

Two Renaissance Readers of Apuleius: Filippo Beroaldo and Henri de Mesmes*

GERALD SANDY
University of British Columbia

Apuleius was one of the first classical Latin authors to appear in print: *Metamorphosis sive De Asino Aureo, Florida, Apologia, De Deo Socratis, De Platone et Eius Dogmate, De Mundo, Hermes Trismegistus, Asclepius*, ed. Johannes Andreas de Buxis (Giovanni Andrea de'Bussi) (Rome, 1469). The Apuleian corpus occupies the fifth position in a chronological listing of *editiones principes* of classical Latin authors, preceded on the list by only Cicero (not surprisingly) and Lactantius. Apuleius' *Golden Ass* also enjoys the distinction of being the subject of one of the earliest Renaissance commentaries on a classical Latin author, that of the Filippo Beroaldo I (to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name), the popular professor of rhetoric at the University of Bologna whose lectures drew hundreds of international students each morning. The commentary, published in 1500, is a huge volume of some 300 folio 'pages.'¹ One of his colleagues at the University of Bologna claimed that Beroaldo established the *lex commentandi*

* Abbreviations and Editorial Conventions:

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

I use the abbreviations for Latin authors and works listed in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

[...?]: I use this symbol to denote a word or words that I cannot read.

Beroaldo's commentary and the three manuscripts of de Mesmes that I discuss are folio volumes. Unless a folio is cited as ^{vo} (verso), it is recto.

I have enclosed in quotation marks de Mesmes' citations of Apuleius and other Latin writers to facilitate distinguishing between them and de Mesmes' comments.

¹ The work can be downloaded or consulted online at the Gallica link of the web portal of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. All references are to this 1500 edition unless otherwise specified. See as well Casella 1975, Gaisser 2003 and 2003a, Krautter 1971 and Scobie 1978. The 'Introduction' of Ciapponi (ed.) 1995 provides a good account of Beroaldo's life and career. On Apuleian readership during the Middle Ages and Renaissance see Acocella 2001 and Moreschini 1977.

(‘the rules for writing a commentary’).² Another colleague at the University of Bologna, Antonio Codro Urceo (Codrus Urceus) (1446–1500), was in the habit of calling him “the Bolognese commentator” (*commentatorem bononiensem*).³ Contemporary biographies stress his erudition and prodigious memory, calling him a talking library (*vivam quandam loquentem Bibliothecam...immensa quadam incredibilique memoria*).⁴

The (mostly) unpublished Apuleian *excerpta* of Henri de Mesmes (1532–1596), a bibliophile, inveterate annotator and prominent legal authority, reveal that he was a diligent reader of the Apuleian corpus and of Beroaldo.⁵ Of these three categories of *notabilia* I shall be considering the latter two: (1) Beroaldo’s commentary and (2) de Mesmes’ Apuleian *excerpta*.

I Beroaldo’s commentary

Philological Diversions

I begin with Beroaldo’s commentary. Typically of that time, the commentary surrounds the Apuleian text so that the text itself is relegated to being a point of reference. The first folio of the commentary, for instance, provides the first twenty words of the Apuleian text (*at ego...argutia*, 1,1,1), which would occupy approximately three lines of a modern critical edition; folio 8 manages to squeeze in only eight words of Apuleian text (*isto gemino...spatham*, 1,1,4).⁶ In other words, Beroaldo’s commentary follows the pattern of the mediaeval commentaries on classical authors that derived from those of late classical antiquity and that the earliest humanists adopted.⁷

² Krautter 1971, 40 and Ciapponi (ed.) 1995, 5.

³ Bianchini 1548 (a reissue of the edition of 1510).

⁴ See de Pins 1505 and Bianchini 1548 (a reissue of the edition of 1510). Both de Pins and Bianchini were students of Beroaldo, to the latter of whom he pays tribute (Beroaldo 1500, 221^{vo}). See also Meuschen (ed.) 1735–1738, I, 125.

⁵ BnF LAT 6634, LAT 8720, and LAT 8723. See Chatelain 1999, 33 and, more generally, Grafton and Jardine 1986, 153.

⁶ All folio numbers are ‘recto’ unless otherwise specified. Plate 1.1 in Gaisser 2003a illustrates folio 3 of the 1500 issue of Beroaldo’s commentary.

⁷ Grafton 1977 and 1985.

This word-by-word approach is evident from the outset. On the first word Beroaldo comments:⁸

At particula. Interdum inceptiva est: Ad ornatum pertinens ut docet Servius in nono commentario. Ait Donatus principium esse increpationi aptum/ut Virgilius. At tibi pro scelere excalmat pro talibus ausis: Consimile illud [H]oratianum. At o deorum quicquid in caelo regis (sic). (The particle “at.” It is sometimes inceptive. It pertains to embellishment, as Servius explains in his commentary on Book 9 [of Vergil’s *Aeneid*].⁹ Donatus says that the position [of the particle ‘at’] as the first word is appropriate to rebuking, as in Vergil [*Aeneid* 2,535]...The famous Horatian passage [*Epodes* 5.1] is similar...)

Beroaldo’s emphasis on words is underscored by the “*Tabula vocabulorum in libris de asino aureo*.” Its (unnumbered) thirty-“page” listing of words discussed in the commentary precedes the title page, dedicatory epistle, preface, “Summary of the Life of Lucius Apuleius,” “*Scriptoris intentio atque consilium*” and the “*Hypothesis sive argumentum primi libri*.”

Returning to the first folio of the commentary itself, we find detailed discussions of the meanings of the words and phrases “*sermone milesio*,” “*lepido susurro*,” “*papyrus egyptiam*,” and “*argutia*.” At first glance there appears to be little that would have warranted Erasmus’ tribute to Beroaldo’s continuing fame.¹⁰ However, closer examination reveals that Beroaldo had a command of classical sources that went beyond mainline authorities such as Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Pliny, and Quintilian, all of whom he cites on the first folio. The work *On the Edict* by the early third-century jurist Ulpian seems a less likely authority for Beroaldo to cite until one remembers that the University of Bologna was the principal centre for the study of Roman law in

⁸ I have retained most of the original spelling, punctuation and syntax but not the ligatures and abbreviations of the quoted Latin.

⁹ Beroaldo has quoted Servius’ comment on Vergil, *Aeneid* 9,144: “*an non viderunt legitur et “at non viderunt”*: si “*an non*,” *absolutum est*; si “*at non*,” *inceptiva est particula, ad ornatum pertinens: Horatius “at o deorum quicquid in caelo regis”* (Hor. *Ep.* 5,1). Servius says much the same thing in his comment on *Aeneid* 7,363. The quotation of Aelius Donatus comes from his commentary on Terence’s *Andria*, line 666. The discussion of “at” continues: see Kahane and Laird (eds.) 2001, 299 as indexed s. v. “at.”

¹⁰ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958, V,244. Erasmus’ correspondent Girolamo Aleandro ridicules Beroaldo’s predilection for Silver Age Latinity and that of archaizers like Apuleius (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958, I,507).

late-mediaeval western Europe.¹¹ The reader was expected to know that “the” *epigrammatarius poeta* who referred to papyrus as “*Nilicas papyros*” was Martial (*Epigrams* 13,1). Three Greek authorities, Plutarch, Appian, and Herodotus, are cited. Beroaldo’s marshalling of the ancient evidence to document the meaning of the phrase “*sermone Milesio*” (Milesian style of speech) has not been surpassed.¹² As Carver remarks, ‘We have to wait until [Beroaldo’s commentary in] the Renaissance to find an intelligent response to the term [‘*sermone Milesio*’].’¹³ Beroaldo also corrects the manuscript readings “*curatorum*” to “*cirratorum*” and “*Milesiorum*” to “*Milesiarum*” in the passage in St. Jerome’s *Apologia contra Rufinum* (1. 17), where Jerome cites an example of a Milesian tale.¹⁴

A few examples of Beroaldo’s comments will illustrate his typically discursive approach to the text and his impressive command of ancient sources and contemporary scholarship. In this example (on the word “*spatham*” [Apul. *Met.* 9,40]) he manages to include ancient linguistic usage, contemporary idiomatic linguistic usage, contemporary scholarship, textual criticism, and the codices of Martial:

Spatham: The ancients call a sword (*ensim*) a *spatha* by this Greek word. The Greeks write it with a “θ,” that is, “th.” It is remarkable that this word, although Greek, has become better known [than *ensis*] in common (*vulgo*) speech and is used idiomatically more frequently [than *ensis*] in daily speech.¹⁵

¹¹ See Krautter 1971, 116–125 for discussion of Beroaldo’s handling of Apuleian legal metaphors and his criticism of the “glossator” Accursius (Francesco Accorso, 1182–1260), who taught law at the University of Bologna. A good example of his contempt of Accursius appears in Ciapponi (ed.) 1995, 162. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Italian humanists such as Beroaldo and Lorenzo Valla (1407–1557) frequently cite the Roman *Digest* and the jurists, especially Ulpian, as models of Latin eloquence. See, e. g. Beroaldo 1500, 74^{vo} (“Ulpian, the most eloquent of the jurists”) and 154^{vo} (“...the jurists, who speak pure Latin”) and Valla 1540, I,79–80 and 216–235. See also Krautter 1971 as indexed s. v. “iurisconsultus” and “Juristen.”

¹² Most of the ancient *testimonia* are assembled in Scobie 1975, 66–67.

¹³ Carver 1999, 169, n. 18. See also Krautter 1971, 62.

¹⁴ Beroaldo, like Jerome, probably knew the rare word “*cirrati*” ([a crowd of] curly-haired boys) from Persius, *Satires* 1,29.

¹⁵ Beroaldo 1500, 219.

