

It is clear that the sinners who will arise at the Last Trump with tight fists are the miserly, while the shorn prodigals were first connected with the Italian proverb by Blanc, whose observation has since become a standard part of the commentary tradition on these verses.<sup>5</sup>

It is interesting to consider what association there might be between the bald-headed prodigals in Dante's Hell and the cash-poor *libertus* at Trimalchio's feast. That there is no direct dependence by Dante upon Petronius is certain, since the text of the *Satyricon* was not recovered in Italy until sometime between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> Rather, it seems reasonable to infer that the expression used by Petronius and the proverb reworked by Dante have a common source, either in the vernacular tradition, or in the simple observation of the lengths to which the destitute will go—selling hair presumably for the making of wigs<sup>7</sup>—in order to make a little money.

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<sup>5</sup> L. G. Blanc, *Versuch einer bloss philologischen Erklärung mehrerer dunklen und streitigen Stellen der Göttlichen Komödie* (Halle, 1861–5), I.78.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. D. Reeve, 'Petronius', in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmissions: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 295–300. See further discussion by A. C. de la Mare, *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, edd. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford and New York, 1976), 220–54.

<sup>7</sup> Along these lines, Ovid speaks of a wig as *emptis capillis* (*Ars* 3.165). Cf. Martial 6.12, *Iurat capillos esse, quos emit, suos* / *Fabulla*. Wigs are worn later in the *Satyricon*, cf. 110. See further remarks on ancient wigs by Joachim Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 2nd edn rev. by August Mau (Leipzig, 1886), 603–4. The American reader may perhaps be excused for remembering O. Henry's short story, 'The Gift of the Magi', in which a woman sells her hair to a wigmaker to buy a Christmas present for her beau.

### LOVE POETRY AND APULEIUS' *CUPID AND PSYCHE*

Some work has already been done on the relationship between Apuleius' *Cupid and Psyche* and other amatory writing,<sup>1</sup> but its connection with earlier Greek and especially Latin love poetry has been largely neglected.<sup>2</sup> In fact Apuleius picks up (often with variation) from these poetic predecessors much of their imagery, terminology, themes, details, and characters; and the echoes and inversions form an extended complex and are too numerous and too pointed for mere coincidence. It seems obvious that the erudite Apuleius is giving the tale of Cupid and Psyche an additional sophisticated level and is providing literary interest and entertainment for cultured readers by simultaneously adopting and adapting standard features of erotic

<sup>1</sup> Chariton's novel is most often cited for its resemblance to the structure of *Cupid and Psyche* and for Psyche's likeness to Callirhoe (e.g. T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983], 183ff.). Echoes of Anthia's beauty, veneration of her as Artemis, and the consultation of Apollo's oracle in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* have also been suggested (e.g. P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* [Cambridge, 1970], 55, 199–200). On the question of whether Apuleius was influenced by the Greek romances or the similarities are due to his drawing on what Sandy terms 'the common stock of Classical Greek and Latin literature', see esp. G. Sandy, 'Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the ancient novel', *ANRW* 2.34.2 (1994), 1517 and 1528, n. 41.

<sup>2</sup> There are also some parallels in New Comedy (cf. D. Konstan, *Sexual Symmetry. Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres* [Princeton, 1994], 138). However, the links with love poetry are

verse. There also seems to be a moral purpose, and a highly functional aspect, when one views *Cupid and Psyche* within the context of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole. The inset episode (about the two lovers) mirrors and illuminates a major thrust of the frame narrative (about Lucius), as identified by various scholars—the cautionary tale of a soul's fall due to misguided curiosity and self-indulgence, and its redemption due to union with god.<sup>3</sup> The elaborate, clever, and often witty references to earlier love poetry in *Cupid and Psyche* mean that this message in miniature is given a striking and attractive form. In addition, the fact that Apuleius thereby demonstrates his learning and ingenuity might well subtly incline readers to accept more readily admonition coming from such an intellectual author.

