cf. also his many divergent views of theology, as analysed by Beach 1983.

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. Himsans 1994, 1752c70). 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. 81 (101.5 and 8) for a small estate bought by Apuleius’ wife Pudentilla.

1 Fluor occurs in medical contexts well before Apuleius in the sense of ‘a morbid discharge’; see OLD s.v. 1.

2 The theme is also important in the Met.; see ScU.4.3.92, 99-112.
sterile: a key word, occurring no less than three times within this short fragment: cf. below 11.2 sterile... aseans and qui suae urinatis sterilis est. For the agricultural metaphor in a poetical 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 tant 1 re ana exa esti quantum habebat, ut arbor infecunda et infelix, quae nullum fructum ex eis secis gigita, tant 1 est in pretio, quam lignum eius in turvo. 

agrum - cohinn: this simple expression incorporates two archaic words and a neologism. Scorponas (‘full of sharp rocks’), also used in Met. 6.31 (153,16), clearly has an archaic ring; OLD quotes i.a. Pac. tragi. 272 (W.) scorponum spectum and see more examples in FERRARI 1968, 89-90. Scritum (‘place full of thorns or thistles’) is attested elsewhere only in PL. Cist. 360. Finally, rupina a rocky chasm occurs only in Apuleius (FERRARI 1968, 132 and FACCHINI TOBI 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 be found in 17,17 in remotis tesquis. According to OLD tesquis is an archaic 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 deseret et inhospita tesqua.

infelix - aseans: a quotation of Verg. G. 1.154. Unlike other similar 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.1 For Apuleius’ quotations of Vergil, see MATTINOT 1986, 164-6 (with full references in the notes). The Georgics are quoted at four other places in the Apuleian corpus: Soc. 1 (116) and 23 (173), Mus. 36 (369) and 38 (374).

indigent: most editors print the emendation of VAN DER VLUIT indigent <e>. This, of course, makes excellent sense and creates a balanced sentence. But the reading of the MSS can easily be retained, indigent, furatum est et decervis producing a logical sequence explaining the first word of the fragment, patitur.

furatum est: a supine of the deponent furor; cf. Pl. Red. 111 quin furatum... semant; Trin. 864; further e.g. Cic. Tull. 48. Supine forms of deponent 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 LH 2, 382 and 380-1. The expression, then, is a clear example of Apuleius’ archaising tendencies.

floriae: after the mention of frutes 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.

1 In the present context, the speaker might have commenced his Vergilian quotation slightly earlier: cf. Verg. G.1.152-4 interreat sequor, ubi apres or alia / lapponque tribilique, istaque silvicula culta / infelix solius... Particularly the neighboring silvicula culta would be the comparison here. That the passage from the Georgics is in the speaker’s mind is brought out by the following adnom traxit, onwards being the first word in G. 1,152.

ad eundem modum... the second part of the comparison breaks off as the anology 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 works.’ 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 explicitus, 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 BOEUF 1996, 65, who even speaks about ‘une vraie fiche de scientifique’ here. Parrots are not uncommon in Roman literature, as appears from TOUVENÉ 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, 154; 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 Chrysostomus (Phil. 488; see also JONES 1978, 15) and to Ael. N. 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 KARTUSEN 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
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palumis: '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. palumis 1b; and FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 154. In poetry it can also be used for an ear (e.g. Canal. 4,4), a sense that may be relevant here, given the the nautic imagery used in 2,10. Note the correspondences and contrasts in sound and sense between intimis palumidis and extimis palumis.

nisi - distinguere: the detail about the band of red in the neck (12,1-21) is a clear echo of Plin. Nat. 10,117 uridice into corpore, torque tamen miniato in ceruice distinctum. Here again, Apuleius’ technique of amplification may be observed in detail: using the same words (ceruice, distinguere, minio, torquus) the description is expanded by means of repetitions and synonyms (e.g. ceruicule, circulo, parti... circuernita cingitur, and coronatur), and resounding long words, marked by the alliteration of c-ci-.

12,2 rostri prima duodice: the details on the beak too, seem to be derived from Pliny’s description (quoted below). For primas as ‘first class, prime’, see OLD s.v. 13, praeclaptus: 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 inately 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 - exclipt: the special feature is also noted by Plin. Nat. 10,117: cum desolat, restro se except. Illi inornat leonis epic ta se pudem infirmatam fact. 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 anchors with -sh does not need to be normalized, as HELM and other editors assume. It is widely attested as a variant spelling; cf. OLD s.v. ancus.

12,3 capillus:... 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. 10,317 capillus eius dutulam exaudere vortur. How cum logi discit, ferreo neronis rotato; non semit aliter ictus.

Apuleius’ version of the idea is marked by rare words such as clinandias (‘rod’) and fenula (‘stick’) (for both see FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 122), and the archaic and comic percretisscur (cf. GCA 1985, 193); and by powerful sound effects, notably of -c; cf. also percretisscur and decretis ferrenes fenulas. 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.

1 Curiously, TOYNBEE 1979, 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.

2 A picture of an Indian parrot by G. de Bollon closely corresponding the present description may be found on the cover of my Dutch translation of the Floridia (Amsterdam 1994).
There is no need to bracket the words haec discerit feuda est as a gloss, as NOUGARET 1928, 46 argues. Far from being a prosaic explanation that spoils the word classicada, the rephrasing ever adds to the funny effect.

12.4 usque ad duos - amnes: 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 usuum addicere alias negant postie quam ex generis euram quae glande uscantur, et inter eas fuscilis quibus quinque sunt digiti in pedibus, oc ne eas quidem ignas <maioris> primis duobus uisum amnis. However, Pliny by then is speaking not about parrots, but about picus ("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 CAPONI 1979, 458-61 s.v. sipace.

The first element, age, is strengthened by the speaker with some apparently zoological detail about the shape of the mouth and tongue, presented in rhetorical fashion, and with an additional, rather more humane observation - that the bird becomes "uneschatal and forgetful" in old age.

consultare: a rare verb, here used transitively: 'to be set in motion'; in this sense it does not occur before Apuleius (see TLL, s.v. consobro 872,24f.). The verb is used in the quick movement of fire in Mant. 15 (322).

12.5 glande: for the detail and the speaker's ornithological error, see note on 12.4.

at 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 lateris: 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: katores linguae omnibus in sio cacie genere, quae sermonem immittunt humanum, cf. further e.g. Arist. PA 660a29-34.

patentiore freto et palatiae: 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 palmisibus), is here a recherché metaphor for the tongue.

12.7 dicat: this is the reading of F6, commonly changed to dicit. The ingenious emendation (by Sievech) has been accepted by all modern editors. Nevertheless, dicat should be retained, since the verb can actually be used for the utterance of a bird; TLL, s.v. dicto 989.18-20 quotes Pl. Men. 654 paue "tu ta" usque dicat sib, where dicere is used for the sound of a noctua ("night-ow"); cf. also HUMANS 1994, 1779. In the present fragment

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1 The same error is made in Silv. 22.43-5, which therefore may be following Apuleius. However, CAPONI, 658a1 (=660-1) repeats the idea that Apuleius (or Solinus) directly said Pliny's text, and rather versions a common model to all sources, that is now lost. But Apuleius follows Pliny elsewhere in the Flora too (e.g. in Fl. 7.1), and we would not assume an intermediate source. The difference may be explained as an error on Apuleius' part, perhaps due to hasty reading or extemporary composition.

2 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 in train young animals is general.

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12.8 usuum enimus: an emphatic combination of adversative particles, used by Apuleius three times in the Fl.; cf. also 15.15 ann 20.2; further e.g. Met. 2.6 (30.4).

promantum: a verb typical for human speech, as is shown in e.g. Fl. 9.7 ualiam syllabam barbare pronuntiatur; cf. OLD s.v. (esp. senses 6-8). Thus the word (also used in Plin. Nat. 10.117 quae acipti serbae pronuntiatur) underscores the simile between animal and human speech.

canticum: '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 templarum uisum; Mart. 14.72.3, Caesar, aAVE (with Leary's note ad loc.). further Stut Silv. 2.4, 29.30 (with Van Dam's note ad loc.). Other polite utterances can be found in C. Mart. 2.6.48 Corupis aulae; Pers. prot. 8 Chares, and cf. the poetic lines ascribed to a parrot in Petr. Fr. 41 Bächeler (Anth. Lat. 691).

cantilence: the word serves as a synonym of carmen, to be varied itself in the following cantilena (12.9). In Fl. 13 we will also read canthus, as well as several more specialised terms to denote birds' sounds.

12.9 ubi enims - 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 Or. Am. 2.6,49-58, with its 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.

eand: the neutral dicere (see previous note) is followed by more precise and colourful verbs: castere and eloqui. The parallel between bird and man is emphasized once again; cf. also MESSINA 1999, 30f.

nam <corum> quidem si aditus: the corus is mentioned in 12.8, and the word must obviously be inserted here, as HELM proposed, to make sense of the text. Alternatively, COXLOCH 1925, 21-2 suggested nam quidem <corusam>, arguing that nam quidem must not be separated; cf. however Met. 11.4 (269.2) nam destro quidem. The rest of the sentence seems to be corrupt beyond repair: — idem conon non loqui —. No satisfying solution seems possible, in spite of the numerous attempts by scholars, for which see the discouraging list in HUMANS 1994, 1779-80 (to which may be added idem canticum non loqui <viditad> by FRASINUTTI 1911, 1207).

It is very likely that some comparison was made between the skilled parrot and the corus with its ugly sound. Especially for the element 'corus', numerous proposals have been advanced, such as canticule or gnicrate as in Soc.pr. 4 (both suggested by HELM). Perhaps the best guess here is sonare (ANTMIN 1928, 331), which seems defensible from a philological point of view. In the absence of further clues, the phrase is best left obelized.

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2 Significantly, in the feats about the corus 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 reminiscens 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.

VIII 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, 173/7f). 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.Chr. 12,1-6 and Max.Tyr. 1,7,1 and so seems to have been a specific 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.
philosophus... 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.
commodat: 'put at their disposal,' 'gave them.' A resounding synonym for larga et. 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 nights and day, starting in the morning and ending at the following dawn.1 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.2 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 intended them here because of their familiar sound, see TATUM 1979, 166fth rightly observes. See also next note.

13,2 animalia: in the second list of special features, several words are repeated, but may is now changed to the general animalia. It looks as if the speaker tactily corrects himself, after having mentioned the cicadae (see previous note).
suavis tempore et suave 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).
occinnunt et occupitant: 'break in with song and commence.' Two verbs that are closely similar in sound and sense (they are two subsequent lemmata in OLD), the first one bring more specific for birds and trumpets, the second one more general.
silicet gallus...: 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.

expurgifisico: 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 genus ("plaintive") and obstreporas ("noisy.") both words also attested only here. For the combination of neologism, see FERRARI 1968, 122-3 and 138; further FACCHINI TOSI 1986, 124.1 intorto: 'indrawn.' The word is used for a bird's sound also by Plin. Nat. 10,81.
obstrepore: this is the reading in Fld. Modern editors commonly adopt the early emendation obstreporo. 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 many compare e.g. conorius, sonorare, and soporare. The reading of Fld is also defended by HILDEBRAND and ARMINI 1928, 331; and it is rightly given preference in TLL s.v. 250,58f.

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1 Earlier in the discourse, a philosopher's versatility was compared to human music: Max.Tyr. 1,2.
2 On the other hand, the hub was associated with the underworld and death; see e.g. Verg. A. 4, 468-3. The bird appears in a negative context of magic in Met. 5,21 (88,12); see VAN DER PLAETE ad loc. (with further ref.).

AUGELLO ad loc. is remarkably hostile: "anche qui, e più di prima, siano distinti ad una sequenza di suoni simili... AUGELLO's repeated references to Stata Ambrosia in the notes to Fl. 13 suggest a rather different sympathy.
13,3 ratio et ornatus: these may be called key-words in the Florida; cf. BAOINI 1989, 256-7; further MESSINA 1999, 299-300. For the combination, see below 18.5 and Soc. 4 (126) homines ratione plaudentes, ornatum pollentes; cf. also Fl. 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, which are merely pleasent to hear), meaningful, and versatile.

modo omnicana: ‘that produces music of every tone’ (OLD s.v. omnicanus). Modo takes up 13,2 aureo modo, and omnicana is yet another word not attested elsewhere (TLL s.v. 588,27; 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 unfitness, advising her to think twice. The woman, Hieripha, 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 anecdotes 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 riches. The piece ends with Zeno’s modest protection of Crates’ intimacy with Hieripha, which can hardly be the conclusion of a speech. The anecdote then is not an isolated text, but must be 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 excursion 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 doubts 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 indigency 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), Hippasus (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. 9,9), as HARRISON 2003, 114 argues.

The lives of Crates and Hieripha (Hieripha) are documented in Diog. Laert. 6,85-93 and 96-8, and in various other sources, collected by GIANNANTONIO V H (Crates) and V I (Hieripha); the present text is split into two by GIANNANTONIO V H 5 and 24. On Crates see also GOULET-CAGE 1994, 490-500 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) is always spread peace and joy and delivered a spiritual message to mankind (cf. also Fl. 22). For the Romans’ rather ambivalent approach of Cynics, particularly because of their shadiness, see now HARRISON 1996 and NAVIA 1996, in general one may also consult DUDLEY 1977 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.1 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.

suggerest: ‘brought forward’, of ideas; cf. OLD s.v. suggesto 3b with examples. Crates is pictured as an intelligent pupil, who adds analogous thoughts on his own accord.

rem familiarem abhilt: cf. Apol. 22,3 rem familiarem largum et abernum populó ducunt, multis seris a se remitit solitatem delegit, arbore platum et fragiseras praeseit baculo grandem, utilis omniam utilissimam una perita mansit. The image is not of Crates dumping large material objects in the marketplace, 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.

emus sternere: a particularly strong expression, comparing wealth to the very lowest: waste matter. Sterne should not be taken in ‘ding’ (thus e.g. VALLUTI), which as a

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1 As Diog.Laert. 6,87 we read about Diogenes’ advice to Crates to throw into the sea any money that he had.
textilizer most certainly was suis; cf. the numerous references to it in the agricultural writers (notably Cato and Columella). The comparison may have been inspired by Pl. Trin. 356 qui bona sua pro stercore habet / foresi Isaiah terti.

magis - suis: for the general idea and the idiom, cf. Apol. 19, 4 Etenim omnibus ad utas manus accepi quidquam apud moderatum ingeniorum, etiam potius quam suis exaurere.

14.2 Crato, in manuscript: first, HELM printed Craflyct <Crato> many mit <Cr.>: cf. "(the Crato free") and, which was accepted by VALETTE and others and is defended again by HARRISON 2000, 113£74. The text of Ὡ, Crates te manumittis, is harder to interpret: 'Crate! You will set yourself free.' It is defended, with some caution, in HELM's Addenda et Corrigenda. But the true sense seems out of place, since Crato is already liberating himself. So perhaps a correction to an imperative manumittis (which has not yet been proposed by scholars) is due. This would be required only a small change. An imperative would 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 Crato will literally uncover his upper back (interscapulum) and take off his pallium (14, 3). Moreover, the fragment culminates in outright sexual intercourse performed by Crato and Hipparche (14, 6).

elas cupiatur: an exceptional case of an impersonal passive of capio, here with a genitive as in Pl. Mil. 963 ganae capiunt sui; for more example see TLL s.v. capio 1430, 12 (where the present place is not referred to). For the impersonal passive, see note on 2, 8. PUSHER 1910 wishes to follow the second hand in F, which added suis after cupiatur. This, however, looks like a normalization, and we should rather keep F's original text.

nirgo 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 Crato, and became a pupil of Crato herself. She was born in Maroneia of noble parents; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.96. For all testimonies relating to the marriage of Crato and Hipparche, see CRANSTONI V 1.9 25; the role of Hipparche and her marriage with Crato are lovingly praised by NAVIA 1996, 131 £6.