He then cites the authority of Vegetius' *De Re Militari* for the observation that Roman soldiers called their smaller swords "*spathae*" and the authority of the lexicographer Pollux for the observation that the Greeks called the branch of a palm-tree a "*spatha*." From this word, he adds, is derived the diminutive form "*spathalion*" that is found in the title of Martial's epigram: *spathalion cariotae*.¹⁶ Beroaldo continues:

It has not escaped my attention that in most of the codices of the epigrammatist [i.e., Martial] "*petalion*" is read instead of "*spathalion*." The word "*spathalia*" is found, however, in Plautus and Pliny as items of female fashion (*deliciarum* [i.e., necklaces]), which Hermolaus Barbarus claims is derived from the name of the nymph Spatale.¹⁷ I, however, derive it from the Greek word "*spathao*", which means "to live profligately" (*delicate ago*), as in Aristophanes' *Clouds* [55], ὦ γύναι λίαν σπαθῶς.

Many of the same wide-ranging issues are evident in this example (on the phrase "*ligno vendito*" [Apul. *Met.* 7,20]), where it becomes clear that Beroaldo regarded discursiveness as a desirable feature of his commentary:

For pieces of wood that have been sold the term used is "fuel" (*lignum*) in the singular instead of the plural. As Ulpian writes, "The term 'fuel' is general."¹⁸ And we properly denote as "fuel" whatever is prepared for making a fire...or for heating a bath or, I should say, "*hypothaustras*." This word is used throughout Book 3 of *De Legatis* [*et Fideicommissis*] [i.e., Book 32 of the *Digest*], where Accursius offers a really remarkable interpretation.¹⁹ He explains "*hypothaustras*" as places where sick people stay, which the most zealous users of Latin call a "*valitudinarium*." But it is not surprising that in the instance of this false word he has given a very false interpretation, since he suddenly hallucinates like a blind man [even] when faced with uncorrupted readings. I think that the word

¹⁶ Mart. *Xenia* = 13,27. Much of the same information is contained in Beroaldo's comment on *spatham* at Apul. *Met.* 1,4 (Beroaldo 1500, 8).

¹⁷ Pl. *Men.* 542 (where the Oxford critical edition of W. M. Lindsay has "*stalagmia*"); Plin. *Nat.* 13,52,142; Hermolaus Barbarus (1457–1493), *Castigationes Pliniana* (1492): fo. K iii^{vo}.

¹⁸ *Digest* 32,55pr.; also 32,55,1 and 32,55,3.

¹⁹ See above, note 11.

should be emended to “*hypocaustum*” or “*hypocaustim*” or “*hypocaustarium*...” And so the sense of the juriconsult [Ulpian] will be that the term that is encompassed in the phrase “*legatis lignis*” is what is obtained for heating baths and steam-rooms and vapour-rooms... Such rooms are very common among those who live west of the Alps (*transmontanos*), which they call “*stuffas*.” For at times barbarian words must be used to illustrate more clearly a rather erudite matter. For that receptacle of fire used to heat a steam-room could sensibly be called a hypocaust. *Diaetae*, of which there is frequent mention in the juriconsults, historians, and poets, are the rooms in which we live and conduct our lives (*vivimus versarmurque*). The two words “*versatio*” and “*victus*” correspond to the [two] meanings of the Greek word διαταῶμαι, which means “I live” and “I conduct my life.” Certain very famous people of my time... claim that it is contrary to humanistic principles to use the word “*diaetae*” and... base the origin of the word on the authority of Varro. I have not seen this in Varro, and what I have not seen I do not believe to be Varroian. From the word “*diaeta*” is derived the word “*diaetarii*” [*valets-de-chambre*]. They enter another person’s room with the intention of burglary. As Ulpian writes under the heading “*De Extraordinariis Criminibus*,” “They must be punished more severely than thieves” (*Digest* 47,11,7). The corrupt reading “*tractarii*” is universal instead of the [correct] reading “*diaetarii*.” I frequently and willingly turn aside [from the topic under discussion] to comment on extraordinary matters of this sort because I know that they are in need of clarification and are more welcome to scholars than ordinary comments are... I have followed the method of [Cicero’s] *Tusculan Disputations* in order periodically to insert small flowers of learning and undo knotty passages in other writers in a desultory and discursive manner. Unless my friends are flattering me, readers will take great pleasure from this approach and like those who are fatigued gain relief from the [unremittingly] focused commentary.

These two examples of the discursiveness of Beroaldo’s commentary could easily be multiplied.²⁰ The “small flowers of learning” are part of his strategy to make his commentary appealing to his audience. He adopted this strategy from Apuleius:

²⁰ See Casella 1975, 685–710 and Gaisser 2003a for additional examples.

The diversity obtained by changing subjects and the carefully wrought variety of narrative mode give great pleasure to the reader. Variety is especially delightful and gains favour for the writer if it is moderate and timely. Our Lucius beautifies this work of his with narrative variety as though he were picking it out with small flowers so that readers will not grow weary of the fastidious uniformity of unrelenting[ly focused] narrative. And so he includes exemplary stories (*exempla*), inserts tales, *παρεκβάσεις* (sic), that is, he includes timely digressions of which you would not find a trace in Lucian.²¹

Apuleius' "*fabellae lepidissimae*" provide readers and commentators alike with great pleasure:

Giovanni Boccaccio has very stylishly and wittily composed 100 tales in elegant Italian, among which he included this Apuleian tale. He transplanted it very skilfully not as a translator but as a creative writer (*conditor*). Women of my country eagerly and willingly listen to and read and ponder this tale... We, too, should listen to and read and ponder [this tale] with well disposed ears, eyes, [and] minds. Not only readers but also commentators are refreshed by the pleasures of such diversions.²²

The avowed focus of Beroaldo's commentary may be philological, but he has identified himself so closely with its subject that the commentary takes on the delightfully discursive character of the *Golden Ass*.²³

The "Golden Ass" As a Stylistic Model

Beroaldo quotes St. Augustine's assessment of his compatriot Apuleius as *magna...praeditus eloquentia* ("endowed with great eloquence") and offers his own assessment: *elegans, eruditus, emunctus* (elegant, erudite, astute).²⁴ As he often does, Beroaldo adds a personal note:

²¹ Beroaldo 1500, 180 (lemma "*servus quidam*") (Apul. *Met.* 8,22); and see Krautter 1971, 50.

²² Beroaldo 1500, 193^{vo}.

²³ Gaisser 2003a emphasises "the affinity between author and commentator."

²⁴ St. Augustine, *Epistles* 138,19. Beroaldo 1500, 1^{vo}.

Moreover, there are not a few interspersed words [in the *Golden Ass*] in which I delight more than I use, many of which I shall take delight in using in the future.

It is clear from the next sentence that these words are obsolete or archaic:

Et sane novator plerumque verborum est elegantissimus. (He is a most elegant restorer/renewer of many obsolete/archaic words.)²⁵

Also as he often does, Beroaldo relates the subject to his teaching and its value for his students:

Frequent reading of Apuleius is especially suitable for perfecting [one's proficiency in the Latin] language and the branch of eloquence that is called "*sermocinatrix*."²⁶

Italian humanists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used imitation in order to try to recover and perpetuate the linguistic and literary legacy of ancient Rome.²⁷ Of the three types of imitation that emerged during the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento – Quintilianism (i.e., eclecticism), Ciceronianism, and Apuleianism (i.e., mannerism) – that of the last named had Beroaldo as its most prominent proponent. The few Italian humanists who exercised this form of imitation focused on archaic writers such as Plautus and later writers such as Apuleius, Aulus Gellius, and the elder Pliny who preserved archaic vocabulary and other deviations from classical Latin norms. A good example of Beroaldo's discussion of an Apuleian "*archaismos*" occurs on folio 150 of his commentary. The lemma "*ergo igitur*" is linked to 7,9 of the *Golden Ass*, "[The pleonasm] is archaic. For ancient writers, as Donatus says, would multiply these 'particles' (*particulas*)." On the same folio the lemma "*in fornicem*" (Apul. *Met.* 7,9) leads to a discus-

²⁵ The quoted sentence appears on the same folio as the previous quotation. Beroaldo probably took the phrase "novator verborum" from Aulus Gellius 1,15,18, where it is applied to Sallust.

²⁶ The printed text reads "[partem] sermonatricem" instead of (as it should) "[partem] sermocinatricem." The word, which Beroaldo would have known from Apuleius, *Met.* 9,17,3, means: "adapted to conversation, discourse or discussion." The cognate verb "sermocinor" at *Met.* 1,15,1 means something like "to babble."

²⁷ D'Amico 1984, 353. See also Krautter 1971, 72–125 and Pigman 1980.

sion of the words “*fornicari*” and “*fornicator*” used by ecclesiastical writers in the sense of “*scortari*” and “*scortator*,” a meaning unknown to the *prisci*, *illi tersiores purioresque conditores* of the Latin language.

The “Golden Ass” As a Mirror of the Human Condition

It should be obvious by this point that Beroaldo’s commentary is emphatically philological, focusing on such issues as the meanings of individual words and manuscript readings. Even when he comes to the tale of Cupid and Psyche and after recounting the allegorical interpretation of the tale by Apuleius’ late fifth-century compatriot Fulgentius, Beroaldo affirms the philological focus of his commentary:

Sed nos non tam allegorias in explicatione huiusce fabulae sectabimur, quam historicum sensum, et rerum reconditarum verborumque interpretationem explicabimus, ne philosophaster magis videar quam commentator. (But I shall not pursue allegories in my explanation of this tale; instead, I shall explain its historical sense and provide interpretations of words and obscure matters so that I will not appear to be a pseudo-philosopher instead of a commentator.)²⁸

However, his comment on the phrase “*lepido susurro*” (“with a charming whisper”) elicits this intriguing response on the first folio of his commentary:

Potest et ob hoc videri usus hac dictione “susurro” / ut ostendat haec non esse invulaganda neque prophanis palam nuntianda, sed clam apud aures religiosas promendis: instar mysteriorum. (It is possible that the use of the word “*susurro*” occurs for this reason, namely to show that these matters are not to be divulged or announced openly to the profane but in the manner of mysteries are to be entrusted [only] to the ears of the religious.)

