

APULEIUS' *METAMORPHOSES* AND LOLLIANUS'  
*PHOINIKIKA*

C. P. JONES

THE PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS of Lollianus' *Phoinikika* now in Cologne and first published by Albert Henrichs in 1969 have been called "the most important new fictional prose-narrative material uncovered by papyrology since the publication of the Ninus-romance in 1893."<sup>1</sup> Together with the so-called "Glauketes-papyrus," which they show to have belonged to another copy of the same work,<sup>2</sup> they received a full edition from Henrichs in 1972, and two important and independent studies of them have recently appeared.<sup>3</sup> One of these emphasizes the resemblances of Lollianus to Petronius and Achilles Tatius;<sup>4</sup> but it is arguable that another novelist is at least as important for his elucidation. In the following, after a general survey of the contents of the new papyrus, I examine in detail two passages, both of which, but especially the second, have echoes in Apuleius; I then consider the question of mystic allusions in the work, again mainly with the help of Apuleius; finally, I discuss the relationship between Apuleius and Lollianus, and ask whether the second can be placed in a literary milieu comparable to that of the first.

The new fragments come from two different pages of a codex, one (A) from the end of the first book and the other (B) comprising the end of a book of unknown number and the beginning of the next. The recto of page A concerns some kind of party on the roof of a house; two of the

I am very grateful for the comments of Glen Bowersock, Albert Henrichs, Bryan Reardon, Gerald Sandy, and especially Michael Reeve, to whom I owe much of my discussion on pages 247-250. I have also profited greatly from comments made when a draft of this paper was presented at a departmental seminar at the University of Toronto on 26 October 1979. Dieter Hagedorn kindly checked the Cologne papyrus for me at several points: I have indicated his observations in the text by "(Hagedorn)."

After writing this paper up virtually in its present form, I learned of John Winkler's forthcoming article on the same subject in *JHS* 1980. Winkler generously showed me his typescript: I hope (and believe) that the two articles corroborate rather than duplicate each other.

<sup>1</sup>G. N. Sandy, *AJP* 100 (1979) 367 (henceforth Sandy).

<sup>2</sup>That the Glauketes-papyrus (*POxy* 11.1368) belongs to the *Phoinikika* was shown by Henrichs, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 42-43, following a suggestion of Michael Reeve. Henrichs kindly informs me that he is editing a new fragment from another copy of the *Phoinikika*, and that Glauketes' name again occurs in it.

<sup>3</sup>Albert Henrichs, ed., *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos* (Bonn 1972 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 14]) (henceforth Henrichs); L. Koenen, *BASP* 16 (1979) 109-114 (henceforth Koenen); Sandy 367-376.

<sup>4</sup>Sandy 376.

three known characters are mentioned, a girl called Persis and the already mentioned Glauketes (A 1 recto lines 14, 18; A 2 recto lines 8, 11). After a break, which cannot be of great length, it becomes clear that the narrative is in the first person. The narrator is led to a hidden room. "I found Persis within waiting for me. That was my first experience of intercourse. She took off the gold ornaments which she wore and wanted to give them to me as a fee for deflowering her,<sup>5</sup> but I said I would not take them; so she called Glauketes, and when he had come gave them to him and ordered the steward to bring her two thousand (drachmas, sc. ?) and pay them out; (and then) she turned to me and did not stop until we were both overtaken by (satiety?) and the day began to break."<sup>6</sup> The phrase translated "as a fee for deflowering her" could theoretically be taken to refer to an earlier occasion (i.e. "which she wore, a payment for her virginity") and Henrichs inclines so to take it.<sup>7</sup> But it seems more naturally understood of the present one; that is, both the narrator and Persis have just had sex for the first time. This may be supported by the word *διδασκαλεία* in line 25. The meaning "schools" seems out of place, but the word can also mean "teacher's fee:"<sup>8</sup> it could then be an urbane reference to the payment which Persis has just made for her first lesson in love.<sup>9</sup> After this passage the papyrus becomes discontinuous. The pair is awakened by two persons (conceivably servants stationed outside the door);<sup>10</sup> Persis goes out, while the narrator remains within; someone's mother, presumably Persis', is mentioned;<sup>11</sup> there is a conversation, perhaps between Persis and her mother, in which the just discussed *διδασκαλεία* appears.

If this is right, the narrator has not only been seduced but, despite his sexual inexperience, richly rewarded for his first performance. In the extant Greek novel, attempts are sometimes made on the virtue of the hero, but the instances in which he yields have a very different flavour

<sup>5</sup>For this interpretation see below.

