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THE HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI AND ANCIENT ASTROLOGY.
A POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN APOLLONIUS AND KATOXH

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The *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (henceforth HA) is, in a modern turn of phrase, “on the way up.” The romantic story of the wanderings and adventures of Apollonius, king of Tyre, who in a sequence of curious events loses kingdom, wealth, and family, and recovers them thanks to Artemis, is a great favourite of both the ‘popular’ as well as the more scholarly reading public. Within a short period of time (1981-1988), no less than four Latin text editions were published.¹ The number of scholars at present occupied with this text, following in the footsteps of distinguished predecessors like Rohde, Klebs, Perry and Deyermond, is gratifyingly large.² At the large-scale conference devoted to “The Ancient Novel. Classical Paradigmas and Modern Perspectives” (Dartmouth College, July 23-29,

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¹ D. Tsitsikli, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Koenigstein/Ts. 1981 (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 134); G.A.A. Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri. Prolegomena, Text edition of the two principal Latin Recensions, Bibliography, Indices and Appendices*, Groningen 1984 (Latin quotations in this article have been taken from this edition); D. Konstan and M. Roberts, *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (s. a.) (unfortunately, I was unable to consult this edition); G. Schmeling, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Leipzig 1988 (a review of this edition by the author of this article, to be published in *Mnemosyne*, is forthcoming; for some criticism see notes 7, 10, 13 and 16).

² To mention, in chronological order, only the most important authors : E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, ed. W. Schmid, Leipzig 1914³ (repr. 1974⁵), pp. 435-53 ; E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen*, Berlin 1899; B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, pp. 294-324, Appendix II: The Latin Romance ‘Apollonius of Tyre’; A.D. Deyermond, *Motivos folklóricos y técnica estructural en el Libro de Apolonio*, *Filologia* 13, 1968 - 69, pp. 121 - 49; E. F. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Diss. Yale Univ.) New Haven Ct 1984; G. Schmeling, *Manners and Morality in the “Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri”*, in: P. Liviabella Furiani e A.M. Scarcella, *Piccolo Mondo Antico*, Napoli 1989, pp. 197 - 215. For the names and the work of other scholars, who have published on this subject, one might consult: Kortekaas, 1984, pp. XIX - XXXI; for some recent publications after 1984: Schmeling, 1988, pp. XXIV - XXVIII; see also notes 3, 4 and 41.

1989) no less than five lectures dealt directly with the HA;³ moreover, many other papers referred indirectly to the HA and its controversial issues.⁴

The number of difficulties presented by the HA is indeed very large, although contemporary consensus has been reached as to a number of basic assumptions. First of all, it is generally accepted that the Latin text has been handed down to us in two main recensions, RA and RB, closely related to one another; RA must be seen as the oldest and most authentic version, RB as an attempt at improvement with a few original passages and several, smaller, most probably authentic details. Furthermore, the dates for RA and RB are agreed upon (fifth/sixth century), as well as the fact that they both go back to an epitome of an originally longer story.⁵ But then trouble begins. Although a Greek original is more widely favoured, dating back to the first half of third century,⁶ there are still fervent supporters (following a theory mainly developed by Klebs [1899]), of a Latin original, also dating from the third century.⁷ Moreover, there is great doubt about the interpretation of some elements of the tale: are they deposits of later eras which might be eliminated? Did perhaps not even the original story live up to the strict rules of internal logic and rational composition, a feature witnessed by many popular stories?⁸ Or is it nevertheless possible to find within the existent epitome-versions something of a possible link between the elements of the plot that seem to us at first glance most bizarre and unlikely?

³ E. Archibald, "The Incest Theme in Apollonius of Tyre"; N. Holzberg, "Apollonius of Tyre and the Odyssey" (meanwhile published, in a slightly adapted version, under the title: "Die 'Historia Apollonii regis Tyri' und die 'Odyssee'. Hinweis auf einen möglichen Schulautor", in *Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik* 35 [1989], p. 363-75); D. Konstan, "Apollonius of Tyre and the Greek Novel"; G. Kortekaas, "The Historia Apollonii, Regis Tyri and Ancient Astrology"; C.W. Müller, "Der Romanheld als Rätsellöser in der Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri" (read at the Congress under the title "The Riddle-solving Hero in the Historia Apollonii regis Tyri"). These lectures will probably appear in slightly edited form in specialist periodicals in the near future, like Holzberg's and the present article.

⁴ At the seventh Groningen Colloquium on the Novel (*si parva magnis componere licet!*) the whole afternoon session was devoted to the HA with the following papers being read: E. Archibald, "Apollonius of Tyre in Medieval Vernacular Literature; Romance or Exemplum?"; N. Holzberg, "Apollonius of Tyre and the Odyssey"; G. Kortekaas, "Apollonius of Tyre in Medieval Latin Literature". These lectures will be published by Egbert Forsten in Groningen, hopefully in the course of this year.

⁵ For a general discussion concerning the epitome character of RA and RB, as for the question whether these versions are to be considered translations or rather adaptations, made for the benefit of the Latin reader, cf. Kortekaas (1984), pp. 106 - 14, 118 - 20.

⁶ For a discussion focussing on RA as a translation or adaptation from the Greek, cf. Kortekaas (1984), pp. 107-14, and, concerning RB, *ibid.* pp. 118-20. Especially the riddle found in Pergamum (Kortekaas, *ibid.*, pp. 112-4) in my opinion strongly corroborates the Greek origin of the HA and the priority of RA (in RB the wording is slightly adapted.).

⁷ The most conspicuous critic in this respect is G. Schmeling, the recent editor of the HA for Teubner (1988) who, without any refutation to speak of or even a mere discussion of the various *indicia* supporting a Greek original suggested over the centuries (see preceding note), clings to the theory of a Latin original.

⁸ Cf. a. o. : V. Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale*, tr. L. Scott (Austria: University of Texas) 1971; R. Scholes and R. Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative*, New York 1966; R. Scholes, *Structuralism in Literature*, New Haven 1974. Indeed, in order to maintain the Latin-origin theory, Perry (1967, pp. 323-4) was forced to emphasize '*contaminatio*' as a typically Latin characteristic.

