CONTENDING WITH CONVERSION: REFLECTIONS ON THE REFORMATION OF LUCIUS THE ASS

KEITH BRADLEY

ON THE BEACH AT Cenchreae the fugitive ass awakes from his night-time sleep aware of the all-encompassing presence around him of the supreme goddess. Sensing the chance to end once and for all the misfortunes that have plagued him since his catastrophic, metamorphosing experiment with magic, he purifies himself by bathing in the sea, then prays to the almighty power to restore him to human form. Asleep once more, he has a vision of the goddess emerging from the water. She identifies herself as Isis, and says that she has come in answer to his prayer. The goddess tells the ass that he will find the roses he needs to escape his asinine form the following day, her special day, in the hands of a priest who will be taking part in a ceremony to mark the end of winter when a boat will be ritually dedicated to the sea. Next morning, as the townspeople prepare for the holy day, the ass finds the procession of Isis' worshippers and eventually eats the garland of roses the priest offers him. At once he returns to his human shape, and the crowd of onlookers recognises the miracle Isis has performed in their midst. The ceremony of the ship duly takes place, the new Lucius now among the worshippers, so filled with enthusiasm for the goddess that he afterwards takes up residence in her temple. There he has more visions, and learns that he must be initiated into the goddess's mysteries. The priest advises him how to prepare for the great event, and when Isis has signalled the appropriate day the priest initiates Lucius before a group of fellow devotees. Soon after, Lucius returns to his home in Corinth, until once more at Isis' command he travels to Rome and there devotes himself to a life of worship in her temple in the Campus Martius. A year passes. More divine messages then bring the news that Lucius must also be initiated into the mysteries of Isis' consort Osiris, and indeed into Isis' mysteries a second time. The rituals are carried out, and finally Lucius becomes an acolyte in the cult of Osiris. It is at this point that the account of Lucius' marvellous adventures, recounted in book eleven of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, comes to a close.

I

The final book of the *Metamorphoses* is a fascinating text. With no known counterpart elsewhere, it is one of the most original elements in Apuleius' version of the ass story and consequently seems, as has often been observed, to carry a special

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the support of the Killam Foundation and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Thanks are also due to the *Phoenix* referees and Editor, who all offered constructive comments on the first version of this essay.

PHOENIX, VOL. 52 (1998) 3–4.

significance. It is here after all that Lucius suddenly, and unexpectedly, describes himself as "a man from Madauros" (*Met.* 11.27, *Madaurensem*), appearing to identify himself with his author and almost compelling his reader to conclude that the final book of the *Metamorphoses* is in some sense autobiographical: if at the surface level Isis is the agent responsible for the changing of the ass into human form, beneath the surface the story of her revelation to Lucius and Lucius' initiation into her mysteries is a genuine record of Apuleius' own conversion and devotion to the goddess. Or so it might be thought. For some commentators, however, such a leap of faith is too great, or too simplistic: the final book of the *Metamorphoses* is undoubtedly a book of religious import, but Apuleius no more authorises a single meaning for the reader in it than in any other part of the work, and despite its focus on initiation the details of ritual with which the story is filled reflect no arcane knowledge on the author's part, but only general information of a kind easily accessible to all. The book is not only fascinating, therefore, but highly problematical.[1]

Whatever their interpretative stance, critics and commentators commonly refer to the events described in the "Isis book," especially Lucius' experience on the beach and the vision of Isis that follows his prayer, as a religious conversion, as in fact I have just done. A. D. Nock used the title, "The Conversion of Lucius," for the ninth chapter of his celebrated book, *Conversion* (1933), and J. J. Winkler in his influential *Auctor and Actor* (1985) wrote that the novel "presents a value-free description of what a conversion with cosmic, life-reorienting consequences would be like." Another highly invigorating study, N. Shumate's *Crisis and Conversion in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses (1996), goes even further: not only is Lucius converted to the cult of Isis, but Apuleius' entire novel is to be understood as a conversion narrative, a prototype for the *Confessions* of Augustine and other accounts of conversion in later European literature. Her argument is based, not solely but in large part, on the theories of William James, who in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) maintained that conversion is a psychological process in which a phase of cognitive crisis and breakdown is resolved by an experience of a divine, saving power that brings new knowledge and new meaning to life: conversion subjects first lose all sense of identity as the values they have previously taken as normative in the world around them are shown to be false, before a new, more secure stage of life is entered once the subjects dedicate themselves to the divine power that has manifested itself to them in an intensely metaphysical moment. Lucius' crisis, on this view, occupies the first ten books of the *Metamorphoses* before resolution—the saving intervention of Isis—occurs in book eleven. The conversion of Lucius, therefore, is a long process that involves "nothing less," in Shumate's words, "than the collapse of an entire system of premises and

[1] Original: Walsh 1970: 148. On the relationship of the *Metamorphoses* to other versions of the ass story, see Mason 1994. Autobiographical: Festugière 1954: 76–77; Griffiths 1975: 3–7 (essentially confirmed by van der Paardt 1981); Beaujeu 1983: 392–396; Stok 1985: 364–367. Simplistic: Winkler 1985: 21, 206, 277; cf. Fick 1987: 50.

assumptions about how the world works and its replacement by one radically different."[2]

No one, I think, will reasonably dispute the contention that the final book of the *Metamorphoses* is a record of religious sentiment, no matter how loosely or definitively cast, or that the *Metamorphoses* at large is a work in which religious themes are important. The issue I want to consider here, however, is how relevant or useful the term "conversion" can be in evaluating religious experience in the polytheistic society to which Lucius and his creator Apuleius belonged—in contrast, that is, to the monotheistic culture in which James discussed conversion and which clearly influenced Nock's views. This is an issue, obviously enough, that underlies Nock's book from beginning to end, but it is one that is not directly expressed there, at least in the manner in which I have just expressed it, or in the other works of modern scholarship to which I have referred. Much will depend, quite clearly, on how "conversion" is understood. The definition given by James may be taken as a starting point:

> To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to experience religion, to gain an assurance, are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities. This at least is what conversion signifies in general terms, whether or not we believe that a direct divine operation is needed to bring such a moral change about.

In point of fact this is not so much a definition as a gloss, heavily influenced by Christianising assumptions, as the references to "grace" and "moral change" indicate. The definition is ambiguous, evoking many possible meanings, but in essence it conveys the idea that conversion is a complete change from one state of mind to another, prompted by a new religious awareness on the convert's part. James adds this statement:

> To say that man is 'converted' means ... that religious ideas, previously peripheral in his consciousness, now take a central place, and that religious aims form the habitual centre of his energy.[3]

[2] Lucius' experience: not at all comparable, however, to contemporary Christian conversion in the view of Nock 1933: 134–135, 267, despite Gallagher 1990: 125–126. Winkler quotation: Winkler 1985: 179; cf. 127, 140–141, 166, 276. See similarly Griffiths 1975: 3, 163; Schlam 1992: 9; Goodman 1994: 22; Fantham 1996: 254; Witte 1997: 41, 57; van Mal-Maeder 1997: *passim*. Conversion narrative: cf. much earlier but briefly, Festugière 1954: 68–84. James: I refer throughout to the Penguin Classics edition of *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (Harmondsworth 1985). Shumate quotation: Shumate 1996: 15.