14, 3 interscapulum: 'the part of the body between the shoulder blades.' The rare word is not attested before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 123.

acuto gibbere: 'with a large hunchback', an abysse of quality; the preceding quiad is probably the relative pronoun, referring to interscapulum. Crato was remarkably ugly, as

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.H. HARRIS.)

2 peram cum hortatu: this standard equipment of the Cynic Crato is celebrated at some length in Apol. 22 (cf. note to Apol. 22, 1). Here, the inevitable pallium of the philosopher is added.

suspellection: the reading of F which was corrected in B. Since the spelling of this word with double -p- is well attested (cf. OLD s.v. suppelletes). I have printed it here. The word also occurs in the passage on Crato in Apol. 22, 2 (with a single -p-); cf. further Pl. 9, 24.

14, 4 - profunde - capere : after the threefold temporal cum-clause (retesit esse, pseustet, profere, in gere), the last verb leads Apuleius to insert some of Crato's words in free indirect speech. The period 14, 3–4 is then resumed with omnium (here the equivalent of tanum; see PUSHER 1910, 154) and ends in the main finitiae verb active. To clarify the syntax, dashes have been added here.1

queredam esse: the easiest correction for queredam esse of F. This reading, found in less MSS and early editions, is also adopted by HELDREMANN and Bourgery; HELM chooses quarestat consequ of Cohlius. The syntax is somewhat anomalous, with quarestat 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.

Quereda can had 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 nirgo nobilis.

14, 5 sibi proemium: Hipparche hesitantly answers that she has already given the issue ample thought, and she is not detested. This may be considered an act of constancy, as HUMANS 1967, 466N58B7 calls it (the word will actually be used in 14, 6).

usquam gentium: the combination is not attested elsewhere, unlike similar expressions such as usquam gea, subique genium aeterno. (cf. OLD s.v. geni and TLL s.v. 1856, 64£.)

proline ducere:... Hipparche's words are another case of free indirect speech (cf. above on 14, 4).

14, 6 duct in porticum: the final element in the story is rather surprising. Hipparche's deviation and Crato's Cynic shamelessness are illustrated by his intention to make love to her in public. In the many ancient testimonies on Crato, 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 Crato 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'.

1 HELM being unfamiliar with (or not accepting) the phenomenon of free indirect speech, remarks that a suit or mental effete has fallen out, or that the sentence was 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 Static Zeno (cf. below on Zeno), or it functions simply as an amusing element (cf. introductory note), or both effects have been intended.

dox: this is the text of F0, commonly replaced by editors with Stewich’s doxi. Other MSS and some older editions have their, 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 dox Cynicus in porticum (‘the Cynic lead the way to the portico’) in porticum is an attribute to the noun dox without connecting a verb. The result is a succinct, but powerful clause, effectively varying the previous doxer qui liber.

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 Stoae, cf. OLD s.v. The pen 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 ‘angeblich des hellen Tagenden’), but of the adverb, here used without further complement. It will be repeated in coram... immunissimu.

immunissimu: 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 praeforunt (in a context rhetorically celebrating virginity).

paratam pari constantia: the resoluteness of Hipparche is underscored by the alliteration of -p:, to be continued in praecinctu palliasti.

Zeno: Zeno of Citium (ca. 335-365 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 Diogenes Laertius, 7.1-3. Here Zeno performs an act of decency and modesty, by sheltering Crates and Hipparche from public view.1 The present anecdote, for which there are no parallel sources, may well be loaded with deeper significance: the ‘crones’ Cynicism was ‘cleaned up’ by Stoicism, cf. KRIEGER 1996, 235#87 and NAVIA 1996, 124-5. Meanwhile, the exact ideological intention of the speaker of Fl. 14 remains unclear (see introductory note).

praecinctu palliasti: 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-etymologization’ abound in his work; cf. e.g. GCA 1995, 67 on Met. 9.5 (206,14) insinuatis manibus. A

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1. This syntactical phenomenon (of the type disceper dixit ‘a prepositional dixit ‘a prepositional corrump’) is not uncommon in iminus, though it is restricted to the classical period; cf. LGR II.428. There are examples in Apuleius’ work too; cf. e.g. Met. 1.12 (11.11) ilia cum plauder, 9.10 (210.14) pietor de pretioso crassitude; Apol. 12,3 malis ad insinuasidem similac; see CALLIER 1986, 199-200. Since the phenomenon not infrequently involves nouns derived from verbs (e.g. disceper, ardentem), the noun dix seems to be appropriate here.

2. Carneades, at Apol. 9.11 Apuleius in his defense refers to the use of lascivious terms in books by Diogenes and Zeno. Here, Zeno is referred to for the very opposite quality.

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CRATES AND THE OTHERS (XIV)

PYTHAGORAS

On the small, poor island of Samos, there is a town with a temple of Jutes. Among its rich decorations I have seen a fine statue of Bathylus consecrated by the grant Polycrates: it shows a handsome young man dressed as a fire-keeper. Perhaps it is not Bathylus 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 Polykrates. 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 it 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 authorities 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 epigram of a statuette, said to be of Bathylus. 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 15.11-23. Finally, in 15.26-7 the speaker briefly mentions his own talents.

1. One may observe that the sentence would run far more smoothly if it read obviam magistrum... defendendae ‘protected his master against glances’, and this is how some translators, as BOURGERY, actually render the text without, however, changing it. Both for obvious and magistrum some support is possible (the latter was corrected in F, the latter is found in some MSS and editions), but we would still require a proposition like ab or before habenae. All in all, it seems best to leave the text unchanged.
An appears from 15.27 aux avvervovors, the whole fragment is addressed to an unknown magistrate, probably a consul of Africa as in Fl. 9 and 17, 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, notably the connection between the beautiful statue 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 (proludium).

For the whole, SANDY 1997, 154-6 compares Dios’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, 176-1 also compares Lucian’s Diodoros and Heraules (idem. 170-11; cf. earlier MEAR 1949, 207 (‘‘eine zwanglose Pianedere’’). The mode of philosophy as it is represented in Pythagoras is discussed by DE’ CORSO 1959, 67-9. For some remarks on the style of the piece, see HUMANS 1994, 1755-5. On Fl. 15 in a whole, see also HARRISON 2000, 154-6, who shows (p.14) that sophisticated 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 Hippasis (9) and Crates (14). The piece also touches upon the gymnasophists 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. 7.5-6), 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 1970, 114-5 rightly remarks, adding that Pausanias’ text on the Heriaton 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 Dog. Lears. 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. lamb. 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 exacta, 21.2-3 (an 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 Fl. 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. TOLLE 1969.

exaudervsm Samios: editors generally put these words between dashes. Taking exaudervsm as an adverb and Metileus as a name in the nominative; a verb like est no longer is needed to be added in thought. A problem is that the following clause in the main clause can only refer to Mileus (the island is situated west of that town), which then would be syntactically irregular. However, the objection is not so strong that a change of the text is required.

The town of Mileus definitely has literary echoes for the educated reader; one thinks of the Milean 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 OCA 2001 on 4.29 (97.10-1) inaulus tum proximus and 4.32 (100.6) de Mileio... oranculus. However no special allusion appears to be intended here.

dispuescit: the commonly accepted correction by Covi for Fs dicpsectur (dispectur), that is syntactically impossible. Apuleius uses dispere 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. 1514.605).

utrimonis: the sense must evidently be ‘‘in whatever direction’’, whether from Samos to Mileus or vice versa, but the form is hard to understand. It is replaced by most scholars since Oedendrup with arumínus, but the female form does not help. One would expect aruínus, aurthermus, or even arútus. In the absence of further clues, the text is best left as it is.

clementer: not ‘‘with mild weather conditions’’ (cf. VALLETTE, AUSCUELO, and HUNING) but ‘‘at an easy pace’’, ‘‘calmly’’; cf. Met. 11.27 (288.20.1) clementer incedebat and OLD s.v. 2.

1 It may be tempting to assume that either Severinus (Fl. 9) or Orfinus (Fl. 17), or even Anaximander Strabo (Fl. 16), is addressed here too; cf. ONSUS 1974, 217 (who prefers Orfinus). However, the fact that we know these magistrates from Apuleius’ texts does not justify such an identification.

2 One should be wary of easy judgments here. For example, referring to Fl. 15 a.s. NESTLER 1995, 114 remarks that ‘‘Apuleius seems to talk about whatever just comes into this head’’. On the other hand HUMANS 1994, 1755-5 speaks of ‘‘a careful structure’’ and calls the line of argument ‘‘a studied affair’. Most likely the text lacks somewhere in between: Apuleius knew very well what he was doing, but Fl. 15 does not show stronger thematic cohesion than the other longer pieces.
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 art 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, aratum, and olibeto* are ablatives or datives. Translations sometimes suggest the former, but the latter seems more likely; thus OLD s.v. *piger* 1b and *irreti* 3b ("leading to no result, ineffectual, unprofitable").

 nec hollitori sculptur: "and is not dug out with the nails by a vegetable-grower." This is a difficult place, both in text and interpretation. Fb reads nec *holeri* sculptur, which seems impossible. What seems required is a noun parallel to *ailitori* ("vineyard worker") and a verb applicable to viticulture and agriculture.

As to the noun, Krueger's *hollitori* ("vegetable-grower") seems excellent: the word perfectly suits the context, matches *ailitori* even in rhythm and sound, and is attested elsewhere in Apuleius’ works (Apul. 24.4).

The verb is more problematic. Scalpo cannot stand here, since it refers to working material into some form or engraving upon a surface; cf. OLD s.v. Rohde's *calpatur*, printed by HELM,1 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 *sculptur*, a proposal by Beecham (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. *iolo*). 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 *surculo*... *surculo*).

ruratio: "husbandry", a rare word, occurring not before Apuleius, who also uses it in Apul. 56,5; cf. FERRARI 1968, 131-2. Here it may also have been selected for its sound (-r and -a being dominant in the context).

*curato... curato*: 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 (*surculo*), see WHITING 1967, 43-7.

fructuoso: in conclusion, the island is *fructuosa* rather than *frugifer*. Here this does not refer to a special difference between tree-fruit and cereal crops, as OLD s.v. *frugifer* states.1 The contrast is rather one of natural fertility (*frugifer*) and ‘financial gain’ or ‘benefits’ (*fructuoso*; cf. OLD s.v. 2-3).

15.3 *celebration*: the participial 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 ad 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).

semiretae moenia: a poetic expression with a genitive plural, of a type much used by Apuleius; cf. Met. 1,2 (2,8) ardua montium; and GCA 1977,140 on Met. 4,18 (88,18-20) *cuncta terum* (with further references). For the combination of *semiretus* and *moenia*, see Sal. Hist. 2,64.

multifariant: ‘in many ways’, to be taken with *indicatur*. For adverbs in *furiam*, see note on 7,9 amphiarium.

15.4 *fanum famigeros*: the temple of Hera (Iam) on Samos was famous; cf. e.g. Hist. 5,60. It is described at some length by Pausanias 7,4,4-7; see further RE s.v. Samos (*Heraion*) 2194-8 (2197 on testimonies of votive offerings); and WALTER 1990, esp. 154-89 (period of Polyctetes) and 190-9 (Roman era).

famigerationem: ‘celebrated’. The rare word, redolent of archaia Latin (in Plautus a *famigerator* is a scandalmonger), aptly illustrates the venerable, old temple, itself called *fanum*. Apuleius also has *famigerabilis*; see Met. 2,21 (42,16) s.o.

si recte recordor aiam: 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 recordor aiam* 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 it follows (not the normal ablative) cf. Cato Agr. 49,1 *minus gemmas ne amplius replitatix*.

15.5 *dominium*: 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,2 cups and other objects.

culisscumodi: VALLETTE adopts the reading *huliscumodi*, the emendation of Floridus, without further notice. This is unnecessary, for *culisscumodi* (or *culiscaemodi*) regularly occurs in the sense of *culiscumodi*, cf. GCA 1985, 159 on Met. 9,17 (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 unetina* (cf. e.g. 9,26), the lesser metal is given the superior shape of impressive works of art.

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1 Presumably OLD here (and cf. also s.v. *fructuosa* 1a) interpreted the passage as a positive reference to Samos’ produce in oil and wine, just as R刈ee understood the passage (see on *hollitori sculptur*).

2 For mirrors as possibly magical objects, see the lengthy treatment of the theme in Apul. 15-16.
effigiatu: a neologism for the ‘shaping’, ‘carving’ of plastic material. The word is not attested elsewhere (TLL s.v. 179,8ff.; FERRARI 1968, 128-9). Apuleius also uses the verb effigiatu; e.g. Fl. 1, 4.

sed inde: the sense must be ‘for example’, ‘among others’, and this is how translators render the combination. Meanwhile, it seems unparalleled: we may compare OLD s.v. inda 8c and sel 4.

Bathyllus status: 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 ephesis, 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 physique, they suggest ‘a somewhat delicate, not very sinewy, and effeminate character’, as OPPEL 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 altera Samio discant artisss Bathyllus / Anacreontis Triaun (with note by MANKIUS). The name does not occur in the extant fragments of Anacreon, but it is mentioned in the testimonies, such as Tertull. 11 (Campbell), and in Greek poetry after Anacreon; cf. also ROSSMUELLER 1992, 27. Since Anacreon served at the court of Polycrates, the boy is likely to have been one of the tyrant’s favourites.

a Polycrate tyrannus: Polycrates governed Samos in the period 538-522 B.C. Much can be read about him in Hdt. 5, e.g. 3,396.


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 crinulus... remultis: 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 Marcyus 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 remultis ‘smoothened back’, from the verb remulcere, cf. notably 3,10 crines eis proemineat amnis et promisses capronis with note. The form is Salmusius’ emendation for the MSS reading remultis, which cannot stand, the sense ‘kneel loose’, ‘bear out’ obviously being out of place here.

saeu plena: the same detail occurs in the parallel description in Apol. 63,7 vide quam facie eis decorae et saue palatinri plena sit. For sacus as the vital fluid of human beings, see OLD s.v. 3b.

1 Interestingly, there is a poem among the ‘Anacreontes’ (tr 17 Campbell), where Bathyllus figures prominently: ‘paint my Bathyllus, who is my comrade, such as I touch you…’. Here a painter is asked to make a good portrait of the boy, for which a great number of physical details are supplied; repeatedly, SCOTT 1992. It only briefly mentions this piece rather than discusses it. Apuleius may have known the poem.

malus... genus: both words commonly refer to ‘cheeks’. Here a difference must be meant, which given the next detail is probably that of ‘cheek’ and ‘chin’.1

at laciulfatur: an exquisite little detail on the chin, which is not perfectly smooth and rounded (layer): there is a small depression at its middle. Laciulfus ‘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 laciulfatur and eventually prefers a noun laciulfatura, while TLL defends laciula (the correction of Mueller and Rosbach) s.v. 857,24.

citharoeides 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 researched words, rhythm and sound.