In this article I would like to draw attention to ancient astrology as a potential binding agent within the original story.⁹ At the same time, I hope to provide an additional argument supporting the hypothesis that behind the HA in its present shape lurks a Greek original.

In discussing this astrological hypothesis I would like to divide my argument into five points:

1. Direct astrological references as they appear in the HA;
2. The crucial chapters: ch. 28, Apollonius' departure to Egypt, his consultation with Stranguillio and Dionysia, the foster parents to whom A. entrusts his little daughter, Tarsia, and his leave-taking; chs. 37-38, the foster-parents 'angry reaction to Apollonius' return;
3. The concept of *κἀτοχος* with regard to Apollonius, i.e., explanation of the 'terminus technicus' as such;
4. Application of these findings to Apollonius' actions, to the reactions of his immediate environment, especially the foster-parents, and to some of the events as narrated in the HA; and
5. Consequences for the textual tradition of the HA.

It goes without saying that any thorough elaboration of this view on the HA would involve an extremely profound and extensive discussion, with a mass of notes and references. Since such is beyond the compass of a short paper, I shall have to limit myself here to a few concise remarks concerning the points mentioned above; these remarks will hopefully be worked out in a commentary on the whole of the HA.

1. Direct astrological references in the HA.

Direct astrological references are very rare in the HA, and occur in RA only.

In ch. 6, RA 11 - 13 Apollonius consults '*omniumque pene philosophorum disputationes omniumque etiam Chaldeorum*' (where the '*Chaldei*' stand for '*astrologi*'). Immediately after this consultation Apollonius' wanderings begin. It is evident that this first reference comes at a very crucial moment. RB replaced this valuable astrological information with the unexpressive sentence '*Continuo iussit adferre sibi scrinea cum voluminibus grecis et latinis universarum questionum, ut ex animo quereret questionem illam*' (ch. 6, RB 13-15).¹⁰

⁹ The most important material on the link between the HA and ancient astrology is gathered together in my edition (1984), pp. 128-9, esp. nn. 701-8 and 718. Because none of the many reviews of my book that I received discusses this astrological hypothesis, although of utmost importance for the reconstruction of the Greek original as well as for the interpretation of the extant Latin versions, I thought it was worth the effort to return to this subject both at Dartmouth and in this article.

¹⁰ Perhaps the wording of ch. 6, RA 18 '*Atque ita*' A (= cod. Laur. plut. 66,40) goes back immediately to a Greek epitome text, used by the Latin adaptor, in so far as this formulation is easily translated into Greek *καὶ οὕτως* (i.e. in these circumstances, namely forced by stellar constellation); the reading of P (= cod. Paris. lat. 4955) '*Et exiens foras*' is a mere attempt to streamline the text at this point (cf. Kortekaas [1984], n.

The second reference to astrology occurs at the heart of the passage that will presently be discussed in more detail. When Apollonius returns from Egypt to fetch his daughter, Dionysia earnestly assures him *'Crede nobis, quia si genesis permississet* (if the stellar configuration had permitted it), *sicut haec omnia* (that is, money, jewels, and clothes) *damus, ita et filiam tibi reddidissimus'* (ch. 38, RA 2-3). It is clear that Dionysia would never have used this argument if she was not convinced that this statement would appeal to Apollonius' most profound feelings. This trace, too, RB erased as best it could: *'Crede nobis, quia filiam tuam cupivimus incolumem resignare'* (ch. 38, RB 2-3).

In addition to these two direct references attention should be drawn also to the remarks both father and daughter permit themselves to make on their fate. The most meaningful is Tarsia's complaint (ch. 44, RA 9): *'O ardua potestas caelorum, que me pateris innocentem tantis calamitatibus ab ipsis cunabulis fatigari'*. But also Apollonius' lamentation (ch. 38, RA 19-20): *'Cupio enim in undis efflare spiritum, quem in terris non licuit lumen videre'* in this context is perhaps very significant: for, apart from the fact that the latter expresses a Homeric and generally human longing for ὀρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο (cf. e.g. Hom. *Odyss.* 4,834), in astrology ὄρασις τοῦ ἠλίου is also the mystically-charged technical term for the desire to live in harmony with the elements.¹¹

2. The crucial chapters.

The function of astrology in the Greek original, however, may have been of far greater extension and importance than appears at first sight from the occurrences just mentioned. Therefore I would now like to focus my discussion on the chapter that is central to this theme, namely chapter 28. In it, an account of Apollonius is found, who, having lost his wife in a dramatic way as disclosed in the preceding chapters, now shelters his daughter at the house of foster-parents at Tarsus, together with her nurse, gold, silver, money, and clothes. Then, to the horror of his friends, he swears a solemn oath to cut neither hair nor beard or nails, until the day when he returns to marry off his daughter. This oath is followed by the dead-pan *'altumque pellagus petens, ignotas et longinquas Egypti regiones devenit'*, without any further comment. RB gives the same kind of information, but there it is presented somewhat more politely: *'ignotas et longas petiit Aegypti regiones'*. This stay in Egypt is a perfect mystery as it stands in the HA as we find it now. Although it was to last for 14 years, in our text as we have it at present not another word is spent on this sojourn.

Why this eagerness to leave, and what was Apollonius going to do in Egypt? The later textual tradition has attempted to fill this gap with all sorts of romantic events, especially in

699), wrongly included in the text by Schmeling (1988), without any further comment, following Riese (1893).

¹¹ Cf. Fr. Cumont, *Le mysticisme astral dans l'antiquité*, *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres* 1909, pp. 256-78).

relation to securing the succession at Antioch during this interim.¹² Judging from what the HA tells us immediately before in Apollonius' own words (ch. 28, RA/RB 9-10), it was his intention to go into business.¹³ Most critics have taken Apollonius' statement as proof, although at times reluctantly.