[3] Religious sentiment: see, however, the sensible remarks of Schlam 1992: 9, 115, 122: the religious element of the *Metamorphoses* should not be allowed to obscure the novel's essential character as "narrative entertainment." Monotheistic culture: James was predominantly concerned with religious experience in his own contemporary Christian context; he made occasional use of material from other major world religions (e.g., Islam), but despite a few passing allusions to classical antiquity never fully dealt with polytheistic societies. Witte (1997: 57) conceives of "pagan and ... Christian notions

Religious conversion, however, may signify not only James's intense concentration on "religious aims," but also a complete change of religious identity as, for instance, when an individual Christian converts from Protestantism to Catholicism or, more fundamentally, when an individual converts from one major religion to another, for example from Judaism to Christianity or from Christianity to Islam. At this level of understanding the idea of change from one state to another is even more absolute than it is with James's definition, but in both cases it is the notion of turning away from one world view towards another utterly different that predominates. This sense of absolute change is well expressed by Nock, who wrote under James's influence but with more precision:

> By conversion we mean the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right. It is seen at its fullest in the positive response of a man to the choice set before him by the prophetic religions.

A contemporary definition is plainer still: a religious conversion is "any distinct change of allegiance, which would include return from apostasy ... as well as entry into a new faith and community."[4]

The notion that conversion must represent absolute change is highly suited, as Nock indicated with his reference to "the prophetic religions," to a socio-cultural context characterised by competitive forms of monotheism. It is after all impossible to be both a Jew and a Christian or even both a Protestant and a Catholic: a choice has to be made in these examples between rival and mutually incompatible religious forms. But neither the world of Apuleius' novel nor the real world in which he himself lived were worlds generally characterised by rival systems of religion. Rather, both worlds knew a multiplicity of co-existent gods who comprised a pantheon that always had the potential to expand, and in which the incorporation of new gods never required the expulsion of the old or demanded from worshippers a choice between one form of divinity and another. How then might the notion of "conversion" fit such a scheme of divine conceptualisation?

---

of conversion and initiation" without differentiation; similarly, van Mal-Maeder (1997: 105–106) speaks of "religious convictions and true faith" in reference to Lucius' "conversion," without asking if such concepts are even relevant to Greco-Roman religion. Influenced: Nock 1933: 160: "Our way of thinking is throughout coloured by the nature of Christianity." Quotations: James 1985: 189, 196.

[4]Nock quotation: Nock 1933: 7; cf. 28, "a rejection of one's old life and the entering on a new life"; 134: "Conversion implies turning from something to something else: you put earlier loyalties behind you." Contemporary definition: Gallagher 1991: 15. Perceptions of what conversion means can in fact be much more complex; see Gallagher 1990 for a survey of meanings (148: "an individual experience, a social process, the activity of God in the world, or a process of historical change"); none of these perceptions, however, considers conversion within a polytheistic culture.

In what sense was it possible for a change of religious identity or allegiance on Lucius' part to occur?[5]

It was not impossible of course in the Mediterranean world of the second century for conversion in the absolute sense to take place. The progress of Christianity, a religion which in its monotheistic exclusivity by definition ran counter to traditional Greco-Roman polytheism, constantly offered a new religious option, and although Greco-Roman elements were subsumed within the various Christian sects that everywhere sprang up under the Principate, there can be no doubt that in the period up to Constantine there were any number of absolute religious conversions as people made their choice between conventional polytheism on the one hand and Christian monotheism on the other. A new religious identity was adopted by many, who understood that the traditional system and Christianity were mutually incompatible, just as Christianity and Islam are understood to be incompatible today. What was involved from a psychological point of view in these early Christian conversions is irrecoverable for the most part, but the argument has been made that for many, perhaps most, there was no profound experience of the kind associated with Paul of Tarsus or Augustine, but only a simple response to the superiority of Christian wonder-working over traditional magic. The power of the Christian god was made plain through the miracles his followers performed, and that was enough to secure a change of allegiance on the part of those who saw the wonders and thus came to believe, or said that they did. This is a controversial view, but one that in its recognition of miracle-working as a fixed element in the religious mentality of classical antiquity is evidently set within a plausible historical context. For present purposes, however, all that is relevant is the sense of absolute change from one belief system to another: whatever the remnants of traditionalism, in theory it was impossible for a Christian under the Roman Empire to be simultaneously a worshipper of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, or of any other divinity known to humankind.[6]

[5] Rival systems: North 1992 suggests a rise of religious competitiveness in the Roman imperial period which compelled individuals increasingly to make religious choices; but no attendant threat to polytheism is implied except in cases of monotheistic choice. Pantheon: Wardman 1982; cf. Goodman 1994: 17 on *collegia*.

[6] Not impossible: see Nock 1933: 164–186, 254–271, on conversions to philosophy and Christianity, and Goodman 1994 on conversions to Judaism. Argument: MacMullen 1984; cf. MacMullen 1985–86: 74–75, where MacMullen charges Nock with inconsistency because he denied conversion in his book but allowed for Christian conversion elsewhere (Nock 1972, first published in 1933); since MacMullen takes account of Nock's isolation of Christian conversion (and simply passes over Nock 1933: 254), the charge is difficult to understand. Controversial: Babcock 1985–86; Jordan 1985–86. For an explanation of early Christian conversions based on the role of interpersonal relationships as observed in modern experience, see Stark 1996. Impossible: see Pliny *Ep.* 10.96 for the classic illustration of Christianity's incompatibility with traditional forms of religiosity (cf. Schmidt 1997: 59), and note Goodman 1994: 32, "No pagan seriously dreamed of bringing all humankind to give worship in one body to one deity."

II

Apuleius' story of the magical transformation of Lucius, his adventures as an ass, and his eventual restoration by Isis to human form is a fiction that can make no claim to literal credibility. The story is located, however, in the very real world of the Roman Empire of the second century, as a definitive study of the social and economic structures the novel takes as normative has irrefutably shown—though literary critics often disregard the fact.[7] While, therefore, Apuleius did not invent the story, the setting he constructed will have been immediately recognisable to his contemporaries as their world and not, by way of contrast, the more timeless or chronologically remote settings of Greek romance. Consequently, if the *Metamorphoses* portrays forms of social and economic behaviour easily perceptible as historically authentic and culturally specific, it is reasonable to believe that the same is true for its representations of religious behaviour, if indeed religious behaviour is not by definition to be construed as a form of social behaviour. Most Greco-Roman and other contemporary Mediterranean religious systems were polytheistic and syncretistic, and throughout the *Metamorphoses* religious life and activity are presented in these terms: a multiplicity of gods, all generally tolerant of one another, identified by their Roman names for a Latinate readership even though the story is literally set in Greece, to whom prayers and sacrifices are offered in entirely conventional ways, and who reveal their wishes as Greco-Roman gods have always done. Predictably, therefore, there is no sign of gods locked in jealous rivalry for a clientele of adherents in the sense of making demands for the exclusive allegiance of followers, or of individuals undergoing "conversion" to them in the way that some of Apuleius' contemporaries really were converting to Christianity. The sole exception, and it is a significant exception, is provided by the miller's wife (*Met.* 9.14), a woman who in the story is committed to a single god and who may in fact be a Christian. The significant point is that she is derided by

