

THE DISTINCTION OF LUCIUS IN APULEIUS' *METAMORPHOSES*

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IN THE FIRST TWO BOOKS of the *Metamorphoses*,¹ much is said by the narrator-protagonist Lucius and others about his high social standing and the fame of his family. This paper attempts to show that, although Lucius is an entirely imaginary figure, he closely resembles the historical élite of Roman Achaea,² and considers the implications of this high status for the interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole.³

1 *uetus prosapia*

In the prologue (1.1.3), Lucius answers the question *quis ille?* with details of his background:

Hymettos Attica et Isthmos Ephyraea et Taenaros Spartiatica, glebae felices aeternum libris felicioribus conditae, mea uetus prosapia est.

Lucius does not give his name, but does answer the rest of the question traditionally asked of strangers (e.g., Plautus *Merc.* 634, *rogitares quis esset aut unde esset, qua prosapia*). The details about his family and homeland which are found in the prologue reveal more about Lucius than his mere name, supplied in 1.24.6.⁴

Commentary on 1.1.3 has concentrated on the archaic flavour of

¹Citations from the text of Apuleius are from Budé editions. The following works are cited by author's name only: H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (*Hypomnemata* 58, Göttingen 1979); C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971); J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13, Princeton 1970); A. Scobie, *Apuleius Metamorphoses (Asinus Aureus) I: A Commentary* (Meisenheim 1975); W. S. Smith, "The Narrative Voice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *TAPA* 103 (1972) 513–534; J. Tatum, *Apuleius and the Golden Ass* (Ithaca 1979).

²The assumption made here, that details about contemporary society can help our understanding even of a work as imaginative as the *Metamorphoses*, is complementary to the argument of F. Millar, "The World of the *Golden Ass*," *JRS* 71 (1981) 63–75, that the novel is a valid source of information about social and economic conditions.

³Lucius' membership in the Achaean élite is noted by most commentators, but without much explanation or comment; Scobie (77) observes, "Why Apul. gave Lucius such a distinguished *stemma* is one of the unresolved problems of the *Met.*"

⁴All the name "Lucius" reveals is the hero's Roman citizenship, hardly surprising for one of his class in the second century. For the delay in naming, see Tatum 27, n. 5; note the identification of Viola in *Twelfth Night* 5.1.223 once her father's name and country are supplied. See also note 36 below.

prosapia, the meaning of *glebae*, and the significance of the places named.⁵ The word order suggests, however, that what Lucius intended to emphasize in this sentence was the distinction and antiquity of his parentage. This emphasis is confirmed by 1.2.1, discussing his mother's connections in Thessaly, *nam et illic originis maternae fundamenta . . . gloriam nobis faciunt*. *There too*, he claims,⁶ his family background brings him glory.

Simply by answering the question "Who are you?" with details of his remote ancestry, Lucius displays the attitude of a hereditary aristocrat. It is worth noting that he provides just those details about himself that are prescribed for the beginning of an encomium: *genealogia*, divided into *ethnos*, *polis*, *progonoi*.⁷

Vetus prosapia is reserved in most texts for the most distinguished lineage; the most striking example is Suetonius *Galba* 2, noting the emperor's *magna et uetus prosapia*, traced back to Jupiter and Pasiphae. Equally extravagant claims were made by the élite of Roman Greece;⁸ leading citizens of Argos, Athens, and Sparta claimed descent from Perseus, Aiakos, and the Dioskouroi.⁹ Lucius' stress on his *uetus prosapia*, equated with his famous homelands, invites the reader to imagine him a member of the same social class.

It is not clear why *three* places are named, or why these specific locations. The three communities do form an elegant *trikolon* in a highly rhythmic sentence,¹⁰ but it would be farfetched to assume that they were chosen simply for the sake of the rhythm or periodic structure. In other examples of elaborate periods, Apuleius puts *some* content in each member.¹¹

Many discussions have centered on the use of the figure *synecdoche*: Hymettos (for example) stands for Athens, and the three cities for Greece as a whole.¹² Forms of Hymettos, Isthmos, and Taenaros are indeed employed, mostly in poetry, for Athens, Corinth, and Sparta,¹³ but Apuleius' use is quite different from typical examples of the figure. *Taenaros Spartiatica*, "Spartan Sparta" pleonastically if there is *synecdoche*,

⁵Scobie 72–73, Smith 515.