Whichever way we look at it, the relationship between Apollonius and Tarsia remains quite inscrutable; Apollonius does not at all answer to our image of the father of a girl no older than a week. G.Schmeling, in his paper entitled "Characters and Morality in the Historia Apollonii", speaks - rightly so, it seems at first - in terms of "making money in business", as far as I can tell, like all critics before him.¹⁴ Taking into consideration the fact that even in the third century A.D., Egypt, although in decline, could still be considered the granary of Europe, and more especially of Italy, Apollonius' affirmation seems quite acceptable.¹⁵ Moreover, this view is supported by ch. 10, in which Apollonius also seems to act like a merchant, abating the famine at Tarsus with 100.000 bushels of wheat. Although we will have to qualify this detail more closely below (see point 4, near the end), it does seem to add weight to the "making money in business" theory.

Finally, Apollonius' own confession before the famous statue of Artemis (ch. 48, RA 41-2) '*et duxi me in Egypto per annos XIV uxorem flens fortiter, et postea venio ut filiam meam recipere*' (same statement in RB, but formulated more in accordance with the rules of classical grammar and syntax¹⁶) appears likewise not to be inconsistent with such mercantile activities in Egypt.

¹² See for some efforts to fill the gap Archibald (1984), p. 29 Heinrich von Neustadt, p. 31 cod. Paris. lat. 8503, p. 38 Old French Prose Version, p. 41 Διήγησις Ἀπολλωνίου, p. 48 Juan de Timoneda, and for a more general discussion concerning the difficulties in these chapters, pp. 75 - 6.

¹³ Cf. ch. 28, RA 9 - 10 '*set potius opera mercat<ur>us*', and *ibid.*, RB 9-10 *sed potius opera mercaturus* βM; for various suggestions concerning text emendation see app. crit. ad loc.: in my opinion the reading '*opera*' meaning "product, cereals" should be maintained, in opposition to Schmeling (1988), who, not only in RA and RB, but, quite illogically, also in RC (the recension derived from these two) supplies the verb <*facere*>

¹⁴ Schmeling (1989; for the exact title see above, note 2), p. 204: "in order to make money in business". (for the full quotation, see below n.48) For a similar interpretation, with typical differences in the choice of words, cf. Rohde (1914), p. 446; Klebs (1899), p. 308: "Der Versuch, Apollonius seltsamen Entschluss zu begründen als Kaufmann durch die Welt zu ziehen, versagt gänzlich" (see also pp. 296, 341, 348 - 9); Perry (1967), p. 310; M.R. Nocera Lo Giudice, Per la datazione dell' Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, in: Atti della Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, Classe di Lettere, Filosofia e Belle Arti 55, 1979, (pp. 273 - 84) p. 281: "Egitto<...> la terra dei facili guadagni"; Archibald (1984), pp. 75 - 6 (in the footsteps of Perry), 115, 223 - 24.

¹⁵ To mention only some important studies: M. Rostovtzeff, Kornerhebung und Kornttransport im griechisch - römischen Aegypten, Archiv für Papyrusforschung III, 1904, pp. 201 - 24; H. Kortenbeutel, Der Aegyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser, Berlin 1931, pp. 80 sqq; Cambridge Ancient History XII (The Imperial Crisis and Recovery A.D. 193-324), Cambridge 1939, p. 276; P. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity, Cambridge 1983, p. 64, n. 1; P. Garnsey, Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: responses to risk and crises, Cambridge 1988, pp. 231-5.

¹⁶ Schmeling's reading (1988:p.41,6) *luxi*, instead of *dux i me*, following Tsitsikli, on the basis of a conjectural reading by Riese (1893) going back to RB, needlessly disturbs the relation RA-RB, is superfluous

Nevertheless, it is clear that the combination of these commercial occupations and extreme mourning will lead us into great problems of interpretation, especially when this mourning takes the form of almost total self-neglect. How can such a combination of activities be kept up for 14 years, and why neither more nor less than 14 years, why not ten or twenty? What will people think of it? What happens in the meantime with Apollonius' fleet and with his financial resources? Is it possible for the throne of at least one kingdom, Antioch, to remain unoccupied for such a long period and for no other reason than commercial activities? Is this kind of excuse really acceptable at all? And what about the foster-parents, who at first accept Apollonius' actions as a matter of course but get a shock (ch. 28, RA/RB 18 '*stupentes*') when Apollonius swears his solemn oath with regard to his hair, beard, and nails?

Of course it would be possible to adduce parallels for deep, extreme mourning that almost leads to total self-destruction. In Liv. XXVII, 34,4-5 for example, a similar story is found. There a consul falls prey to immoderate grief after his dismissal and only after several years does the senate succeed in bringing him back to Rome. Afterwards he is ordered to shave him-self, to lay down his rags, and to take up his former functions.¹⁷ Riese preferred another explanation. He thought he could see a parallel with the Nazarites, well-known from the domain of Jewish culture, but many objections can be raised against this and other suppositions.¹⁸ In any case, in all interpretations proposed so far, this special form of mourning - unwashed, uncut, and with long nails - in combination with a stay in Egypt for precisely fourteen years remains unexplained.

3. The concept of *κάτοχος* .

To come to a solution to the problems I have outlined, a completely different factor should, in my opinion, be introduced, namely Apollonius as *κάτοχος*. Since the various meanings of the basic verb *κατέχω* have influenced the interpretation of the adjective

with respect to the Vulgar Latin commonly used in RA, goes against the tradition (codd. P, φ F ; RC) and, finally, possibly eliminates a Greek turn of phrase in which it may have its origins.

¹⁷ Liv. XXVII, 34, 4-5 M. Livius erat multis ante annis ex consulatu populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo aegre tulerat, ut rus migraret et per multos annos et urbe et omni coetu caruerit hominum. <...> (5) Consules redduxerant eum in urbem, sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa prae se ferens in vultu habituque insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Veturius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere et in senatum venire fungique aliis publicis muneribus coegerunt.

¹⁸ A. Riese, *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, Lipsiae 1871: "Adde porro votum barbam capillosque in luctu non tondendi Nasiraeorum illud proprium". Klebs (1893), p. 188 alleges the mourning of the Emperor Augustus after having heard of the defeat of his general Varus (Suet., Aug. 23). As a matter of fact, many other interpretations can be adduced: for instance, in Helioid. II, 20, 5 Knemon has his hair grow to terrify potential enemies. According to Diod. I,18 Egyptian travellers did not cut their hair until the end of their journey. For a general discussion consult the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 6, London 1913, pp. 474 - 76.