[7] Literal credibility: Augustine (*De civ. D.* 18.18) apparently had some doubts. Definitive study: Millar 1981; cf. Amat 1972: 118, describing Apuleius as "l'observateur de la vie quotidienne"; Reardon 1991: 44, describing the *Metamorphoses* as "a tableau of provincial life in the Roman Empire at its apogee"; and Kenney 1998: xviii–xix. Literary critics: Millar 1981 is not cited, for example, in Schlam 1992 or Shumate 1996, and is mentioned only once in Winkler 1985 (286, n. 15). This is especially remarkable in the last case, since Winkler purports in the later stages of his book to examine the "historical context" (251) in which the *Metamorphoses* was written. In fact he provides only a literary context, and his claim even so to present "some items that have not been discussed in relation to Apuleius" (251) will surprise anyone who has read Nock 1933. Winkler elsewhere (15) asserts that "in a precise sense location in a particular culture is *not* a prerequisite" for understanding the "essential qualities" (his emphasis) of the *Metamorphoses*, which can be understood without any knowledge of the socio-cultural context in which the novel was written. I cannot imagine what "precise sense" means, and disagree. I also find odd his belief (229–230) that to place an author in the cultural milieu in which he wrote is a necessary barrier to appreciating originality. The inevitable result of such ahistorical approaches is that critics define "essential qualities" in terms of purely subjective assumptions, or guesses, and that any single "reading" becomes by definition as valid as any other (cf. the opening of Witte 1997: 41: "this enquiry asserts . . .").

Lucius, if not Apuleius, for her steadfast devotion to a monotheistic cult, which is unmistakably presented as a deviant form of religious comportment:

tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis numinibus in vicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega praesumptione dei, quem praedicaret unicum, confictis observationibus vacuis fallens omnes homines et miserum maritum decipiens matutino mero et continuo stupro corpus manciparat.

Worse still, she had rejected and spurned the heavenly gods, and in place of true religion she had falsely and blasphemously set up a deity of her own whom she proclaimed to be the One and Only God; and having bamboozled the world in general and her husband in particular by meaningless rituals of her own invention, she was able to give herself over to a day-long course of drinking and prostitution.[8]

The claim has been made that in the last book of the *Metamorphoses* Isis becomes for Lucius "the recipient of his complete and exclusive devotion," as if Lucius had made a choice between one religious form and another in the manner, presumably, of the miller's wife, or of a modern convert from Christianity to Islam. It is precisely on this point, however, that the issue of Lucius' "conversion" hinges, because the experience can be called a conversion only if it can be shown beyond any reasonable doubt that Isis does indeed make exclusive claims on Lucius' religious allegiance. Is this then the case? To answer that question attention must be turned, without necessarily minimising the importance of the pilgrim's critical progress in the first ten books of the novel, to Lucius' encounter with Isis in the final book, because it is only there that the nature of the goddess's demands upon Lucius can be seen. I want particularly to concentrate on the early stages of the encounter in order to draw out what I think are the crucial aspects of the relationship between Lucius and Isis, but by way of prelude an observation on William James's converts must be made first.[9]

It is implicit in the case-histories of conversion James records that his converts were fully familiar before conversion with the dominant religious framework of the society in which they lived, Christian and monotheistic as it was, and explicit that upon conversion this already familiar framework came to occupy a principal place in the converts' lives. All the converts James considered were Christian converts in Christian societies (and almost all Protestants), so that when the subjects entered upon their moments of divine revelation they were easily able to identify the divinity revealing itself to them as the Christian God and could

[8] Greek romance: it is still possible nonetheless to find contemporary values reflected in the romances: Reardon 1991: 13, 28. Christian: Schlam 1992: 8: "Christianity apparently is referred to only once, and with hostile mockery" (cf. likewise Kotula 1992: 156 on the absurdity of monotheism); Simon 1974: 302–305, maintaining that *Met.* 9.14 was influenced by Apuleius' knowledge of a passage from St. Paul; Baldwin 1984, looking rather to the influence of Pliny and Tacitus; cf. Schmidt 1997. I give here and throughout the English version of Kenney 1998, unless otherwise noted.

[9] Claim: Shumate 1996: 321; see similarly Griffiths 1975: 163–164, 167 (though recognising the difficulties); Rives 1995: 364. Critical progress: many of the observations made by Shumate 1996 on *Met.* 1–10 seem to me valuable, no matter whether the theoretical framework derived from James is sustainable or not.

easily address him as such. Recognition may not have been instantaneous, but sooner or later the divine power which manifested itself was always identifiable as the Christian god because no other explanation was possible in the monotheistic culture that almost naturally conditioned and compelled the convert to think along fixed and unambiguous lines. Stephen H. Bradley had two experiences of divine revelation, first when he was fourteen and again nine years later, and on each occasion he immediately perceived the presence first of the Christian "Saviour" and later of the "Holy Spirit": "I thought I saw the Saviour, by faith, in human shape, for about one second in the room, with arms extended, appearing to say to me, Come" . . . "I will now relate my experience of the power of the Holy Spirit which took place on the same night." His autobiographical record is not contemporaneous with the experience of revelation and conversion itself, and so it may reflect a later rationalisation of events. Nonetheless, it was impossible for Bradley, or anyone else, to define his experience in any way other than according to conventional categories. Thus if the god were unrecognisable at the time of manifestation, as in the case of S. H. Hadley, an alcoholic who was on the verge of killing himself when he experienced divine revelation, there was only one possible explanation: "As I sat there thinking, I seemed to feel some great and mighty presence. I did not know then what it was. I did learn afterwards that it was Jesus, the sinner's friend." David Brainerd, another convert, stated, "I had no particular apprehension of any one person in the Trinity, either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost; but it appeared to be Divine glory." Christian terms of reference were used to make sense of experience because there were no other terms available.[10]

In the first stage of Lucius' experience with Isis (*Met.* 11.1), the ass awakes from his sleep to find himself conscious of the animating presence of an omnipotent goddess, but he is completely unaware of her identity. In a polytheistic context any number of female deities could be understood to fill the role of mother-goddess, which is essentially how the divinity here is described, but Lucius attaches no name to her. The immediate visual sign of her presence is a resplendent full moon rising from the sea—*praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus*—which could lead the Latinate reader to think immediately of Diana or possibly Venus, but to Lucius the goddess remains no more than an august image (*augustum specimen*), not necessarily even anthropomorphic in form. Like James's converts, the ass is culturally conditioned to respond to the revelation in a conventional religious idiom, but the idiom is the complete opposite of that known to James's subjects: not one but an infinite range of names is available to supply an identity to the presence the ass feels around

