

**COSMOLOGY, MAGIC AND DIVINATION:
MAGIC AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD
WEEK 7 SOURCES**

A sage, prophet and philosopher: Apollonius of Tyana

Apollonius of Tyana (1st century AD)

Apollonius of Tyana was a Neopythagorean holy man: a divinely-inspired sage, prophet and philosopher. He was accused of being a ‘magician.’ Philostratus wrote a philosophical biography about his life, which contains many fantastical elements – it can only be read as an approximate guide to the historical Apollonius.

He was a reformer of traditional Graeco-Roman, pagan religion along Pythagorean lines. He followed a typically Pythagorean lifestyle: vegetarianism, periods of silence, walking around barefoot.

He travelled widely, visiting Asia Minor and India, among other places and advising cities (for example, Sparta). He lived in, and visited, many temples and reformed religious customs and cults.

“Apollonius may be the earliest Greek philosopher we can identify who claims that philosophical understanding ultimately requires divine inspiration, an inspiration to be attained by an ascetic life and, perhaps, by certain ritual practices” (Michael Frede in R. Sorabji (ed) *Aristotle and After*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, London, Suppl. 68 (1997), 5).

Apollonius of Tyana, Epistle, 16¹

You think it is your duty to call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magicians [*magoi*], and likewise also those who follow Orpheus. For my own part I think that those who follow no matter whom, ought to be called magicians [*magoi*], if only they are determined to be divine and just men.

Apollonius of Tyana, Epistle, 17²

The Persians give the name of magi to divine beings. A magus [*magos*] then is either a worshipper of the gods or one who is by nature divine. Well, you are no magus [*magos*], but a man without god [*atheos*].

Apollonius orders the stoning of a plague-demon at Ephesus

Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, 4.10³

When the plague fell upon the Ephesians, and no defence against it could be found, they sent to Apollonius, and made him their doctor for the disease. He thought that this was a trip he could not put off, but on saying “Let us go” he was already in Ephesus. I think he did the same thing as Pythagoras, who contrived to be at once in both Thurii and Metapontum. Apollonius assembled the Ephesians and

¹ Apollonius of Tyana, *Epistle 16*, in PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vita Apollonii)*, trs: F.C. Conybeare (1922), 2 vols. Volume 2. Loeb, London: Heinemann.

² Apollonius of Tyana, *Epistle 17*, in PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vita Apollonii)*, trs: F.C. Conybeare (1922), 2 vols. Volume 2. Loeb, London: Heinemann.

³ PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vita Apollonii)*, trs: F.C. Conybeare (1922), 2 vols. Loeb, London: Heinemann.

said, “Do not worry, for I will put an end to the disease this day.” Saying this, he led all the people into the theatre, where the statue of the Averter is now sited. There he found what appeared to be an old beggar contriving to squint. He carried a wallet and morsel of bread in it. He was dressed in rags and had a squalid face. Apollonius grouped the Ephesians around the beggar and said, “Collect as many stones as you can and throw them at this enemy of the gods.” The Ephesians were taken aback by this instruction, and thought it terrible to kill a stranger in such an unfortunate condition. The beggar himself was beseeching Apollonius and begging for pity, but Apollonius was insistent and urged the Ephesians to get on with the job and not to let the man go. When some of the people began to pelt him with stones, the man who had been pretending to be squinting suddenly looked up at them and showed that his eyes were full of fire. The Ephesians then recognised that he was a demon and so they stoned him to death so thoroughly that they built up a heap of stones over him. Apollonius waited a little and then asked them to remove the stones and see what creature they had killed. When they got down to what they thought was the man they had stoned, he had disappeared, but they saw a dog resembling the Molossian breed in form, but the greatest lion in size. It had been crushed by the stones and was spitting foam from the side of its mouth, as if rabid. The statue of the Averter, that is, Heracles, is set up in the place in which the apparition was pelted to death.

