SANDY, Gerald Neil, 1937-

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF APULEIUS' META-
MORPHOSES AND OTHER PROSE FICTION OF
ANTIQUITY. [Portions of Text in Latin].

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1968
Language and Literature, classical

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

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1969
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF APULEIUS' METAMORPHOSES
AND OTHER PROSE FICTION OF ANTIQUITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * * *

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In view of the importance of the novel today, the fictional prose of antiquity is a surprisingly neglected area of scholarly study. Treatments of "connecting links," "forerunners," "intermediate stages of development" and Quellenforschung in general are frequent enough. What is lacking is not a study of the relationship of the Greek and Latin romances to what supposedly preceded them, but a study of their relationship to one another.

In attempting to fill this gap in our understanding I shall use a twofold approach: I shall first analyze the theme and structure of Apuleius' Metamorphoses; with reference to this analysis I shall next note, evaluate and discuss the comparable thematic and structural elements which appear in other novelists of antiquity.

These writers are for my purposes Petronius and the anonymous author of Apollonius of Tyre in Latin and Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus of Emesa and Achilles Tatius in Greek. Infrequent notice will be taken of Petronius since the fragmentary nature of the Satyricon precludes accurate analysis. Longus' Daphnis and Chloe, though probably

1 Ben Perry, The Ancient Romances (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. llff., criticizes the "biological" approach to literature, i.e., the tendency to search for "stages of development" and their like.

2 An exception to this is Lucian's ΛΟΥΚΛΟΣ Η 'ΟΝΟΣ. It and its relationship to Apuleius' Metamorphoses have been the object of specialized studies by several scholars, e.g., Paul Junghanns, Philologus, Suppl. 24, Heft 1 (1932). To avoid rehashing the excellent work that has been done on this question, I exclude the 'ΟΝΟΣ from my study.
the best of the Greek romances, will receive only cursory attention; its fixed bucolic setting and slowly evolving narrative of the psychology of love make it unsuitable for comparison with the adventure-filled, variegated Metamorphoses.
INTRODUCTION

The opening words of the *Metamorphoses* would seem to discourage a critic from expecting to find coherence of any sort: *At ego tibi sermo* *n Milesio varias fabulas conseram* (I,1; 1,1).\(^1\) Modern critics have not been lacking to illustrate by example the prophetic nature of this opening passage.

Foremost among those who doubt Apuleius' ability to impart unity and consistency to his narrative are Rudolf Helm and Ben Perry.\(^2\) The words of a modern critic, who in general is sympathetic toward Apuleius, are suggestive of the difficulty in demonstrating a cohesive narrative for the *Metamorphoses*: "*Atque Apuleius . . . consulto varias fabulas nulque inter se nexu cohaerentes levissimis tantum vinculis fabulae primariae adiunxit.*"\(^3\) A few of the objections expressed by Helm and Perry will indicate the nature of the criticism that has been made.

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\(^1\) All citations of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* are from Rudolf Helm's edition (Leipzig, 1931). For the sake of precision I give the page and line numbers of Helm's text. For those who may not have that text at hand I have included the conventional book and chapter citations. Thus the citation "I,1; 1,1" denotes "Book I, chapter 1; page 1, line 1." Occasionally only the book and chapter reference will be cited e.g., "I, 1." My quotations differ from time to time from Helm's orthography, e.g., imp - for Helm's imp -.

\(^2\) Perry's remarks on this topic as well as references to other critics appear in Ancient Romances, pp. 242ff., and in his numerous articles which are referred to in the Notes of that book, pp. 371ff.; Helm's in the praefatio to his edition of Apuleius' *Florida* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. xv-xvii. Also see S. Hammer, *Eos* 28 (1925) 51 and nn. 2-3, for citations of others critical of Apuleius' narrative skill.

\(^3\) Hammer, *op.cit.*, p. 51.
Perry's views about the Metamorphoses of Apuleius are usually linked very closely to his preoccupation with the original but now lost Metamorphoses ascribed by Photius (Bibliotheca, 129) to Lucius of Patrae and the surviving epitome often said to be by Lucian, entitled λούμιος ή ὅνος. Perry states, "I have noted upwards of fifty instances in which Apuleius is plainly wrong, that is, self-contradictory or intrinsically absurd or distinctly less plausible or less logical than the ὅνος," and elsewhere that "Apuleius would not write or plan an extensive book for the sake of illustrating any moral or any one idea." Perry brings ancient testimony to bear on the same point. Macrobius (Commentary to Cicero's Somnium Scipionis, I, 2,8): "argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus vel multum se Arbiter exercuit vel Apuleium nonnumquam lusisse miramur." And Julius Capitolinus (Vita Clodii Albini, XI and XII) states that Albinus was said to have composed "Milesias quorum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocris scriptae sint." Capitolinus goes on to give the views of Septimius Severus about Albinus:

Maior fuit dolor quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam emilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret.

From this ancient testimony Perry implicitly draws the conclusion that Milesian tales are lascivious nugae. As to the literary framework of

4A convenient resume of the problem of the interrelationship among these three stories of change may be found in Perry, "The Literary Art of Apuleius," TAPA 54 (1923) 196ff.

5Ibid., p. 198.

6Ancient Romances, p. 372, n. 10 (which begins on p. 371).
the Milesian tale, the generally held view of modern scholars is that it was not continuous but rather comprised of disiuncta membra.7

Perry considers the story of Thelyphron to be an awkward compound of three different stories: (1) a tale of magic in which a penalty is to be paid by the guardian if he fails to protects the corpse; (2) a narrative of the disastrous results of two people having the same name; and (3) the story of the necromancer Zatchlas.8 For proof of this contention Perry elaborates on what he considers to be incongruities. From Perry's discussion I repeat only enough of his objections to give a general idea of their nature. For instance, the widow of the man whose corpse Thelyphron is to guard weeps in the presence of Thelyphron alone, though she has no reason to pretend that she is the grieving widow she is later found out not to be.9 Perry further wonders why Thelyphron's ears and nose do not fall off during the beating which he receives as the result of an untimely remark (II, 26), since his nose and ears later fall off at a touch (II, 30).10

Perry raises the same kind of doubts about the very similar story of Socrates which is told, as in The Canterbury Tales, by one

7Ancient Romances, pp. 92-95.
9Perry, ibid., p. 232.
10Ibid., p. 233.
wayfarer to another. In it Perry sees a weak combining of two stories, a witch tale and the account of a lover's attempted suicide. Perry notes that the suicide attempt (I, 14) has much in common with similar attempts in erotic contexts but is inappropriate for the circumstances of this episode. Perry continues by arguing that the words which pass between a doorkeeper and Aristomenes are senseless in this non-erotic context.

In short, there are genuine absurdities in the text. Moreover, links between episodes and transitions are often weak and highly artificial. Undoubtedly contradictions of this sort and lapses in logical unity do result, as Perry asserts, from Apuleius' preoccupation with only the text at hand and not the over-all work and also from his failure to weave the various tales into a single thread (varias fabulas conseram). All these arguments fail, however, in their claim to show that Apuleius was unable to write a work with an ending which is consistent with its beginning. What Helm, Perry and similar critics have failed to realize is that contradictions and weak episodic links or transitions are blemishes in only the most superficial means to unity. Like Apuleius, Ovid was faced with the problem of weaving together a number of diverse, self-contained stories in his own Metamorphoses. That there are lapses in logical sequence and motivation in Ovid's work has frequently been noted, but as Brooks Otis argues, these do not vitiate the whole:

The links, in fact, are but a device for giving his [Ovid's] essential plan an appearance or veneer of continuity. Or

12Ibid., p. 394.
14Perry, TAPA 57 (1928) 241, n. 8.
more precisely, he is concerned with two very different kinds of continuity. One is the superficial narrative connection of the episodes; the other is the much more significant movement or sequence of motifs and ideas.\textsuperscript{15}

Otis' remarks are, I think, relevant to Apuleius' handling of narrative. Quintilian's observations about Ovid's transitions are also instructive in showing that episodic links are not the common denominator of continuity:

There is a frigid and puerile affectation in the rhetorical schools of making even a transition score a point and expecting applause for this conjuring trick; Ovid plays in this way in the Metamorphoses, but he has the excuse of being obliged to knit most diverse topics into the semblance of a whole.\textsuperscript{16}

Apuleius, too, often plays narrative games. His self-consciousness as a story-teller has often been observed.\textsuperscript{17} From Apuleius' remarks we may conclude that he at times considered the niceties of narrative as a sort of tour de force. At one point, the story dictates the ass' presence at a formal trial. The incongruity of an ass reporting his carefully obtained account (sed quae plane oomperi) of the trial, a trial steeped in the tradition of Athens (exemplo legis Atticae) and off limits to an ass, is obviously intended to be taken humorously (X, 7). The author's lack of seriousness about the technicalities of the first-person narrative is also evident in the tale of the baker's wife. Here Apuleius represents an imaginary reader as asking

\textsuperscript{15}Ovid as an Epic Poet (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1966), p. 80.


\textsuperscript{17}Cf. Perry, TAPA 54 (1923) 210-211.
contemptuously where an ass has been able to obtain the information which he relates (IX, 30). It is obvious that Apuleius, like Ovid, goes so far as to make a travesty of the illogicality of the narrative.\textsuperscript{18} Thus Apuleius is willing to detract from the credibility of his account and, in general, shows a certain lack of restraint whenever the opportunity to elicit a guffaw presents itself. Moreover, as Perry and Helm convincingly demonstrate, the narrative suffers from all too frequent absurdities which arise from a lack of logical cohesion. Yet there is, I feel, an overriding unity, as I attempt to show in the following pages.

Before proceeding, a note concerning terminology is in order. I shall, perhaps, appear to be less than consistent in my use of the appellations "Roman," "romance" and "novel." I do not think that a great deal hinges on the way I use one term or another. Both the Roman and the novel imply, I feel, a certain amount of psychological development. I therefore usually have this feature in mind when I use one of these two terms. The romance more closely approximates what we might call a "tale" and encompasses very little, if any, character study. In a romance, types rather than individuals are represented. In the Metamorphoses there is, for instance, the rather popular comical treatment of women characteristic of Petronius and Juvenal. Yet within this same context Apuleius develops the character of Lucius. Thus we are dealing with a blend of

\textsuperscript{18}Cf., too, the narrator's self-consciousness with regard to the "grand style" (I, 8; 8, 13-14) and his intentional depreciation of the possibility of an ass playing the role of a raconteur (IV, 6; 78, 18-22).
the romance and the novel. Northrop Frye's observations on the subject are helpful:

The essential difference between novel and romance lies in the conception of characterization. The romance does not attempt to create "real people" so much as stylized figures which expand into psychological archetypes . . . . That is . . . why a suggestion of allegory is constantly creeping in around the fringes . . . . The romance deals with individuality, with characters in vacuo . . . .

And:

Petronius, Apuleius, Rabelais and Voltaire all use a loose-jointed narrative form often confused with the romance. It differs from the romance, however . . . as it is not primarily concerned with the exploits of heroes, but relies on the free play of intellectual fancy and the kind of humorous observations that produce caricature.

19 On women as "types" see P. Junghanns, "Die Erzählungstechnik von Apuleius' Metamorphosen und Ihrer Vorlage," Philologus, Supplement-band 24, Heft 1 (1932) 59, n. 29; also 15, n. 14; 20, n. 25; 31 ff.; 124, n. 29. Henceforth I refer to this work simply as Junghanns.


21 Ibid., pp. 309-310. See also pp. 33, 36-38, 136-137, 186ff. and 301ff.
CHAPTER I

THE THEME OF THE METAMORPHOSES

The fact that Apuleius' Metamorphoses contains ten secular books of adventure followed by a concluding eleventh book of profound mysticism has induced many commentators to despair of finding a thematic basis for unity. Frances Norwood, for instance, in a recent article has raised the question whether we may expect Apuleius to have had any concept of artistic unity. She argues that the only guideline in existence for Apuleius was one of entertainment (lector intende laetaberis). Norwood is correct in belittling some of the rather forced theories for unity such as that of Bruno Lavagnini, who claims that the ten books preceding Lucius' conversion (both physical and spiritual) correspond to the ten days of preparation undergone by Lucius before his initiation into the rites of Isis. The solution is not that easy.

Norwood continues that in writing a book intended to illustrate a single theme an author surely would not fail to drop hints along the way. However this may be, Apuleius has not failed to foreshadow the ending, although his intentions are obscured by a good deal that is by

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2Il significato e il valore del romanzo di Apuleio (Pisa, 1923), p. 88.
our standards superfluous. This superfluous material results, as Norwood points out, from Apuleius' desire to entertain, an aim which he attempts to fulfil by employing variety of tone and mood.\textsuperscript{4} It is this very variety which offends our modern standards of unity.

Perry and Helm, two eminent scholars with a combined period of over ninety years devoted to Apuleius and prose fiction in general, have consistently argued against Apuleius' ability to maintain a narrative which brings to completion a single theme.\textsuperscript{5} Helm has this to say: "Mit Recht hat man diesen mystischerbaulichen Schluss [Book XI], der so völlig gegen den humorvollen Ton der ersten zehn Bücher absticht und nichts mehr von dem "laetaberis" verspüren lässt, als unpassend und unorganisch bezeichnet."\textsuperscript{6} Helm adds that it is impossible to regard the Metamorphoses as a narrative which in any way treats the development of Lucius — i.e., a Roman — or as a psychological novel.\textsuperscript{7} Helm bases his conclusion on Apuleius' promise to entertain the reader with a series of Milesian tales. In carrying out this promise, Helm argues, Apuleius simply presents a number of adventure tales to which he has added a serious ending.\textsuperscript{8}


\textsuperscript{5}Helm as early as the praefatio to his edition of Apuleius' Florida, published in 1910, and Perry as early as the TAPA article of 1923; both men, in fact, later became more vehement in their convictions, Helm in the introduction to his translation of the Metamorphoses (see following note), published in 1956, and Perry in his definitive work on ancient romances, published in 1967.

\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Metamorphosen oder der Goldene Esel} (Berlin, 1956), p. 21.

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 22.

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid.
Like Norwood and Helm, Perry maintains that Book XI stands apart from the previous books. Perry goes further than Norwood and Helm, however, by proposing an explanation for the addition of solemn Book XI to the frivolous ten which precede it. Perry argues that the solemnity of Book XI was added to spare Apuleius from the disdain of his contemporaries who would not have kindly regarded what Apuleius wanted to do but did not dare to do, namely to write "aniles fabulæ." Perry seems to me mistaken in supposing first an audience whose aesthetic sensibilities Apuleius thought would be offended by a collection of old wives' tales and at the same time an audience that he thought so naive about literary matters that he could redeem himself by tacking on at the end a piece of "solemn pageantry as a ballast to offset the prevailing levity of the preceding ten books." Perry's speculation does not hit the mark. We must suppose, rather, that Apuleius, rightly or wrongly, thought that he was writing a story which both entertained and expressed a single idea. The only real objection to this interpretation of Apuleius' work is that the solemnity of Book XI is incongruous with the frivolous and sometimes lascivious preceding ten books. This is essentially the view of Helm, Perry and Norwood. It is also the view which I must, in part at least, attempt to refute. In arguing for thematic unity

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9Perry, Ancient Romances, pp. 234 and 244; the expression "aniles fabulæ, "old wives' tales," which is used by Perry, refers to derogatory remarks about one Albinus who "neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret." The citation with explanatory remarks appears on p. 372, n. 11 of Ancient Romances.

10Ibid., pp. 244-45.

I must concede that the Metamorphoses does not meet Aristotle's dictum that the parts of the plot structure be such that the removal of any one of them will disrupt the plot (Poetics 1451a, 32-35). There is no doubt that parts of the Metamorphoses could be removed from the text without any appreciable harm to the narrative development of Lucius. The Cupid and Psyche insert, for instance, which spans one complete book and parts of two, causes the reader to lose sight of Lucius for much too long a period of time. Apuleius seems to have been aware of the problem caused by this long gap in the story of Lucius. For a robber, who had been left behind at Hypata to observe the course of action followed by officials after the plundering of Milo's house, arrives where the ass is being kept. The newly arrived bandit reports that Lucius is the chief suspect in the robbery, since he disappeared from town immediately after it. This news, overheard by the ass, leads him to reflect on the unfairness of blind Fortune and to compare his past happiness with his present degradation and suffering (VII, 21; 155, 17-21). The scene, apart from representing an important instance of the ass-hero's conception of Fortune, shows that Apuleius felt compelled to place the ass within the proper context again. For the story of Lucius had been interrupted by

12 IV, 28 - VI, 24. Much the same problem is evident in Heliodorus' Aethiopica. Heliodorus, in order to imitate the Odyssey, begins in mediis rebus. As Odysseus told his tale to the Phaeacians, so Heliodorus has Calasiris tell the story of his life, which includes the lives of Chariclea and Theagenes prior to the opening of the story. Eventually the chronology of the story being told by Calasiris and the story being presented to the reader by Heliodorus become contemporaneous, not, however, without several long intrusions. The result in the Aethiopica and the Metamorphoses is the same: the writer often forgets where he left his characters prior to a rather long digression. This is the source of many of the inconsistencies which annoy Perry.
almost three books of extraneous stories — the robbers' tales (IV, 9-21) and the Cupid and Psyche story (IV, 28 - VI, 24). Just as Ovid recognized the poor taste of semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem but retained the phrase because he liked it, so Apuleius seems to have recognized that the length of the Cupid and Psyche story was in poor taste, but retained it nonetheless.

To be sure, the story of Psyche is a fairy-tale version of Lucius' own story. This becomes especially clear when we realize that the one element for which every Quellenforschung has proved fruitless is the curiositas of Psyche. Curiositas is the undoing of Psyche just as it is of Lucius. Psyche is repeatedly warned by Cupid to refrain from her desire to look upon him. Her longing to see him is even called sacreligious curiosity: "[Cupido]... monuit ac saepe terruit ... ne se sacrilega curiositate de tanto fortunarum suggestu pessum deiciat" (V, 6; 107, 21-24). Because Psyche has ignored Cupid's warnings and yielded to her curiosity, as he is leaving her he says, "ecce ... rursum perieras, misella, simili curiositate" (VI, 21; 144, 19-20).

Thus Psyche's curiosity leads to her fall from grace, i.e., her marriage to Cupid, and to her subsequent suffering as she searches for her husband until salvation presents itself in the form of Jupiter's intervention. The path is quite similar to that followed by Lucius, although he does not begin in a state of grace. Lucius, too, has been

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13 So notes Serge Lancel, "Curiositas et préoccupations spirituelles chez Apulée," Revue de l'histoire des religions 160 (1961) 35; Lancel's article has a useful resume of what has been done recently on the Cupid and Psyche tale.

14 Cf. V, 23; 120, 25, also.
warned. Diana and Actaeon, whose statues Lucius admires in his aunt Byrrhena's courtyard, are surely intended to foreshadow Lucius' own transgression due to curiosity and the resultant transformation:

Inter medias frondes lapidis Actaeon simulacrum curioso optutu in deam projectus, isam in cervum ferinus et in saxo simul et in fonte loturam Dlanam opperiens visitur (II, 4; 28, 7-10).15

For the reader who fails to grasp the foreshadowing function of Actaeon and his fate, Apuleius adds Byrrhena's prophetic words to Lucius, which immediately follow Lucius' confrontation with the statues: tua sunt .. cuncta, quae vides (II, 5; 28, 11-12). Lucius, who is fully aware of his own curiosity, nevertheless fails to profit from the example of Actaeon, who suffered as a result of hybristic curiosity. That this is a crucial point in the story is underscored by Byrrhena's impassioned warning, which comes only a few lines after the immortalized example of Actaeon, when she says, "cave tibi, sed cave fortiter a malis artibus et facinorosis illecebris Pamphiles illius" (II, 5; 28, 16-17). This warning serves only to inflame Lucius:

At ego curiosus aliquin, ut primum artis magicae semper optatum nomen audivi . . . Festinus denique et vecors animi manu eius velut catena quadam memet expedio et 'salve' propere addito ad Milonis hospitium perniciter evolo (II, 6; 29, 15-22).

15For the view of Lucius' curiositas as a transgression, i.e., as hybristic, see Lancel, op. cit., pp. 31ff. He shows that there are two kinds of curiositas in the Metamorphoses, the one about mirabilia as at I, 2; 3, 5-6 and II, 1; 24, 19 and 24, 24. The destructive or hybristic nature of Lucius' curiosity is made clear at X, 15; 277, 9-10: "... ad serviles delapesus voluptates curiositatis improsperae sinistrum praemium reportasti." The voluptates are, of course, Fotis and Pamphile. The presence of two kinds of curiositas undermines Perry's assertion (TAPA 57 [1926] 241, n. 10) that Lucius is curious only when his curiosity is needed for motivation and that he is at other times afraid to be inquisitive.
The force of Lucius' passion for the black arts is all the more emphasized by the fact that up to this point he has been faultlessly polite.16

Lucius does, of course, come into contact with magic, and in attempting to gain firsthand knowledge of it is accidentally changed into an ass. Psyche, too, after gaining the knowledge of her husband's appearance accidentally undergoes a change in fortunes: she exchanges her privileged role as the wife of a god for a destiny of wandering and suffering. For Psyche, *insatiabili animo* and *curiosa*, while examining Cupid's weapons pricks her hand accidentally with an arrow and therefore becomes unable to control her passion. In heedlessly satisfying her curiosity and thereby disregarding her husband's warnings, she is goaded by cruel fate, *fati tamen saevitiae subministrante* (V, 22; 119, 20). The parallel with Lucius is striking; he, too, blames cruel fate and fortune for his unhappiness. Because Psyche oversteps her mortal limits, she becomes the servant of her mother-in-law Venus, *dea saeviens*. Venus, when she assigns tasks to Psyche, assumes the role which fortune plays in Lucius's story.17

Finally, worn out by her search for her husband, Psyche arrives first at a shrine of Ceres and then of Juno where she prays for

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deliverance, closing her prayer with words reminiscent of Lucius' prayer when Isis appears to him. Incidentally, the propaganda effects are large, since Isis is able to deliver salvation whereas Ceres and Juno are not.

I have discussed at length the Cupid-Psyche story to demonstrate one of several lapses in proportion which are evident in the Metamorphoses. The tale, as just demonstrated, is a fairy-tale version of Lucius' own story. Its inclusion, therefore, is justified because with repetition of the theme of loss through curiosity and subsequent quest it underscores the theme of the major narrative. The excessive length of the story and its complete independence from the major narrative serve, however, only to heighten the disjointed quality of the Metamorphoses. If the repeated motif had centered around characters closely linked to the fortunes of Lucius, the unity and dramatic impact of the whole could only have been improved by its inclusion. Allowing for these kinds of deficiencies, we may resume our thematic treatment of the Metamorphoses.

18 Cf. VI, 2; 130, 16-18 and VI, 4; 131, 14-15 with X, 35 and XI 2; 266, 1-267, 25.

19 Cf. E. K. Brown, Rhythm in the Novel (Toronto, 1950) pp. 8-9: "At the core of the novel one finds ... similar people confronted by the same problem. Repetition is the dominant theme." And in Zola's words: "What you call repetition occurs, in all my books .... In my view it gives more body to a work, and strengthens its unity." Quoted ibid., p. 28. This book was brought to my attention by Frances Norwood. The technique of repetition is one to which we shall return in the following chapter.

20 As many critics have noted, the dramatic portions of the Aeneid are often the result of the repetition of certain motifs. Cf., for instance, Brooks Otis, Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford, 1964), pp. 68ff.
The characteristics of Lucius which are to play a part in his transformations -- from an uncommitted human to an ass and finally to a human committed to the worship of Isis -- are presented within the first chapter of his autobiography. We learn first of Lucius' family; he is related on his mother's side to Plutarch and the philosopher Sextus. Thus Lucius is of a good family. This is further brought out at a later point when by chance he meets his aunt Byrrhena (II, 2-3). Her generosity and wealth are contrasted with the miserliness of Lucius' host Milo. Byrrhena lives in a regal home, mingles with the high society of Hypata and stages an elegant dinner party. Thus Byrrhena's statement that she did not marry so well as Lucius' mother indicates that Lucius enjoyed a position of social importance and wealth (II, 3; 26, 14-16). What is important for our purposes is that Lucius is set off socially and, as we shall see, morally from the vast majority of those whom he encounters in Thessaly. He belongs to a milieu different from that of the robbers, eunuch priests, the baker, the gardener and cooks with whom he is forced to associate. The social superiority of Lucius makes his misfortune all the more tragic since he is the victim not of ill-breeding, or ignorance or a base nature, but of his one fatal flaw, curiosity. Of

21 Chapter I is purely introductory; its purpose is first to announce the nature of what follows (variae fabulae) and second to obtain credibility by its quasi-historical statement of intent. One aspect of the prologue which I shall not treat but which is worth mentioning is that many forms of expression contained within it are characteristic of the mystic writings of the period. This is well brought out by Piero Scazzoso, Le Metamorfosi di Apuleio (Milan, 1951), pp. 7-40.

22 In this respect, Lucius is rather like Encolpius, the narrator of the Satyricon. Though lacking the morality of Lucius, Encolpius is an educated, urbane and sensitive person, who spends a good deal of time in the company of his inferiors in education and the social graces.
equal importance, his high social position makes his gaining of a priesthood of Isis more believable.

Lucius' kindness is also brought out within the first chapter of his story. Note the kind care that he gives his horse (I, 2; 2, 8-16). His considerateness here, like that expressed elsewhere, as, for instance, when out of regard for his stingy and boorish host Milo he turns down Byrrhena's generous invitation (II, 3; 26, 2-24), puts Lucius in marked contrast with the cruel and ill-tempered people whom he repeatedly meets.

Also within the first chapter of Lucius' account of his life we obtain our initial view of the curious side of his personality, the side which is at the bottom of almost all that is subsequently to happen to him. As he is engaged in caring for his horse, two men, who are having an argument, happen upon him. Witchcraft is the topic of debate. One is incredulous, "parce ... in verba ista haec tam absurda tamque immania mentiendo" (I, 2; 3, 2-3). Lucius, however, is anxious to hear (sititor ailoquin novitatis) and says, "immo vero ... impertite sermonis non quidem curiosum, sed qui velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima" (I, 2; 3, 4-6). In this way the keynote is struck for all that is to follow, the leitmotiv, as it were.

The dialogue continues. The doubting Thomas counters by debunking the standard bag of tricks of witches (I, 3; 3, 9-13). Lucius now reveals another facet of his character, his credulity (Tunc ego in verba fidetior), as he replies to the skeptic:

Tu vero crassis auribus et obstinato corde respuis quae forsitan vere perhibeantur. Minus hercule calles
pravissimis opinionibus ea putari mendacia, quae vel auditu nova vel visu rudia vel certe supra captum cogitationis ardua videantur; quae si paulo accuratius exploraris, non modo compertu evidentia, verum etiam factu facilia senties (I, 3; 3, 16-22).

The language is forcible and is intended to make credulous all who doubt the efficacy of witchcraft. Lucius then relates from his own experiences an incident which is supposed to show that wondrous events really do occur, and impatiently adds:

Sed iam cedo tu sodes, qui ceperas, fabulum remetire. Ego tibi solus haec pro isto credam et, quod ingressui primum fuerit stabulum, prandio participabo (I, 4; 4, 13-15).23

Not only is Lucius credulous, but he agrees to believe what is told even before it has been related.

Thus the first few chapters are carefully constructed to reveal the salient aspects of Lucius' character. In this way his naivete and credulity are consistent with his willingness to meddle with witchcraft. In addition, a kind of contest has been established: are the forces of the supernatural world or those of the rational world to prevail, is the skeptical companion of Aristomenes right, or are Lucius and Aristomenes 23Cf. the introduction to the story of the Matron of Ephesus (Satyricon, 110). Cf., too, Satyricon, 116, where Encolpius, Eumolpus and Giton are approaching Croton; as they are walking, Eumolpus recites his De Bello Civili (119-124). The scene ends with the words, "cum hae Eumolpum ingenti volubilitate verorum effudisset, tandem Crotona intravimus" (124). Cf. with this ending the words which close the story told to Lucius on the road to Hypsta, "is finis nobis et sermonis et itineris communis fuit. Nam comites uterque ad villulum proximam laevorum abierunt" (I, 21; 19, 6-8). This similarity has been noted by, among others, Ettore Paratore, Il Satyricon de Petronio (Firenze, 1933), p. 93. One additional observation: the motivations of each of the digressions are similar -- a cynical protagonist. Although Encolpius' skepticism is not explicitly stated at this point, his dislike of Eumolpus' poetry has been expressed elsewhere (90), and it seems clear that Eumolpus feels under some compulsion to enhance his reputation as a poet by reciting the De Bello Civili.
right? To the misfortune of Lucius, he and Aristomenes are proved right. As in the story of Socrates (I, 6-19), witchcraft is triumphant, and Lucius is changed into an ass.