[10] Case-histories: James 1985: 189–258. Quotations: James 1985: 189–190, 202, 213–214. See Proudfoot 1985: 102–107, for an analysis of Stephen Bradley's conversion that stresses the inevitability of interpreting experience in predetermined terms, with the remark especially that Bradley "did not consider explanations involving Krishna, Zeus, or the Qur'an" (104).

him, so infinite that he cannot possibly know them all, especially if there is no unmistakable distinguishing sign. The presence thus remains anonymous.[11]

Lucius' prayer to the goddess makes up the second element in the experience (*Met.* 11.2). It depends on the goddess's anonymity already established, and in totally conventional style adopts a polytheistic form of address that reflects the syncretistic quality of Greco-Roman religion previously mentioned. The ass does not immediately think of, or speak to, a specific power: he can use only a general form of address, *regina caeli* ("Queen of heaven"), applicable to any moon goddess, and then call upon her according to all the polytheistic, and commonly assimilable, naming possibilities known and unknown to him: Eleusinian Ceres, Venus of Paphos, Diana of Ephesus, Proserpina, or, in a general blanket statement, whoever else she may be: *quoquo nomine, quoquo ritu, quaqua facie te fas est invocare* ("by whatever name, in whatever manner, in whatever guise it is permitted to call on you"). The name of Isis, however, is not one of the names that occurs to Lucius, and her identity, it must be emphasised, still remains unrevealed. It is also notable that the object of Lucius' prayer is again very traditional, and very Roman, in its objective practicality: a restoration to human form, or, if that is impossible, death. The request has nothing of the metaphysical, the moralistic, or the cognitive about it.[12]

The third stage is the revelation of an anthropomorphic goddess the ass is able to describe in meticulous detail (*Met.* 11.3–4), in strong contrast to the vague vision of the moon goddess he sees in the first stage. Her identity, however, is still kept secret until she herself discloses it when she explains that she has come in answer to his prayer (*Met.* 11.5). She rises from the sea, which again inclines the Roman reader to think of Venus, but the divinity is new and previously unknown to Lucius as far as can be told: unlike the other goddesses he has named she has not appeared directly in the story before. She describes herself first in general terms as the creator of the universe and the supreme embodiment of divinity, though in a way that at once acknowledges the existence of many other gods and goddesses: *summa numinum, regina manium, prima caelitum, deorum dearumque facies uniformis* ("highest of the gods, queen of the shades, first of those who dwell in heaven, representing in one shape all gods and goddesses"). She is not, therefore, a divinity jealous of other gods or in competition with them but very much one of them. She continues that she is known to different peoples

[11] Unaware: Shumate (1996: 311) assumes that the presence is known to be Isis from the outset, but this is not the case; cf. Griffiths 1975: 112, 115; Merkelbach 1995: 268. Full moon: cf. Griffiths 1975: 111–112, 115–116. Diana: she has already made a significant appearance in the ecphrasis at *Met.* 2.4, on which see Leach 1981 and Schlam 1984 (not superseded by Slater 1998). Venus: already much in evidence in the story of Cupid and Psyche, *Met.* 4.28–6.24, for which see Kenney 1990.

[12] Conventional style: Griffiths 1975: 119–120. Applicable: Griffiths 1975: 114–115. Practicality: cf. Nock 1933: 7: "*Soteria* and kindred words carried no theological implications; they applied to deliverance from perils by sea and land and disease and darkness and false opinions, all perils of which men were fully aware."

in different places by different names, but that her true name is the one the Egyptians give to her, that of Isis:

inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum matrem, hinc autocthones Attici Cecropeiam Minervam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusinii vetusti Actaeam Cererem, Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei Solis incohantibus illustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem.

The Phrygians, first-born of mankind, call me the Pessinuntian Mother of the gods; the native Athenians the Cecropian Minerva; the island-dwelling Cypriots Paphian Venus; the archer Cretans Dictynnan Diana; the triple-tongued Sicilians Stygian Proserpine; the ancient Eleusinians Actaean Ceres; some call me Juno, some Bellona, others Hecate, others Rhamnusia; but both races of Ethiopians, those on whom the rising and those on whom the setting sun shines, and the Egyptians who excel in ancient learning, honour me with the worship which is truly mine and call me by my true name: Queen Isis.

Her words recall the passage in the *De mundo* (37) where, Apuleius says, the supreme god is known by a variety of names to Greeks and Romans: Zen and Kronos, Jupiter and Saturn, to which a limitless string of adjectives can be added to express conceptions of the divinity's multiform power. The goddess appreciates, therefore, that her various forms are all transferable, and helpful in communicating to the ass who she is, for she responds directly to his invocation and fills in the blanks, as it were, left by his blanket clause of address; and despite her claim to divine supremacy, she has no objection to being known by the various regional names, nor any wish to promote a single name or to obliterate, or even dispute, the identities of the other mother goddesses. It is a situation very different from that in which a monotheistic god is unable to tolerate any kind of divine cross-identification at all: the god of the Christians cannot simultaneously be Jupiter to the Romans or Zeus to the Greeks.[13]

Having revealed herself to Lucius, Isis gives him instructions for his restoration into human form the next day and then, the fourth stage (*Met.* 11.6), adopts a far more reflective tone that in the final portion of her exhortation to him borders on the transcendent. In return for the practical benefit she is to bring him, his return to human shape (a *beneficium*), Isis requests of Lucius his devotion to her for the remainder of his days. He will live a favoured life under her guardianship (*tutela*), and in death he will see her in the Underworld, where he will continue to

[13] Venus: if the association of Venus with the sea is a literary and mythological commonplace, it is worthwhile nonetheless to keep in mind artistic representations of Venus, especially those found in North Africa, which Apuleius is likely to have known and which may have influenced the way he wrote; see *Met.* 2.8, 2.17, 4.28, 4.31 and especially 10.31–32, with Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, Slim, and Slim 1960: 147–160; cf. Amat 1972: 125. Directly: *Met.* 2.4, *palmaris deae facies* ("likeness of the palm-bearing goddess" [tr. Hanson 1989]) presumably hints at Isis, and *Met.* 2.28, on the Egyptian prophet Zatchlas, broadly alludes to her cult. Different: there is nothing to suggest anything like "a cosmic struggle between religions for human souls" (Goodman 1994: 6).

worship her. Moreover, by obedient service now his life can be prolonged beyond the limits set by fate. The offer is very much a *do ut des* construct, in which the notion of reciprocity between two contracting parties is obvious but important, a typically "Roman" conceit as the language of benefits and guardianship shows. Lucius is prepared to give his assent to the contract, and in due course he recovers his human shape and is initiated. There is no indication or even implication in the text, however, that Isis ever demands of Lucius an exclusive religious commitment, a turning away from divinities previously known, a rejection of the old religious life, a devotion to her alone. She is the only one able to prolong his life beyond its fated course, but that is different from taking her to insist on a life of exclusive religious allegiance from Lucius of the monotheistic sort. Indeed, it remains implicit that Isis will continue to be known by her many other names and forms to many others: those like Lucius until just now who have never encountered her. Moreover there are limits to what Lucius' devotion entails: obedience, observation of ritual, and celibacy are the required counterparts of the goddess's protection, items which may (though the text does not point directly to this) lead to moral purity but whose immediate reward is not eternal happiness in the next world but an extension of life in the here and now. Isis does not fix the focus of her cult on an eternal reward so much as on a mortal dividend.[14]

