

THE BAKER'S WIFE AND HER CONFIDANTE IN APVLEIVS, MET. IX 14 ff.: SOME LITURGIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Roberti Graves poetae docti in memoriam

The story of the baker's wife and her confidante in *Met.* IX 14 is, in part, a hostile depiction of the Christian Eucharist as being administered in private houses by deacons. It is here argued that examination of Apuleius' use of sources and of the general argument of *The Golden Ass* indicates a polemical reference to Christianity in this passage and its portrait of exclusive monotheism, and that a comparison with Justin Martyr identifies the specific rite.

The valuable recent discussions, chiefly by philologists¹, of *Met.* IX 14 ff. are of great potential interest to liturgists, who do not however seem² to have taken the matter up. As an expression of appreciation

¹ Most recently: B. Baldwin, «Apuleius, Tacitus, and Christians», *EMERITA* 52, 1984, pp. 1-3; María Concepción Fernández López, «Apuleyo, Tácito y Salustio», *EMERITA* 54, 1986, pp. 323-5. Previously by L. Herrmann, «L'Âne d'or et le christianisme», *Latomus* 12, 1953, pp. 188-191; P. G. Walsh, «Lucius Madaurensis», *Phoenix* 22, 1968, pp. 143-57 (see 152); M. Simon, «Apulée et le christianisme», in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris 1974, pp. 299-305; J. G. Griffiths, ed., *Apuleius of Madaura: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Bk. XI)* (= *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 39), Leiden 1975, pp. 345, 359.

² Apuleius has not been ignored by the liturgiologists. E. Dekkers, *Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der liturgie*, Brussels-Amsterdam 1947, refers to him to illustrate the dismissal at the Mass (p. 65, and cf. J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, ET, New York 1955, II 434), the divine presence at meals (p. 68), sitting for prayer (p. 101), magic (p. 124), ritual celibacy (p. 160); he does not mention the *Metamorphoses*. L. Herrmann («Le procès d'Apulée fut-il un procès de christianisme?», *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 4, 1951-2, pp. 329-37, esp. 333) wondered whether the cult-objects hidden in Apuleius' handkerchief (*Apologia* 57) might have been taken to be reserved hosts; this idea has not been pursued. So far as I can ascertain, only Robert Graves (*The Transformations of Lucius, Otherwise known as The Golden*

for these contributions, and also of the conviction that philologists, historians of religion and liturgiologists can assist one another, I venture to offer this modest note. My suggestion is that among the several levels of meaning of this passage is a scornful reference to the Christian Eucharist, and specifically to its administration by the diaconate in private houses. To keep the liturgiological investigation in the proper perspective, some prior considerations of a sort very obvious to philologists must be noted.

1. *Apuleius' Use of his Sources, Literary and Personal.*

It is not clear³ how much of the story of the baker's wife —if, indeed, any of it at all— comes from Apuleius' *Vorlage*. The issue does not in itself determine the meaning of the passage for Apuleius; but it does affect evaluation of it as a source for indirect knowledge of Christian practice. Even if stories (especially the women's discussion of the philandering Philesiatairus and Aretē, and the wife's attempt to secure the former's favours) were indeed in the *Vorlage*, *Met.* IX 14 ff. shows signs of being expanded from Apuleius' own experiences and thoughts.

In particular, the baker's wife's character reads like an amalgam of Apuleius' two principal opponents pilloried in his *Apologia*, Aemilianus and Herennius. Compare⁴ the characterization of the baker's wife:

nec enim uel unum uitium nequissimae illi feminae deerat, sed omnia prorsus ut in quendam latrinam in eius animam flagitia confluerant: saeua scaeuia uirosa ebriosa peruicax pertinax, in rapinis turpibus auara, in sumptibus foedis profusa, inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae, tunc spretis atque calcatis diuinis numinibus in uicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega praesumptione dei, quem praedicaret unicum, confictis obseruationibus uacuis fallens omnis ho-

Ass. A New Translation, 1952, New York 1972, p. xxi) has identified a eucharistic reference in *Met.* IX 14 f.; in his words, Apuleius makes the baker's wife «use the Christian Love-Feast as an excuse for getting drunk quite early in the day and playing the harlot at all hours».