This insight is echoed in his comment on the phrase “*sanctam silentii fidem*” (Apul. *Met.* 3,15):

²⁸ Beroaldo 1500, 95^{vo}. See Gaisser 2003, 38 and Krautter 1971, 149–150.

*Orpheus ab his quos initiabat exigere solebat ne prophanis auribus religiones proderentur. Platonici quoque secretarum disputationum veneranda commenta impiis intimare nolunt. Pythagoras et Porphyrius animos sectatorum silentio religioso consecrabant. M. V. et Augustinus auctores sunt Graecos mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. Tertulianus in Apologetico: Silentii fides religionibus debetur.*²⁹ (Orpheus required of those whom he initiated that they not divulge the religious rites to the ears of the profane. Platonists also do not want the venerable plans of their secret discussions revealed to the impious. Pythagoras and Porphyry pledged the minds of their followers to religious silence. According to M. V. and St. Augustine the Greeks enclosed their [religious] mysteries in a wall of silence. Tertullian in his *Apology* (7,6) states that a pledge of silence is owed to [religious] mysteries.)³⁰

Beroaldo is here looking ahead to the initiation of the narrator Lucius into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris in the concluding book of the novel.³¹ We shall now look back to the part of Beroaldo's preface that is headed "*Scriptoris Intentio atque Consilium*" (The Author's Intention and Purpose). Here is Beroaldo's affirmation ("*ego...confirmo*") of Apuleius' "Intention and Purpose":

Verum sub hoc transmutationis involucro, naturam mortalium et mores humanos quasi transeunter designare voluisse, ut admoneremur ex hominibus asinos fieri, quando voluptatibus belluinis immersi asinali stoliditate brutescimus, nec ulla rationis virtutisque scintilla in nobis elucescit.... Rursus ex asino in hominem reformatio significat calcatis voluptatibus, exutisque corporalibus deliciis rationem resipiscere, et hominem interiorem, qui verus est homo ex ergastulo illo cenoso, ad lucidum habitaculum, virtute et religione ducibus remigrasse. ([Apuleius'] intention was to represent by means of the guise of transformation the nature and character of human beings so that we would be cautioned that we become asses instead of human beings when we behave brutishly and

²⁹ "M. V.": presumably Marcus Varro, whom St. Augustine cites as his authority at *C.D.* 18,5.

³⁰ Beroaldo 1500, 65^{vo}.

³¹ See also Carver 2001, 165 and the presidential address of J. Gaisser, "Teaching Classics in the Renaissance: Two Case Histories," delivered at the meetings of the American Philological Association in 2001 and currently posted at its web site.

with asinine stupidity as a consequence of having been immersed in beastly sensual pleasures and when no spark of reason or virtue shines forth in us...The transformation back into a human being from an ass signifies that reason recovers its senses after it has trampled sensual pleasures and cast off the pleasures of the flesh and that the inner person, which is the real person, has returned with the guidance of virtue and religion from its filthy prison to its sparkling habitation.)

Beroaldo expresses similar views from the beginning to the end of his commentary. On the phrase “*desultoria scientia*” (Apul. *Met.* 1,1) he remarks:

...cum relictis voluptatum pedicis duce ratione emergit in viam virtutis et hominem se se verum praestat. (When [the ass] casts off the shackles of sensual pleasures and with the guidance of reason emerges on to the road of virtue, he shows his true self to be that of a human being.)³²

And in his epistolary *sphragis* headed “*Finis Commentariorum*”:

Lectio Asini Apuleiani nimirum speculum est rerum humanarum istoque involucro efficti nostri mores espressaue imago vitae quotidianae conspicitur, cuius finis et summa beatitas est religio cultusque divinae maiestatis una cum eruditione copulata connexaque. (Perusal of Apuleius’ *Golden Ass* is like looking at a mirror-image of the human condition, and one views expressed in this guise our character and the image of our daily lives, the goal and greatest blessing of which are religion and the cultivation of divine majesty joined to erudition.)³³

Beroaldo was not the first to employ allegorical interpretation. The practice was especially prevalent among Middle Platonists like Apuleius, who maintained that creative writers were duty-bound to keep hidden from the profane the religious truths intended for those capable of understanding them.³⁴ In the words of Apuleius:

³² Beroaldo 1500, 4^{vo}.

³³ Beroaldo 1500, 280^{vo}; see Krautter 1971, 64–71.

³⁴ The scholarship on Neo- and Middle-Platonic literary theory is large. See Coulter 1976 for a good comprehensive account and, for additional bibliography, Sandy 1982, 155, n. 34. Allen 1970 provides a good account of the use of symbolic and allegorical interpretation during the Renaissance.

For I decline to speak of those other lofty and divine Platonic doctrines that are unknown to scarcely any of the pious but are unrecognized by all the profane (*Apol.*12,1).

Beroaldo emphasizes Apuleius' Platonist credentials, e.g. in the first sentence of the biography of Apuleius in the preface: *Lucio Apuleio Afro nobili platonico* and on folio 2^{vo} of the preface, *Apuleius noster Pythagoricae Platonicaeque philosophiae consultissimus*.³⁵ The fact that Neo- and Middle-Platonic methods of allegorical interpretation were applied to Biblical interpretation by such "Platonizing" Christians as Synesius undoubtedly made the approach congenial to Beroaldo, who declares Lucius' hymn to the moon and prayer to the goddess Isis worthy of the Virgin Mary and likens aspects of the cult of Isis to Christian ritual.³⁶ To rephrase the well-known statement of the grammarian Terentianus Maurus, probably of the late second century A.D., *Pro captu commentatoris habent sua fata libelli*.³⁷ Apuleius' *Golden Ass* became widely known in western Europe through the medium of Beroaldo's commentary, and his allegorical interpretation had an immediate impact, as is evident, for instance, from Adlington's English translation of the *Golden Ass* (1566):

Verily under the wrap of this transformation is taxed the life of mortal man, when as we suffer our mindes so to bee drowned in sensual lusts of the flesh, and the beastly pleasure thereof...that we lose wholly the use of reason and vertue....So can we never bee restored to the right figure of ourselves, except we taste the sweet Rose of reason and vertue.³⁸

It is a humbling experience for a modern scholar to come to the realisation that an interpretation on which he or she has laboured had been anticipated

³⁵ Mention should be made here of Beroaldo's *Symbola Pythagorae Moraliter Explicata* (Bologna, 1503), a study of allegorical or symbolic interpretation.

³⁶ Gaisser's presidential address (cited above, note 31) and Krautter 1971, 164–171.

³⁷ I have replaced (*pro captu*) *lectoris* with *commentoris*. See Keil (ed.) 1874, VI,363, 1286.

³⁸ Quoted from Adlington's preface "To the Reader." The phrase "the sweet Rose of reason and vertue" also comes from Beroaldo: *ut mystice intelligas coronam rosaceam esse sapientiam* (folio 266), as does Adlington's prefatory "The Life of Lucius Apuleius Briefly Described," a translation of Beroaldo's "Vita Lucii Apuleii Summatim Relata," all without acknowledgement. On the immediate and continuing success of Beroaldo's commentary see Gaisser 2003, 40.

more than 500 years ago by Beroaldo. I will not mention names on this festive occasion. Suffice it to say that I find myself in that position.³⁹

II Henri de Mesmes' Apuleian *excerpta*

In the words of St. Jerome, *Lectio sine stylo aut calamo somnus est*. Italian humanists and their northern successors developed systems of note-taking (*ars excerpendi*) and note-making (*ars animadvertendi*) that were to persist for centuries. Erasmus (1469–1536), in his *De Ratione Studii* (1511), recommended the practice:

*Item si quaedam breuiter, sed insigniter dicta, uelut apophthegmata, prouerbia, sententias in frontibus atque in calcibus singulorum codicum inscribes, quaedam anulis, aut poculis, insculpes, nonnulla pro foribus, et in parietibus aut uitreis etiam fenestris depinges, quo nusquam non occurrat oculis, quod eruditionem adiuuet.*⁴⁰

During the seventeenth century the Dutch Jesuit pedagogue J. Drexel devoted a manual to *notae et excerpta*, as did the German Vincentius Placcius.⁴¹ Justus Lipsius of the Spanish Netherlands (1547–1606) is especially relevant, because, unusually for the time, he includes Apuleius among the authors to be imitated. He devotes a chapter (“Caput XII: De Excerptis; quo ordine ea instituenda, et a quibus singula carpenda”) to excerpts, recommending that they be assembled in three separate sets of commonplace books: one of *Fomularum*, one of *Ornamentorum* and one of *Dictionis*.⁴²

Henri de Mesmes (1532–1596), who served the French Crown in various important capacities such as Privy Counsellor to King Henri II of France, ambassador to Venice and negotiator between the religious factions after the *Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy* in 1572, was also, as I said at the outset, a

³⁹ It may not be unseemly to mention one such scholar whose *Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina*: see Krautter 1971, 70, n. 98.

⁴⁰ Erasmus 1703, I, 522.

⁴¹ J. Drexel, *Aurifodina Artium et Scientiarum Omnium* (1698); Vincentius Placcius, *De Arte Excerpendi* (1689). The practice is, of course, much older than the time of the Renaissance; See Sandy 1997, 50–60.