15,8 auricletamentum: 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 refinement, as in the famous passage Met. 1,1 (2,3) fabulam Graecanicam incipimus; further 10,29 (260,23).

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 aulē is not the ablative chlamyde but the adulcereum who is being described.

articuli palmarum: ‘wrist’s.

stria: the emendation by Celsius for striae of F. The word aulē can mean ‘fleure’ or ‘channel’, but here it clearly refers to folds in drapery.

15,9 folloae: a ‘shoulder-band’ holding the instrument. In 9,19 it had referred to a ‘belt’.

procursare: another example of Apuleius’ favourite diminutives referring to great or intense dimensions; cf. on 2,1 diurna. It may be observed that the description contains several diminutives: cingula, articula, pulsabulum and labellum. Cf. further FERRARI 1968, 121 and 124-5; and FACCENDI Tos 1986, 119.

pulsabulum: a ‘pulsing’. The word, a diminutive, does not occur before Apuleius. The more usual word pulsabrum was used in 12,6 in relation to the parrot. Note the sustained alliteration of p- in the following parata persuteare.

15,10 quod intermul - 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-MAEDEER 1998, 109 on Met. 2,4 (27,11-17). The half-opened small lips form a clear echo of Can. 61,213 (220) semihumne labellum; cf. also Met. 10,28 semihumantes... labias (259,15-6) with GCA 2000, 347 ad loc.
15, 11 esta... having described the statue of Bathylyus at some length, the speaker now prepares for another point: perhaps the boy 1 was not Bathylyus, but most certainly it was not Pythagoras.

geni... 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 deorum adolescentum), 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).

Anacreontum: 'an Anacreontic song'. With an elegant twist, Apuleius brings in the name of Anacreon, known to have been the lover of Bathylyus (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 Triori quidam. For cantilae 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 only natural explanation seems to be the second one: the boy is responding to the tyrant's love.

15, 12 simulium absit - 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).

natus Samius: Pythagoras was generally believed to have been born at Samos; cf. e.g. Diog. Laert. 4, 1. For his beauty, Apol. 4, 7 Pythagorum (...) eum sui suae putuisse statuam.

musicisque omniis... docetissimis: Pythagoras is like Apollo in 3, 11, who docetissime cantilat. On Pythagorean preoccupation with music and harmonic theory, see ZHMUD 1997, 181-201.

15, 13 et... orae: 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 Lamb. VP 10-11.

canculo: the adverb does not occur before Apuleius; cf. TLL s.v. canculus 1290, 3, and FACCHINI Fori 1986, 140.

gemmis faberribine sculptae: 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; Lamb. 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. comparite). In addition, the element seems to evoke the public's fascination for the 'as-Roman' behaviour of Pythagoras' father. His case closely echoes that of Hippas, who was credited with similar skills in the 'sedentary arts' (9, 25), notably that of engraving gems (9, 21 gemnum inculpserat).

1 Curiously, OLD s.v. pater 16 gives the sense 'grown-up person, adult', but that cannot be correct here, given 15, 7 adolescents. Quite clearly a young man or boy is represented in the name.

PYTHAGORAS (XV)

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 Cambyses and taken to Babylon where he was initiated, goes back to various sources (such as Aristomenes and Nearcatus), but has little authority at all; cf. ZHMUD, 63-4. Apuleius seems to reject it himself in 15, 15.

Persians magus: for Persian magicians, see Apol. 25, 9-11. Zoroaster is mentioned in the same text and at Apol. 26, 2; see notes there.

Gilgis: no king by this name is known to have ruled in Cteson, but sources do mention a certain Pythagorean called Sylois; e.g. Lamb. VP 150 and 267. Rohde actually emended the present form to Sylos, which is accepted by HELM (Addenda). We cannot, however, be sure that Apuleius spelled the rather obscure name correctly.

15, 15 opinet: 'is generally believed', 'prevails', with fames as the subject. Cf. OLD s.v. obinet 12.

Aegyptialis disciplinam: 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. e.g. Fl. 20, 4. Cf. also the quest for wisdom attributed to Plato in Fl. 1, 3 (186-8), a text in which Plato endows Pythagoras himself.

Note the tricolon curiosiariam - formulas, with each element showing a parallel structure and containing impressive, long words (for incrudescentia cf. Apol. 47, 3).

numerosorum... nicius: the combination is somewhat vague, given the complex meanings of nicius. The 'relation' or 'succession' of numbers seems to be meant; cf. OLD s.v. 40 and 7.

<dictio>: 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 personae, as Purser and HILDBRAND defend. With some hesitation, I keep the commonly accepted text.

15, 16 exploratum: 'satisfied', here with a genitive animi. For other uncommon combinations with animi in Apuleius, see VON GESAI 1916, 243. Cf. e.g. 9, 9 falso animi.

Chaldæae: originally a people in southern Assyria, but the term came to be widely used for southerners and astrologers; cf. e.g. Cic. Div. 1, 1. For their bad reputation cf. e.g. Apol. 97, 4. For Pythagoras' travel among the Chaldæae, see e.g. Diog. Laert. 8, 3. The accusive form here is governed by adisse.

Braçmanos: on the Indian Brahmans or 'gnomonomists' (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. Brachman, Brachmanes, and Bragmanae) cf. KARITUNEN

3 Moreover, there may be confusion with a story told by Hdb. 3, 137 about a man from Tarentum named Gilgis, who is said to have rescued Persian captives from Ibyriga and brought them back to king Darius.
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1997, 57-2022. The added explanation hi supines - ex makes it clear that Fl. 15 and 6 cannot have formed part of a single speech.

15.17 Chaldean: although the audience most likely knew what the term referred to, the speaker enters upon a small excursus on the Chaldean. Using some rare words and combinations (including unusual plural forms, such as genititiis), he highlights their knowledge of stars and planets and the effect 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 extendere, which may be explained as a historical informative.

sideralem scientiam: this refers to the planets, for which see 10,1-2.

rcmedia - conquistis: medicine plays a fairlty 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. fedis pecusus instead of magna pecusia and the granter of 'land, sky and sea'.

15.18 Braconian: the Indian philosophers 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' ofroles 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 sit or essent): quaer... qui... quaer... quaer...

mentum documenta: "instruction of minds"; documenta is taken in a somewhat unusual sense (cf. OLD s.v. 2). No doubt Apuleius selected it because of its etymological root quaerere. It is matched in sound and structure by the following exercitationum, a rare word not used before Apuleius (TLL s.v.; FERRARI 1968, 117 and FACCHINI TIOI 1966, 127).

quot nices sitoria: as such the phrase could mean 'le nombre... des phases successives de la vie' (VALETTE and most other translators), but more likely an allusion to the famous doctrine of metempsychosis is intended: 'how many sucessions of life'.

dilis manubis: 'the spirits of the dead'; a common juncure (OLD s.v. manus 1). For the terminology, see also loc. 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 such as Pythagoras with all celebrities of his time. For testaments and fragments of Phercydes, see DIEL-KRANTZ 3.7 and SCHIBLI 1990 (the present testimonia is SCHIBLI 1).

Syrus... orientales: Syros, one of the Cyclades, is a relatively unimportant island between Kythnos and Delos. For orientales cf. 22.4; further Apol. 4,8 Zemnen illum antiquum Velia orientalem, qui primum...

qui primus... avius...: ancient sources consistently at pointing out persons who achieved or attempted something as the first one; cf. Hor. Carm. 1.12 with Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.; further e.g. Luc. 3.220-1 Phoenices primus... avius... uerum dignare figura with Hankin 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.

xeroxum - orationes: Pherecydes is hailed as the inventor of prose, in accordance with the doxographical tradition; cf. e.g. Plin. Nat. 7,205 and Strabo 1,2,6 and see SCHIBLI 1990, 3-4; further e. g. JACOBY 1948, 20-4.

The feature is 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 versicles') also shows some real knowledge of literary history: early Greek literature consisted entirely of poetry.

passio uerbis: 'with unrestricted words'; cf. OLD s.v. patruus (1) b; the combination seems to be unparalleled. The same can be said for soluta locutio, which involves the neologism locutus (cf. TLL s.v. locutus 1699,551), replacing the more common noun locutio; cf. FERRARI 1968, 128.

humanit: 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 about the disease causing the body to pervert and be covered by maggots. Other sources relating the same story add similar details to the disease, specified as peltierias; see e.g. Diog.Laert. 1,118 and Diod.Sic. 10,3,4; further testimonia in SCHIBLI 1990, 149-55.

For serpent used in the derived sense of 'creeping animal, maggot', cf. OLD s.v. 3; it echoes Plin. Nat. 7,172 at Pherecydes Syrus serpentinum multitudinem ex corpore eius exaurientes exspirauerat. Of course, Apuleius has outdone P line with 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 Ionian philosophers. Though Pythagoras seems to have been influenced by his philosophy, the connection of the two persons as teacher and pupil

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1 Elsewhere Pliny names Cadmus in this respect: Nat. 5,112 Cadmus, qui primum prorunt orationes condavit locutio. For the term proravit see on Fl. 18,38.

2 SANDY 1997, 84 speaks of 'sensationism', but that is somewhat exaggerately. One may compare Apuleius' rather hardly naturalistic picture of the disease hit with Pheidippus is suffering from, as apol. 65,1-3. We must be aware that his terms of denotomy are likely to have been different from modern standards.
seems to reflect later etymological tendencies rather than historical fact; cf. ZIMMERMANN 1997, 50.

naturabilia: "natural science," a vague reference to the fields Anaximander worked in. The adjective (here used as a noun) does not exist before Apuleius and seems to have been coined for the purpose; cf. FERRARI 1968, 135.

Epinomenen: 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 sounds: *fatiloquus* is attested before Apuleius only in Liv. 1.7.8 (as an adjective), and *pistor* (the generally accepted correction by Lippus for *Fip Platonom*) occurs only here (cf. FERRARI 1964, 110).

15.21 Leodamantes Creophylus discipulum: some further nomenclature. Creophylus of Samos was a legendary 'Homer', who lived in the seventh century B.C.; cf. RE s.v. Homerides, 2305-2. We do not know a pupil of Creophylus called 'Leodamas', but euvulioi (e.g. DioL. 15.8) 2.23 mentions a *Kosmosoloumenos*. 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 poetae Egerianus), 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 (236); Met. 10.30 (261.4) serve 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. Lyce. 4,4.

15.22 tot... tot...: the snaupera signals that the speaker is bringing his excaius to a close. Flowery expressions of lavish praise for Pythagoras prepare the audience for the climax to come: the essence of his teaching.

multiliagis callibus: the conjecture *calicibus* by VAN DER VLIET is now commonly accepted by scholars instead of *Fic comitibus*, which seems awkward both with meanings and with *hospes* (although HILDEBRAND tried to defend this).

The imagery of 'drinking' will return in Fl. 20.1-4, where Apuleius tells of all the power of learning he has acquired at Athens. Multitiaga 'manifold belongs to Apuleius' favourite impressive adjectives; cf. e.g. Apol. 55,9 *multitia sacra... Met. 8,22 (194,17-8) multiae scotae...*  

super captum hominum: 'beyond human capacity'; cf. Met. 1.3 (3,19-20) supra captum cogitationis arduus; further Fl. 9,13 pro captu meo (with note). The following animi should be taken with augurium, as in 15,16 animi explana.

primus...: Pythagoras was hailed as the first man to call himself a philosopher in Apol. 4,7 Pythagoram, qui primus se esse philosophum nuncupavit; the verb *nuncupare* corresponds with the noun *nuncupator*, used only here and obviously formed to match *nuncupatio* (FACCIORI TOILO 1968, 133). For 'first inventors' see above on 15,19.

15.23 nihil prius lacere: according to 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. Epic. Ep. 52,10 apud

1 RE s.v. Leodamas mentions an Attic statesman (fifth century B.C.) by this name, as well as a pupil of *Epeichides*. The name is further attested in 2.6 Archil. Thm. 68-70 for a male prostitute.

Pythagorae disciplina quaeque animis tacendum erat: mundum ergo existimamus statum igitur et laudare Deis? More details on the Pythagorean practice may be found in Gel. 1,9, who also mentions a minimum length of time: *non minus putatur tacitum quam benniamum* (1,9,4). Further e.g. f. DioL. 8.10 and f. Bacch. 17.

"multitiae" 'winged words' is a Homeric expression, for which see VIVANTS 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. e.g. Apol. 83.2 si aeris, *ita ut poeticas uerba, primas uapar indulgerant...* In that passage Apuleius cleverly plays with the formula in picturing words as literally flying out of his opponent's hand.

marmor candidentum dentium: another Homeric expression ("wall of teeth"), for which see Apol. 7,4 *dentum maru...* (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 *Anacomorphos 8 candentes dantes efficiens munutos et Merc. 7,10 (199-201) ultramontum candidemus.*

15.24 concideere - dedicere: 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. Quint. 56; and Serv. Ep. 50,7 *uirtutes uae... dedicere est*. For the rare, archaic deponent verb *inquire* 'to keep talking', see Pl. Bacch. 803 and FERRARI 1968, 97-8. Here it clearly echoes the rhythm and sound of mediatrix.

15.25 non in totum arcanum...: the speaker rather elaborates the point, by repeating a thought in resounding words (here e.g. *eliquia* 'speechless'), and by making an artificial distinction, not attested in other sources, between serious and less serious disciples.

breui spatii... modificata: 'restricted to a short time'. The use of the dative is somewhat unusual, but the sense is clear.

exulio nosis: the imagery of 'exile' of things is not very frequent; cf. e.g. Plin. Pan. 47,1 (staudia) V.Max. 6,3: ext 1 (carmina); further TLL s.v. exilium (490,46).

punicibant: the original reading in F and the reading of ð was *puniturus*, which might be defined as a form of the deponent *punio* (a variant form of the normal *punio*; see OLD s.v.); thus *AriOini 1928, 331-2*. The subject then would be Pythagoras, the agent in 15,23 ducit. However, the 'i' was already added in F, and the plural form reaches a much better correspondence with *zustabatur*.

15.26 moster Plato: the first explicit mention of the great philosopher, whose follower Apuleius professed to be; cf. Apol. 41,7 Platonem meo (with note). For the 'intimacy with the great', cf. above 2,1 *maier meus Socrates.*

nihil... vel paullum deus: the statement seems remarkably imprecise for a philosopher and a follower of Plato, since Plato's teaching shows many significant points of difference from Pythagorism.² However, Apuleius' rather eclectic Platonism includes elements from other philosophical traditions; cf. recently MISHRA 1999, 283-94. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that Apuleius is not expounding a theoretical lesson in

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² 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 Sec. 22 (69), 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, a so much pleased Plautus. See Ferrari 1968, 143, who quotes Pl. Men. 11:3 hoc argumentum graecizat, tamet nomen antissare, sermo sicilicivit, and compares 3.6 parrissarev and 18.43 antissareh. To these places may be added Soc.pr. 5 (113) and Apol. 98.8 graecivit. In Greek, the verb Tin/Graicizate occurs as early as in Aristophane (see e.g. L33 s.v.). Note the sustained alliteration of p- in the whole sentence driving home the parallel between Plato and Pythagoras.