κάτοχος, also in its technical sense, I shall first give a short explanation of the relationship κάτοχος - κατέχω, adjective and verb.¹⁹

Κάτοχος is the verbal adjective that goes with the verb κατέχω. This verb can be used in a great many contexts: in a very literal sense, meaning ‘to hold’, ‘to hold back’, with subjects like λίθος, δόμος, φυλακή, or φυλακτήριον, or in a more figurative sense, meaning ‘to come upon’, ‘to govern’, with subjects like νόκος, ἔρωc, or μανία. The verb occurs very often with θεός as subject, somewhat later followed by personified abstracts like ἔρωc and μανία. Compare Plut., *Alc.* 23 τοιοῦτος ἔρωc κατεῖχε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ‘such a passion governed that woman’, side by side with *Pap. Lit. Lond.* 52,12 εἰ θεὸc ἐcτιν ὁ cὰc κατέχων φρέναc ‘if it is a god that governs your spirit’. Especially in the passive sense, this verb is often used with persons, meaning ‘to be possessed, inspired by divinity’, for instance in the famous text in Plato’s *Ion* 533E, where it is said of poets that they are ἔνθεοι ... καὶ κατεχόμενοι ‘full of God and possessed’. The verbal adjective, too, can be used in the same kinds of context, both in an active and in a passive sense. Examples of active meanings are κάτοχοι λίθοι, of sepulchral stones (Hesychius); κάτοχοι δεσμοί ‘firm fetters’ (Plut., *Mor.* 2, 321d); κάτοχος Μοῦcα ‘a possessing, inspiring Muse’ (Aspasius ap. Athen. 5, 219d). But the predominant meaning is the passive one, especially in the sense of ‘possessed by divinity’, where the relationship of dependence can be expressed by either a dative or ἐκ + genitive (for instance, ἐκ θεοῦ Plut., *Rom.* 19), or simply by a genitive, for example οἱ κάτοχοι οὐρανοῦ Διόc ‘the κάτοχοι of heavenly Zeus’ (after a third century inscription from Baetocaece, a village in Syria [OGI 262, 25]). Naturally, by some kind of euphemistic ellipse a bad spirit can also be the possessing, inspiring one, and then the sense "possessed", "fool", "frenetic" is born. This meaning is present, among other meanings, in Heliodorus (IV, 17; VIII 11; X, 9). After this short explanation concerning κάτοχος-κατέχω in a more general sense, the transition to κάτοχος as 'terminus technicus' is easily made.

The term κάτοχος (or its bicomposite ἐγκάτοχος) though rarely found in literature, occurs frequently in the papyri, especially in the papyri relating to the Serapeum at Memphis. The meanings that have been proposed for this term correspond to the semantic range of κατέχω, depending on the subject. Thus, interpretations have been proposed like, to begin with, ‘house arrest’, ‘confinement to one’s room’, ‘confinement to a temple’; further, ‘detention for debts’; then, in the sphere of sickness, ‘possessed’, ‘ill’, ‘waiting for a miraculous cure’; and finally, in a religious meaning, ‘adept’, ‘novice’, ‘monk’. The number of detailed studies is immense. Nowadays, the definition most widely accepted is that proposed by U. Wilcken, namely ‘Gotteshaft’, ‘prisoner of God’, a concept combined with

¹⁹ The linguistic material here alleged goes back to H.G. Liddell - R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1909; the authors s.v. κάτοχος II,2 cite only one reference illustrating the ‘terminus technicus’, viz OGI 262,25 (Baetocaece, III A.D.) “also perhaps of cloistered worshippers, recluses”, cf. CIG 4475 (ibid., III A.D.).

completely free movement within the temple precinct.²⁰ Wilcken's ideas and findings have recently been somewhat modified by E. Perotti,²¹ who combined the information from the Serapeum with later data, obtained from an inscription at Priene (IG III,3) and the third century temple of Zeus at Baetocaece in Syria (OGI 262,25), mentioned earlier. Perotti's study emphasized especially the voluntary character of the *κάτοχή*.

Without going into minor details one can say, with regard to the *κάτοχοι*, that they constitute a special category of individuals, who, for a number of reasons, usually misfortunes suffered in any part of life, put themselves under the patronage of a protecting deity (more often than not Egyptian gods like Serapis, Anubis, Isis, but, in Syria, Zeus too). They were in a special position of servitude to the deity (*hierodoulia*), could take an active part in the cult if they choose to do so, and lived off offerings and by begging. On the other hand, they enjoyed a special form of immunity (right of sanctuary). They sometimes stayed within the temple precinct for a very long period: Wilcken quotes the example of Ptolemaios, the eldest son of Glaukias, who stayed for 20 years in the Serapeum at Memphis.²² In special situations, they were even allowed to leave the temple precinct for a short or even longer period of time. A good example to illustrate this can be found in the papyrus material from the Serapeum itself, published by Wilcken,²³ where Ptolemaios is invited to attend the marriage of one of his brothers; although he refuses to leave the temple precinct, the invitation makes it clear that he was allowed to go outside. Concerning their social status, the majority of these temple refugees belonged to the lower social classes, but there were also

²⁰ The papyrus-material concerning the (*ἐγ*)*κάτοχοι* and the most authoritative discussion of their character can be found in U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Altere Funde)*, Erster Band, Berlin und Leipzig 1927 (first published in 1922). Wilcken's book was soon followed by the study of F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*, München 1923 (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 5), who, founding his theories too exclusively upon the one principle of the right of sanctuary, in certain details offers an interpretation quite different from Wilcken (see for a refutation of his method Wilcken [1927], pp. 651-2). As for the definition "Gotteshaft", see Wilcken (1927), pp. 55-77. Further information can be found in: R. Reitzenstein and H.H. Schäfer, *Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, Leipzig 1926, p. 192 ff.; G. Heuser, *Die Katochè, im Serapeion bei Memphis* (Diss. Marburg 1935); Fr. Cumont, *L' Egypte des Astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, pp. 148-51; L. Wenger, *Eine juristische Erwägung zum katoche-problem*, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 28, 1938, pp. 113-34; L. Delekat, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung*, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 47, München 1964; A.M. Frenkian, *Detinutii (ἐγκάτοχοι) in templul lui Sarapis din Memfis*, *Studii Clasice Bucuresti* 9, 1967, pp. 121-41; E. Perotti, *Ricerche sui κάτοχοι*, *Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull' Antichità Classica, Atti Milano-Varese. Istit. Cisalpino* 8, 1976-77, pp. 181-202; P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l' Anatolie greco-romaine*, Leiden 1982, p. 360 n. 135; D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, esp. ch. 7: *Between two worlds; the Sarapieion*, pp. 212-65, and ch. 8: *Roman Memphis*, pp. 266-76. With many thanks to Prof. Versnel for important additions to the bibliography.