Consider in this context how many details appear in book eleven on gods other than Isis herself. When Lucius first sees the goddess and thinks her so beautiful, he makes his point by saying that she is worthy of worship by the gods, in the plural (*Met.* 11.3). In the procession of worshippers at Cenchreae, he observes the pipe-players dedicated to Isis' consort Serapis, who is a divine power in his own right (*Met.* 11.9). The priests in the procession carry symbols of the most powerful gods, in the plural, not only of Isis but of other Egyptian gods: Osiris, Horus (or Harpocrates), Anubis (who in Lucius' description is significantly assimilated to Mercury), Ma'at, Hathor, and Thermuthis (*Met.* 11.10; cf. 16). Ma'at and Thermuthis may have been alternative representations of Isis, but again they were also distinct Egyptian goddesses. Next in the procession come the gods themselves, first Anubis with his jackal's head, then Isis in the form of a cow. Anubis' function as the messenger of the gods, in the plural, is clearly stated (*Met.* 11.11), and it is these gods, those above and those below, whom Lucius sees face to face and worships during his first initiation. (At that point, he says, he has stood on the verge of death before the Underworld—the threshold of Proserpina, as he calls it, not of Isis herself [*Met.* 11.23].) During the ceremony the priest

[14] Exclusive: cf. Nock 1933: 155: "Lucius is not forbidden to take part in other cults, and formal public observances he would no doubt make, but any other worship must to him appear tame and inferior." The sentence, especially read in context, is a good illustration of how Nock's essentially correct views could not escape expression in misleadingly Christianising terms; cf. Burkert 1987: 48–51; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 301–312. See on the other hand Griffiths 1975: 163–164, despite the evidence cited. Méthy (1996: 263) correctly avoids the language of exclusivity: Isis demands of Lucius "obéisance scrupuleuse, dévotion absolue et définitive"; that is all.

offers a prayer seeking the favour of the gods, in the plural (*Met.* 11.23), and it is all these gods who adore Isis, as Lucius indicates in his prayer that follows: *te superi colunt, observant inferi* ("the gods above worship you, the gods below revere you," *Met.* 11.25). At Rome Lucius learns that he must also be initiated into the mysteries of Osiris, a god who is again theologically identifiable with Isis but still separate from her and in fact the father of all the gods, in the plural (*Met.* 11.27, *deumque summi parentis*). And as Lucius prepares for this and his final initiation, he expresses himself as acting in terms of the will of the gods, once again in the plural, and describes Osiris when he appears as the mightiest of them (*Met.* 11.27, *manifestam deum voluntatem*; 11.29, *mirificis imperiis deum*; 11.30, *deus deum magnorum potior*). In all of this there is and can be nothing monotheistic, nothing of the exclusive. Rather, Isis remains one among an infinite number of gods whose existence she never thinks to doubt, whose demands on human worshippers she never contests. Supremacy is claimed in what is perceived as a natural hierarchy of gods, but the hierarchy itself is not questioned and the superior position in it of her companion Osiris is unchallenged.[15]

In view, therefore, of the non-exclusive, non-competitive, polytheistic setting in which Isis is placed, Lucius' experience of her cannot in my view properly be classified as a "conversion" comparable to the cases of Christian conversion studied by James. I do not wish to deny that book eleven of the *Metamorphoses* evokes a type of religious experience analogous in some psychological or metaphysical respects to the events described in later conversion narratives, and it can be said, following James, that religion certainly comes now to have a greater priority in Lucius' life than it did before. Lucius' experience, however, as that of James's subjects, has to be seen not so much in universalist as in culturally specific terms. There is no rejection of one and an embracing of a radically different system of religious knowledge, no heightened awareness of a single, dominant god already familiar to the worshipper, nothing to suggest that Lucius' previous religious knowledge was "wrong" (to use Nock's term) or that he turns away from his past religious life, or that he undergoes a radical and total change of religious allegiance.[16] Through a mystical experience, Lucius encounters a new divinity, but a divinity who is an expression of a divine principle he already naturally knows in many other guises. He relishes the new expression because of his physical restoration—a miracle takes place and "belief"

[15] Serapis: see Griffiths 1975: 189. Symbols: see Griffiths 1975: 196–197, 198–199, 205, 209, 212. Will of the gods: at *Met.* 11.29 it is presumably Isis and Osiris who are meant; cf. Griffiths 1975: 337. Griffiths (1975: 330) notes the distinctive rites of Isis, Osiris, and Serapis (cf. *Met.* 11.28: *germanae religionis*, "this twin faith"), but does not comment on, and therefore does not bring out the significance of, the plural references I have catalogued; cf. similarly Merkelbach 1995: 269–303.

[16] Wish to deny: cf. the famous description of book eleven as "the high-water mark of the piety which grew out of the mystery religions" (Nock 1933: 138). Religious allegiance: it might be allowed that in devoting himself to Isis Lucius turns away from the pursuit of magic as a way of approaching the divine (cf. Sandy 1972), but this still has no implication for his view of the pantheon.

in the god responsible follows—but never to the detriment or rejection of the other forms of the mother-goddess previously known. Lucius enjoys a new religious awareness, and it can, and should be, allowed that his religious frame of reference now becomes henotheistic, a mode of religious conceptualisation that by Apuleius' day had a long history in Greco-Roman thought.[17] But the new knowledge is an extension of what he already understands, a further dimension of preexisting knowledge, an accretion to a base of religious certainty that stands unchanged—in crude terms simply more, if much more, of the same. To recognise, however, that the character of Lucius' understanding is henotheistic is to confirm the absence of anything monotheistic about it. (The point is made once more, and finally, by asking how Lucius could ever have become an apostate.) There is, therefore, a fundamental difference of character between Lucius' experience and the conversions known to James, which the continuing presence of Osiris only confirms: for the new cult is dualistic in nature, a cult of the great father and the great mother, and it is with his entry to the priesthood of the greater Osiris, not that of Isis, that Lucius' story ends.[18]