⁶*Et illic* is correctly translated only by A. Rode, *Der Goldene Esel* (Berlin 1920) 4, "wo ich gleichfalls angesehen bin."

⁷*Rhetores Graeci* (Spengel) 1.225–226, 1.369–370, 3.479–480.

⁸"One of the marks of this society was the ability to claim descent from figures of myth and ancient history" Jones (40). Halfmann (38) sees the Greek claims as analogous to those of Roman families.

⁹Memmianus, *IG* 4.590; Herodes Atticus, *PIR*² C.802; the Euryclids, *PIR*² I.302.

¹⁰In the passage *exordior . . . prosapia est* I count 25 iambic feet, including a complete *senarius*.

¹¹See the analysis of a typical passage by Tatum, 131–133.

¹²Smith (515) speaking of "vague circumlocutions for its principal cities;" Scobie 72.

¹³Hymettos, Cic. *Q.Fr.* 2.9.3; Isthmus, *OLD* 4.977; Taenaros, *OLD* 8.1900–1901, *RE* 4A (1932) 2030.

has none of the allusive effect of Ovid's referring to Hyacinthus as *Taenarides* (*Met.* 10.183). In the case of Taenaros, at least, Apuleius describes it in 6.18.1 as a distinct community *cotermina* with Lacedaemon, which argues against its use *per synecdochen* in the prologue.

Hijmans explains the choice in literary terms:¹⁴ "If Apuleius gives us a biography, it is as much of the *genre* as it is of the narrator he introduces. In the background I read: this is a Greek tale, at home in the various cities of Greece." But Corinth and Sparta, still less Isthmos and Taenaros, are not obvious choices as homes of literary genres.

A religious explanation identifies the cults at Taenaros and Isthmos as Lucius' spiritual parents,¹⁵ but the shrine of Zeus on Hymettos which must serve us the Attic equivalent was insignificant.¹⁶ Had Apuleius intended a religious explanation, he would have named Eleusis.

There is no reason not to take Lucius' claim literally. It *was* possible for a man to have family connections in three cities in Greece. Those who had such ties belonged to closely-intermarried ruling families;¹⁷ there is, in fact, an alliance of marriage and adoption attested between the Euryclids of Sparta, Herodes Atticus in Athens, and a family of Vibullii Pii in Corinth.¹⁸ A member of this extended family could well claim, like Lucius, *uetus prosapia* in three cities. Lucius' multiple origins should be understood as another indication of his supposed membership in the Achaean élite.

None of these great families is known to have any ties to Taenaros, Hymettos, or Isthmos;¹⁹ but by naming these locations, Apuleius may have been alluding to the continued localism of Greek political life, in which, for example, an Athenian might be known by his demotic even outside Athens.²⁰ The three locations are probably also chosen because of literary factors (*libris conditae*), both such commonplaces as Hymettos honey and Taenaros marble and the fact that each is the site of a major myth recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²¹

¹⁴B. L. Hijmans and R. Th. van der Paardt, *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (Groningen 1978) 109, 120, n. 20.

¹⁵P. Scazzoso, *Le Metamorfosi di Apuleio* (Milan 1951) 25–29.

¹⁶M. K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 16, Princeton 1976) 95.

¹⁷Oliver 53 and note 14a.

¹⁸A. J. S. Spawforth, "Balbilla, the Euryclids, and Memorials for a Greek Magnate," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 73 (1978) 249–260.

¹⁹Halfmann (64–65) suggests a possible connection of the Euryclids with the marble quarries of Taenaros.

²⁰Herodes, for example, is called *Marathonius* at Olympia, *Inscr. Olymp.* 622.

²¹7.689–865 (Procris and Cephalus), 4.512–542 (Ino and Melicertes), 10.11–63 (Orpheus and Eurydice). For Apuleius' relationship to Ovid, see J. Tatum, "Apuleius and Metamorphosis," *AJP* 93 (1972) 306–312.