²¹ Perotti, *Ricerche*, (for full title see preceding note) pp. 181-202. The philological approach in this article is rather disappointing.

²² Perotti's comment (1976-77), p. 190 that a certain Apollonius, the youngest brother of Ptolemaios, had been a *κάτοχος* even for 23 years, is based upon a false interpretation, cf. Wilcken (1927), pp. 53, 69, 114.

²³ Cf. Wilcken (1927; for full title see above, note 20), nr. 66, pp. 321-3.

amongst them persons who had enjoyed some education and who had a modest fortune of their own at their disposal.²⁴ Because of their connection with the deity they were on the whole regarded with respect; this same connection with the deity presented itself through their prophesying, their getting into trance, and their engaging themselves in the interpretation of dreams.

Wilcken does not touch upon the outward characteristics of these κάτοχοι²⁵ at great length, namely the so-called κοιμοτροφία, their unkempt appearance, and their sexual abstinence. As an expression of extreme mourning and penitence, they usually neglected their hair and beards, and went about dressed in rags. Thus, of course, they presented an extreme contrast with the white-clad, cleanshaven Egyptian priests with their shaven skulls. Especially F. Cumont, in his *L' Egypte des Astrologues*, evoked an illustrative image of this curious temple population; a description substantially reinforced by an impressive number of very significant references found in ancient astrological literature.²⁶ Once or twice, the long hair of the κάτοχοι is compared with a horse's mane; when getting into a trance, they used to shake their hair wildly.²⁷

Although by now we have a fairly accurate picture of the κάτοχοι, many details still elude us, especially in relation to the start of becoming a κάτοχος and the end of being so, the so-called ἀπόλυσις.²⁸ Also, the number of κάτοχοι and the probably different categories are still unclear.

4. Application of the findings concerning κάτοχοι .

The next question that we must address is the application of these data to Apollonius, to the reactions of his immediate environment, and to some of the events as narrated in the HA.

²⁴ Cf. Wilcken (1927), p. 57; Perotti (1976-77), p. 201; "Essi (namely the κάτοχοι) infatti possono attingere alle loro personali risorse, e, soprattutto, sanno di poter ritornare alla loro precedente condizione quando abbiano completamente esaurito i loro obblighi nei riguardi della divinità".

²⁵ Wilcken (1927), pp. 71-2.

²⁶ F. Cumont, *L' Egypte des Astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, pp. 148-51; for more material on κοιμοτροφία, νηστεία, ἀφοροδισίων ἀποχή cf. *ibid.*, p. 150 nn. 3 and 4.

²⁷ Cf. Cumont (1933), p. 150: "Demi-nus, vêtus de haillons, ils laissaient croître leur chevelure hirsute, semblable à une queue de cheval", for which he quotes Manetho, *Apotelesm.* (ed. H. Koechly, Leipzig 1858), 1, 239: οἱ δὲ ἐν κατοχῆσι θεῶν πεπεδημένοι αἰεὶ / .../ εἶματα μὲν ῥυπόωντα, τρίχες δ' οὐρῆσιν ὅμοιαι / ἵππων (see for a similar combination Wilcken [1927], p. 72: "Panarion, Dindorf III 569, 25 sqq. χαίτη τε ὑπερτάτη ἐςθῆτί τε ῥυπαρῶ καὶ καταμεμωκημένη (χρώμενοι). Die Ähnlichkeit mit den κάτοχοι des Ps. Manetho ist frappant"). For the gesture of wild waving of the hair compare the description in *Heliod.* III, 17, 2, where Charikles reveals the love of Theagenes: τὴν τε κόμην διαείσας καὶ τοὺς κατόχους μιμούμενος "ἔρῳ" εἶπον "ὦ τέκνον" and *ibid.*, X, 9, 3, where it is said about Chariclea τὴν τε κόμην ἀνεῖσα καὶ οἶον κάτοχος φανείσα: in all probability, however, we are here dealing with "real lunatics", in the usual sense of the word.

²⁸ For an analysis of this problem, cf. Wenger o.c. (see note 20). Because of the vagueness of the terms concerning the κάτοχοι used by our sources, D.J. Thompson (see note 20), the last author who has occupied himself especially with the κάτοχοι, prefers not to take a stand either in favour of or against a particular definition.

Although here we obviously enter the spheres of hypothesis and assumption, the way in which the various details fit, like the pieces of a difficult jig-saw puzzle, is, in my opinion, too perfect to be coincidental.

First of all, his appearance. How closely Apollonius observes the κομοτροφία as practised by the κάτοχοι is apparent from the illustrative description in ch. 37, RA 14: ‘*a fronte^fm¹ comam aperit, hispidam ab ore removit barbam*’ (lit.: he opens his hair away from his forehead, pushing the rough beard away from his face). The fact that a κάτοχοι by definition enjoyed a certain amount of respect, and was not ashamed of his mourning, is preserved in RA, who simply states (ch. 37,2): ‘*venit Apollonius*’, whereas RB removed the sting of astrology by adding the useless detail (ch. 37, RB 3-4): ‘*operto capite, ne a quoquam deformis aspiceretur*’.²⁹ The only detail as such that is not so explicitly related to κάτοχοι is the reference to the nails he would not cut (cf. ch. 28, RA 17 *nec ungues dempturum*), but the combination nails - astrology is fixed to such an extent that it fits perfectly within the whole picture.³⁰ Likewise, the ragged clothes of the κάτοχοι and the refusal of food is amply illustrated in the HA, especially in the port at Mytilene when Apollonius has locked himself in the forecabin of his ship and refuses any contact with the outside world (cf. chs. 40-41). The importance of the aspect of sexual abstinence, a last characteristic of the ancient κάτοχοι, is clear from the scene in which Athenagoras sends a sweetheart to cheer him up. Apollonius, however, in near hysteria, gives her a bloody nose, which leads to the final dénouement (chs. 40-44). If one reviews all these arguments I believe nothing should prevent us from considering Apollonius as κάτοχος.

