arum, is probably not what Ovid would have written. In such a case, one probably should not worry too much about the *ductus litterarum*, as G. Luck said to me *per litteras*. On the other hand, Knox admits in his commentary[5] that

> *internas* is unparalleled in the sense of 'within a house'; this is the only occurrence of the word in poetry until Neronian verse, which led Heinsius[6] to conjecture *Herceas*, a title of Zeus as household god, comparing Luc. 9.979 *Herceas . . . non respicis aras*.

The Ovidian adjective which best goes with *aras* is *antiquas*, as in *Met.* 7.74 (*ibat ad antiquas Hecates Perseidos aras*) and 15.686 (*flectit et antiquas abiturus respicit aras*) in the same position and with a similar rhythm.[7] When and how *antiquas* was corrupted into *ad terras/in terras* is a question on which I would rather not speculate.

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[5] Knox (n. 1), 221; read also A. Palmer, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides* (Oxford, 1898), 346.
[6] 'Forte rescribendum *Herceas ad aras*', he wrote in his notes on the text.
[7] Cf. also *Am.* 3.13.10: *ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus*. In the singular Ovid uses the expression *vetus ara*, as in *Met.* 12.12 (*ut vetus accensis incanduit ignibus ara*) with Bömer's commentary. This paper forms part of a research project (BFF2002-02113) financed by the DGICYT of Spain.

MAKING WATER NOT LOVE: APULEIUS, *METAMORPHOSES* 1.13–14

In Apul. *Met*. 1.11–14, the aptly named[1] witches Meroe and Panthia burst into the room of an inn where Aristomenes and his old friend Socrates are lodged for the night. In revenge for Socrates' planned flight from the bed of Meroe, they plunge a sword into his neck, catch in a leather bottle the eruption of blood from the wound and finally, using the same mode of ingress, rummage around in Socrates' innards before removing his heart. At this point Socrates not unsurprisingly expires. The two women then turn their retributive attentions to the ironically named Aristomenes,[2] the moving spirit behind Socrates' flight;[3] after removing the bed under which Aristomenes is cowering, *super faciem meam* <sc. *Aristomenis*> *residentes vesicam exonerant, quoad me urinae spurcissimae madore perluerent*.

The implications of the witches' emptying their bladders over Aristomenes are various. At the most basic level, their act represents a gesture of contempt.[4] Suet. *Ner*. 56 *religionum usque quaque contemptor, praeter unius deae Syriae, hanc mox ita sprevit, ut urina contaminaret* will serve as illustration.[5] The degradation to which the witches thus subject Aristomenes anticipates at a thematic level the humiliation, in the shape of the Festival of Laughter (3.1–13), to which Lucius, the ego-narrator of the novel, will shortly be subjected at the hands of other female practitioners of *Schadenzauber*. As in

[1] *Meroe* suggests the lady's profession of *caupona*, innkeeper (1.7: cf. *merum*) and the island of that name in the Nile, Egypt being notoriously a locus of magic. Panthia, 'all goddess', sets up the bearer of the name as a malign counterpart to the syncretic goddess Isis, with her universal beneficence, at the conclusion of the novel.
[2] 'Best Counsellor'.
[3] *Qui fugae huius auctor fuit* 1.12.
[4] Rather than 'exhibitionism and obscenity' (Wytse H. Keulen, 'Comic invention and superstitious frenzy in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* ', *AJPh* 124 [2003], 107–35, at 116).
[5] Cf. Hor. *Ars P*. 471, Pers. 1.113, Juv. *Sat*. 1.130–1 *nescio quis . . . Aegyptius atque Arabarches, | cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est*.