Some of the amatory images and words are simply taken over, creating an ambience of love poetry, but there is often enlivening play and innovation. So, for example, there is purely straightforward usage of Cupid's torch and arrows wounding and burning, *militia amoris*, *servitium amoris*, and magic imagery,<sup>4</sup> and of terms such as *amica*, *blanditiae*, *fides*, *obsequium*, *pallor*, and *tener* applied to the mistress.<sup>5</sup> But, more interestingly, we find Amor himself as an *amator*<sup>6</sup> and affected by *amor*, Cupid feeling desire (*cupere*), burnt, wounded, and sick.<sup>7</sup> We also find *custodia*, *dolor*, and *lusus*, but applied to the god of love himself.<sup>8</sup> *uro* is employed of Cupid paradoxically scorching water at 5.25.2, and at 5.29.4 Amor is called *inamabilis* by Venus. In 5.23.3 when Psyche pricks her thumb on one of the sleeping Cupid's arrows we are told: *Psyche sponte in Amoris incidit amorem. tunc magis magisque cupidine fragrans Cupidinis . . .*<sup>9</sup> There are amatory *preces* too (here directed at a lover who is a god), and he is addressed as *anima* (by a girl called Psyche).<sup>10</sup> This girlfriend is called *domina* (at 5.2.3),

far more numerous and more highly developed. For the little work done so far in this connection, see T. Mantero, 'La Psiche apuleiana ed i giuramenti d'amore', *Maia* 26 (1974), 127–39; S. Rocca, 'Il motivo dell'innamoramento a prima vista nell'apuleiana Amore e Psiche ed il romanzo greco', *MCSN* 1 (1976), 33–47; and S. Mattiacci, 'Neoteric and elegiac echoes in the tale of Cupid and Psyche by Apuleius', in M. Zimmerman et al. (edd.) *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass* II (Groningen, 1998), 127–49. Cf. also E. Finkelpearl, *Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 62–7 for connections between erotic verse and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in general, and H. Müller, *Liebesbeziehungen in Ovids Metamorphosen und ihr Einfluss auf den Roman des Apuleius* (Göttingen, 1998) 192–6 and 215–21 on the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on *Cupid and Psyche*.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Walsh (n. 1), 142, 190ff.; E. J. Kenney, *Apuleius Cupid and Psyche* (Cambridge, 1990), 10ff.; and Harrison, Wlosok, and Tatum in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel* (Oxford, 1999), xxxvii–xxxviii, 142ff., 157ff. It is typical of Apuleius that the literary allusion is so exuberant that at times it overshadows the message.

<sup>4</sup> See, for torches and arrows: 4.30.4, 4.31.1, 5.23.4, 5.25.4, 6.22.3; for *militia amoris*: 5.21.5; for *servitium amoris*: 5.24.3, 5.29.2, 5.31.2, etc.; for magic imagery: 5.13.6. For the latter figure in love poetry, see P. Murgatroyd, 'Magic imagery applied to love', *Classical Views* n.s. 2 (1983), 68–77.

<sup>5</sup> See 5.28.7 (*amica*), 5.6.9 and 6.1.1 (*blanditiae*), 5.13.1 (*fides*), 5.25.6 (*obsequium*), 5.25.5 (*pallor*), 5.11.5 (*teneritudo*). On these terms (and the ones mentioned below) in love poetry, see e.g. R. Pichon, *Index Verborum Amatoriorum* (repr. Hildesheim, 1966) (henceforth referred to as Pichon).

<sup>6</sup> The paradox of Love in love was exploited in Hellenistic epigram (*A.P.* 5.179, 9.449, 12.112, 113, 144, 16.195–9) but was never developed as extensively as in Apuleius.

<sup>7</sup> See 5.28.1, 3, 9; 5.31.5, 6; 6.9.2; 6.11.3, 4; 6.16.5; 6.20.6; 6.22.1; 6.23.2 and cf. Kenney (n. 3), 148.

<sup>8</sup> At 5.5.3, 5.26.6, 5.28.3, 5.31.5, and 6.11.3.

<sup>9</sup> The text used is that of Kenney (n. 3).

<sup>10</sup> For the *preces*, see 5.6.4, 5.13.4 and 6.1.1. For *anima* as an endearment, see e.g. Hor. *C.* 3.9.12, Juv. 6.195, and the common (*mea*) *vita*.

but by the voices that serve her not by her lover. So too at 5.23.4 there is *perfidia* and *invidia*, but on the part of a lamp.

The adaptation of themes, details, and characters is especially evident in the depiction of Psyche and Cupid. Psyche is in many respects reminiscent of the mistresses of Greek and especially Latin love poets, and Apuleius makes her clearly fit that mould (as a slightly softened version) and then cleverly rings the changes.