Apart from the introduction of aspects of Lucius' character which are to play an important part in the story of transformation and conversion, the opening portion of the Metamorphoses is remarkably effective in setting the necessary tone of mystery. That Thessaly, where Lucius has traveled on business, is worthy of its reputation as the home of witchcraft remains to be shown. The validity of the fame of Thessaly is confirmed in the tale told by Aristomenes. For, like Lucius, Aristomenes had been in Thessaly on business (to be more precise, Hypata, the very city where Lucius has his ill luck); and it is there that he encounters the victim of witchcraft, Socrates, and becomes himself indirectly involved with the black arts. The mystic tone comes from Apuleius' careful development of it throughout the first third of the Metamorphoses and not, as Perry asserts, from the careless intertwining of stories from different contexts.  

The skeptic as a means of motivation is used on two other occasions by Apuleius, once within the story told by Aristomenes, where Aristomenes himself is the skeptic to whom the victim of witchcraft, Socrates, must prove a point (I, 8; 9, 9-19). Cf. I, 20; 18, 16-21) and where Milo is the cynic who motivates Lucius to tell of the Chaldaean astrologer Diophanes (II, 11-14; 34, 14-36, 28). Cf. Junghanns, p. 130. The story of Thelyphron, too, has a variant form of this means of motivation. Opposing views whether the tale should be told are presented before the story-teller finally begins (II, 20; 41, 18-42, 9). Niceros' story of the werewolf isoccasioned in much the same way: "Haque hilaria mera sint, etsi timeo istos scolasticos, ne me rideant" (Satyricon, 61). Here we have the skeptics. A few lines earlier the variant form is used where a gloomy Niceros is singled out from the rest of the happy guests at the dinner party, just as an angered and embarrassed Thelyphron is drawn out from the other happy people present at Byrrhena's party (II, 20-21; 41, 21-43, 4). On this cf. Vincenzo Ciaffi, Petronio in Apuleio (Torino, 1960), pp. 60ff.  

Ancient Romances, p. 265.
Let us return to the character of Lucius as an element in the thematic unity of the *Metamorphoses*. On a fairly superficial level we see Lucius as simply curious about mirabilia. He has, as it were, the curiosity of a tourist. He is delighted by the unusual and assumes that the reader, too, is interested in this sort of thing. Thus Lucius acts at times like an excursionist who is motivated by his own curiosity and is desirous of satisfying the listener's curiosity.

This aspect of Lucius' personality helps to join the seemingly incongruous Book XI to the preceding ten. Lucius' words prior to describing the goddess Isis as she appeared to him on the lonely beach near Corinth are instructive: "ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore perlucidum simulacrum excusso pelago ante me constitisse visum est. Elus mirandam speciem ad vos etiam referre conitar . . . . Iam primum crines uberrimi . . . ." (XI, 3; 268, 1-8). The tone is that of the interested observer doing his best to satisfy the curiosity of the interested listener, that is, the reader. This is clear especially in the opening words of the description, *iam primum crines uberrimi*. In effect, he is saying, "I'll tell you what it was like. First of all she . . . ."  

26 It might be argued that we have here the beginning of a typical ekphrasis. This is in part correct. The ekphrasis and journalistic tone, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Max Bernhard, *Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura* (Stuttgart, 1928), p. 282, classifies XI, 8 as an ekphrasis. I concede this, but maintain that the ekphrasis has a proper role in the type of reporting that Apuleius is doing. The Greek romances abound in ekphrases, but they differ markedly from Apuleius' use of the ekphrasis here; for the ekphrasis at XI, 8 and the one under discussion are of sights linked vitally to the fortunes of Apuleius and not of a painting or statue, for instance, which has little or no connection with the story. The differences and similarities between the Greek romances and Apuleius in the employment of ekphrases will be treated later. The most recent example of this type of reportese that I have seen is in Robert Maury's *Tinkerbelle* (New York,
tone: Ecce pompae magnae paulatim praecedunt . . . (XI, 8; 272, 4).

Note in the following extracts how our eyes are made to move from one spectacle to the next as the ever curious Lucius' eyes must have moved:

hic incinctus (ibid.; 272, 5-6); illum succinctum (ibid.; 272, 6);
alius . . . inductus (ibid.; 272, 7-8); porro alium (ibid.; 272, 10);
nec ille deerat, qui . . . (ibid.; 272, 11).

Note, too, the words of the enthralled observer, "vidi et ursam mansuem cultu matronalii . . ." (ibid.; 272, 15-16). The rapidly moving eye continues to skip over the procession: Inter has oblectationes . . . (XI, 9; 272, 22); "aliae, quae nitentibus speculis . . ." (ibid.; 272, 27). And so the narrative continues for four chapters (XI, 8-11).

The point of view throughout is like that of the newspaper reporter who, though what he is observing may be meaningful to him in other ways, always regards what he sees as possible copy material. The reporter is seen very clearly in the events immediately following the ass' rescue from the robbers by pseudo-Haemus, who later turns out to be Tlepolemus. When the ass learns that Tlepolemus is to return to the

1966). Manry, a professional newspaperman, gives an account of his own nautical adventure. In the process of doing so, he does not find the use of the ekphrasis alien to good reporting. Note in particular the three pages (158-160) devoted to a description of waves and his words at p. 161, "Objects I saw in and on the sea . . . ." The assumption here, as with Apuleius, is that what Manry observed was of interest, not only to his own curiosity, but to the reader's as well.

27I am indebted to Donato Gagliardi, "Spirito e forma nel romanzo di Apuleio," Le parole e le idee 6 (1964) 231, for the initial suggestion that the narrative of the Metamorphoses has something of the journalistic in it; Gagliardi says of the entire narrative tone that it is a testimony to the curiosity of an observer who passes through a world "dal brivido del mistero" (ibid.).
bandits' cave, he is eager to be at hand for the story and says, "nam et alias curiosus et tunc latronum captivitatis spectator optabam fieri" (VII, 13; 164, 5-6). It is in the role of reporter that the ass narrates what took place at the baker's house. Lucius represents an imaginary reader as objecting to an ass's ability to learn what happened, and the ass replies, "accipe igitur, quern ad modum homo curiosus iumenti faciem sustinens cuncta . . . cognovi" (IX, 30; 225, 13-16). Our reporter has obviously been working hard at gaining all the essential and interesting information. This journalistic tone, which evolves from one aspect of Lucius' attribute of curiosity, is consistent throughout the work and is one of its unifying elements.

As I have already indicated, the opening story within a story has as its motivation the curiosity of Lucius (I, 2; 3, 4-6). Aristomenes, prompted by a curious Lucius, relates the story of Socrates. We learn that after Aristomenes recovers from his initial shock at the sight of the neglected condition of Socrates, he becomes anxious to hear his friend's story, "ain tandem? . . . potens illa et regina caupona quid mulieris est?" (I, 8; 8, 7-8). Socrates begins to tell of his misfortune, but in a way too melodramatic and time-consuming for his friend,

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28 This is a convenient place to mention that curiosity may have played an important part in the motivation of various actions in Petronius' Satyricon. For it seems reasonable that curiosity leads Encolpius to interrupt the rites of Priapus. This intrusion results in the gravis ira Priapi, which, following Klebs' well-known theory, pursues Encolpius as Poseidon's wrath pursues Odysseus. Homer, too, uses curiosity as a motivating device. In Odyssey, IX, 172ff., Odysseus is drawn by curiosity to investigate Polyphemus' cave. By doing so, he ultimately incurs the wrath of Poseidon (IX, 528-535), which, while not responsible for every incident in the Odyssey, is, nevertheless, instrumental in moving the action. I am indebted to E. Paratore, op. cit., p. 93, for this idea.
who says even more impatiently, "oro te . . . cedo verbis communibus" (I, 8; 8, 13-14). The impatience expressed here arises as much from Aristomenes' annoyance at Socrates' melodrama as from his own curiosity to hear of the witch Meroe. Aristomenes, like Lucius, ultimately suffers at the hands of the black arts. Although curiosity may not be regarded as the motivating force behind Aristomenes' contact with witchcraft, he is, nonetheless, drawn by his curiosity into a dangerous conversation about the witch Meroe and into the foolish act of spying upon Meroe and her fellow witches. The potentially dangerous conversation occurs at I, 8; 8, 9-10, where Aristomenes has already heard the conventional \( \Delta \text{pēxí} \) of witches -- "... potens caelum deponere, terram suspendere, ... etc." -- and should have known better than to become further involved. Aristomenes' spying is detected (I, 12; 11, 19-21) and there follow the truly prophetic words of Meroe, "faxo eum sero, immo statim, immo vero iam nunc, ut et praecedentis dicacitatis et instantis curiositatis paeniteat" (I, 12; 11, 21-12, 2).

Thus the first action of the Metamorphoses is a story prompted initially by Lucius' curiosity and in part involving the nearly disastrous consequences of Aristomenes' inquisitiveness. As frequently happens, the story within a story, i.e., the tale of Socrates, is in miniature an account of what Lucius is to experience. To anticipate somewhat, I might add that the curiosity contained within this frame story is the "morbid" type, or what Lancel calls hybristic, that is,
the desire to know what is forbidden.  

The next long tale is also motivated by Lucius' curiosity, though only indirectly. Lucius has been invited by his aunt Byrrhena to a dinner party. Upon being asked what he thinks of Thessaly, his innate curiosity leads him to raise immediately the question of witchcraft in Thessaly (II, 19-20; 41, 3-17). In particular, Lucius expresses interest in the Thessalian witches' necromantic practices. With this guarded hint of Lucius' inquisitiveness, Byrrhena prompts an unwilling Thelyphron to tell of his own unhappy encounter with the witches of Thessaly (II, 21-30). As Junghanns has pointed out, Thelyphron's tale is a variant of the tale of Socrates -- the victory of witches over a sleeping man.  

The parallel between the peeping episode in the account of Socrates and the story of Quartilia in the Satyricon is striking; for just as Aristomenes lies under the bed watching the magical activities of Meroe and is rebuked by her, so Encolpius, Ascyius, and Giton are reprimanded for intruding on the secret rites of Priapus. Note the similarity in the confrontations: "... grabattulo subcubans iacet et haec omnia conspicit, impune se laturum meas contumelias putat" (Meta. I, 12; 11, 19-21), and "neque enim impune quisquam quod non licuit, aspeexit" (Sat. 17, 4). The "hybristic" aspect of the peeping is made explicit in Petronius' account. The entrances of the witches (if Quartilia may be so designated) have a certain amount in common: in both episodes the doors open onto a panorama of a group of helpless males (Meta. I, 11; 10, 17-19 and ff; Sat. 16, 2ff.). Moreover, there are sexual overtones in both incidents, though we need not be surprised at this, since the black arts and apparently the secret rites of Priapus as well as his priestesses had their libidinous side. The witch Meroe is taking vengeance on her former lover Socrates because he has rejected her, and Quartilia exacts her penalty from Encolpius by forcing him to over-indulge in sex. The scene in Petronius closes with a repulsively vulgar instance of the curiosity motif as Quartilia and Encolpius take up positions at a peephole and while kissing lustfully observe the love play of Giton and a little girl. These parallel episodes would seem to indicate a literary, or, perhaps, folk-tale tradition, but they hardly warrant Ciaffi's conclusion: "nel primi tre libri delle Metamorfosi, in cui del Satyricon c'è un imitazione sistematica e constante ......" Op. cit., p. 178.

30p. 132.
This fairly superficial aspect of Lucius' curiosity, that is, his desire to know mirabilia, is in a way responsible for Lucius' transformation into an ass. For after Lucius' humiliating experience at the Festival of Risus, he learns from Fotis that she was responsible for his misfortunes (III, 13; 61, 24-62, 8). At this point Lucius says of himself, "tunc ego familiaris curiositatis admonitus factique causam delitiscentem nudari gestiens . . ." (III, 14; 62, 9-10). Lucius learns that witchcraft was responsible for his mistaking in his drunken state the wine bags for robbers and, therefore, the embarrassing scene at the Festival of Risus. This information is supplied by Fotis along with timely warnings to avoid the black arts of Pamphile at all costs. Like Byrrhena's earlier warnings, however, which served only to stimulate Lucius' interest, Fotis' admonitions spur Lucius on to seek closer contact with Pamphile's witchcraft, "... ostende, cum deos invocat, certe cum res ornat, ut videam; sum namque coram magiae noscendae ardentissimus cupitor" (III, 19; 66, 12-14). Lucius' desire for proximity is evident in the words ut videam and coram. Thus his curiosity, which compels him to take a closer look and not be content with only stories of witchcraft, is his undoing.

31A note on the parallelism in the warnings of Byrrhena and Fotis is in order here, although the symmetry of the narrative will be treated at length in the next chapter. After Byrrhena's warnings (II, 5; 28, 11-29, 14), Lucius is even more eager to have firsthand contact with witchcraft, "at ego curiousus alicuius, ut primum artis magicae semper optatum nomen audivi . . ." (II, 6; 29, 15-16). After some time spent in love play with Fotis, Lucius anxiously peers out of the corner of his eye at Pamphile (II, 11; 34, 10-12). In the same way, after Fotis' warnings and some love-making with her, Lucius is next seen peering at Pamphile, this time, unfortunately, while she is engaged in her magical rites (II, 21-22; 67, 19ff).
As we might guess, this facet of the ass' personality at last becomes sated. Hereafter it serves only as a convenient means of including a grouping of interesting extraneous tales. Here is a characteristic example: at one point the ass' curiosity leads him to eavesdrop and spy on the baker's wife, the result of which is three tales of adultery (IX, 5-31). The ass' inquisitiveness here is clearly that of the curious observer, "at ego ... familiari curiositate attonitus et satis anxius ... inoptabilis officinæ disciplinam cum delectatione quadam arbitrabar" (IX, 12; 211, 27 - 212, 1). Provided there is something interesting to observe, the ass is able, though in the midst of toil, to watch with pleasure, as a wonder-seeking traveler willing to undergo hardships for an attraction or a reporter for a good story.  

Enough has been said to show that there is a rather continuous thread of the cupitor mirabilium motif running through the loosely woven episodes of the Metamorphoses. This technique is, to be sure, no proof of a superior imagination. The highly unimaginative Greek romancers frequently titillate the curiosity of the reader with their digressions on what lies beyond Thule. Greater depth and significance are achieved in Apuleius' treatment of the hybristic side of Lucius' character. The distinction between these two aspects of curiosity is well put by William Hazlitt in On Living to One's Self:

What I mean by living to one's self is living in the world, as in it, not of it . . . . It is to be a silent spectator of the mighty scene of things; . . . to take a thoughtful, 

32 Cf. too X, 29, where the ass just prior to the public orgy raises his curious eyes (curiosos oculos) to observe the pageantry.
anxious interest or curiosity in what is passing in the world, but not to feel the slightest inclination to make or meddle with it.

Lucius, as we shall see, meddles. It is particularly in the first third of the romance that we have an opportunity to observe the workings of his meddlesome mind. The inquisitiveness is brought out only infrequently in the last two thirds, for reasons already stated, and the action moves much more rapidly in the latter two thirds as the ass is passed from one cruel owner to another, or rather from wicked wife to wicked wife of subsequent owners. No longer do we pause with the fairly delightful characters of the first third of the book, such as Lucius' host Milo, who is both boorish and polite, and Lucius' fellow student of years gone by, who has become a self-inflated, pompous minor official. The characters of the final two thirds spring up out of nowhere, like evil personified, to inflict every imaginable cruelty on our hapless hero.

Lucius' destructive nature first emerges during his meeting with Byrrhena. There we saw that Lucius ignored his aunt's warnings to beware of the witch Pamphile (II, 5; 28, 16-17). Moreover, her words forebode for Lucius a fate similar to that of Actaeon -- transformation as a result of hybristic curiosity into a quadruped doomed to be pursued by dogs, as the ass frequently is, and by cruel, blind Fortune (II, 5; 28, 11-12). Lucius' irresponsible arrogance is evident as he tears himself from his aunt's hands and races off hell-bent on destruction of himself.33 Thus he is heedless of the examples of Socrates and Actaeon and of his aunt's admonitions. Lucius' rash behavior in the face of

33The pertinent passages are quoted supra, p. 13.
Byrrhena's warnings may be somewhat justified, for he asserts that he wishes to be a "student of witchcraft" with Pamphile (II, 6; 29, 17). His interest, therefore, may be scientific rather than what Charles Darwin called "damnable and detestable curiosity." In any case, Lucius views any sign of an outwardly imposed restraint only as a chain (catena) which keeps him from gratifying his curiosity. Although he knows that once the restraining chain is broken "he will take a running leap into the dark abyss (barathrum)," nonetheless he adds only a hasty farewell and rushes off to study the black arts under Pamphile. His rudeness in rushing away from his aunt with hardly a goodbye is also indicative of the overpowering fascination which witchcraft holds for him.

The tension caused by the interaction between Lucius' overpowering curiosity and the chain of restraint imposed upon him by frequent warnings is brought out in Lucius' first contact with Pamphile after he has learned of her familiarity with the supernatural. While dining with Pamphile and Milo, he tries to stay out of Pamphile's sight ("quern pote tutus a uxoris eius aspectu"); but, though mindful of Byrrhena's warning (Byrrhenae monitorum memor), he casts frightened glances at Pamphile as though she were Hades itself, "... et perinde in eius faciem oculos meos ac si in Avernum lacum formidans dieiceram" (II, 11; 34, 11-12). Lucius is obviously frightened and realizes that association with the witch Pamphile will result in virtual destruction, but his pathological curiosity erases the faint warnings of danger which cross his mind and compels him to look.

Another example of Lucius' inability to restrain himself in spite of the possibly painful consequences of looking appears a good deal later in the story. At one point in his travels the ass comes to stay for a while with a baker whose wife is exceedingly cruel. Though the ass finds himself in wretched circumstances, he is nonetheless driven by his customary curiosity to observe what is happening around him (IX,12, 211,25 - 212, 1). In the course of his activities and observations at the baker's establishment, he becomes fully aware of the utter wickedness of the baker's wife: "Pistor ille . . . pessimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam sortitus coniugem" (IX, 14; 213, 9-11); and in the uniquely paratactical style of Apuleius:

Nec enim vel unum vitium nequissimae illi feminae deerat, sed omnia prorsus ut in quandam caenosam latrinam in eius animum flagitia confluxerant; saeva scaeva virosa ebriosa pervicax pertinax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in sumptibus foedis profusa, inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae (IX, 14; 213, 13-18).

The point has been made: the baker's wife is obviously a woman who should be avoided. But Lucius' deeply ingrained curiosity is, of course, stimulated by the woman's goings-on and in particular by, of all things, her cruelty: "Quae saevitia multo mihi magis genuinam curiositatem in suos mores ampliaverat" (IX, 15; 214, 3-5). Just as Lucius cast guarded glances at Pamphile when he learned of the dangers associated with her, so now his natural curiosity is increased by the element of danger involved. His curiosity is clearly self-destructive. The morbid curiosity displayed here is obviously a motivating device. But I see no reason to agree with Perry that it is only a motivating device and nothing more. We have no basis for saying that the ass' inquisitiveness is not here a real aspect of his personality but instead a sort of narrative safety valve used when no other means of motivation is possible.
Perry finds evidence for his charges in the prelude to the Thelyphron story in particular. Though somewhat reluctant to leave the charms of Fotis, Lucius accepts an invitation to Byrrhena's dinner party (II, 18). There he is asked what he thinks of Hypata's civic life. His reply is hardly appropriate to the question, for his thoughts immediately turn not to the civic affairs of the area but to the activities of Hypata's witches, fear of whom he expresses (II, 20; IV, 9-11). The author obviously intended this reply to be the needed motivation for the story of Thelyphron which follows. The words are consistent, however, with Lucius' morbid curiosity. For, first of all, they represent the veiled reply of an educated young man of high social position who cannot let his aunt know of his rather scandalous fascination with witchcraft. Second, his reply, despite the pretense of fear, shows clearly his preoccupation with the black arts; for although Byrrhena specifically mentions the temples, baths and other public buildings as well as the commercial activity of Thessaly (II, 19; IV, 4-8), Lucius has only the word witchcraft on the tip of his tongue. Thus this well-to-do young man, who is eager to impress his aunt, foregoes in his conversation with her any mention of what should interest a prosperous and successful young man, the public life of a city. Instead, he opts for the secret life of Thessaly. The fear shown is partly real, a concomitant of morbid curiosity, and partly artificial, a result of Lucius' desire to impress his aunt.

Perhaps Lucius' character is best summed up in his humorous

35TAPA 57 (1926) 241, n. 10 and ibid., 54 (1923) 200.
love-play with Fotis. Upon hearing from Byrrhena of Pamphile's power over the supernatural, Lucius races back to Milo's house resolved to avoid direct contact with Pamphile and instead to gain an introduction to the black arts through Fotis. He encounters Fotis and reveals his amorous interest in her, to which she replies:

Heus tu, scolastice, . . . dulce et amarum gustulum carpis. Cave ne nimia mellis dulcedine diutinam bilis amaritudinem contrahas (II, 10: 33, 7-9).

Enough has been said of Lucius' curiosity, I think, to show that it is partly hybristic, i.e., self-destructive. Its journalistic or tourist aspect has been shown to be relatively harmless. Moreover, this facet serves as a convenient source of motivation and as a means of imparting an overriding tone which achieves narrative unity. It will be remembered that this side of Lucius' curiositas mirabilium is evident even in Book XI when Lucius appears as a rather detached but enthralled observer of the religious events centering around Isis. The question remains, however, whether the story can be called a Roman, that is, a narrative revealing the psychological development of its hero.

The question can be answered by first returning to the beginning of our story. There we learn that Lucius wants to "scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima" (I, 2; 3, 6). This desire to know everything or at least a good many things, as we have seen, often leads to excesses. These excesses are evident in Lucius' mad desire to investigate at first hand the power of witchcraft, even in the face of repeated warnings supplied by example and by word. By Book IX it would appear that Lucius has fulfilled his desire, for at this point he compares himself to Odysseus and approves of Homer's having Odysseus as an example of the highest wisdom
because he had encountered many peoples and visited many countries (IX, 13; 212, 26 - 213, 4). Like Odysseus, Lucius has become multiscius (IX, 13; 213, 6). The passage is worth quoting in full:

Nam et ipse gratas gratias asino meo memini, quod me suo celatum tegmine variisque fortunis exercitatum, etsi minus prudentem, multiscium reddidit (IX, 13; 213, 4-6).

It is reasonable that a narrative treating only Lucius' desire to know a good many things should end at this point. That the story does not end here indicates that Apuleius had something else in mind. The key words in the ass' claim to have become multiscius are, I think, etsi minus prudentem.36 For Lucius' lack of prudence has, of course, been responsible for most of his problems. If Lucius is to become a fully developed adult, he must be not only knowledgeable (multiscius) but prudent.

His development from a rash to a prudent individual is to be found, I think, in the way that the religious fervor of Book XI complements Lucius' earlier attraction to magic. A hint that the mysteries of Isis are somewhat parallel to the mysteries of witchcraft is given during Isis' first confrontation with Lucius: "Plane memineris et penita mente conditum semper tenebis . . ." (XI, 6; 270, 26-27). The thought is, of course, similar to that expressed by Fotis prior to Lucius' initiation into witchcraft (III, 20; 67, 5-11). The great change which Lucius has begun to undergo is thus thrown into relief. For despite the warnings of Fotis and several others, Lucius does not hesitate to race into involvement with witchcraft; he is, in fact, even spurred on to involvement by the warnings. Lucius is now more circumspect, and we find him

36To a large extent I here follow H. Riefstahl, Der Roman des Apuleius (Frankfurt am Main, 1938), p. 32. Henceforth referred to as Riefstahl.
making inquiries into the concomitants of a life subservient to the
dictates of Isis:

At ego quamquam cupienti voluntate praeditus tamen religiosa
formidine retardabar, quod enim sedulo percontaveram difficile
religionis obsequium et castimoniorum abstinentiam satis
arduam cautique circumspectu vitam, quae multis casibus
subiacet, esse muniendam. Haec indentidem mecum reputans
nescio quo modo, quamquam festinans, differebam. (XI, 19;
281, 7-13).

How different he is now from the impetuous young man who regarded his
aunt's warnings as a chain keeping him from the gratification of his
curiosity:

The chief priest of Isis plays a large part in Lucius' development.

For, although Lucius is devoting all his time to his duties to Isis
(sedulum colendi frequentabam ministerium XI, 21; 282, 11-12 ), his
impetuosity of old is reasserting itself: "Nec minus in dies mihi magis
magisque accipiendorum sacrorum cupidio gliscebat" (XI, 21; 282, 13-14).
This desire to be under way with the mysteries of Isis compels Lucius to
speak to the high priest: "summisque precibus primarium sacerdotem
saepissime conveneram petens, ut me noctis sacratae tandem arcanis
initiaret" (XI, 21; 282, 14-16). Lucius' eagerness to be initiated into
the secrets of Isis is obviously parallel to his desire to be initiated
into the mysteries of witchcraft. Compare, for instance, his plea to
Fotis:

Sed ut ex animo tibi volens omen delictum, quo me tantis
angoribus implicasti, remittam, praesta quod summis votis
expostulo, et dominam tuam, cum aliquid huius divinae
disciplinae molitur, ostende . . . ut videam (III, 19; 66,
9-13).

Just as Lucius' request here is met by warnings from Fotis, so the priest
checks Lucius' impulsiveness at this point: "At ille . . . clementer ac
comiter et ut solent parentes inmaturis liberorum desideriis modificari,
meam differens instantiam . . ." (XI, 21; 282, 16-20). The priest goes on to say:

Quae cuncta nos quoque observabili patientia sustinere censebat, quippe cum aviditati contumacieque summe cavere et utramque culpam vitare ac neque vocatus morari nec non iussus festinare deberem (XI, 21; 282, 25 - 283, 1).

The two extremes to be avoided are clearly those set forth at the beginning of the Metamorphoses, the obstinacy of Aristomenes' companion (I, 3; 3, 17) and the ready credulity of Lucius (I, 4; 4, 13). At that point in the narrative, Lucius' credulity was, in another form, his readiness to know and partake of what witchcraft had to offer.

The priest adds:

nec tamen esse quemquam de suo numero tam perditae mentis vel immo destinatae mortis, qui, non sibi quoque seorsum iubente domina, temerarium atque sacrilegum audire ministerium subire noxamque letalem contrahere (XI, 21; 283, 1-5).

The unwillingness of any of Isis' devotees to risk self-destruction in order to become a part of the mysteries to which they have no right is, of course, in marked contrast to Lucius' former hybristic behavior. Nor is the lesson now wasted, as it had been in the past; the arcana secreta are entered into as they should be; Lucius has learned to be patient:

. . . nec impatientia corrumpatur obsequium meum, sed intentus mihi quiete et probabile taciturnitate sedulum quot dies obibam culture sacrorum ministerium (XI, 22; 283, 19-22).

And Lucius' forbearance is rewarded, nec me fefellit (ibid.; 283, 22). Once again the contrast to Lucius' former precipitous and disastrous haste to take part in what he should not have taken part in is evident.

That Lucius has, with the help of Isis' priest, learned his lesson is brought home quite forcefully in Lucius' subsequent warnings
to the too curious reader:

Quaeas forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum; dicerem, si dicere liceret, cognosceres, si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contra-herent et aures et linguae illae temerariae curiositatis (XI, 23; 285, 8-11).

Thus the transformation is complete — Lucius has come from the point of being one who was too curious to know what was forbidden and who suffered as a result to the point of warning the reader against similar inquisitiveness.

Lucius grows in other ways, too. As Riefstahl points out, when we first meet Lucius he is a young man without ties of home or family or commitments of any type. By the end of the story Lucius is thrice initiated into the rites of Isis and Osiris, a successful barrister at Rome and a willing servant of Isis and Osiris; and, we may presume, he spent the rest of his days loyal to his obligations to that holy pair. He is no longer the uncommitted young man whom we first met. His newly acquired maturity is also evident in his lack of self-consciousness at the end of the narrative. We need only compare his embarrassment when he first meets his aunt Byrrhena and his mortifying embarrassment at the Festival of Risus to his willingness to go about bald as part of his hieratic duties.

My statement that Lucius is totally uncommitted when we first meet him needs, perhaps, some qualification. Toward the beginning of the narrative Lucius expresses his commitment to Fate: "Ego vero... nihil

37Pp. 33-37.
impossibile arbitror, sed utcumque fata decreverint, ita cuncta mortalibus provenire" (I, 20; 18, 22-23). Riefstahl shows that after Lucius' transformation into an ass his initial reliance on all-powerful Fate is replaced by the belief that cruel, blind Fortune really governs the affairs of men. Finally, just as Lucius' transformations run their cycle, so his concept of the world's ruling forces runs a cycle. By the end of the story Lucius has returned to a belief in an all-powerful ruling force, this time the providentia of Isis. This change in Lucius' world outlook, that is, his philosophy, is significant and worth treating in somewhat greater detail.

As is clear from the credo of Lucius just quoted, he is totally subservient to the dictates of Fate. The fact that Fortune appears only a few times before Lucius' transformation tends to bear out Riefstahl's conclusions. It is significant that of these few references to Fortune four are contained within the tale of Aristomenes and Socrates (I, 5-20; 4, 17-19, 5). It will be remembered that Socrates' misfortune is, in miniature, comparable to that of Lucius. Socrates

38 I am here following Riefstahl, pp. 33-37. A convenient résumé of the recent work done on the roles of Fate, Fortune and Providence in the Metamorphoses is supplied by P. J. Enk, op. cit., pp. 85-91. Comments somewhat critical of Riefstahl's hypothesis can be found in Elizabeth Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances (New York, 1943), pp. 192-195 and especially 198-199. I regard Riefstahl's work as the most successful attempt at revealing the serious nature of the Metamorphoses.