...aeque et ipsa... 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 Floridia. The link with Pythagoras is fairly vague. Although the speaker suggests an allusion to his formal training as a student of Platonic philosophy (of 1-adopter), 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 Sanyu 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 dico 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. 65: nunc consilio capio opus; see further LHSE 2.123.

As the end of this rather long-winded piece in the Floridia, one cannot help wondering whether the reference to ‘opportune 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 moderationes: the speaker compliments himself. Moderatio is, in Apuleius’ eyes, a cardinal virtue; cf. e.g. Fl. 9.35.

suumius tuis antecessores: cf. the closely parallel passage Pl. 9.31 non horudes penitus laudis, quae minu dudum integra eis flores per omnes antecessores tandem ad te reseruata ess. 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.

consuetus: 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 Humans 1994, 1735ff. argues. After successus, the MSS mark the end of ‘book II’ of the Floridia: APULII PLATONICII FLORIDORVM LIBII EXPLIC. INCIP. III.

1 The word as is missing in the MSS, but most evidently be added somewhere in the sentence. Editors now follow Grainger’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 fill 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 requesting 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 *(graduatum 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 HIRSCH 1994, 1769-70 and TOCHI 2000, 16-24.4

The speech does not show conspicuous omissions at the beginning or end, and so may well be a complete *prodelia*; cf. also TOCHI 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 *suntiebam redditum quad piperigera*); the nature and themes of that speech are entirely unclear. A rather different view is that of MILAS 1945, 212, who argues that Fl. 16 forms not just a complete *prodelia*, 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), Philumnus figures prominently. The famous Greek poet is given much attention, just as the sophist Hippia 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 Graeco-Roman literary history.

The treatment of Philumnus 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 intact 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 NISSELKRATZ 1990; for the testimony on Philumnus, see KASSEL/AVSTON 1989 (*Poetarum Comicorum Graecorum VII*), 221-8 (the present *Florida* fragment is nr.7). A survey of Philumnus’ 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 (extract as D-Chef 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: <p>philouphi <p>=<p>atìmatos <p>=<p> omission sunt *saeius*. This statement is in the *saeius*. *Saeius* is not yet *saeius*.

3 According to the 17th century scholar Scopinius, the difficulties in the interpretation of Fl. 16 can be solved if we assume that a new fragment begins in 16.29 and most, improvement. However, this would produce many new difficulties; moreover, there is nothing in the text itself that would support such a division. *Scopinius* view is rightly rejected by DEMETR 1974, 289-40.

16.1 *principes Africani*: the men for ‘leading men of Africa’. *Post* use an abbreviation here; e.g., but its explanation by Lippus is surely correct; cf. 16.35 *apud principes Africani auct).

This is a most rhetorical address of the audience, which turns out to be the Carthaginian elite; see 16.43-44 and cf. RIVES 1994, 238. Apuleius’ phrase will be almost literally rendered in the opening words of Tert. *Praec. 1.1 Principes temporum africani, aucti Carthaginensi...* Less likely, VOESSING 1997, 452n1528 and TOCHI 2000, 13 argue (as *Opusc. 1974, 161*) that the address is intended for the entire populace of Carthage.

*quam postulatis*: the situation is not entirely clear. Later in the text (16.36) it will be Amelius Strabo, who appears to have taken the initiative in proposing the statue. From the present words, notably the added *proresent*, which must refer to the period before Apuleius had to stay at the Persian court, 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 postresent and abresen is, of course, conventional; one example among many is Cic. *Brut. 11* ‘non aequor,’ *inqunam, “Etres, et praeveentem me cura levatus et obesum magnus violatio deditus.” The contrast is reinforced by the parallel structure of the two colae, including an adverb and a finite verb, both of the same length and rhythm.

*prein*: the resumption of *prae in praecogam*, see 3.8; further e.g. Fl. *Phoen. 321* and Ps. *Phr. 324*.
1 allegere: 'to adduce in support of a request or plea' (OLD s.v. allego § 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.¹ The most likely candidate for the origin of their name is T. Iulius Persenus (cf. PIIR 436 (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 Flora he is referred to in 18,19, with his munificence being underscored in 18,40. The baths are likely to have been part of a shrine devoted by Persenus at Hammam Lili, across the bay from Carthage, at the foot of the Djebel au Kourmeim. There an inscription has been found: Aquae Persianae, (found 1862) (published) Africanae (CIL VII 1, 997). For this identification of the Aquae Persianae, see CAJANUM 1980, 43; RIVES 1994, 287 (id. 1995, 183; and TOSCHI 2000, 55. According to RIVES 1995, 183 the last spring of the shrine again became popular in the nineteenth century.

гратисима - medicabula: a striking dicton with correspondencies of sound and sense, using newly coined nouns for 'a place for swimming' and 'a place for care'; see FERRARI 1968, 125; FACCINI TOBI 1986, 124; and cf. 15.6 pulchabilum.

16.3 quippa...: 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 Sec. pr. 3, Apuleius uses the adjective with a preposition rather than the adverb repentere; see OLD s.v. repentens 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 improviso for improviso (neither combination is attested in Apuleius' works).

quid... distulerim: the phrase must mean 'why I have postponed disappearing', 'why I have disappeared', but the intrusive use of difference in this sense is unusual. Hence proposals such as distulerim me (Oudendorp) or distulerint (Wower) are attractive. However, the text may be kept: HELNEN compares Mert. 4,54 (102,12f.) and 5,21 (119,13f.) festinus differt, audet trepidat...

ab hoc splendidissimo composcere: a similar praise of the audience was given at 9,3 splendidissimo hinc auditoria. 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 similitudinem.

improvisus pericula: the speaker makes rather much of his absence. His calculated reference to 'danger' takes advantage of the natural curiousity of the audience. The next two sentences equally play on their feelings: by means of a suggestive question he makes

room for himself to insert an anecdote, embedded in a enjoyable piece of literary history.²

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.

modo comediae scriptor: no other ancient source records 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.

Fabula - dictavit: 'he composed pieces for the theatre'. Cam 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 et praxis sui temporis indicat Menandro uapae praestitit et, eius consensu tamen omnium merus credit secundus; further e.g. Vell. 1,1,6,3. 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. 16,1,71.

pudet dicere: the moralizing judgment 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 Philemonem, nequaquam pari scripse, in certaminibus comediardum ambitu graetique et factioinibus tautemero auctore. Eum can forte habuisset ebunum: 'Quareis, inquit, Philemon, bone sua die mitti, cum me sinece, ne erubescas?'

In the present context, this negative appreciation of Philemon is rather striking. Throughout the Florio Apuleius refers to famous Greek persons mostly in admirable models. In the rest of the anecdote, Philemon is only praised; e.g. 16,10 his laudabiles nobilitatem. 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 is -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 Apologia; see HUNNIN 1998.

¹ AUGELLO ad loc. supposes that the public is actually grazing, since it seems to hear what happened to Apuleius' right away. There is, of course no evidence for what he 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.

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16.8 corruptidus: 'seductions'. In both Greek New Comedy and Roman comedy, rape of young women is a strikingly dominant motif; see ROSIVACH 1988, esp. 13-50. Rape is often used as a plot device, 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 mut: this correction by Leo for et uti of F0 is attractive indeed, but so is the original reading (still adopted by HELBRENDY: et uti errores) would be a further qualification of corruptidus: 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 tricorss.

16.9 nec eo minus... although Plautum'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 indolent mother, the reprimanding uncle, the helpful friend; and the warrior soldier. Greedy parasites, steadfast parents, and frivolous wretches complete the picture. The list of twelve characters is arranged in four groups of three constituting two elements (with words ending in -ae, -ara, -tuta, and -aaa). For another short list of stock characters, cf. Ter. H. 37-40 and see further TOCCHI 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 Sec. 19 (196); here it matches the other nouns in -ara, cf. PACCHIUS TOI 1986, 133. miles profiator: the second word has wrongly been questioned by some scholars. The soldier is, of course, not actually fighting, but merely braving up the battles he has fought. One may think of the miles gloriuous of Plautus.

1 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 meant marriage; see ROSIVACH, 14.
important (Rohde), the sense then becoming 'lancemors nod to friends to make room for them to sit'. However, the original two sentences make excellent sense: 'lancemors nod to friends; they give them room to sit'. The parataxis is typical of Apuleius' style and seems particularly functional here (cf. on colluvia). There is therefore no reason to change the text.

**sensui**: the noun versus 'the act of sitting down' is not attested before Apuleius, and seems to have been coined for the occasion, as is the following excominatus 'pushed off the seat'; cf. FERRARI 1968, 129 (for the latter also FACCHINI TOGNI 1986, 145).

16.13 excominatus: the nature of the complaint is not specified, but given the immediate context people are likely to have been murmuring about the massive crowd in the theatre.1

Unlike qui tertium (dependent on occipitum), the following forms percentari, recordari, and expense are historical infinitives.

guaris: the sense is passive: 'known, familiar'; cf. OLD s.v. guarus 2. HELM in his app. crit. refers to an interpretation of cantinc... guaris as a dative, but this is obviously wrong.


condicium: 'appointment', a rare use of the participle as a noun, as in Gen 20,1,54 and in later authors; see TLL s.v. condicio 130,26.

in suo sibi lectulo: for the reinforcement of the possessive by sibi (as in 9,17; 18,20; and 23,5), see CALLERBET 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.

mootorium offendere: 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 interioritas (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 mortuis.

Apuleius then goes to some length (16,15-9) 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 drunk 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 LEKOWITZ 1981, 115-6; the testimonia on Philemon's death can be found in KAESEL/AUSTIN 1989, 221-3. Apuleius' version seems to match that of Aristaeus in his lost Peri Promotasia, as referred to by HARRISON 2000, 117.

16.15 obiquerat: 'had become stiff (with cold') This is a rather prosaic and clinical word, much as mortuaris, which seems slightly at odds with the pathetic picture to follow shortly.

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1 Several proposals have been advanced to place quert, e.g. garrer (COULON 1925,24-5), qui lert non affererent (KRAUSENBERG 1928,48), or quiuer (FASSETT 1991, 128, with some hesitation. None of these emendations is necessary, neither for typographical reasons, nor because the verb quert strictly occurred in 16.12.

2 Being surrounded by savour and security, the pun may even be said to involve the adjective liber 'free', which is not actually used itself but clearly implied.
16.18 III: the word is commonly used to fit the metaphor of life as a play. Cf. a similar use in Cic. Sen. 70 nescie sapientibus uapae ad "plaudere" sententiam esse. The following pair dolere et plurere is used correspondingly, but does not form a fixed combination as such.

1...4: a suggestion by Rohde, but the change is not needed. The form illi might be interpreted as an adverb, the equivalent of ille, meaning 'there' (i.e. in the theatre), as KÖNIGSBURG 1928.45 proposed. However, since the messenger 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.

funerale... numisiam: 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).

testimonio utile: 'the mask of life', another variant of the metaphor of life as a play.

On the term personae in Latin, see TOCH 2000, 65 with references.

legenda: a concluding pause. First the verses of the poet are to be gathered (after cremation), then his poems must be read; cf. OLD s.v. lego 1b and 8.1. For similar puns, cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 23.21 malo te legas quam epistulam manum; Prisp. 68.2 libros non lego, peno lego.

16.19 of memento: 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 asent of the audience (habes senentias) strengthens their bond with the speaker as well.

recitatio: we 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. 9.22 (soccer); 9.29; 20.5-6. The occurrence of rain implies that the recitation probably took place during the winter.

puntesimo: perhaps a comic touch, since the superlative of pipe 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 inner: '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, chills, and strong pains of the intestines. For the incident, one may compare Sen. Ep. 104.18 fregit aliquis crus aut extortit articulum: non uedicum naevique concursu, sed adaequavit medicum ut fracta pars tangat, ut laetata in locum revocaret.

1 Unfortunately, many translators cannot resist the opportunity for a pun in their own language on 'collating' boxes and poems, the latter as if for a edition of 'collated 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 center. 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.

defrigererit: It has the impossible form defrigererit. Evident corrections are defrigeret or defrigerin. Helsk and others choose the former, but the latter has better MSS authority, being the reading of 6, and seems to fit in better, as it produces a homoeoteleuton with apertur.

libens... fluxus: a pun that is hard to replicate in English. The rather technical account of the illness is enlivened with rare words and sound effects, notably of a. The noun laxus in the sense 'spain' does not occur before this place (and very rarely after it) and may have been coined to match fluxus 'freely, shaky'; cf. FACCHINO TOSI 1986, 102.

16.21 sudore... corpore: 'with perspiring body'. The adjective is reinforced by adfinitum. For disexit, see 2.

obrurit: 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 paws drive home the intimate connection between the two. The content of the paws is similar to those in 16.17-8, at referring to a premature ending of one thing before another. In the present series, more prominence is given to similarity in sound: lectum/lectum,1 fatus/fundus.

historiam: a rather vague term, from which we should not necessarily deduce that Apuleius was writing 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 16.9 recitatio.

16.23 utique blandus 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 note need not be true of the fomentum, in e.g. VALLIETTE suggests. The word is commonly used for 'compress' or 'covering', which seems to make good sense in the case of a sprained ankle. The adjective utique 'in any way' is archaic and rare, and also occurs at 17.16 and Apol. 71.1.

gressum reciperei: '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.

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1 Above with the terms fomae and lectum, that look like adjectives indicating direction used without a preposition, is highly unusual, but our passage is spared without further notice in TLL s.v. aboe 68.72f. The construction seems to be modeled on the use of aboe with a rapine, frequent in Plautus (TLL s.v. aboe 69.1f.), as in subeitam 'to go to sleep', for which see OLD s.v. cubic 2 and s.v. above 2b. This turn may have inspired lectum above, and hence, by further analogy, lectum above. A construction with a supine is actually used in 16.24 elsewhere redditu.
16.24 *uenebam 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 *sineatre* with a supine, see OLD s.v. *sineatre* 1a.

16.25 *benefico ustre* 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 in *honour*, e.g. 16.25). The rhetorical commonplace is further discussed by TOSCHI 2000, 29-41.

16.26 *an non...* after the narration about Phileneon and the comparison with himself, the speaker enters upon a long rhetorical passage, in which he develops ostentations expressions of thanks, first to the audience and the city at large, later to Aemilius Strabo, combined with cautious requests for additional honours; see the introductory note to this section. The opening sentence is a rhetorical question, emboldened by the corresponding cola *nullus gratiae dixerem... nullas process dixeram.*

According to *MIAS* 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 *proloquium* and a main speech. Against this view, it may be added that the transition to 16.25 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 *proloquium*, 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 *proloquium*, originally followed by the postponed second part of the speech interrupted by rain (cf. 16.24 *uenebam redditum...*); see also introductory note to *Fl. 16.*

16.28 *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.

16.28 *meque enim...* an easy thought. Asking and accepting a favour is harder than simply obtaining what you want by using your own resources. Cf. Cic. *Cic. Varr. 2.12* (*itnus...* *profecto hinc natum est* *malum* *emere* *quam* *rogare*; further Sen. *B. 2.14* *nulla* *res* *curios* *censatur quam* *precibus* *empta* *est*). Earlier in the *Florida*, *aemilia* were referred to in 9.24 and 15.5.

*quain* for *quain* in the sense of *magis quam*, a usage frequent in later Latin, see *LHS* 2,593.