Like most such females Psyche is very beautiful and famous, and has lots of admirers (4.28–9). She also has a furtive lover who visits her by night; she has sex with him (5.4, etc.) and kisses him passionately (5.23.3). This devoted suitor loves her truly and deeply (e.g. 5.5, 5.6, 5.24),<sup>11</sup> and she manipulates him by means of tears, kisses, endearments, and entreaties (5.6, 5.13).<sup>12</sup> She is impressed by wealth too and gives herself to a rich lover (5.2, etc.) and is locked in by him (5.5.5, etc.). She is lied to<sup>13</sup> and is subject to a harmful female influence (e.g. 5.17–18),<sup>14</sup> and she tells lies herself (5.26–7) and forgets her promises to him (5.18.4). She also betrays him (5.23.6), is punished<sup>15</sup> and because of her misconduct is left by him, although she is subsequently reunited with him—all of this typical of the ups and downs of the literary love affair.<sup>16</sup>

Other standard items receive dexterous and diverting twists. Psyche is not just compared to a goddess<sup>17</sup> but actually mistaken for Venus and worshipped in her place (4.28ff.). She is not just a favourite of Cupid but loved by him with a passion; however, so far from being Venus' favourite, she is actually hated by the goddess.<sup>18</sup> Psyche has helpful servants,<sup>19</sup> but they are the extraordinary invisible voices rather than ordinary slaves. At 5.21.1 and 5.22.3 she is inflamed and pale (though not with love), and she has rivals, but they are her own sisters, who she herself turns into rivals (5.26–7). She entertains others in her lover's absence, but these are her sisters not men, and she is roughly handled and beaten up, but by Venus and her servants not by her lover.<sup>20</sup> Psyche gives rich presents (at 5.8.5 and 5.15.5) rather than receiving them, and she tries to kill her lover literally rather than metaphorically.<sup>21</sup> She in lieu of the lover is alone, unhappy, and complaining (5.5), is maltreated by Venus, and undertakes arduous journeys (5.26ff., 6.16ff.).<sup>22</sup>

Cupid is not just in love but in many ways very like the lover of Classical (especially

<sup>11</sup> Cf. (for the kisses) *A.P.* 5.14, 132, Tibullus 1.8.37–8, and Murgatroyd, ad loc. (P. Murgatroyd, *Tibullus I* [Pietermaritzburg, 1980], henceforth referred to as Murgatroyd, 1980), and Ovid, *Am.* 2.5.49–50 and McKeown, ad loc. (J. C. McKeown, *Ovid Amores Volume III* [Leeds, 1998]; and (for the lover's devotion) *A.P.* 5.22, Hor. *C.* 1.19.5ff., *Corp. Tib.* 3.1.25, Murgatroyd (1980), 181, and Ovid, *Am.* 1.3.5–6 and McKeown, ad loc. (J. C. McKeown, *Ovid Amores Volume II* [Leeds, 1989], henceforth referred to as McKeown, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Murgatroyd (1980), 155; *A.P.* 5.24, 186; Prop. 1.6.6; Ovid, *Am.* 2.18.10.

<sup>13</sup> See *A.P.* 5.6, 8; Prop. 4.7.70; Ovid, *Am.* 2.7, 2.8; *A.A.* 1.631ff.; etc.

<sup>14</sup> Her sisters play a spoiling role similar to that of the *lena*.

<sup>15</sup> For nemesis for the beloved, see Murgatroyd (1980), 95.

<sup>16</sup> Compare *A.P.* 5.6; Catull. 11; Hor. *C.* 1.5, 3.9; *Epod.* 15; Prop. 2.2, 3.24, 25; Ovid, *Am.* 3.11; Tib. 2.6.13–14; and Murgatroyd, ad loc. (P. Murgatroyd, *Tibullus, Elegies II* [Oxford, 1994], henceforth referred to as Murgatroyd, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> See *A.P.* 5.70, 73, 94, 95; Catull. 68.70; Tib. 1.5.45–6; Prop. 2.2.6ff.; McKeown (1989), 282. Psyche's divine air is grounds for complaint rather than praise at 5.9.7.

<sup>18</sup> For the beloved as the favourite of the love gods, see Ibycus 288 *PMG*; *A.P.* 5.140, 194, 195, 196; Catull. 13.11–12; Hor. *C.* 4.13.6ff.; Prop. 2.29.18.

<sup>19</sup> See Ovid, *Am.* 1.8.91; *A.A.* 2.255ff.; *Rem.* 637; McKeown (1989), 308.