39 Junghanns, p. 25; see, too, ibid., p. 163, n. 76 and p. 58, n. 87. One of the more important studies of Fortune, Fate and Providence in the Metamorphoses not included in Enk's resume is that of C. Morelli, Studi italiani de filologia classica 20 (1913) 147, who maintains, like Junghanns and Riefstahl, that Lucius' release from Fortune is due to Isis.

40 The relatively important references are: I, 6; 6, 5. I, 7; 6, 13 and 7, 20. I, 16; 14, 18. II, 13; 35, 18. III, 14; 62, 15.
attributes his present appearance, which has undergone a great change, to Fortune and the witch Meroe: "... quoad me ad istam faciem, quam paulo ante vidisti, bona uxor et mala fortuna perduxit" (I, 7; 7, 19-21). Lucius, too, of course, owes his change to a woman, Fotis, and, as we shall see, to Fortune.

Immediately after becoming an ass, Lucius places the blame squarely on Fotis (III, 26; 71, 6-13); but in his first mention of a culpable, transcendential power, it is Fortune that bears the blame, "sed agilis atque praecellus ille conatus fortunae meae sciaeitatem antelre non potuit" (IV, 2; 75, 18-20). And throughout the *Metamorphoses*, it is Fortune that prevents the ass from becoming his former self. Just as Lucius regarded the mandates of Fate as inescapable (I, 20; 18, 22-23), so the ass laments his helplessness against the wishes of Fortune (IX, 1; 203, 12-15). Eventually, however, the ass does escape cruel, blind and unfair Fortune who has dogged him throughout his attempts to regain his human form. Salvation comes in the form of Isis. Shortly after the ass' escape from the pageant in which he was to participate, the goddess Isis appears to him in a shower of light. He immediately and rightly suspects that his sufferings are at an end:

... fato scilicet iam meis tot tantisque cladibus satiato et spera salutis, licet tandem ... (XI, 1; 266, 20-21).

His suspicions are confirmed by Isis and one of her priests (XI, 15; 277, 1-5).

41 Some of the more significant references to Fortune up to this point are: VII, 2-3; 155, 17-156, 4. VII, 16; 166, 3-5. VII, 17; 167, 4-5. VII, 20; 169, 8-10. VIII, 24; 195, 21-25.

Ironically enough, it is Fortune who has led Lucius into Isis's fold (ibid.; 277, 10-12). Fortune's reign is now over (ibid.; 277, 12-14). A new and true Fortune now reigns: "In tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed videntis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat" (ibid.; 277, 19-20). This Fortuna videns is Providence in the form of Isis. Thus providential Fate, with which the black arts are earlier associated, is reborn in Isis just as Lucius is here reborn. As frequently in the Greek romances, divine intervention and salvation become a piece of religious propaganda (ibid., 277, 23-26). Lucius' rebirth (renatus XI, 16; 278, 12) is twofold: it is literal, since he is "reborn" as a human again; he is also "reborn" psychologically. He has developed from a shy, uncommitted young man to a self-confident, totally committed servant of Isis.

It must be admitted, however, that his development takes place rather disjointedly. This results from Apuleius' desire to entertain -- laetaberis. An entertaining narrative and one which aims at developing a single idea are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In Apuleius, however, the entertaining aspect too often takes the form of a lepida fabula, a pleasant little story which has very little if any bearing on the fortunes of Lucius. With only a few exceptions, the extraneous tales

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43On Apuleius' habit of introducing extraneous material with the rubric "lepida fabula" or "lepidus sermo" see Junghanns, p. 122 and p. 122, n. 5; on the Einlagen in general, see Bernhard, op.cit., pp. 259-70, who enumerates nineteen fairly long tales which do not appear in the Oros. These are: I, 5-19 (Socrates and Merce); I, 24-25 (Pythias); II, 13 (the astrologer Diophanes); II, 21-30 (Thelyphron); II, 32 - III, 14 (winebags incident and Festival of Risus); IV, 9-21 (three robbers' tales); IV, 28 - VI, 24 (Cupid and Psyche); VII, 5-8 (story of pseudo-Haemus); VII, 24-25 (death of cruel boy); VIII, 1-14 (tragedy of Charite and Thrasyllus); VIII, 18-21 (journey through a haunted region); VIII, 22 (adulterous slave punished); IX, 5-7 (Tale of the Tub); IX, 17-21 (success of Philesitherus); IX, 24-25 (baker tells of neighbor's adulterous wife);
are stories overheard by or told to the narrator.

The rather loose structure of the memoir type of narrative enables the author to fulfill his promise of entertainment by including stories with an ironic twist such as those of Diophanes and the three robbers, or simply well-told tales of a rather piquant type such as those of adultery. Apuleius' desire to entertain and to relate The Journal of a Soul are at times compatible. The story of Socrates and Meroe, while not without moments of humor, provides Lucius with a serious example of the dangerous power of witchcraft which he chooses not to heed. The story is successful in bringing out the same elements of the black arts which Lucius is to face as well as, in the preamble, Lucius' philosophy of life and his ready credulity -- and, as Petronius' Phileros observes, too ready trust will ruin a man.

The story of Thelyphron, obviously intended to entertain with its unexpected ending, also plays a significant part in the Metamorphoses. Like the story of Socrates, it provides Lucius with a warning of the dangers inherent in contact with the black arts. The awful results are this time visible, but Lucius again is unable to control his curiosity. The stories of Diophanes and Pythias, although Einlagen, are unimportant to the over-all serious purpose of the Metamorphoses only at first glance; for both of them bring out the ill luck by which Lucius is hounded until the eleventh book -- an aspect of Lucius' life which is evident throughout his stay at Milo's house. Not all the extraneous tales, however, have even the limited significance

IX, 30-31 (the baker's mysterious death); IX, 33-38 (disastrous end of gardener's neighbor and neighbor's sons); X, 2-12 (Phaedra-like story of incest); X, 23-28 (story of condemned woman with whom the ass-Lucius is to fornicate).

"Numquam autem recte faciet, qui cito credit . . ." (43, 6).
of the stories which I have just mentioned. The Cupid and Psyche story, as I have stated, is a fairy-tale version of Lucius' story, but it is obviously much too long for its limited purpose. Apuleius had enough artistic sense to compose it in such a way that its role goes beyond pure entertainment; nonetheless, entertainment must have been Apuleius' principal reason for including it.

One aspect of the self-contained stories which makes it difficult to assess the Metamorphoses properly is that the Rahmenerzählungen frequently have the appearance of often-told tales or folk tales. As Perry observes, it appears from what little we know of Aristides' Milesiaca that Milesia fabula became a generic term for tales which featured piquant episodes in which husbands were outwitted by adulterous wives, an adulterer was caught in the act, or a woman with a reputation for chastity was found to be of unexpectedly loose virtue.\(^5\) Most of the women in the Metamorphoses are either cruel, or ill-tempered, or immoral.\(^6\) I should like to think that the women are so depicted in order to set off the essentially kind and moral Lucius and thus make his conversion to the religion of Isis more consistent and believable. The question whether one is justified in assigning more than face value to stories meant to be entertaining arises, however, since the treatment of wicked women may have been part of a literary tradition and no more significant than the mother-in-law jokes of our own time. I think that the question can be answered by considering the moral point of view taken by

\(^5\)Perry, Ancient Romances, 93-95.

\(^6\)Exceptions are Charite and Plotina and the unreal Psyche.
the narrator. Before Lucius' transformation, there are indications that humans can be cruel or at least unnecessarily inconsiderate. In the tale told to Lucius by Aristomenes, for instance, we note with a grin that Socrates, who owes his present well-being to Aristomenes, sees to it that Aristomenes carries all the luggage, and that Socrates is generally rude to Aristomenes. We note, again with a grin, that Milo sends his wife away from the dinner table so that he will have to feed only two and not three. In both stories the deviation from a proper consideration for one's fellow man is meant to be humorous and is probably part of the generally cynical outlook of the Milesian tales, as in Petronius' *Matron of Ephesus*. In spite of the possibly traditional nature of these bits of cynical humor, Lucius already stands out in contrast because of the care he shows to his horse. There can be little doubt, however, that the treatment shown to Lucius at the Festival of Risus does exceed what we might expect in a traditionally cynical tale. Lucius' mortification and his tears as he is led through the back alleys are genuine; the joke goes too far to evoke a smile or laughter; his regard for the human race is obviously not high. The cruel sense of humor of the citizens of Hypata clearly stands in marked contrast to Isis' assurances in Book XI that her devotees will not ridicule Lucius.

After Lucius' transformation into an ass, more frequent examples of even greater human cruelty appear. An ass passing judgment on humans is, of course, a striking way for an author to pass judgment on the human race. But again the question arises whether one is justified in attributing much significance to the point of view which Apuleius chose. It may be that Apuleius was only working within a literary tradition that
has been lost. For we learn from St. Augustine that in Italy men were regularly changed into beasts of burden. St. Augustine goes on to mention Apuleius specifically:

\[ \ldots \text{sicut Apuleius in libris quos asini aurei titulo insciret sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno humano animo permanente asinus fieret, aut indicavit aut finxit (De Civ. Dei XVIII, 18).} \]

Thus the Metamorphoses may simply be part of a literary tradition wider than the extant "Оνός of Lucian or the lost Μεταμορφώσεις of Lucius of Patrae. The earnestness of the ass' moral indignation, however, leads me to believe that Apuleius chose the narrative form which he did to gain the added effect of an ass censuring a cruel and corrupt human race.

The narrator's attitude to women is summed up rather ironically in pseudo-Haemus' story of Plotina. We learn that Plotina was almost unique because of her fidelity and morality -- "quaedam rarae fidei atque singularis pudicitiae femina" (VII, 6; 158, 23-24). More frequently, however, the women resemble the baker's wife, who has the distinction of being the worst woman the ass encounters (IX, 14; 213, 9-23); or the ironically named Arete whose husband is not fooled by her name, "certus \ldots fragilitatis humanae fidei" (IX, 18; 216, 12). Note the moral judgment of the narrator as he introduces the "tragic messenger" prior to the telling of the tragedy of Charite: "Is de eius [Charite's] exitio et domus totius infortunio mira ac nefanda \ldots sic annuntiabat:" (VIII, 1; 176, 18-20). The ass introduces a tale of adultery with the words, "scelestum ac nefarium facinus memini" (X, 2; 237, 1-2). At times the ass is not content with simply passing judgment, but is driven by an
affront to his moral sensibilities to intervene in the name of justice. This happens when the effeminate eunuch priests debauch a young man (VIII, 29; 200, 20-26). The ass' feelings are outraged by the lecherous and adulterous kisses of the baker's wife to the point that he reveals the hiding place of the wife's paramour (IX, 26; 223, 1-7). The irony of an ass passing moral strictures is explicitly stated when he observes the amorous intrigues of pseudo-Haemus and Charite: "Et tunc quidem totarum mulierum secta moresque de asini pendebant iudicio" (VII, 10; 162, 1-2). This moral stance is maintained throughout the Metamorphoses. It is what makes Lucius' final transformation credible.

Lucius' morality is what makes him flee to the desolate beach near Corinth. Just as he had earlier fled to the comfort of his private bedroom and then to the comforting embraces of Fotis after his humiliation at the Festival of Risus, so in Book X, when faced with the horrible possibility of fornicating at a public festival, he flees, exhausted physically and mentally, to the privacy of a beach which is removed from

47 An exception occurs in Book X where a seemingly respectable and well-born woman is attracted to the ass because of the size of his sexual organ. Lucius refrains from satisfying her sexual desires not for moral reasons but because he fears that his large organ will injure her and bring down upon himself the wrath of public officials. Apuleius seems to have been aware of the inconsistency in character portrayal and has the narrator apologize for his behavior by having the ass say that it has been a long time since he has had any sexual enjoyment. I do not regard Lucius' amorous episodes so much as a lapse in morality as an indication that Lucius lost all control of his thinking powers when the opportunity to be instructed in witchcraft presented itself. Lucius states explicitly that his love affair with Fotis is only a means of obtaining a way to Pamphile, whom he intends to avoid because she is a married woman. Moreover, he states that Fotis had already made her interest in him known but that he had not responded (II, 6; 29, 22-30, 11). Cf. Junghanns, p. 148, n. 48.
the cruel and mocking humans whom he has encountered during his painful travels. There he is comforted by Isis.

The narrative suffers, to be sure, from its avowed purpose to entertain and from the difficulties inherent in trying to adapt an already existing string of tales to something which resembles the spiritual quest which Lucius -- or more correctly, Apuleius -- made. The quest theme is even allowed to disappear as the ass becomes more intent on seeking entertaining stories than on seeking the roses which are to be his salvation. The initial entertaining aim of the Metamorphoses yields, however, to the purgative aim of Lucius' autobiography. His autobiography is frequently obscured by the many extraneous tales, but throughout we see glimpses of the moral young man's dissatisfaction with the rather lascivious world which he encounters until he finally finds satisfaction not in sating his curiosity but in satisfying his spiritual needs by his devotion to Isis. Lucius has fulfilled the desire which he stated at the beginning of the work: "... velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima." Among other things, he has

\[48\] Like St. Augustine, I assume that Lucius and Apuleius are one.

\[49\] As what appears to be an afterthought, the narrator mentions near the end of Book X the return of spring and the hope that roses would once again blossom (X, 29; 260, 7-12). No mention is made, however, of the roses after the ass' two initial and disappointing attempts to obtain them, not even during his stay with the gardener! It seems to me that Apuleius had originally intended to make the ass' quest for roses more meaningful than he ultimately did. For in the ass' two endeavors to obtain roses, the roses are associated with a deity (II, 27; IV, 2).

\[50\] Cf. Piero Scazzoso, op. cit., p. 38: "... cos" che il fine edonistico del romanzo cede il posto al fine catartico personale, adombrato nel prologo sotto un velo allegorico ed un discorso metaforico."
learned that witchcraft is not a panacea for his spiritual woes. After learning this lesson, he is prepared to be the contented and prudent servant of Isis rather than the undirected and rash young man that he had been.

51 We must bear in mind as we try to understand Lucius that witchcraft in antiquity was a quasi-religion, in the words of Scazzoso, ibid., p. 44, n. 3, the bastard child of religion and science. The proximity of magic and science is what prompts Lucius at one point to say that he desires to study the black arts under Pamphile and what makes him regard Fotis as an apprentice. Fotis clearly regards magic as a religion when she promises to reveal the mysteries of magic to Lucius only because he has been initiated into many religious rites already and therefore knows how to maintain the secrets of various mystic religions.
CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE METAMORPHOSES

In the present chapter I discuss by what techniques Apuleius has managed, or at least attempted, to combine a series of seemingly disjointed, irrelevant and self-contained episodes or tales into what I have tried to show is thematically unified. To be more precise, I shall look at the way the narrative as a whole coheres and is moved along both from episode to episode and within a given episode or group of episodes.

The term "technique" denotes an ordering or arranging in a literary work of what in life might appear to be without order. Thus we shall observe what Apuleius has imposed from without upon the probably aesthetically formless existence of Lucius. For instance, the story has been arranged quite naturally into three distinct parts: (1) mysticism -- Lucius' gradual contact with witchcraft; (2) adventure -- the ass' capture by robbers and the various adventures, both those of which he is directly a part and those which he observes or overhears; (3) mysticism -- the ass' salvation through Isis and his subsequent ministry.

I shall concentrate on one aspect of structure -- motifs. Zola, it will be remembered, felt that motifs or repetition added an element of unity. The use of motifs or repetition was as characteristic of literature in antiquity as it is today. Of modern writers Philip Quarles has this

\[1\text{See supra, p. 15, n. 20.} \]
A novelist modulates by reduplicating situations and characters. He shows several people falling in love, or dying, or praying in different ways -- dissimilars solving the same problem. Or vice versa, similar people confronted with dissimilar problems.\(^2\)

The process of modulation described by Quarles is particularly prominent in the first portion of the *Metamorphoses*. Here, by varying slightly a motif, Apuleius delineates Lucius' seemingly inevitable confrontation with the black arts. In each successive episode of the first three books, the dangers involved in meddling with witchcraft become more and more apparent, the warnings more and more intense and the lessons to be learned more and more blindly unheeded by Lucius. Thus the reader comprehends what Lucius seems unable or unwilling to understand and subconsciously warns Lucius in vain, *cave, cave fortiter!* In the third portion, many motifs of the first parts are taken up again and brought to a happy conclusion. Thus the efficacy of Isis is compared favorably with that of witchcraft. Motifs play a different role in the middle portion. Here Apuleius arranges piquant episodes usually in groups of three: three tales of robbery, three tales of virtuous women, three tales of adultery and three tales of violence. These groupings will be treated comparatively cursorily, since they are less significant thematically and less important artistically. We may now begin a more detailed study.

After a few words of a personal note, from which we learn, among other things, that Lucius is in Thessaly on business, the theme of magic is quickly introduced. Lucius, while resting himself and his horse, 

\(^2\)Quoted by E. K. Brown, *op. cit.*., p. 8.
overhears a few words of a rather heated conversation between two other travelers. The protests of one of them to what is being said are enough to arouse Lucius' curiosity and to make him jump to the defense of what promises to be a pleasing story (I, 2; 3, 4-8). The subject of the story which has caused some hard feelings between the two travelers is the black arts (I, 3; 3, 9-13). Lucius then counters by asserting his absolute faith in the supernatural and by offering an example that things which appear out of the ordinary because of their infrequency do, in fact, take place (I, 3-4; 3, 18-4, 12). With this pledge of good faith, Aristomenes, for such is the name of the story teller, is put at ease and agrees to tell the tale. Like Lucius, he begins with particulars of himself, among them that he was traveling in Thessaly on business when what is to be related happened. Already we suspect that Apuleius wants us to detect a parallel between what happened to Aristomenes and especially to Socrates and what is to happen to Lucius. Because business in Hypata was poor, Aristomenes went to the public baths where he met Socrates (I, 5-6; 5, 11-13). Here, too, is a subtle affinity with Lucius, for Lucius regularly has bad luck in Hypata and then has recourse to a refreshing bath.

With the introduction of Socrates, a new point of view is presented; the story of the witch Meroe is now told to Lucius by Aristomenes, as it had been told to Aristomenes by Socrates. The story

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3 Cf., supra, pp. 18-19, nn. 23-24.


5 Junghanns, p. 123, notes the unusually leisurely pace of this Rahmenerzählung in contrast to the virtual contextual vacuums of the others.
is in essence the triumph of Fortune and witchcraft over the hapless victim Socrates, in circumstances similar to those under which Lucius encounters witchcraft directly. Socrates' confrontation with the witch Meroe takes place while he is enjoying her hospitality (I, 7; 9-14), just as Lucius comes into contact with witchcraft while enjoying the hospitality of Milo and his wife, the witch Pamphile. The confrontation, moreover, results in a change in the appearance of both ("quoad me [Socratem] ad istam faciem"), although Socrates' changed appearance is comparatively minor. Socrates attributes his troubles to a woman and to Fortune (I, 7; 7, 19-20). Lucius, after he becomes an ass, at first blames a woman, Fotis, and subsequently rails against Fortune until his deliverance by Isis. Also, within the story of the witch Meroe there are elements of eroticism and metamorphosis. Meroe changes her unresponsive lovers into appropriate kinds of animals (I, 9; 8, 20-9, 10); Pamphile, too, is engaged in erotic practices and is able to change her lovers into stone and animals. Thus Lucius learns from Aristomenes of Meroe's powers (I, 8; 8, 9-12), which he is later warned by Byrrhena are the very powers of Pamphile. In short, there are enough parallels between Meroe and Pamphile to provide Lucius with ample reason to stay clear of Pamphile. Some of the parallels do not, of course, become evident until Lucius has suffered from witchcraft; but Lucius should have been aware of the dangers involved in staying under the same roof with a witch and enjoying her hospitality, especially when her magical inclinations are erotic and she has the power to change the forms of things.

When the story is finished, the travelers part company, but not before Lucius virtually seals his fate, as it were, by putting himself in agreement with Socrates that the supernatural and Fortune go hand in
hand (I, 20; 18, 22-26). After some brief banter with a hag, Lucius arrives at Milo's house. Lucius' stay turns out to be one of frequent disappointments. It soon becomes evident that the transcending forces to which Lucius has just placed himself in obeisance do not regard him with kindly glances.

The hag's predictions of Milo's miserliness are at once confirmed. Milo excuses the lack of chairs in his house as due to the thieves in the neighborhood. Milo's fears of robbers, like Fotis' at another point, are later seen to be well based when thieves break into the house and take the ass as a pack animal. Milo's offer of hospitality (en hospitium) does not, however, appear to be so well grounded when he attempts to have Lucius ushered to the public baths without having offered him any food. This is not lost on Lucius, who observes to himself: "His ego auditis mores atque parsimoniam ratiocinans Milonis" (I, 24; 21, 23-24).

Lucius realizes that he must obtain food through his own resources; to purchase food, he stops at the shopping district on his way to the baths. As Seneca has observed, a change of place does not result in a change of luck. At the market Lucius encounters Pythias, an acquaintance of his school days. Pythias is now a pompous minor public official whose duty is to regulate the business of the market place. Lucius does his best to brush Pythias off (crastino die scies), but Pythias insists

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6Lucius uses the term fata rather than the Fortuna of Socrates.

7On the unusual women of the Metamorphoses, see Perry, TAPA 54 (1923) 201; Riefstahl, p. 52, n. 5; Junghanna, p. 59, n. 89, where there is a complete list of references to the women in the Metamorphoses.

8Apuleius' careful efforts at motivation are evident throughout the first three books.
and in the process of demonstrating his self-conceived importance causes the fish which Lucius had purchased to be destroyed. Once again Lucius sets out still hungry for the public baths and from there to Milo's hospitality. This second mention of Milo's hospitality turns out to be as delusive as the first, and Lucius is forced once again to seek refreshment elsewhere, this time in refreshing sleep, after having dined on words alone (I, 26; 24, 13-15). And so Book I ends as our unlucky epic hero retires.\(^9\) During this first day that we have spent with Lucius, we have found him to be curious, unlucky and headed for disaster. We have also seen one instance of the powers of the witches of Hypata.

A good night's rest enables Lucius to forget his troubles of the previous day and previous book, and he is as eager at the beginning of Book II to learn of witchcraft as at the beginning of Book I.\(^10\) The new day does not, however, present anything that is drastically different from Lucius' activities of the previous day. Book II is rather like a repeat of Book I, with one significant difference: Lucius is one step closer to his fateful contact with witchcraft; he now views firsthand the terrible changes wrought by magic rather than simply hearing, as in Book I, of the drastic results which Socrates had experienced. Apuleius underscores the repetitious nature of Book II by having Lucius reflect, upon awaking, that he is in Hypata, the very city where Aristomenes had viewed the horrible consequences of witchcraft, as Lucius himself is to do when he meets Thelyphron. Moreover, Thelyphron, as we shall see, is

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\(^9\) Cf. the endings of Iliad I, VII, X and Odyssey I, V, VII and Aeneid III; noted by Junghanns, p. 126.

\(^10\) A new day opens Books III, VIII, X and XI, also, in obvious imitation of Homer.
at first as reluctant to relate his bitter experience to Lucius and the others at Byrrhena's party as Socrates had been to do for Aristomenes. Lucius replaces Aristomenes, as it were, and, like Aristomenes, becomes witness to the power of witchcraft; unfortunately he has not learned his lesson from what Aristomenes had told him and what others in Book II are to tell him. Apuleius foreshadows the inevitability of Lucius' eventually experiencing much the same thing as Socrates had by having Lucius go to the market place where he fortuitously meets Byrrhena who, like Pythias in Book I, is an acquaintance of former years. Apuleius makes it evident that Book II is to be essentially a repeat of Book I, with Lucius in the role of Aristomenes. But, since we have seen that Lucius and Socrates share the same view of the intimate relationship between Fortune and the supernatural, we begin to suspect that Lucius will eventually make the next step and find himself where Socrates had been.

Let us look at Book II in more detail. Lucius, as we have seen, meets his aunt Byrrhena. This chance meeting serves eventually to bring Lucius into contact with the victim of witchcraft Thelyphron, as his chance meeting with the two travelers had provided him in Book I with a story of a victim of the same type of witchcraft. Lucius presently arrives at Byrrhena's house and there admires the ornamental work which depicts Diana and Actaeon (II, 4). In this way, the theme of metamorphosis already seen in Book I is continued; and, as I have already showed, this particular example of metamorphosis manifests itself later, like the story of Socrates, as one of many warnings not heeded. Thus the immortalized example of Actaeon is a link both with the past and with the future; it is a motif used at its best.
After hearing emphatic warnings about Pamphile, Lucius takes leave of Byrrhena, all the more determined to obtain a direct view of witchcraft in action. For the purposes of this chapter what is particularly significant about Byrrhena's warnings is that they reveal the workings and intentions of a witch not much different from Socrates' Meroe of Book I. Admittedly, a fairly conventional list of supernatural powers is attributed to each of the two witches, but we must remember that there are aspects of witchcraft other than necromancy which Apuleius could have assigned to either if he had cared to.\footnote{See Scazzoso, op. cit., p. 46, nn. 5 and 6 and p. 50, n. 9, for references to other examples of the specific powers attributed to Meroe and Pamphile.} First of all, the powers of both witches, who are significantly the hostesses of Socrates and Lucius, are employed for erotic purposes (I, 7; 7, 12-14 and II, 5; 29, 5-9). Both witches are able and, it would seem, more than ready to subject an unresponsive lover to bodily change (cf. I, 9; 8, 20-21 and \textit{ibid.}; 8, 24-9, 11 with II, 5; 29, 9-11). In addition to these powers, both witches exert some degree of control over the heavens and the lower world (cf. I, 8; 8, 9-12 and I, 3; 3, 9-13 with II, 5; 29, 1-5).

These episodes are carefully measured out by Apuleius for maximum effect. In considering the episode with Byrrhena alone for a moment, we notice that Pamphile is wont to turn her enemies into stone (II, 5; 29, 10). Remember that Lucius has just been viewing the stone ornamental work which depicts Actaeon transformed into a stag because of hybristic spying. The significance for Lucius' later transformation
into an ass as a result of hybristic meddling is obvious. The two episodes of Socrates-Meroe and Lucius-Pamphile, when considered together, are even more significant structurally. For we see here that Lucius is more and more on the verge of experiencing what Socrates had experienced. I have noted a hint of this when Socrates and Lucius are made to share the same view on the relationship of Fortune and magic. At this point, the roles of Lucius as the observer Aristomenes and the victim Socrates are beginning to merge. The reason is significant. Aristomenes, after hearing of the awful powers of Meroe, wanted to retreat to the safety of a hotel room and after a night's sleep to flee as far as possible from Meroe (I, 11; 10, 8-14). We have already seen what Lucius did after hearing of the power of the black arts and having had a good night's sleep; he sprang out of bed more eager than ever to learn of witchcraft (II, 1; 24, 17-19). Later, after Byrrhena's warnings have in effect identified Meroe and Pamphile as one and the same, Lucius' reaction is much the same (II, 6; 29, 15-19).

Already we can see the dramatic results of a structure based at times and in significant spots on the principle of episodic repetition. By repeating certain motifs of Book I, Apuleius has represented, almost graphically, the alarming and seemingly inevitable convergence of the roles of Socrates and Lucius. By using a slight variation in the motifs -- the continued curiosity of Lucius -- Apuleius has depicted the ultimately disastrous divergence of the roles of Aristomenes and Lucius. The hand of a master artist is here at work which belies the modest promise of the opening words: to entertain by stringing together a group of Milesian tales.
In time Lucius tears himself away from Byrrhena and makes for Milo's house, determined to gain the affection of Fotis and through her access to her mistress Pamphile. His overtures to Fotis are welcomed, and a rendezvous is arranged for later in the evening. Lucius spends the rest of the day at the baths and returns to Milo's house to resume the role which he had played at the beginning of Book I: that of the believing observer. As Pamphile, Milo and Lucius are dining, Pamphile happens to predict rain for the morrow on the basis of a lamp wick (II, 11; 34, 15). Milo belittles this bit of the supernatural. In the same way Aristomenes' companion had debunked his assertion of the existence of supernatural powers. Lucius, as in Book I, jumps to the defense of the supernatural by supplying an unusual tale from his own experience (II, 12; 34, 21-35, 11).