<sup>6</sup>A 2 recto lines 7–14. I translate the supplements suggested by Henrichs, including *μ[ισθόν]* in line 10, *[τῶι τα]μίαι* in line 12, and *[κόρος]* in line 14; I also read *[ἔπειτα]* in line 13. For a slightly different text see G. M. Browne, *ZPE* 10 (1970) 77.

<sup>7</sup>Henrichs 108. Henrichs thinks it less likely that *διακώρησις* refers to the loss of the narrator's virginity: this is the view adopted by Sandy 368, but it hardly seems possible.

<sup>8</sup>Stephanus s.v. *διδασκάλιον* and LSJ s.v. *διδασκαλείον* cite [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 26, line 355 Allen; Stephanus in addition cites Plut. *Alex.* 7.2, where all the manuscripts except L<sup>2</sup> in fact have *-εἶα*.

<sup>9</sup>Compare the gifts which Daphnis promises to Lykaenion *ὥσπερ τι μέγα . . . μέλλων διδάσκεισθαι* (Longus 3.18.2).

<sup>10</sup>Fr. A 2 recto lines 15–16, *τῇν θύραν ἄμφω ἔκοπτο(ν) καὶ μόγ[ις ἐγείρουσ?]ιν*. Compare Lucius' slaves sleeping outside his room during his first night with Photis, Apul. *Met.* 2.15.5.

<sup>11</sup>Hugh Mason points out the parallel with Ach. Tat. 2.23, where Leukippe's mother finds her in bed with Kleitophon.

from the present. In Achilles, Kleitophon agrees to cure Melitte of her love-sickness for him, and as in Lollian receives a monetary reward for his services;<sup>12</sup> in Longus, Daphnis is tricked into losing his virginity by the artful Lykaenion (3.15–20). It is only in the Latin novel that the hero yields cheerfully to seductresses, and, as Henrichs notes, the realism of this passage recalls scenes in Petronius and Apuleius.<sup>13</sup> The closest parallel is Lucius' first night with Photis in Apuleius, which similarly has a remote room, a willing girl, and intercourse lasting until daybreak.<sup>14</sup> This episode was certainly in the lost Greek novel on which, it is now generally agreed, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* was based.<sup>15</sup>

Page B is better preserved. The only character named is called Androtimos; he may be the narrator in A.<sup>16</sup> He is the captive of persons who seem to be robbers, though this is not explicitly stated. There are other captives (ἐφρουροῦντο B 1 verso line 32); these probably include the boy who is sacrificed in the first fragment (B 1 recto), the "girl" mentioned later (B 1 verso lines 11, 25), and perhaps also the "women" (lines 20–21), of whom the girl may be one. There are also corpses (lines 22, 24). The scene is a place that has windows (line 26), and so is probably a house.<sup>17</sup>

In the first part of page B (fr. 1 recto), one of the robbers sacrifices the boy, takes out his heart, cooks part of it, and distributes it to "those being initiated" (τοῖς μνουμένοις): the question whether this represents a mystery-ritual will be discussed later.<sup>18</sup> In the next part (fr. 1 verso), the text is at first very discontinuous. There is another reference to "the boy's heart," and to something "vomited up;" somebody, apparently Androtimos, says, "I feel unwell, since my food was still raw." Someone refers to "this damned girl here," and there occur the phrases, "from the mouth and also from the behind," "I have put up with the disagreeable smell . . .," and "into the largest cup there (was?), which they called a k----." There then occurs a passage which W. Burkert restores as follows: [Κενταυρῶν ὥς] ἐμοῖ δ' ὁκεῖ, καὶ Λαπυθίων μάχη ἐν τούτῳ ἐπ[ε]ποίητο, understanding it to refer to a representation of the famous battle on the cup just mentioned. Henrichs inclines to accept this, but notes a difficulty:

<sup>12</sup>Ach. Tat. 5.27–6.1; the parallel is noted by Sandy 373.

<sup>13</sup>Petron. 127, Apul. *Met.* 2.16–17, 10.20–22. Cf. Henrichs 108.

<sup>14</sup>Apul. *Met.* 2.15–17, esp. 15.5 (slaves made to sleep away from the door: cf. above, note 10), 17.5 (*ad confinia lucis*: cited by Henrichs 110).

<sup>15</sup>[Lucian] *Asin.* 7–11.

<sup>16</sup>Thus Henrichs 6: cf. Sandy 368 note 2.

<sup>17</sup>Christopher Brown ingeniously suggests that it is a tomb or mausoleum, and this would certainly suit the abundance of corpses and perhaps (see below) of articles that could be used for disguise as ghosts or the like: but the windows seem against it.