1. The desire for independence is older still and seems firmly rooted in Roman thought; cf. e.g. *Cato Agr. 5.3*, where the author of the farm is prescribed to have only two or three households that he may ask for the loan of something, or so in which he may give something in loan.

2. Quain has been explained as the equivalent of *ar* (see *LHS* 2,593) but the text would be hard to understand. HELM in his Akademie also changed *liber* to *libus*, but this would make *philosophus* the subject of *donabili*, which seems strange.
tandem verba... qui diga ratione... que remuneratione dicondi... are all dependent on the final nondum hercle reperterio (16.32); cf. the analysis in Toschi 2000, 99-100. The first three clauses involve traditional turns (e.g. Cic. Phil. 5.35 quibusque serbiis eius laudes haust spes temporis contuqui postuanus?) but the phrase remuneratione dicondi seems an original Apuleian coinage.

sir omnium - erant: a traditional turn of phrase again. Cf. the famous lines of Catullus on Cicero: discrimine Romani nepotum i quae sunt quaque there. Marco Tulli, quaeque post alius erant in annis... (49,1-3). cf. also Catul. 21.2-3; 24.2-3. Further Pl. Per. 777 qui sunt, qui erant quaque fuerunt quaque futuri sunt posthac: Bac. 1087; Cic. Red. Pop. 16.

inter optimos clarissim... for the technique of amplification by means of a gradual, cf. 8,1-2 Nam ex immersis hominibus pauci senatores, ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genero et ex illi consiliarius pauci boni et adhuc ex bona pauci eratid. 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 doctissimi.

16.32 gradus habitum... eam: again, Apuleius uses a construction with a supine. Cf. above on 16.24 and see OLD s.v. ex 12.

dicondi: 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. 4.339, where it is spoken by Aeneas to Dido. Apuleius has numerous quotations from Vergil in his works: cf. above on 5.3. For specific references to the Aenida see also Apol. 30.7 in opere serio and Mattiacci 1986, 163n16.

impraeventurum: the adverb (formed from in praesentia rerum: TLL s.v. imprae fundamentum 673,722.) 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 ills tributibus: a rather vague reference to opponents of the speaker. Perhaps they are the same ones as in 9.1 ex ills inausitoribus meis and 9.5 ex ills haud; thus also Toschi 2000, 104.

non minus moeror: the reading of Fō produces a very arrogant statement. Editors have raised objections here and proposed various changes to make the text more modest; e.g. HIlLM first bracketed non, later kept non but wanted to read moeror (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 an 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 defended by Toschi 1993 and 2000, 105, who renders 'io la merita non meno di quanto comprendo di meritoria.'

exalto: the speaker highlights his great joy, perhaps to sharpen the contrast with illis tributibus. The verb exalto seems to be not entirely positive; cf. the long note by Toschi 2000, 106-7, who adduces a definition by Nonius as 'gloriar cum iactantia'.

16.35 in curia Carthaginensi: 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 RITVS 1984, 283, who mistakenly argues that Apuleius describes his speech as taking place in the curia.

splendidissimus... benissimus: both words are highly complimentary adjectives to curia. Modern editors adopt splendidissimum and benissimum (to be taken with testimoniis), as proposed by Van der Vliet. The result of the change would read excellently, but the reading of Fō clearly makes good sense and should therefore be kept.

principes Africane utro: the phrase resumes the initial flattering address in 16.1, principes Africæ utri; see the note there.

quodam modo: the words somehow lessen the force of laudator maht... alsitir. Strabo has 'in a way' acted as the enologist of Apuleius. Without this qualification, Apuleius' words would have sounded mockingly dishonorable 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). Fō had requested that a good, well-frequented site should be given to the statue. In the written document he referred to his common studies and to Apuleius' congratulations at the successive stages of Strabo's career. For bonds of friendship resulting from common studies, see Apol. 31,10 coniunxit (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 conclusio: Strabo had referred to his 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 150, 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 communem on - incipiatus of 16.36, so the word conclusio 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.

abill geminum et cinisatum: a tantalizingly vague expression for 'other regions and cities'. There is some evidence for statues of Apuleius in Ora and Madarae (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.

honoram - et allo: for 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'.

6 Apuleius admired Cicero and knew his work well; see e.g. Apol. 6.3; further Mattiacci 1986, 174-6. Since all three Catullian 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.

7 Vergil's line must have been famous. It is also quoted in an anonymous poem on Aulus: Arch. Lat. 15.144 (Reit 1, 44).
16.38 suscepit sacram dolii: an important biographical detail, although we have no certainty what priesthood is meant. Apuleius tells in Pl. 18.38 that he was a præst of Aesopus, and Augustine (Ep. 138, 19) reports that Apuleius has been sacerdotis provinciae Africae. Either function may be referred to here. A case is made for the former by RIVES 1994; for the latter by HARRISON 2008, 80s.30.

caveat lex pletissimus testis: the same combination is used in 17.4. Cf. also Cic. Flac. 40 locupletissimis testibus doloris.

suæ 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.

quadrigas et seligas currus: 'four- and six-horse chariots'. The reference is, again, to monumental representations, not to real chariots; cf. Plut. Nat. 34.19 opestrae statuae Romam celebrations habuit. The dedication of golden seligas in Rome is attested in the second century B.C. already; see Liv. 38.35.4.

gratulatur: the verb is here constructed with an infinitive (suum) 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 column 'summit' and column 'pinnacle'.

16.40 futurus process: it is not known whether Strabo ever became a process consul (suffectus in 156; 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 Hom. Od. 8). Helm and others print the full word processuius, but the MSS present the abbreviated form here.

16.41 decreverunt locum statuaris: this had been requested by Aemilium Strabo (16.36). When the request was presented, probably by the praefiscini, 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 city. The appropriate formula locus datum deae decurionum was so common that it could be abbreviated L.d.d.; see RIVES, 185.

For statuaris, VALLETTE and Augeillo adopt the earlier reading statua (Colvin), while PURGER 1910 defends statuae meae. However, the MSS reading statuaris 'to appoint' makes excellent sense.

alteram statuan: '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

magnistrate nor to rival his benefaction. The speaker almost manages to hide the fact that he is asking for a second statue, as EDMANN 1994, 1770 observes.

16.43 optimus magistratus: Apuleius is addressing the elite of Carthage (16.1), and it is these men who are meant by the following soliloquy. The plural magistratus and principes cannot refer to Aemilius 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 magistrate.

ego necrescit: thus the words are divided in Q. Van der Vliet changed it into ecume scirem, which EDMANN adopted, adding <non> to praefiscini: '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?'

16.44 ordine statuarum: 'your order', i.e. the order 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 illa rather than hic), cf. above on 16.35. However, many among the local elite whom he is addressing (16.3) 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.

adclamatioth: the word recalls the theatrical context of the meatus of Phaedon. In general on the forms and functions of Roman acclamations, see BIVILDE 1996.

in qua curia - honor est: the flattery not literally copies the one addressed to Strabo in 16.35: cui etiam nosse esse tamquammodo summa honor est.

16.45 non existimabatur: 'not merely in appearance'. The words function as the opposite of re aera.

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.

praefisci: 'to avert bad luck'. This rare adverb, also spelled as praefisci of praefacisc, is archaic: cf. Pl. As. 491 praefacisc hic nummum 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. 73.5. In the present place, the word merely serves to add weight to the speaker’s triumphant words.

16.46 quid... superfert: the same turn as in 16.39.

aeris premitum: although Strabo has pledged to pay for the statue (16.39), it now appears that the money for the statue has not yet been made available and that no sculptor has started working on it. The speaker adds some remarks expressing confidence

1 According to EDMANN 1994, 1723 Aemiliana Strabo actually held the office of processus in 166, but there is no reason to confirm this. There may be some confusion of his year with 166.
that the city of Carthage will eventually pay; these remarks clearly function as an eulogy.

ne ut here is the equivalent of nadum (OLD s.v. ne (1) 1b), but there is no reason to actually change the text and read ne <dem> ut, as PUBLER 1910, 155 proposes.

indicatio... 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 ‘grubble counting’ in the ancient world.

16.47 perfection... effectus: 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 statute. The expression is succinct (no verbs are used) and there is strong use of homoeoteleuton. The comparatives of the adverbs perfecte and effecte are not attested before Apuleius; cf. FERRARI 1968, 140. For the form effectus, cf. earlier 9.34 and 15.6.

36b: 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.

libri - conscriptus-cum: 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 seris premium.

canum: the verb would seem to indicate that the promised laudatory piece will be a poem, as argued by HEMANS 1994, 176n97.

16.48 ut... repraesenter: 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 animum, formed analogously to ubique gentium (cf. LH5s 2.17 and 57).

For the image of a book traveling throughout the land, HARRISON 2000, 1196t03 compares Hor. Ep. 1.20 and Ov. Tr. 7.51. However, in both these cases the personified book commends the author himself rather than its original audience.

17 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 Orpheus, may be small but have gained me much prestige even in Rome. So you will be an 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 deemed to remain

silence 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 Orphus, should do so before a huge audience. My song will edify everyone. Let us review some of Orphus’ outstanding qualities!

This fragment of modest length is an introductory piece to a sermon by Apuleius on the virtues of proconsul Scipio Orphus (see on 17.18). It brings out some of the typical characteristics of a prolologia, 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 criticizing Apuleius’ opponents rather than praising the proconsul. In polite words Apuleius ventures to argue that Orphus should be as eager to win his friendship as Apuleius is to win his, but conceals this impartient statement in some remarks that people generally miss their friends when separated from them. Probably Apuleius is taking a defensive stand here: Orphus may have criticized him for not visiting him (and Carthage) and for failing to address him in public. Apuleius seems to accept the criticism, but appears to be reluctant tokowto 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 Orphus. 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 praise section of lavish praise of Orphus, culminating in the announced poem, for which the audience has been prepared from the start.

The 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 price on the one hand, and the inevitable praise of Orphus on the other hand. The dazzling description distracts the attention and obscures the clear
sequence of thought.1 The speaker plays with his audience and addresses, 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 proemium addressed by Apuleius can be dated with some precision (just as the address in Fl. 9); he is Serviae Corneliae Scipio Salvidienus Orfinus, proconsul of Africa in 163-164; cf. SYME 1959, 318-9; and PIR² 1447. For further prosopographical observations on Scipio Orfinus, notably on his name Scipio, see SYMIOTI 1974. The speech was delivered in Carthage (17,190 perhaps at the end of Orfinus' term of office in 164 (which would again parallel) the situation of Fl. 9).2

The situation that a 'Scipio' is praised by a famous poet may have recalled the praise of Republican Scipios by the great poet Ennius, as HAZAINE 2000, 122 suggests. The parallel must have greatly appealed to Apuleius. For Fl. 17, see further MEAS 1949, 212-3; HUMANS 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 scene is dismissive right from the start. The speaker is launching a verbal attack on unnamed opponents, who allegedly bother men such as the proconsul. For similar polemics with rivas, 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 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 is it is; MEAS 1949, 212-3 refers to a similar seemingly abrupt beginning in Lucian's Herodotus (Aection). In general, proludia characteristically begin abruptly, as SANDY 1997, 166 remarks.

officiis praeeditus: 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.

impatienstia linguae: 'by the intemperance of their speech. The indirect reference to speaking makes it clear that rival orators are the target. TLL s.v. impatienstia 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 lingua rabies.

tuorumque eius: absent: the reading of F6 eis is often replaced by enim, found in some later MSS and defended by HELM. With BOURET 1 I keep enim: it is slightly loosely constructed with atrumque.

1 Ultimately, as analysis of the context of Fl. 17 would come down to something like this: 'I have not praised Orfinus. I am not trying to win his favour. I am famous enough myself... Now come, let us look at Orfinus' virtues and praise him for his favour!'

2 Curiously, the parallel between Fl. 9 and 17 seems to have misled SANDY 1997, 163, who alleges that the same proemium is elaborated in both pieces, a statement that is manifestly wrong.
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 146. Furthermore, he probably owned or rented a house; Coelho 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. Dord 1998 and Hünink 2000, 8-7. 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 - conceptus addenda:** 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 / conceptus addenda underscore the statement.

The problem is that Apuleius' is not the most persona point to more than one person, particularly since Orfitus himself was addressed in the same sentence in the singular (usu, tuus). 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 num suamiam simulaut and the use of suster in 17.1 amicilis sui est. Alternatively, the African audience at large could be meant, but the sense is not as good.

**quippe...** the immediate 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 / deorare) embolden 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. Instead of denying this, Apuleius turns the criticism into a compliment. For the rhetoric of the 'returning native son', see also Sanov 1997,165. See further below on 17.19 versum.

*racenat addendi:* to be taken with aeniis only. In the following clause there will be a clear contrast between frequentatibus 'frequent visitors' and cervassibus 'those who fail to come'. For the adverb racenat see on 9.11.

<gratam praesentiam>: the addition by Colvius is unnecessary and it is now commonly accepted by editors.

**ceterum non...** 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 care for diseases of the ear in 48,3-4 and 51,2. On medicine in Africa, see Bessebode 1989 (esp. 665 for diseases of the eye).

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1 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 Pr. 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.

2 GRILL 1974, 314 refers to some places in Galen (12, p.642 Ehrle; 15,p.939; 10,p.847), 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.
The human voice (XVII)

given: bulls, wolves, elephants, horses, birds, and lions. To each animal a two-word description of its peculiar sound is added, in some cases with onomatopoeic qualities (e.g. oculis adsumus and hilaris hilarus) and with homoeoteleuton in the noun (cf. FACCHINI TOSI 1966, 150 n2).

The thought that animals have more impressive voices than men is, of course, not original; cf. Sen. Ep. 76.9 habet vocem; sed quanta claritatem, casu,que equestris, graniorem turris, dulcitatem melioratorumque lacunar. That passage may have been in Apuleius' mind (for lacunar see 17.10). Apuleius' resonant list can even be read as an expression of 'the intricate bond between all things,' as De' CONI 1959, 66-7 suggests, but surely it is the rhetorical effect that is dominant here.

immediatas: '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 rables or vociferam.

clangores: the commonly accepted correction of Beckerum for angores of Feb. The MSS reading seems difficult (though not utterly impossible) to defend, since anger in the sense 'anguish' is not used in relation to animals (see examples in TLL s.v.). The shortly following word anguor (17.13, referring to the human voice) can be taken as a confirmation of the error here.

17.13 dulcitum: 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 BAOU 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 flattened by his compliments to notice the rather loose reasoning here.

sl - callerum: a new thought that hardly adds to the coherence, but allows for further amplification. The speaker compares himself to an experienced lyre-player (callerum with ablative meaning 'to be skilful in', see OLD s.v. 2).

17.15 in solitudine cantiluent: two contrasting examples from mythology follow. Both Orpheus and Aino did not, as Apuleius, address a wide audience but played in isolation. By implication, the speaker suggests that he himself surpasses those legendary bard. For cantiluent see 3.11.

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1 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 insignificant.

2 Comparisons of the human faculty of speaking with the inarticulate sounds of animals are widespread. For some examples from Cicero, see HARRISON 2003, 122-123; see also MACHALA 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 (Ec. 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 Euridyce 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.

quire... the stories of both Orpus and Arion are summarized, mainly by means of closely parallel clauses, highlighting the role of music and animals. The doubt expressed in si fides habebis in conventional.