The similarity between the polemics of Books I and II seems to end, however, when the doubter Milo takes the initiative and shows that the astrologer Diophanes, whom Lucius had mentioned as his example of the powers of prophecy, is a quack. But Lucius' beliefs may only appear to have been discredited, for he did write a book about his journey which made him famous but which nobody seems to believe, as the astrologer Diophanes had predicted (ibid.; 35, 7-11). I think that the

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12 Junghanns, p. 129. Paratore, La Novella in Apuleio (2nd ed.; Messina, 1942), p. 259, feels that the episode is included as a further warning to Lucius that witchcraft is not to be trusted and that it is not worth the risk involved. Another possibility is that Apuleius included the episode because of his very hostile feelings about fortune-telling of all sorts. This attitude comes out clearly in Apuleius' dislike of the eunuch priests of Book IX, whom he regards as mere quacks because of their false pretensions about divination. Hammer, op. cit., p. 69, has noted the verbal similarities evident in both episodes of astrology. Compare: "... arcana fatorum stipibus emerendis edicit in vulgum ..." (II, 9; 35, 3-4), and "... iam deposita crumina, iam profusis nummulis, iam dinumeratis centum denarium, quos mercedem..."
clash in the continuous regularity of Books I and II is more apparent than real. Just as Aristomenes' companion remained doubtful of the reality of witchcraft, so Milo continues to be a doubter, although he goes a step further than Aristomenes' friend by offering what he thinks is proof of his charge rather than simply using pejoratives. And, as I have indicated, we cannot say that Diophanes' prophecy was incorrect, although Diophanes might have been a quack. Furthermore, much to the chagrin of Lucius, those doubtful of the existence of the supernatural are ultimately proved wrong, while he in his affirmation of it turns out to be correct.

After this conversation about theurgic matters, Lucius spends several amorous nights with Fotis until he is invited once again to Byrrhena's house (II, 18; 39, 15-17). It will be remembered that the last time Lucius accepted Byrrhena's invitation he viewed indifferently the everlasting example of the penalty for spying (II, 4; 27, 3 - 28, 10) and failed to heed several warnings about his hostess Pamphile (II, 5; 28, 11 - 29, 13). The pattern is repeated when at Byrrhena's an unwilling Thelyphron is prevailed upon to tell of his bitter experience with

divinationis auferret . . ." (II, 13; 35, 23-25), and ". . . multa multis similiter effatus non parvas stipes, immo vero mercedes opimas iam consecutus" (ibid.; 35, 16-17), with ". . . munificentia publica saginati vaticinationisque crebris mercedibus suffarcinati . . ." (IX, 8; 208, 4-5), and "Ad istum modum divinationis astu captioso cornaserant non parvas pecunias" (ibid.; 209, 1-2). Hammer also notes that both sets of quacks give prophecies to similar types of queries: "Qui dies copulas nuptiarum adfirmet" (II, 12; 35, 5) = "si qui matrimonium forte coaptantes interrogaret" (IX, 8; 208, 12); "qui fundamenta moenium perpetuet" (II, 12; 35, 5) = "si qui possessiones praestinaturus quaereret" (IX, 8; 208, 14-15); "qui negotiatori commodus, qui viatori celebris, qui naviglis opportunus" (II, 12; 35, 6-7) = "si qui de profectione sollicitus divinum caperet auspiciem" (IX, 8; 208, 16-17).
witchcraft.

The preliminaries to the story of Thelyphron resemble those to the story of Socrates. Lucius' curiosity is once again ultimately behind the story's being told. In deference to his aunt Byrrhena, Lucius keeps his curiosity veiled by pretending fright at the magical practices for which the area is famous (II, 20; 41, 9-17). The fact that Lucius has brought up the matter of witchcraft after Byrrhena has asked his opinion of the social life of Hypata reveals that his curiosity is as strong as ever. This hint of interest is not missed by Byrrhena; she gratifies Lucius and the other guests by persuading Thelyphron to tell of his own experience with witches. Thelyphron, like Socrates, at first resists, but it is soon evident that his resistance is only part of the raconteur's stock in trade, as he cocks his finger in the manner of the professional orator and flamboyantly proceeds (II, 21; 42, 10-14). The seemingly reticent Socrates had also been quick to assume the histrionics of the professional orator, much to the annoyance of Aristomenes (I, 8; 8, 13-14).

Thelyphron's story, like that of Aristomenes about Socrates, shows essentially the inevitable victory of witchcraft. What is particularly significant is that Lucius is now one step closer to the results of witchcraft. In Book I, the comparable tale of Socrates was about a man already dead; Thelyphron, however, is quite alive and his mutilation is evident to Lucius. This story, like that of Socrates, has been told primarily for Lucius' pleasure, and at its end there is a parting of company, as there had been after Aristomenes' account. Lucius again makes for Milo's house, but the delay before his arrival there is this
time more consequential than his meeting with the sarcastic hag in Book I. Moreover, Thelyphron’s narrative resembles Socrates’ more closely than merely in its outcome. As Hammer has noticed, in both stories the witches’ victory is over a sleeping man (I, 13; 12, 12-23 and II, 30; 49, 21-50, 6). Furthermore, the consequences of what the witches do are not immediately known in either story. The witches plug up the wound in Socrates’ throat, and he does not die until the next day (I, 19; 18, 4-11). While Thelyphron’s mutilation does not prove fatal, it is nonetheless learned of on the day after its occurrence; the necromancer Zatchlas calls the dead Thelyphron from his grave to reveal that his wife is a murderess and that the living Thelyphron now has wax ears and nose after having lost his real ones to the witches (II, 30; 50, 6-10). In spite of the different circumstances which at first glance obscure the over-all similarities, we can see that the two tales are of the same type: (1) witches’ victory over a sleeping man which takes the form of mutilation; (2) witches’ disguising for a time the effects of what they have done; and (3) results detected later.

Thus we have another instance of Apuleius’ use of repetition. Book II develops along essentially the same lines as Book I. The variations in the motifs are effective in making Lucius’ disastrous contact with witchcraft seem inevitable. This is achieved by having Lucius in Book II differ from the Aristomenes of Book I in one seemingly slight but really important way: Lucius, when he learns that Pamphile is much the same as Meroe, does not, like Aristomenes when he learned of Meroe’s

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13Hammer, op. cit., pp. 73-77; Junghanns, p. 132, also follows Hammer.
powers, attempt to flee, but rather is goaded on. When we learn that Meroe and Pamphile are similar and that Lucius is hell-bent on becoming entangled with Pamphile, we begin to suspect that Lucius is doomed by his own curiosity to experience at firsthand what Socrates had experienced. Our suspicions are vaguely confirmed when we see Lucius move step by step, or, better, leap by leap, toward the inevitably victorious powers of magic. The inevitable confrontation is delineated through gradually more intimate contacts with witchcraft -- from hearing of its effects to observing them.

As we conclude our study of the structure of Book II, it is not out of place to mention that the book, like some of the later ones, displays a regularity of its own. Book II is based on the alternating appearance of the motifs of magic and love. Book II looks like this schematically:

1. Magic (II, 1-6) -- Lucius' discussion with Byrrhena about witchcraft and Pamphile in particular.
2. Love (II, 6-11) -- Lucius becomes acquainted with Fotis and makes an appointment for that evening.
1. Magic (II, 11-15) -- dinner at Milo's with Milo and Pamphile and a discussion of the astrologer Diophanes.
2. Love (II, 15-18) -- Lucius and Fotis play the parts of amorous wrestlers.

The rest of the book is devoted to the story of Thelyphron and Lucius' encounter with the supposed thieves. The internal rhythm of Book II links closely its own motifs of eroticism and magic, intensifies their

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14 I am here following Riefstahl, p. 67. Cf. the structural analysis of Achilles Tatius by Dorit Sedelmeier, Wiener Studien 72 (1959) 113-131, which shows a similar type of symmetry.
beginnings which we saw in Book I and, most important, brings together in a clearly defined unit the elements which in the next book are to result in Lucius' transformation into an ass.

Book III opens like Book II, with the obviously epic formula of the hero rising from bed as the first rays of rosy-fingered dawn appear. At the beginning of Book II, Lucius' first thoughts of the wonderful opportunity which his presence in Hypata offered to observe witchcraft more closely were immediately transformed into action, and his desire was fulfilled. Lucius' thoughts at the beginning of Book III are also transformed immediately into action. Like Aristomenes in Book I, Lucius reflects on his fate in court as a result of his killing the supposed robbers. Just as Aristomenes' reflections were interrupted by the unannounced entrance of the inn-keeper, so Lucius' are by the local magistrates who have come to arrest him (III, 2; 52, 20-25). Lucius' arrest, we learn later, is all part of a horribly cruel joke which is acted out at the Festival of Risus. What Lucius thought were robbers turn out to have been goatskins of wine which had been summoned to Milo's house through the magic of Pamphile. The presence of the wine-skins is a mistake caused by Fotis' failure to obtain the hair clippings of a Boeotian young man whom Pamphile has been trying to obtain as her lover. Instead of the Boeotian's responding to the smell of his burning hair, the goatskins of wine respond to the smell of burning goat hair. These two mistakes eventually result in Lucius' metamorphosis because of Fotis' mistaken application of unguents. These three mistakes, moreover, are a continuation of the mistake-motif introduced in the previous book. In Book II, Thelyphron's mutilation resulted from a mistake over names -- his limbs (the limbs of the Thelyphron who was Byrrhena's friend)
responded to the witches' charms which were meant for another Thelyphron. Once again we can see that an established pattern is repeating itself.\textsuperscript{15}

The story of Lucius' day in court, like the stories of Socrates, Diophanes and Thelyphron, is a self-contained unit. The entire episode ends as it began -- with an invitation to dine at Byrrhena's.\textsuperscript{16} At the end of the Festival of Risus episode, we can observe another pattern, which we have already observed, repeating itself; for Lucius returns once again to the embraces of Fotis, as he did after his less intimate contacts with magic in Book II. Thus the way is cleared for another episode which is to revolve around witchcraft.\textsuperscript{17}

Like the earlier episodes, the episode which has just ended has brought Lucius one fateful step closer to a head-on collision with magic. The wineskins which made possible the Festival of Risus acted as they did because of magic. Lucius is this time the victim of witchcraft instead of an observer or one to whom a story of magic is told. The next episode is the one which is to prove disastrous to Lucius. He learns, as Aristomenes and Thelyphron had later learned of the earlier activities of witches, that the erotic intents of the witch Pamphile are responsible for his humiliating experience. The scene is reminiscent of an earlier one; Lucius had been humiliated by Milo's apparent discrediting

\textsuperscript{15}Noted by Paratore, \textit{op. cit.} (supra, p. 55, n. 12), p. 265.

\textsuperscript{16}Cf. II, 18; 39, 15-16 and III, 12; 60, 23-61, 7; noted by Junghanns, p. 135. Each of the episodes so far discussed has been well motivated -- in three cases by opposing points of view.

\textsuperscript{17}Cf. the schema, supra, p. 59, and the way each encounter with Fotis precedes Lucius' contact with magic. Junghanns, p. 135, notes the following pattern: the narrative after the Festival of Risus resumes with bath, eating and going to bed as at I, 25; 23, 18ff. I, 26; 24, 14-15 and II, 11; 34, 8.
of the astrologer Diophanes in whom Lucius had placed his trust (II, 13-14). Lucius then rather hurriedly excused himself and retired to his bedroom (II, 15; 37, 1-17). At this point Fotis appeared: "Commodum cubueram et ecce Fotis mea, iam domina cubitum reddita, laeta proximat rosa serta et rosa soluta in simu tuberante" (II, 16; 37, 18-20). Fotis, we find, prefers rather roughhouse lovemaking: "Proeliare . . . et fortiter proeliare, nec enim tibi cedam nec terga vortam" (II, 17; 39, 1-2). This erotic episode, as we have seen, gives way to Byrrhena's invitation (II, 18; 39, 15-16); Lucius accepts and sets out for Byrrhena's house, not without warnings from Fotis about robbers, which, in a way, prove to have been timely.

Let us now look at what follows the Festival of Risus. As we might expect, the entire episode is one of great embarrassment for Lucius; Milo, it turns out, along with several others, is responsible for this humiliating experience (III, 7; 57, 9-12). Like Milo's account of Diophanes' actions, which made Lucius out to be a fool for trusting the astrologer, the Festival of Risus, in part at Milo's instigation, has been one long, cruel joke at Lucius' expense. Shortly after the joke has played itself out, we find Lucius again dining at Milo's. Just as after the Diophanes episode, Lucius hastily excuses himself and heads for his bedroom (III, 13; 61, 16-20). Once again a dejected Lucius is visited by Fotis:

... tandem Fotis mea dominae suae cubitu procurato sui longe dissimilis adventit; non enim laeta facie nec sermone dicaculo, sed vultuosam frontem rugis insurgentibus adseverabat (ibid.; 61, 20-23).

Apuleius is almost begging us to compare Fotis' entrance here with that
at II, 16; 37, 18-20.¹⁸ Note dissimilis and non enim laeta facie and compare Fotis' earlier appearance. Fotis is ready for manhandling again, but not of the amorous type which she asked for in the earlier episode: "Cape . . . oro te, et de perfida muliere vindictam, immo vero licet maius quodvis supplicium sume" (III, 13; 62, 1-3). We learn that Fotis' penitent behavior is a result of her being responsible for the wineskins' answering Pamphile's call. Lucius forgives her and is as eager as ever to know more about witchcraft (III, 14; 62, 9-20). Fotis responds to his request and along with the desired information gives a caveat about the dangers involved in coming into contact with Pamphile (III, 15-20). In time, these admonitions are, of course, shown to have been correct, just as Fotis' earlier warnings of robbers had been. Her cautions are followed shortly by an opportunity to observe Pamphile in action (III, 21), just as Fotis' earlier warnings were followed by a chance to see the effects of witchcraft -- Thelyphron's mutilated face.

The parallelism in the two episodes is obvious. The question of its significance now arises. This can be answered by considering the rather striking impression left by Apuleius' use of the same motifs in these two episodes. There is one significant variation -- Fotis' changed appearance in the second episode. The importance of this is

¹⁸Cf. Fielding's Joseph Andrews, Book I, Chap. 7: "It is the observation of some ancient sage, whose name I have forgot, that passions operate differently on the human mind, as diseases on the body, in proportion to the strength or weakness, soundness or rottenness, of the one and the other. We hope, therefore, a judicious reader will give himself some pains to observe, what we have so greatly laboured to describe, the different operations of this passion of love in the gentle and cultivated mind of Lady Booby, from those which it effected in the less polished and coarser disposition of Mrs. Slipslop."
attested by the fact that Apuleius calls attention to it: dissimilis and non enim laeta facie. In this way the impending disaster is foreshadowed. We are seeing here, once again, symmetry used at its very best. The foreboding appearance of Fotis, after the timeliness of her feelings of danger in the first episode, makes us sense that the sight of Pamphile is going to be somehow more dire in its consequences than that of Thelyphron.

We have considered the structure of the Metamorphoses in the first of its three parts. In my opinion, this is the most carefully constructed portion. Before moving on, let us look at the first three books in the form of a schema which will show how their correspondence to one another leads gradually to Lucius' unfortunate experience with witchcraft:

A. Lucius arrives in the land of witchcraft eager to learn of the supernatural.

1. Lucius hears of witchcraft -- the story of Socrates as told by Aristomenes (I, 5-19).

2. Lucius at Hypata -- his bad luck with his boorish host Milo and with Pythias -- a period of annoyance, hunger and weariness (I, 21-26).

B. Lucius seeks an opportunity to learn of the supernatural.

1. Lucius hears of witchcraft -- warnings about his hostess Pamphile, who resembles Socrates' witch Meroe; Lucius sees the results of witchcraft in the mutilated features of Thelyphron (II, 1-30).

2. For the first time Lucius himself experiences the consequences of witchcraft at the Festival of Risus (II, 31 - III, 16).

C. Lucius observes at first hand the workings of witchcraft on Pamphile and himself.

19I here follow for the most part Junghanns, pp. 139-140.
1. Lucius hears of witchcraft when Fotis tells him that the wineskins acted through the charms of Pamphile (III, 17-20).

2. Lucius sees Pamphile changed into a bird, himself into an ass (III, 21-25).

In this broad view of the first three books we can see how each major episode revolves around (1) Lucius' gradual contact with witchcraft and (2) his increasingly bad luck. In addition to these lines of development, we have noted other instances of repetition — baths, meals, amorous nights, similarities in witches and their victims, etc. — which tie the whole together with a symmetry worthy of an epic poem. At this point we leave Lucius and follow the ass-Lucius and his adventures as he passes through a cruel and lascivious world.

Our study of Books IV-X will be more superficial than what has preceded. What follows is the result of the particular limitations which I have placed on myself — structural analysis concerned entirely with the symmetry of the *Metamorphoses*. Such an approach was fruitful, in my opinion, in the previous part of this chapter, where we were able to see how variations in a motif contribute significantly to the serious purpose of the *Metamorphoses*. In the portion now under consideration Apuleius seems to be primarily concerned with fulfilling his promise to entertain. To do this, he inserts a large number of self-contained tales.

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20 I have not discussed the motifs of the first three books which appear in later books, but only those which I feel are essential in demonstrating the validity of my thesis. For some of the motifs of the other type, see Riefstahl, pp. 52 ff., e.g. Lucius' laments after false evidence is brought against him (III, 6-7 and VII, 1-2) with tortures appropriate for a slave being sought in both cases (III, 8 and VII, 2); emotional disturbances manifesting themselves in suicides, attempted suicides or thoughts of suicide (I, 16; V, 25; VI, 12; VI, 17; VI, 30; VIII, 14; VIII, 22; VIII, 31; IX, 30; X, 29); hags (I, 21; IV, 3; IV, 27).

21 This contention would seem to be borne out by the many
which seem to have no direct or indirect bearing on the fortunes of Lucius. Apuleius' next problem would seem to be to arrive at some reasonable way of arranging these entertaining but irrelevant episodes. The method decided upon, as far as I can determine, is to group the extraneous material according to themes. In the following pages, therefore, motifs will be discussed once again; but since these motifs are simply the result of what Apuleius found to be an easy method of including several irrelevant stories, the subsequent discussion need not be very probing. Attempts have been made to find some significant basis for the repeated appearance of certain themes in the Metamorphoses, but without success. Hammer, in particular, is mistaken on several occasions: for instance, that the death of a cruel boy (VII, 26) in some way foreshadows the death of Charite (VIII, 14); the death of a traveler (VIII, 21) somehow foreshadows the death of an adulterous slave (VIII, 22).²² As if there must first be one death so that there can be another;²³

My remarks about the rather superficial structure of the middle portion of Apuleius' work are not to be taken as a condemnation of it. This part of the Metamorphoses succeeds admirably in achieving what it is intended to do — entertain. It is the product of a raconteur, not a penetrating novelist.

extraneous stories which are introduced by the rubric "fabula lepida" or "sermo lepidus." See supra, p. 38, n. 43.


²³What makes Hammer's views obviously wrong is that virtually all the stories within a story end with a death; see Junghanns, p. 142, n. 42.
The ass' first experiences in his new form would seem to confirm what he had seen from time to time as a human -- the almost unbelievable capacity of people for cruelty against their own kind. and, as the ass discovers, against animals. Even other animals show hostility toward the ass. In payment for the kind treatment that Lucius had shown his horse at their arrival in Thessaly, Lucius' horse and Milo's ass relegate the ass-Lucius to a corner of the stable (III, 26; 71, 22-25).\textsuperscript{24} This bitter experience is followed immediately by another example of uncalled-for cruelty when Lucius' slave in his role as groom beats the ass as he attempts to obtain the form-restoring roses which are in the stable (III, 27; 72, 2-18).\textsuperscript{25} The scene changes rapidly as robbers enter Milo's property and take the ass as a pack animal.\textsuperscript{26} After having been forced to obey the heartless commands of the robbers (III, 29; IV, 4-5), disappointed again in obtaining the needed roses (IV, 2) and beaten again for trying to obtain them (IV, 3), the ass along with the party of robbers and pack animals reaches the robbers' cave.

A considerable amount of time is spent here, which enables the narrator to include as a unity several extraneous tales which Junghanns has called the Charite-Komplex.\textsuperscript{27} The stories told range from three comic tales about robbers (IV, 9-27) to the allegorical Cupid and Psyche story (IV, 28 - VI, 24), the fictitious stories of pseudo-Haemus and pseudo-Plotina (VIII, 1-14) and, as an aftermath of the ass' stay at the

\textsuperscript{24}Cf. VII, 16.  
\textsuperscript{25}Cf. IV, 2.  
\textsuperscript{26}This is one of many rapid transitions; for further examples, see Junghanns, p. 58, n. 87.  
\textsuperscript{27}Pp. 156ff.
cave, the tragedy of Charite (VII, 1-14). Apuleius' fondness for groupings of three is evident here -- three tales of robbery and three of virtuous women. Thus over half of the middle portion of the *Metamorphoses* revolves around Lucius' sojourn with the robbers and its immediate results (116 Teubner pages out of 196), and this constitutes over one third of the entire work (116 pages of a total of 291).

The three robbers' tales are introduced effectively by means of a device which we have already seen used -- a disagreement.\(^{28}\) The toughest robber of all speaks of the robur of his own gang but has only contempt for the other bandits (IV, \(8; 80, 17 - 81, 5\)). This scorn prompts another of the brigands to expound on the fine art of robbery, complete with examples of what not to do (IV, \(9; 81, 6-12\)). Each of the three tales which follow ends with the death of one of the thieves.\(^{29}\)

When the stories are finished, the bandits leave their cave. They return in a short time with a young girl as the entire take for the night's work. Their intention, of course, is to obtain ransom money. The girl, whose name we later learn is Charite, is distraught at having been kidnapped and causes no end of annoyance to everyone in the cave with her weeping. The hag who acts as the robbers' housekeeper does her best to silence the girl and eventually permits the girl to tell of.

\(^{28}\) Junghanns, p. 141.

\(^{29}\) Paratore, *op. cit.* (supra, p. 55, n. 12), pp. 278-79, states that the robbers' tales are a prelude to the capture of Charite, just as the eventual success of Psyche is a prelude to the release of Charite. If that is the case, what would he say is a prelude to the tragic death of Charite? I can see no reason for accepting this attempt at finding a basis for the arrangement of the stories.
herself and her marriage to Tlepolemus, which had taken place just as the robbers captured her (IV, 26-27; 94, 16 - 96, 4). The girl tells her story, but at its end begins weeping again because she has been reminded of a foreboding dream which foretells the violent death of Tlepolemus. The hag, to show that dreams are not always what they seem, tells the story of Cupid and Psyche. Enough has already been indicated of the role which this long story plays in the work as a whole. In short, it is a fairy-tale version of Lucius' own life, complete with hybristic meddling, subsequent suffering and divine salvation.30

The story of Cupid and Psyche gives way quickly to another instance of the ass' suffering blows from the robbers, an attempted escape by the ass and Charite and a debate over the best way of putting them to death (VI, 25-32).

The next book brings a new day and news from Hypata. One of the robbers, who had been left behind there, brings word that Lucius is thought by the townspeople to be responsible for the robbery of Milo's house (VII, 1-2; 154, 5 - 155, 16). This news occasions Lucius' soliloquy on the contrast between his former self and his luckless present. These reflections, as we have seen, parallel those which follow the false charges brought against Lucius at the Festival of Risus. More important, I think, they serve to bring the story of Lucius back into proper perspective after the long robbers' tales and the tale of Cupid and Psyche. The new book, moreover, brings on the scene a new brigand,

30 For the most recent Platonic interpretations, see Scannarolo, op. cit., pp. 159-162, and L. A. MacKay, Arion 4 (1965) 474-480. MacKay's thesis is essentially a rephrasing of Scannarolo's.
the pseudo-Haemus whom the bandit from Hypata had encountered on his way to the cave (VII, 2-6; 156, 22 - 158, 19). Pseudo-Haemus, who is really Tlepolemus, Charite's husband, then relates the course of his fall from a mighty chieftain to a robber working alone, a story which revolves around the third woman of virtue in the Charite-Komplex, the pseudo-Plotina (VII, 6-8).31

Tlepolemus eventually brings off the rescue of Charite and the ass. But once again Fortune intervenes in the hoped-for happiness of both the ass and Charite. The ass encounters (1) a cruel woman, as he frequently does, (2) hostile horses and (3) a cruel boy, the same three agents of suffering whom he had encountered immediately after his transformation into an ass.32 Book VIII opens with the arrival of one of Charite's slaves, who, like a messenger out of a Greek tragedy, relates the tragedy of Tlepolemus and Charite (VIII, 1-14). In this way the

31 Paratore, op. cit. (supra, p. 55, n. 12), p. 269, and Junghanns, p. 151, note the correspondence between Haemus' escape on an ass (VII, 8; 160, 2-3) and Charite's attempted escape on an ass (VI, 27-30). Riefstahl, pp. 70-71, notes parallelism as Plotina, while dressed as a man, bravely follows her husband "in masculinam faciem reformato habitu" (VII, 6; 158, 27) and as pseudo-Haemus makes his escape, dressed as a woman "sumpta veste muliebri . . . calceis femininis" (VII, 8; 159, 26 - 160, 1). Hammer, op. cit., p. 55 and p. 55, n. 1, calls attention to the resemblance between Haemus and Thrasylus: Haemus -- "patre Therone incito prognatus, humano sanguine nutritus" (VII, 5; 158, 12-13); Thrasylus -- "factionibus latronum male sociatus . . . manus infectus humano cruore" (VIII, 1; 177, 8-9). This is part of Hammer's attempt to show that the story of Charite is really a prelude to the stories of adultery which appear later. We see here Hammer's faulty method of supposing that there must be a hint of a theme before that theme can be fully developed elsewhere.

32 Cf. the progression of III, 26 - IV, 3 and VII, 15-27. In each of these two groupings there are the disappointed hopes of the ass, followed by the three above-mentioned sources of cruelty and, finally, a rather long extraneous tale -- in the first instance, the robbers' stories, in the second, the tragic end of Tlepolemus and Charite.
Charite-Komplex comes to an end, and the way is cleared for the appearance of a new set of characters, a new series of adventures, and a new grouping of relevant and irrelevant stories.

Another journey for the ass precedes the next group of stories. This journey is more prolonged than the previous ones. It includes a warning of wolves, an attack by a group of townspeople, the appearance of a man-eating serpent and a tale of adultery (VIII, 15-22). The journey is prolonged even further as the ass ends up temporarily with a group of eunuch priests (VIII, 23 - IX, 10). Among other episodes of interest which occurred during his stay with them, the narrator relates a story of adultery which he had heard while traveling, just as during his previous travels he had picked up a tale of adultery (VIII, 22; 193, 21 - 194, 24 and IX, 4-7; 205, 23 - 208, 3).

The ass' stay with the eunuch priests is cut short by their incarceration, and he is once again auctioned, this time to a baker (IX, 10; 210, 12-17). The familiar pattern of three stories of the same kind which revolve around whomever the ass happens to be with is again evident. The first tale of adultery is that of Philesitherus, whose story, like that of Cupid and Psyche, is told by a hag and overheard by the ass (IX, 17-21). The next two are almost identical. The baker tells his wife of the adulterous wife of their neighbor, the account of which is overheard by the ass (IX, 23-25); the adulterer is hidden by the wife under some sort of tub (alveo ligneo, IX, 23; 220, 14) where he is eventually discovered. The story of the baker's own adulterous wife is

seen by the narrator himself. In this one, too, the adulterer is hidden under a hollow object (IX, 24; 221, 11).

This grouping of stories, like those which revolve around Charite, comes to an end with the death of the ass' owner and the dispersal of his estate. Violence is to be the theme now. The ass is witness to the violent deaths of the three sons of an acquaintance of his owner, the violent death of a tyrannical neighbor and the suicide of his owner's acquaintance (IX, 33-38). The acquaintance's three sons are "doctrina instructis et verecundia praeditis" (IX, 35; 229, 12-13). Their end is recorded as follows: "Ad istum modum puncto brevissimo dilapsae domus fortunam hortulanus ille miseratus" (IX, 39; 232, 24-25).

The ass is separated from the gardener, and while being kept by the slave of his next owner he hears of a murder trial which he feels compelled to relate (X, 2-12). A man has two sons, one of whom is "prope litteratum atque ob id consequenter pietate, modestia praecipuum" (X, 2; 237, 4-5). A Hippolytus-like story, but with a happy ending, follows. This tale, too, involves sudden change of fortune: "infelix duplici filiorum morte percussus magnis aerumnarum procellis aestuat" (X, 5; 240, 24-25); but later, "et illius quidem senis famosa atque fabulosa fortuna providentiae divinae condignum accepit exitum, qui . . . puncto exiguo post orbitatis periculum . . . duorum pater repente factus est" (X, 12; 245, 26-29).

A change of ownership follows: the adventures experienced by the ass are recorded until the stage is set for the third tale of violence. This revolves around the murders committed by the woman with whom the ass—Lucius is to fornicate publicly (X, 23-28). One of the
victims is the woman's husband, who was in his youth a boy pietatis spectatae (X, 23; 255, 9-10).\(^{34}\) The ass flees from the intended love-spectacle, and the second portion of the Metamorphoses comes to an end.

I have treated this part of the work in a rather cursory way, but adequately enough, I think, to show the principle of arrangement: the ass' wanderings and adventures which precede groupings of tales both witnessed and overheard, arranged usually in threes -- three of robbery, three of virtuous women, three of adultery and three of violence, with a few left standing separately. The self-contained and usually irrelevant stories of this section are frequently piquant, sometimes lewd and generally intended to serve no purpose other than to entertain.