<sup>20</sup> On violent lovers, see Murgatroyd (1980), 293 and McKeown (1989), 162.

<sup>21</sup> For lovers 'dying' of love, see Pichon s.v. *mori*, Murgatroyd (1994), 268–9, and cf. also *A.P.* 12.72, 74.

<sup>22</sup> On lovers' journeys, see Murgatroyd (1980), 146 and McKeown (1989), 264.

Latin) love poetry (with some modification in view of his divine status). Several important aspects of this resemblance have already been touched on: he engages in *furtivus amor* and enjoys nocturnal assignations; he is totally in the grip of love (cf. *efflicte cupere* and *amore nimio peresus* at 5.28.9, 6.22.1); he is malleable, letting his girl do as she pleases; he deprecates and suffers from malevolent female influence on his mistress; he is betrayed by her and leaves her, but is subsequently reconciled to her. Also like the literary *amator*, Amor becomes the subject of gossip,<sup>23</sup> feels *caloratos impetus* (6.23.2), comes out with endearments to his girlfriend (5.5.2, 5.11.5), is very concerned about her wellbeing (5.5–6, 5.11–12) and is very upset by her misconduct (5.24.2). So too at 6.21.2 he cannot bear to be parted from his beloved,<sup>24</sup> at 6.21–2<sup>25</sup> he performs services for her,<sup>26</sup> at 6.22.1 he prays to a god for help with his love,<sup>27</sup> and at 6.22.5 the possibility of rivals is raised.

Amor as *amans* also facilitates ingenious spin in the case of various erotic *topoi*. In addition to those mentioned above, note that Cupid conducts a clandestine affair in case he is found out not by his girl's *vir* but by his own mother (the goddess of love herself). Like the standard literary lover, the god himself is burnt and wounded, in pain and sick, and in danger of dying (5.23, 5.28–9, 6.9), but all as the result of the hot oil spluttered on him by the lamp. There is inversion of the traditional poverty of the poet-lover here, as Amor is actually a *dives amator* (5.1–2). He is also a locked-in lover (in Venus' palace), and he rather than the beloved is confined under guard and escapes custody (6.11.3, 6.21.3).<sup>28</sup> At 5.2.3 we see that in his own home there are no locks, bolts, or guards (traditional enemies of the lover<sup>29</sup>). So too at 5.13.6 he is addressed by Psyche as *meum lumen*, which is a variant on the common endearment *mea lux* for the mistress,<sup>30</sup> and at 6.22, instead of being appealed to, he himself appeals to Jupiter for assistance with his affair.<sup>31</sup>

Making Cupid a lover also means that often he is piquantly and amusingly behaving out of character for the love god of erotic verse. Most strikingly, he becomes both a husband and a father rather than the cause of adulterous affairs and marriage break-ups<sup>32</sup> (and his role as father is a witty and pointed inversion of the common portrayal of him as a child). Amor's characteristic cruelty, irresponsibility, recklessness, and lack of pity are cast aside in favour of a tender, responsible, and genuinely concerned lover, capable of feeling pity for his beloved (5.5.2, 5.11.3, 5.24.5, 6.21.4). The traditional charmer<sup>33</sup> is himself charmed (5.6.10, 5.13.6), and, instead of him making others

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 11.7–8; Tib. 1.4.83, 2.3.31–2; Prop. 2.25.1–2; Ovid, *Am.* 3.1.20ff.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. *A.P.* 5.9, 12.171; Hor. *Epod.* 11.19ff.; *C.* 3.9; Tib. 1.1.51ff., 1.5.1ff., 2.6.13–14; *Corp. Tib.* 3.2, 3.3.24ff.; Prop. 1.6, 2.25.19–20; Ovid, *Rem.* 213ff., 785–6.

<sup>25</sup> Kenney (n. 3), 203 suggests that Cupid's influence was also behind the earlier services at 6.10ff. This may be so.

<sup>26</sup> As at Tib. 1.4.41ff.; 1.5.63ff.; *Corp. Tib.* 3.4.65ff.; Ovid, *Am.* 3.2.21ff.; *A.A.* 1.149ff., 2.209ff.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Sappho 1 *PLF*; Anacreon 357 *PMG*; *A.P.* 5.11, 68, 215, 12.166; Catull. 76.17ff.; Hor. *C.* 3.26.9ff.; Tib. 1.2.97–8; *Corp. Tib.* 3.1.15ff., 3.3.33–4; Prop. 3.17; etc.