<sup>18</sup>See below, pp. 252–253. A slightly different text, which does not affect the substance, is proposed by Koenen 113–114.

ἐν τούτῳ is several times used by Lollian as by other novelists with the meaning of “in the meanwhile” and at the beginning of sentences.<sup>19</sup> This supplement raises another problem in that it entails the assumption of a first-person narrator.<sup>20</sup> While fragment A certainly has such a narrator, fragment B has no other sign of one, nor does the Glauketes-fragment. It may therefore be preferable to take μάχη here as the last word of a sentence spoken by one of the interlocutors comparing the rowdiness of the robbers’ feasting to the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths;<sup>21</sup> the next sentence could then have continued, “In the meanwhile a (knock, e.g.) had been made . . . .” If that is right, a parallel from Apuleius may be cited. Lucius, now transformed into an ass, is captured by robbers and led to their cave. They have just settled down to eat the meal prepared by their old maidservant when some comrades arrive, and the united group eats and drinks noisily: *clamore ludunt, strepitu cantilant, conviciis iocantur, ac iam cetera semiferis Lapithis Centurisque similia* (4.8.5).<sup>22</sup>

The next section of the narrative has another similarity to Apuleius, the arrival of a new set of robbers and a renewal of the feast. “. . . All had come in and there was no-one still outside. After (closing?) the windows they began to sing and drink; they lay with the women in the sight of (Androtimos. While) *they* went to sleep exhausted, the eleven (set to watch?) the corpses did not drink much, but just enough to get merry.”<sup>23</sup> In Apuleius the arrival of the second set of robbers similarly occasions a renewal of the feast, after which the whole company goes briefly to sleep (4.22.1): however, the scene is set in a cave, not a house, and there are no corpses or women other than the old servant.

<sup>19</sup>Henrichs 114 on fr. B 1 recto line 9 and 121 on this line. Henrichs informs me that he no longer thinks the notion of a represented battle very likely.

<sup>20</sup>I had thought of ἐμοῖ ἐδ]οκέ in line 14: Hagedorn thinks this marginally possible, but prefers ἐμοῖ δ]οκέ. With either reading the problem remains.

<sup>21</sup>The restoration Κενταυρῶν in the lacuna of line 14 is perhaps not obligatory: for Lapiths mentioned without Centaurs cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.670–671 *quae Lapitheia movit proelia*; Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 22.

<sup>22</sup>Hugh Mason, however, observes that in itself the comparison of rowdy parties to the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths is not rare: cf. B. J. Hijmans *et al.*, *Apuleius: Metamorphoses IV 1–27* (Groningen 1977) *ad loc.*, and Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.1.

<sup>23</sup>Henrichs, fr. B 1 verso lines 19–23; again, a slightly different text in Koenen 111–112. I have adopted Koenen’s [κλείσαν]τες in line 20; he assumes a further seven letters missing, but if the discussion below is correct this is not necessary. For the same reason, in line 21 I would shorten his Ἀ[νδροτίμου] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν to Ἀ[νδροτίμου] οἱ μὲν (for μὲν serving as a connective, like μὲν οὖν, cf. fr. A 2 recto lines 9 and 16, and generally Kühner-Gerth 2.346 e); in line 22, his [σωμάτων ταχθέντες] ἔνδεκα can be shortened by the excision of σωμάτων; in line 23, his [καὶ ἐγρηγόρεσαν] is not justified by the comment that “Being awake is a standard motif in Greek novels as well as in the mysteries. Therefore it may suit the context,” and it seems best to leave a blank. In the same line, ἀποθερμαίνω is a *hapax*.

The next section in Lollianus is very remarkable. I give first Henrichs' Greek text,<sup>24</sup> then a line-by-line discussion, and finally a translation.

23 [ἐπ]εὶ δὲ νύκτες μέσαι ἦσαν, πρῶ-  
 24 τον μὲν τὰ σώμ[α]τα τῶν ἀποτε[θνηκότων ἀ]πέδυσαν μ[η]δὲ τὴν ταυρίαν  
 25 ἐν ἧ ἡ κόρη τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐδέδεξ[ο] ] ἔπειτα ἀνε[λ]όμενοι ὑπὲρ  
 26 τὰς θυρίδας ἀφῆκαν κάτω εἰς το. [ ]. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χιτῶνας ἐν-  
 27 δύνονται οἱ μὲν λευκοὺς οἱ δὲ μέλα[νας] ]. μῶσιν ὁμοίως τὰς κεφαλὰς  
 28 περιελήσαντες καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα [ ] μέλανα ἔχοντες ἀσβόληι οἱ δὲ  
 29 [τὰ λε]υκὰ ψιμυθίῳ ἐχρεíoντο καὶ ρ. [ ] .....σαντες ἐξῆσαν ἕξω  
 30 μὲν τὰ λευκὰ ἔχοντες διὰ το[.]. [ μ]έλανα διὰ τῆς σε-  
 31 λήνης ἐπορεύοντο.