The ass' escape brings about as rapid a transition as his capture by robbers had done earlier. From a thronged and rather vulgar festival we move quickly to the isolation of a beach near Corinth. Just as mysticism gave way to adventure at Lucius' capture, so adventure gives way to mysticism at his escape. There is a foreshadowing of this when the ass, while awaiting the beginning of the festival of Book X, sees in the

\(^{34}\)I have followed Junghanns, p. 177, in noting the similarities in these last three stories: murder of virtuous people by wicked people. The stories of the middle portion of the Metamorphoses contain many allusions to one another which I have only occasionally mentioned. These are treated at length by Hammer. They are another example of Apuleius' fondness for repeating motifs. I have not included these references from story to story because I consider them of minor importance, lacking the significance of the variations on a theme or motif in the first three books.

\(^{35}\)For the formalized introduction to the frivolous tales of entertainment, see p. 38, n. 43. In addition there is the type: "... dissignatum scelestan ac nefarum facinus memini, sed ut vos etiam legatis, ad libro profero" (X, 2; 237, 1-3).
presence of spring one last chance to escape his hated destiny (X, 29; 260, 71-12). The ass' hopes are realized and there follows the denouement of all that has preceded.

The correspondence between the first and third portion of the Metamorphoses is what, pace Helm and Perry, makes the work as a whole successful in the development of one significant idea, despite many irrelevant digressions. The most manifest aspect of the denouement brought about by Isis, dea ex machina, as it were, is the final metamorphosis of Lucius. The shedding of Lucius' ass-form corresponds to the assumption of it. In this way, the structure of the work has thematic significance, as we see before our eyes the undoing of the harmful effects of Lucius' curiosity and witchcraft through the intercession of Isis:

(1) pili mei crassantur = squalens pilus defluit;
(2) cutis tenella duratur in corium = cutis crassa tenuatur;
(3) in extimis palmulis perdito numero toti digiti coguntur in singulas ungulas = pedum plantae per ungulas in digitos exeunt;
(4) de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit = et, quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam;
(5) iam facies enormis = mihi delabitur deformis et ferina facies;
(6) os prolixum = os et caput rutundatur;
(7) aures inmodicis horripilant auctibus = aures enormes repetunt pristinam parvitatem;
(8) labiae pendulae = dentes saxei redeunt ad humanam minutiam.37


37 III, 24; 70, 10-15 and XI, 13; 276, 4-12. I am indebted to Scazzoso, op. cit., p. 109, for this schema.
We need not be surprised, of course, that the restoration of Lucius' former self entails the loss of his animal parts, and that there is correspondence between what is lost and what is regained. This necessary correspondence is merely one means, albeit obvious and superficial, of equating the mystic portions of the *Metamorphoses* and of making Lucius' formerly errant ways stand out in contrast to his presently righteous commitment to Isis.

The symmetry of the festivals is more significant, I think, and bears witness to the craftsmanship of Apuleius. First let us consider the circumstances surrounding the festivals. The Festival of Risus is a source of humiliation to Lucius. It is followed by an interlude of love-making with Fotis and then the revelation to Lucius of the secrets of Pamphile's kind of magic and finally his transformation into an ass. The second festival, in Book X, is designed to humiliate the ass and is preceded by an account of the woman with whom the ass is to fornicate publicly. This festival episode contains the preliminaries to love-making and to transformation, both of which were realized in the events surrounding the earlier festival. There is a further contrast in the two festivals; Lucius, thoroughly disgusted with people and desiring to be alone, returns after the Festival of Risus to the solitude of his room where Fotis comes to him and discloses the secrets of magic. As Fotis had earlier given Lucius instructions, Isis now gives him directions. The instructions at both times are accompanied by admonitions to keep secret forever what is revealed. The information disclosed

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38Cf. "patere, . . . oro, prius fores cubiculi diligenter obcludam, ne sermonis elapsi profana petulantia committam grande flagitium" (III, 15; 62, 25 - 63, 1), and "plane memineris et penita. mente conditum semper tenebis . . . ." (XI, 6; 270, 26-27).
follows Lucius' entreaties, in the first instance to Fotis, in the second to Isis. His requests are, of course, fulfilled quite differently. Revelation of the secrets of magic results in his disfigurement; Isis' revelations bring about the eventual return of his human self. The third festival, that of Isis, fulfils Isis' earlier promises, and Lucius is finally restored. There is a marked contrast between the unfulfilled promises of witchcraft and the efficacious intercession of Isis. As in the first portion of the Metamorphoses, Apuleius' use of motifs with significant variations is instrumental in expressing the spiritual aspects of the story.

We have looked at the circumstances which precede and follow the three major festivals of the Metamorphoses. We may now look a little more closely at the festivals themselves:

39I think that Apuleius would have contrasted quasi-religious witchcraft and Isis with two festivals if he had not been following the Ονος of Lucian or the Μεταμορφώσεις of Lucius of Patrae. In the surviving work of Lucian, the restorative roses are obtained at the festival during which the ceremonial fornication is to take place. Apuleius apparently and rightly felt that the epiphany of Isis, which was necessary for the serious purpose of his work, would not have been appropriate at a festival of this type. This is a good example of Apuleius' independence of the original when the original is incompatible with his serious intentions.

40For the most part, I follow Riefstahl here, p. 75.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Festival of Risus(^{41})</th>
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<th>Procession of Isis</th>
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<td>Awakening of hero in morning (III, 1)</td>
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<td>Anxiety over dawn and display of himself; anxiety over crowds; desire to die (X, 29)</td>
<td>Anxiety over his destiny; desire to die (XI, 2); anxiety over dawn (XI, 7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoidance of humiliation (III, 12)</td>
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<td>Humiliation intentionally absent in midst of festivities (XI, 6)</td>
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<td>Statue of Risus (III, 11)</td>
<td>Images of goddess Isis carried about (XI, 16) and Lucius as Sun is like statue (XI, 24)</td>
<td>Help of Isis for entire lifetime promised (XI, 6 and 15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Help of Risus for entire lifetime promised (III, 11)</td>
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\(^{41}\)Cf., too, the remarks of those who perpetrate the awful joke of the Festival of Risus, "ommem itaque de tuo pectore praesentem tristitudinem mitte et angorem animi depelle. Nam lusus iste ... semper commenti novitate florescit" (III, 11; 60, 7-11), and Isis' reassurances, "mitte iam fle tus et lamentationes, depelle maerorem; iam tibi providentia mea inluescit dies salutaris" (XI, 5; 270, 3-5).
Before concluding this chapter, I have one more observation on the correspondences between the first and third parts of the *Metamorphoses*. The chief priest of Isis, it seems to me, plays the sacerdotal part which Fotis had played earlier. Without attempting to strain the point, I think it safe to say that just as Fotis is Lucius' means to the quasi-religious secrets of witchcraft, so the chief priest of Isis is his avenue to the secret rites of Isis and later Osiris. The directions and explanations of both ministers are frequently accompanied by warnings to Lucius to be patient. Significantly, he heeds the chief priest's admonitions, as he had not, unfortunately, heeded those of Fotis.42

We have examined in this chapter only one aspect of the structure of the *Metamorphoses*, symmetry. In the preceding chapter we considered the thematic cohesion of the work. From what we have seen thus far, we can say that the *Metamorphoses* deserves more praise than Helm and Ferry are willing to accord it. It is not simply a series of adventure stories to which a serious ending has been added. It is rather a unified account of Lucius' spiritual development, in which theme and structure complement one another.

42There is one other correspondence which may be significant but which I am somewhat reluctant to stress much. While dining with Milo and Pamphile, Lucius compares looking at Pamphile to looking at death, "perinde in eius [Pamphiles] faciem oculos meos ac si in Avernum lacum formidans deieceram" (II, 11; 34, 11-12). Lucius describes his initiation into the secret rites of Isis as putting one foot into the gates of Hell (XI, 23; 285, 14-17). Psyche, too, whose story is a miniature of Lucius', descends to the underworld.
CHAPTER III

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE

METAMORPHOSES AND OTHER PROSE FICTION OF ANTIQUITY

In this chapter we shall examine various narrative techniques of other ancient writers of prose fiction in the hope of determining the relationship of Apuleius' techniques in the Metamorphoses to theirs.¹

Before proceeding to our study, a very brief mention of chronology is in order.² The Satyricon was written in the time of Nero; the Metamorphoses close to 160 A.D.; Apollonius of Tyre in the third century after Christ;³ Chariton, first century A.D.; Xenophon of Ephesus, early second century A.D.; Achilles Tatius, mid-second century A.D.; Longus, late second

¹The other fiction writers of antiquity under consideration are Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Heliodorus, Longus (in passing) and Xenophon of Ephesus in Greek; Petronius and the anonymous author of Apollonius of Tyre in Latin. The critical editions and translations used are noted in the bibliography under the respective authors. I do not quote the Greek passages. Wherever a translated passage appears, it is accompanied by a reference first to the Greek edition and second to the page number of the translation, e.g., "while we were still discussing the matter a man hurried up to us and said . . ." (Ethiopian Story III, 10; p. 77). Where references appear without a translated passage the citations are of the Greek text alone.

²Chronology need not be of great significance for our purposes since we shall not be concerned with tracing "borrowings" or development. A convenient resume of work on the dating of the Greek romances is given in Franz Zimmermann, Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft 4 (1949-50) 252ff. The dating of Petronius' Satyricon is, of course, an area of study in itself; useful summaries of the diverse theories are given by K. F. C. Rose, CQ n.s. 12 (1962) 166-168 and Arion 5 (1966) 275-301, especially 289-91. On the dating of Apuleius' Metamorphoses, see M. Molt, Ad Apulei Medaurensis Metamorphoseon Librum Primum Commentarius Exegeticus (Groningen, 1933), pp. 6-8.

³Perry, Ancient Romances, p. 294.
century A.D.; Heliodorus, first half of the third century A.D.

Because of the rather homogeneous nature of the Greek romances and Apollonius of Tyre, they may serve as guidelines for the method to be followed. I shall note and discuss such narrative characteristics as are strikingly similar to or different from those of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and, whenever possible, the *Satyricon*. With the exception of a few rhetorical devices such as *ekphrasis* and soliloquies, which are almost ubiquitous in the Greek romances, our discussion will be confined largely to comparable or distinguishable structural characteristics. A comparison of subject matter is destined to be unfruitful. Incest and adultery, for instance, appear in a number of the works under discussion; but these are themes or elements of so many works of antiquity that any discussion of them is bound to degenerate into a bald enumeration of all too numerous parallels. Necromancy appears in several of the works, but it also plays a part in Aeschylus' *Persians* and elsewhere in the literature of antiquity.

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^4^ Perry, *Ancient Romances*, p. 350, n. 15; and see Perry's references here.

^5^ This is, in fact, the method of E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus* (Berlin, 1899). For remarks critical of Klebs' method, see F. Garin, "De historia Apollonii Tyrii," *Mnemosyne* 42 (1914) 198-200.

^6^ S. Hammer, "De Narrationum Apulei Met. X-mo Insertarum Compositione et Exemplaribus," *Eos* 26 (1923-24) 7, compares the necromancer Zatchlas in Apuleius' story of Charite with the necromancer in Heliodorus VI, 14-15. Most of the similarities which Hammer observes, however, appear also in Darius' return to the upper world in the *Persians*. Hammer also compares the boar hunt during which Tlepolemus is killed and the boar hunt in Achilles Tatius II, 34, in which Menelaus accidentally kills a man. Much the same tale can be found, however, in Herodotos' story of Adrastus, I, 42ff. If Hammer's methods are followed, we should do just as well to look to the literature of fifth century Greece.
This is not to say that the presence or absence of a theme is always without structural significance; brigands appear frequently among the characters in the prose fiction of antiquity. This in itself does not seem to me to be particularly important. What is significant, I think, in trying to determine the relationship of Apuleius' narrative techniques to those of other ancient writers of prose fiction, is that the brigands, be they pirates or robbers, in most of the works serve either to initiate or to continue the adventures which comprise a large portion of the stories. For the most part, however, a comparative study of contents is pointless because of the wide-ranging use of many themes common to the works. This study, therefore, will be confined to the Darstellung rather than the Gehalt of the fictional prose of antiquity.

Milieu

Possibly the most striking difference between the ideal romances and the Metamorphoses is in social milieu. This is nowhere better brought out than in the setting for love. There is love at first sight in Xenophon at Artemis' feast, in Chariton at Aphrodite's feast, in

7Cf. P. A. Mackay, "Klephika. The Tradition of the Tales of Banditry in Apuleius," Greece and Rome ser. 2, 10 (1963) 147-152. Brigands are responsible for the wanderings and adventures of the heroes and heroines in Apuleius, Chariton and Xenophon (although an oracle is responsible for the initial departure aboard ship); they are responsible for the separation and many of the adventures of the "heroic" couples in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. It would seem from Petronius that exaggerated declamations about pirates were a feature of Roman education during the Empire: "Et ideo ego adulescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex his, quae in usu habemus, aut audiant aut vident, sed piratas cum catenis in litore stantes . . ." (1, 3).
Heliodorus during a religious procession, in Achilles Tatius at a formal dinner, and in Apuleius in the kitchen! 8 The Greek romances center around the aristocracy, while the Metamorphoses revolves around gardeners, millers, cooks and, in general, the lower strata of society, although Lucius himself is from a prominent family. 9 There are exceptions, of course. Charite and pseudo-Plotina are both of the upper strata; in the Greek romances we meet slaves and pirates briefly; but in general, the upper class is represented in the Greek romances and the lower middle class in the Metamorphoses.

**Tone**

The ideal romances (this includes the Latin Apollonius of Tyre) are, in general, intended to be edifying, either morally or intellectually. The latter correlative is needed to accommodate Achilles Tatius, who attempts to make up with wondrous information what he lacks in moral instruction. As in the Metamorphoses, the wicked minor characters in

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8 Riefstahl, p. 85. Apollonius of Tyre arouses the love of the daughter of King Archestrates during a banquet at the king's palace. The erotic adventures of Encolpius in the Satyricon are, of course, in a class by themselves. Riefstahl compares the plot of the Metamorphoses to the typical plot of the Greek romances and Fotis to their heroines; for this he is criticized by Haight, op. cit., p. 193. Haight is overly critical because she has failed to grasp Riefstahl's irony. I might add that Riefstahl (p. 83) makes a perspicacious observation, that the Greek romances are closed, geschlossene, in that through thick and thin the two lovers must remain true to one another. Lucius, however, has only to survive while being tossed through the misery and foolishness which come his way. This generalization, while illuminating, is not wholly correct; Habrocomes in Xenophon III, 12, 4 and Clitophon in Achilles Tatius V, 27 break vows of chastity. Although the plot of the Greek romances is, with qualification, "closed," their range of action, as Riefstahl observes (p. 84), is much more "open." The heroes and heroines of the Greek romances are tossed all over the Mediterranean world, while Lucius is confined to Thessaly and Greece proper.

9 Riefstahl, p. 85.
Heliodorous are usually punished. The pirate Thermouthis is killed by the bite of an asp (I, 17); his death is accompanied by a bit of moralizing by the author, "and thus by the will, no doubt, of the Fates he sank to a sudden end not inappropriate to his character" (I, 17; p. 49). The pirate Trachinus meets with a violent end (V, 32); the troublemaker Thisbe is killed by Thyamis (I, 30); the evil-minded Cybele accidentally drinks poisoned wine which she herself has prepared (VIII, 7); the lustful Arsace hangs herself (VIII, 15); her death is also accompanied by an appropriate moral observation, "your enemy has paid the penalty: Arsace is dead, having hanged herself in a strangling noose" (VIII, 15; p. 213). Cnemon's wicked stepmother Demaenete kills herself (I, 17). All these deaths, apart from that of Demaenete, in addition to revealing the moral scheme of things, remove characters no longer needed. Apuleius' method, as we shall see, is similar.

In contrast to the wicked who die violently, the secondary figure Cnemon, who is aligned with the "good side," is allowed, when he is no longer needed, to marry happily under surprisingly gratuitous circumstances (VI, 8). The priest Calasiris, having performed all his divinely ordained duties, dies peacefully and contentedly (VII, 11).

Heliodorus obviously wants to demonstrate that a moral force permeates the universe and exacts punishment when appropriate. The main characters, Theagenes and Chariclea, along with their moral mentor Calasiris, however, bring to naught the moralizing of the author. Calasiris is an habitual liar; when he knows from other sources that Chariclea's symptoms are those of love, he pretends to resort to
exorcism to learn these already known facts (IV, 4).\textsuperscript{10} Chariclea is so clever at lying that Calasiris praises her for it (VI, 9).\textsuperscript{11} Theagenes, while not a master of deceit, is willing to break a promise on the basis that it was made under the conditions established by his lie, a lie which he has since repudiated (VII, 26).\textsuperscript{12} In addition to lacking moral integrity, Theagenes, like most "heroes" of the Greek romances, lacks moral courage from time to time:

But Theagenes stopped her, saying: "How far are we to continue fleeing from the Fate that everywhere pursues us? Let us yield to Fortune, and meet half-way the flood that would sweep us along. Let us spare ourselves these futile straies of a nomad life and deity's persistent mockery of us" (V, 6; p. 115).

His lament continues in this vein. Chariclea, who, like the women in general of the ideal romances and the \textit{Metamorphoses}, is self-willed, upbraids him and persuades him to act (V, 7).\textsuperscript{13}

Chariton takes a more active part in the unfolding of the story

\textsuperscript{10}See S. L. Wolff, \textit{The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction} (New York, 1912), pp. 139-140 for other examples of the "gratuitous" lying of Calasiris. Henceforth I shall refer to this work simply as Wolff.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 141.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{13}D. B. Durham, "Parody in Achilles Tatius," \textit{CP} 33 (1936) 1-19, sees in Clitophon's unheroic behavior a parody of Heliodorus by Achilles Tatius. Durham at the outset criticizes the mistaken view that the Greek romances are of one mold. He then falls into this trap by generalizing on the moral integrity, moral strength and physical courage displayed by the "heroes" of the Greek romance. Here is where he goes astray. Heliodorus' Theagenes does not possess the moral strength which Durham attributes to him and which he claims is being parodied by Achilles Tatius. I mentioned earlier that Xenophon's hero Habrocomes breaks his vows; Daphnis does not remain chaste. Daphnis, I might add, is also a coward. Moreover, Chaereas displays in the first portion of Chariton's work an utter lack of resolution.
and does not refrain from intruding into the action with suitable moral observations. A good example is in the author's preface to the divinely formulated punishment of the pirate Theron and his henchmen:

Thunder and lightning and prolonged darkness fell upon these villains, and Providence showed them plainly that until now they had had fair sailing only because of Callirhoe (III, 3; p. 41).

Here in black and white we have Chariton's view of cosmic intervention into the affairs of mortals in order to protect the virtuous and punish the wicked. Nor is the deity's wrath long in coming, "the wheel and the rack and fire and whips followed after him, since Providence was now awarding him the suitable prize for his endeavors" (III, 4; p. 43). One final example will illustrate Chariton's deep-seated concern with morality. He announces the denouement of the story in this way: "No more piracy or slavery or court trials or battles or suicide or war or capture here, but true love and lawful marriage!" (VIII, 1; p. 111).

If we try to appraise the moral intentions of the author, Xenophon's Ephesian Tale presents a number of difficulties, not the least of which is that we may have a shortened form of the original. There is little development of themes or characters. The work is monotonously episodic as Habrocomes and Anthia encounter pirates and troublemaking would-be lovers with tedious regularity. Another problem is that since the minor characters are never clearly delineated we cannot determine on which side of justice or morality they stand. The pirate Apsyrtos' daughter Manto is enflamed by love to the point of doing violence, but

her behavior seems to be condoned by the author, since she, like Habrocomes, is the victim of Eros.\textsuperscript{15} That Xenophon intended to represent the universe as moral is clear, nonetheless, from the words he puts into the mouths of Habrocomes and Anthia at the end of the story:

But I come to you now, Habrocomes, my soul’s master, just as I was [i.e., chaste] when I departed from Tyre for Syria (V, 14, 2; p. 169).

I swear to you by this day we have so ardently desired and so barely attained, that neither has any maiden appeared fair in my sight, nor has any other woman that I have seen won my favor: you receive Habrocomes back just such as you left him in the prison in Tyre (V, 14, 4; p. 169).

Neither of them is being as truthful as possible. Habrocomes, as we have already seen, was wed briefly. Anthia consents to a marriage with a police official. At the last minute, however, she resolves on death instead of a marriage to anyone other than Habrocomes (III, 5, 3-4). Neither, in any case, kept completely his promise of absolute faithfulness. Like Heliodorus, Xenophon seems unable to construct a plot and develop characters consistent with his intentions.

Even the unadorned story of Apollonius of Tyre manages to convey its anonymous author’s belief in fair play. The stark nature of the work, however, prevents a systematic exposition of the author’s views on the “nature of things.” A certain Hellanicus scornfully rejects Apollonius’ offer of one hundred talents for not betraying him (8). There is no point in having Apollonius come to the aid of a poor fisherman except to display Apollonius’ magnanimous character (12 and 52).\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15}See Dalmeyda’s introduction to the Budé edition, p. xxii.

All traces of a moral world are absent from Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon. The "hero" Clitophon caves in at every moral choice. Clitophon decides to elope just before the arrival of a letter which would have made the elopement unnecessary. Because the letter does not arrive in time, Clitophon attributes the elopement to Fortune (V, 11). The fallacy here, as Wolff shows, rests in attributing to malevolent Fortune what lies within Clitophon's power to do or not to do. Our hero also lacks moral integrity not only with regard to Leucippe's chastity (that precious commodity which the heroes and heroines of the other Greek romances would die to preserve) but also with regard to his vows to be faithful to her. Clitophon goes to all sorts of pains and plans several deceitful schemes in order to attack Leucippe's maidenhood. The elopement itself is simply the result of their carnal passions. Their chastity is physical rather than moral, since both were willing to engage in sexual intercourse before their flight. The elopement gains the approval of Artemis and Aphrodite ex post facto, and thereafter the couple struggles for the preservation of chastity (IV, 1). Its loss takes place under very singular circumstances. Wolff's characteristically glib description is worth quoting:

As long as both Leucippe and Thersander [Melitta's husband] are believed to be dead, as long as Clitophon is supposed to be a widower and Melitta a widow, and both together lawfully husband and wife, -- as long, that is to say, as Clitophon might, in right feeling and right morals, have been justified in yielding to Melitta -- just so long does he refuse to yield; ... Then Leucippe is found and we hear (V, 21) that Clitophon feels he cannot even look at another woman; and then

17p. 118.  
18Tbid., p. 129.  
19Tbid.
Thersander reappears too; and it becomes plain, not only that Clitophon is a married man, but that Melitta is a married woman; so that now any surrender on either part would indeed be a double adultery. Well, this is precisely when he does yield (V, 27).20

Leucippe is no more virtuous than Clitophon. She is quite willing to yield to his erotic intentions. Like most of Achilles Tatius' characters, she is an accomplished liar. She tells her mother that she does not know who has been in her room (II, 25).21 Of those who appear on stage for any extended period of time, not one, in fact, is respectable. Even the slaves are either schemers or pimps.22 Wolff is correct in his assertion that Achilles Tatius was incapable of depicting a "reasonably well behaved character even in his hero and heroine."23

Thus, with the exception of Achilles Tatius, the writers of ideal romances whom we have so far discussed have a moral outlook on life, often oversimplified, which they want to communicate. They are not always successful in creating a plot which reveals their envisioned morality, but there is no doubt in their minds that the cosmos is constructed and conducted in such a way that each will receive what he deserves.

20 Pp. 148-49; Wolff's dislike of Achilles Tatius spurs him on to several thoroughly entertaining, highly rhetorical, and extremely vitriolic but altogether correct fulminations. It must be admitted in Achilles Tatius' favor, however, that his romance is the most interesting of the Greek romances, possibly because his characters are "real" in their faults, unlike the "ideal" but unbelievable characters of the others. His Melitta in particular is a masterly creation, possessing more wit and buoyant optimism than all the characters of all the other Greek romances put together.

21 Ibid., p. 142. See also p. 140 for numerous other examples of lying.

22 Ibid., p. 149. 23 Ibid.
We have already seen that Apuleius' Lucius is essentially moral. His moral indignation is evident in the tale about the baker and his wife when he is unable to refrain from revealing the whereabouts of the adulterer. The eleventh book, of course, is charged with religious fervor. The self-contained tales of the middle portion frequently reveal the author's basic morality or feelings of propriety. The leading characters in the story of incest in the tenth book are divided into representatives of the good and the bad. The husband has a virtuous son, "iuvenem filium probe litteratum atque ob id consequenter pietate, modestia praecipuum" (X, 2; 237, 3-5). The man's wife is wicked, "noverca forma magis quam moribus ... praepollens, seu naturaliter impudica seu fato ad extremum impulsa flagitium" (ibid.; 237, 9-12). The "wicked" receive their due punishment:

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\text{Iamque liquido servi nequissimi atque mulieris nequioris patefactis sceleribus procedit in medium nuda veritas et novercae quidem perpetuum indicitur exilium, servus vero patibulo suffigitur ... (X, 12; 245, 21-24).}
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The story of the condemned female criminal reveals the same sort of dichotomy, the good husband and his wicked wife. The "good side" in this tale suffers, but the "wicked side" meets ruin along with it. The struggle between good and bad and inevitable moral victory are expressed succinctly in Book VII when Tlepolemus, representing the good faction,

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\[24\]X, 2-12.

\[25\]This is the one episode in the Metamorphoses that lacks verisimilitude in the way that the Greek romances often do. There is no reason for the doctor to delay revealing that he had given the "good" young man's stepbrother a soporific instead of poison. The delayed revelation is nothing more than an artificial device to maintain suspense.

defeats the robbers: ". . . ipsos [latrones] . . . provolutosque in proximas rupinas praecipites dedere, alios vero suis sibi gladiis obtruncatos reliquere" (VII, 13; 164, 9-11). Rejoicing in their moral triumph, Tlepolemus and his companions (including the ass) return home, "tali vindicta laeti et gaudentes civitatem revenimus" (ibid.; 164, 12). 27

Apuleius clearly shares with most of the writers of the Greek romances a view that the universe is somehow watched over by a moral force and that wrongdoers receive their due. This conviction is demonstrated by example, as we saw above, and precept. A characteristic example of a moralizing intrusion, similar to the moralizing in Chariton, occurs during the ass' stay with the eunuch priests: "Specta denique, quale caelesti providentia meritum reportaverit" (VIII, 28; 199, 9-10).

In both Chariton and Heliodorus we have noted that the providential punishment of transgressors, besides providing an opportunity for moralizing, is an excellent way of removing characters no longer needed. This is a method frequently employed by Apuleius. The robbers are captured and die violently, and thus the ass is free of them and in a position to relate a series of adventures revolving around a new set of characters. His new owners, Charite and Tlepolemus, meet tragic ends, taking with them, of course, the villain Thrasyllus, and the ass is once again enabled to experience a new set of adventures. These owners, too, the eunuch priests, are removed from the scene, this time by the strong

27See Junghanns, p. 148, n. 48, for further examples of evil deeds and their punishment and his observation that the good do not always win, but do take the wicked with them in their fall.
arm of the law, and the ass is free to observe and overhear what takes place at the baker's house. The baker kills himself, and Lucius now falls in with a gardener in whose company he is witness to a number of violent deaths. The gardener is jailed, and the ass is thrown into a new series of adventures. So the story moves. Each owner who dies or is jailed (except the gardener) receives what he deserves or takes with him in his undeserved punishment those who deserve punishment. Thus the numerous hasty departures serve simultaneously the author’s moral purposes and his narrative needs.\(^\text{28}\)

Petronius' *Satyricon* will receive only cursory notice here; I shall later offer my opinions of the author's purpose. For the present I confine myself to disagreeing briefly with Gilbert Highet, who sees Petronius as a moralist.\(^\text{29}\) Highet is correct that in the areas of manners, education, and aesthetics "Petronius has a serious intention to correct or chastise, although there is always something comic about the way he does it."\(^\text{30}\) Highet confuses manners and morality, however. Lichas, the most respectable person in the *Satyricon*, is the one out of all the misfits aboard ship who drowns.\(^\text{31}\) Highet goes to such lengths

\(^{28}\)As noted earlier, a good many of the stories within a story end with a death also. See supra, p. 66, n. 23.


\(^{31}\)Sat., 115.
to find a moral issue that he construes Encolpius' physical inability to make love as in some way an indication that all immoral deeds are doomed to failure: "Few better ways of condemning lewdness could be devised than to show the miserable collapse of physical love." Near the beginning of what we have of the *Satyricon* we are relieved to learn of Encolpius' refusal to applaud Quartilla's plans to "wed" Pannechis, a girl of no more than seven, to the young boy Giton. Petronius arouses our expectations with a word order designed to contrast Encolpius with the others: "Plaudentibus ergo universis et postulantibus nuptias, obstupui ego . . ." (25, 3). Encolpius' reaction to Quartilla's disgusting proposal is that of any reasonably moral person. But what follows? Neither Pannechis nor Giton protests: "Sine dubio non repugnaverat puer, ac ne puella quidem tristis expaverat nuptiarum nomen" (26, 3). Soon Quartilla with a gentle tug draws Encolpius to a peephole where they kiss as they peer at the child-couple's introduction to sex:

Me quoque ad idem spectaculum lenta manu traxit, et quia considerantium cohaeserant vultus, quicquid a spectaculo vacabat, commovebat obiter labra et me tamquam furtivis subinde osculis verberabat (26, 5).