In the end, the examples of Orphus and Arion cast a positive light again upon the speaker himself. The key-words here are sponde ad laudem. These imply that what Apuleius is presently delivering is, indeed, spontaneous praise of the performance, not the fulfillment of an imperative duty to save his life. In reality, the freedom and spontaneousity of the speaker may have been more limited than he wishes to show.


17,16 honiuitus potius: almost in passing another criticism is leveled at Orphus and Arion: they 'merely' sang to animals. The miraculous and incantative effect of their music is deliberately omitted.

aulibus: 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 CAPPODI 1979, 334-7 (merula), 339-63 (color), and 314-8 (turdina).

17,17 tesquis: a tesquio (tessio) is a truc de wild or desolate land) (OLD), an augural term of uncertain origin. Cf. e.g. Hor. Ep. 1,14,19 deserta e inopiusa tesquias; cf. Ferrari 1968, 91-2.

fringultat: 'twitter, chirp'. Before the verb, modern editors insert < castaneum pueritia, > a luminous addition by Kourenneg. The second and third clauses seem to imply a parallel object in the first. What precedes adolescens and senectus can only be pueritia and castaneum 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, fringultat may well be used intrinsically² and there is no urgent need to assume a threefold parallel rather than the...

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1 The fregituidus tesquio are, of course, the jackdaws. The habit of 'chorally horning' will greatly flourish in periods after Apuleius, notably the Middle Ages. To mention one example, in the Navigatio Breandari (composed in Ireland around 800) a prominent place is given to a moving island that appears to be a whale-like fish called jaculans (Nav. Breand. 6).

2 OLD even marks "int." in the term of fregituidus and explains Kourenneg's addition as 'internal acc'. In the present place the word is first used in relation to birds; cf. TLL s.v. frigetuis/fregituidus.

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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 CAPODI 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 VALLIETTE and AUGELLO, who print arrane (Haupt).

obscur: 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. 846-850; Hyg. Fab. 154; Ov. Met. 14.430 (with Boer's note ad loc.); further ARNETT 1977. Mediator 'to work over a song in performance' in poetical; cf. Verg. Ec. 1.2 and other examples in OLD s.v. 7.

17,18 enim est 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, i.e. a - carmen est following not directly after sile carmen prompsit iustus.

paeus - semina: cf. also 17,17 and 19. Enumerations of successive age groups are not uncommon; cf. e.g. Sen. Ep. 49.3 and 131.15.

de uirtutibus Orbil carpuit: the name of Orbilius 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 qualifying his qualities. The text of this poem has not been preserved; see HARRISON 2000, 35.

17,19 serrum... seriem: 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 Orbulius; 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 word sawa ser / serius adds to the desired effect. A similar wordplay is made in Met. 5.29 (73,11) mibi sero quidem, serio tanen subvenit ad evisitrum et Met. 5.6 (107,16-3) tandem meministis mea serenitates, cum carpere sero parietem.

17,20 quas... securitis: an effective piece of flattery. The excellent presidium is said to have pleased and served the young and the old alike. The repeated references to puert, lauen, and zones now prove functional, in that they tie together Apuleius' poem, the presidium, and the audience at large. The three nouns suntatem, hilaritatem, and securitatem are closely parallel in sound, rhythm, and length.

temperato - remedy: rather vague terms for 'moderate and reasonable conduct' of the magistrate, with which he has given every generation what it needed.

17,21 refrenes: this is the reading of Fp, which is commonly changed to refren (a suggestion by Pacciani). With refrenes, the nouns modestia and servitudina would simply be...
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 ladies or my natural modesty.' 1 In the expression mea ingenua serenitatis we see Apuleius' false modesty at its best.

17,22 neque quino: the achievements of the proconsul are said to be so great that they must be celebrated in some length. For the whole thought cf. Apol. 48,5 hic ego. Maximus, quamquam sedulo irepresequatis... (cf. Curs. Carth. 1149, tamen sollicitum unus in percontatio neque quis laudem.)

attignam: 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 (neque quino...), they rather suggest that before the carmen about Orfius will be presented, a prose survey of Orfius 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).

Meanwhile, it is not clear in what sense the Carthaginians had been 'saved'. After recognoscite the end of 'book III' is marked in Fl. with a subcapitulum as follows: APULEI PLATONICI FLORENTINORVM LIB. III. EXPLIC. INCIPIT IID

XVIII CARThAGINE'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 Dautilus 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 invented. 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, Carthaginans, is my renumeration 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 Scafalus Severus and Julius Perennus, 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 (10), 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 paragraph starts in a rather apologetic tone, returning 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. 7, 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 anti-aristocratic 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 Eunallus (Diels-Kranz, Protagoras A4) focuses upon paradoxes and sophist 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 Sophist repertoire; for the former cf. Diog.Laert. 9,56 and Gel. 3,10 (where the story is told at length, as an example of argumenta 'reprosecus'); further Quin. 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 note 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 odeion (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 Perennus could be the same as the man after whom the Aegaeus Persianicus 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 studii ornatae Carthage, see Sandys 1997, 16-20. For the text as a
whole, see HUMANS 1994, 1737 and 1770; and HARRISON 2000, 122-5; further MRAS 1949, 213-5.

18.1 unta multitudine... 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 himself, and as a justification for their presence in the theatre. For the singular multitudine with a finite verb in the plural, see LHJS 2,436-7 (in the Fl, cf. further 9.1, 16.14 and 20.9).

eruditionis amicus: flattery of the audience becomes more outspoken. By implication, the reference extolls the speaker, who will apparently deliver a speech full of virtutem.

dissertare: the verb is used intrinsically, as in Apol. 5.5-6 and 7.3. Apuleius’ use of dissertare and dissertature in relation to philosophical discourse (here exemplified by the word philosophus) may be considered symptomatic for the development of second century philosophy; cf. SANDER 1997, 191-4.

18.2 pro amplitudine: nothing negative is conveyed in the preposition. The large crowd is ‘in conformity with’ the city’s populace, as in the location with the crowd.

locum: 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 archaeological 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. ELLIOT 1990, 126-66.

18.3 spectari debit non...: the general argument is the same as in the parallel fragment Fl. 5, from a speech equally delivered in a theatre: ...qui sciant non locum auctoritatem orationi derogare, sed cum premit hoc spectandum eis, quid in theatrum apprehendat. In the present case, the thought is amplified, with the speaker dwelling on various elements of 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 homoeoteleuton). These six elements are carefully ordered to represent the point of view of the audience: the pavement, the proscenium, and the stage are what spectatores 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. 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 speaker wishes to make. It rather attests to his ‘joy of description’, allowing him to show his linguistic alertness and to attract the attention of the audience.

1 The parallels and differences between Fl. 5 and 18 convincingly show that the pieces have not been sets of a single performance.

2 Other translators have widely varying glosses here: ‘forte’ (ANNANALI, Bell edition); ‘pour ses élèves turbulents’ (VALLETTE); ‘Griechen schneiden’ (BILM); ‘et remporte un sac fantasie’ (ÉLÉNA MUNGUIA); ‘(o) mais on le sait contrôlé’ (AUGELLO); ‘professe sans hésitation’ (RUPERT). The most recent translator (GELTON) simply renders it as ‘hallucinates’. TLL s.v. hallucinare 187-24C offers no explanation of the sense.

3 Other translations have widely varying glosses here: ‘famish’ (ANNANALI, Bell edition); ‘des élèves turbulents’ (VALLETTE); ‘Griechen schneiden’ (BILM); ‘et remporte un sac fantasie’ (ÉLÉNA MUNGUIA); ‘(o) mais on le sait contrôlé’ (AUGELLO); ‘professe sans hésitation’ (RUPERT). The most recent translator (GELTON) simply renders it as ‘hallucinates’. TLL s.v. hallucinare 187-24C offers no explanation of the sense.
pugiles, quadratures dassatores gratulatoriae funambuli praemittatur; 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.

histrio gesticulator: the sixth example refers to a performer in pantomime making mimic gestures. For the histrio cf. e.g. Apol. 13.7, where he is also mentioned in combination with actors of tragedy and mime.

ludiones: a audio is a relatively rare old word for a stage-performer (for whom luder 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 Warning in Fl. II.12) are unknown. Some scholars follow Ribbeck in assuming that it comes from the Anteips of Pacuvius; cf. MATTIACCI 1994, 53v°5 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 Citharoean being a mountain near this place.

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’ Triclinia,1 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 Tric.).

18.8 non secund...: 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 substantiae (cf. 18.6) drives home the parallel.

hyphiothecae: 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 GICS 1966, 372-3. 2 In Apol. 91.2, Apuleius mentions public libraries as a source of his information.

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 literary universe. The spelling hyphiotheca is a common variant for bibliotheca.

18.9 habetote: according to CALLISTE 1960, 502-4 Apuleius uses the imperative to do 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 ambituina audituri: the repeated reference to the numerous crowd provides a smooth transition to the next apologetic thought.

prolixus: 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. Pro. Ant. 1.2.4 (Haines II.40). Its opposite is claudere 'to limp' (a metaphor regularly used in connected with speech; cf. OLD s.v. 2).

18.11 verbum... qui sets...: the construction is probably loose, qui being the nominal plural of the relative pronoun. Alternatively, qui could be explained as the relative adverb (as e.g. HILDEBRAND).

quorionion: a subject for complainting’ (OLD s.v. c). For the general idea that no blessing comes without a disadvantage, HELM compares Fl. Am. 634-6;

mollii el follic: the combination of gall and honey has become proverbial, notably in the context of love. Cf. e.g. Pl. Cist. 69 Amor et meli et felle est fœdusamissum: further e.g. Cist. 223; and see MATTIACCI 1986, 196-7. In Apuleius’ works, cf. Mer. 2.10.33 (18-9) case ne niam melis dulcedine duisiam brat amaritudinem contrahat (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 FACCENI TOI 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. after 1, 1).

18.12 sum - cunctator: surely, Apuleius’ display of tautology and hesitation is no more than a pose intended to win the audience over. Cunctation is a rare comparative of the participle cunctatus ‘more hesitante’, which occurs in Suet. Jul. 60 nec sis tantum extremo ad alimicandam cunctatio factor est (a passage Apuleius may have had in mind).

18.13 discipulai: for the verb, cf. on 18.1 dizertate.

indecerebis - exhibuer: the paradox that appearing before a home audience is more difficult, after it has been introduced by the standard formula minus dicta,2 is elaborated in three parallel cols, 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 (-otum); see FISCHER 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 cols mentioning elements of his biography in chronological order: birth and youth, schooldays and training in philosophy (secreta), and works delivered orally and in written form. In a further display

1 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 Apelleus was actually read by the Carthaginians and met with their approval.

18.15 ut 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, puertia, magistri, secta, art, libri. Some elements are merely mentioned once again (puertia, 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 to firmly connected with Athens, the most he can make of it is that his training started in Carthage.

patria: Modus. The issue is dealt with at some length in Apelleus’ self-defence; see Apol. 24-25.4. There Apelleus speaks with obvious pride about his native town, calling it a splendidae 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 priests; cf. Reves 1994, 283.

Athenis Articis: a typically Platonic juncture: cf. Pl. Epin. 502, Mil. 100, Pr. 416, Rud. 741, iberia Atheni in -articis educatusque Atticae; and Truc. 497. It is also used by Apelleus in Met. 1.24 (22.12) (Aptiam Athenis Articis).

Apelleus 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 senatum: ‘for the last six years’. For the spelling of the intermediate case in proximum, see Allen 1996, 56-9.

This is another piece of evidence for Apelleus’ 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.

But not: regretfully, we do not know what books Apelleus refers to. The relative and absolute chronology of his works presents various additional problems; cf. introduction to Apology, 1.20-22.

non alias - comprobas: ‘(my books) are nowhere given other praise and are more highly rated than in your positive judgement.’

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1 As a concept of bilingual expertise the combination occurs in Plut. ep. 4.3.5 Homonous leonan ton Graecx loanai? Non modius fablum ipiws Athenas ton Aulos discers. Cf. here Fl. 18.16 and 43-3.

2 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.
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 (cf. refers to Protagora and doxographia probably to Democritus' expertise as a physicist). For the tradition that Protagoras was his pupil, see e.g. Diog. Laert. 9.50 and 53; and Gelh. 5.3; further Dauth. 1953, 38-9 who suggests that this version may be due to the Epicureans.

18.20 cum Protagorum: for the repetition of the same, cf. on Apol. 4.8 cum quaque Zenomen. cum = Euthol. Euthyphor is only known from the ancient sources that tell the present anecdote about his teacher Protagoras. Gel. 5.10,5 calls Euthyphor adulescens disseri and see also Quint. 3.1,10 (quoted above on 18.19). For sib. reinforced by sae. see on 16.14. mercedem nimis abherere: 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 grandum pecuniam), although details differ (see on 18.19). tirocinio agendi: cf. the similar expression in Apol. 94.3 tirocinio orationis suae.

18.21 ignitar.... here starts an unusually long sentence (18.21-3), of which the main verb is coepit. Several conspicuous words and sound effects function as ornaments. exorabula - dictendum: three parallel cola, the first two involving rare words. Exorabula (neut. pl.) 'entreaties' is used before Apuleius only by Pl. True. 27. For decipulum 'trap, snare', cf. Met. 8.3 (179,19) with note by CCA 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. FEBRE 1968, 94-5. Apuleius' tone here is deprecatory and his judgement of sophist rhetoric seems very negative. This reflects a general prejudice that is likely to be shared by the audience. Cf. also below on 18.26 sententor.

aliqui: 'otherwise'. HELM prints aliqui <r>, but in F the word is written without final - l. I follow VALLETTE here.

sensimus... ingeniosus: the teaching by Protagoras came in addition to his Euthyphor's natural talents for cleverness. No Roman reader will have failed to notice the echo of the opening lines of the first Roman epic, Liv. Andr. Odissia 1 (W), uiram mihi, Camera, ingenio serratam. The word does, however, also occur in other authors, e.g. Cic. N.D. 3,25 (see PEASE ad loc. for more places). Ingeniosus strikes another Plautine note, before Apuleius it occurs only in Pl. Mill. 731 (and once in Gellius).

18.22 nectaridem moris: 'by connecting delays' (cf. OLD s.v. necto 9b). duiatuleque - reddere: for the adverb diante see on 2.1. Alquius uses a simple but effective contrast between uerere (sc. causam) and reddere (sc. mercedem). The text has been slightly corrected by Brantus (If hae a se re sque, which is impossible to construct).

18.23 ambifiarum: '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 (Zenomen) qui prima commun sollicitissimo artificio ambifiarum dissolutur (see note there for further discussion). For adverbs on fariam, see on FL. 7.9.

18.24 nam si... the agreement was that Eutholus had to pay as soon as he had gained a trial. Now Protagoras uses his pupil. He argues that (a) if Eutholos is condemned, he must pay on account of the verdict, and (b) if he wins his case, he must pay on account of the agreement. Eutholus 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.1 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.2 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 Protagorax's case.

implit: not all Greek sophists and thinkers in the Pl. are presented as speaking words in direct speech. Cf. only 2.1 (Socrates); 14.2 (Crates); 18.27 (Euthyphor); 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? veritate omnibus assuram. The reasoning (ratio) of Protagoras appears to have convinced the judges; see, however, above on 18.23.

inanirolitor: both adverbs, aceriter and inanirolitor, must be taken with conclusa (cf. OLD s.v. conclusa 8). Inanirolitor is not attested elsewhere and may have been coined by Apuleius; see FEBRE 1968, 140 and TUL. s.v. 214.15f. inanirolitor: '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.

bicep... argumentum: a twofold argument or dilemma. The use of bicep in combination with the abstract argumentum is rare, but the choice of words is clearly influenced by the preceding accents (18.23).