The first question to be decided concerns the length of line. This has recently been discussed by Koenen,<sup>25</sup> who proposes a line of 56 to 62 letters. However, this calculation depends largely on the restoration of the present passage; and since in almost every case a no less satisfactory text can be obtained with a line about five letters shorter than Koenen's, his estimate may be over-generous.

24. ἀποτε[θνηκότων] is suspect for the reason that the prose form is ἀποθανών.<sup>26</sup> Following a suggestion of Michael Reeve, I had thought of ἀπογε[νομένων]: this expression for the dead, which is principally found in Herodotus and Thucydides, would not be out of place in an author who elsewhere borrows a phrase from Herodotus.<sup>27</sup> However, inspection of the papyrus apparently rules out γε[, though not π[ (Hagedorn). It seems best to refrain from conjecture.

25. The sense requires a participle or participial phrase signifying "over-looking," "leaving untouched," and Henrichs suggests καταλείποντες, Koenen λῦσαι ὀκνοῦντες. It is easy to propose something about five letters shorter, for example ἐάσαντες or παρέντες. Henrichs notes the linguistic parallel with the passage of Apuleius in which a woman in love with Lucius (who is still in ass's shape) takes off all her clothes, *taenia quoque, qua decoras devinxerat papillas* (10.21.1). After the lacuna, ἔπειτα answers directly the πρῶτον μὲν of line 24.<sup>28</sup> Koenen seems right to think that the

<sup>24</sup>I have added accents and punctuation, but for reasons which will appear I have not indicated the number of missing letters.

<sup>25</sup>Koenen 110.

<sup>26</sup>Kühner-Blass 2.443 (referring only to classical prose: however, I have not found an exception among the eighty-odd references in Wytttenbach's index to Plutarch).

<sup>27</sup>Stephanus s.v. ἀπογίγνομαι 1383 C-D (principally Hdt. and Thuc., but also Dion. Hal. and Strabo); LSJ s.v. II 2. Fr. A 2 recto line 14, ἡμέρα ἐπέλαμψεν = Hdt. 8.14.1 (Henrichs 27 note 20).

<sup>28</sup>For this opposition see Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 377.

object of ἀνελόμενοι is τὰ σώματα.<sup>29</sup> No doubt the preposition “over” (ὑπέρ) is used because the windows were set high up in the wall, as often in ancient houses.<sup>30</sup>

26. It is not clear whether the bandits inside the house are passing the bodies to others outside, or simply dropping them out of the windows. The first is hard to reconcile with the information that “all had come in, and there was no one still outside” (line 19), while the second seems to show a surprising unconcern for concealment. Perhaps the earlier narrative had indicated that there was something outside the windows into which the bodies could be dropped without attracting attention, for example a ravine (εἰς τὸ β[άραθρον]).<sup>31</sup>

27. By dressing in white or black and smearing their faces correspondingly the robbers must be attempting to disguise themselves.<sup>32</sup> What they wish to resemble is suggested by a passage of Apuleius (and this is the most striking of the parallels between the two authors). After the “brief sleep” already mentioned, *ecce nocte promota latrones expurgiti castra commovent instructique varie, partim gladiis armati, partim in Lemures reformati, concito se gradu proripiunt* (4.22.5). The ancients conceived of ghosts both as white and as black, as two narratives contemporary with Apuleius attest.<sup>33</sup> In Iamblichus (p. 18 Habrich) the hero and heroine take refuge in a robber’s house, which is set on fire by their pursuers at night; forced to emerge, they pretend to be ghosts of the robber’s victims, and “by their pallor and the thinness of their appearance” they so persuade the pursuing soldiers. Lucian (*Philops.* 32) tells an amusing tale of some young men who tried to convince Democritus of life after death: “dressing themselves like corpses in black clothing and with masks fashioned to look like skulls they encircled him and began to dance.”<sup>34</sup> In Lollianus the robbers’ motive for their disguise is presumably twofold, since by dressing as ghosts or the like they intend not only to conceal their identities but also to terrorize their victims and anyone who might think of giving help: in Apuleius the robber Thrasyleon is similarly disguised as a she-bear (4.14–21). If this reading of Lollianus is correct, it is tempting to see the word ending –μωσιν in line 27, not as a finite verb, but as a noun (conceivably an adjective or participle) in the

<sup>29</sup>Koenen 113. For this verb governing σώματα see LSJ s.v. ἀναίρω B I 3.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *domus*, page 356, figs. 2517, 2519.