The entire Quartilla episode is, in fact, one of outright obscenity. What is represented by Quartilla as an exorcism is in reality an orgy.

The *Satyricon* contains a large number of vulgar scenes, most of which, as in the episode just treated, are developed from a contrast.

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between upright pretensions and less than honorable actions. For instance, the restoration of Encolpius' sexual virility is placed within a religious context (135, 3; 136, 3; 137, 5). In addition, the worship of sexual potency takes place within a milieu in which the pristine simplicity of rural life is honored (135, 7-8). In much the same way, Petronius depicts an idyllic scene in which the reader expects perfect love (dignus amore locus) to be consummated (131, 8 - 132, 1). The portrayal rapidly changes, however, and becomes a farcical debasement of idealized love (128ff.). There are many more examples of the way Petronius first develops an unsullied experience only to deny its possibility. The significance of this will be treated at length later; now it is enough to say that Petronius intentionally repudiates the moral outlook which Highet claims to find in the Satyricon.

Thus with the exception of Petronius and Achilles Tatius, the novelists of antiquity attempt to impart a moral tone and to make their works morally edifying.

Foreign Literary Genres in Prose Fiction

In classical antiquity fiction was not a respectable literary form. Novels or romances are, in fact, mentioned only infrequently by Greek and Latin litterateurs and, when discussed at all, usually in disparaging terms. The lack of respectability of the genre seems to have led ancient novelists to superimpose upon their own humble bill of fare far more respectable literary elements. The types of superadditions and the way these accretions are imposed tell us a good deal about the aims of the various writers.
The Greek romances on the whole are debased, sentimentialized caricatures of the *Odyssey*. This contributes a good deal to explaining the regular appearance in them of all or several of the following elements: long separation, unfailing loyalty through every test of fortitude, stories within a story, exciting adventures frequently the result of chance, travel in distant lands, disguises, mistaken identities, and recognitions.33 The outward form of the Greek romances is also that of history. This is evident from their titles, *Ephesiaca, Aethiopica, Cypriaca, Babylonica*, etc.34 Perry quotes a letter in which the emperor Julian deprecates the erotic fiction of his day which is published in the form of history (*ἐν ἱστορίαις εἴδει*).35 Furthermore, "the Suda" calls the Greek romancers *ἱστορικοῦ* and refers to one work, which may have been a romance, as *δράμα ἱστορικόν*.36 Thus drama, too, has an influence on the form of the Greek romances.37 Perry notes that both drama and history are aspects of epic.38 The historiographical methodology is at the forefront of all the Greek romances; their authors are at pains to establish a historical context, however fictitious the narrative may be, employing characters known, perhaps

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34Perry, *Ancient Romances*, p. 78.

35Ibid.

36Quoted by Perry, ibid.


38Ancient Romances, p. 79.
slightly, through myth and legend. 39 Achilles Tatius breaks tradition by relating contemporary history. 40 We may, in any case, expect to find plots taken in part from epic presented as history and enlivened occasionally by the techniques of drama.

Heliodorus' Ethiopica, despite the historical look of its title, is in form the most epic of the romances. 41 As in the Odyssey and the Aeneid, the story begins in mediis rebus. Past events are told by the priest Calasiris until past, as represented in his narrative, and present become contemporaneous at exactly the midpoint in the story, just as at the midpoint of the Odyssey. The appearance of a deified Odysseus is, in fact, the initial motivation for all the adventures related in the story. 42 Episodes modelled after the Odyssey are frequent. Theagenes and Chariclea dress as beggars in obvious imitation of Odysseus. 43 Heliodorus makes sure that the reference will not be overlooked by having Cnemon direct to Theagenes and Chariclea the same words that Melanthius had spoken to Odysseus. 44 At least one episode in the Ethiopica is reminiscent of the Iliad. The aged priest Calasiris chases his two sons

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39 Ancient Romances, p. 115; cf. Frye, op. cit., p. 306: "The novel tends rather to expand into a fictional approach to history. The soundness of Fielding's instinct in calling Tom Jones history is confirmed . . . ."

40 Perry, ibid.


42v, 21.

43 Ethiopica II, 19 and Odyssey XVII.

44 Ethiopica ibid. and Odyssey XVII, 22.
around the walls of Memphis as Achilles had chased Hector around Troy's walls. The scene is no more ludicrous than the end of the story, which also may have been inspired by Homer. The recognition of Chariclea by her parents is drawn out to ridiculous lengths and under absurd circumstances in imitation of Odysseus' delayed recognition by Penelope. Quotations from Homer are frequent. The pirate Thyamis says, "The fighting shall be our concern" (I, 28; p. 27). These are almost exactly the parting words of Hector and Andromache.

Heliodorus' preoccupation with drama frequently leads him to use many stage terms, usually metaphorically. To take just one example, a long series of adventures on both land and sea is described in these terms: ἔρπαξα, σμήνη, τραγική πολίνος. It is clear that the stage terms are employed here only to denote action in a very general sense. This is true of the work on the whole, as Walden shows. Heliodorus pays lip service to history also. The story takes place when Egypt is a satrapy of Persia and Persia's governor is at war with the king of Egypt. The perfunctory historical setting provides a few episodes or (as Heliodorus would have it) scenes of interest, a large battle and the capture of Theagenes and Chariclea by her father, Bydaspes, the king of Ethiopia. But, as Wolff observes, almost any historical context will serve to separate two lovers.

The important point for our study is that Heliodorus seriously

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45 *Ethiopica* VII, 7 and *Iliad* XXII, 136ff.

46 See Haight, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91, for several other quotations from Homer.

imagined his work to be in some way a dignified successor to the epic, dramatic and historical narrative forms.

Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe is in form the most historical of the Greek romances. The Syracusan general Hermocrates is the father of Callirhoe. The naval battle between Syracusans and Athenians receives frequent mention. The Persian king Artaxerxes appears in person. Reference is made to the war between Greeks and Persians and to Egyptian uprisings against Persia. Chaereas, in fact, emerges as a hero and is largely responsible for the success of the Egyptian sea operations. Perry feels that the absence of extravagance in behavior and in Fortune's role is directly attributable to the historical form and plot of the work. Homer's epics are alluded to in a few brief episodes and in numerous quotations. References to drama are brief also, mainly in the form of metaphors, e.g., "then the black-hearted villain set the scene of his drama" (I, 4; p. 7). The techniques of drama also appear in Chariton's use of crowds as a chorus, now commending, now condemning. A metaphorical application of the language of the stage to the quasi-historical events is, nonetheless, the primary contribution of drama:

Who could worthily tell of the appearance of the courtroom then? What dramatist ever produced so incredible a situation on the stage? Indeed you might have thought that

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48 B. E. Perry, "Chariton and His Romance from a Literary Point of View," AJP 51 (1930) 100.
49 See Blake's edition, p. 134, for references.
50 Ibid., p. 142, for further examples.
you were in a theatre, filled with a multitude of conflicting passions. All alike were there — tears, joy, astonishment, pity, disbelief, prayer (V, 8; p. 78).

I suspect that Chariton wished to enhance the respectability of the relatively new literary form in which he was working; the trappings of history, epic and drama would be an excellent way to accomplish this end. In any case, it is obvious from the little that has been said about the form of his romance that Chariton, like Heliodorus, reverently borrowed some elements from the already existing narrative genres.

The terseness of Xenophon's Ephesiaca frustrates any really clear evaluation of its relationship to what preceded it. The author's attempts to provide an authentic mise-en-scène seem to be confined to providing a gallery of religious cults. The account is given a note of historiography by supplying the hero and heroine with parents who are high-ranking public officials. The methods of historiography are also seen in the straightforward, chronological narrative, with the inserted stories kept to the very minimum and without the Homeric episodes and quotations so frequent in the other Greek romances. The influence of drama in the plot is evident when Habrocomes, like Hippolytus, belittles the powers of Love, here Eros instead of Aphrodite, and suffers. Euripides' Hippolytus is also recalled in the scene in which Manto is rejected by Habrocomes and then falsely denounces him for attempted rape. The work is brief, and adaptations and adoptions of earlier

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52Haight, op. cit., p. 54.


54Haight, op. cit., p. 58. Haight, ibid., notes additional imitations of tragic plots and episodes.
literary forms are few; we can see, nonetheless, that Xenophon, like Heliodorus and Chariton, felt compelled to give his work respectability by seriously making use of revered literary types.

Even the very bare Apollonius of Tyre displays the trappings of its more worthy predecessors. The work contains a storm scene, in hexameters, obviously based on that in Book I of the Aeneid. Apollonius, like Aeneas, is shipwrecked on the northern coast of Africa. He is rescued and eventually entertained at a banquet by the king of the area. The king's daughter falls in love with him, and the progress of this love is described in words reminiscent of Vergil's description of Dido's consuming love. The banquet itself and the entertaining of Apollonius are based on the Aeneid or, more likely, on Vergil's model, Odyssey VII, 166ff. The historiographical element does not appear until the very end of the story. The anonymous author closes the narrative by claiming that Apollonius had written an account of his adventures in two volumes, one of which was deposited in the temple of Diana at Ephesus. As Perry points out, this is an obvious attempt to give the romance the stamp of historiography, as though the work were based on the highest authority. Within the very short compass of this romance, its author has also drawn from the more respectable forms of narrative.

Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon marks a vast departure from the essentially historiographical mold of the romances which we have discussed; his story is contemporaneous, lacking the highly

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55 Perry, Ancient Romances, p. 304 and n. 2.
56 Garin, op. cit., p. 203, n. 1.
57 Ancient Romances, p. 320.
artificial accoutrements of ancient history which the others employ. The narrative, to be sure, is provided with some sort of historical setting. Sostratus sends his daughter Leucippe from Byzantium to Tyre because Byzantium is at the moment the theatre of war. This supposed war serves to bring Leucippe to Clitophon's notice, but nothing more. The historiographical methods are also evident in the completely irrelevant digressions on crocodiles, elephants, the waters of the Nile, a musical river of Spain and so on. This is an outright farce. The author attempts to give his story the prestige of history by supplying at the beginning of the story a completely irrelevant description of Sidon's double harbor. He fools nobody. He even forgets by the middle of the account that the narrative is first-person and switches to the omniscient third-person point of view. Achilles Tatius also pays perfunctory lip-service to epic; he quotes Homer a few times.\(^{58}\) Drama is also granted its place; Charicles' death is announced by a messenger clearly fashioned after the messengers of tragedy. It is, however, from the quasi-historical, quasi-scientific digressions scattered throughout his work that Achilles Tatius intends to achieve dignity. But these insertions are absurd. If the Greek romances are debased epic, Leucippe and Clitophon is debased romance.

**Foreign Literary Genres in the Comic Romances**

Without exception, the writers of Greek romances try to place their works in a line of descent from the dignified literature which preceded their own. Their attempts, as we have seen, are often mechanical

\(^{58}\)See Haight, *op. cit.*, p. 112 and notes, for references to Homer.
and at times ludicrous, though not intentionally so. Apuleius and Petronius make a different use of the literature which antedates their own. This is not surprising, since theirs are not ideal romances. Allusions to earlier literature are intentionally humorous.

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* there is no attempt at historiographical objectivity; the story of Charite's death, for instance, is introduced by a statement of the author's reaction: "Is de eius exitio et domus totius infortunio mira ac nefanda . . . annuntiabat" (VIII, 1; 176, 18-20). Elsewhere the narrator's moral judgment is combined with a statement of his desire to entertain, e.g., "inibi coeptum facinus oppido memorabile narrare cupio" (VIII, 23; 193, 21-22). Also: "Post dies plusculos ibidem dissignatum scalestum ac nefarium facinus memini, sed ut vos etiam legatis, ad librum profero" (X, 2; 237, 1-3). At times, Apuleius' references to history are meant to be humorous at the expense of his own narrative; he reports the prophecy of Diophanes: "nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum" (II, 12; 35, 9-10). The intent is much the same when Charite spurs the ass on by promising, among other things: "Visetur et in fabulis audietur doctorumque stilis rudis perpetuabitur historia 'asino vectore virgo regia fugiens captivitatem'" (VI, 29; 151, 4-6). And again: "Sed ut cuncta noritis, referam vobis a capite, quae gesta sunt quaeque possint merito doctiores, quibus stilos fortuna subministrat, in historiae specimen chartis involve" (177, 1-4). Nor is there any attempt to place the account within a historical context as in the Greek romances.

59 For further examples, see Junghanns, p. 122, n. 5, and Perry, TAPA 54 (1923) 210-11.
Apuleius makes use of epic from time to time, but for humorous ends. His aim is not to disparage epic, but rather to elicit an amused reaction which is derived from using components inappropriate to what in reality is being described. Lucius' assault on what he believes to be robbers is compared to a deed of Hercules. In the epic manner he retires at the end of this adventure and awakes to the rays of rosy-fingered dawn. Thus the Metamorphoses lacks the serious historiographical, dramatic and epic pretensions of the Greek romances.

Literary Allusions in the Satyricon. — When we turn to Petronius' Satyricon, we are faced with a literary enigma which has attracted and baffled many scholars. As Perry aptly observes, those who have attempted to reveal the raison d'etre of the Satyricon have come to conclusions as widely different as those of the six blind men who described the elephants. The Satyricon has been viewed as a typically Roman satire, a mock-epic, a parody of the Greek romances, a cynical erotic romance, an

60Ancient Romances, p. 186. Perry's discussion of the Satyricon is on the whole admirably enlightening and his conclusions are reasonable. As my arguments are developed, it will be noted that Perry and I disagree on two major points: in very guarded language (pp. 200-201), he seems to deny that the Satyricon is satirical. He appears to conclude this on the basis that satirists "want to improve the world, or instruct it, or criticize it." I have dealt with this "neutral" point of view earlier in my criticism of Hight (supra, pp. 91ff.) and shall have more to say on this conventional view in my subsequent remarks. Of my immediate objective -- to account primarily for the epic allusions in the Satyricon -- Perry states the opinion (p. 207) that the purpose of the burlesque rogue Encolpius is to shield Petronius from the suspicion of seriously expending his literary abilities on frivolous subject matter. I conclude that the anti-hero Encolpius is an integral part of Petronian satire.
expansion of the Milesian tale, and finally as a natural development of Plautine prologues. Within this plethora of theories, questions are raised which are of obvious importance to my immediate problem of determining how Petronius imagined his comic romance to relate to the major literary genres which preceded it. In order to determine the function of the references to other literary types in the Satyricon, we must first grasp, as much as possible, Petronius' over-all intentions. An adequately articulated hypothesis has not yet been put forth to explain the many allusions, especially to epic. A fresh workable thesis is needed. What follows is intended to explain Petronius' purpose in referring to epic poetry and perhaps to the Greek romances.

I propose that the Satyricon is satirical in tone. Petronius' satire of decadence is, of course, obvious. The second object of his satire is not, however, so evident: fossilized dogmatisms and stylizations which intervene between individuals and reality. Failure to comprehend the presence of this type of satire and its implications has precluded a convincing demonstration that the Satyricon is in fact satirical. Moreover, the very possibility that satire is directed from a neutral, or at least undogmatic, point of view has been vigorously denied because critics have not detected the mordant pen which Petronius used against false pretensions. For this reason, scholars have been unable to square the lack of a moral outlook with the lampooning of certain obviously vulgar actions and interests. My assertions now

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61 Perry, ibid., pp. 186ff. and the notes to these pages, admirably discusses the numerous theories put forth to explain the Satyricon; he honestly (p. 361, n. 7) renounces his earlier view (CP 20 (1925) 39-49) that the Satyricon is an expanded Milesian tale.
require evidence. The opening fragments of the work confirm my thesis. Petronius here reacts strongly to what in literature and rhetoric is detached from life as it really is. In characterizing the education of the day, Petronius' mouthpiece Encolpius says that it produces students who are out of touch with reality, "putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos" (1, 2). These students do not concern themselves with the real world, "... quia nihil ex his, quae in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident" (1, 3). Encolpius goes on to compare the education obtained during the classical age of Greece. At that time forms of expression had not yet been artificially confined to a mold, "nondum iuvenes declamationibus continebantur" (2, 3). The plastic arts, too, like the arts of writing and speaking, have decayed, Encolpius says, because they have become stylized: "Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Aegyptiorum audacia tam magnae artis compendiariam invenit" (2, 9). In capsule form, the attitude which permeates the Satyricon is this: naturalness of expression, whether it be in art or behavior, exists, as it had existed in classical Greece, only when "nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat" (2, 4). It is clear that Petronius in the Satyricon is opposed to unnaturalness, at least in the creative arts.

We are now in a position to apply this same hypothesis to other passages and episodes which, because of the juxtaposition of formalism and pastiche, have been held to be mock-epic or caricature of certain literary genres. In short, we shall see whether my assertion that Petronius is satirizing fossilized impediments to natural expression can be made to account for an adequately large number of the frequently burlesque episodes of the Satyricon.
Petronius has obviously developed numerous episodes from the elements of epic poetry. At one point Giton pleads with Encolpius and Ascyltus not to duplicate the bloody deeds of the Theban pair. Satire or parody is evident here, but it is not directed, as some maintain, at epic poetry; the allusion to epic poetry is simply a striking way of contrasting the actions of a heroic age with the altercations of a group of homosexuals. The purpose is not mock-epic but simply to exploit humorously an incident which does not fit the circumstances of a corrupt age. In the same way Petronius periodically alludes to Vergil, e.g., "ter corripui terribilem manu bipennem" (132, 3, v. 1). Once again, it is not epic which is the object of Petronius' satire, but the depravity which is masked by Encolpius in idealized terms. The language and literary connotations of the allusion are, of course, totally inappropriate to what is being described: Encolpius' threatened assault on his uncooperative male member. T. S. Eliot employs a similar method

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6280, 3.

63 Wherever I use a term such as "purpose" with regard to the Satyricon, I concede that the fragmentary nature of the work makes such a statement hypothetical.

64 Cf. Aen. II, 479-480, "ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni limina perrumpit ...." Ernout, in the Budé edition, ad. loc., says Petronius' line is a "parodie de style épique." For further examples of Petronius' allusions to Vergil, see A. Collignon, Étude sur Petrone (Paris, 1892), pp. 119-132. The respect for Vergil expressed at 68, 5 makes it unlikely that Petronius is parodying him. A parallel idea to my view that the supposedly mock-epic portions of the Satyricon are really an indictment of the times is to be found in a recent discussion of the role of the De Bello Civili. A. Sochatoff, "The Purpose of Petronius' Bellum civile: a Re-examination," TAPA 93 (1962). 449-458, especially pp. 454ff., shows how the marginal notations of two fifteenth-century manuscripts which contain Eumolpus' epic treat the De Bello Civili as "an invective flaying the vices of Romans."
of enhancing the contrast between the despiritualized twentieth century and Spenser's pristine age:

Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song.
The river bears no empty bottles, sandwich papers,
Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, cigarette ends
Or other testimony of summer nights. The nymphs are departed.

It would be absurd to imagine that Eliot is here satirizing Spenser's Prothalamion. Rather the decadence of the present is made all the more vivid by contrast to its stylized, unsullied backdrop.

In like manner, the anti-hero Encolpius and his corrupt friends act out their debauched roles against an epic background. The contrast between histrionic pretensions and naked reality is well put in this passage:

Dum haec fabula inter amantes luditur, deversitor cum parte cenulae intervenit . . . "Rogo," inquit, "ebrii estis, an fugitivi, an utrumque" (95, 1-2).

Throughout the Satyricon, there is contrast between the setting for an action and the action itself, that is, between pretense and reality. There is the parvenu Trimalchio, who thinks and whose friends think that he is behaving aristocratically. There is the hack poet Eumolpus who is

65 It is hardly necessary for me to offer evidence that an epic motif pervades the Satyricon. This was worked out thoroughly by E. Klebs, "Zur Composition von Petronius Satirae, " Philologus 47 (1889) 623-35. Especially important for Klebs' conclusions is the phrase gravis ira Priapi (139, 2), which he compares to the wrath of Poseidon by which Odysseus was dogged. Perhaps equally important is the passage: "Dii maiores sunt, qui me restituerunt in integrum. Mercurius enim, qui animas ducere et reducere solet, suis beneficiis reddidit mihi quod manus irata praeciderat" (140, 12). The perfectives restituerunt and reddidit possibly indicate, according to Klebs, that the motif of a god's wrath played a part in portions now lost to us. One important qualification made by Klebs is that satire of the Odyssey is only a secondary aspect of the Satyricon (satirischen Nebenabsicht). This concession is frequently overlooked by Klebs' critics. Highet, for instance, op.cit., p. 176, charges that Klebs' hypothesis does not account for all the episodes in the Satyricon. I disagree with Klebs on one major point: the satire is not directed at the Odyssey but at Petronius' own decadent age.
critical of the literature of his age but whose verse is greeted
regularly by a shower of stones. There is Encolpius' pederastic love
for Giton which is expressed in language appropriate for the romantic
love of an idealistic age. And Petronius, as we have seen, is opposed
to what is authentic in form only, i.e., to what pretends to be what is
not.

This adverse attitude is frequently evident during the cena
Trimalchionis. For instance, Trimalchio recites the canonical Greek
lyric poets. While doing this, he is only going through the motions of
an educated, well-read gentleman, for his need of prompters obviously
belies his pretensions. In the same way the main characters -- Encolpius,
Ascyltus and Giton -- act out prescribed modes of behavior, e.g., epic,
but their activities and interests negate their histrionics.

Petronius' refusal to allow both others and himself to take
seriously life and any unrealistic attitude to it results in a certain
amount of self-mockery. At times he is a dissimulator sui operis. He
regularly disavows his characters' serious assertions. Agamemnon force-
fully explains the reasons for the decline of oratory. The seriousness
of his attitude is debunked, however, by the fact that his cause is
obviously lost. The earnestness of Eumolpus' explanation of the decay
of the arts is also disavowed when his own poetic recitation elicits

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66 In Encolpius' words, longum erat singula excipere (28, 1). The cena is a long testimony to poor taste. To enumerate every instance would be to paraphrase the entire dinner party.


stones instead of applause. In this episode, Petronius explicitly reveals the reason for his disavowal; Eumolpus has lost sight of reality. As Encolpius puts it, he has forgotten himself and is acting more like a poet than a human being. Thus the characters of the Satyricon, whether staging an "elegant" dinner party or solemnly swearing to be true in their pederastic love affairs, regularly make a mockery of their supposedly serious pretensions. In later literature, this disavowal of anything serious, even a serious attitude to the piece of literature which conveys the author's thoughts, is seen in Don Juan and Tristram Shandy. Both Byron and Sterne, like Petronius, are the enemies of whatever is stylized, and thus they parody their own works so as to avoid the pitfall of pedantic dogmatisms and crank conventions.

There are in the Satyricon many scenes of a burlesque type which some scholars take to be parodies of the Greek romances. If we

6990, 3-4.

70 Cf. Northrop Frye, op. cit., pp. 233-234. Because of the similarity in outlook and method, the heading used by Sterne might well be employed for the Satyricon: Ταράσσει τοὺς Ἀνθρώπους ὁ τά πράγματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, Δόγματα.

71 R. Heinze, "Petron und der griechische Roman," Hermes 34 (1899) 494-519. See also E. Thomas, Petrone (Paris, 1902), pp. 204-216. V. Ciaffi, op. cit., pp. 158ff., follows and supplements Heinze's arguments. E. Paratore, op. cit. (supra, p. 18, n. 23), pp. 85ff., summarizes and augments Heinze's discussions. B. Perry, CP 20 (1925) 37, and H. Stubbe, Philologus, Suppl. 25, Heft 2 (1933) 2, object to regarding the Satyricon as a pastiche of the ideal romance. Stubbe, ibid., states, perhaps hopefully, that Heinze's views have been laid to rest. Recent work indicates otherwise. E. Courtney, "Parody and Literary Allusion in Menippean Satire," Philologus 106 (1962) 86, says of Heinze's claims: "... the most convincing answer to this question what Petronius regarded himself as doing] was given by Heinze ... whose conclusions were taken over by Kroll in his R.E. article and with modifications by Perry, CP 20 (1925) 31ff. [later repudiated by Perry, as has been noted]: he considered that he was writing a parody of the novel ... ." Courtney goes on to
test this hypothesis against the surviving fragments, we realize immediately that the longest continuous episode, the cena, has absolutely no relationship to the serious romances. The ekphrasis, with which the Greek romances abound, present a more likely possibility of comparison. Heinze compares the clause conabor opus versibus pandere (89, 1) — voiced by Eumolpus in introducing his poem on the fall of Troy — with the Greek ekphrasis. Eumolpus' verse, it will be remembered, is greeted by a barrage of rocks. Heinze concludes from this that the episode is a parody of the ekphrasis which appear in the ideal romances. My hypothesis — that Petronius is satirizing unrealistic attitudes to life — explains the episode equally well, I think, and avoids the problem of accounting for the many scenes which clearly do not relate to the Greek romances. For, as I have pointed out, Encolpius is critical of Eumolpus' delusion that poetry has a part in everyday life The episode in which Giton and Encolpius express their undying homosexual love for each other has also been regarded as a parody of the idealized love of the Greek romances. As with epic poetry, I think that the object of satire is not the literary production itself but rather the mentality which, while manifesting the corruption of the age of which it is a

try to show that parody is a regular feature of Menippean satire and, without first demonstrating that the Satyricon is such a satire, to conclude that in alluding to Plato, Vergil, Ovid and others that Petronius was writing within the established confines of Menippean satire. On the question of the Satyricon being Menippean satire, see Knoche, op. cit., p. 74. Like Courtney, O. Weinreich, Römische Satiren (Zürich and Stuttgart, 2nd ed.; 1962), pp. lxxviii and lxxxi, follows Heinze and also claims that the gravis ira Eriapi motif of the Satyricon is a parody of the aretalogical aspects of the ideal romances.

72op. cit., p. 517, n. 1. 7390, 3-4; cf. 92, 6.
74Heinze, op. cit., p. 497; Satyricon lff.
product, nonetheless adheres to the formalities of ideal love. Petronius
has here seized an opportunity to demonstrate that ideal love, like epic
trappings, is at best specious in a decadent age.

As a sort of epilogue, I note that the characteristic events of
Petronius' life accord with my view of his philosophy:75

In both word and action he displayed a freedom and a sort
of self-abandonment which were welcomed as the marks of a
forthright and unsophisticated nature.76

His "freedom," i.e., from dogmatisms, and his "self-abandonment" (sui
neglectian), i.e., his lack of self-consciousness, are, according to my
interpretation, the keynote of his satire. This attitude he states
explicitly at one point:

Nihil est hominum inepta persuasione falsius nec ficta
severitate ineptius (132, 16).

There is nothing about man more false than his foolish
convictions and his pretensions.

Naturalness, also the subject of the verse which precedes this line, is
the recommended way of life. Foolishly held dogmatisms and stylizations
bear the brunt of his satirical pen. Naturalness precludes, of course,
his satirizing delusions from the conventionally righteous or dogmatic
point of view. Thus Petronius uses the logical process known as
reductio ad absurdum. From an almost neutral point of view he simply
catalogues what to him are vices.77 Petronius' final hours also bear

75Highet, op. cit., does a very able job of demonstrating the agree­
ment between Petronius' life, as we know it from Tacitus, Annales XVI,
18-19, and his outlook on life as expressed in the Satyricon. Cf. Raith,
op.cit., who, in his Schlussbetrachtungen (pp.52ff.) compares the Petro­
nian simplicitas with the tone of the Satyricon on the whole (132,15,v.2).

76I quote from the Loeb Tacitus.

77Cf. supra, pp.91ff., where I show that Highet's attempt to find
a moral stance is unsuccessful. Petronius' type of satire and his satire's
target make such a point of view both unnecessary and impossible.
testimony to his freedom from the conventional modes of behavior which he abhorred. Tacitus tells us that his suicide was intentionally prolonged so that his death would seem natural (fortuitae similis) and that he overlooked the custom of eulogizing the princeps. Thus his life, his death and his novel all bear witness to his hostility toward all that is artificial.

We can now summarize and draw conclusions from our observations of how the ancient novelist imagined and intended his romance to relate to some of the earlier literary genres. Without exception the ideal romancers allude to their chronological (not genetic) precursors with veneration, though at times perfunctorily. Their reason, as far as I can tell, is to add to their own comparatively new form the dignity of established literary types. As might be expected, the writers of comic romances refer to their predecessors in a less than serious way. Apuleius does so simply to elicit the smile which comes from the recognition that what is being pictured as heroic is obviously not. Petronius' reasons are more complicated. It seems to me that most of the "mock" references can be explained as his satirical repudiation of stagnant, pedantic and unrealistic ways of looking at the world.

Scientific Digressions

The Greek romancers use another device to impart dignity to their unrespectable prose fiction works. The romances abound in quasi-scientific excursuses and in gnomic statements which are intended to
provide moralistic or psychological clarification. The rationale for these digressions is best seen in Heliodorus: "for listening to any accounts of Egypt is what appeals most strongly to Greek ears" (II, 27; p. 58).