⁴² Lipsius 1591, 42. The reference to Apuleius appears near the end of chapter 12. Lipsius appears to have recognised the irregularity of recommending Apuleius as a stylistic model: “*immo et interdum [a] Apuleio*” (“sometimes even from Apuleius”).

bibliophile.⁴³ A member of the *bourgeoisie du savoir*, he was well educated in the languages of classical Greece and Rome, counting among his teachers Pierre Danès, Jacques Toussain, Adrien Turnèbe, and Denis Lambin, all of them *lecteurs royaux* in Greek at the Collège de France. The Bibliothèque nationale de France now houses several of the unpublished notebooks that he compiled in accordance with the precepts of Erasmus and other earlier and later humanists and their predecessors in classical antiquity.⁴⁴ Apuleius figures among the classical and later authors from whose works he recorded extracts to be “[stored in] commonplace books, as if in a treasury, whence the literary wealth would be paid out opportunely and beneficially,” in the words of Justus Lipsius (1591).⁴⁵

Three of de Mesmes’ manuscripts contain Apuleian material: LAT 6634, LAT 8720 and LAT 8723. LAT 6634 differs from the other two manuscripts in one significant way: de Mesmes’ role is limited to that of possessor rather than writer. The manuscript has not previously been identified as having belonged to de Mesmes, but his name in his hand is written on the third folio in the form de Mesmes (rather than the Latin Memmius that he also used). It is described thus by de Mesmes: *Codex in Membr. 42 fac. scriptus quo continentur. 1° Apuleii de deo socratis disputatio. 2° Asclepius sive dialogus hermetis.... 3° Apuleii de Dogmate Platonis liber. 4° Eiusdem de philosophia. 5° Eiusdem de mundo.* The intervention by de Mesmes is minimal: the occasional obvious textual correction such as replacing *quod* with *quae* on folio 47 and noting on folio 54^{vo} a textual variant (which I cannot read) *alio exemplar[i]*; on folio 40^{vo} he adds, *Initium est libri qui inscribitur, Liber De Philosophia*; on folio 64, *Cosmographia sive de mundo Apuleii*; and on folio 84, *explicit*. The manuscript is written in a different hand and on different (lined) paper on folio 6, the verso of which is blank. He regularly writes in the margin beside a passage of interest: “*Nota.*”

⁴³ De Mesmes has left a lively account of his studies and career: de Mesmes 1886. On his library see J.-F. Maillard, J. Kecskeméti, C. Magnien and M. Portalier (eds.) 1999, 270 n. 104. Among the prized manuscripts that he once owned is the Greek manuscript of Dionysius the Areopagite dating from the early ninth century.

⁴⁴ See Chatelain 1999, 33. For details of the practice among Greeks and Romans during the Roman imperial period see Sandy 1997, 50–60.

⁴⁵ Lipsius 1591, 42–43; see also Aulus Gellius (*praef.* 2), “...*ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus*” (“...as a kind of literary storehouse to replenish my memory”).

Ms. LAT 8723, which de Mesmes himself compiled, conforms to the guidelines for creating a “literary storehouse.” It contains 247 folios plus one verso side. The folios, which are not cleanly cut, measure approximately 323 mm X 210 mm. The “title page” (folio 1) is set out thus:

Adversaria
Memmii

} *ordine alphabetico digesta*
Inter quae alia }
} *excerpta ex authoribus*

The volume contains excerpts from a wide range of authors, both *veteres* and *recentiores*, e.g. Ex Tertulliano, Ex Apuleio, Ex Vergilio, Ex Petronio, Ex Commentariis in Vegetium, Ex Epistolis Stephani Tornancensis Episcopi, Ex Codice Gregoriano. Folios 2–7 are blank. A “Table of Contents” occupies folios 8–12. Folios 13–16 are blank. At the top of folio 17 the date “13. dec. 1638” has been written in a second hand. The folios from this point have been renumbered in a second hand to encompass the originally unnumbered blank folios, e.g. 28 43. It looks as though someone reorganised de Mesmes’ *Adversaria* 44 years after his death. Four ruled vertical lines have been drawn on each folio to create three columns. The middle column is much narrower than the two flanking columns. It is often blank, sometimes headed “Glossarium,” sometimes serves as an alphabetical register:

	S	
		<i>scolastici vox August. Epist. 56. pag. 97 col. 1. pag. 98. col. 2. pro rhetoricae doctore pag. 99. col. 1. Nota ad Petronium pag. 378.⁴⁶ Seneca Suasoria 3.</i>

⁴⁶ On folio 26 de Mesmes records the edition of Petronius that served as his *texte de base*: “edit. Lugduensis gallia.”

and sometimes serves to record the source of the extracts, e.g. *Ex Apuleio*. The extracts from Apuleius appear on folios 26–27, 321–327 and 478^{vo}–488^{vo}.⁴⁷

Other than the recording of the extracts and their arrangement de Mesmes' intervention is modest, but there are a few features that are worth mentioning:

1. He includes the folio numbers of his 1522 Florentine *texte de base*, as in LAT 8720.⁴⁸
2. That a major purpose of the notebook was as a repertoire of vocabulary and syntax is suggested by this comment on folio 322 [de Mesmes' original numbering]: *Vide notas Bonavent. Vulcanii in Martian. Capellam editione basiliensi una cum Isidoro et ceteris grammaticis. Vide supra ex Scaligero in Varronem et ad calcem libri huius in notis ad Apuleium passim unaquaque littera et in miscellaneis hoc opere.*
3. Folio 27^{vo} [de Mesmes' original numbering] includes this extract from *Florida* 1: “*Ut ferme religiosis viantium...lucus aut aliquis locus sanctus in via oblatu, votum postulare portam opponere*” [de Mesmes' underlining]. He adds: *alii legunt ponum opponere*. In Lat 8720 on folio 72^{vo} he argues against the order of the two words *locus* and *lucus* in his *texte de base*, where on folio 200 this lemma appears: *locus aut lucus*. De Mesmes writes, *Puto haec [verba] trans-*

⁴⁷ The first two sets of folio numbers are the original folio numbers in de Mesmes' hand; the third set as renumbered by a second hand.

⁴⁸ *Quae in toto opere continentur: L. Apuleii...Metamorphoseon, sive de Asino aureo libri XI. Floridorum libri IIII. De deo Socratis libellus. Apologiae libri II. Trismegisti dialogus. De Mundo sive de cosmigrophia liber I. Omnes...diligentissime recogniti ac castigati [a Bernardo Philomathes, Pisano] (Florentiae: per haeredes Philippi Iuntae [Filippo Giunto] [1522]).* Chatelain 1999, 33 identifies the *texte de base*. I merely confirmed its identity for my own satisfaction. The copy that I consulted at the BnF (RES–R–1777) had belonged to de Mesmes' friend, the bibliophile Claude Dupuy (Claudius Puteanus) (1545–1594), as did the manuscript BnF LAT 6286, which contains the *De Deo Socratis*, and the printed Venetian edition of 1516 of Beroaldo's commentary (BnF RES G–R–104). On Dupuy's private library of over 2 000 works and its bequeathal in 1625 by his sons Pierre and Jacques to the French Crown whereby it was incorporated into the Bibliothèque royale and subsequently the BnF and the Bibliothèque Mazarine see Delatour 1998.

posita, et leg[gendum ?] Lucus aut locus consecratus.)⁴⁹ *Alioquin locus potest obscene potius accipi quam sanctè.* De Mesmes is still using the same *texte de base* but writes without comment the phrase “*lucus aut locus*” in the order for which he argued in LAT 8720, suggesting to me that 8720 was written before 8723.

LAT 8720 is devoted exclusively to Apuleius. Of the three manuscripts under discussion here it contains the most “Memmian” intervention and therefore provides the best opportunity to observe de Mesmes’ engagement with the text. It contains 199 folios, several of them blank. The folios, which are not cleanly cut, measure approximately 360 mm X 230 mm. The format of the extracts and notes conforms to four patterns:

1. The material is arranged in two unlined columns, the lemma to the left followed by a space and then the phrase in which the word or words comprising the context of the lemma are written; the word or words comprising the lemma are usually underlined in the phrase.⁵⁰ This pattern prevails for all the extracts from the *Metamorphoses* to and including the first folio of extracts from the *Florida*, that is, folios 1–45, folios 42–44 being blank (plate 1).
2. Starting with the extracts from Book 2 of the *Florida* on folio 45^{vo} de Mesmes has written out selected passages with minimal intervention and without the columnar format and the lemmata (plate 2).
3. From folio 69 to folio 77 (after the blank folios 57–68^{vo}) de Mesmes uses numbered entries without the columnar format. Instead, each entry is “boxed,” that is, separated from the one that follows by a horizontal line (plate 3).
4. Folio 77 is followed by 7 blank folio “pages.” A new set of numbered entries begins on folio 85 without the columnar format. Instead, each entry is “boxed,” that is, separated from the one that follows by a horizontal line. (plates 4–5).

De Mesmes has provided an index on folio 109 to the first set of numbered entries, for example:

⁴⁹ In both LAT 8720 and LAT 8723 de Mesmes uses the symbol “)” after an extract to signal the beginning of his intervention.

⁵⁰ See Chatelain 1999, plate 10.

- 6 *form[ul]a convocandi patres*
 7 *accusatoremque et reum*

and on folio 199^{vo} an index to the second set of numbered entries, for example:

- 65 *monosyllaba redundantia*
in. si. ex. se.

