

Plate 1. MS Harley 4838, folio 134
(reproduced with permission of the British Library).

The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Coluccio Salutati: MS Harley 4838 (With an Appendix on Sozomeno of Pistoia and the Nonius Marginalia)¹

REGINE MAY
Merton College, Oxford

Introduction: life and work of Coluccio Salutati

In the manuscript tradition of Apuleius, MS Harley 4838 has been neglected, since it is not relevant for the constitution of the text. Despite having some unique features, there is no mention of it in the most recent book on Apuleian textual criticism.² I intend to show how important this hitherto neglected manuscript is for the textual tradition and interpretation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in the Renaissance, by first establishing its readings and their importance, and then tracing its influence throughout the Renaissance scholarship on Apuleius.

MS Harley 4838 was owned and annotated by Coluccio Salutati, whose most interesting and longest marginal notes are on the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* (*Met.* 1,1). The notes have not been properly edited, and what printed versions exist of them are incomplete, imprecise, and untranslated.³ Thus I present here a full transcription and translation of them.

¹ Maaïke Zimmerman was the one who encouraged me to publish my first scholarly attempts on Apuleius, and I am thus very grateful to be allowed to contribute a paper to honour her in her *Festschrift*.

² Magnaldi–Gianotti 2000. Cf. also my review May 2002a. For a general study cf. Reynolds 1983, 15–18.

³ *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. III, 1808; Hildebrand 1842.

Before doing so, however, I should briefly review the life and work of Coluccio Salutati.⁴ He was born in 1331, educated in rhetoric in Bologna, and worked as a notary for most of his life, which must have given him enough spare time to follow his pastime of collecting books and material with which to write his own works. As well as his prose works, he wrote letters, some in verse, and Latin poetry in diverse metres.⁵ A friend of Boccaccio and Petrarch, and teacher of Poggio Bracciolini (1380 – 1459), he was a member of an influential literary circle in Florence, where he also eventually became Chancellor from 1375 to his death in 1406. He was the author of important prose works as diverse as *De Seculo et Religione* (1381–1382, on monastic life) and *De Fato et Fortuna* (1396, on the problem of free will and predestination). Salutati also knew Zanobi da Strada,⁶ whose importance for the transmission of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* cannot be overestimated, since he 'saved' the only manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* from oblivion, by 'removing' it from the monastery of Monte Cassino, and subsequently bringing it to the attention of the early humanists in Florence.⁷ There it caused immediate interest, and several copies were soon made. On this famous archetype, Laurentiana MS 68.2 (known as F), depends our whole tradition of Apuleius' major works: the *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass*, the *Florida*, and the *Apologia*. This codex was written in Montecassino in the 11th century in Beneventan script,⁸ and is naturally the ancestor of Harley 4838.

Acquisition of hitherto unknown ancient authors was a humanist quest;⁹ Salutati's letters, many of which deal with the buying and copying of ancient

⁴ Cf. Ullman 1963, 3–16; De la Mare 1973, Vol. I Fasc. I (Oxford 1973), 30 ff.; De Rosa 1980; Witt 1983; Witt 2000, 292–337.

⁵ Cf. Ullman 1963, 19–36.

⁶ He reports having heard a lecture by him on Virgil which made quite an impression on the young Salutati, cf. *Lab. Herc.* pp. 483–486, cf. Ullman 1963, 42, Witt 2000, 295.

⁷ This is the *communis opinio* following Billanovich 1953, 30 ff., who disposes of the older idea that it was Boccaccio who committed the theft, for which cf. Sabbadini 1905–1914, vol. 2, 202. For the manuscript cf. Lowe 1920; Magnaldi–Gianotti 2000, 13 f.; for the latest description: Carver 1991, 111 ff., who, due to dating problems, assumes that another, now lost, manuscript tradition of Apuleius' *Met.* may have been around in Florence, attributing the discovery of the *Met.* to an earlier date, perhaps to Bentius Alexandrinus (ca. 1260 – ca. 1330) (p. 116 ff.). Newton 1999 concentrates in his discussion of Laur. 68.2 on the manuscript of Tacitus' *Histories*. He briefly discusses the Apuleius manuscript on pp. 108 and 321, with a description of the codex p. 347, with plate 54.

⁸ Lowe 1920, 150–155. On the script cf. Lowe ²1980.

⁹ Cf. Sabbadini 1905–1914, *passim*.

manuscripts, also often explain a Latin passage, occasionally display an interest in unusual Latin vocabulary, in some instances taken from Apuleius, explore the concepts of textual criticism, and in general show his interest in the transmission of the classics. For example, it is Salutati to whom we owe the (erroneous, alas!) distinction between Seneca the philosopher and Seneca the playwright.¹⁰ Seneca the tragedian was one of his favourite authors, as the lengthy treatise *De laboribus Herculis*, an allegory based on Seneca's *Hercules*, demonstrates. Despite his productivity, it has been claimed that his writings had remarkably little influence on his successors.¹¹ His pupils Poggio and Leonardo Bruni (1369 – 1444),¹² however, continued his studies, with Poggio continuing the hunt for ancient manuscripts.

In the course of this paper it will become clear that at least one of Salutati's scholarly pursuits was very influential indeed. It is symptomatic of the neglect that Salutati has suffered that this idea is not linked to his name at all, and has been on the whole ignored by modern scholars, despite its prominence in the Renaissance.