18.27 si unico<er> - sinco[fl] sententi: there is a textual problem here, with F reading sinco and sincor respectively, which is clearly wrong. The common correction of the text is: si unico<er>, condictio, si unico<er> sententi. His use in his Addenda solved the problem by transposing sententi, reading liber<sententi> si unico, condictio, si unico. But the
18.28 nonne solius... 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 hair-splitting and "eauquabbling 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. Homer. Od. 3.325-30 "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" (OED s.v. 1b), an echo that is in doubt intended here too; cf. e.g. Cic. Fin. 4,79 Panaceus nec acerbiter sententiarum nec disaccordat spina arboris...

punctualio: 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 1960, 131.

18.29 sententioa: 'thorny'. The word continues the Homeric image even further. For the rare word OLD quos Aflatn. com. 1 sentioqu aera. The word further recalls PL 11,1 sentioqua.

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 Mer. 7,15 (65,15) 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. Ob. 3,162,2.

es septem - septira: Thales was generally counted among the Seven Wise Men.1 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 religios concessive primas ferunt...; and Leg. 2,26 Thales, qui sapientissimus in septem fuit.

geomantia: 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

1 The canonical list also includes Cleobulus of Lindos, Seon of Athens, Chion of Sparta, Pitacus of Miletus, Bias of Priene, and Periander of Corinth, but variants lists exist too; for the canonical list see Diels-Kranz, 1,110, which also gives the famous maxim attributed to each of the seven men.
quoties • metiatur: 'how many times the sun with its diameter measures the orbit it passes along'. A rather complex astronomical notion, 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 Mandractum Præmense: the person is not known from other sources, which makes it somewhat difficult to establish his exact name. The form Mandractum is given by Ff, for which HELM adopts Crustis' emendation Mandredrum (also in RE s.v. Mandredynos). Since both names are rare, the MSS reading is to be preferred, as it is in VALETTE's edition.

impeditus: 'greatly'. An adverb often used by authors of comedy, e.g. Pl. Asp. 18, and by Apuleius, e.g. Apol. 3.9; Met. 2.18 (39.17).

pro • repetendi: the same verb was used in 18.18 for Apuleius' mercer paid to Carthage. This, of course, undercribes the parallel drawn between Thales and Apuleius, for the sense of documentum (here clearly connected to elixacore), see on 15.18.

18,34 Thales sapientius: no doubt is left about the excellence of Thales. He was given the same complimentary epithet sapientius in 18.18, and he was introduced in 18.20 as the most eminent among the seven Wise Men.

repertorium: 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 Ff; see 18.19 (with note).

18,35 sumptibus 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 merely 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, coevert quidam facundia. Shortly, Carthaginian itself will be called sua caelestia (20.10).

18,36 hanc • mercem: having finished both anecdotes he promised, the speaker returns to his initial point (18.18). By consistently repeating mercer (and rependi) he clarifies his thought to even the least bright members of the audience. The rest of the sentence (pro disciplinis • adepus) is an expression of gratitude for the education received, and so replaces 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 us and forms of ueter).

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 anaphors (of ubique), whereas the last three are closely parallel with an object (disciplinis, opem, adeus) followed by a conspicuous adverb (caelestia, gloriosius, religiosius). The marked position of the religious element is deliberate, since a clearly prepares for the following lines on religion.

18,37 principis: 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.

Asculapius: the god Asculapius is reverently praised as the special protector of Carthage. So it is this god who was meant with uiretus... deos (18.36). Asculapius (Aschulpus) is clearly one of Apuleius' favourite deities. In Apol. 55.10 he recalls a speech delivered on his arrival in Oea (155/6 AD) de Asculapii 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 Asclepius (18.38), see also on 16.38. For Apuleius' connection with the god see further note on Apol. 55.10, and e.g. BEAUSIRE 1983, 396-7. On the public cult of Asclepius in Roman Carthage, see notably RIVES 1995, 181-4.

indubitabilis nominis: 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 Ff strepit. One might consider retaining that original form, comparing e.g. fr. Ass. 3.9 (Haïnen I, p.50) luctum, qui Catoanioum mement 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 HUMANS 1994, 1777 remain unconvincing, if only because they leave indubitabilis nomine and propitius out of account. Teget '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 respetit, defended by VALETTE.

18,38 hymnum: on several occasions Apuleius refers to his own poetry. In the Ff, cf. notably the carmen de virtutibus Orfini (17.18); in the present case too, the poem itself has not been preserved; cf. HARRISON 2000, 24-5. Apuleius himself counts hymn among the literary genres he masters; see 20.3. 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 Marinonio, Sen. Jr. (Haïnen 88). In Apuleius' works other than the Florida, it occurs in Man. 29 (355) and 35 (368); further Ael. 38 (83.3-4 M.) hymns ex laudibus (for the authenticity of the Asclepius, see HUNDK 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); for the terminology see LA BIA 1999, 7-35, esp. 31-3.

1 Apuleius' interest in the god seems to owe much to the isomorphism of the deity with the Ptoleic god Eilethus, a religious development which took place as early as in the third or second century b.C.; cf. BEAUSIRE 1983, 397 and LAMOI 1994, 24.

2 There is a Greek prose hymn on the god by Aelius Aristides (Or. 42).
non ignotus - antites: Apuleius presents himself as a man of religion, much as in FL. 1 and Apol. 55-6. All three nouns (sacerdol, cultor, antites) refer to his religious activity in relation to Aesculapius. Sacerdol 'devote' is rare; cf. only Tac. Hist. 3.74. The negative formulation recalls his self-portrait at 18.14 nec time attemet - indecuss improborumque. Apuleius' priesthood clearly is that of Aesculapius; cf. Rives 1994 and 1995, 184-186 and see 16.38.

praest et uersa faciundia: 'with fluency in both prose and poetry'. Prose and poetry are, of course, often juxtaposed, as in Fl. 3.10 nec attemem nec uersivm makis; cf. further e.g. Sen. Ep. 94,27 and see OLD s.v. prose (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 hukadobos philosophias; and 20.5-6 Plato dialogos... Apuleius uixier hoc uemina. Among the fragments of Apuleius' lost works, there are traces of a transition of the Planctic Phaedo (Fr. 9-10 Beare; cf. Harrington 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 its 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 Harrington 2000, 34.

Safidius Neuratus et Iulius Perseus: both men are praised by Apuleius as men of outstanding qualities and special merits for Carthage. Their biography is largely unclear: nothing more is known about Safidius, but Perseus may well be the tax collector who gave the Apsae Permissae their name (see note on 16.2). As Harrington 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 Thaces gain further relevance and

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2 On a rather speculative note, Rives 1995, 183-4 suggests that the cult of Aesculapius had been introduced in Carthage by Beliza Perene (see on 16.2 and 18.39). This vinylity 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 woeekipped deity, would have accepted the proposal, added its cult to the same publicus, and invested a public priesthood. Apuleius, then, would have been given the honor of becoming one of the firm priests. These tpyopoeis are attractive, but there is, of evidence for them.

3 Even the spelling of their names is not certain. Many editions spell the second name as Perina, on the basis of a reading of late MSS and early editions. By his Addenbe 11.31 ultimately removed the reading of Pr. On the other hand, all modem editors accept Scriverius' correction of the first name, spelled in Pr as Safidius, to Safidius. But as Oppen 1974, 361 rightly points out, the change is not necessary, since the name Safidius is attested in an inscription from Africa. CIL 8.4028 SAPIDIO HULANO ET SAPIDIO VICTORAE. Therefore, the MSS spelling is retained here for both names.

1 It is extremely improbable that this speech is the same as the speech de Ascelpio mentioned related to in Apol. 53, but that seems rather unlikely. For that case, the setting of the dialogue with Severus and Perseus would not be Carthage in recent years, as seems most usual, but Oea at about 1556. Another
he must have been the starting-point of the dialogue and probably played a dominant part in the rest of the piece.

18.43 Severus: 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.

Romanze lingue: similar periphrases for Latin are used in Met. 11.28 (209,4) sermonis Romanii; and Men. 11.33 (331) Romana lingua.

possil: sc. Romanze lingue partes agere, or simply latine loqui.

attracts: a funny ‘Greekish’ verb found in Plautus. cf. Men. 11.2 atque adeo hoc argumentum gnacissaxa, tumen / nos anticensa, serum sicientistat, also adduced by Ferrara 1968, 95. Apuleius uses it too in Soc.pr. 5 sects oratio nostra anticensaera. Cf. also on 15.26 pythagorissae.

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 Aesop,alibus), then with the hymn. It is 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 insisted 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. introductory note). He is described as 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 insisted his intervention. But he managed to persuade them and to save the man.

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Thus, the text of Fl. 19 is clearly a selection 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 deceptio, a dialogue of unknown date transmitted among the philosophical works of Apuleius; most scholars reject its authenticity, e.g. Harrison 2003, 123, but arguments in defence of Apuleius’ authorship are given by Buxton 1996. However, in the absence of further clues, the matter must be left open.

1 For one thing, it involves some judicial dramas and the gradual revelation of events. The most important difference with Fl. 19 concerns the role of the doctor. As in Met. 10.11-12 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 remarkable.

2 According to Oppert 1974, 374 the text is less carefully finished than most of the other fragments (for some cases where a word is repeated, and other ‘negligences’), 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.

3 A more recent, rather theoretical study on the philosophical foundations of Asclepiades’ mystical ideas, is Vallance 1990. Here, Asclepiades’ life is hardly discussed and the present passage from Apuleius is not even mentioned.
ceteris princi: the deriv with princi is unusual. According to LHS #13.4 it is modelled on the use of praestans, as in Enn. 68 (W) fluxus qui est omnibus princent.

prinum - 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 eius aium promittendo ategri domusque tempore: 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) repetra raione qua aium agers meditetur.

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: Cleophas. According to Pliny, Asclepiades wrote a book on the subject (Nat. 23.31).

animaluercus: most editors read animaduercus (with i), but the reading of Fg makes good sense: it refers to an earlier discovery by Asclepiades, which naturally explains his expert view of patients.

praecarios: here too, the reading of Fg has been retained and not replaced with praesarios (Scaliger). What is required here is not a synonym of inconditus, as most editors would have it, but rather its contrast. 'Excellent pupils', as Heldebrand aptly explains, are those 'qui bene discerni possint et certa statuque habent memoria.'

19.2 cicliation: 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 'Carthagian' context. That would have made the name of Rome less suitable for the occasion.

rure suo suburba: no geographical name can be specified here with certainty, since estates and country houses were located in several areas around Rome.1 The reference to such a suburba implies that Asclepiades was prosperous.

pomous: the old word pomorum originally referred to the bare area of land round the walls of a Latin or Etruscan town, notably Rome; cf. Liv. 1.44.4-5. Here it is plural, merely functions as a stately synonym for 'borders'.

funus... locum: a funeral procession in the state of 'being arranged'. Grammatically this is the direct object of circumstantia: 'or the conjunction famus locare; cf. e.g. Sen. Dial. 9.11.10 (other examples in TLL s.v. famus 1603.38f.).

oboleusismus: the supertative is not attested elsewhere. Here it is no doubt inspired by the preceding tristismus; cf. Facchinetti Tosi 1986, 111.

19.3 incognoscurt: the text at incognoscurt is often changed to anim <ep> cognoscurt (Van der Vliet), but the change is not necessary. There is an entry for incognoscurt in the sense of cognoscurt in both TLL (7.1.3186.1, though with a question mark) and OLD ('to become acquainted with, get to know'; with examples). Therefore the MSS reading has been kept.

1 Meanwhile, the popular region of Campania is a very likely candidate.

engan: HELM and some others insert <humanum> 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 incognem of Asclepiades only.

quantum - respondeor: Asclepiades had first asked some bystanders how 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.

reprehendetur: 'catch, take hold of': The emendation of Wovet reprehendetur is defended by HELM. But reprehendendo does not necessarily imply criticism or censure; cf. OLD s.v. 'to grasp so as to prevent from moving forward', 'catch and hold'. Here it is used in roughly the same sense as reprehendetur. Reprehendetur is also defended by Vallette.

propo: deposito: 'almost buried'. The word is also used in the parallel passage Met. 10.12 (245.12-3) sequiururam, quo corpus prius depositum utschebat (see GCA 2000, 187)

fatum attollit: the juncture sounds rather ominous, given the normal sense of fatum, and it would be natural to take it as 'he brought death'. But strikingly,1 the very opposite appears to be meant: Asclepiades functions as 'a messenger of fate', which has decided that the man be restored to life.

19.4 iam misierti...: a long period follows (19.4-5), of which the main verbs are pertrescaut 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.

delibatum: the original spelling in Fg, commonly normalized to delibatum. Forms with di- are, however, attested even in Cicero (see OLD s.v. delibatum).

pollunctum: 'laid out for the funeral', the participle of the rare verb pollungo, found e.g. in Pl. Poem. 63 quia mi pollictor iti qui rum pollintur. The word also occurs in one of the fragments of Apuleius' novel Hermafroditus: Fr.8 polluncto eius funere

paratum: HELM adds <rogum> before this word, but it is simply to be taken with eum. The suggestion iam paene <pyr> <pl> <io> caesarum by Petrarca 1910, 154 is ingenious but equally superfluous.

cem: to be taken with the preceding word contemplatur. Its position in the sentence is naturally 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.

lentatem: as a climax, the crucial word is put in the final position. This brings out Asclepiades' careful scrutiny; cf. also on (iam miserti... (19.4). In the whole passage, Apuleius emphasizes the care taken by Asclepiades in his examination. No doubt, he identifies 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.

1 Several editors have found fault with the text and proposed emendations; see Himmel's apparatus. TLL s.v. famus 363.38 lists our passage as an example of famus suferre and so supports Wovet's conjecture altinum. But the surprise effect of the antithetical famus offere may well be intentional.
procul... abierunt: a very lively example of free indirect speech begins here; cf. e.g. the near-repetition amolorantur... dimostrant 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 abierunt to abierunt (Stowich), 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.

cemets: referent: 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 Philomelion after his unexpected death in 16,18, esp. recta de auditorio eius exsequiisque cemerts.

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 Gmbricht 1984a, 347-47.

prophylaxis: 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) (hinc... adulcentem)... ob praedam hereditarium extinti senecis; see further 10,28 (259,1). Legacy-hunting is also a motif in the Aprod.; e.g. c. 41 an Aprod. 89.

breuem mortius dilatam: 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.

ulitillum: a ulitillum 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. 17,5 (see also Jones ad loc.), where it highlights the ignominous death of the hand 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.

postlimini: 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... pergiti reducere paulum ab infers spiritum corporaque istud postliminio mortis animam; and 10,12 (245,16-7) dicas quos morte spargere sargentes postliminio mortis deprehendit filiam. Both examples occur in similar contexts of a resurrection from apparent death, and the first even shows verbal parallels with our text.

confessam: the adverb was already used in 19,6 and is now repeated twice, probably to underscore Asclepiades' efforts.

equirandam medicamentum: 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: herbam quaequantum ob os corporis et atam pectoris eius imponit.

pronunciavit: the texts 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 notes).