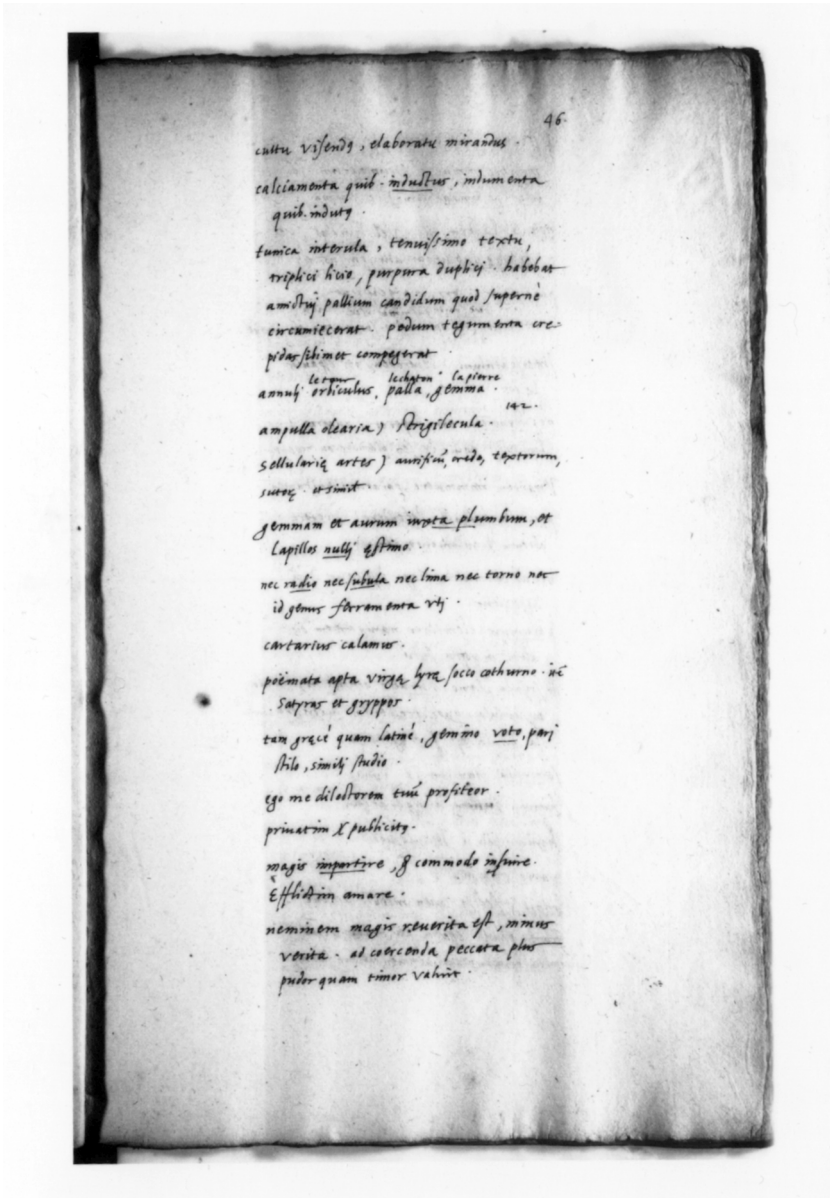
In effect, de Mesmes has combined in one volume two practices recommended by various educational authorities during the sixteenth century: (1) a notebook containing random extracts, as described by his former teacher Adrien Turnèbe, *Ut quenque librum prehenderam, quicquid ex tempore subitoque mentem veniebat, tumultuaria scripture comprehendebam*; (2) a second notebook consisting of headings under which the random extracts were systematically to be grouped for efficient retrieval, as recommended at a later date by Francesco Sacchini in his *De ratione libros cum profectu legendi* (1614).⁵¹

Folio 1 is headed: *Ex Apuleii Metamorph. lib 1*. Each of the remaining ten books of the *Golden Ass* is similarly identified, the extracts from it occupying folios 1–41^{vo}. Folios 42–44^{vo} are blank. Folio 45 is headed: *Ex lib. 1. Florid. Apul.* Each of the remaining three books of the *Florida* is similarly identified, the extracts from it occupying folios 45–48^{vo}. Similar headings are used for extracts from the *De Deo Socratis* (folios 49–49^{vo}) and the *Apology* (folios 49^{vo}–56^{vo}). In addition to recording the Apuleian work from which he has taken an extract de Mesmes has, as in LAT 8723, kept a running record of the folio numbers in the 1522 Florentine edition of the Apuleian corpus that served as his *texte de base*.⁵² They can be seen to the right of the quoted passages in plate 1.

At the most basic level de Mesmes' appears to have taken the extracts with a view to improving his grasp of Latin vocabulary. Here are a few simple examples, all citing Festus as the linguistic authority:

⁵¹ Chatelain 1997, 170–173 and in general Blair 2003.

⁵² See above, note 48.



cunctis visendis, elaboratis mirandis. 46
 calceamenta quibus induitur, in sum cuncta
 quibus induitur.
 tunica intorula, tenuissimo textu,
 triplici hirs, purpura duplici. habebat
 amictum pallium candidum quod superne
 circumiecerat. pedum tegumenta cre-
 pidas sibi met competerat.
 annuli ^{serpentes} ^{leopardi} ^{lacrimare}
 annuli ^{serpentes} ^{leopardi} ^{lacrimare} ^{serpentes} ^{leopardi} ^{lacrimare}
 ampulla olearia) Perigibacula. 122
 sellularis arbor) auribus, ordo, exortum,
 suae. ut sunt.
 gemmam et aurum inota plumbum, et
 Lapis nully estimo.
 nec radiis nec subula nec lima nec cornu nec
 id genus feram cuncta uti.
 cartarius calamus.
 pinnata apta virga lyra sicu cathurno. ut
 Satyras et greges.
 tan graeci quam latini. geminis voto, pari
 stilo, simili studio.
 ego me dilectorem tuum profiteor.
 primatum I publicist.
 magis impertire, si commodo infirio.
 Effudit amare.
 neminem magis reuerita est, minus
 vocata. ad concorda peccata plus
 pudet quam timer valuit.

Plate 2: BnF MS Latin 8720 folio 46.

gannitus secreti “*secretis gannitibus* [de Mesmes’ underlining] *quod essent latrocinio partae videbantur indicare*”.) *Fest.* “*Ganeum antiqui locum abditum ac velut sub terra dixerunt*” (folio 10^{vo} [Apul. *Met.* 4,1]);⁵³

and:

gurgustiolum “*gurgustiolum*”.) *Fest.* “*genus habitationis angustum. a gurgulione*” (folio 11 [Apul. *Met.* 4,10]);

and:

matronatus “*filo liberalem et, ut matronatus* [de Mesmes’ underlining] *eius indicabat, summam regionis*”.) “*matronas*” (*inquit Festus*) “*appellant eas quibus ius erat stolas habendi*” (folio 12^{vo} [Apul. *Met.* 4,23]).

On a few occasions linguistic analysis does not go beyond providing French equivalents, e.g.:

“*sole florida*”. *beau et clair* (folio 26 [Apul. *Met.* 8,15]).

and:

praeter viam “*praeter viam defluebat*”.) *à travers le chemin* (folio 22^{vo} [Apul. *Met.* 7,18]).

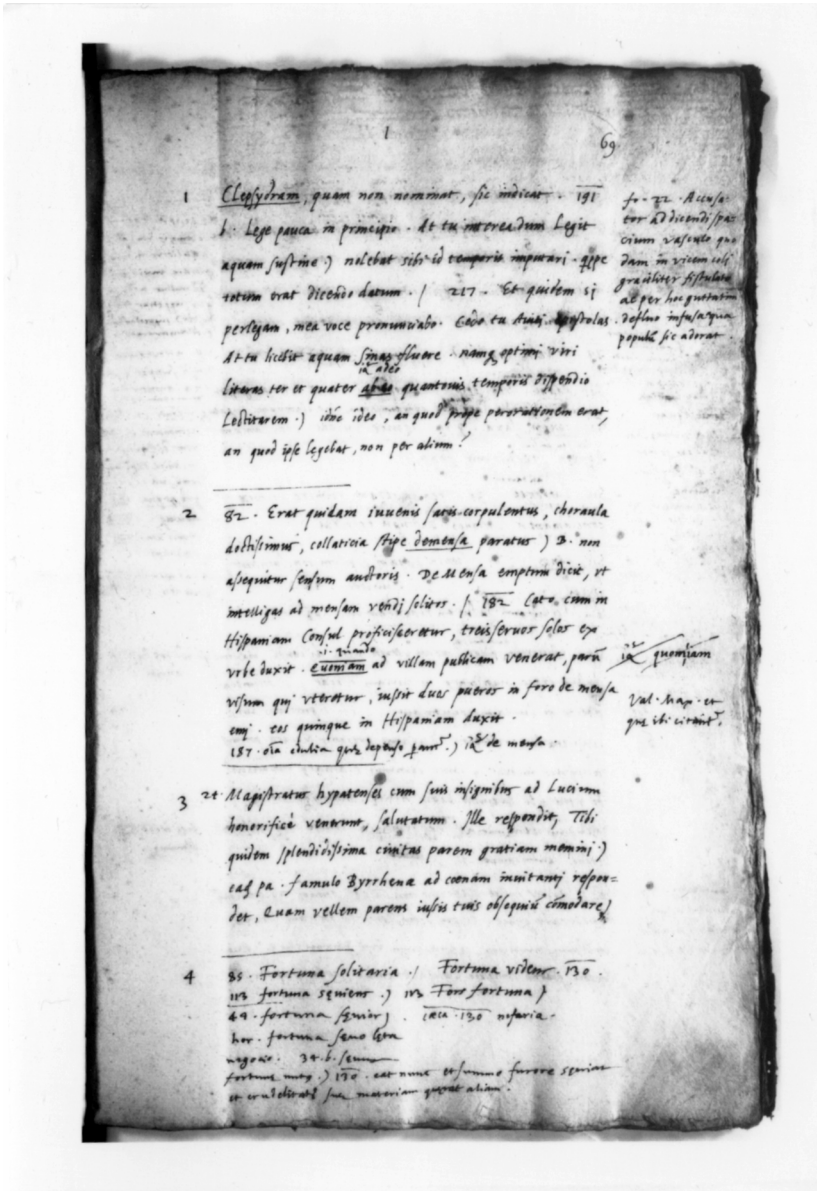
De Mesmes appears to have taken special interest in what he calls “*formulae*.” Under the heading “*Formulae erant certe populares et celebres*” (folio 69^{vo}) he lists several extracts that he has so categorised, e.g.:

“*proclamares saltem suppetiatum*” (Apul. *Met.* 1,14)

“*viciniam suppetiatum convocans*” (Apul. *Met.* 7,7)

“*conclamatatum viatorum praesidium*” (Apul. *Met.* 7,21)

⁵³ De Mesmes has misunderstood the word, confusing *gannitus* with *ganeum*, to the latter of which Festus’ definition applies.