2 *Plutarchi familia*

Lucius' mother's family was also distinguished (1.2.1): *originis maternae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo ac mox Sexto nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt*. The connection with Plutarch recurs at 2.3.3, *Plutarchi familia ambae prognatae sumus*. Lucius' maternal grandmother, it appears, is alleged to be a daughter of Sextus.²² Connections between Plutarch's family and a man with Lucius' background are quite plausible: Plutarch had close friends, the Petreii, in Hypata, and ties to several Achaean families who could claim *uetus prosapia*.²³

Plutarch's presence in the tale has been explained by reference to ideas of his which are relevant to the *Metamorphoses*;²⁴ but these ideas do not explain the mention of Sextus, about whose philosophical ideas we are less well-informed.

Lucius stresses the *gloria* that Plutarch and Sextus bring him. This is certainly in part the prestige of distinguished intellectuals, which in the second century was considerable,²⁵ but perhaps more, the distinction that came to those close to the centre of power, advisers and teachers of emperors. In this Plutarch, and more particularly his nephew, could match the *uetus prosapia* of Lucius' father's family.²⁶

The distinction Lucius gains can be judged from IG 2² 3814, in which Nikagoras, Sacred Herald at Eleusis and incumbent of the chair of rhetoric, identifies himself as "*ekgonos* of Plutarch and Sextus the philosophers." We should not follow Schissel and identify Lucius with Nikagoras' father Mnesaios,²⁷ but we should recognize that Nikagoras resembled Lucius in asserting that, for all his own distinction, distant ties to Plutarch and Sextus were a source of additional prestige.²⁸

3 *clarissimae nuptiae*

Lucius' father is identified as Theseus in a mythological *exemplum* (1.23.6; Scobie 125). Theseus was a distinctively Athenian name and

²²R. Helm, *Praef. Flor.* (Leipzig 1954) ix.

²³Jones 39–47, Scobie 78.

²⁴P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge 1970) 182 n. 4.

²⁵Jones 11–12; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 30–42.

²⁶Jones 29–32; E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1980) 119, "the honour and influence accorded to these individuals [teachers of emperors] is remarkable."

²⁷O. Schissel, "Die Familie des Minoukianos," *Klio* 21 (1927) 361–373.

²⁸Note the similarity between Lucius' supposed ancestry and that ascribed to Plato in *De Platone* 1.1 (180) and Diog. Laert. 3.1.1: descent from Codros on his father's side, and from Solon on his mother's (through Solon's nephew Critias).

relatively unusual elsewhere;²⁹ although Lucius' current home was in Corinth (*Corinthi apud nos* 2.12.3), his father's name may suggest the family's ties were closer to Athens. Such a "legendary" name is also appropriate for the contemporary Greek élite.³⁰

There is an historian Theseus named in the *Suda* and dated to the Roman period by Jacoby (*FGrHist* 453). He is the author of *Korinthiaka*, dealing with the origins of the Isthmian games. It is tempting to note similarities to Lucius' supposed relatives, but we know too little about him to draw any significant conclusions.

Lucius' aunt Byrrhena gives us the name of his mother, Salvia,³¹ and comments on her marriage (2.3.2), *nec aliud nos quam dignitas discernit, quod illa clarissimas ego priuatas nuptias fecerim*. Salvia's husband Theseus, that is, held an official position.

It is unlikely that Byrrhena, called *primatem feminam* (2.19.1) and the descendant of Roman knights, would have made so much of Theseus' position if he had held a local position such as *duumvir* at Corinth. The magistrates of Hypata declare that the *dignitas* of Lucius' family fills the whole province (3.11.1), an inappropriate comment for a purely local office. A position of authority for the whole province (high priest, Helladarch, archon of the Panhellenes) might justify these remarks, but it would have been a *Roman* position that would have been important and unusual enough to attract special comment.³²

By the second century, *clarissimus* had the technical meaning "senatorial."³³ *Clarissimae nuptiae* as "marriage to a senator" is not attested, but conforms to the legal situation described by Ulpian, *Dig.* 1.9.8: *feminae nuptiae clarissimis personis clarissimarum personarum appellatione continentur*. Apuleius appears to use the word in the technical sense in the *Apology*, addressing the proconsul as *uir clarissime* (2.11) and describing his judicial

²⁹I have found only one non-Athenian Theseus in Roman Greece, *C. Ilius Theseus libertus*, *CIL* 3.6192 (Troesmis).