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the case of Lucius and the Festival, the abasement suffered by Aristomenes is temporary: but also as with Lucius, the soon-to-be ass, the indignity serves as prelude to a life-changing event.[6]

We must next consider the supranatural dimension of urination. *Met*. 1.11–14 is replete with magical details.[7] It is logical that the witches' emptying of their bladders over Aristomenes should be charged with magical significance too. The crucial evidence for this is found in two passages of Petronius. In the first of these, *Sat*. 57.3, a *conlibertus* of Trimalchio rounds angrily on Giton with the remark *si circumminxero illum, nesciet qua fugiat*. In the second, which forms part of Niceros' werewolf-story, the *versipellis*, just prior to transformation into lupine form, removes his clothing and *circumminxit vestimenta sua* (*Sat*. 62.6). It has been cogently argued[8] that the describing of a magic circle, and the urine used to trace that circle, operate conjointly[9] to exercise a confining or restraining effect: in Giton's case, to inhibit him from running away (Niceros' sneer implies that he is a *fugitivus*),[10] in the case of the shape-shifter, to stop the purloining of his clothes while he goes marauding.[11]

It is clear that the tracing of a magic circle in the two Petronian passages is fundamental to the restraining effects of the spell upon the entities thus circumscribed: the confining properties of magic circles are well attested.[12] But just as important to the working of the magic is the choice of liquid to fashion that circle. There is limited evidence for urine's having a specifically inhibiting effect, but there *are* two instances, one of which is quite striking. In a suggestive parallel from the vegetable kingdom, we read in Joseph. *BJ* 7.181 of a deadly plant by the name of Baaras, which flees when an attempt is made to pluck it, but is prevented from doing so by pouring on it urine or menstrual blood. Additionally, in a 'slander spell'[13] at *PDM* 14.646ff., a woman is

[6] 1.19.12, after the death of Socrates, *ipse trepidus et eximie metuens mihi per diversas et avias solitudines aufugi et quasi conscius mihi caedis humanae relicta patria et lare ultroneum exilium amplexus nunc Aetoliam novo contracto matrimonio colo*.

[7] Door magic (K. J. McKay, 'Door magic and the Epiphany Hymn', *CQ* 17 [1967], 184–94), the extraction of human body parts for employment in magic (cf. *PGM* 4.2577–9, 4.2309, 2645–6, 436, 449; Hor. *Epod*. 5.37–8; Plin. *NH* 28.4; Luc. 6.540ff., 708ff.; Apul. *Met*. 3.17; Hopfner, *RE* 14.331; C. Bonner, 'Witchcraft in the lecture room of Libanius', *TAPA* 63 [1932], 34–44, at 43), the acquiring of blood, human blood included, for magical use (*PGM* 4.79; *Cod. Cat. Astrol*. 7.244; Luc. 6.547–9; S. Eitrem on *P.Osl*. 1 [*PGM* 36], 72 and 234; id. *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* [Kristiana, 1915], 441–54; W. Deonna, review of Muth (n. 8), *Latomus* 14 [1955], 332–4, at 332), the murder of Socrates conceived of as a kind of perverted sacrifice (*ne quid demutaret, credo, a victimae religione* 1.13): cf. S. Frangoulidis, *Roles and Performances in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2001), 24–5, and for accusations of ritual murder in connexion with magic, see Lindsay Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes* (Oxford, 2003), 175.

[8] A. Borghini, 'Petronio Sat. LVII 3 e LXII 6: nota di folklore', *MD* 9 (1982), 167–74; R. Muth, *Träger der Lebenskraft. Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike* (Vienna, 1954), 65–7, who lists earlier bibliography. See also M. Schuster, 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen', *WS* 48 (1930), 149–78, at 161–2, who however drastically misconceives the tone of the passage.

[9] A typical piece of magical overkill.

[10] Muth (n. 8), 65 and Borghini (n. 8), 167 compare an Indian procedure whereby a master who fears that one of his serfs plans to flee 'imprisons' the latter by pouring his (the master's) urine into the horn of an animal and going three times around the bed of the serf while he sleeps, at the same time pronouncing a binding spell.

[11] Recovery of his clothes being necessary in order that the *versipellis* can regain human form (Schuster [n. 8],162; Borghini [n. 8], 169).