The question that remains, of course, is why Apollonius to the bewilderment of the foster-parents (ch. 28, RA/RB 18 ‘*stupentes*’) opts for such an extreme behaviour as typical of a κάτοχος. I think this issue touches the essence of the original story. The fact that Apollonius stays away for 14 years, only to return when his daughter is of marriageable age, may mean that he is avoiding the risk of violating his own daughter. However, she, too, has a destiny (cf. Tarsia’s complaint in ch. 44, RA 9-10); after her kidnap, she is forced to act as a real courtesan and as such is brought into contact with her father, Apollonius. This suggests the possibility that in the original narrative there was something of an astrological “Leitmotiv”: just as the evil king Antiochus violated his own daughter (chs. 1-4; ch. 25), so the stars might have coerced Apollonius into violating his daughter in a similar way. This explains his caution vis-à-vis the foster-parents, his eagerness to get away, the fact that he never even once wrote a letter from Egypt (ch. 31, RA 9-11), and, especially, his conduct on board of his ship; all this becomes perfectly clear and acceptable when seen against this astrological background.

²⁹ This change also means that Apollonius, once he is inside the evil foster-parents' house, has to perform an extra action, i.e. (ch. 37, RB 16) ‘*revelat caput*’.

³⁰ For not cutting one's nails as an astrological taboo, cf. W. Kroll, *Kulturhistorisches aus astrologischen Texten*, Klio 18, 1923 (pp. 213-25), p. 222.

The hypothesis of Apollonius as κάτοχος also suggests specific interpretations for some apparently minor details in the story. In particular the attitude of Stranguillio and Dionysia during their disputes on the possible murdering of Tarsia becomes clear. In the modern recensions the ins and outs of this murder are shrouded, but it is possible to reconstruct one or two things by reading between the lines. It is said of Stranguillio *'Et in celum levans oculos ait, "Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsie, et requiras et vindices illam in Diunisia"* (ch. 32, RA 49-51). The words he uses here are exactly those of maledictory inscriptions occurring on the tombstones of persons who died a premature, violent death, *'requirere'* (ζητεῖν/ἐπιζητεῖν) and *'vindicare'* (ἐκδικεῖν): may the Sun-god detect the perpetrators and take revenge.³¹ Stranguillio's words show he groups Tarsia with the so-called ἄωροι or βιοθάνατοι/ βιαιοθάνατοι.³² To murder anyone in this category was considered a most heinous act, which accounts for Stranguillio's swearing that he has nothing to do with this crime, and for his adjurations not to be involved in it. The most obvious explanation of the existing problems would be that in the original story Dionysia planned the murder on her own. She must have regarded Apollonius as an easy victim, assuming that he was not even likely to return,³³ and that anyway the ban of the stars was on him. The reactions of open-hearted Stranguillio,³⁴ when he remarks *'inimica dei'* (ch. 32, RA 51), become even more understandable when one realizes that Dionysia has violated a sacred covenant with a defenceless κάτοχος.

Finally, I would like to touch upon the greeting-formula used by Apollonius in addressing the foster-parents, viz. *'sanctissimi hospites'* (ch. 28, RA/RB 7). At first sight one might be inclined to take it at face value, but, in fact, the combination *'sanctissimi hospites'* ("most respectful hosts") is extremely rare in Latin literature: ThLL VI,3 p.

³¹ To elaborate on this is totally impossible within the limits of this paper. The main collections and discussions are: F. Cumont, "Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate", Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, III,1 (1923), pp. 65-80; id., "Nuovi epitafi col simbolo della preghiera al dio vindice", Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch. 5(1926/27), pp. 69-78; id., Syria 14 (1933), pp. 392-5; J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les mages hellénisés, Tome I, Introduction, Paris 1938, p. 184; G. Björck, Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus. Papyrus Upsaliensis 8, Uppsala 1938, passim; G. Sanders, Bijdrage tot de studie der Latijnse metrische grafschriften van het heidense Rome, Verh. Kon. Vlaamse Acad. Wet., Kl. Letteren 37 (Leiden, 1960) p. 264 ff.; F. Bömer, Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden 1963), pp. 201-5; D. Holwerda, Helios en Dike bij Heraclitus, Groningen 1969. The collection of texts gathered by Björck is particularly instructive, cf. p. 29, nr. 12 (from Rhenania, 2 Century B.C.) ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάιτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην "that you might avenge the innocent blood and go in search (for the murderer) the quickest possible". With many thanks to Prof. Versnel for additional bibliographical information.

³² On ἄωροι see the literature in Bömer, o.c. (see preceding note), pp. 202-3; on βιοθάνατοι see J.H. Waszink, "Biothanatoi", RAC II (1954), pp. 391-4; D.M. Pippidi, "Tibi commendo", Riv Stor Ant 6/7 (1976/77), pp. 37-44.

³³ Also the κάτοχοι Ptolemaeus and his youngest brother Apollonius (see supra n. 22) risked losing their paternal home during their κατοχή because wicked neighbours, taking advantage of the situation, tried to get hold of it, cf. Wilcken (1927), pp. 113, 145-46 (papyrus nr. 11).

³⁴ A. Riese, Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, Lipsiae 1893 (repr. Stutgardiae 1973), Index p. 129 s.v. Stranguillio links this name with Στρογγυλίον, meaning "round", "openhearted", "frank".