<sup>28</sup> On guards and the eluding of guards, see Pichon s.v. *custos* and Murgatroyd (1980), 189–90.

<sup>29</sup> On these enemies, see n. 24 above and cf. also Tib. 1.2.6, 2.4.31; Prop. 1.16.19; Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.18, 24, 28, 32, 40, 48, 56.

<sup>30</sup> For *mea lux*, see Pichon s.v. *lumen* and McKeown (1989), 88.

<sup>31</sup> Although the goddess's role is much smaller, there is also play with the standard Venus: rather than encouraging *furtivus amor* she disapproves of and puts constraints on Cupid's affair; like her own victims she groans, cries out, and is inflamed (4.29.5, 4.31.1); and instead of promoting infidelity, she herself is the tormented partner of an unfaithful lover at 5.30.2.

<sup>32</sup> We were reminded of this trait at 4.30.4.

<sup>33</sup> Ibycus 287 *PMG*; Moschus 1.8–9 Gow; Tib. 1.6.1; etc.

behave foolishly, his complete captivation by Psyche makes him act against his better judgement (5.6.4–5, 5.13.4ff.). He no longer delights in tears<sup>34</sup> but is softened by them (5.6), he attempts to prevent rather than cause misery at 5.5.3 and 5.12.5, and at 5.24.5 he censures Psyche rather than behaving in a way that brings censure on himself.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Cupid's arrows, customarily used to 'kill' with love, are the means by which Psyche is revived at 6.21.3.

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<sup>34</sup> As at Virg. *Ecl.* 10.29; Prop. 1.12.16; Tib. 1.10.55ff.

<sup>35</sup> As at *A.P.* 5.57, 179, 212; Tib. 1.6.3–4, 2.6.15ff.; Ovid, *Am.* 2.9.1ff.

### MISOR IN PHILO OF BYBLOS

In his recounting of the theology of the Phoenicians, Philo reports the birth of Misor and Suduk: ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι Μισωρ καὶ Σνδυκ, τουτέστιν εὐλυτον καὶ δίκαιον.<sup>1</sup> 'From them came Misor and Suduk, that is to say "Straight and Just"' (so Gifford).<sup>2</sup> But as Gifford himself notes, 'εὐλυτος however means "agile" rather than "straight"'.<sup>3</sup> Baumgarten tries to deal with the difficulty:

The translation of Sydyk is perfect, but that of Misor is not apt. . . . When associated with צֶדֶק in Hebrew or Phoenician מִישָׁר is equivalent, and should have been rendered by a synonym of δίκαιον. Philo has a translation that is circuitous at best: when legal problems are straightforward (a possible sense of מִישָׁר) they are easily solved (εὐ-λυω) and justice results.<sup>4</sup>

This is not credible. An alternative view suggests that the explanation is based on the root מִשָּׁר/שָׁר, which does mean 'to loose'.<sup>5</sup> This still has two grave problems. First, it means that Philo ignored the obvious interpretation of a simple word to choose a much less likely one. Second, and equally important, such an explanation, like the first, completely destroys the common and necessary connection between the two names, צֶדֶק and מִישָׁר. Thus, as Barr puts it, both explanations leave us with a Philo who 'misrepresented [Misor's] functional sense in the original myth'.<sup>6</sup>

The answer lies at hand. For εὐλυτον read εὐθυτον. Thus, Misor and Suduk are 'the one who makes straight and the just one'.<sup>7</sup> The roots of מִישָׁר and εὐθυνος, יֵשֶׁר and εὐθ-, both mean 'straight'. The Hebrew root יֵשֶׁר is commonly rendered in the Septuagint by εὐθύνειν and κατευθύνειν. Indeed, our very noun מִישָׁר is rendered with the verb κατευθύνειν (Malachi 2:6).

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<sup>1</sup> *FGrHist* 790F2 = Eusebius *P.E.* 1.10.36a1–2.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Gifford, *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV* (Oxford, 1903), vol. 3.1, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 45.

<sup>4</sup> A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos* (Leiden, 1981), 175.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos* (Stuttgart, 1979), 220.

<sup>6</sup> J. Barr, *BJRL* 57 (1974), 44, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Indeed, with a slight change of vocalization, מִישָׁר means exactly 'makes straight'.