[12] For example, Plin *HN* 22.60, 25.101. A helpful discussion of magic circles in A. Delatte, *Herbarius* (Brussels, 1961[3]), 92–108.

[13] On such spells, see S. Eitrem, 'Die rituelle *ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ*', *SO* 2 (1924), 43–61.

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accused of urinating before the sun in order to stop it and the moon from rising, or trees and fields from flourishing. There is also a reasonable amount of evidence, besides, for the use of urine in the broader category of *harmful* magic. The Pythagoreans, for example, believed it dangerous to urinate on cut hair or nails,[14] in that these embodied the spiritual essence of their one-time possessor, a child was allegedly deprived of his ability to interpret the speech of birds after his mother urinated in his ear (Porph. *Abst*. 3.3), while urine was also deployed in certain procedures to bring about impotence.[15] Moreover, in magic involving the use of a circle (as in the Petronian passages), it was usual to compound the effect of that circle with another substance or substances which were magically efficacious in their own right. There is a striking instance of this in *PGM* 5.304–69, where the target of a spell is inhibited from a whole range of actions by the combined effect of a magic ring or circle, hieratic papyrus and ink made from myrrh, a magically potent substance.[16] In the light of the considerations just advanced, it seems legitimate to conclude with Muth, Borghini, and Schuster[17] that one of the many uses to which urine might be put was *Defixionszauber,* restraining magic.

Given that these represent probably the best known instances of the magical use of urine, it is surprising that scholars have been slow to apply the two Petronian passages to the elucidation of Apul. *Met*. 1.13–14.[18] Yet it calls for no great imaginative leap to infer that the witches' urination has the same inhibiting function as was noted in connection with Petronius; in this instance, to prevent Aristomenes from escaping from the dilemma in which he finds himself, alone in an inn with (as it seems) an unexplained corpse on his hands.[19] For in the immediately following sections, Aristomenes makes two laughably unsuccessful bids to escape from his situation, first, by quitting the inn before the body is discovered and he finds himself arrested and executed for a murder he did not commit,[20] and second, by an abortive attempt to hang himself (1.14–16).

The view that the witches' urine operates as a type of restraining spell (κάτοχος) to prevent the effecting of Aristomenes' intended course of action[21] receives further

[14] DL 8.17. For a similar prohibition, cf. Plin *HN* 28.69.

[15] Cf. Muth, *RE* Supptbd. 11. 1296 s.v. 'Urin'.

[16] Cf. *PGM* 4.1496–1595. Other instances of magic circles operating in tandem with magically potent substances are mentioned by Delatte (n. 12), 101–3.

[17] See n. 8.

[18] The sole exception known to me is a very tentative suggestion in A. Scobie, *Apuleius Metamorphoses (Asinus Aureus) I. A Commentary* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1975), 109. Frangoulidis (n. 7), 26, n. 42 quotes Scobie with approbation.

[19] In fact Socrates unexpectedly revives in chapter 17, to live on as a kind of zombie for a few pages before definitively expiring in chapter 19.

[20] *Optimum itaque factu visum est anteluculo furtim evadere et viam licet trepido vestigio capessere*. The first attempt at escape takes place after Aristomenes has with difficulty opened the doors of his chamber, which had been magically resealed by the witches upon quitting the inn. He is prevented from doing so by the *ostiarius*, who expresses the (in the circumstances) chilling suspicion that Aristomenes is making a hasty getaway after killing his companion, which leads Aristomenes to speculate that *bonam Meroen non misericordia iugulo meo pepercisse, sed saevitia cruci me reservasse*.