Apollonius visits the Oracle of Trophonius

Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 8.19⁴

After he had held discussions in Olympia for forty days, and covered many subjects, he said, “City by city, men of Greece, I will converse with you, at your festivals, your processions, your mysteries, your sacrifices, and your libations, because these matters require a man of virtue. But for the present I must go down to Lebadea, since I have never met Trophonius, though I once visited his sanctuary.” With these words he was on his way to Boeotia, leaving none of his admirers behind. The cave mouth at Lebadea is dedicated to Trophonius the son of Apollo, and may only be entered by those who come to receive an oracle. It is to be seen not in the sanctuary but a little way above it on a hill, enclosed by a circular palisade of iron stakes, and you enter as it were by sitting down and being drawn in. People go in processions dressed in white clothing and carrying honey cakes in their hands to mollify the serpents that bite people as they descend. The consultants emerge from the earth, some not far away, some very far away, as when they are carried beyond Locris and Phocis, but most of them emerge on the borders of Boeotia.

On entering the sanctuary, Apollonius said, “I want to go down with a question about philosophy.” The priests opposed him, telling most people that they would never let some sorcerer-type test the oracle, though to the Master they alleged unpropitious days on which it was taboo to consult the oracle....When evening came, he proceeded to the cave mouth with his young disciples, pulled up four of the stakes that form bars before the entrance, and proceeded below ground dressed only in his cloak, just as if prepared for a discussion. In all this he pleased the god so much that Trophonius appeared to his priests, rebuked them for their treatment of the Master, and told them all to follow him to Aulis, where he was to make the most miraculous emergence of all time. And indeed he emerged after seven days, longer than any who had descended to the oracle before, and was carrying a book very germane to his question. On going down he had said, “Which of the philosophies, Trophonius, do you consider the best and the purest?” The book contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, showing that the oracle too agreed with this philosophy.

⁴ PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vita Apollonii)*, trs: F.C. Conybeare (1922), 2 vols. Loeb, London: Heinemann.

QUESTIONS

- 1/ FIRST TWO PASSAGES: Apollonius of Tyana, *Epistles*: In these passages, what does Apollonius say of the *magoi* and their relation to philosophers?
- 2/ SECOND TWO PASSAGES: what do we learn about Apollonius of Tyana in these passages? What powers are attributed to him? What issues do these passages raise regarding the relationship of magic and philosophy?

Magical attacks on the philosopher Plotinus by the Alexandrian Olympius

Porphry, *On the Life of Plotinus*, 10⁵

On the other hand one of those with pretensions to philosophy, the Alexandrian Olympius, who had briefly been a pupil of Ammonius, treated him [i.e. Plotinus] contumeliously out of desire for precedence. So far did his assaults on Plotinus go that he even used magic in an attempt to injure him through the stars. But when he perceived that the attempt had recoiled upon itself, he said to his associates that Plotinus' soul possessed great power, because it was able to turn back the assaults on him against those who were making the attempt to harm him. The attempt of Olympius did in fact produce a reaction in Plotinus, and he said that at that time he suffered spasms of the body "like purse-strings being drawn tight," as his limbs were forced together. Since, however, Olympius was often in danger of suffering more himself than he inflicted on Plotinus, he gave up. For Plotinus did have something more by birth when compared with others.

The conjuration of Plotinus' personal daemon in a temple of Isis

Porphry, *On the Life of Plotinus*, 10⁶

There was a certain Egyptian priest who arrived in Rome and through some friend became acquainted with him [i.e. Plotinus]. Wishing to give a demonstration of his own wisdom, he asked Plotinus to come to a visible conjuration of the personal daemon abiding with him. He readily agreed, and the conjuration took place in the temple of Isis, this being, as the priest said, the one pure place that he had found in Rome. When the daemon was conjured to appear, a god came forth, not one of the daemon-kind. The Egyptian therefore said, "Blessed art thou who hast as the daemon abiding with thee a god and not one of the lesser race." There was, however, no opportunity to ask a question or to see the apparition any longer, for the friend who was a fellow-observer strangled the birds which he was holding for protection, either through jealousy or indeed through fear of something. Having then, one of the higher class of daemons abiding with him, he for his part continued to direct his godlike gaze toward that being. There is, at any rate, a book written by him on some such occasion, *On the Daemon to whom we are Allotted*, in which he tries to give reasons for the variety of companions.

QUESTIONS

- 1/ What happens to the philosopher Plotinus in the two episodes related above?
- 2/ What do these episodes tell us about how philosophers perceived magic and magical practices, and their own relationship with such magical practices?