<sup>31</sup>Suggested by Ronald Shepherd; I had thought of φ[ρέαρ]. There is only a spot of ink on the papyrus after τὸ, and according to Hagedorn practically any letter is possible.

<sup>32</sup>Convincingly argued by Sandy 371–373.

<sup>33</sup>See, generally, F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven 1922) 165–166.

<sup>34</sup>Strictly, Lucian might be talking about walking corpses (“the undead”) rather than ghosts, but ghosts could be thought of as resembling decayed bodies: cf. the *idolon* of Pliny, *Ep.* 7.27.5, 11.

dative plural governed by *ὁμοίως*, and to look for one meaning something like "ghosts."<sup>35</sup> Now before the mu there is a trace which is said to be fairly certainly alpha and less probably lambda or mu (Hagedorn). If that is right, it rules out a proposal which might otherwise seem attractive, [μο]ρμῶσιν.<sup>36</sup> Hesychius preserves a form μομμῶ, but his latest editor considers the reading doubtful.<sup>37</sup> Once again it seems best to suspend judgment. On Koenen's reckoning, there is room after μέλα[νας and before -μωσιν for another nine letters: if the line was in fact about five letters shorter, and *ὁμοίως* was preceded by a noun in the dative plural, that noun presumably occupied all of the remaining four or so spaces. This in turn suggests a comma after μέλανας and a comma or colon after περιελήσαντες; "they put on cloaks either white or black, wrapping their heads like (: . .) and smeared their faces," etc. The wrapping may have contributed to the robbers' disguise either because it gave their heads the effect of skulls or (if they are thought of as resembling walking corpses) of heads swathed in grave-cerements.<sup>38</sup>

28. The πρόσωπα are presumably not masks, despite the masks of Lucian's young men, but the robbers' natural faces: otherwise there would be no need for the soot and white-lead. For the lacuna Koenen suggests [οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱμάτια] μέλανα. Yet, as he observes, a word meaning "clothes" does not have to be expressed, since like "things" in English τὰ μέλανα alone can mean "black things," "black:"<sup>39</sup> ἱμάτια can therefore be omitted.<sup>40</sup> Plutarch (*Cimon* 1.4, 9) tells of a band of youths who after "smearing their faces by night with soot" assassinated a Roman tribune at daybreak; the descendants of the leader of the gang were still known in Plutarch's day as "the sooty ones"—ἀσβολῶμενοι. G. N. Sandy has pointed out that in Heliodorus Chariclea disguises herself as a beggar by rubbing her face with soot and mud.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup>For *ὁμοίως* with the dative see Stephanus s.v. *ὁμοίως* col. 1968 B-C, citing *inter alia* Xen. *Hiero* 6.3, μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι. Henrichs (who by a slip prints ]μωσιν in his transcription) thinks of [δρ]ᾶμωσιν, Koenen of [οὐδὲν δὲ το]λμῶσιν, which I do not understand.

<sup>36</sup>This form of the plural is found in the manuscripts of Xen., *Hell.* 4.4.17; μορμῶνα is also the modern Demotic.

<sup>37</sup>K. Latte s.v., who rightly rejects the defence of the word by A. Fick, *Zeitsch. für vergl. Sprachf.* 43 (1910) 148.

<sup>38</sup>This second interpretation was suggested to me by Ronald Shepherd.

<sup>39</sup>Koenen cites LSJ s.v. λευκόν 2. For μέλανα cf. Acta Joannis 38 (Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 2, 1, page 170 line 2), πάντων λευκοφορούντων μόνος ἐνδυσάμενος μέλανα, cited by Lampe, *Patr. Gr. Lex.* s.v. λευκοφόρεω. Conceivably a casual reader might have taken τὰ μέλανα to refer to τὰ πρόσωπα: but in order to say that, Lollianus should presumably have omitted the second τὰ.

<sup>40</sup>It might also be urged that ἱμάτια does not consort with χιτῶνας (line 26); but the word can mean simply "clothes" (LSJ s.v. ἱμάτιον I 2).

<sup>41</sup>Sandy 372, citing Hld. 6.11.3.