[17] Nilsson (1963: 101) traced what he termed "the monotheistic idea" as far back as Xenophanes, and showed how a concept of the "High God" flourished under the Roman Empire; he concluded (115): "The character of the High God may be summarised as follows. He is enthroned in the high heavens; he is the ruler of the universe and the world through the powers that emanate from him; he sends men their fates, just as the stars do; he is unattainable, not to be reached by man; no offerings, no prayers are made to him. The common people and even the magicians accepted him, although they debased him, contaminating him with other gods and not discarding subaltern gods." As the end of that quotation shows, however, Nilsson's notion of the High God is not monotheistic at all but henotheistic, as pointed out by Kotula 1992: 154, and the incongruity he felt (e.g., 107, with reference to Maximus of Tyre) over contemporary expressions of the existence of gods other than the High God disappears once the right label is applied. Nilsson found a particularly cogent view of the High God in Apuleius' *De mundo* (109–110), but erred, it seems to me, in implying that there was no place in Apuleius' religious world for "subaltern gods" (110). Méthy (1996) demonstrates from a thorough examination of Apuleius' philosophical works and the *Metamorphoses* not only the originality and consistency of Apuleius' views on "la divinité suprême" but also (263–265) how his views presented no challenge to traditional polytheistic ways of thinking. Even she, however, does not introduce the concept of henotheism. (Critics might object to the implicit identification here of Apuleius with Lucius, but the consistency of thought in the works Méthy shows seems undeniable.) The most apposite statement I have seen on this issue is that of Kotula 1992: 156: "L'idée d'un dieu unique restait toujours étrangère à la mentalité païenne, et particulièrement aux croyances populaires. Autrement dit: le paganisme n'a jamais abouti à un monothéisme pur et parfait. Il n'a dépassé l'étape hénothéiste"; cf. MacMullen 1981: 83–88; Lane Fox 1987: 34–36. Versnel (1990: 39–50) analyses the cult of Isis in the Hellenistic age with the intention, not altogether realised, of showing (36) "the tragic implications of the henotheistic option: the 'one' god gives salvation and liberates humanity from the bonds of worldly or cosmic despots, but the price is the highest imaginable: total surrender to the liberator *alias* the new despot." Fick (1987) believes that the Isis book is intended "à faire apparaître derrière Isis une conception du divin fondamentalement platonicienne" (51), which requires no denial of a polytheistic world.

[18] New knowledge: Nock 1933: 14–16, while denying the possibility of conversion, did allow for what he termed "adhesion" to a particular cult such as that of Isis. Fundamental difference: cf.

III

If the experience of revelation and initiation is reported by the fictive Lucius, it is Apuleius himself who composed the details of religious protocol that make the final book of the *Metamorphoses* so dramatically successful. Whether the material he was dealing with was common knowledge or not, how did those details become part of Apuleius' consciousness? When was he exposed to the cult of Isis? How, in other words, did Apuleius know what he knew? These are questions that again are usually of little concern to literary critics, and given the difficulties involved in determining the first moments of religious consciousness in anyone's life they are probably unanswerable in the long run.[19] The acquisition of knowledge, however, cannot simply be taken for granted: it requires a context, and in this case a connection with the details of Apuleius' own personal history. There was, it happens, a temple of Isis at Sabratha, the Tripolitanian city where Apuleius was tried for magic in 157/8, which he can be presumed to have known: it lay to the east of the town, while across the forum opposite the basilica in which he was tried there was also a temple to Serapis. Did he see Isiac initiates here and later draw on his recollections of their practices when writing the *Metamorphoses*, or at other places in Tripolitania, where the cult was certainly popular? At Gigthis, for example, a town through which Apuleius is likely to have passed when he set out for Alexandria along the coastal highway of Tripolitania, only to find himself unexpectedly detained at Oea, the chance discovery of a marble head of Serapis, a lamp showing the launch of the Isis boat, and a relief with Nilotic scenes reveals just how entrenched worship of the Egyptian gods was. Anything of course is possible, and it is easy to see how tempting it can be to ascribe the whole religious world of the *Metamorphoses* to the influence of the real religious face of Tripolitania. Yet when he arrived in Oea in 155/6, Apuleius was thirty years old and had spent many of his years travelling across a large part of the Mediterranean world. His knowledge of the cult of Isis, I suggest, was probably already well formed by that time.[20]

Habinek 1990, whose view, however, of the Isis cult at Cenchreae as a ritual affirming the boundaries of a local community takes no account of Lucius' participation in the cult of Isis at Rome.

[19] Literary critics: it is remarkable to my mind how frequently Latin authors are treated as so many undifferentiated links in a chain, without any regard for distinctions of origin and background, life experience, personality, and so on; for a more realistic approach, see on Apuleius himself Fantham 1996: 252–263.

[20] Sabratha: Brouquier-Reddé 1992a: 44, 58–63; cf. Mattingly 1995: 127. Observe also the discovery of a statue of Isis in the sanctuary of Serapis at Lepcis Magna (Brouquier-Reddé 1992a: 101–105), and for discussion of the Egyptian cults in Tripolitania in general, see Brouquier-Reddé 1992a: 273–276. Tried: Hunink 1997: 1.12. Gigthis: Pisanu 1989: 230. Tempting: Le Glay 1983 (acknowledging, though insufficiently in my view, Apuleius' wider knowledge of the Mediterranean world); Brouquier-Reddé 1992b: 121 (unequivocally). The date of composition of the *Metamorphoses* is obviously relevant to this view; I assume, as do most, that the work was written after Apuleius' trial, but see Dowden 1994 for an attempt to restate a contrary view. Travelling: see Sandy 1997: 1–36,

Dedicatory inscriptions have revealed that the large number of divinities worshipped by the inhabitants of Madauros, the small and obscure Roman colony where Apuleius was born ca 125, included gods who were worshipped in mystery cults. To judge from standard inventories, however, the cult of Isis was not prominent at Madauros in the early second century, and it is unlikely, therefore, that Isis had a significant impact on Apuleius' religious awareness in early childhood. At Carthage, where he went to school as a boy, Isis did enjoy worship—the site of a temple has been identified from an inscription—and Apuleius may have learned something of it while he lived there. It was Serapis, however, who of the Egyptian gods held the greater place in Carthaginian piety, which means that the city most likely to have impressed upon Apuleius the wonders of Isis was Athens, the city where he next studied, when a young man, for several years: Isis had been worshipped here since the second century B.C. at the latest, and by the time of Apuleius' arrival she was conspicuous everywhere in the ornamental decorations that bore her likeness, in the Isiac names Athenians gave their children, and in the way prosperous women were immortalised on their tombstones in her dress. Travellers offered her votive plaques bought in the agora to give thanks for her protection at sea, and she was even venerated as the saviour of the city.[21]

The Greek traveller Pausanias, who visited Athens just a few years after Apuleius, has left a record (1.18.4) of a sanctuary of Serapis in the city which must also have served as a site for the worship of Isis. Apuleius may have known it too. Isis, however, had a cult centre in Athens in her own right. It was located on the southern slope of the Acropolis, where shortly before Apuleius' arrival a new shrine was built through the generosity of a female benefactor whose name is now unfortunately lost. It had its own officials, a temple guardian (*zakaros*) and a stolist who ritually dressed the statue of Isis every day. The shrine was rather small, but those who visited it would have been able to see inside two cult statues, one of Isis herself—a finely wrought piece of dark grey stone, highly polished where the goddess's features were exposed and with careful definition of her hair and drapery—the other a statue of Aphrodite, the goddess with whom Isis was often identified, not least as the evidence of the *Metamorphoses* shows. The female benefactor refurbished the statue of Isis when the new shrine was built, and also dedicated the statue to Aphrodite. Apuleius, like Pausanias or any

---

where, however, the religious experience of Apuleius finds no place in a study of the "Latin sophist" (a highly contentious phrase).