⁵ Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus (Vita Plotini)*, 10, translated by M.J. Edwards (2000), *Neoplatonic Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

⁶ Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus (Vita Plotini)*, 10, translated by M.J. Edwards (2000), *Neoplatonic Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Sosipatra, the wise woman and philosopher

Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, 466-470 (edited)⁷

After this the renowned Eustathius married Sosipatra, who by her surpassing wisdom made her own husband seem inferior and insignificant. So far did the fame of this woman travel that it is fitting for me to speak of her at greater length, even in this catalogue of wise men.

She was born in Asia, near Ephesus, in that district which the river Cayster traverses and flows through, and hence gives its name to the plain. She came of a prosperous family, blessed with wealth, and while she was still a small child she seemed to bring a blessing on everything, such beauty and decorum illumined her infant years. Now she had just reached the age of five, when two old men (both were past the prime of life, but one was rather older than the other), carrying ample wallets and dressed in garments of skins, made their way to a country estate belonging to Sosipatra's parents, and persuaded the steward, as they were easily able to do, to entrust to them the care of the vines. When a harvest beyond all expectation was the result – the owner himself was there, and with him was the little girl Sosipatra – men's amazement was boundless, and they went so far as to suspect the intervention of the gods. The owner of the estate invited them to his table and treated them with the highest consideration; and he reproached the other labourers on the estate with not obtaining the same results. The old men, on receiving Greek hospitality and a place at a Greek table, were smitten and captivated by the exceeding beauty and charm of the little girl Sosipatra, and they said: "Our other powers we keep to ourselves hidden and unrevealed, and this abundant vintage that you so highly approve is laughable and mere child's-play which takes no account of our superhuman abilities. But if you desire from us a fitting return for this maintenance and hospitality, not in money or perishable and corruptible benefits, but one far above you and your way of life, a gift whereof the fame shall reach the skies and touch the stars, hand over the child Sosipatra to us who are more truly her parents and guardians, and until the fifth year from now fear no disease for the little girl, nor death, but remain calm and steadfast. But take care not set your feet on this soil till the fifth year come with the annual revolutions of the sun. And of its own accord wealth shall spring up for you and shall blossom forth from the soil. Moreover, your daughter shall have a mind not like a woman's or a mere human being's.

[Sosipatra's father accepts the offer of the old men, orders his steward to give the old men whatever they need and then they departed from his estate].

Then those others – whether they were heroes or demons or of some race still more divine – took charge of the child, and into what mysteries they initiated her no one knew, and with what religious rites they consecrated the girl was not revealed even to those who were most eager to learn. And now approached the appointed time when all the accounts of the revenue of the estate were due. The girl's father came to the farm and hardly recognised his daughter, so tall was she and her beauty seemed to him to have changed its character; and she too hardly knew her father. He even saluted her reverently, so different did she appear to his eyes. When her teachers were there and the table was spread, they said: "Ask the maiden whatever you please." But she interposed: "Nay, father, ask me what happened to you on your journey." He agreed that she should tell him. Now since he was so wealthy he travelled in a four-wheel carriage, and with this sort of carriage many accidents are liable to happen. But she related every event, not only what had been said, but his very threats and fears, as though she had been driving with him. Her father was roused to such a pitch of admiration that he did not merely admire her but was dumb with amazement, and was convinced that his daughter was a goddess. Then he fell on his knees before these men and implored them to tell him who they were. Slowly and

⁷ EUNAPIUS, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* (*Vitae Sophistarum*), trs: W.C. Wright (1922), Loeb, London and New York: Heinemann.

reluctantly, for such was perhaps the will of heaven, they revealed to him that they were initiates in the lore called Chaldean, and even this they told enigmatically and with bent heads. And when Sosipatra's father clung to their knees and supplicated them, adjuring them to become masters of the estate and to keep his daughter under their influence and initiate her into still more sacred things, they nodded their assent to this, but spoke no word more....[the old men] left the table, and taking the girl with them they very tenderly and scrupulously handed over to her the whole array of garments in which she had been initiated, and added certain mystic symbols thereto; and they also put some books into Sosipatra's chest, and gave orders that she should have it sealed. And she, no less than her father, took the greatest delight in those men. When the day began to break and the doors were opened, and people began to go to their work, the men also, according to their custom, went forth with the rest. Then the girl ran to her father bearing the good news, and one of the servants went with her to carry the chest. Her father asked for all the money belonging to him that happened to be available, and from his stewards all that they had for their necessary expenses, and sent to call those men, but they were nowhere to be seen. Then he said to Sosipatra: "What is the meaning of this, my child?" After a brief pause she replied: "Now at last I understand what they said. For when they wept and put these things into my hands, they said: "Child, take care of them; for we are travelling to the Western Ocean, but presently we shall return." This proved very clearly that they who had appeared were blessed spirits. They then departed and went wherever it was; but her father took charge of the girl, now fully initiated, and though without pride, filled with divine breath, and he permitted her to live as she pleased and did not interfere in any of her affairs, except that sometimes he was ill pleased with her silence.