³ The extended discussion in H. Van Thiel, *Der Eselsroman, I: Untersuchungen* (= *Zetemata* 54/I), München 1971, pp. 133-43 (and see II = *Zetemata* 54/II, München 1972, pp. 179-93, for a parallel edition), seems to me to fail of final demonstration. For the view that this series of tales is original to Apuleius, see M. Bernhard, *Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura* (= *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, II), Stuttgart 1927, pp. 259-70. The moralising tone of these stories, which is characteristic of Apuleius according to B. E. Perry (*The Metamorphoses Ascribed to Lucius of Patrae*, diss. Princeton 1919, pp. 61-3), is also indicative of at least extensive reworking here.

⁴ For the *Metamorphoses*, the editions used are those of R. Helm (Leipzig 1913) and Robertson and Vallette (Paris 1945); for Bk. XI, that of Griffiths (as in n.1); for the *Apologia*, that of Vallette (*Apologie, Florides*, Paris 1960).

mines et miserum maritum decipiens matutino mero et continuo stupro corpus manciparat

(*Met.* IX 14, 213 Helm)

with those of Aemilianus in *Apol.* 79 (68-9 Vallette):

ut audio partim Oeensium qui istum nouere, nulli deo ad hoc aeui supplicauit, nullum templum frequentauit; si fanum aliquod praetereat, nefas habet adorandi gratia manum labris admouere. Iste uero nec dis rurationis, qui eum pascunt ac uestiunt, segetis ullas aut uitis aut gregis primitias impertit; nullum in uilla eius delubrum situm, nullus locus aut lucus consecratus. Et quid ego de luco et de lubro loquor? negant uidisse se qui fuere unum saltem in finibus eius aut lapidem unctum aut ramum coronatum.

and of Herennius in *Apol.* 74 (89 Vallette):

...qui unum neminem in terris uiliorem se aut improbiorem aut inquinatiorem reliquit... Hic est enim puerili huius instigator, hic accusationis auctor, hic aduocatorum conductor, hic testium coemptor, hic totius calumniae fornacula, hic Aemiliani fax et flagellum, idque apud omnis intemperatissime gloria-tur, me suo machinatu reum postulatum... omnium litium deceptor, omnium falsorum commentator, omnium simulationum architectus omnium malorum seminarium, nec non idem libidinum ganeorumque locus, lustrum, lupanar, iam inde ab ineunte aeuo cunctis probris palam notus...

The observable similarities of theme may be due in part to the conventions of public insult; but, allowing for the specificity of detail in the *Apologia*, it appears not unreasonable to describe the baker's wife as a female compendium of the vices of the two accusers. Even if Apuleius did not expect the readers of the *Metamorphoses* to recognize his public enemies in this figure, he could indulge himself in some private jest at their expense.

It has been suggested⁵ that the Aemilianus of the *Apologia* is a Christian; but I can see no compelling reason to agree, for Aemilianus' contempt for the gods is portrayed as no more than one feature of a decadent and anti-social character, and has no alternative devotion (except to avarice) to motivate it. In this respect, *Met.* IX 14 f. shows a feature not paralleled in the *Apologia*: the monotheism of the baker's wife and her confidante is additional, not only to the *Vorlage*, but also to the hostile portrait of Apuleius' Madauran enemies that seems to have been packed into his picture of the cruel woman.

⁵ By S. Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1984, p. 105.

Whatever the occasion of Apuleius' passing attack on intolerant monotheism, some personal encounter must have been contributory to it. Whether he knew Christians in Madaura⁶ or not, the occurrence of this topic in the *Golden Ass* argues for his having encountered the attitude he so much despises at some time during his student *Wanderjahre* in Greece (see *Florida* 18, 20, *Apol.* 72). Robert Graves' suggestion⁷ that he worked into his narrative observations garnered during his dissipated tour of the Greek coast before his conversion in Corinth, is attractive.