In Chariton we learn that "love thrives on opposition and delights in accomplishing unexpected results" (I, 1; p. 3). We are further informed that "reconciliation between lovers is easy and they gladly accept any apology from each other" (I, 3; p. 6). The reader is also told that "man is by nature curious" (I, 12; p. 14). Blake lists forty-two more sententiae of this type. In the absence of sound character portrayal, the author provides psychological generalizations. He also diverts attention from the essentially frivolous nature of the story. In this way he aligns his romance with informative types of literature such as history and the scientific writings of the Hellenistic period.

As the quotation which introduces this section indicates, the sophistic Heliodorus takes special delight in associating his romance with more serious types of literature. A few examples will illustrate this.

Good Looks: "So it is that a noble presence and the sight of beauty have the secret of subduing even a brigand's nature and the power

78They are missing from the possibly epitomized work of Xenophon and the highly erratic and apparently eclectic Apollonius of Tyre.

79In his edition of Chariton, pp. 140-141.
to control even the most uncouth of creatures" (I, 4; p. 5).

Riches: "So it is that brigands esteem riches more highly than the very lives of men, and the words 'friendship' and 'kinship' have meaning for them only in respect of their profit" (I, 32; p. 31).

Joy: "True indeed it is that an excess of joy will often turn to anguish, and an immoderate pleasure will beget a self-induced pain" (II, 6; p. 37).

Foreknowledge: "Yet foreknowledge in such matters is an advantage, since it mitigates the fiery effect of the dread event. An unexpected disaster, my son, is intolerable, but one foreknown is more easily borne: for in the former case the mind, gripped by fear, cowers down; in the latter, habituation reconciles us through cool calculation" (II, 24; p. 55).

There are many more examples of these moralistic and psychological observations, and many "scientific" ones as well. The evil eye is treated at length by Calasiris. The digression is particularly interesting since its motivation is the skeptical listener.\textsuperscript{80} We saw earlier that both Apuleius and Petronius introduce some digressions in this way. There is even an excursus on literary history. Calasiris claims that Homer was an Egyptian. This digression, too, has a skeptic as a means of motivation.\textsuperscript{81} Geographical phenomena receive due attention as when Calasiris explains the reasons for the turbulence of the Ionian Sea.\textsuperscript{82} His explanation is greeted by applause.\textsuperscript{83} The characters of the Ethiopica are indeed eager

\textsuperscript{80}III, 7. Cf. supra, p. 19, n. 24. \textsuperscript{81}III, 13-14.
\textsuperscript{82}III, 17. \textsuperscript{83}Ibid.
to learn! Intrusions of this type are numerous, as though the story were merely a pretense for displays of knowledge. Even love, the purported subject of the romance, is reduced to a pseudo-science. Calasiris explains love in this way:

And to give you good proof of this theory of the evil eye, let me cite in particular the generation of love—how things taken in by our sight produce in us its beginning by shooting the passionate feelings like wind-borne shafts through our eyes into our souls. That this should be so is reasonable enough: for of all our bodily vents and senses the most constantly mobile and fervid is our sight, and hence is especially receptive of the effluences of things, attracting by its igneous fume the transits of the feelings of love (III, 7; p. 76).84

Achilles Tatius also provides a pseudo-scientific excursus on love: "Directly I saw her, I was lost: for beauty strikes down through the eyes into the soul; the eye is the passage for love's wound" (I, t; p. 15). From Achilles Tatius, too, we learn that anticipated misfortunes are easier to bear:

Providence sometimes foreshows the future to men in dreams, not so that they may be able to avoid the sufferings fated for them, for they can never get the better of destiny, but in order that they bear them with the more patience when those sufferings come: . . . the mind, by dwelling on them beforehand, is able little by little to turn the edge of sorrow (I, 3; p. 13).

In Achilles Tatius the kiss becomes an object of scientific study: "The kiss is the lover's first favour. It is of the fairest part of the whole body — the mouth, which is the instrument of the voice, and the voice is the reflection of the soul" (II, 8; p. 71).85 The scientific discussions of love are not confined to heterosexual love; there is a

84 Cf. Wolff, p. 135.

85 Cf. Wolff, pp. 134ff., on the "worship of the kiss."
fairly long debate on the respective merits of heterosexual and homosexual love. Achilles Tatius goes to greater lengths than any of the other romancers to satisfy that curiosity of men which both Chariton and Heliodorus mention. Egypt is a wondrous land; there are "Nile-horse" (hippopotamus), elephant, phoenix and crocodile. Digressions of this type are clearly more numerous in what Perry calls the "sophistic romances," i.e., Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. Both are attempting to imbue their romances with a seriousness which is alien to their frivolous subject matter.

Apuleius' Metamorphoses is serious only infrequently, and Apuleius therefore does not often indulge in specious declarations of knowledge. One topic which he does treat seriously, however, is Fortune, and from time to time he makes a gnomic statement about it. For instance:

Sed nimirum nihil Fortuna rennuente licet homini nato dexterum provenire nec consilio prudenti vel remedio sagaci divinae providentiae fatalis dispositio subverti vel reformari potest (IX, 1; 203, 12-15).

The workings of Fortune and Fate are reduced to a science, as in the Greek romances. Apuleius takes the supernatural seriously, of course, but on only one occasion does he resort to the pedagogical methods of the Greek romances; Lucius defends Pamphile's method of elementary divination with an assertion that fire, as the offspring of the sun, has something divine about it. An ekphrasis on hair is introduced in the name of science, "sitque iudicii huius apud me certa et statuta ratio"

86II, 37-38.
88Cf. also I, 3; 3, 14-22 and I, 20; 18, 22-26.
89II, 12; 34, 21-35, 1.
A similar intrusion of erudition occurs later at a most unlikely place; the ass is about to fornicate when he feels compelled to denounce the profession of law. Fortunately, Apuleius tries to mitigate this outburst by having the ass chide himself. We are given its symptoms:

Iam cetera salutis vultusque detrimenta et aegris et amantibus examussim convenire nemo qui nesciat: pallor deformis, marcantes oculi, lassa genua, quies turbida et suspiritus cruciatus tarditate vehementior. Crederes et illam fluctuare tantum vaporibus februm, nisi quod et flebat. Heu medicorum ignarae mentes, quid venae pulsus, quid coloris intertemperantia, quid fatigatus anhelitus et utrimque secus iactatae crebriter laterum mutuae vicissitudines? Dii boni, quam facilis licet non artifici medico, cuius tamen docto Veneriae cupidinis comprehensio, cum vides aliquem sine corporis calore flagrantem (X, 2; 237, 20 – 238, 4).

90X, 33. Fielding, in Joseph Andrews, Book II, Chap. 1, indulges in much the same type of denunciation of lawyers. The parallel is interesting because Fielding is discussing methods of writing and in particular his use of character types: "I declare here once and for all, I describe not men, but manners; not an individual, but a species." Apuleius, too, as I have mentioned, makes use of types rather than individuals. Cf. also Junghanns, p. 182 under "Charaktere and Typen bei Apul.," and supra, p. 7, n. 19.

91X, 33; 264, 21-24.

92It has been noted that this story in its lack of verisimilitude has affinities with the often unmotivated episodes of the Greek romances. The similar treatments of love as something to be diagnosed or explained in medical terms make me all the more convinced that the sophistic Greek romancers and Apuleius at times drew their material from a common source. To treat love as a disease was not, of course, unusual in antiquity; a good deal of this passage is, in fact, a borrowing of Vergil's description of Dido's love at Aeneid IV, 65ff. It is the proximity of the medical diagnosis and the lack of motivation in the story as a whole that make me suspect a common source. At only one other point, the Festival of Laughter, is Apuleius guilty of indulging in the paradoxes and delayed revelations which the sophistic writers use frequently. Furthermore, Heliodorus describes the symptoms in almost the same way: "Why, a child could perceive that the trouble is in her soul, and that her malady is obviously love. Do you not see how her eyelids are swollen, her glances distracted, her face pallid, while she complains of no internal pain; whereas she wanders in her mind, utters whatever comes into her head, suffers from unaccountable insomnia, and has suddenly lost flesh" (IV, 7; pp.92-93). For further discussion see Hammer, Eos 26 (1923) 9ff.
Keeping in mind that the *Metamorphoses* is a comic romance, we must conclude that to a remarkable degree its author shared with the sophistic romancers a tendency to display learning, however specious. To Apuleius' credit, he refrained, unlike the Greek romance writers, from indulging in the geographical and ethnological excursuses which the Thessalian setting could have provided. Also to his credit is the fact that on at least one occasion he was conscious of the incongruity of supposed erudition in the *Metamorphoses* and attempted to soften the sharp edges of the indecorum. Herein lies a clue, I think, to understanding a basic difference, apart from their ideal and comic nature, between the *Metamorphoses* and the Greek romances; the authors of the ideal romances attempt to align their romances with more serious types of literature, especially history. Apuleius, however, recognizes and accepts his chosen genre for what it is. There are lapses; his excursuses on love's symptoms and on the cosmetic importance of hair are exceptions. But on the whole he avoids the artificial trappings of the more serious literary forms. He goes so far as to ridicule the possibility that his romance is historiography. This is, incidentally, an additional argument, contra Helm and Perry, for presuming that Apuleius imagined Book XI to be compatible with the preceding ten books and not as a sort of pendant to give the work dignity, which he had many opportunities to achieve elsewhere by other means.

The *Satyricon*, as usual, is in a class by itself. There is erudite display, to be sure. Petronius takes literature and the other arts seriously. On these topics he has much to say. There is, however, a transcending purpose of satire in his method of treating them.
Eumolpus' altercation with Agamemnon, for instance, becomes more than an appraisal of the current methods of teaching writing and public speaking; it becomes an indictment of the times which foster such an absurd educational process. The same is true of Eumolpus' explanation of the decline of poetry. For the same end Petronius has Trimalchio and his friends voice what they think are learned views. The satire is first aimed at the **nouveau riche** and indirectly again at the society in which such men can gain wealth and power.

**Inserted Tales**

Somewhat akin to the pseudo-scientific excursuses which we have been observing is the story within a story. Xenophon's much abbreviated romance, in which even the major portions of the primary narrative are not developed fully, seems an unlikely place to find such stories; but there are two.\(^93\) In the first, the pirate Hippothoos tells of his unfortunate experience with love and his subsequent life of crime.\(^94\) As far as I can determine, this self-contained story serves one purpose: to reaffirm the existence of lasting love. The second frame tale has the same end. It is told by a certain Aigialeus, who relates that he has embalmed his wife in the manner of the Egyptians and keeps her company as though she were alive. This is indeed everlasting love!

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\(^93\) III, 2 and V, 1.

\(^94\) His love was pederastic. The same kind of love, it will be remembered, is discussed with complete seriousness by Achilles Tatius. Menelaus, too, whom Clitophon and Clinias meet, tells a story of his own pederastic love (II, 34). Pederasty also has a part in Daphnis and Chloe (IV, 10ff.). Thus in three of the five surviving Greek romances sexual deviation appears. In light of this I find unconvincing Heinze's long arguments that pederasty in the *Satyricon* is a parody of the sentimental love in the Greek romances.
The Rahmenerzählung is carried to excess in Heliodorus. Half of the whole is, in fact, a frame story. The Ethiopica opens with two beautifully godlike people on a beach near the mouth of the Nile. These, we eventually learn, are the hero and heroine, Theagenes and Chariclea. Their capture by pirates and related experiences are then narrated. These incidents occupy a book and a half. During the course of these adventures, the story of Cnemon's life is unfolded. He is a Greek fellow captive of the pirates. The story, of the Hippolytus-Phaedra type, is motivated in this way:

"But by what name are we to call you," asked Theagenes.
"Cnemon," he replied. "And what citizenship do you claim?"
"Athenian."
"What fortune have you met with?"
"Stop," he answered; "why dost batter and unbar all that? -- as they say in tragedy. This is no time to thrust in an episode of my troubles upon the drama of yours."

When they would not give way, but begged him by all means to speak on, expecting to find no small consolation in hearing of troubles like their own, Cnemon began by relating thus.

At the end of the "tragedy" all weep, just as Habrocomes and Hippothoos "both had their fill of sorrow" at the end of Hippothoos' story of his life and as the assembled "grooms, shepherds and herdsmen" at the conclusion of the tragic tale of Charite and Tlepolemus. Each of these three self-contained stories is of love, and each is followed by an appropriate display of emotions by the listeners.

Cnemon is finally separated from Theagenes and Chariclea and

95Cf. Wolff, pp. 192ff.
96I, 1 - II, 20.
97I, 8-9; p. 8.
falls in with Calasiris. From this point (II, 21) the narrative becomes the story of Calasiris' life, which includes the life-story and adventures of the hero and heroine prior to the opening scene on the beach. This long flashback (it occupies part of Book II, all of Books III and IV and part of Book V) is, moreover, interrupted by the numerous pseudo-scientific excursuses which we have already observed. The story is also broken off from time to time by a number of incidents contemporaneous with its telling -- Nausicles' arrival, Chariclea's arrival and lamentations, Cnemon's fright, etc.\footnote{Wolff, p. 193.} This labyrinth becomes much too complicated; the reader must untangle the concurrent episodes, Calasiris' unfinished story and Cnemon's as yet unfinished story.\footnote{Ibid., p. 194.} The narrative becomes fourfold at one point: "(1) Calasiris and Cnemon being (sic) at Chemnis in the course of the \underline{current narrative}, (2) Calasiris quotes to Cnemon what (3) Charicles at Delphi quotes to \underline{him} (Calasiris) as having been (4) said to \underline{him} (Charicles) by Sisimithres at Catadupi."\footnote{Ibid. This occurs in the Aethiopica at II, 30-32.} Cnemon's unfinished story is about Thisbe who has a part in Cnemon's relationship with his lustful stepmother. It is introduced in this way:

Then Calasiris said: "It is your turn now, Cnemon, to give us the story which you have so often promised to relate to me and which will acquaint us with your own adventures, but which you have hitherto put off each time with artful subterfuges. The right moment has now arrived for you to tell it, and so gratify Nausicles here, relieving as well the tedium of our journey with the welcome aid of its recital" (VI, 2; pp. 142-43).

Finally the exposition is completed and the narrative of Theagenes and Chariclea can move ahead.
The complicated structure arises from Heliodorus' insistence on remaining aloof from the narrative. As on the stage, each character must himself supply his own life-story. A rather humorous example of this method is seen when the pirate Thyamis addresses his fellow brigands. He begins: "Fellow-soldiers, you know well the sort of feeling which I have always had towards you. I was born, as you are aware, a son of the prophet at Memphis" (I, 19; p. 20). He then relates the incidents that led to his life of crime. His origins, of course, have nothing to do with his feelings toward his comrades. Moreover, his comrades are aware of his past. The reader, however, is not; Thyamis must therefore reveal it on the rather dubious pretext of a speech which incorporates "the story of his life."

Achilles Tatius has only one frame story. This is told by Menelaus, whom Clitophon and Clinias have met near the mouth of the Nile river. Menelaus' narrative is of pederastic love. It is prompted thus: "Tell us your story first, and then we will relate ours to you" (II, 33; p. 119). The tale is nothing more than a pretense for the debate on eroticism which follows, and the two narratives together are simply an excuse for the sophist to discuss love.

We have looked briefly at the self-contained stories in the romances and are now in a position to compare the methods of introducing them and their purpose and relevance to the surrounding circumstances.

101II, 34. The incident is strangely like the story-telling at III, 2 of Xenophon. There, too, the tale is of pederasty, and the preliminaries and the conclusion are much the same.
Two common concomitants of an inserted story are an eager teller and a receptive listener. Calasiris is probably telling the truth when he says that he would have told his story to the reeds if Cnemon had not come. Cnemon is a perfect listener; he does not allow Calasiris to skip even irrelevant details, e.g., "stay, father," interrupted Cnemon, "not all performed: at least, your account has not yet made me a viewer of the festival" (III, 1; p. 68). In this way Calasiris, i.e., Heliodorus, is "forced" to relate at length the festivities that occurred at Delphi, where Theagenes and Chariclea fell in love. Heliodorus' incorporation of frame stories is obviously artificial, but not always without artistry. Cnemon will not allow the old man to put off the story until the next day. Cnemon's pleas make the reader anxious to hear what Calasiris wants to postpone.

An eager listener and a teller who verges on garrulity are a formula evident elsewhere in the Ethiopica. Calasiris' excursus on the reasons for the turbulence of the Ionian Sea is greeted by applause. The same formula is used to introduce the final episode of Cnemon's story of Thisbe, although Cnemon has for some time put it off for no apparent reason other than the author's desire to create suspense.

A variant of this formulaic introduction is seen in the type, "You tell me your story and I will tell you mine." We see this in both of Xenophon's self-contained stories:

It chanced as they were feasting that Hippothoos fetched a deep sigh and began to weep. Habrocomes inquired what

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104Cf., too, IV, 3 and Wolff, p. 197, n. 65.  
105V, 17. 106VI, 2.
the cause of his tears might be. "Mine is a long history," said Hippothoos, "and one rich in tragedy." Habrocomes begged him to speak, and promised that he would recount his own history in turn (III, 1; p. 131).

And:

Once on a time, as a result of their great familiarity with one another, Habrocomes recounted the whole story of his life to the old man, speaking of Anthia and his love and his wanderings; then Aigialeus in turn began the narrative of his own life (V, 1; pp. 150-151).

Sometimes a companion's raised eyebrows prompt the speaker to supply proof for a dubious statement. Heliodorus uses this device to introduce some of his pseudo-scientific digressions. Calasiris' explanation that Charicles' daughter's sickness is caused by the evil eye is greeted with skepticism by Charicles: "He laughed ironically and said: 'Why, you too, like the multitude, have come to believe that there is such a thing as the power of the evil eye'" (III, 7; p. 75). Calasiris then takes up the challenge. Heliodorus introduces a piece of literary history in the same way. Calasiris astounds Cnemon by repeatedly calling Homer an Egyptian. Cnemon requests proof, which is supplied by Calasiris. 107

We have already seen that Apuleius introduces several tales by means of a skeptic. The initial story, though prompted by Lucius' curiosity, is part of a running debate between Aristomenes and his traveling companion on the existence of the supernatural. The story in its original form, as told by Socrates to Aristomenes, was occasioned by a mixture of skepticism and curiosity expressed by Aristomenes at Socrates'
statements. Also within the context of the debate, Lucius replies to the challenge with a story about a miraculous sword-swallow. The occasion for the story of the astrologer Diophanes is likewise a supposed difference of opinion; Milo challenges his wife's powers of divination, and Lucius defends her with a story of astrology from his own experience.\footnote{I, 3-20 for the events revolving around the story of Socrates; II, 11-12 and following for those of Diophanes.}

Achilles Tatius' self-contained story of Menelaus is an excuse for a discussion of love which follows. This pseudo-philosophical debate falls into the pattern that we are here discussing. Sides are chosen, and the merits of pederasty and heterosexual love are argued.\footnote{\text{\textsuperscript{109}}} \footnote{II, 35ff. Cf. \text{\textsuperscript{ supra}}, p. 19, n. 24.}

A good deal of the verse in the \textit{Satyricon} is introduced on the pretext of a discussion of literary taste and methods. Agamemnon's verses about the prerequisites of good poetry are an example of this type of dialectic.\footnote{\text{\textsuperscript{110}}} Petronius introduces at least two prose digressions in this manner. Trimalchio, to remove all doubts about his friend Niceros' story, tells one of his own about witches. Eumolpus relates the tale of the matron of Ephesus to prove that no woman is virtuous.\footnote{\text{\textsuperscript{111}}}
On a few occasions a supposedly unwilling raconteur provides the entertainment. We have already seen this in the case of Socrates and Thelyphron in the Metamorphoses. In the Satyricon, Niceros relates his experiences under the same circumstances.

Some of the less well-motivated stories are inserted on very weak pretenses. The results of such a tale are ludicrous, as we have seen with Thyamis' account of his life. A good many of the self-contained stories in the Metamorphoses are simply introduced as stories which the author hopes the reader will find entertaining. Because the narrator of the Metamorphoses is hardly able to engage in conversations while he is an ass, several stories are merely overheard, although they are frequently well motivated. A hag tries to comfort Charite with a long tale. Another hag distracts the baker's wife with an example of adultery as it should be practiced. Robbers quarrel about the merits of members of their band and provide illustrations of their bravery or stupidity.

The means of introducing long pieces of extraneous material are limited. All the authors who use digressions attempt to incorporate them naturally into the main narrative. Apuleius is probably the least successful because of the large number of stories which he wants to

had just recently been lamenting his lost love, it seems likely that the conversation moved to love in general and that we have a part of a discussion of the relative merits of pederastic and heterosexual love.

\[112^1, 7; 7, 12-13. \ II, 20; 41, 18-42, 9.\]
\[113^61, 2ff. \ Cf. supra, p. 19, n. 24.\]
\[114^E.g., VIII, 22; 193, 21-22. \ IX, 4; 205, 23-25. \ X, 2; 237, 1-3.\]
\[115^IV, 28 - VI, 24; IX, 17-21; IV, 9-21.\]
Include and because of the limitation of the narrative form which he has accepted. Too many of his frame stories are independent of the main narrative. The tales introduced by the rubric "I want to tell you" give a particularly disjointed effect. The insertion of scientific digressions in the Greek romances is excessively artificial. The incorporation of such irrelevant or foreign material is clearly not characteristic of Roman authors only, as Perry would have us believe. Except for Chariton and Apollonius of Tyre, the practice is a regular feature of the prose fiction of antiquity.

Transcending Powers

Another feature shared in different degrees and in different ways by the authors under discussion is the intervention of divine will, be it Fortune, Tyche or numen aversum, in the affairs of men. Divine will, destiny, fate and other such demonic and transcendent forces have great influence in classical tragedy. There is a vast difference, however, between the workings of divine destiny in Attic drama and its function in the prose fiction which we are discussing. Oedipus is in part a puppet of superhuman powers, but the events which he precipitates are a natural result of his character and personality differences with those whom he encounters. This is far different from the seemingly fortuitous events of the Greek romances which stem from no causative elements within the personalities of the various characters. 117

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116 Ancient Romances, p. 324.

117 Rohde, op. cit., pp. 297ff., traces the gradually enlarged role of Tyche in the literature of Greece.
The following discussion of divine intervention is by no means complete. I do not attempt to list or categorize every appearance of a supernatural power; I concentrate only on the impact that Fate, Fortune and divine machinery in general have on the motivation of the main narrative.  

Of the Greek romancers, Heliodorus excels at inserting extraneous matter in such a way that it seems motivated and not completely out of joint. In constructing his plot around an orderly cosmic scheme, Heliodorus also surpasses the other writers of Greek romances. Chariclea's mother committed her to the "vacillations of Fortune" at birth. An ordered cosmic force then takes charge and through the agency of the gymnosophist Sisimithres places her finally in the hands of Isis' priest Calasiris. As Calasiris puts it, "it was my fortune that the gods presented them [Chariclea and Theagenes] to me" (II, 23; p. 52). Thus Fortune and the gods work together; Fortune is an instrument of the gods. Through various oracles, dreams and divine voices the gods foretell the safety of Chariclea and Theagenes, whom they have put in the trust of Calasiris. Calasiris dies, as has been foreseen; the couple fall into difficulties; they are finally saved by the providential appearance of Charicles, and their salvation becomes an occasion for a religious festival. Thus the ways of the gods are revealed,

118 Ciaffi, op. cit., pp. 146-154, has a good analytical index of these divine forces.

119 II, 31 and IV, 8. I am here following Wolff, pp. 11ff.

120 II, 23.

121 II, 35; III, 11; IV, 14; IV, 16.
although at times only dimly and at times obscured by the dark storms of Chance. Gratuitous events are numerous. Calasiris attributes to the foreseeing benignity of Apollo his chance meeting with a group of merchant marines;\textsuperscript{122} Cnemon's meeting with Calasiris is fortuitous; Cnemon's marriage to Nausiclea is without motivation of any sort.\textsuperscript{123} Charicleas' disclosures of her true relationship to Theagenes are ridiculously delayed; the author seems unwilling to use the opportunity for perfectly natural human motivation. Hydaspes' reactions to his daughter's inexplicable behavior are understandable:

"But I do not understand this reversal of your purpose. A moment ago you were trying to shield this stranger, and now you request that you may slay him with your own hand, as though he were an enemy.

Ye gods, how you seem to mingle evil with good! The unhoped for happiness that you have vouchsafed to me partly withhold; you present me with a daughter beyond all expectation, but one out of her mind!" (X, 21, - 22; pp. 260-262)

The subterfuges of Chariclea are nothing more than an absurd pretext for prolonged suspense and a dea ex machina. In spite of these and many other gratuitous episodes, the major part of the narrative unfolds along epic lines in accordance with divine will.

In Achilles Tatius, Fortune completely displaces the frequently ordered plans of divine will and the occasional cause-and-effect relationship of episodes to one another which appear in Heliodorus. Tyche is mentioned less in Achilles Tatius, but the completely gratuitous nature of most of the episodes and the author's confession ( \textsuperscript{122}IV, 16. \textsuperscript{123}VI, 1-11.) leave no conclusion possible except that
everything and everybody has been committed to Fortune. This is particularly evident when the lovers embark on a ship the destination of which they do not know. The alternative to this committal to Fortune is to stay at home and entrust themselves to Fortune. There is, to be sure, a good deal of hocus-pocus about omens, dreams and oracles at one point in the narrative; but all this divine apparatus is lavished on one episode. Not only that, but the consequence of all these pompous machinations is worthy of Fortune herself as Callisthenes ravishes the wrong girl and Leucippe thus is saved for Clitophon: Wolff correctly observes that Fortune is blamed for what is in fact a moral choice. Clitophon and Leucippe choose to elope. The fact that shortly after their flight a letter comes which would make it possible for them to marry does not in any way shift the blame from the couple to Fortune. This, however, is what Clitophon, his father and Leucippe's father would have us believe. If only the letter had come, the couple would have had no need to sin! This is pure nonsense. Human responsibility has been replaced by exonerating platitudes about Fortune, Fate and other such balderdash.

There is an apparent dichotomy in the superhuman forces that move Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe. The author and his characters do not

124II, 31. 125II, 27. 126II, 11-18. Noted by Wolff, p. 117. K. Kerényi, Die Griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur (Tübingen, 1927), p. 166, is deluded by Achilles Tatius' specious use of divine intervention. He treats seriously, for instance, the dream of IV, 8, which relates Artemis' hortatory encouragement to a temporary life of chastity — a behest not fulfilled and one which gives only ex post facto approval to the pair's elopement.

127II, 14ff. 128p. 118. 129v, 10; v, 11; VIII, 4.
agree whether Aphrodite or Fortune stirs up trouble. Neither is really necessary, since most of the episodes are well motivated on a human level. Chaereas' kicking his bride and thus starting a chain of events agrees with his personality. Yet these developments are attributed once to an offensum numen, Aphrodite, and on several occasions to Fortune.

In his introduction to Book VIII the author brings in the offensum numen theme:

However, this seemed outrageous to Aphrodite, who, though she had previously been terribly angered at Chaereas' uncalled-for jealousy, whereby he had insolently rejected her kindness . . . was by now becoming reconciled with him. And since Chaereas had now nobly redeemed himself in the eyes of love by his wanderings from west to east amid countless sufferings, Aphrodite felt pity for him, and, . . . having harried them long over land and sea, she was willing once more to unite them (VIII, 1; p. 111).130

Chariton here states unequivocally that the gravis ira Veneris is responsible for the couple's ills. But compare Callirhoe's opinion:

"Cruel Fortune, who dost delight in persecuting one lone girl, thou didst shut me living in the tomb, and didst bring me forth not out of pity, but to deliver me to pirates, etc. . . ."(V, 1; p. 69).

Fortune is railed at several times as the cause of troubles, and the author repeatedly attributes a turn of events to her, e.g., "but Fortune brought about an outcome not at all in accordance with his intentions" (IV, 1; p. 69).131

This apparent contradiction can be resolved, perhaps, by the introduction to Book VIII, in the statement "this seemed outrageous to Aphrodite." The "this" refers to a previous clause, "but Fortune's next

130Cf., too, II, 2.

131Cf., too, II, 8; III, 2; III, 3; IV, 4; IV, 5; VI, 8; VII, 1.
move was to bring about a situation at once paradoxical and melancholy."
Thus Aphrodite, the offensum numen, has exacted enough punishment and
puts a stop to any further designs of Fortune. It would appear that
Fortune is some sort of agent for Aphrodite or, perhaps for wrathful gods
in general, although the author expresses neither idea explicitly.

Like Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, Chariton has made human
events on earth a part of a larger scheme of things. There is an
important distinction between Achilles Tatius and the other two writers:
nor Heliodorus nor Chariton attempts to obviate the role of human
responsibility by blaming on Fortune or some other equally distant
deity what was in reality a moral choice.