³⁰Note Herodes' claim to be *Theseiades* (*IGRom.* 1.194.34), his fosterlings Achilles and Polydeuces (*PIR*² C.803, p. 181), and the Euryclid cognomen *Herculanus* (*PIR*² I.302). Note also Apuleius' friend T. Iulius Perseus (*Flor.* 16.2, 18.39, *PIR*² I.456, and C. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8.3 [Berlin 1969] no. 27).

³¹G. W. Bowersock ("Zur Geschichte des römischen Thessaliens," *RhM* 108 [1965] 289) associates the name Salvia with C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, proconsul of Macedonia under Domitian. For a distinguished Hypatan family which gained Roman citizenship at that time, note J. A. O. Larsen, "A Thessalian Family under the Principate," *CP* 48 (1953) 86–95. M. Woloch, *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite A.D.* 96–161 (Amsterdam 1973), illustrates the role of proconsuls as sources of citizenship.

³²Achaeans came relatively late to Roman positions (Jones 45–47); when Plutarch describes Greeks ambitious for Roman office, he mentions a Chian, a Galatian, and a Bithynian (*Tranq. An.* 10 = *Mor.* 470).

³³*TLL* s.v. *clarus* III.A.2 (3.1275) 8–42; *OLD* s.v. *clarus* 7 (2.333).

decision as *clarissima uox*. *Clarissimus* could very well mean "senatorial" here, in which case Theseus is equated with an extremely restricted group of Achaean senators, almost all of whom belong to "ancient" families.³⁴ But if it does not, and we must compare Theseus to those who held provincial positions of high prestige or non-senatorial Roman positions, we are still dealing with the same restricted class of Achaean aristocrats.³⁵

There are, then, several indications that Apuleius meant to set his fictional protagonist in the highest levels of the Achaean ruling class. Comparisons can be made with the Corinthian Vibullii or Plutarch's descendant Nikagoras, but it is unlikely that Lucius was meant to resemble any single individual.³⁶ No known person has *all* Lucius' characteristics, and Apuleius could not have expected his Roman audience to recognize a portrait based on people who were for the most part unknown outside Greece. The Greek élite as a class was known to Romans through a few prominent figures like Herodes.³⁷ Lucius resembles the class as a whole, and is not based on Herodes or any of his circle.³⁸

4 *nec usquam profuit*

Apuleius' Lucius is far more distinguished than his Greek counterpart (*Onos* 55). The stress that Lucius and others put on the distinction, and the fact that it is mentioned in the first chapter, make it clear that this enhancement of Lucius' status is a deliberate innovation of Apuleius.

There are rhetorical and philosophical reasons for the innovation. Once Apuleius had captured the interest of his readers with the prologue,³⁹ he needed to persuade them to become involved enough with Lucius to be affected by the religious message of Book 11. The author of the *Onos*, for

³⁴Halfmann lists only 10 Achaean senators (out of 150 from the "East"). They include the families of Herodes (nos. 27, 68, 128), the Euryclids (29), Brasidas from Sparta (111) with the ancestry his name would imply; scarcely less distinguished families such as the Statii from Athens (48, 67), Frontinus of Messene (93) and Philinus of Thespiæ (124).

³⁵See Halfmann 34 for high-priests; Oliver on Panhellenes (esp. 133, list of archons); Jones 26, n. 41 on Helladarchs. For a non-senatorial career, note Cornelius Pulcher, from an old family in Epidauros; high priest, Helladarch, and Archon of the Panhellenes (Jones 45-46), he rose to procuratorships of provinces, *PIR*² C.1424.