[21] The anonymous referee for *CQ* makes the point that the other types of restraining magic practised by Meroe and Panthia (the binding up of the rival's womb 1.9, the confining of the citizens of Hypata in their houses 1.10, the resealing of the doors of the room where Socrates and Aristomenes are lodged 1.14) involve the physical confining of a person or thing within a prescribed area: accordingly, (s)he argues, the restraint to which Aristomenes is subjected by the magical urination (trying to get away before the body is discovered; the attempt to pre-empt

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encouragement from the terms in which it is characterized. It is *urinae spurcissimae mador* 1.13, *spurcissim<us> humor . . . quo me Lamiae illae infecerant* and *fetor extremae latrinae* 1.17. Moreover, it issues from aged females of, in Meroe's case at least, extreme and dangerous lubriciousness.[22] Conversely the urine of a παῖς ἄφθορος, 'virgin boy', was widely used for beneficial magic or medico-magical purposes,[23] in what Muth has aptly called *Keuschheitszauber*:[24] one thinks too in this connection of the report of Herodotus (2.111) that the sight of Pheron king of Egypt was restored after he washed his eyes with the urine of a chaste wife.[25] The 'frowsy streams' of Meroe and Panthia are by contrast well suited to play a role in harmful magic, not only on account of their sexually compromised source, but also in view of the principle that 'the more disgusting a thing was, the more likely it was to be used, and the greater the virtues ascribed to it by the magicians'[26]—an idea especially to the fore in contexts of black magic.[27]

The implications of the passage are not yet exhausted. Commentators have passed in silence over the sentence which immediately follows the mention of the witches' departure from the scene of the murder, leaving no trace of their presence: *at ego, ut eram, etiam nunc humi proiectus, inanimis, nudus et frigidus et lotio perlitus, quasi recens utero matris editus, immo vero semimortuus, verum etiam ipse mihi supervivens et postumus*. Yet this is to ignore its very considerable import for the reader's understanding of Aristomenes' apparently hopeless situation. At first glance, *lotio perlitus* might be felt superfluous after the mention of Aristomenes' drenching in the last sentence but one, while the detail *quasi recens utero matris editus* could appear simply gratuitous. In fact *lotio perlitus* functions as a very necessary lead-in to the simile which follows. Apuleius is adverting to the practice, recorded by Soranus and the Elder Cato,[28] of washing the skin of newborn children in urine (ironically, according to Soranus, the urine of a παῖς ἄφθορος). By means of a specialized obstetrical comparison, Apuleius is underlining graphically the fact that Aristomenes is as helpless as a fresh-born babe,[29] and at the same time reinforcing imagistically the contrast which immediately follows in the shape of *immo vero semimortuus, verum etiam ipse mihi supervivens et postumus*, a conceit for which Apuleius may be indebted

execution for the murder of Socrates by committing suicide) should not be classified as a restraining or binding spell. But the restraining spell or κάτοχος, a subcategory of κατάδεσμος, 'binding spell', is used, not to exercise physical restraint, but to prevent an individual from performing some action (this is also true of the κατάδεσμος for the most part), and can be applied to any contingency: see *PGM* 5.304–69, 7.429–58, 36.1–34. Another possible way of classifying the magic in play here might be to analyse it as a slightly different type of κατάδεσμος, namely an 'ineffectuality spell', that is to say a spell of the type εἴη ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα αὐτοῦ: cf. Watson (n. 7) on *Epod*. 17. 70–3 for examples.

[22] 1.7.7–8, 1.9, 1.12.4–6

[23] Cf. Plin. *HN* 28.65; Marcell. Empir. 8.126 *lotium pueri virginis*, 9.23 *pueri investis urina recens*, 21.11 *lotium virginis pueri*; *Geopon*. 10. 64. 2, with E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), 54ff. on the beneficial and curative effects of chastity.

[24] Muth (n. 8), 118–19, 122–3.

[25] ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον . . . ὡς . . . ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος.

[26] J. J. Mooney, quoted by J. E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1929), 28.

[27] Muth (n. 8), 119 observes that one reason for the preference for the urine of a pure boy in magical contexts was simply that it was more wholesome than that of an older person.

[28] Soranus, 2.12 (81).1; Cato, *Agr.* 157.10. Plin. *HN* 20.83 also reports Cato's advice.