The placing of the topic before the crucial stage of his Isiac conversion is significant. It could, of course, be so placed for literary reasons, among the many experiences and thoughts shown up for their triviality by the overwhelming enlightenment of his initiation, and set at an earlier stage of the narrative only to be dismissed with the wisdom of fictitious hind-sight. It is clear, however, that the baker's wife's theology, whatever it was, never appealed to him in the slightest: he did not have to be freed from it by reflection on what the initiation rites taught him, even when he was puzzling out the relation between the rites of Isis and those of Osiris. The natural inference is that Apuleius in fact had his brush with exclusive monotheism before he came to the mysteries of Isis.

2. *Levels of Significance of Met. IX 14 f.*

Like every other passage in the first ten books of the *Golden Ass*, we can defensibly read *Met.* IX 14 f. on more than one level of interpretation, especially if we take the work as a whole as an entity⁸ designed to lead up to the scenes of discovery and redemption in Book XI.

⁶ On the presence of Christians in Madaura: J. B. Lightfoot (*The Apostolic Fathers*, Pt. II: *St Ignatius, St Polycarp*, London 1889, p. 532) was confident that the alleged martyrdoms in Madaura would have made Apuleius aware of Christianity, but doubts if there is any Christian reference in *Met.* IX. Walsh (see n.1) questions the historicity of the martyrdoms. The evidence gathered by H. Leclercq (art. «Madaura» in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* X/I, Paris 1931, 886-914) favours Walsh's view.

⁷ *Op.cit.*, pp. xv-xviii. Note the Apuleian additions based on personal knowledge of Greece (e.g., the Festival of Laughter at Hypata).

⁸ With Walsh (as in n.1), and R. Merkelbach, «Eros und Psyche», *Philologus* 102, 1958, pp. 103-16. A. D. Nock (*Conversion*, London 1953, ch. IX) expounds *Met.* XI as an *Erbauungstext*, but cannot see the earlier books in the same light (see his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, II, ed. Z. Stewart, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p. 903). Several detailed studies have traced unitive themes through the whole of *Met.*: F. Dornseiff, «Lukios' und Apuleius' Metamorphosen», *Hermes* 73, 1938, pp. 222-38 (the cruelty of Fortune); G. C. Drake, «Candidus: A Unifying Theme in

Firstly, and most obviously, there is the level of picaresque enjoyment⁹. *Lector, intende; laetaberis* can serve as a motto for this complex of narrative as it can for what precedes and what follows.

Secondly —and this does not seem to have been much¹⁰ commented on— with this picaresque appeal goes an effect of surfeit. IX 14 f. is one of a series of passages¹¹ in which a *Rahmengeschichte* is followed by an episode in which the story just told by one of the characters is turned into practice. The repetition of this formula is wearisome; in a work so minutely crafted, this cannot be an accident. Apuleius, we must infer, intends to make his reader impatient with recurrent scenes of lubricious interest, and thereby to awaken and increase a hunger for something better.

Thirdly: the passage is part of what has been described¹² as a rising curve in the fortunes, and even in the character, of the hero, a curve which points forward to the concluding exaltation. Lucius' *curiositas*, which has brought him so much trouble, is now seen in a different light. True, he is still meddlesome¹³; but his meddlesomeness leads him to expose wickedness and frustrate it, in his attempt to do justice to his long-suffering master, even though this loyalty is itself frustrated when the old man dies by necromancy.

Fourthly: the passage expresses¹⁴ a thoroughly hostile view of women. The baker's wife and her confidante exemplify a level of feeling and behaviour so debased that its denizens have the names of insects¹⁵:

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*», *Classical Journal* 64/3, Dec. 1968, pp. 102-9; A. Wlosok, «Zur Einheit der Metamorphosen des Apuleius», *Philologus* 113, 1969, pp. 68-84 (*curiositas*). Each and all of these tend to confirm Walsh's observations.

⁹ If left to speak for himself, Apuleius is *both* picaresque *and* pietistic - in his own way. To find the combination of these traits problematic is to work by our agenda rather than his. Cf. R. Heine in B. L. Hijmans, R. Th. van der Paardt, edd., *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, Groningen 1978, pp. 25-42.