³⁶The use of his *praenomen* alone discourages positive identifications with known individuals. Martial 5.14.5 suggests that "Lucius," like "Gaius," could mean "John Doe." Roman citizens can be known by *praenomen* alone, especially in Greek contexts, for example the jurist Gaius, the philosopher Sextus, and a Lucius named in Plutarch *Q.C.* 7.4 = *Mor.* 702.

³⁷In a previous generation, this society had been vividly portrayed by Plutarch, especially in the *Quaestiones Conviviales*; for a more recent picture, note many passages in Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, a work roughly contemporary with Apuleius.

³⁸Herodes plays an important rôle in the *Attic Nights*; for his fame and highly publicized lawsuits, see Oliver; also Bowersock (above, note 25) 92-100.

³⁹Smith (520) compares the prologue to that of a Plautine play, "as he acts as pitchman summoning an audience to attention."

whom the dénouement of the story was to place Lucius in a farcical sexual situation, had no such need. Apuleius employed the method of proof by authority, *ethike pistis*;⁴⁰ Lucius' adventures deserve attention because of his importance. Apuleius in this is proceeding in the same manner as the authors of the Greek romances. As *narrator*, Lucius has the same kind of authority from his *uetus prosapia* as Heliodorus, "of the race of the Sun" (*Eth.* 10.41). As *protagonist*, Lucius is the equivalent in contemporary society of the princes, priestesses, and generals' children who are the protagonists of Greek romances. His story is made to seem historical rather than fantasy by his supposed relationship to the historical Plutarch, just as Callirhoe's adventures are made "historical" by her connection to the historical Hermokrates (Chariton 1.1).

But Lucius' distinction is of an entirely conventional kind; birth, position, homeland. After his return to humanity, he is told how useless this conventional distinction is (11.15.2): *nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem uel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit*. Isis' priest makes explicit a judgement most readers would have made much earlier.

We can observe this in the case of Lucius' *doctrina*. Although he displays considerable learning, as in the account of divination (2.12), Lucius shows no wisdom or judgement, as he himself recognizes at one of the rare points (*amenti similis* 2.6.4) where the "narrating I" is distinguished from the "experiencing I."⁴¹ But Lucius *thinks* his learning is valuable; as late as the ninth book he is so misled as to thank the ass he has become *quod me . . . etsi minus prudentem, multiscium reddidit* (9.13.4–5). As *multiscium* he compares himself to Ulysses, whom he describes as *summas adeptum uirtutes* through his experiences. We can judge what Apuleius intended by this from his use of Ulysses as a paradigm in *De Deo Socratis* 24; there Ulysses is the example of one who through his innate *prudentia* (not any skills acquired through experience) is able to overcome all obstacles.

We can assume that Lucius misinterpreted *dignitas* and *natales* in the same way he did *doctrina*. Apuleius' view of political *dignitas* can be observed in the treatment of the local officials Demochares of Plataea (4.13.2) and Thiasus of Corinth who, *ut eius prosapia atque dignitas postulabat . . . quinquennali magistratui fuerat destinatus* (10.18.1). These men used their distinction only to put on shows in the arena, *publicas uoluptates* (4.13.2) *gloriae publicae studio* (10.18.2). Such shows were at best frivolous, at worst vicious.⁴²

In his other works, Apuleius takes the moral view that virtue, not birth

⁴⁰Arist. *Rhet.* 1365a; G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton 1963) 91–93. Tatum (114) praises Apuleius' *ethopoiia* in the *Apology*.

⁴¹Van der Paardt, in Hijmans-van der Paardt, *Aspects* (above, note 14) 77.

⁴²For Greek attitudes to the arena see H. J. Mason, "Lucius at Corinth," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 162, n. 15.

or status, makes for true nobility. He twice uses the example of the Theban aristocrat Crates (*Apol.* 22, *Flor.* 22) who realised that all his distinctions *ad bene uiuendum nihil quicquam esse* (*Flor.* 22.6) and abandoned them all, Buddha-like, to become a Cynic. In the *Apology* (24.3), responding to criticism of his Madauran birth, Apuleius insisted *non enim ubi prognatus sed ut moratus quisque sit spectandum, nec qua regione sed qua ratione uitam uiuere inierit, considerandum est*. The peroration of *De Deo Socratis* (23–4) uses Ulysses and Socrates to prove that *prosapia* and *natales* are not praiseworthy at all.