3023,31 supplies only this reference, citing as a parallel: ‘<h>*ospites fidelissimi*’ (ch. 37, RA 16 /RB 18). In Greek, however, the terms ὄσιος and εὐκεβής (less frequently ἄγιος) are often used to indicate both host and guest. It is most interesting that this use of words is especially common in Euripides’ work, especially in *Hecuba*, 789-90, in which Hecuba begs Agamemnon to help her against Polymestor, who, violating all the rules of hospitality, had killed the son of his guest-friend, Polydorus - a situation closely paralleling the HA - saying κύ μοι γενοῦ τιμωρὸς ἀνδρός, ἀνοσιωτάτου ξένου "be you my revenger upon that man, that most disrespectful host."³⁵ The greeting-formula used by Apollonius is therefore, in view of his imminent κατοχή, anything but a meaningless epithet, on the contrary, only within this context does it gain its full significance.

If we combine this use of language with other traces of aureate diction probably going back to the Greek original (e.g. ch. 1, RA/RB 17 '*nodum virginitatis*', cf. gr. ἄμμο παρθενία/κορεία),³⁶ it becomes clear that in this expression, too, we can retrieve something of the level of the original Greek novel.

Taking into consideration all the arguments that have come up for discussion in point 4, it seems that we cannot but conclude there is very little reason to see Apollonius’ fourteen-year stay in Egypt in terms of “making money in business”, however acceptable this seemed at first.

Finally, the HA itself may teach us how little reason there actually is to consider Apollonius a “merchant” (Schmelting 1989: 204). For this we have to return to a passage already referred to above, in which context it seemed to support the theory of “money-making”. That Apollonius is anything but a solid merchant is illustrated by the fact that when, in chapter ten, he tries to abate the famine at Tarsus with 100,000 bushels of wheat, he fails to seize this opportunity of making money like a true merchant. On the contrary, he sells his grain at cost price and then donates the entire proceeds to the city, a form of “grandezza”, εὐεργεσία: it appears we have to regard Apollonius not as a merchant, but (and it seems he wants to be regarded as such) as an εὐεργέτης, '*benefactor*', cherished ideal of many a Hellenistic monarch.³⁷

³⁵ Cf. M.H.A.L.H van der Valk, *Zum Worte ὄσιος*, *Mnemosyne S. III*, vol. 10, 1942 (p. 113 sqq.), p. 134; A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos*, Leiden 1985, pp. 62-3, citing as additional parallels *Eur., Alc.* 1147; *Cycl.* 125; *Hec.* 852, 1234 (with many thanks for the reference). Call. fr. 78 Pf. and Ovid. *Ibis* 621 show that killing a guest-friend was in the eyes of the Ionians sufficient reason to exclude inhabitants of the town involved from a religious festival.

³⁶ Cf. Kortekaas (1984), pp. 109-10.

³⁷ Cf. R. Ziegler, *Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden*, in: *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, Bnd XXVII (1977), (pp. 29-67) p. 57 ff.; this author draws attention to imperial predecessors' gifts of grain to Tarsus in the person of Caracalla and Severus Alexander. Prof. Versnel points out that Apollonius, through this action, may be considered τροφεύς of the town (cf. LSJ s.v. τροφεύς [4]), perhaps as *σειτώνης* (cf. J.H.M. Strubbe, *Sitonia under the Principate [II]*, in: *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 13 (1989), pp. 99-121.

With this I would like to round off the practical application of κατοχή, κάτοχος and astrology for the time being.³⁸

5. Consequences for the textual tradition of the HA.

It is clear that this possible link between the HA and ancient astrology has considerable consequences with regard to our interpretation of the text and the textual tradition.

The original story must have been extremely interesting: a fate which threatens a whole family; the attempt to break away from that fate by taking on the humble status of a κάτοχος, and all the consequences this move has.³⁹ This astrological tendency means that the original novel enjoyed a somewhat pre-eminent position among the other Greek novels.⁴⁰ It is also evident that it must have been a good deal longer, with numerous digressions, especially in places where religious beliefs and worldly views collided, witness for example the couple Dionysia - Stranguillio. However, if indeed there were two parallel plots - on the one hand, Apollonius and his behaviour towards his daughter, both killed by lightning, and, on the other hand, Apollonius' behaviour towards his daughter, saved by κατοχή and Artemis - it remains true that we can only formulate hypotheses, combinations and deductions as to what the original story looked like.

At first sight, it may seem very remarkable that this original story has left so few traces; but it becomes understandable against the background of the assumed astrological slant: it did not stand much chance of survival at the rising of a Christian Church which did everything to limit the influence of astrology, either by burning heretical books or by christianizing apparently ineradicable beliefs.⁴¹

³⁸ In the paper preceding this I went more deeply into some details (ch. 37, RA 23 compared with Heliod.VIII,11,3: ch. 48, RA 4 concerning the role of the dream within the framework of astrology, the role ἄγγελοι played as messengers, and the fact that κάτοχοι enjoyed interpreting dreams). Considering the multi-interpretative liability of these points and, on the other hand, the limited scope of this article, it is advisable to limit ourselves here to strictly relevant material.

³⁹ For some background literature concerning the belief of the ancients that good works might break the ban of the stars, see Kortekaas (1984), n. 700.

⁴⁰ For the role of astrology in the ancient romances see W.R. Nethercut, *Astrology in the Novel*, in: *Erotica Antiqua*, ICAN 1976, pp. 69-72; in the more sophisticated Greek romances, astrology played a greater role, so in Heliod., cf. P. Liviabella Furiani, *l' Astrologia nelle "Etiopiche" di Eliodoro*, *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 31, 1979, pp. 311 - 24. To discuss here the parallel between the *Historia Apollonii* and the *Ps. Clementine Recognitiones* would be rather far-fetched, see, however, Kortekaas (1984), nn. 38, 582, 600, 733. Naturally, in assuming this astrological tendency I do not intend to go as far as K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung*, Tübingen 1927, passim, and R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, München - Berlin, 1962, pp. 161-71; id., *Der antike Roman*, in: *Liebesroman - Liebe im Roman*, Erlangen 1987 (Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A; Geisteswissenschaften, Band 41), pp. 9 -25. Apart from this "Leitmotiv" the HA has numerous other aspects, which may be elaborated upon in a future commentary. These aspects, too, belong to the essential characteristics of the HA.