¹⁰ I find remarks to the same effect in J. Tatum, *Apuleius and the Golden Ass*, Ithaca, New York, 1979, pp. 74-5.

¹¹ So W. R. Nethercutt, «Apuleius' Literary Art: Resonance and Depth in the *Metamorphoses*», *Classical Journal* 64/3, Dec. 1968, pp. 110-9 (see 114).

¹² So H. Ebel, *After Dionysus: Where we are now*, Rutherford, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 46-9; but note also M.-L. von Franz, *A Psychological Interpretation of the Golden Ass of Apuleius*, Zurich 1970, who sees (IX/6) the intrusion of «a dark divine element», which is an ambiguous evaluation.

¹³ Cf. G. C. Schlam, «The Curiosity of the Golden Ass», *Classical Journal* 64/3, Dec. 1968, pp. 120-5 (esp. 121); also W. R. Nethercutt (as in n. 11), p. 118.

¹⁴ So F. E. Hoevels, *Märchen und Magie in den Metamorphosen des Apuleius von Madaura*, Amsterdam 1979, p. 282; cf. J. Tatum (as in n. 10), p. 74, and J. J. Winkler, *Auctor & Actor. A Narratological Reading of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, Berkeley, California, 1985, p. 150, n. 21.

¹⁵ Cf. von Franz (as in n. 12) IX/5. On the two women as impersonal figures

Scorpio, Myrmex. Far-fetched though the notion may appear, I would suggest that this defamatory presentation of womanhood is in part designed to provide a foil for the august and pure femininity of Isis. Only after he has expressed his troubled feelings about women can Apuleius say, in effect, «Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.»

Fifthly: the intolerant form of monotheism favoured by the two women is in contrast —and it must be deliberate contrast— with the pagan monism that enables Apuleius to portray both Isis and Osiris as the supreme deity.

He makes¹⁶ Isis say:

...rerum naturae parens,
elementorum omnium domina,
saeculorum progenies initialis,
regina manium,
prima caelitem,
deorum dearumque facies uniformis,
quae caeli luminosa culmina,
maris salubria flamina,
inferum deplorata silentia
natibus meis dispenso;
cuius nomen unicum
multiformi specie,
ritu uario,
nomine multiiugo
totus ueneratur orbis.

Yet he can say¹⁷ also of Osiris that he is *deus deorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator*. It is he whom he subsequently worships as «King», *totius rerum naturae causa et ratio et origo initialis, summus animi genitor, aeternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sed enim sine opera opifex, sine cura sospitator, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco neque tempore neque uice ulla comprehensus eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*.

This conjunction of statements is not unconsidered. Apuleius offers¹⁸ the theological rationale that two cults are essentially one (*cone-*

of parody, see B. Brotherton, «The Introduction of Characters by Name in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius», *Classical Philology* 29, 1934, pp. 36-52.

¹⁶ *Met.* XI 5 (74 Griffiths). This self-proclamation is compatible in style with other Isis-aretalogies, but shows every sign of being Apuleius' own composition: see M. Bernhard, *Der Stil* (as in n.3), p. 73 for stylistic analysis and a different line-division from mine.

¹⁷ *Met.* XI 30 (108 Griffiths). Though the passage is rhythmic, it does not seem to have a verse-structure comparable with that of the Isis-aretalogy.

¹⁸ *Met.* XI 27 (104 Griffiths). On the concept of the regnant deity, cf. *De mundo*

xa, immo uero unita ratio numinis religionisque), although their initiations are significantly distinct (*tamen teletae discrimen interesse maximum*). There is a profoundly monotheistic strain in Apuleius, which was to make his philosophical writings a bridge between pagan philosophical theology and Christian exegesis¹⁹ —but in his own time and place he could not tolerate the exclusive monotheism of Judaism and Christianity. Exclusive monotheism of that sort is here discredited by association with the abominable behaviour of the two women; but to what does *mentita sacrilega praesumptione dei, quem praedicaret unicum* refer?