29. For the lacuna M. D. Reeve suggests *καὶ οὔ[τως ἑαυτοὺς] κοσμήσαντες*. Even with *αὐτούς*, Koenen reckons this to be about four letters too few, but again it neatly fits a shorter line.

30. This line is crucial for those who wish to see mystic allusions in the new novel. The question is complicated by the possibility of corruption at the beginning. The *ἔξω* of line 29 is most easily taken with the preceding *ἔξησαν*.<sup>42</sup> However, it follows that *μέν* can scarcely be the next word and that something must have dropped out before it, presumably because of the scribe's change of line: M. D. Reeve suggests *<οἱ>* or *<καὶ οἱ>*. After *ἔχοντες* Henrichs reports, but does not admit into his text, a proposal of W. Burkert, *διὰ τοῦ ἡλίου*: it is suggested that this refers to some ritual in which the initiates walk through artificial sun- and moonlight.<sup>43</sup> One difficulty is in the word *ἐπορεύοντο*, which ought to mean "they went on their way," the imperfect tense showing that the narrator now leaves the robbers and turns back to Androtimos. Moreover, Lollianus has earlier given the time of the action as midnight (line 23) and made the robbers "go out" (line 29); it would be odd if he now made them "journey through sunlight" and meant that they were walking in some illuminated chamber. Certainly the *διὰ* before the lacuna seems to balance the one that follows, and if both those in black and those in white had gone outside and the moon was shining, it is hard to see why they would not all have had to go off in the moonlight. Perhaps it is meant that those in white, being more easily visible, did not travel in the open, where the moon was shining, but for example "through the darkness"—*διὰ τοῦ ὀκρό[τους]* or *ὀκρο[τεινοῦ]*.<sup>44</sup> At the end of the lacuna, *[οἱ δὲ τὰ μέλανα]* (Koenen) seems clearly required. By Koenen's reckoning this would leave about fifteen letters unaccounted for: if the true figure is nearer ten, even *σκοτεινοῦ* would be slightly short.

"When it was midnight, they first stripped the bodies of the (dead), not even (overlooking) the cord with which the girl's breasts had been girdled; and then lifting (them, sc.) through the windows they dropped them into the (. . .). And after that they put on tunics, some of them white ones and some of them black, wrapping their heads like (ghosts?), and they smeared their faces, those in black with soot and those in white with white-lead, and (after thus disguising themselves?) they went outside. And those in white set out through (. . . and those in) black through the moonlight."

<sup>42</sup>I had thought of taking it with the following *ἔχοντας*, but Michael Reeve persuaded me otherwise: *ἔξω* follows naturally after *ἔξειμι* (cf. Stephanus s.v. *ἔξω* 1348D; LSJ s.v. *ἔξω* I 1 b), and it has just been used in this sense in line 20.

<sup>43</sup>Henrichs 78 note 2: "Die beiden Gruppen von Mysterien . . . wandeln um Mitternacht im Schein des Mondes und, falls die im Kommentar vorgeschlagene Ergänzung überzeugt, der Sonne." Koenen 113 has an even more complicated explanation.

<sup>44</sup>*ὀκρό[τους]* has independently occurred to John Winkler (above, prefatory note); Hagedorn reports that he still prefers *ἡλι*, but that *λεξ* or *λοκ* might also be possible.



In what is left of the page the sense is too discontinuous to be closely followed. Androtimos has been left behind by the robbers, and with him, if ἐφρουροῦντο is right in line 32, one or more other people. They are being guarded for fear that they will inform on the robbers "if they leave:" "they" may be either the robbers or Androtimos and company. A goldsmith is mentioned in line 34, and an old man in 35, who may be identical: he could be someone with whom Androtimos manages to make contact, or a guard set by the robbers.<sup>45</sup> If the second, Androtimos' situation would be roughly equivalent to that in Apuleius whereby Lucius is left behind with Charite under the guard of the old woman (6.26–27), though of course in Lollianus the hero is in human shape, in Apuleius he is transformed into an ass.<sup>46</sup>

The parallels between this section of Lollianus and the robber-episode in Apuleius can be shown thus:

Androtimos a captive of the robbers (B1 recto)	Lucius (in ass's shape) a captive of robbers (4.6 ff.)
Their feasting compared to the (Centaur and ?) Lapiths (B1 verso 14)	The rest of the band arrives (4.8.1)
The rest of the band arrives (B1 verso 18)	Their joint feasting compared to the Centaurs and Lapiths (4.8.5)
They sing, drink, have sex, and then fall asleep (B 1 verso 20–21)	They pour libations, sing hymns, and then take a brief sleep (4.22.1)
At midnight they go out dressed as ghosts (B 1 verso 26–31)	At dead of night they go out, some of them dressed as ghosts (4.22.5).