And as she grew to the full measure of her youthful vigour, she had no other teachers, but ever on her lips were the works of the poets, philosophers and orators; and those works that others comprehend but incompletely and dimly, and then only by hard work and painful drudgery, she could expound with careless ease, serenely and painlessly, and with her light swift touch would make their meaning clear.

[Sosipatra marries Eustathius, a very wise philosopher, after prophesying to him how many children they would have together, and what their children would be like].

I must relate also what happened after these events. After the passing of Eustathius, Sosipatra returned to her own estate, and dwelt in Asia in the ancient city of Pergamon, and the famous Aedesius loved and cared for her and educated her sons. In her own home Sosipatra held a chair of philosophy that rivalled his, and after attending the lectures of Aedesius, the students would go to hear hers; and though there was none that did not greatly appreciate and admire the accurate learning of Aedesius, they positively adored and revered the woman's inspired teaching.

Now there was one Philometor, a kinsman of hers, who, overcome by her beauty and eloquence, and recognising the divinity of her nature, fell in love with her; and his passion possessed him and completely overmastered him. Not only was he completely conquered by it but she also felt its onslaught. So she said to Maximus, who was one of the most distinguished pupils of Aedesius and was moreover his kinsman: "Maximus, pray find out what ailment I have, that I may not be troubled by it." When he inquired: "Why what ails you?" she replied: "When Philometor is with me he is simply Philometor, and in no way different from the crowd. But when I see that he is going away my heart within me is wounded and tortured till it tries to escape from my breast. Do you exert yourself on my behalf," she added, "and so display your piety."....Philometor pursued his purpose, but Maximus having discovered by his sacrificial lore what was the power that Philometor possessed, strove to counteract and nullify the weaker spell by one more potent and efficacious. When Maximus had completed this rite he hastened to Sosipatra, and bade her observe carefully whether she had the same sensations in future. But she replied that she no longer felt them, and described to Maximus his own prayer and the whole ceremony; she also told him the hour at which it took place, as though she had been present, and revealed to him the omens that had appeared. And when he fell to the earth in

amazement and proclaimed Sosipatra visibly a goddess, she said: “Rise, my son. The gods love you if you raise your eyes to them and do not lean towards earthly and perishable riches.” On hearing this he went away more uplifted than before with pride, seeing that he now had clear and certain proof of the woman’s divine nature. Near the door he was met by Philometor who was coming in, in high spirits, with many of his friends, and with a loud voice Maximus called out to him from some distance: “Friend Philometor, I adjure you in Heaven’s name, cease to burn wood to no purpose.” Perhaps he said this with some inner knowledge of the mal-practices in which the other was engaged. Thereupon Philometor was overawed by Maximus, believed him to be divine, and ceased his plotting, even ridiculing the course of action that he had entered on before.

QUESTIONS

- 1/ What do we learn about Sosipatra in the above passage? What powers are attributed to her?
- 2/ What do we learn of the ‘Old men’ who are her teachers? How is their ‘knowledge’ and ‘wisdom’ characterised?
- 3/ What does Philometor do to Sosipatra, and how does she counteract his measures?

MAGIC, PHILOSOPHY AND THE LAW CASE STUDY: APULEIUS’ APOLOGY

Apuleius on Trial

Apuleius was a Platonist philosopher, writing in the mid second century AD. This defence speech (apology) was written (in Latin) in approximately 158-9 AD. Apuleius’ defence speech refutes various accusations of having practised magic. However, nowhere does he specify the law under which he was charged. It is usually assumed that it was the catch-all Cornelian Law on assassins and sorcerers (*Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*) introduced by Sulla in 81 B.C.