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 parade his manifold talents without a trace of shame, working on towards some jaunty 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, 175 suggests. By all means the speaker presents himself as able to rise to the occasion.

Earlier in the Fl. Apuleius never seemed so boldly 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 others ones in its claim of nearly universal eradication 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 prologos: the change comes with the words iam (20,9). On the other hand, the fragment is given an unusual degree of cohesion by the motif of the Muses (20,1 / 20,5 / 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 Pl. 20 with the preceding fragment (19.1), as OPERU 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 Pl. 20 is also given by TATUM 1979, 125.

20.1 sapientis uini: 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 purpured.

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 5.2.244), who refers to no less than ten bowls, and Stob. S.18,25; and full documentation in KINGSTAND 1981, 141-2. Anacharsis is mentioned by Apuleius in Apol. 24.6 apud scolastici scythas Anacharistis sapientis uinis est.1

insaniam: 'madness' or 'fury'. No doubt, the last stage indicated here is that of drunkenness. But in a comparable passage in Fulgentius, insanias is taken in a more literal sense: Fulg. Myth. 2.12 quattuor sunt ebrietatis genera, id est prima uiolentia, secunda rerum oblivio, tercia libido, quaerita insaniam. Here too, insanias 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 Miserum cretore: a smooth transition from the old saying to a new thought, in which the 'bowls' are taken metaphorically and have an opposite effect to the real ones. The combination Miserum cretorea is not attested elsewhere. The Museus will return in 20.6 and 10. They were earlier personified in Pl. 3 (3.7 and 13), where they even had an active role in the tale.

20.3 litteratoris... grammatici... rhetorik: the schoolmaster (who taught reading, writing, and rhetoric), 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 OPERU 1993, 31w2. Synchronically, it is not certain whether the three genitives should be taken with prima creterea, secunda, and tercia, or with rudimentos, doctrina, and eloquentia. Translators generally opt for the former solution, but the second one is given by HELM, who proposes excitum instead of extend to make sense of rudimentos. In his German edition he renders: 'erweckt durch die Unterweisung des Elementarlehlers'. 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 Museus (rather than those of teachers). The text has been restored in several places here (see HELM's crit.app.)

potiretur: the verbal form is an impersonal passive. See on 2.8.

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1 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 restored Apuleius' present silence on his identity.

20.4 ego - bheki: a proud piece of self-assertion. The speaker continues the metaphor of bowls of Museus, 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, 160-7.

The metaphor of drinking is also used in relation to philosophy by Pro. A. 4.3,1 (Stanes 1. p.2) philosophus quaque discipulis sibi sunt usque esse numquam autigere quam leapier et primoribius, ut dictat, labile debitis. The caution expressed by Fronto contrasts with Apuleius' proud statement, at TATUM 1979, 142-3 rightly observes.

poeticae comput: 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 (come with — on both a and a — on m) has been emended in various ways, listed in HELM'S apparatus and ARMINI 1958, 333-4. Compton (Leo) would see the book, 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, 127ta127 as 'polished'.

gematriae: 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 later sources as a writer 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 Cantid. Inst. 1,20, quoted by HARRISON 2000, 31; cf. also AVALON 1993, 163.

dialecticae auctoriorum: 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, De interpretatione et Liber perii heremias, 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 principitis quaedam iertas et aequilibria instaurari atque ae inutilis aedirit soler. Here it is softened by a diminutive form: 'slightly dry'; auctorius occurs only here (cf. TLL s.v. 1558.2), 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.
inexplicable... nectaret...: two more fine adjectives describe the most outstanding bowl, that of philosophy. With this bowl 'one can never be filled enough' and it is sweet as nectar. With the inner word, the image of the liquid subtly fuses with that of the 'divine' nature of the teachings. Nectaris 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 dialogues and histories.

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 Marc. 12 (365); Plato was mentioned in Pl. 15.26, Socrates in 2.9.15, 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 histories: Xenophon (ca. 430-355 B.C.) was well known among the Romans and was often praised for his 'sweet' (though not very powerful) style,2 cf. e.g. Cic. Orat. 32 melius dicere, sed a formal strepito eum desinisse. 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 milia, sed inter philosophos residiendus est (Quint. 10.1.75). A modern study about Xenophon as a historian is DILLERY 1995.

Socrates hymnus: 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 a tax only permissible form of poetry in the model state.

Epicharmus musos: Epicharmus (ca. 570-480) 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 modus. Recently, HARIESSEN 2000, 6265 argued that comosius (Teuffel) seems most appropriate here. However, the plural modus could simply refer to 'songs', 'noctes' or 'verse' (OLD s.v. 8b) and may be kept, with HELM and VALLETTE.

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1 The sense is somewhat unusual. In relation to vessels, inexpellibilis would normally mean 'that cannot be filled', but that would not make much sense here. Surety, Apuleius does not suggest that the bowl of philosophy is to any way deficient. Cf. also TLL s.v. 1320,31f, suggesting onadage or an active sense 'qui quis non naturen'.

2 It is precisely this point which may have made Xenophon's works less interesting to Apuleius. This could explain his silence on the matter elsewhere.
The bowl of grace (XXI)

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... crudelissimi estia: for the plural verb, cf. 18,1 tanta multitudine... commiserat.

quae... interior... sensis: 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 Carthago: tegamenta: a striking threefold address to the city itself, hailed with lavish praise as the teacher of the province, the Muse of Africa, and the Camera of the erudite. Such extensive praise of Carthage is not paralleled in earlier texts.1

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 Camera (see also on 9,14 and forget (see also on 9,10); so Carthage not merely represents Athens, but even Rome itself. See further Finke 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.2 Since the Giracchii 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 Camera tegamenta may have sounded strange indeed, while Carthaginians must have relished it all the more.

1 There is, however, a late Latin poem by a certain Planciades composed in praise of Tarentum;...,

2 On the transitions to the Vergilian tale of Dido a la Med., notably 8,1-14 and 10,2-12, see Finke 1998, 115-83.

21,1 festinatio: an element linking this fragment with Fl. 1 quasamquam oppido festinam. Cf. further 16,24 quantum et avt festinantes sita utebatur.

interpretatio: 'obstructed, impeded.' Erve is left out, as in Pl. Adv. 661 etc. ego maestum intu mulo.

quippe et... here starts an extraordinarily long period, which makes up the ren of the fragment. It may be analyzed as follows: the clause quippe et illis... 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 sedet deurtere ac... deligit, 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, relvant, retardant, desilfit, transfurant, adeunt, suate, ambulat, fabulante, immutant); 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 857,798... adding e.g. P.L. Car. 302 celerit me hoc homine consentio opus est et Cic. Att. 10,4,11.

21,2 uti praeservant...: the diction remains somewhat recherché. One may note the alliteration of p and q and homoeoteleuton of praeferre and redeere. The junctura pondere equo ('to
hang on a horse' is exceptional, with pandere referring to a lofty position (OLD s.v. 7) and perhaps suggesting the awkwardness of travelling on horseback.

propter - orbitarium: four inconveniences of travel by carriage are given, all expressed by polyisyllabic phrases of a noun with a genitive plural: the baggage, 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 LAVENZI 2000, 170-85, esp. 179-81.

21.3 addit 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 -erum) and number of syllables: stones, trunks, streams, and hills. Curiously, the series resembles the one in Fl. 1.4 colliculus: transversus, corpus, lapsus.

21.4 lucis ignis moramentum: 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 toclogism, probably coined by Apuleius by way of a change for mons; cf. FERRARI 1940, 116. The syntax is unusual too, his... moramentum being either a dative (OLD s.v. deus) or an ablative (TLL s.v. deus 866,37f.) dependent on deusare (see OLD s.v. 2).

rectum...: the image of a horse is introduced in a sonorous clause, using two parallel junctures of long words (datumae fortunamini, suis percipieritis), two shorter ones (ferre saltum, ire rapidum), and a verse quotation. For the terms applied here to a horse, cf. Apol. 21.2 equus et urruribus suis polius, ut no sequamur uritur et cursus permitat and the extensive description in Soc. 23 (which gives a verse quotation from Vergil's Georgics).

sineaque: T has sineaque, changed in δ to sinea. AMBROS 1928, 334 propose sineaeto ("Living", "full of life"), a Lucrician word (Lucr. 3,409 stat cornudu sinea potestas; 558; and 680).1 This is attractive, given Apuleius' fondness of Lucricius, and the additional sound effect it would produce (sinaete / sineaeto), but the old change in φ seems preferable because of its MS' authority.

gl. una: 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 colliscares resuues camporum rivus et collium clives (21.3).


conceit: 'rapidly', a rare adverb. Elsewhere Apuleius uses the juncture concoito grada several times, e.g. Met. 4,18 (88,17).2

st quoque: cogitatum: on meeting an important person, one will stop and pay respect to him, no matter how great one's hurry. The emphasis on nobilis... bene comitatur.

1 Curiously, there is no terms sineaeto in OLD, although the word is well-attested.

2 Perhaps the occurrence of grada in the quotation from Lucilius prompted him to avoid the more regular expression here.

bene comitatur may be an indirect compliment to some real person, as HARRISON 2000, 178 suggests, but we cannot be sure of this. The reading bene comitatur ("of excellent wisdom") should not be changed into hom comitatur, as PUSSEY 1910, 156 is inclined to do.

For the situation sketched by Apuleius there is a close parallel in Sen. Ep. 64,10 ii comitium aditus a praestorium, omnia quibus honor huberi solus ficitum: equo desillius, caput adperamon, semel omen. One may further compare Hel. 2,13,13 for an example from Roman history.

quassam - festinat: the phrase closely echoes 1.2 quassam oppida festinam. For the relation with Fl. 1 see also introductory note.

21.6 cohistent cursum: the first of a series of finite verbs, that round off the periodical construction (see on 21.1). Whereas Seneque (see above on ii quern - cognitum) merely used three verbs to describe the action of the traveller, Apuleius goes to considerable lengths in specifying it. The sheer accumulation of short clauses seems to illustrate the more 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 (cohistent, reultant, retardant) best exemplify the point: the idea of 'slowing down the horse' is phrased by means of three different expressions (for reference see OLD s.v. 3b).

eam urgium: the word resumes fraticem. The horseman takes the rod in his left hand, in order to have his right hand free (expedita) to make a reverence gesture of submission.

21.7 distule: cf. note on 2.1. The striking adverb is immediately repeated.

fabulastin: 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 HENNESS 1995, 307-8 and 310.

liberat: the word is given some stress. The more incurred as a result of the encounter is not merely taken for granted, but positively welcomed (cf. 21.1 at multis interpellationum auctorem).

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 councilor. But 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...

1 Gellius quotes a fragment from Claudius Quadrigarius, who tells how Q. Fabius Maximus, the famous general, had to disarm and pay respect to his son, one of the consuls of 215 B.C. Apuleius is likely to have known the text of Quadrigerius, 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 combated 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, 125-9 assumes (cf. also Hilaris 1994, 1723). 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).

The whole text of Fl. 22 is included among the fragments relating to Crates as testimonia V H 18 (Grannontas).

22.1 Crates ill...: 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 parentheticals finally resumed in a syntactically irregular manner (here 22.3 igitur priscam planae Crates factus erat). 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 (Sofocles). If Fl. 22 comes from the same context as 14, it must have preceded it, given the manner in which it is presented here (see also introductory note).

Diogenes 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 familarii being the typically Roman tutelary god of the hearth. Cf. also pudris familiae in 22.2.

22.2 nulla domus...: 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.

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1 In some older editions and translations, such as Anonymous 1850, 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 Florio (1688). All modern editions, however, divide the text as it is given in Fl.
inter proceres Thebanos: the same point is made about Crates in almost the same words at Apol. 22.3 air domi inter Thebanos proceres disset at nobilis (...) habitas... lectum genus... 'a distinguished family'. This is the first of five details illustrating Crates' former wealth and prominence. After the main verb numerosus est, the construction ends in rather free fashion again: the five details are added in parasitical order as separate nominatives.

The list includes two rare words. The noun *familia* ("domestic staff") is first attested in Apuleius: see *CPhA* 1985, 114 on *Mor*. 8.77 (94.3-4). *Proscholion* ("possessing land") is a participle most likely coined by Apuleius for the occasion to match *aerarium*: 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 implication, neutralizing exhortation cf. *Sandy* 1997, 180, who also adjoins 2.2

**eas omnem**: the construction is, again, rather loose. The pronoun est most likely refers to what immediately preceded: *quispis hab ebros diuturnarum est*, which should be taken as one whole: *that the riches in the world are all in vain*...

<ne> quispis esse: the text is uncertain. FG read *quicquam*, which seems hard to defend. Most editors write <nihil> *quicquam* (VAN der Velde), but the conjecture *ne quicquam* (Becchi) 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 a-c); for a philosophical discussion of Socratic analogies of various forms of craftsmanship, see *Rockhill* 1980. Maritime and medical analogies are also used by later authors, such as Maximus of Tyre; see *Trapp* 1997, 75a33. *Max* 1949, 216 points to a *triclinium* background for the medical analogy. For the maritime metaphor, *Hidding* 1994, 173n61(2) refers to e.g. *Sen*. *Ep*. 76,13. Such parallels, it may be added, were 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 credibly as he can, with the aim of giving a *skeptetical 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.1 According to *Quinzkopp*, *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 sicurum... 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,2 the florist is 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 *naisem*) is put in a front position and variously characterized, after which it is resumed (here *eum naisem 23,2*) and developed into a proper main clause. Cf. e.g. 22,1 with note.

**bonus - depictam**: the first group of characterizing elements consists of an simple adjective (bonus) and three participles constructions of increasing length (fabre factam, bene intrinsecus compacium, extrinsecus eleganter depictam). One may observe the additional effects of homeoeoteleuton and alliteration (of *f*), as well as the correlation between *intrinsecus* and *extrinsecus*.

**mobilis clino - 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 adjectives. The last element is the longest of the whole list: it has two adjuncts of itself, *identes ad idem et henestos ad contemplationem*.

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1 For example, one may compare the section on poverty in the *Apol*. (17-23), which is developed into a proper *nous* perspective and also involves stock arguments and images. See e.g. 19.2-3 and 21.4-5 ("riches as a burden"); with the maritime element: *gustivs* nasiem 19.5 and nautem in 20.5.

2 It may have been something like ‘the splendour of a city is of little worth if it renews the gilding 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 *eun non nunc:* these words resume what has preceded, in the usual manner of Apuleius.

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 doctores, 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 *lavauraria* in the theatre of Carthage, see 18.3.

23.4 *inextim:* the subject is *nemo erat.* No doctor will tell his patient to have courage only on account of his wealth.

23.5 *sua sibi:* for the reinforced *sae* see on 16.14.

**seritiunum:** 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 *sae_naturatio...* The fragment ends on an almost Saturaean note: *the slaves are said to be merely fasting while their master has been put on a strict diet.

After the concluding words of Fl. 23 there is no *subscriptio* in P6, 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 Sociate.* See, however, *Introduction,* C (with references). There are no sufficient reasons to doubt that the *Florida* end here.
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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### 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.

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