[29] Also like Aristomenes, newborn children were placed upon the ground immediately after delivery (Soranus, 2.10 [79].1). Cf. additionally *nudus*, explained by Molt ad loc. as meaning 'clad only in a *tunica*', but, in the context, suggesting as well the nakedness of the newborn infant.

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to Martial.[30] The action of the witches has at once made Aristomenes, paradoxically, into a newborn infant and an individual who has outlived the term of his life—or so he thinks, as he contemplates with gloomy certainty his execution which must, he is convinced, supervene upon the discovery of Socrates' corpse in the inn; the kind of establishment where, if Cicero is to be believed, murders were all too common and blame on occasion assigned to an innocent party.[31]

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[30] Mart. 7.47.10 *et frueris posteritate tua* (on one recovered unexpectedly from an illness). For the idea of a posthumous existence (but in a very different context from here), cf. also Mart. 6.18.4.

[31] In *De Inventione* 2.14–15, Cicero tells a tale of two friends who shared a room in an inn: one of them was murdered in his sleep for his money by the innkeeper, who laid the blame very plausibly on the surviving friend. See also the well-known story in *De Div*. 1.57 of how one traveller dreamed of the murder of his fellow-traveller by an innkeeper, being directed in his sleep by the victim to discovery of his corpse in a dung-cart (with Pease ad loc. for further versions of this tale).

WOMEN AT THE ARA MAXIMA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.?

A distinguishing feature in the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima was its ritual exclusion of women, mentioned by several authors (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 60; Gell. *NA* 11.6.1–2). Such exclusion was not atypical of the cults to this god: no female presence was allowed in the Greek cult of Heracles at Phocis (Plut. *De Pyth. or*. 403F),[1] nor in the Phoenician-Punic temple of Heracles-Melqart in Gades (Sil. Ital. 3.21–2), nor in the cult of Hercules at Lanuvium in Italy itself (Tert. *Ad Nat.* 2.7). None the less, the barring of women from the Ara Maxima struck Romans as sufficiently odd as to require explication. The best known of these ancient explanations is that provided by the self-proclaimed Roman Callimachus (4.1.64), Propertius, whose elegaic aetiology of the cult's practices (4.9) has been the subject of substantial scholarly analysis in recent years.[2]

Precisely because the role of women at the Ara Maxima has been the focus of both ancient and (post-)modern speculation, it makes sense to consider a remark on the topic found in the *Origo Gentis Romanae* of Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, a work treating the earliest myths of pre-Romulean Roman history, itself written in the later fourth century A.D. The source citations in this late antique text cannot entirely be trusted,

[1] Women seem also to have been excluded from the Heracles cult at Thasos, cf. Birgitta Bergquist, 'Herakles on Thasos: the archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence for his sanctuary, status and cult reconsidered', *Boreas* 5 (1973), 66, 71, and 85, n. 190.

[2] Among recent treatments, see Francis Cairns, 'Propertius 4.9: "Hercules exclusus" and the dimensions of genre', in Karl Galinsky (ed.), *The Interpretation of Roman Poetry. Studien zur klassischen Philologie* 67 (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris, 1992), 65–95; Jeri Blair Debrohun, 'Redressing elegy's puella: Propertius IV and the rhetoric of fashion', *JRS* 84 (1994) 41–63; Micaela Janan, 'Refashioning Hercules: Propertius 4.9', *Helios* 25.1 (1998) 65–78 (expanded in her book, *The Politics of Desire: Propertius IV* [Berkeley, 2001], 128–45); Matthew Fox, 'Propertius 4.9 and the toils of historicism', *MD* 43 (1999), 157–76; and Diana Spencer, 'Propertius, Hercules, and the dynamics of Roman mythic space in Elegy 4.9', *Arethusa* 34.3 (2001), 259–84. See now Tara Welch, 'Masculinity and monuments in Propertius 4.9', *AJP* 125 (2004), 61–90.

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