The closeness of the parallels should not be exaggerated. There is one significant difference of order: the comparison with the Lapiths precedes the arrival of the second group in Lollianus and follows it in Apuleius. Moreover, it is evident that Apuleius has taken liberties with his original.<sup>47</sup> However, the similarity of the general outline, when combined with the linguistic coincidences of the two narratives, suggests that their connection is a literary one, and not the chance result of similar subject-matter.

It may be possible to discern a similar kinship in general situation and

<sup>45</sup>Gerald Sandy points out that a goldsmith has a role of intrigue in Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka* (p. 42, 6; 56, 15; 58, 6 Habrich).

<sup>46</sup>It may be relevant that in Apuleius the subsequent attempt of Lucius to flee with Charite takes place *ad lunae splendorem* (6.29.8).

<sup>47</sup>This is already clear from the corresponding narrative in [Lucian] *Asinus* 16–26.

in verbal detail between Apuleius and the Glauketes-fragment. In this, the ghost of a young man appears to Glauketes on a lonely road and asks him to give burial to himself and a young girl, since they lie murdered "a little way from the road . . . under that plane tree there."<sup>48</sup> In Apuleius' tale of Aristomenes, the narrator and his friend Socrates are travelling on a lonely road, and Aristomenes proposes that they stop to have lunch "under that plane tree there" (1.18.8). Going to drink at a river not far from the tree, Socrates falls dead, and Aristomenes buries him by the river (1.19.11).<sup>49</sup> However, it is not certain that this tale was already in Apuleius' original.<sup>50</sup>

The confrontation of Lollianus and Apuleius helps with a question raised earlier, that of mystic elements in Lollianus. It has been seen that one of the robbers is described as sacrificing a boy, removing his heart, and distributing it to "those being initiated," who then swear an oath. There has been much discussion of the influence of mystery-religions on the ancient novel, and this reference to "those being initiated" makes it tempting to seek mystic allusions in passages where they are less obvious: the intercourse of the narrator and Persis, for example, has been seen as an "episodio di deflorazione mistico-rituale."<sup>51</sup> But the parallels with Apuleius already suggest that the seduction of the hero by an eager girl and their strenuous lovemaking need have nothing to do with "mystic deflowering;" the robbers dress up in black and white to commit robbery, not to perform a sacred masquerade.

It is time, therefore, to look more closely at the sacrifice and "those being initiated."<sup>52</sup> To begin with the second, the present tense shows that these are persons "being initiated" into something; this "initiation" is obviously connected with the oath that follows. Now in Hellenistic and later Greek, and especially in the novel, *μυεῖν* can be used metaphorically with few or no religious overtones, like "initiate" in English.<sup>53</sup> It is therefore not necessary to assume that these persons "shared some

<sup>48</sup>Henrichs 8–9, especially col. ii lines 29–31.

<sup>49</sup>The setting of plane-tree and stream, combined with the name "Socrates," has led some to see a covert allusion to Plato's *Phaedrus*: thus James Tatum, *Apuleius and the Golden Ass* (Ithaca 1979) 27–28. That could be right: but plane-trees, preferably with water nearby, are natural shelters in a hot climate, cf. Mayor on Juv. 1.12, Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 5, 33–34, discussing Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 271 and 829.

<sup>50</sup>H. van Thiel, *Der Eselsroman 1: Untersuchungen* (Munich 1971 [Zetemata 54,1]) 45–48, argues that it was.

<sup>51</sup>I. Cazzaniga, *VetChr* 10 (1973) 315; Henrichs 111 is considerably more cautious. Cf. C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik* (Berlin 1914) 299: "Überall witterte man ein Mysterium, alles hatte symbolische Bedeutung" (I owe this quotation to William Slater).

<sup>52</sup>For what follows, see also Sandy 370–371.

