order to serve as a title equivalent to apocolocyntosis; and there is no other reason for thinking that they were designed to serve as a title. Annei Senece may therefore be acquitted of suspicion.

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PHYSIOGNOMY IN APULEIUS METAMORPHOSES 2. 2

When Lucius' aunt Byrrhena meets him in Hypata, she comments on his physical appearance (Met. 2. 2. 8-9):

"en" inquit "sanctissimae Saluiae matris generosa probitas, sed et cetera corporis execrabiliter ad amussim congruentia: inenormis proceritas, suculenta gracilitas, rubor temperatus, flauum et inadfectatum capillitium, oculi caesii quidem, sed uigiles et in aspectu micantes, prorsus aquilini, os quoquouersum floridum, speciosus et immeditatus incessus."

Many translate the phrase "cetera... congruentia" as though it stated that Lucius resembled his mother physically, but a more precise translation is "the rest of his bodily features correspond." If we ask to what they correspond, the logical answer is provided by the preceding clause: his mother's "generosa probitas."

In offering Lucius' physical qualities as proof that he shares his mother's moral virtue of *probitas*, Byrrhena is employing the methods of physiognomy, which claimed (Gell. NA 1. 9. 2) "mores naturasque hominum coniectatione quadam de oris et uultus ingenio deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari." Lucius' portrait was noted as an example of physiognomical method by E. C. Evans, but a recent study denies the significance of the portrait. Evans lists passages in the physiognomical treatises where features like Lucius' are discussed: "gray eyes," for example, "belong to a bold spirit." But Byrrhena's portrait is not just a

^{1.} The Metamorphoses is cited from the Budé edition of P. Vallette and D. S. Robinson (Paris, 1965).

^{2.} Vallette, p. 29: "c'est prodigieux comme on la retrouve exactement"; H. E. Butler, *The "Metamorphoses" or "Golden Ass" of Apuleius of Madaura*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1910), p. 49: "In person, he's her very image."

^{3.} R. Helm, in his bilingual edition (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 69: "das übrige Aussehen stimmt verwünscht genau wie nach der Schnur."

^{4.} Physiognomics in the Ancient World, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 59. 5 (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 72-73.

^{5.} F. Opeku, "Physiognomy in Apuleius," Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1979), p. 469, argues that Met. 2. 2 provides evidence only for Lucius' immediate emotions.

^{6.} The principal treatises are [Aristotle] Physiognomonica, in the Loeb edition of W. S. Hett, Aristotle: Minor Works, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) (= Ps.-Arist.); Anonyme Latin, Traité de Physiognomonie, ed. J. André (Paris, 1981) (= Phys. lib.); Polemo, De Physiognomonia (= Pol.). Polemo is known only in an Arabic version, edited and translated into Latin by G. Hoffman, in R. Foerster, Scriptores Physiognomonici Graeci et Latini (hereafter SP), 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1893).

^{7.} Evans, Physiognomics, p. 73, n. 57 (Ps.-Arist. 812b6); "gray" is a mistranslation: see n. 14, below.

collection of such "signs" (semeia) of several virtues;⁸ it corresponds to the description of ethical "types" (e.g., the brave man) to which large sections of the treatises are devoted.⁹ Lucius' features all exemplify the Golden Mean: he is tall but not disproportionately so, slender but with some flesh on him, moderately red in complexion. The mean is frequently praised in the treatises, especially in the Latin *Physiognomoniae liber*, which uses the Apuleian word medietas.¹⁰

This mean is best exemplified by the $\varepsilon \psi \phi \psi \eta \zeta$ or *ingeniosus*. He is described in the Latin treatise (*Phys. lib.* 92): "ingeniosus esse debet non satis procerus nec breuis, coloris albi, cui sit permixtus etiam rubor, capillo flauo . . . habens . . . oculos humidos, splendidos $\chi \alpha \rho o \pi o \psi \zeta$." Polemo uses almost identical language to describe the "pure Greek" ethnic type (*SP* 1: 242-44). The portrait of Lucius corresponds in many details (medium height, partially red complexion, blond hair, bright eyes) to the $\varepsilon \psi \phi \psi \eta \zeta$ of the physiognomists, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Apuleius meant his readers to associate Lucius with that type. 12

A first reading of *Metamorphoses* 2. 2 suggests that Lucius' appearance is to be praised, and provides evidence in physiognomonical terms of his εὐφυία and hence his *probitas*. There is, however, one feature of Lucius which does not fit (congruentia) the type: his eyes.¹³ Lucius' eyes are blue, caesii, γλαυκοί, ¹⁴ while the eyes of the εὐφυής are gray, χαροποί, Latin raui.¹⁵ The inappropriateness of blue eyes to the type is suggested by quidem: "the eyes are blue, but nevertheless uigiles." ¹⁶ Χαροπός is praised in the treatises, ¹⁷ but the eye-color γλαυκός is associated with such faults as cowardice (Ps.-Arist. 812b14), inhumanity (SP 1: 246.6), and impudentia (Phys. lib. 81). ¹⁸ A keen gaze is not always praised; those with such a gaze are termed δεινοί or molesti (SP 1: 332.3; Phys. lib. 36). Flashing eyes (micantes) are also dangerous "signs": in a blue-eyed person, they may denote rashness bordering on insanity (SP 1: 148.12; Phys. lib. 35). ¹⁹ The comparison with an eagle suggests both virtues and faults: Polemo (SP 1: 184.6) described the

^{8.} On semeia in physiognomy, see Arist. An. Pr. 70b6-39; on semeia of virtue, Rh. 1366b34-1367a32. See also L. Arnhart, Aristotle on Political Reasoning (De Kalb, 1981), pp. 43-47, 80-81.