[21] Madauros: Gsell and Joly 1922: 35–48; Le Glay 1961: 361. Carthage: Rives 1995: 212–214. Temple: Beschaouch 1991, locating it "précisement dans l'*insula* délimitée par le *decumanus* II nord et les *kardines* XI et XII est, du côte du théâtre et de la colline de l'Odéon, face au quartier des «villas» romaines" (330), and dating it to the second half of the second century. Beschaouch speculates that Apuleius may have known the temple when he lived in Carthage after his trial in Sabratha, but whether it was even built when he was a student cannot be known. Athens: Dow 1937; Dunand 1973: 2.4–16; Williams 1985; Walters 1988.

other visitor, can be imagined to have spent part of his time in Athens exploring the city, especially the Acropolis, and in the *De mundo* (32) he actually speaks of having seen Phidias' statue of Athena there. In the agora, which any newcomer to the city could also be presumed to visit, he might have noticed the Altar of Pity (ἐλέου βωμός), the name by which the old Altar of the Twelve Gods was now commonly known (and which Pausanias [1.17.1] also remarks upon), for when Lucius after his return to human form is first addressed by the priest, it is precisely an "altar of pity" (*aram misericordiae*) that he is said to have finally reached (*Met.* 11.15). Passing by the shrine of Isis, Apuleius could have noticed a priest offering sacrifice, a woman like the anonymous donor carrying a lamp in a procession of worshippers, or else interpreting the dreams Isis sent to her followers. It was while he was in Greece, as he remarks in the *Apology* (55.8), that like Lucius (*Met.* 3.15) he himself became an initiate of several mystery cults.[22]

The juxtaposition in the sanctuary of the two statues of Isis and Aphrodite is as clear an illustration as one could hope to have of the cross-identification of divinities generally characteristic of religious life in classical antiquity. The statues are symbols of how the adoption in a community of a new divinity did not normally drive out an old, pre-existing one, but of how the common attributes the gods shared fused their identities into one, even as they maintained their own individuality. A victory of one over the other was not an issue, and the worshipper needed to make no choice between them: they were distinct but compatible versions of the same divine principle. Another telling illustration appears in the figure of a certain Dionysios of Marathon, a man who in the 120s is attested as *iacchagogus*, the bearer of the statue of Iacchos and the leader of the annual procession of worshippers from Athens to Eleusis in Athens' greatest religious event, the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The attestation itself is not particularly remarkable, but what arrests attention is that Dionysios, a worshipper of Demeter and Persephone, was simultaneously a priest of Isis, which confirms beyond any doubt that mystery cults in antiquity, the monotheistic mysteries apart, never demanded the sole commitment of their adherents. Divinities of different geographical origin but similar attributes were easily regarded as the same when they made their way across the Mediterranean and found new centres of acceptance. In Apuleius' day Isis was even worshipped at Eleusis.[23]

CONCLUSION

The knowledge of Isis Apuleius is likely to have gained in Athens, if not elsewhere during the travels that occupied his early life (and perhaps even at

[22] Cult centre: Walker 1979: 243–247; cf. Dunand 1973: 2.132–152. Pausanias has little to say about the site he mentions, but does point out that Serapis appeared in Athens under the Ptolemies. Phidias' statue: cf. Beaujeu 1973: 334; Hijmans 1987: 429. Altar of Pity: Thompson 1952; Travlos 1971: 458; cf. Griffiths 1975: 246; Fick 1987: 38.

[23] Dionysios: Vidman 1969: no. 16; see Clinton 1974: 96–97; Walker 1979: 254. Eleusis: Vidman 1969: nos. 8, 9.

Cenchreae, where there was also a temple of Isis), is not enough to prove that he himself was a devotee of Isis or, most crucially, that he ever experienced a revelation of the goddess of the sort he invented for Lucius. Nor can the reference to the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius at Rome (*Met.* 11.26), which almost demands to have some personal relevance to the religious life of the man from Madauros, be pressed to that end. Nonetheless, to set the description of Lucius' revelation in its cultural context is enough to demonstrate that the notion of an exclusive devotion to a single divinity, the obvious exceptions apart, was a notion that had no real place in Apuleius' religious world. In the language of the *Metamorphoses*, Lucius was not transformed but physically "reformed" (*Met.* 3.24, 25; 11.13, 16), physically "reborn" (*Met.* 11.16, 21), from man to ass and from ass to man. His shape, that is, was suddenly changed (*Met.* 11.6), and his henotheistic consciousness was certainly raised; but in the modern sense of the word he did not experience religious "conversion." That term, I propose, cannot be properly used either to describe Lucius' specific encounter with Isis or, indeed, to explain religious experience in the polytheistic culture of classical antiquity at all.[24]

Department of Greek and Roman Studies
University of Victoria
Victoria, B.C.
V8W 3P4

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amat, J. 1972. "Sur quelques aspects de l'esthétique baroque dans les *Mêtamorphoses* d'Apulée," *REA* 74: 107–152.

Babcock, W. S. 1985–86. "MacMullen on Conversion: A Response," *The Second Century* 5: 82–89.

Baldwin, B. 1984. "Apuleius, Tacitus and Christians," *Emerita* 52: 1–3.

Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome* 1: *A History*. Cambridge.

Beaujeu, J. 1973. *Apulée: Opuscules philosophiques . . . et fragments*. Paris.

—— 1983. "Les Dieux d'Apulée," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 200: 385–406.

Beschaouch, A. 1991. "Topographie de Carthage romaine: Sur la localisation du temple d'Isis," *CRAI*: 323–330.

[24] Elsewhere: whether Apuleius visited Cenchreae during his years in Greece can only be a matter of speculation (cf. Beaujeu 1983: 393), but for the temple of Isis there see Pausanias 2.2.3 and Scranton, Shaw, and Ibahim 1978: 53–78. Campus Martius: see Richardson 1992: 211–212; Coarelli 1996. The reference is one of several that suggest Apuleius knew the topography of Rome well (cf. *Met.* 6.8, *metas Murtias*, 9.10, *Tullianum*). Personal relevance: it is worth remarking that Coarelli (1989) has made the intriguing argument that Apuleius should be identified with the L. Apuleius Maximus known to have inhabited a house in Ostia in the mid second century situated near a Mithraeum decorated with astrological symbols that recall references to the planets in Apuleius' philosophical works. Language: *reformationis* (3.24, 25), *figuram tuam repente mutatam* (11.6), *reformationis* (11.13), *reformavit ad homines* (11.16), *renatus* (11.16), *renatos ad novae reponere rursus salutis curricula* (11.21).

Blanchard-Lemée, M., M. Ennaïfer, H. Slim, and L. Slim. 1996. *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia.* London.

Brouquier-Reddé, V. 1992a. *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine.* Paris.

—— 1992b. "La Place de la Tripolitaine dans la géographie religieuse de l'Afrique du Nord," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord: Spectacles, vie portuaire, religions. Actes du V^e Colloque internationale.* Paris. 117–123.