1 Cleopatra, quam non nominat, sic indicat. 191
 l. Lego pauca in principio. Et tu interea dum Legit-
 aquam sustineo) nescit sibi id temperis impurari. qpe
 totum erat Nicobis datum. | 217. Et quidem si
 perlegam, mea voce pronuntiabo. Cui tu dicitur. Appulos
 Et tu licet aquam sumas fluere. nam optimi viri
 litam per et quater ab quantum tempore disponio
 Lestitarem.) ibi ideo, an quid prope paratitiam erat,
 an quid ipse legelat, non per alium?

f. 72. Accu-
 tor ad dicendi pas-
 cium respectu quo-
 dam in xicum ubi
 graviter fistulata
 ad per hoc guttatum
 desino insuatur
 populi sic adorat.

2 82. Erat quidam iuuenis sarsi corpulentus, choralia
 delibitum, cellaria sipe domenica paratus) 3. non
 alioquin sensum auerit. De mensa emptum dicit, ut
 intelligas ad mensam veteri solius. | 182. Cat. cum in
 Hispaniam Consul proficisceretur, tres/seruos solas ex
 vire duxit. eum ad villam publicam venerat, parū
 vsum qui vteretur, insit dicit patris in foro de mensa
 cui. et quinque in Hispaniam duxit.
 187. et cetera que de his sunt.) | De mensa

in quoniam
 Val. Max. cu-
 que ibi citant.

3 21. Magistratus hypatonel cum suis insignibus ad Lucium
 honorifice venerunt, salutarem. Ille respondit, Tili
 quidem splendidissima civitas paroni gratiam meminij)
 ead pa. famulo Byrrhena ad cenam invitatus; respon-
 det. Quam vellem paroni iuris tuis obsequij comorare)

4 85. Fortuna solitaria. Fortuna videtur. 130.
 113 fortuna sequitur.) 112 Fort fortuna)
 69. fortuna fignit.) 121. 130. nifaria.
 hor. fortuna fano lora
 negat. 34. 6. cum
 fortuna mag.) 130. cat. nunc ut fano furore semine
 ut contulitad fua maxiam gnat aliam.

Plate 3: BnF MS Latin 8720 folio 69.

and on folio 70^{vo} in the entry numbered 9, adds detail to the extract on folio 20^{vo} (lemma: “*NON FECL. Form[ula]*”):

- 9 *Sed ad iudicia redeamus. Locutio erat reis familiaris, et velut formula, “Non feci.” “Nec mihi tamen licebat causam meam defendere vel unico verbo saltem denegare” (Apul. Met. 7,3).) Hoc pertinet quod est Tertull[iani] ex mea emendatione. “Nego”.) Hoc est quod hic unico verbo significat, “Nego.”*

The *formulae* above would have had special interest to de Mesmes in his capacity as a lawyer. The following example, from folio 69 (see plate 3), would have benefited his ability to converse in Latin. He does not categorize the entries here as *formulae*, but the first of them also appears on folio 8^{vo}, where the lemma is “*formula respondendi*”:

- 3 24 *Magistratus hypatensis...ad Lucium honorificè venerunt, salutatum. Ille respondit, “Tibi quidem...splendidissima civitas...parem gratiam memini” (Apul. Met. 3,11).) ...famulo Byrrhenae ad coenam invitanti respondit, “Quam vellem parens...iussis tuis obsequium commodare” (Apul. Met. 3,12). (The “3” at the beginning of the entry is the number of the entry; the “24” the folio number of the *texte de base*.)*

De Mesmes’ determination to compile a systematic register of Apuleian words and phrases is also evident. As was the practice during the period, he arranges them by topic rather than alphabetically.⁵⁴ Here are a few examples. On folio 76^{vo}, under the heading “*Momenta noctis et diei*” he has listed temporal excerpts and compared the Apuleian temporal designations with those in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1,3 (*Collatio cum Macrobii lib. 1, ca. 3. Saturn.*). In another example, on folio 77 in the “boxed” entry numbered 23, he has gathered material on the colour of women’s hair:

- 23 *De coloribus capillorum mulierariorum*
13 “*Quid cum capillis color gratus et nitor splendidus inlucet et contra solis aciem vegetus fulgurat vel placidus renitet aut in*

⁵⁴ See Chatelain 1997, 170 on the methodical classification recommended by Sacchini.

contrariam gratiam variat aspectum et nunc aurum coruscans in lenem mellis deprimitur" (Apul. Met. 2,9).⁵⁵

126 "*nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida et, quae longe longaeque etiam meum confutabat optutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore*" (Apul. Met. 11,3).

143 "*color psittaco uiridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola ceruice distinguitur. enimvero ceruicula eius circulo mineo uelut aurea torqui pari fulgoris circumactu cingitur et coronatur*" (Apul. Fl. 12).

Latin syntax sometimes occupies de Mesmes' attention, as in this numbered entry:

- 44 34. "*toto elemento sepultus*".) *mari. Rectè. Sepultus. Plin. Lib 7.c. 54, sepultus, quoquo modo conditus* (folio 91^{vo} [Apul. Met. 4,11]).⁵⁶

The numbered "boxed" entries often serve to record detailed linguistic, syntactical, stylistic, and grammatical analysis of phrases recorded previously. They give the impression that de Mesmes has returned to extracts after additional research. Here are a few examples. In the first of the second set of numbered "boxed" entries he returns to the phrase *emersi me*, which he also recorded on the first folio ("fo. 1") of his extracts (plate 4):

- 1 fo. 1 "*postquam ardua montium emersi me*" [de Mesmes' underlining] (Apul. Met. 1,2)
fo. 83 "*se penetrant*." (Apul. Met. 8,29) 39^{et 32} "*eiulans se*."⁵⁷
Cic. De Arusp. responsis. "*Tum se emergit*." (Cic. Har. 25,55)

⁵⁵ The number 13 and the numbers that follow refer to the folio numbers in de Mesmes' *texte de base*.

⁵⁶ The "44" is the number of the entry, the "34" the folio number in de Mesmes' *texte de base*, and the reference is to Pliny *NH* 7,54,187. The "*mari*" is quoted from the previous sentence in Apul. Met. 4,11. It looks as though de Mesmes was concerned about the suitability of *sepultus* for burial at sea. The full passage in Pliny seems to have reassured him (*rectè*), *Sepultus vero intellegatur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contactus*.

⁵⁷ The suprascript "et 32" represents de Mesmes' caret and what he has written above "39" and "*eiulans*."

*Sed emergere ardua, non adeo frequenter repertum.*⁵⁸
*Prob. Timotheus circumvehens [...?].*⁵⁹
Plin. lib.12. c. 19 “*vehunt per maria vasta ratibus.*” (Plin. *Nat.*
 12,42,87)
Plaut. Mostell[aria, 778] “*vehit hic autem aliter senex.*”

De Mesmes concludes:

*Sequitur, equo vehens, propriè. Sic Aemil. Probus.*⁶⁰ *Sic Cic. “adulescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehementem.”* (Cic. *Brut.* 97,331)

In the third of the second set of numbered “boxed” entries de Mesmes includes stylistic analysis with textual criticism (plate 4)⁶¹:

- 3 *Huisce) pro, cuiusque, et huiscemodi, 144 pro cuiusque modi. Quod grammatici notant.*
f. 127 “gestire mihi cuncta videbantur, ut pecua etiam huiuscemodi [de Mesmes’ underlining] et totas domos et ipsum diem”
*(Apul. Met. 11,7).*⁶²
130 “vannos onustas aromatis et huiuscemodi [de Mesmes’ underlining] suppliciis” (Apul. *Met.* 11,16).
133 “libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos, partim figuris huiuscemodi [de Mesmes’ underlining] animalium” (Apul. *Met.* 11,22). (See n. 62.)

The conclusion that de Mesmes draws is consistent but not in agreement with Helm’s editorial ruminations and decisions (see n. 63):

⁵⁸ The sentence “*sed...repertum*” is de Mesmes’ conclusion, not a quotation of a classical Latin author. Scobie 1975, 79 with the aid of modern reference works confirms the conclusion reached independently by de Mesmes.

⁵⁹ Presumably, de Mesmes is referring to this passage in Cornelius Nepos, *Idem classi praefectus circumvehens Peloponnesum* (*Timoth.* 2,1). In some manuscripts the work is attributed to the fifth-century grammarian Aemilius Probus, hence de Mesmes’ “Prob.”

⁶⁰ See above, note 59.

⁶¹ Textual emendation was the principal purpose of the *adversaria* of humanist philologists; see Chatelain 1997, 177.

⁶² Modern editions print *cuiusque* (or *cuiusce*) *modi* instead of the *huiusquemodi*. See R. Helm (ed.), *Apuleius I: Metamorpheseon Libri XI*, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1968³): 271, 18–19 and 190, 15.