^{9.} Ps.-Arist. 807a32-808b12; *Phys. lib.* 89-115; Pol., *SP* 1: 268-92. Such depictions of ethical types are familiar in rhetoric: see Arist. *Rh.* 2. 12-17 (1388b31-1391b6) and the discussion of *ethologia* and related terms by Seneca (*Epist.* 95. 65).

^{10.} Phys. lib. 116. In spite of such similarities of vocabulary, the treatise is probably not by Apuleius; see André, Traité, pp. 31-32; Opeku, "Physiognomy," p. 474.

^{11.} Ps.-Arist. 807b13-19; Pol., SP 1: 272; Phys. lib. 92; SP 1: 411-12.

^{12.} They need not have read the treatises. Physiognomical explanation must have been a normal part of rhetorical training, e.g., for the discussion of beauty as a topic of praise in panegyric (Quint. Inst. 3.7.2); note how naturally Pliny asserts that proceptias and several other physical features principem ostentant (Pan. 4.7).

^{13.} Eyes are central to physiognomy: André, *Traité*, p. 29; SP 1: 106.20; note Pliny HN 11. 54. 145 "profecto in oculis animus habitat."

^{14.} J. André, Etudes sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine (Paris, 1949), pp. 179-81, gives caesius the meaning "bleu clair et brillant." Note Gell. NA 2. 26. 19 "caesia dicta est quae Graecis γλαυκῶπις."

^{15.} For the definition of eye-colors, see Arist. Gen. An. 779b13-15 and Pliny HN 11.53.141, 11.55.148. Modern studies include André, Etudes, and P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, Studies in Greek Colour Terminology, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1981).

^{16.} Aristotle (Gen. An. 779b) notes that those with blue eyes are usually not keen sighted.

^{17.} Loxus in Phys. lib. 81 describes χαροπός as optimus and as the mean between niger and glaucus.

^{18.} For the negative connotations of caesius, see André, Etudes, p. 179, and of γλαυκός, see Maxwell-Stuart, Studies, 1: 116, 142.

^{19.} Lucius shares micantes oculi with Photis (Met. 3. 19. 5) and Venus (5. 31. 1).

eagle as "animi et corporis robusti familiaris quamuis aspera perfida sublimis studii." ²⁰

Apuleius in other descriptions pays close attention to eyes.²¹ Lucius' unusual eyes, suggesting cowardice, rashness, and *impudentia*, are more significant for his character than are his other, ostensibly praiseworthy, features. Lucius' appearance is thus like his noble birth, which is much praised in early sections of the work but which turns out (*Met*. 11. 15) to be of little moral or practical worth, and to have given him a false sense of his own value.²²

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- 20. J. Coussin, "Suétone physiognomiste dans les vies des xii Césars," REL 31 (1953): 244, shows how well the physiognomists' eagle fits Augustus, who was also blue-eyed with a keen stare.
- 21. Note especially eyes that are *minaces* (Met. 2. 4. 2, 8. 4. 4, 10. 31. 6) and those that are *marcentes* with sexual desire (3. 14. 5, 5. 25. 5, 10. 2. 6).
- 22. Hugh J. Mason, "The Distinction of Lucius in Apuleius' Metamorphoses," Phoenix 37 (1983): 135-43.

SOME POEMS OF THE LATIN ANTHOLOGY

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In a paper in Hermathena 129 (1980): 42-44 I drew attention to some links between Dracontius, who wrote under the Vandal sway in North Africa, and certain poets of the Salmasian Anthology, which was compiled in the same place and era. As far as Reposianus is concerned I wish to acknowledge, what I did not know at the time, that some of the points had already been made by P. Langlois (RPh 47 [1973]: 312-14) and I. Gualandri (RIL 108 [1974]: 876-82). Gualandri adds one particularly valuable observation. The grove in which Reposianus represents Mars and Venus meeting is placed at Byblos (33-36), where Venus had previously met Adonis, and she is attended by women of Byblos (66), Bybliades (90). But Dracontius (Rom. 7. 33, 10. 283) uses this word to mean "nymphs" quite generally, and this can only be explained by the hypothesis that he had read Reposianus carelessly. Now if, as I tried to show, Reposianus imitates Dracontius Romulea 2. 84, and on the other hand Dracontius in Romulea 7 and 10 imitates Reposianus, only one conclusion is possible: that the two were exact contemporaries, and that the respective order of composition of the poems concerned was Romulea 2, Reposianus, Romulea 7 and 10 (and Rom. 7 was written by Dracontius in prison around A.D. 490). Now Romulea 6. 36-44 is generally, and most naturally, taken to refer to the services of the patrons of Dracontius in getting him released from prison, and this involves dating it after Romulea 7. Therefore a spanner might seem to be thrown into the above chronology by Langlois' contention that Dracontius in Romulea 6. 18 (Venerem . . .) cui militat omnis imitates Ovid Amores 1, 9, 1 militat omnis amans, and that Dracontius in turn is imitated by Reposianus 2 (Venus...) cui militat ardor. However, when we take into account Romulea 4. 44 (Minerva . . .) cui militat impia Gorgon, and Claudian