Burkert, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults.* Cambridge, Mass. and London.

Clinton, K. 1974. *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries. TAPS* N.S. 64 part 3. Philadelphia.

Coarelli, F. 1989. "Apuleio a Ostia," *Dial. di Arch.* 7: 27–42.

—— 1996. "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis," in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* 3. Rome. 107–109.

Dow, S. 1937. "The Egyptian Cults at Athens," *HThR* 30: 183–232.

Dowden, K. 1994. "The Roman Audience of *The Golden Ass*," in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel.* Baltimore and London. 419–434.

Dunand, F. 1973. *Le Culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée.* 3 vols. Leiden.

Fantham, E. 1996. *Roman Literary Culture.* Baltimore and London.

Festugière, A. J. 1954. *Personal Religion among the Greeks.* Berkeley.

Fick, N. 1987. "L'Isis des *Métamorphoses* d'Apulée," *RBPhil* 65: 31–51.

Gallagher, E. V. 1990. *Expectation and Experience: Explaining Religious Conversion.* Atlanta.

—— 1991. "Conversion and Salvation in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *The Second Century* 8: 13–29.

Goodman, M. 1994. *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire.* Oxford.

Griffiths, J. G. ed. 1975. *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book.* Leiden.

Gsell, S. and C. A. Joly. 1922. *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa. Seconde Partie.* Algiers and Paris.

Habinek, T. N. 1990. "Lucius' Rite of Passage," *Materiali e discussione per l'analisi dei testi classici* 25: 49–69.

Hanson, J. A. tr. 1989. *Apuleius:* Metamorphoses. Cambridge, Mass. and London.

Hijmans Jr., B. L. 1987. "Apuleius Philosophus Platonicus," *ANRW* II.36.1: 395–475.

Hunink, V. ed. 1997. *Apuleius of Madauros:* Pro se de magia. Amsterdam.

James, W. 1985. *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* Harmondsworth (first published 1902).

Jordan, M. D. 1985–86. "Philosophic 'Conversion' and Christian Conversion: A Gloss on Professor MacMullen," *The Second Century* 5: 90–96.

Kenney, E. J. 1990. "Psyche and Her Mysterious Husband," in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature.* Oxford. 175–198.

—— tr. 1998. *Apuleius:* The Golden Ass *or* Metamorphoses. Harmondsworth.

Kotula, T. 1992. "Les Apologistes africains du III^e siècle face aux tendances monothéistes païennes," in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. Spectacles, vie portuaire, religion. Actes du V^e Colloque international.* Paris. 153–158.

Lane Fox, R. 1987. *Pagans and Christians.* New York.

Leach, E. W. 1981. "Metamorphoses of the Actaeon Myth in Campanian Painting," *Röm. Mitt.* 88: 307–327.

Le Glay, M. 1961. *Saturne Africain: Monuments.* 1: *Afrique proconsulaire.* Paris.
—— 1983. "Les Religions de l'Afrique romaine au IIe siècle d'après Apulée et les inscriptions," *L'Africa romana* 1: 47–61.
MacMullen, R. 1981. *Paganism in the Roman Empire.* New Haven and London.
—— 1984. *Christianizing the Roman Empire.* New Haven and London.
—— 1985–86. "Conversion: A Historian's View," *The Second Century* 5: 67–81.
Mason, H. J. 1994. "Greek and Latin Versions of the Ass-Story," *ANRW* II.34.2: 1665–1707.
Mattingly, D. J. 1995. *Tripolitania.* London.
Merkelbach, R. 1995. *Isis regina—Zeus Sarapis: Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt.* Stuttgart and Leipzig.
Méthy, N. 1996. "La Divinité suprême dans l'oeuvre d'Apulée," *REL* 74: 247–269.
Millar, F. G. B. 1981. "The World of the *Golden Ass*," *JRS* 71: 63–75.
Nilsson, M. P. 1963. "The High God and the Mediator," *HThR* 56: 101–120.
Nock, A. D. 1933. *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo.* Oxford.
—— 1972. "Paul and the Magus," in *idem, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (ed. Z. Stewart). Oxford. 308–330 (first published in 1933).
North, J. 1992. "The Development of Religious Pluralism," in J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (eds.), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians.* London and New York. 174–193.
Pisanu, M. 1989. "La vita religiosa a Gigthis: testimonianze epigrafice e monumentali," *L'Africa romana* 7: 223–231.
Proudfoot, W. 1985. *Religious Experience.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
Reardon, B. P. 1991. *The Form of Greek Romance.* Princeton.
Richardson Jr., L. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.* Baltimore and London.
Rives, J. B. 1995. *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine.* Oxford.
Sandy, G. 1972. "Knowledge and Curiosity in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *Latomus* 31: 179–183.
—— 1997. *The Greek World of Apuleius: Apuleius and the Second Sophistic.* Leiden.
Schlam, C. C. 1984. "Diana and Actaeon: Metamorphosis of a Myth," *Cl. Ant.* 3: 82–110.
—— 1992. *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius: On Making an Ass of Oneself.* London.
Schmidt, V. 1997. "Reaktionen auf das Christentum in den *Metamorphosen* des Apuleius," *Vig. Chr.* 51: 51–97.
Scranton, R., J. W. Shaw, and L. Ibahim. 1978. *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth* 1. Leiden.
Shumate, N. 1996. *Crisis and Conversion in Apuleius'* Metamorphoses. Ann Arbor, Mich.
Simon, M. 1974. "Apulée et le Christianisme," in P. Lévy and E. Wolff (eds.), *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à H.-C. Puech.* Paris. 299–305.
Slater, N. W. 1998. "Passion and Petrifaction: The Gaze in Apuleius," *CP* 93: 18–48.
Stark, R. 1996. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History.* Princeton.
Stok, F. 1985. "Il pauperismo di Apuleio," *Index* 13: 353–386.
Thompson, H. A. 1952. "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21: 47–82.
Travlos, J. 1971. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens.* London.

van der Paardt, R. 1981. "The Unmasked 'I,' Apuleius, *Met.* XI 27," *Mnemosyne* 34: 96–106.

van Mal-Maeder, D. 1997. "*Lector, intende: laetaberis*: The Enigma of the Last Book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* 8: 87–118.

Versnel, H.S. 1990. *Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism.* Leiden.

Vidman, L. 1969. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae.* Berlin.

Walker, S. 1979. "A Sanctuary of Isis on the South Slope of the Athenian Acropolis," *BSA* 74: 243–257.

Walsh, P. G. 1970. *The Roman Novel.* Cambridge.

Walters, E. J. 1988. *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis. Hesperia* Supplement 22. Princeton.

Wardman, A. 1982. *Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans.* Baltimore.

Williams, E. R. 1985. "Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54: 109–119.

Winkler, J. J. 1985. *Auctor and Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's* The Golden Ass. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford.

Witte, A. E. 1997. "Calendar and Calendar Motifs in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Book 11," *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* 8: 41–58.