*Sic intelligo lib. 1. f. 2. "et huiuscemodi [de Mesmes' underlining] cauponarum mercibus" (Apul. Met. 1,5). Cum autem ignorantione huius rei multi loci corrupti sint, non dubito quin fo. 85, "cuiusque modi," parum eleganti vocabulo, legendum sit, "Arreptis huiuscemodi telis."*⁶³

In this example, from folio 85^{vo}, stylistic and textual analysis are also combined:

- 4 fo. 120 "titione candenti inter media femina detruso crudelissimae necavit" (Apul. Met. 10,24.) *puto legendum media interfoeminea*.⁶⁴ sic loci muliebres munditer vocantur Latinè. fo. 190 "interfoemineum tegat et femoris obiectu et palmae uelamento" (Apul. Apol. 33). *est autem locutio huic nostro [viz. Lucio] familiaris. ut f. 50. 62*⁶⁵ "super supercilium amnis" (Apul. Met. 5,25) *et f. 30 "opulentiae nimiae nimio".* (Apul. Met. 3,28). *et f. 56 "inde de".* (Apul. Met. 6,11) *et fo. 109. "opus operae".* (Apul. Met. 9,39; Ms. F) 43 "medio luci meditullio" (Apul. Met. 5,1) *ibidem "sine pretio pretiosa."* (Apul. Met. 5,1)

In the left margin of this entry de Mesmes has written:

*Sic em^{dum} (i.e., emendandum) 16. "paulisper etiam glabella interfoeminea rosea palmula potius obumbrans de industria quam tegens verecundia" [de Mesmes' underlining] (Apul. Met 2,17). nam verecunda, dixerat Beroaldus necessario, quod alioque non videbat quid tegetetur.*⁶⁶ *hoc*

⁶³ The last three words come from Apul. Met. 9,2. Helm (above n. 62): 204, 4 prints *cuiusce modi* and refers the reader to the *apparatus criticus* on line 15 on page 190. De Mesmes' numerical references, e.g. 130 refer to the folio number of his *texte de base*; those preceded by f. or fo. refer to the folio number of his notebook.

⁶⁴ "Interfoeminea" and "interfoemineum" should of course be written "interfoemina" and "interfoeminium," while maintaining the mediaeval and early-modern scribal practice of rendering "e" as "oe" in such words as *foelix (felix) and caeteras (ceteras)*.

⁶⁵ I cannot determine what the "62" refers to. Folio 62 of de Mesmes' notebook is blank; folio 62 of his *texte de base* contains part of Book 6 of the *Golden Ass*, but I cannot find a comparable example of pleonasm there. De Mesmes' reading "super supercilium" appears in modern critical editions as "iuxta supercilium" without any editorial indication of a variant "super."

⁶⁶ De Mesmes is paraphrasing Beroaldo's comment on folio 45^{vo}: *Lego verecunda...*

*genus loquendi Lucio familiare. 6. "non misericordia iugulo meo peper-
cisse, sed saevitia cruci me reservasse"* (Apul. *Met.* 1,15).

Neither de Mesmes' nor Beroaldo's conjecture has any merit. De Mesmes' reference to Beroaldo, however, underscores the latter's fundamental role in sixteenth-century Apuleian studies. To judge by de Mesmes' observation that Beroaldo has omitted part of the text of the *Golden Ass*, he appears to have read Beroaldo's commentary carefully and extensively rather than to have consulted it for information on specific issues: "*plane centunculis disparibus et male consarcinatis semiamictum, inter quos*" (Apul. *Met.* 7,5), *quod B[eroaldus] non capit.*⁶⁷ De Mesmes frequently cites him, usually with the designation "B.," sometimes without expressing a judgment, as in this example on folio 14:

*horrea "aedium horrea sublimi fabrica perfecta magnisque congesta
gazis."* (Apul. *Met.* 5,2) s 30. 37.⁶⁸ *H-de praet. vig.* [i.e.,
Horrea de (officio) praefecti vigiliu[m]] B[eroaldus]⁶⁹;

and this example from folio 17^{vo}:

"retro metas martias Mercurium praedicatorem" (Apul. *Met.* 6,8). *Mur-
tias. Sic postea vidi legere Beroald[um].*

De Mesmes is sometimes critical of Beroaldo's comments, as in this example from folio 26^{vo}:

⁶⁷ De Mesmes, LAT 8720, 74. Beroaldo 1550, 145–145^{vo} omits the words between *commodum* (Helm 157, 25) and *dedussum* (Helm 158, 18) (Apul. *Met.* 7,5–6).

⁶⁸ The "s" has the equivalent of an umlaut above it, the abbreviation of *supra*. The two numbers after the "s" refer to folio numbers in de Mesmes' *texte de base*. De Mesmes uses *ī* to represent *infra*. Both abbreviations can be seen in plate 1. See also Chatelain 1999, plate 10 for an example of "s" with "umlaut" and plate 3 for both abbreviations as used by Claude Dupuy.

⁶⁹ Beroaldo 1500, 102, where Beroaldo observes that *horrea* were used to store precious objects as well as grain. He quotes the juriscult Iulius Paulus (*Digest* 1,15,3,2 *de off. praef. vig.*), "...in horreisque, ubi homines pretiosissimam partem fortunarum suarum reponunt."

cruorem abstergens quiritabat “*deum fidem clamitans et cruorem altius quiritabat*” (Apul. *Met.* 8,18) *pro domini-et nota sic s-71-b utroque loco [...?] B[eroaldus] malè. imperatorem credo intelligit. vel sim*⁷⁰;

and this example from folio 69 (plate 3):

“*erat quidam iuvenis satis corpulentus, choraula doctissimus, collaticia stipe de mensa paratus*” (Apul. *Met.* 8,26.) *B[eroaldus] non assequitur sensum auctoris. de mensa emptum dicit, ut intelligas ad mensam rendi solitos*⁷¹;

and this from folio 101^{vo}:

33 “*ibi cum singuli derepsissent*” (Apul. *Met.* 4,7.) *Malè B.[eroaldus]*.⁷²

De Mesmes appears to express approval of one of Beroaldo’s explanations after doing subsequent research. On folio 14^{vo} he records this extract from 5,9 of the *Golden Ass*:

“*foetu satiante*” “*haec [autem] novissima, quam foetu satiante postremus partus effudit.*” *Virg. “Extremam... (Verg. A. 4,179).” “ubi extremam exposuit Servius pro pessimam.” B[eroaldus]*.

In the “boxed” entry numbered 53 on folio 92^{vo} he returns to the passage:

53 45.b. “*haec autem novissima, quam foetu satiante postremus partus effudit.*”⁷³ *rectè B[eroaldus:] “deteriores foetus nascuntur novissimi.” Verg. “extremam...,” Servius explicat pessimam.*⁷⁴

⁷⁰ “s-71-b”: the “s” (with the equivalent of an umlaut above it) represents *supra*, 71 the folio of the *texte de base*, “b” verso. Beroaldo 1500, 178.

⁷¹ Beroaldo 1500, 185^{vo}: “...significet pecuniam demensarii...prosolutam.”

⁷² Beroaldo 1500, 78^{vo} prints, without explanation, *irrepissent*.

De Mesmes also engages with the contemporary scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) on a few occasions. Here is an example from folio 72^{vo}:

“*idem libidinum ganearumque locus, lustrum, lupanar*” [de Mesmes’ underlining] (Apul. *Apol.* 74.) *non tacebo errorem Lipsii qui s pro pomo donum reponit. Oblitus illud vulgarius “Vere rosa, autumnno pomis, aestate frequentor spicis” (Priap. 86,1–2).*⁷⁵

In the right margin de Mesmes has added:

Sen. Suasor. (sic) 2. “*Deducta es in lupanar, accepisti locum, pretium constitutum est, titulus inscriptus est*” (Sen. *Con.* 25,2,1). *vide B[eroaldum] [...?]*

On folio 73^{vo} (No. 16 of the first set of “boxed” entries) de Mesmes records several Apuleian extracts that feature clothing and then under the heading “*Nunc ad foeminas [vestes]*”:

66 [which refers to the extract on folio 66^{vo}, lemma: *furatus se*] “*ipse me furatus aegre solus mediis Orci faucibus ad hunc evasi modum sumpta veste muliebri florida, in sinus flaccidos abundante, mitellaque textili contecto capite, calceis feminis albis illis et tenuibus inductus et et in sequirem sexum incertatus atque absconditus*” (Apul. *Met.* 7,7–8.) *Sententia Lipsii. ergo bene Vopiscus Aurelio. “calcos albos viris tulit..., muleribus reliquit” (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Divini Aureliani 49). tu [i.e., Lipsi] parum prudenter veterem scriptorem reprehendis in re vetere, et galbos pro albos reponis.*

⁷³ 45.b represents folio 45^{vo} in de Mesmes’ *texte de base*.

⁷⁴ Beroaldo 1500, 104^{vo}, “*Eruditi autumant deteriores esse foetus qui nascuntur novissimi: ad quod Virgilianum illud grammatici referunt...ubi extremam exposuit Servius pro pessimam: tamque pessimi sint ultimo loco geniti.*” Serv. *A.* 4,179, “*Omnes enim qui de medicina tractant dicunt naturale esse ut inutiliores sint qui nascuntur ultimi.*”

⁷⁵ The “s” between the “*qui*” and the “*pro*” has the equivalent of an umlaut above it, representing “supra,” i.e., folio 72^{vo}, where de Mesmes deals with the order of the words “*lucus*” and “*locus*” in Apul. *Fl.* 1; see above No. 3 in my description of de Mesmes’ *Adversaria*, MS LAT 8723. According to Valpy (ed.) 1825, VI, 2840 Lipsius proposed the emendation in “El. II. 18,” presumably, page 18 of his *Electorum libri 2. in quibus, praeter Censuras, varii prisca Ritus*, which I have not seen.