Apuleius had arrived in the North African town of Oea and persuaded its most desirable rich widow, Pudentilla, to marry him, to the chagrin of her family, who wished to retain control of her money. It was the family who brought him to trial, primarily on the ground that he had used erotic magic to seduce Pudentilla, but the case was built up with many further allegations of magical practice, such as those relating to the Hermes doll and his treatment of Thallus, a young boy whom he was supposed to have used in a lamp-divination (it was common to use young boys in lamp-divination rituals; such rituals are commonly attested in the *Greek Magical Papyri*).

Apuleius, *Apology*, 2, 25-27, 47, 80, 90-91 (edited)⁸

2. Aemilianus...chose to base his accusation solely on the calumny of magic, which lends itself more easily to defamation than to proof.

25. For if, as I read in many authors, a “mage” in the Persian tongue is a “priest” in ours, then what crime is there in being a priest, in having due knowledge of, familiarity with, and experience of ceremonial rules, the proper conduct of rites and sacred law? If in fact magic is as Plato expounds it when he relates the disciplines in which the Persians instruct an adolescent prince...I remember the very words of the divine man. Recall them with me, Maximus: “When the boy is fourteen they hand him over to men they call the royal pedagogues. They are chosen as

⁸ Apuleius, *Apology* 2, 25-27, 47, 80, 90-91. Cited from Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.286-290 (Source number 299).

ostensibly the four best Persians of their generation: the wisest, the most just, the most self-controlled and the bravest. One of them teaches the magic of Zoroaster the son of Oromazes. This is the worship of the gods. He also teaches him kingship.” [Alcibiades, 121e-122a]

26. [The education of Persian princes in magic]. Do you hear this, you who so rashly bring accusations against the art of magic, that it is welcomed by the gods and is well versed in the worship and cultivation of them? It is a pious craft, with knowledge of the divine. It has enjoyed distinction since the time of its founders, Zoroaster and Oromazes. It is a high priestess of the heavenly gods. Magic is among the basic elements of royal education and the Persians do not casually permit just anyone to be a mage, any more than they do to be a king. Plato again, in another bit of dialogue, this time about a certain Zalmoxis of Thracian race, a man of a similar craft, put it like this: “beautiful words are charms” [Charmides, 157a]. But if this is the case, why am I not to be allowed to know the good words of Zalmoxis or the sacred rites over which Zoroaster presided?

But if the prosecution think, as ordinary people do, that a mage is properly a man who converses with the immortal gods and has the power to perform all the miracles he likes through the power of incantations, then I am completely amazed that they have not been frightened to lay an accusation against someone they admit to have such great power. For one cannot protect oneself against such a secret and divine power as one can against other things. A man who brings a case against a cutthroat arrives with an escort. A man who accuses a poisoner is more vigilant about what he eats. A man who charges a thief guards his belongings. But if a man brings a mage of the sort of which they speak to trial for a capital offence, with what escort, with what vigilance, with what guards is he to avert undetectable and ineluctable destruction? By none, of course. Hence, no one who believes that a crime of this sort is being committed is going to make an accusation of it.

27. But accusations of this sort are cast against philosophers because of a general misconception among the ignorant. So some of them think that people who investigate the basic constituents of bodies are irreligious and they therefore say that they deny the gods, for example, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus, and other advocates of materialism. Others commonly call those people mages who map out the workings of universal providence with particular care and worship the gods with particular zeal, as if they knew how to do the things they know to be done. This was once the case with Epimenides, Orpheus, Pythagoras and Ostanēs. The *Purifications* of Empedocles fell under similar suspicion, as did Socrates’ “little demon” [*daimonion*] and Plato’s “idea of goodness.” Accordingly, I congratulate myself for being numbered among so many great men.

But as to the stupid and disingenuous allegations cast against me by the prosecution in their attempt to prove their case, I fear that you may think they constitute proper charges simply for being cast against me. “Why,” he says, “did you look for certain varieties of fish?” As if a philosopher is not allowed to do for understanding what a *roué* is permitted to do for his gullet! “Why did a free woman marry you after thirteen years of widowhood?” As if the fact that she had not married for so many years were not more amazing! “Why did she write certain reflections in a letter before marrying you?” As if anyone ought to account for another person’s opinion! “But in fact, although older, she did not scorn the young man.” So this in itself is the proof that there was no need of magic to make a widowed woman wish to marry a bachelor, although his senior. And he has more of the same: “Apuleius has a thing at home that he worships solemnly.” As if it is not a greater crime to have nothing to worship! “A boy collapsed before Apuleius.” What if a young man, what,

for that matter, if an old man had collapsed before me either stricken by a bodily disease or losing his footing on something slippery? Are these your proofs of my magic – the fall of a boy, the marriage of a woman and shopping for fish?