The incompleteness of Xenophon and Petronius cause insurmountable
difficulties in attempting to determine the influence of superhuman
forces on the course of action. Xenophon's Ephesian Tale gives the ap­
pearance of having been a romance based on divine wrath. Habrocomes
by his ridicule of the efficacy of Love evokes the wrath of Eros.\textsuperscript{132}
His wrath seems to lead to nothing more than his falling in love. A
short time later, however, Habrocomes blames the god (Eros?) and his
own pride for his suffering.\textsuperscript{133} There is, moreover, an oracle of Apollo
at Colophon which initiates the action by ordering the marriage of
Habrocomes and Anthia and which foretells their separation, suffering
and reunion. The situation becomes even more confusing when the parents
of the bride and the groom send their children away for a short time and

\textsuperscript{132}I, 1-2. \textsuperscript{133}II, 1.
thus make possible an attack by pirates and the couple's separation.\textsuperscript{134}

The role of divine forces is also evident in Habrocomes' two miraculous escapes from death through the intercession of Helios (who is equated with Apollo).\textsuperscript{135} Unfortunately, the exact role of heavenly forces cannot be assessed more accurately.

I have already given my views of the probable motivation of the major narrative of the \textit{Satyricon}. I follow Klebs in maintaining that the backdrop is epic and that the \textit{gravis ira Priapi} played a larger role in the over-all motivation than is now apparent.

Apuleius' \textit{Metamorphoses} seems to share with Achilles Tatius' \textit{Clitophon} and \textit{Leucippe} a tendency to blame Fortune unfairly. Lucius' difficulties clearly arise from his own unrestrained desire to meddle where he should not. But when he is accidentally transformed into an ass he first blames Fotis, perhaps understandably, and thereafter Fortune.\textsuperscript{136} But Apuleius' affinities with Achilles Tatius in using Fortune as a scapegoat for human failings are only superficial; for Apuleius has given Lucius a philosophical credo which makes his accusations against Fortune consistent with his outlook on life.\textsuperscript{137} Lucius' subservience, as he sees it, to Fortune is quite understandable. Lucius may be shirking responsibility, but there is at least a philosophical basis for his doing so and a motive consistent with his character. There is also a hint of the \textit{offensum numen} theme, which we have seen in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{134}I, 6.
\item \textsuperscript{135}IV, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{136}III, 26; 71, 6ff. and IV, 2; 75, 19 and passim.
\item \textsuperscript{137}I, 20; 18, 22-23. Riefstahl, p. 36. Cf. Junghanns, p. 58, n. 87 and p. 163, n. 76.
\end{itemize}
Chariton, Xenophon and Petronius. Fortune, nonetheless, is the superlunary figure in the Metamorphoses until Book XI. At this point Isis, and along with her Lucius, is triumphant over Fortune, and the Metamorphoses becomes, like the Greek romances, hieratic.

Thus apart from Apollonius of Tyre, the prose fiction of antiquity which we are studying has as its philosophical and literary foundation a conception that the affairs of men are in some way controlled by celestial powers. The role of divine forces is undoubtedly part of a literary tradition, epic in origin, in some of the romances. In Petronius the divine agent is completely such, but for specific purposes. In Heliodorus, Apuleius, Achilles Tatius and apparently Xenophon, literary and proselytical purposes are joined. Here, as in the various authors' use of aetiological material, Apuleius shares in the view that even fiction should have a serious purpose. It is becoming evident, I think, that Apuleius fused together two separate literary traditions, the comic and the ideal, and thus did for prose fiction what Fielding was later to do in Joseph Andrews.

Soliloquies

I close this chapter with a discussion of the functions of monologues or soliloquies and ekphraseis in the prose fiction of

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138 XI, 2; 267, 24. This suggestion is not expanded, nor does the offensum numen theme explain what precedes its mention here. The theme is touched upon by Heliodorus also when Charicles is made to say at the loss of his charge Chariclea: "for I can see that it is the wrath of the gods that has brought upon me this penalty, of which I had warning from Apollo for having once entered his sanctuary at an incorrect time, and having allowed my eyes to behold a forbidden sight" (IV, 19). The idea is not developed, however, as a basis for the initial or major motivation of the story.

139 Perry, Ancient Romances, p. 282.
antiquity. To a certain extent, these topics fall under the category"content." In my introduction to this chapter I stated that a comparative analysis of contents is doomed to failure and that methods and techniques offer the only fruitful basis of comparison. The exception here arises for two reasons: both elements have entered much into scholarly discussion of the relationship of the Satyricon to the Greek romances, and both elements play at times a significant role in the structure of the various works.

All too often soliloquies in the Greek romances contain simply what should be said in a given situation. This is the familiar rhetorical exercise commonly known as ethopoieia. In the Greek romances, however, the word "pathopoieia" would better describe the process, for character is not so much being delineated as a reaction appropriate to a given situation, usually disastrous.\(^1\) In Aristotle's words, "character is that which reveals moral purpose, showing what kinds of things a man chooses or avoids."\(^2\) But choice (\(\pi\rho\alpha\iota\rho\varepsilon\sigma\varsigma\)) plays only a minimal role in the Greek romances. Fortune, oracles and their like control the action, nominally at least, if not in fact. The characters' function is to accept what comes their way. Aristotle goes on to say that "speeches, therefore, which do not make this [choice ] manifest, or in which the speaker does not choose or avoid anything whatever, are not expressive of character."\(^3\) Thus pathos rather than

\(^1\)Wolff, pp. 143-46.

\(^2\)Poetics, 1450b 8-10; the translation is that of S. H. Butcher in the Library of Liberal Arts edition (Indianapolis and New York, 1948).

\(^3\)Ibid., 10-12.
ethos is generally described in the speeches.

Soliloquies reach the extreme of artificiality and absurdity in Achilles Tatius. One example is enough to support my assertion:

"Now," I cried, "now Leucippe, are you really dead; and a double death, with its share both in land and sea. The poor remains of your body I possess, but you I have lost; the division between land and sea is no fair one; though there seems to be left to me the greater part of you, it is really the less, while that which seems to possess but a small part of you has really all. Come, since Fate has grudged me kisses on your face, I will kiss instead your wounded neck" (V, 7; pp. 252-253).

In this way does Clitophon "give vent to his tears." Pathos is here expressed; for the rhetorician Achilles Tatius expression of grief consists of giving vent to every paradox imaginable over a decapitated body.

Achilles Tatius uses one soliloquy to motivate a part of the plot. Leucippe in her grief is made to lament and reveal information which makes her true identity known to Thersander. The nature of the disclosure is, however, artificial beyond belief.

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134 Equally ridiculous are the soliloquy at II, 16 and the apostrophe at III, 5; in the latter, Clitophon prays that he and Leucippe be swallowed by the same fish so that they may have a common tomb in the same belly. Expressions of grief are so absurd that Durham believes them to be parodies of soliloquies in Achilles Tatius' predecessors (cf. supra, p. 84, n. 13).

135 VI, 16ff., utterance of sorrow once brings about a significant turn of events in Chariton. Polycharmus at IV, 2 is made to mention the name of Callirhoe; the mention of her name spares Polycharmus and Chaereas from death and causes Mithridates to take an almost fateful course of action. In Apollonius of Tyre, Apollonius' daughter laments her misfortunes; this leads to her recognition by Apollonius.
More common is the soliloquy in the face of disaster which we find in Heliodorus. It serves no purpose other than to give the author an opportunity to demonstrate his facility for expressing appropriate emotions.\textsuperscript{145}

One notable feature of the lamentations in Chariton and Xenophon is the way the soliloquy frequently serves to recapitulate all antecedent misfortunes. In Callirhoe's first lament she has only one misfortune to mull over: "'Oh dreadful fate!' she said. 'I have been buried alive though I did no wrong, and I am to die a lingering death'" (I, 8; p. 11). As her troubles are compounded, her laments are lengthened until by Book VI she chooses only the worst to include:

"Now in very truth Callirhoe's death has come. Once I came forth from the tomb, but from here not even the pirate Theron shall lead me out. O treacherous beauty, you are the cause of all my woes! Because of you, I was murdered; because of you, I was sold as a slave; because of you, I was again married after losing Chaereas; because of you, I was brought to Babylon; because of you, I stood before the tribunal. Think of all the ordeals to which you have betrayed me -- pirates, the sea, the tomb, slavery, the courtroom! And hardest to bear of all, is the king's love. As yet I have not mentioned the anger of the king, for I consider the queen's jealousy still more terrible . . ." (VI, 6; p. 92)

The effect is not unlike that of the Christmas song, "The Twelve Days of Christmas," in which the catalogue of gifts grows with each stanza. Xenophon uses the lament to much the same end.\textsuperscript{146}

The soliloquies or monologues of the Metamorphoses are of two

\textsuperscript{145}I, 8; I, 25; II, lff.; II, 4; II, 5; VI, 8.

\textsuperscript{146}II, 1; V, 5; V, 7. In the last two laments Anthia curses her beauty, as Callirhoe does in the passage quoted on this page.
The first is that of despair in the face of dire circumstances. This type of soliloquy is most common in the Greek romances. One example is of particular interest, since it employs a structural feature which we have seen used by some of the Greek romancers; at one point the narrative of events pertaining to Lucius is interrupted by several long extraneous tales. Apuleius brings the narrative back to its proper subject by first presenting reports of what applies directly to Lucius' fortunes and then having the ass-Lucius lament his own past ills. The technique is the same as that in Xenophon, and, at great length, in Chariton. Apuleius' second type is hortatory. This kind is unique.

Although on this topic there are only a few points of comparison between the Greek romances and Apuleius, one important conclusion may be drawn: the soliloquy is a topos which is treated seriously by Apuleius. Petronius, the other writer of comic romance, however, is claimed by some to be parodying at times the soliloquies of the Greek romances. The lament which takes the form of a resume of misfortunes is vented by Encolpius. I am less sure than Heinze that all such soliloquies are parodies; at any rate, some of them, especially Encolpius' lament over

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147 Bernhard, op. cit., pp. 272ff., and Junghanns, pp. 27, 32ff., 134, n. 26 and 138, discuss the soliloquies of the Metamorphoses.

148 I, 14; III, 1; VII, 2-3; IX, 12.

149 VII, 1-3.

150 II, 6; IV, 30; VI, 5.


152 81; 83; 130 in epistolary form; 132.
his fallen male member, are intended to be humorous in their own right.\textsuperscript{153} The important point for our purpose is that we have another example of Apuleius and the Greek romancers treating seriously what is treated humorously by Petronius.

\textbf{Ekphraseis}

The final topos which we consider is ekphrasis, a rhetorical adjunct not uncommon in classical, Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic literature. In the Greek romances, it is developed for its own sake, purely out of love of display. Moreover, the writer's eye is on a picture of an object rather than the object itself, and it is the picture which he recreates.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{Ekphraseis} are most frequent and least relevant in Achilles Tatius. He describes at length five wall-paintings. Indeed his romance opens with a description of a painting, which the author supposedly saw in Sidon, of Europa on the bull's back.\textsuperscript{155} The theme of love of the painting occasions the story which occupies the rest of the romance; the length of the ekphrasis is hardly justified, however. In another

\textsuperscript{153}A lament such as Encolpius' over Lichas' body at 115 seems to me serious; as so often in the Satyricon, gaps in the text obscure the author's purpose.

\textsuperscript{154}Wolff, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{155}I, 1. The opening of Daphnis and Chloe is very similar; its author says that while in Lesbos he admired a painting of an idyllic scene; he then sought out an interpreter, whose interpretation the story of Daphnis and Chloe is purported to be. Achilles Tatius is drawn to the erotic theme of the painting of Europa; his reaction to it is overheard by Clitophon; Clitophon then relates his own experience with the power of love, and it is told by the author. In the Satyricon, Eumolpus enters the scene under much the same circumstances.
ekphrasis one small detail of the long description of Clitophon's garden has relevance; a peacock in the garden provides a frame for Clitophon's discourse on the universality of love. A painting which represents the rape of Philomela is described; the painting is "full of miseries" and therefore forewarns against intended action; its limited relevance once again is exceeded by its length. All the other ekphraseis are not at all pertinent to the matters at hand.

Actual works of art are not described in Heliodorus, but scenes are at times depicted in the terminology of the plastic arts. So Chariclea is twice described as a "reclining figure" statue, once as a "molded work of art." Only one excessively long ekphrasis is introduced by Heliodorus, that of the amethyst ring. At one point the word-picture descriptions of Theagenes and Chariclea are justified because Cnemon has insisted that Calasiris make him "an actual witness of the festival."

The brevity of Chariton's style limits his descriptions to an occasional brief simile of Homeric type. The equally terse Xenophon,

156I, 15. 157V, 3-5.
158II, 3; II, 11; III, 6-8; VI, 7.
159I, 2; I, 7. Noted by Goethal, op. cit., p. 65.
160II, 33. At II, 35 Theagenes is described as though he were a statue. Both noted by Goethal, ibid.
161V, 14. 162III, 3-4.
163Blake's edition, p. 141, includes an index of the similes.
however, indulges in one **ekphrasis**, a description of Habrocomes and Anthia's wedding chamber;\(^{164}\) the **ekphrasis** is as dispensable as any of Achilles Tatius'.

Petronius turns the **ekphrasis** to his own humorous ends at least once.\(^{165}\) At no point does he treat it seriously. When we compare Apuleius' attitude toward this literary pendant, we note that once again he occupies a middle ground between the ideal romances and the satirical prose of Petronius. There are three **ekphraseis** of significant length in the Metamorphoses, two of which are developed with complete seriousness. The statuary in Byrrhena's courtyard is described in detail.\(^{166}\) The second, a long commentary on the cosmetic value of hair and Fotis' hair in particular, is completely irrelevant.\(^{167}\) The third is a description of the robbers' cave. Apuleius' introduction (IV, 6; 78, 20-22) is important for our purposes: "Nam et meum simul periclitabor ingenium, et faxo vos quoque an mente etiam sensuque fuerim asinus, sedulo sentiatis." The rhetorician is here poking fun at the tools of the trade. While

\(^{164}\) I, 8.

\(^{165}\) Cf. supra, p. 109 and n. 72. In addition to the clause conabor opus versibus pandere (89, 1), which I have discussed, Heinze regards the following passages of the Satyricon as satires of the ekphraseis in the Greek romances: 131, 134 and 135 in verse; 83, 126 and 131 in prose. I disagree. At 126 and 131, for instance, it is obvious that the stylized descriptions of Circe are intended to be contrasted with her behavior. She is a frequent type in ancient satire: Herondas, Juvenal and Martial portray well-born women who gratify their sexual desires with social inferiors. Petronius is explicit about how this stock theme is to be regarded: "mirari equidem tam discordem libidinem coepi . . . quod ancilla haberet matronae superbiam et matrona ancillae humilitatem" (126, 11).

\(^{166}\) II, 4. \(^{167}\) II, 8.
Petronius directs his satire at others, Apuleius is satirical toward only himself and his pretensions. I do not mean to imply, of course, that the *Metamorphoses* is two thirds ideal and one third satirical or comical. What we see here are the same spirit and the same relationship to the ideal romance that are evident in Apuleius' incorporation of more serious literary genres, serious tone and epideictic material. Apuleius is inconsistent in his attitude toward and use of some ornamental features of the Greek romances; but, as shown by his mockery of a narrative feature treated seriously elsewhere, he is fully aware of the role and place of the *Metamorphoses* in literary history. In spite of his awareness of this, his ambivalence and apparent inability to confine himself to the appropriate limits make it necessary for a critic of a later age to deal with his work as a farrago of diverse elements.
CONCLUSION

What emerges from this comparative study is that the prose fiction of antiquity falls into three not always distinct literary traditions. Of Petronius we can do no better than repeat the opinion expressed by Rohde almost a hundred years ago: between the Greek romances and the Satyricon there are no links. Each of these two genres is the result of different attitudes and intentions. Petronius, as I have tried to show, writes as a satirist. In this respect he shares with the writers of ideal romances a serious purpose. He differs from them in his vision of the truth and, of course, the way he attempts to set it forth. The Greek romancer is without deep discrimination in matters of ethics and morality. He is naive and writes for a naive audience. His aim is to enshrine middle-class morality and ethics. In doing so, his stylized sentimentality is imposed upon a world in which the sine qua non of ethical choice and behavior is not centered around an ideal of young love and the blows of a capricious Fortune which would interfere with the realization of this love. The Greek romancer, then, is characterized by his childish conviction that all will work out for the best if one naively adheres to a romantic, sentimental pattern of behavior which presents no problems that conjugal loyalty cannot resolve. Petronius' realistic (some would say pessimistic) view of life is, of course, as far removed from this as possible. Fielding's

\[1\text{Op. cit., p. 267 and n. 1.}\]
reaction in *Joseph Andrews* to Richardson's *Pamela* is, perhaps, instructive. Fielding's avowed purpose is to satirize the naively sentimental conventionality of *Pamela*. But satire is not the end; ultimately Fielding provides ethical instruction. He does this by creating a realistic world in which choices cannot be made on the basis of sentimentality alone. In the same way, Petronius is reacting to, among other things, unrealistically held convictions. This is not to say that Petronius is satirizing the sentimental Greek romances. Rather he ridicules the specious contention, found there and elsewhere, that one may claim moral integrity though his actions and intentions are not moral: *integer vitae non scelerisque purus*.

The use to which purportedly serious digressions are put by Petronius and the Greek romancers is indicative of the wide gulf between them. The pseudo-scientific adjuncts superimposed upon the ideal romances seem intended to mitigate the sentimental banality of which the romances to a large extent consist. Petronius includes serious discourse only to repudiate it; a haranguer such as Agamemnon or Eumolpus is voicing sentiments which are inappropriate to his character or to the realities of life. We have noticed that when speaking in their own person and not through the mouth of one of the characters the Greek romancers are frequently unable to produce a plot which makes manifest the ethical beliefs which they espouse. With Petronius, the opposite is true. He regularly underscores the dichotomy in the convictions and the actions of his characters. In short, he is a realist, and the Greek romancer is a naive sentimentalist.

Apuleius would seem to lie somewhere between these two groups. As in the *Satyricon*, fairy tale princes and princesses are lacking.
The milieu of both romances is decidedly pedestrian, especially for a literary work of antiquity. Closely linked to milieu is the tone of a literary work. Apuleius here has closer affinities with the ideal romances than with the *Satyricon*. Petronius intentionally disavows a moral stance. Apuleius imparts to the *Metamorphoses* his feelings of morality and propriety. This is significant if we bear in mind that Petronius and Apuleius are commonly lumped together as writers of comic romance. Even within the comic portions, perhaps two thirds of the whole, Apuleius' moral convictions are evident. Possibly the framework in which he attempts to convey his beliefs is inappropriate, but the fact remains that ethics are of over-riding interest to him. So, too, the writers of ideal romances are firmly committed to advancing the cause of proper behavior. We need not, of course, concur in their over-simplified concept of the world. The one exception to this generalization is Achilles Tatius. He attempts to obscure the amoral activities of his characters with dubious learning.

The reasons behind including serious, extraneous material in the various subdivisions of prose fiction are important for understanding the relationship of the romances to one another. The supposed rationale for these intrusions is stated unequivocally by Heliodorus: "for listening to any accounts of Egypt is what appeals most strongly to Greek ears." Even Chariton, the least self-conscious of the Greek romancers, includes *sententiae*. His are confined to supporting his sentimental views of ideal love. Moreover, his gnomic statements probably take the place of effective character portrayal. Most important for our purposes, however, Chariton's generalizations divert
attention from the basically frivolous tale which he is relating. This, I maintain, in spite of Heliodorus' pretext that Greeks are ever curious, is the real reason for Chariton's inclusion of seemingly informative observations. The same is true of the other ideal romancers. Heliodorus expounds pompously on the nature of emotions. He reduces love to a science. At one point his explanation of the turbulence of the Ionian Sea receives an enthusiastic ovation. Even literary criticism finds a place in his romance. Achilles Tatius, also a sophistic rhetorician, cloaks the scandalous behavior of his characters in a cloud of hazy learning. He provides a scientific analysis of the kiss. Love, too, attracts this pseudo-scientist's attention. Thus the writers of ideal romances, with the exception of Apollonius of Tyre and Xenophon, seek to obscure the triviality of their works by inserting supposedly informative material into undeserving contexts. Petronius, as usual, stands at the other extreme. For instance, he is erudite about literary matters. While he himself may take the arts seriously, he turns apparently serious discussion of literature to his own over-riding, satirical end. Eumolpus' confrontation with Agamemnon becomes not so much an explanation of the decline in the writing and speaking arts as an indictment of the society which is ultimately responsible for their demise. The wide gulf between Petronius and the writers of ideal romances is filled once again by Apuleius. At one point he treats love as though it were the object of scientific investigation. The discussion of the cosmetic importance of hair deserves a page in *De Medicamine Faciei*. Yet Apuleius' consciousness of what is appropriate to the genre in which he is writing comes to the surface. The ass, at a most unlikely point in the narrative, chastises lawyers "whose profession it is to disguise matters." Apuleius
immediately recognizes this obtrusion for what it is: an incongruity in a supposedly comic romance. He then has the ass chide himself. Thus Apuleius recognizes that insertions of a serious nature have no place in a work such as the Metamorphoses. He is not always able to refrain from including erudition, but he at least understands that it is inappropriate. Apuleius, then, seems to occupy a middle point between the Greek romancers, who strive to dignify their frivolous narratives, and Petronius, who is intent on excluding all undeserved dignity.

Related to the serious insertion is the Rahmenerzählung. We have seen that Xenophon includes two in his compendious romance. The frame stories are lacking in only Chariton and Apollonius of Tyre. All the self-contained stories share certain technical features. A supposed difference of opinion is the most common means of introducing this type of tale. In Heliodorus, Calasiris chauvinistically claims that Homer was an Egyptian. Understandably, Cnemon is incredulous, and Calasiris must then support his claim with details. In Apuleius, the initial story, as well as others, is prompted by the skepticism of Aristomenes' traveling companion. Achilles Tatius' narrative of the merits respectively of homosexual and heterosexual love is developed in much the same way. The exposition of the account varies slightly from the introductory technicalities just mentioned in that the topic for debate is a set piece; the discussion does not arise naturally from a passing remark.\(^2\) In spite of the many differences in motivation and purpose between the

\(^2\)I take the liberty of categorizing this discussion of love as a frame story rather than a scientific digression because exempla of short-story length are provided to support the various opinions on the nature of ideal love.
writers of ideal romances and Petronius, he does, nonetheless, want to entertain also. To do this, he includes frame stories which he initiates in what appears to be a manner characteristic of prose fiction. Petronius has Trimalchio take up the cause of his friend Niceros and provide a tale of magic which is purportedly intended to ward off any objections to Niceros' own story of the black arts. A debate, pro forma at least, is also the framework of Eumolpus' position that no woman is virtuous.

Another concomitant of the **Rahmenerzählung** is an almost garrulous raconteur and a receptive audience. Heliodorus excels at providing these ingredients. Calasiris at one point expresses his willingness to relate his story to the reeds of the Nile if no listener can be found. In Cnemon he finds the ideal hearer. Cnemon will not allow Calasiris to break off his story long enough to snatch a little sleep. Petronius uses this arrangement well in the cena portion of the *Satyricon*. During Trimalchio's regular departures from the banquet, Encolpius frequently seeks out a fellow dîner who will provide desired information. Apuleius also provides ideal conditions for story-telling. Lucius' receptiveness is apparent when he expresses to Aristomenes his willingness to believe whatever is told. Very much like this setting for a story, but more artificial, is a type used by Xenophon and Achilles Tatius. It may be described simply as "You tell me your story and I will tell you mine."

For what I assume to be dramatic reasons, an unwilling story-teller must sometimes be prompted. After his initial hesitation, the raconteur relates his tale with the enthusiasm and almost professional
virtuosity that were, of course, present all along. Socrates, in the *Metamorphoses*, is probably the best of the storytellers at this disimulation. Aristomenes first begs him to begin the story and must eventually threaten him before he will stop. Likewise, Nicerus in the *Satyricon* must first be virtually cudgeled to begin his tale. He then warms up to the task and continues with vigor. Heliodorus, who I feel is the most masterly at inserting frame stories, makes use of the hesitant storyteller. He has Cnemon use for almost four books various subterfuges to delay the telling of his story to Calasiris. Even the loquacious Calasiris must at one point be goaded into continuing his tale.

As for the self-contained stories, the realization emerges that they represent the element which is most common to prose fiction of antiquity. With only two exceptions they appear in every work under discussion. Moreover, in works as widely divergent as the ideal romances and the *Satyricon*, the same limited means of introducing the frame story are used. If we do not take attitudes and purpose into account, that is, when we consider only techniques, prose fiction is more homogeneous than would appear likely.

Unfortunately, it has not always been possible in this study to analyze only technique without the tone or purpose of the various works impinging upon the more objective data. This was true of our analysis.

3This pose has always been characteristic of the art of storytelling. It is seen today among peoples whose history is still transmitted verbally. Jan Yoors, *The Gypsies* (1967), has recently discussed how esteemed raconteurs among the gypsies at first feign reluctance to tell a story and then relate it with a good deal of gusto.
of the uses to which transcending powers are put. Heliodorus is, in a way, the most successful at developing his plot in such a way that divine intervention provides a salient contribution to the theme of the narrative and not simply a way of extricating the characters from an impossible situation. The ending of the story, however, vitiates this positive aspect of Heliodorus' artistry. Isis' intervention at the denouement is simply a deus ex machina, and a most ludicrous one since it is unnecessary and prolonged to absurd lengths. In Achilles Tatius, the divinity Fortuna appears primarily as a method of disguising the author's inability to construct a plot in which episodes have real motivation. In addition, Achilles Tatius imposes Fortuna on the narrative in order to eliminate human responsibility for immoral acts. We have seen that Chariton is capable of employing natural motivation but that he does, nonetheless, reserve a role for Tyche or Aphrodite. In part he does this to demonstrate that divine will rewards the just and punishes the guilty.

The works of Xenophon and Petronius are incomplete, and it is, therefore, difficult to determine exactly the influence of celestial forces on terrestrial action. At any rate, we have been able to see that the offensum numen motif appears to exert some control over the course of human affairs. Of Petronius I express the view, originally put forth by Klebs, that the gravis ira Priapi, i.e., the offensum numen motif, plays a part in the overall motivation of the narrative. Priapus' intervention, I argue, was used by Petronius for his own satirical purposes.

Both Fortuna and Isis impose their celestial powers on the
narrative of the *Metamorphoses*. Isis is particularly important. She represents on one level the *deus ex machina*. On another level she contributes significantly to the theme, in fact provides the theme, that is, she makes the *Metamorphoses*, like the Greek romances, hieratic. This is quite important, for once again Apuleius is seen to use the same narrative material in the same way as the ideal romances with the exception, of course, of Achilles Tatius.

I conclude this recapitulation of the relationship of various prose fiction narratives to one another with a summary of the ways soliloquies and *ekphraseis* are used. Briefly, we have found that Apuleius and the Greek romancers treat the soliloquy seriously and occasionally use it as a means of motivation. Petronius, on the other hand, introduces the soliloquy for satirical purposes. Concerning the *ekphrasis* much the same conclusion is drawn. One particularly noteworthy feature of Apuleius' handling of the *ekphrasis* is observed. He includes this literary pendant three times. In one instance, he derides himself for doing so. The conclusion which I draw from this is, I believe, representative of what can be said of the relationship as a whole between the *Metamorphoses* and other prose fiction: in purpose and methods the *Metamorphoses* has more in common with the ideal romances than with its supposed congener the *Satyricon*.

We may now recapitulate our discussion of the *Metamorphoses* itself. My major concern in Chapter I is to demonstrate that the serious ending of the *Metamorphoses* is consistent with the frequently ribald narrative which precedes it. I argue that a certain amount of thematic unity is achieved by Apuleius' concentration on two aspects of the
curiosity motif. He portrays Lucius as at once cupitor mirabilium and cupidus nefas visendi. The latter type of meddlesomeness, which I call hybristic, leads to Lucius' transformation into an ass, his subsequent retransformation into a human and conversion to the religious principles of Isis. I also demonstrate that Apuleius maintains dramatic tension, especially in the first three books, by relating Lucius' heedless disregard of the many warnings of his friends and acquaintances. I further maintain that the final book is instrumental in the development of Lucius. In the course of his wanderings he becomes, like Odysseus, multisius. He recognizes, however, that he has not yet become prudent. In other words, he is still susceptible to the excesses which had earlier caused him so much suffering. It is only through the guidance of Isis' chief priest that Lucius finally becomes circumspect and prudent. Thus the Metamorphoses does display a coherent, serious purpose. Without the seemingly incongruous eleventh book, Lucius' spiritual and psychological development — the theme of Apuleius' romance — would be incomplete.

I have proceeded to show that Lucius develops in other ways also. From a shy and uncommitted young man he becomes a self-confident servant of Isis. Although the Metamorphoses may be said to demonstrate over-all thematic unity, there are, nonetheless, episodes and passages which I am forced to conclude contribute only to Apuleius' avowed purpose to entertain (lector intende; laetaberis). But even passages such as these are shown to be consistent with the moral tone of the work as a whole.

In Chapter II I have confined myself to one aspect of the structure of the Metamorphoses: motifs. I was able to show how recurrent themes with but slight variations delineate Lucius' ever-
imminent contact with witchcraft. He moves from being a passive observer to the role of an active observer until finally he comes into actual contact with the black arts and suffers for his rashness.
Critical Editions and Translations


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1I do not include in the Bibliography all works consulted or even all those referred to in the notes, but only those which I consider comparatively significant for this dissertation.

I use the following abbreviations: CP = Classical Philology; TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.


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