This final example, from folio 90, of de Mesmes' engagement with Lipsius is surprisingly harsh (plate 5):

36 15. b. "*Photis iacta proximat rosaserta et rosa soluta in sinu tuberante*" [de Mesmes' underlining] (Apul. *Met* 2,16)...*Capitol. Anton. Aurelio* "*In saliatu omen accepit imperii: coronas omnibus in pulvinar ex more iacientibus aliae aliis locis haeserunt, huius velut manu capiti Martis aptata est*" [de Mesmes' underlining] (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Marci Aurelii* 4).⁷⁶ Lips[i] *Elec.*- 189. *fingit legi "coronis iacientibus" ut emendet, cum et apud Frobenium in f°-1533 ante natum Lipsium et Frobenium in f°1546 et R[obertum] Steph[anum] 8° 1544 ita legat[...?] vidimus et [...?] legi idque explicam hi loci disertissime. [...?]. Honorem ei publice [...?] Lipsius emendare potius quod eoque loco legitur [...?] quod optimè emendavit R[obertus Stephanus] in [...?] libro.*⁷⁷

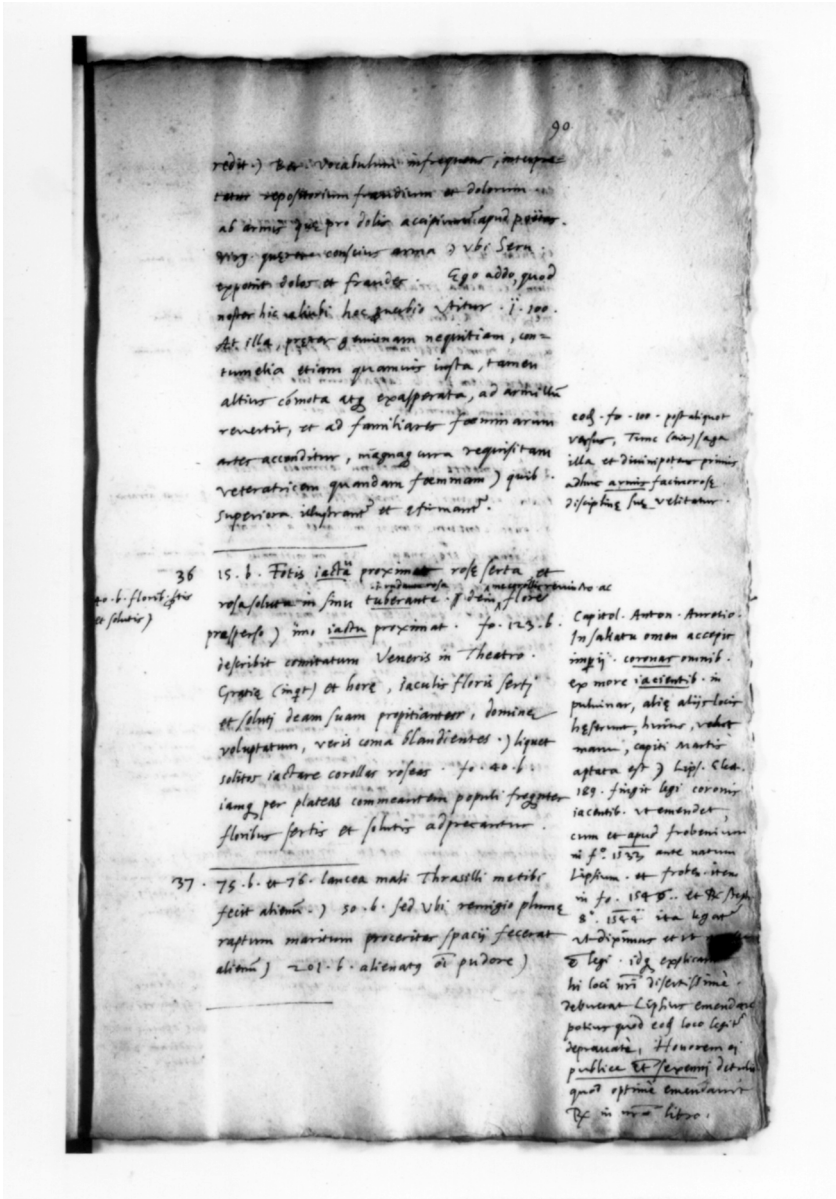
As is evident from my liberal use of the symbol "[...?]," I had considerable difficulty reading de Mesmes' note, which is squeezed into the right margin of the entry (see plate 5). The gist is clear, however: de Mesmes accuses Lipsius of claiming as his own an emendation that had already appeared in three editions of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* published before his birth.

De Mesmes' few critical comments and his occasional conjectural emendations appear to put MS LAT 8720 into the category of the type of philological study known in the sixteenth century as *Adversaria*, such as the *Adversaria* of one of de Mesmes's professors of Greek at the Collège de France, Adrien Turnèbe, which consists principally of a number of proposed emendations.⁷⁸ Such philological explorations could also contain *explicationes*, that is, explanations of the cultural and linguistic reality underlying the text, as in de Mesmes' "archaeological" and linguistic analysis of the phrase "*gannitus secreti*" (cited above).

⁷⁶ "36 15. b." = No. 36 in the second set of numbered entries, folio 15^{vo} in the *texte de base*. Helm (above, n. 62) prints *laeta* instead of *iacta*; MS f: *lacta*.

⁷⁷ "*Lips[i] Elec.*- 189": presumably page 189 of one of the volumes of Lipsius' *Electorum Libri*.

⁷⁸ Chatelain 1997, 177 and Maillard 1998, 23.



90
 rest.) Ba. vocabulum inflexum, occupat
 tunc repertum frigidum et dolorem
 ab omni que pro dolo accipiturque patitur.
 quod quoniam capitis arum & vbi Sera
 exponit dolo et fraude Ego addo quod
 noster hic reliqui hec quodvis titer .i. 100.
 de illa, p[er]tra & tunc non negotiam, con-
 tinentia etiam quamvis infra, tamen
 altius comita atq[ue] exasperata, ad amittit
 revertit, et ad familiarit[er] faciem arum
 ante accenditur, magis cum reguntur
 veterat[er] non quondam faciem) quib[us].
 Superiora illustrant et estimant.

col. fo. 100. p[er] aliquot
 v[er]sus, Tunc laus/aga
 illa et dimittitur p[ri]mo
 ad hoc armis faciem
 d[er]ivatus s[er]u[er]e velatur.

36
 fo. b. florib[us] s[er]u[er]e
 et s[er]u[er]e)

15. b. Floris iacta proxima rose sortu et
 resalutem in s[er]u[er]e tuberante. p[er] d[er]ivatus florib[us]
 pra[er]p[er]to) in iacta proxima. fo. 125. b.
 i[er]u[er]it ornatum Veneris in Theatro.
 Gratia (ingr) et here, iactis florib[us] sortu
 et s[er]u[er]e deam suam propinquant, domina
 voluptatum, veri coma blonkentes) h[er]e
 soliter iactare coralle r[er]s[er]e. fo. 40. b.
 iam per plateas commendant populi fregit
 florib[us] sortu et s[er]u[er]e adprecantur.

Capitol. Anton. Amatio.
 fo. 125. b. emen accepit
 imp[er]ij. coronat omnib[us].
 Ego more iactantib[us] in
 pulch[er]ar, abiq[ue] alijs locis
 h[er]e, h[er]e, v[er]u[er]e
 man[us], capiti marti
 aptam est) Lipsi. Clod.
 189. f[er]it legi coronis
 iactantib[us]. v[er]e emendat
 cum et apud f[er]onem
 in fo. 155. ante nam
 Lipsium. et f[er]o. item
 in fo. 154. b. de p[er] h[er]e
 8. 154. b. ita legi
 ut dicitur et v[er]e
 8 legi. id[em] exp[er]it
 hi loci v[er]e d[er]ivatus
 debuerat Lipsius emendat
 potius quod col loco legi
 deprecate. H[er]e v[er]e
 publica et f[er]o d[er]ivatus
 quod optime emendat
 p[er] in v[er]e libro.

37. 75. b. et 76. lancea mali Thrastli metibi
 fecit alium.) 50. b. sed vbi remigis plume
 raptum marium praecidit/paci fecerat
 alium) 201. b. alienary ai pudore)

Plate 5: BnF MS Latin 8720 folio 90.

It would, however, be misleading to categorize de Mesmes' *notes de lecture* as a philological treatise. Their focus on rare and striking words and phrases is more in accord with the recommendations of Erasmus in his *De Ratione Studii* (1511) (see note 40 and related text) and those of Lipsius in his *Epistolica Institutio* (1591) (see note 42 and related text). In other words, de Mesmes has compiled a tool and "retrieval mechanism" for helping him to assimilate transmitted culture.⁷⁹ He has combined with this educational goal the humanist practice of making marginal and interlinear notes intended to engage in a dialogue with the classical text, to probe it, to question it, to take away from the exchange a better understanding of it and to leave it better in return. The physical manifestation of the process is not marginal (*marginalia*) but rather noteworthy (*notabilia*). De Mesmes himself provides a lively account of his structured habits of taking, making and revising notes during his time as a student of law at the University of Toulouse. The practice, which antedates the Renaissance but came to be prominent in the scholarly culture of that period, was carried over to printed Renaissance editions such as Beroaldo's commentary on the *Golden Ass*, where the margins contain *tituli* that also serve as the basis of the *Tabula rerum et vocabulorum notabilium*.⁸⁰

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⁷⁹ The quoted phrase comes from Moss 1998, 421.

⁸⁰ Chatelain 1999, 30–31. A Standard Research Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada enabled me to conduct the research for this chapter at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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