⁴¹ Recent efforts to find papyrological evidence have not been very successful so far. Prof. N. Holzberg points to PSI nr. 151 (Papiiri della Univ. degli Studi di Milano, VI 1977, also published by F. Zimmermann, *Griechische Roman-Papyri*, Heidelberg 1936, nr. 5, pp. 50-2), in combination with P. Mil. Vogliano 260.

In view of the fascinating contents of the HA on the one hand, and the rise of an ecclesiastical culture on the other hand, it is not surprising that there were epitomes in circulation, even ones of different character. For it is very remarkable indeed that almost all the traces of ancient astrology in the HA are found in RA. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, RB does in some places have something of its own to add, eg., in ch. 10, the conversation at sea between Apollonius and the captain; ch. 51, the *σφραγίς*-formula.⁴² Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the invocation of the spirit of the supposedly dead Tarsia in ch. 50 is dealt with most explicitly by RB (ll. 16-22): notably, conjuring up spirits was an activity ancient astrologers were fond of.⁴³ Therefore, I would like to draw the conclusion here and now that RB is an attempt to improve RA, with the help of a somewhat different epitome. To support the hypothesis of two different epitomes I can fortunately point out a very striking parallel in the Alexander novel, where the so-called α -version does contain the description of the horoscope,⁴⁴ whereas in the β -version, more Christian in character, this scene has been greatly abbreviated.⁴⁵ This later version dates from the time of the rise of Greek Christianity, viz. the fifth century. The parallel could hardly have been more striking.

With regard to the theory of a Latin original the interpretation here developed in my opinion forms a new, additional argument supporting my thesis that the HA goes back to a Greek original. Not only is the story set in the East, the theme itself turns out to be typical of the Eastern Empire. Moreover certain expressions (*sanctissimi hospites, requirere et vindicare*) point in the same direction.⁴⁶

The same fragments are discussed also by M. Mazza, *Le avventure del romanzo nell' Occidente Latino*. La "Historia Apollonii regis Tyri, in: *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella Tarda Antichità*. Atti del convegno tenuto a Catania, Università degli Studi, 27 sett. - 2 ott. 1982, Coll. Storia XIX, Roma Jouvence, p.II, (pp. 597 - 645) pp. 610 - 5. Although these fragments are undoubtedly closely connected with each other, in my opinion it is rather difficult and even hazardous to consider them as a possible original of the lost Greek version of the HA.

⁴² See Kortekaas (1984), pp. 118-20.

⁴³ See J. Bidez - F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, Paris 1938, t. II, p. 40; Cumont (1937), pp. 163-77; S. Morenz, *Totenaussagen im Dienste des Rechtes, ein ägyptisches Element im Hellenismus und Spätantike*, in: *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft III*, 1948, pp. 290-300.

⁴⁴ See Guilelmus Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*, *Recensio Vetusta*, Berlin 1926, lib. I,12, pp. 12-13. This recension dates from ca. 300 A.D.

⁴⁵ See L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, *Rezension β* , Uppsala 1965, lib. I,12, pp. 16-17. For the occasional Christian touch in this recension cf. lib. I,1 (p. 2,8-9) καὶ τὰς (sc. ὁ Νεκτανεβὸν) ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ὠσανεὶ θεοὺς (i.g. "pseudo-gods") τῶν ἐπιδῶν.

⁴⁶ The Romans were not completely unfamiliar with the concept of the *κάτοχος*. Prof. Versnel draws my attention to *Apul. Met.* 11,9 where Lucius voluntarily retired to the temple precinct of Isis and says "aedibusque conductis intra conseptum templi larem temporarium mihi constituo, deae ministeriis adhuc privatis adpositus contuberniisque sacerdotum individuus et numinis magni cultor inseparabilis" ("hiring a dwelling within the precinct of the temple I set up house for the time being. Thus I attached myself to the service of the goddess in a manner so far purely personal, taking intimate part of the comradeship of the priests and worshipping the great deity without interruption" [translation Prof. Versnel]). Apparently Lucius functions here as a kind of *κάτοχος*. Wilcken's attempt at refuting (1927: pp.72-5) this interpretation going

With regard to an interpretation of the story in its Latin form, extreme caution is required: a somewhat clumsy epitomization, followed by an adaptation to the Western, Latin world (Latin poetic quotations; conversion of the coin-system,⁴⁷ etc.) makes it a very complicated affair to arrive at a sensible judgement, especially a moral judgement. A negative evaluation, when based merely on the Latin remnants, is unfair, and is not in accordance with the benevolence this curious narrative has always evoked.⁴⁸ In summary, Apollonius turns out to be just the opposite of a hurried, money-loving prince. The Middle Ages were right in calling him '*Pius Apollonius*'. A similar epithet, although for different reasons, would befit the Greek Apollonius.

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back to R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, Berlin 1926, 192-215, is slightly out of proportion. Apul. does lack the typical characteristics of the *κάρτοχοι* (cf above nr. 27 and 28), on the contrary, in Apul. Lucius ends up losing his hair (Met. 11, 30 *raso capillo*).

⁴⁷ On the ease with which Greek monetary names and systems can be transferred into a Latin coin-system, cf. Kortekaas (1984), pp. 122-23 and especially nr. 668-71.

⁴⁸ For such a negative view see the recent study by Schmeling, cited above in nr. 2 and 14. To illustrate how big the gulf is between the interpretation developed above and Schmeling's view I reproduce his opinion verbatim: "He (i.e. Apollonius) has just lost his wife, and the only remembrance he has of her is Tarsia, whom he gives up now in order to make money in business. By leaving Tarsia in Tarsus he separates himself from all physical connections to his wife's memory. More sensitive fathers would have kept their daughters in close proximity to themselves as reminders of their wives. Apollonius thinks of himself first, and his daughter is resettled with strangers because she is thought of as a nuisance." As for the term '*Pius*' cf. Kortekaas (1984), p. 9.