47. And why were you insisting that such a large band of slaves present themselves in court? You have laid an accusation of magic based on the evidence of fifteen slaves. So, fifteen slaves know something, and yet it remains secret. Or is it not secret, and yet still magical? You have to admit one of these alternatives: either the activity in which I had no fear in involving so many witnesses was not illicit, or, if it was illicit, I cannot have involved so many accomplices. This magic of yours, so far as I hear, has long been a matter for the law and was outlawed already in antiquity by the Twelve Tables because, incredibly, of the charming-away of crops. So magic is no less secret than it is foul and horrible. Usually one remains awake through the night to practice it, buries it in darkness, performs it apart from witnesses, and mutters its incantations. Few free men are admitted to the rites, let alone slaves. And you want fifteen slaves to have been involved? Was it a wedding, or some other packed celebration, or a seasonal banquet? Fifteen slaves take part in a magical rite, as if an elected board-of-fifteen for ritual performance? Would I have included this number of men in the activity if there were more of them than needed to know? Fifteen free men constitute a district, as many slaves constitute a household, as many chained slaves a prison house. Did I need this crowd to help me, so that they could hold the purificatory victims for hour upon hour? But you named no victims other than hens! Or were they there to count the grains of incense? Or to knock Thallus over?

80. What's your case then? That she was sane or insane when she wrote [i.e., that she had been maddened by my love magic]? Sane, will you say? In that case she had not been the victim of magical practices. Insane, will you reply? In that case she did not know what she wrote, and so cannot be believed. Rather, if she had been insane, she would not have known that she was insane. For just as it is absurd to say that one is silent, and invalidates the thing claimed with the claim itself, so it is more self-contradictory still to say "I am mad." This cannot be true, unless the person who says it knows what he is saying. And of course a man who knows what insanity is, is sane, for insanity cannot know itself, any more than blindness can see itself. Therefore Pudentilla was in possession of her faculties, if she did not regard herself to be so. I can take this line of reasoning further, should I wish, but that's enough dialectic.

90. I come now to the central point of the accusation, the motive itself for the use of evil magic. Let Aemilianus and Rufinus tell me for what profit I had enticed Pudentilla into marriage with incantations and spells [*venena*], even if I was the greatest of mages...

Consider how confident I am in my own innocence, and how much I despise you. If you find one reason, however tiny, for me to have pursued marriage with Pudentilla for some advantage, if you prove there was some profit in it for me, however modest, then let me be Carmendas or Damigeron or Moses or Iohannes or Apollobex or even Dardanus or any other famous mage since Zoroaster and Ostanes.

91. Look, please, Maximus, what an uproar they have created, because I have told off a few mages by name. What can I do with such philistines, such savages? Am I to tell you again that I have read these names and many others besides in public libraries in the works of the most distinguished authors? Or am I to argue that the knowledge of names is one thing, participation in the craft wholly another, and that one should not make a confession of guilt out of a component of education or a retentive memory. Or, what is preferable by far, Claudius Maximus, should I rely on your education and your full learning and not deign to reply to the allegations of these

stupid and insensitive people? This will be the better course of action. I won't give a fig for what they think. I shall proceed with the argument on which I had embarked, that I had no reason to entice Pudentilla into marriage with spells [*venecifia*]. The prosecution has made a point of denigrating the woman's appearance and age, and made them a reason to find fault with me. They claim that it was for greed that I conceived a desire for a woman of this kind and that I snatched a huge and healthy dowry from her at our first embrace.

QUESTIONS

- 1/ What does Apuleius tell us about the Persian 'mages'? How does this differ from the common understanding and common designation of a 'mage' (*magus* / *magos*)?
- 2/ What does Apuleius say about the relationship between magic and philosophy? What connections and differences does he note between magic and philosophy? Does he use philosophy as part of his defence speech?