Reference to Judaism cannot be quite ruled out. Apuleius can admit to knowing of Judaism, even if only by listing Moses²⁰ among the magicians; it was too well known throughout the Empire, not least in the land²¹ of his undergraduate days, to be totally ignored. However, Judaism, which is ancient enough to have produced at least one traditionally famous magician, is too long established a religion for its doctrine to be *mentita... praesumptio*, or for its rites to be *confictae observationes*. These last two epithets, especially the latter, are apt only of Christianity —unless there was some other exclusive monotheistic cult, of which we have no other knowledge, competing for the world's allegiance.

Unless Jesus is indeed listed in the original text²² of *Apologia* 90, which is, at most, remotely possible, Apuleius does not mention Christianity explicitly anywhere²³. It is usually remarked that for him and for most pagan writers it was too contemptible for mention; but we may speculate whether its name was also regarded as unlucky.

3. *The Baker's Wife and her Confidante and the Christian Rites.*

Beside the description, already quoted, of the baker's wife must be set that of her confidante (*Met.* IX 15, 214 Helm), who shares in the *pessimae feminae flagitia*:

25-30 (144-50, ed. Beaujeu, Paris 1973) and *Apologia* 64 (77-8 Vallette), and discussion in F. Reger, *Apuleius philosophus Platonius*, Berlin 1971, pp. 92-103, where *Met.* is not mentioned. Vs. L. Herrmann, «Le Dieu-roi d'Apulée», *Latomus* 18, 1959, pp. 110-6, there is no approach to distinctively Christian monotheism here.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Daniélou, «Novatien et le *De mundo* d'Apulée» in W. den Boer et al., edd., *Romanitas et Christianitas... Iano Henrico Waszink oblata*, Amsterdam 1973, pp. 71-80.

²⁰ *Apol.* 90 (107 Vallette).

²¹ See L. B. Urdahl, «Jews in Attica», *Symbolae Osloenses* 43, 1968, pp. 39-56.

²² Cf. T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, Boston 1961 repr., p. 230. Vallette *in loc.* is justifiably sceptical.

²³ See e.g. M. C. Fernández López (as in n. 1).

sed anus quaedam stuprorum sequestra et adulterorum internuntia de die cotidie inseparabilis aderat. cum qua protinus ientaculo ac dehinc uino mero mutuis uicibus uelitata scaenas fraudulentas in exitium miserrimi mariti subdolis ambagibus construebat.

We see, then, the baker's wife and her daily visitor drinking deeply together in the early morning. They converse of love (which Apuleius equates with schemes for adultery), and of marital problems.

A scene which explains this may be read from the account of Christian worship given by Justin Martyr in his *First Apology*, a book contemporary with Apuleius' student days in Greece, and written on the other side of the Aegean²⁴. Justin describes the deacons, both at the baptismal Eucharist and also at the regular weekly celebration, administering communion under both kinds to the congregants present and then later conveying the elements to those who cannot attend:

εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόνασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρειν.

(I Apol. 65, 5)

ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καί, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσάμενων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται.

(I Apol. 67, 5)

Although at a later date²⁵ it was the rule that the eucharistic bread only, and not the wine, should be taken to those absent, the only natural reading of Justin's unambiguous account is that, in his experience,

²⁴ Cf. E. R. Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr*, Jena 1923, pp. 80-4. The *First Apology* is clearly a product of Justin's time in the Levant and the Asia Minor coast, where he spent all his Christian days before he came to Rome and was soon martyred. The liturgical data in the book do not match what little we know of the Roman rite; more significantly, Justin shows no sign of knowing the Imperial capital, which he calls «your [sc., the Emperor's] city». The most probable occasion for its composition is the first journey to the East of Antoninus Pius after his accession. The eucharistic passages I have cited from the convenient collection of J. Solano, *Textos eucarísticos primitivos*, I, Madrid 1952, pp. 61-4 [= excerpts 91, 93].