<sup>53</sup>Stephanus s.v. *μύεω* 1244 C–D; LSJ s.v. *μύεω* II; for its use of the mysteries of love in the novel, see Henrichs 50 note 19.

religious beliefs of an esoteric nature," or even to translate the phrase as "the initiates."<sup>54</sup> That the sacrifice here is not in fact a mystic one is suggested by a passage of Achilles Tatius.<sup>55</sup> Here Kleitophon appears to see Leukippe prepared for sacrifice by robbers, cut open from heart to belly, and her innards cooked, divided up, and eaten. It was common belief, and it may have been practice, that robbers, fanatics, conspirators and the like engaged in rites of human sacrifice and cannibalism.<sup>56</sup> This was irresistible material for novelists in search of sensation.<sup>57</sup> It was also natural for such writers to fall into the language of mystery when describing such rites: in the passage in question Achilles Tatius talks of the human sacrifice as "mysteries" (3.16.3 f.) and (by a usage closely similar to Lollianus') of new members of the robber-gang as "initiates" (3.22.3 f.). These "mysteries," however, no more make them sharers of esoteric beliefs than do the hymns to Mars and the *sacramentum* of Apuleius' robbers.<sup>58</sup>

Apuleius provides another parallel, though it is more distant than that in Achilles. In the tale of Aristomenes, already compared with Lollianus because of its reminiscences of the Glauketes-fragment, the witch Meroe is gruesomely described as cutting Socrates' throat, pulling out his heart, and catching his blood in a vessel *ne quid demutaret, credo, a victimae religione*: once more the religious language heightens the dramatic effect, but evidently does not make the scene the enactment of a ritual.<sup>59</sup>

In short, two quite different things need to be distinguished, the use of religion (both language and incident) for narrative effect, and the actual incorporation of religion into narrative. The second is obviously present in the last book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. As for Lollianus, on the present evidence it seems unwise to complicate his *Grand Guignol* with mystic hermeneutics.

\* \* \* \* \*

Even if it is true that the parallels between Apuleius (or rather his Greek source) and Lollianus show the influence of one on the other, and are not merely casual, that proves nothing about Lollianus' personality or date. Nevertheless, it is an attractive view that he was the sophist

<sup>54</sup>Henrichs in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* 1 (Münster 1970) 29; *id.* 117 on line 14.

<sup>55</sup>Ach. Tat. 3.15. Henrichs (49–50) adduces this passage but holds that its language cannot be considered "eine blosse Mysterienmetaphorik."

<sup>56</sup>See the passages collected by Henrichs 116 on lines 11–15; also Sandy 370.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 4 (1928) 486 = *Essays on Religion* 1.170: "the popular pleasure in sensational incident and a common pleasure in reading of cruelty."

<sup>58</sup>Hymns: 4.22.1. *Sacramentum*: 4.11.4, 14.7, 21.2.

<sup>59</sup>Apul. *Met.* 1.13. Compared with Lollianus by Sandy 375–376.

P. Hordeonius Lollianus, who lived about a generation before Apuleius.<sup>60</sup> It has been held that sophists did not write novels, but the text adduced may be argued to show nothing of the sort,<sup>61</sup> and Apuleius himself can be seen as a kind of sophist.<sup>62</sup> It has also been held that Lollianus' simple style and his lapses from strict Atticism show his work to have been on too low a literary level for him to have been a sophist.<sup>63</sup> Rather, like Chariton he may have adopted an artless style, reminiscent of Herodotus and Xenophon, to suit his exotic subject. Nor is it excluded that Apuleius' Greek source was another sophist, his contemporary Hadrian of Tyre, who is known to have written *Metamorphoses* and to have been interested in magic.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>It is fully discussed but rejected by Henrichs 24–27. Henrichs' view is noted in G. W. Bowersock, ed., *Approaches to the Second Sophistic* (University Park, Pennsylvania 1974) 39, but the question seems otherwise to have been ignored.

<sup>61</sup>Henrichs 26 note 19, following Ben E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley 1967) 168–169, holds that the work which the *technographos* Celer circulated in order to discredit the sophist Dionysius of Miletus was a novel (Philostr. *VS* 1.22.3, p. 524 K.), but the context rather suggests a declamation (thus Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.*<sup>6</sup> 694 n.1, Stein, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 388; for erotic themes in declamations cf. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*<sup>3</sup> 363–371).

<sup>62</sup>Thus Tatum (above, note 49) 17–20.

<sup>63</sup>Henrichs 26.

<sup>64</sup>For this possibility, van Thiel (above, note 50) 38–39; cf. C. P. Jones, *GRBS* 13 (1972) 483 and 480–482 for discussion of his career. It is possible, however, that Hadrian's *Metamorphoses* were of the Ovidian rather than the Apuleian type: for such works written by sophists, Men. Rh. 3 p. 393 Sp. G. M. Browne, *AJP* 99 (1978) 442–446, dates the lost original before A.D. 67; but the vicissitudes of Thessaly in the Roman provincial system are too little known to serve as a basis for such arguments (cf. Philostr. *VA* 4.16, *Her.* p. 211 lines 1–12 K., perhaps to be connected with the inscriptions discussed by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 [1948] 29–34).