Such a view of social distinction was commonplace in popular ethics;⁴³ a morally alert reader would soon have observed the distance between Lucius' social and moral positions. His opinion of Lucius' status would have been reinforced by the frequent appeals to Lucius' *gloria*; his ties to Plutarch bring *gloria* (1.2.1), staying with Milo will provide a *specimen gloriosum* (1.23.4), the Chaldaean promises him *gloriam satis floridam* (2.12.5). *Gloria*, the moralists stress, is something vain and transient.⁴⁴

5 Madaurenses, sed admodum pauperem

Although the priest's speech makes explicit the distance between Lucius' social and moral status, Lucius takes some time to draw the full conclusions from his sermon. At first, in his initiation at Cenchreae, Lucius is reintegrated into his circle of distinguished family and friends, who support him financially (11.18.2–3). It is only later that he says farewell to his family (11.26.1) and, like Crates, abandons his high status and other advantages. He travels to Rome, and there, alone, unknown, without resources, scrapes together the money he needs for further initiations (11.28.3). There he is described by Osiris to his priest as *Madaurenses sed admodum pauperem* (11.27.9).

Whatever else may be implied by the sudden mention of Apuleius' own *patria*,⁴⁵ *Madaurensis* suggests that Lucius has undergone another kind of transformation, in preparation for another initiation.

Lucius' first initiation had been preceded by a year as an ass, his physical transformation, and control of his impatience (11.21) and appetites (*cibariam uoluptatem* 11.23.2). His Roman initiations require of him a year in a new life (11.26.4) and a new career, using Latin (1.1.4) as a pleader (*patrocinia sermonis Romani* 11.28.6). They also require a social transformation, from the distinguished scion of cities fabled in literature, to a

⁴³See, e.g., Cic. *Rep.* 2.12.4, Horace *Serm.* 1.6, and the discussion by N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 36–53.

⁴⁴Cic. *Tusc.* 1.45.109, *Arch.* 1.26; Horace *Serm.* 1.6.23, *Ep.* 1.8.22; Livy 22.39.19; Verg. *Aen.* 11.708.

⁴⁵R. Th. van der Paardt, "The Unmasked 'P': Apuleius Met. XI. 27," *Mnem.* 34 (1981) 96–106, is the most recent, and enlightening, discussion.

nobody, a *pauper*, from nowhere, or rather from a city Apuleius' opponents at his trial had criticized as the back-of-beyond, a city mentioned in literature only by Apuleius and Augustine.

Only after Lucius has laid aside all claims to distinction, does Osiris grant him new honours (11.30.4–5). In place of *uetus prosapia*, Lucius belongs to a *uetustissimum collegium*; in place of his father's *dignitas*, he has himself the status of *quinquennalis* in the cult; in the place of his useless Greek learning, his new, equally learned profession (*studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina*) will bring him a true glory (11.27.9).

Lucius' distinction is thus a theme, like *curiositas*, that brings unity to the *Metamorphoses*. It is also a theme that relates the *Metamorphoses* to Apuleius' other works. The lesson that Lucius appears to learn, to distinguish conventional social distinction from the true glory he obtains through Isis and Osiris, is essentially the same as the moral that Tatum (124) draws from *Flor.* 14 (also about Crates), "that Apuleius' listeners should learn to look beyond surface appearances to an underlying reality." The same theme occurs in the discussion of true praiseworthiness in *De Deo Socratis* 23–24 (Tatum 120–122) and lies at the heart of Apuleius' defence in the *Apology*, to explain that what appeared on the surface to be evidence of magic was in fact science and philosophy. The moral may be a trite one, but it shows that the *Golden Ass* is not as different from Apuleius' other works as it may seem.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶My thanks are due to Gerald Sandy, who asked me long ago if I thought Lucius' father was a senator; to colleagues at the University of Toronto, who heard a version of the paper at a seminar of the Department of Classics and offered criticism and suggestions; and to the anonymous referees. Errors and omissions are, of course, my own.