²⁵ Cf. E. Dekkers, *Tertullianus* (etc., as in n. 2), pp. 62-4.

both elements were so reserved and administered. The later restriction may have been caused by motives of reverence, the danger of spillage being obviously considerable; but pagan misinterpretation is at least as likely to have been the cause. It has been justly remarked²⁶ that administration of the Eucharist in this way by deacons made pagan onlookers familiar with the office and work of Christian deacons; the same may be said, even more confidently, of pagan awareness of the Eucharist itself. Justin does not say whether the deacons of his time included women, comparable possibly with the Phoebe who had been a deacon of the church of Cenchreae (*Rom.* XVI 1), or with the Christian *ministrae* whom Pliny²⁷ had tortured in Bythynia; but if, as we are going to suggest, Apuleius here gives us indirect information about Christian practice, his account may perhaps be evidence that such was the case.

Met. IX 14 f. may be seen as a cynically dismissive reference to a Christian practice described by Justin and known to Apuleius by observation or (much more likely) by gossip. Among the *fictae observationes* of the baker's wife is her reception, early in the day, of the Eucharist brought to her by a woman deacon, who stays to discuss with her the love of God, the concerns of their beloved brothers and sisters in the faith, and her marital problems with her pagan husband,

Several related topics remain mysterious. Is the «supper grand enough for a priest's banquet» (so Graves, p.210; *cenas saliares*, IX 22, 219 Helm) precisely that hospitality for the presbyter? Is the sending of the spectral messenger (IX 30) an allusion to the Christian martyr-cult, as Herrmann²⁸ has speculated? What role, if any, is the baker's widow supposed to have taken in her husband's funeral sacrifices (IX 31, 226 Helm: *nono die rite completis apud tumulum sollemnibus...*)?

The reference to Christian worship in the story of the baker's wife is incidental but, in my submission, certain. It reflects something of Apuleius' feelings about the Christians, and something²⁹ of the current

²⁶ By M. Jourjon, in W. Rordorf and others, *The Eucharist of the Early Christians*, ET, New York 1978. Justin's reference to «the people we call deacons» assumes that some at least of his non-Christian readers will have met the title. Whatever its precise meaning, the title was used of certain Christian women in the Aegean and neighbouring regions until Byzantine times: see G. H. R. Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity... published in 1976*, North Ryde, New South Wales, 1981, p. 121 [item 79]; also *New Documents... [2]... 1977* (pub. 1982), pp. 193-4 [item 109], and *New Documents... [3]... 1978* (pub. 1983), p. 62 [item 24].

²⁷ Pliny, *Ep.* X 96 [97]; cf. D. H. Tripp, «Pliny and the Liturgy - Yet Again», *Studia Patristica* XV/One (= TU 128, Berlin 1984), pp. 581-5.

²⁸ L. Herrmann, «L'Âne d'or...» (as in n. 1), p. 190.

²⁹ Apuleius is too subtle to drag in a wholesale repetition of the charges conventionally brought against Christians (cf. J.-P. Waltzing, «Le crime rituel reproché

pagan views of their doctrines and rites; and it illustrates and confirms a small but interesting detail of second-century Christian liturgical history. That the information given on this last matter is vague and indirect is not surprising. Apuleius did not set out to tell Christians of a later date what their predecessors of his day had done in their worship. The omission, if he had thought of it, would have pleased him very much.

DAVID TRIPP

aux chrétiens du II^e siècle», *Le Musée Belge* 29, 1925, pp. 209-34; also A. Henrichs, «Pagan Ritual and the Alleged Crimes of the Early Christians. A Reconsideration», in P. Granfield, J. A. Jungmann, edd., *Kyriakon. Festschrift für Johannes Quasten*, Münster-in-Westfalen 1970, pp. 18-35; S. Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians* (as in n. 5), ch. III-V; and, on the spontaneous evolution of the defamatory statements, B. L. Visotzky, «Overturning the Lamp», *Journal of Jewish Studies* 38, 1, Spring 1987, pp. 72-80. The denunciation of Christian life and worship (specifically blaming them for being *confictae*) which appears in *Octavius* 8-10 (ed. C. Halm, CSEL II, Vienna 1867, pp. 11-14), claiming to reproduce the observations of M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirte in Numidia (fl. 130-160 CE), reads in places as if it were written with the events (as we have here reconstructed them) in mind.