Salutati busied himself by compiling a huge library for himself of classical authors, ranging from the grammatical works of Priscian to Roman philosophy and the poetry of Virgil and Ovid. The estimate of some 200 volumes is possibly not large enough;¹³ some 120 owned by him have been identified, and the numbers of known manuscripts are increasing even today.¹⁴ They are comparatively easy to recognise, since they usually contain his *ex libris*, to which he added a pressmark, and often marginal notes in an unmistakable hand. The pressmark contains the word *Carte* plus a number. Harley 4838 has the pressmark *I27 (?) Carte lvij (57)* on folio 135 recto, and a partly erased *ex libris* on the last page of the codex (191 verso), partly written over by the next owner, Sozomeno of Pistoia (on whom cf. the appendix to this paper).

After Salutati's death, his library was sold off, and found various buyers. Quite a few manuscripts, including our Apuleius, went to Sozomeno of Pis-

¹⁰ Novati 1891–1905, vol. 1, 150.

¹¹ Cf. Ullman 1963, 117 ff.

¹² On Salutati and his students cf. Fubini 1992.

¹³ Cf. Ullman 1963, 129 and De la Mare 1973, 31 f. (with footnotes), who adds even more known manuscripts to Salutati's library.

¹⁴ De la Mare 1973, 31. Further, but older, mathematics: Ullman 1963, 259.

toia (1387–1458).¹⁵ Since the fate of Sozomeno's library is reasonably documented, we can trace the fate of Harley 4838.¹⁶ Most of Salutati's books remained in Pistoia up until the end of the 15th century. After this date, they were dispersed. A Scottish bookseller, John Gibson, acquired our manuscript through agents in Italy on the 22nd June 1726. At least 29 of Sozomeno's manuscripts were sold to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and thus became part of the Harleian collection in the British Library.¹⁷

Texts of Apuleius at Salutati's disposal

Texts of Apuleius' philosophical works, consisting of two texts of a Platonist nature (*De Deo Socratis*, *De Platone et eius Dogmate*), a hymn to Asclepius, and *De Mundo*, a translation of a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on the cosmos, abound in Salutati's library. The manuscript tradition of Apuleius' philosophical works is independent of the nowadays better known triad *Metamorphoses*, *Florida* and *Apologia*¹⁸ contained in the Harleian manuscript. Salutati owned at least 3 copies of Apuleius' philosophy, listed in the catalogue of Salutati's books by Ullman.¹⁹

De la Mare²⁰ adds to this list our MS Harley 4838, 134–191v, which was not known to Ullman. The pressmark is easily readable, but the longish *ex libris* is now erased, between two lines of the *explicit*: ('... *lucij py ... floren-*

¹⁵ Not noticed by Ullman 1963, but by De la Mare 1973, xviii. She also includes a study of him pp. 91ff.

¹⁶ De la Mare 1973, 95 f.

¹⁷ Wright 1972, 368 f. and 162 ff.; De la Mare 1973, 95.

¹⁸ Cf. Moreschini 1977 on the transmission of the philosophical works by Apuleius as differing from the texts contained in F.

¹⁹ Ullman 1963, 206 rightly argues that Laur. 29.2 Apuleius was not owned by Salutati, a fact that is indirectly proved by this paper. The mss are: Nos 27, 18 and 61 Ullman. No. 27 Ullman (Marc. 284) includes *De deo Socratis* (including the prologue from the *Florida*), *Asclepius*, *De Platone*, and *De mundo*. It was written in France at the end of the eleventh century, belongs to the *delta*-branch of the transmission of Apuleius' philosophical works and as such is of great importance for the constitution of the text, cf. Reynolds 1983, 17. Ullman 1973, 154 in his catalogue dates it to the tenth century. No. 18 Ullman (Laurentiana LXXVI,36) s. XII contains the pseudo-Apuleian *Asclepius*, *De Platone*, *De mundo*, *De deo Socratis* including the prologue from the *Florida*. It appears to be of French origin and also belongs to the *delta*-group (thus Reynolds 1983, 17 f.). No. 61 Ullman (Conv. Soppr. I.ix.39) s. XII–XIII contains *Asclepius*, and *De deo Socratis* (including the prologue from the *Florida*).

²⁰ De la Mare 1973.

tini'), and only visible under ultra-violet light, since Sozomeno of Pistoia wrote his *ex libris* over it. Salutati adds on the initially empty page folio 134 the word 'prohemium', a piece on Apuleius, and also the title of the book and the name of its author.²¹ These marginalia which concern us here are certainly written by Salutati. De la Mare²² lists some of Salutati's idiosyncrasies, all of which can be found in Harley 4838: 'a long, sloping hair-line stroke' is used to dot his 'i's. The *-bus* abbreviation is always formed like an upright rounded m. He also uses a rather individual form of the capital 'N' almost exclusively from at least the time of his Seneca, i.e. 1370.²³ It is thus clearly Salutati's hand in which the metrical annotation is written, and, as De la Mare suggests, it perhaps dates from Salutati's middle period (from 1370 onwards), when he uses a capital N to indicate his 'nota' sign.²⁴ The remarkable notes on metre seem also to be by him. Other notes may have been erased by Sozomeno.

It is not unusual for Salutati to own two or more copies of the same text, and his interest in Apuleius is obviously primarily based on his humanist interest in Platonism. The majority of his references to Apuleius' work are to his philosophical writings, which he used, together with the works of Cicero, Macrobius and Augustine, to access Plato,²⁵ since his small Greek did not allow him to read Plato in the original. As we shall see, this prevalent interest also appears in his marginalia in Harley 4838, where he combines his knowledge of the other three authors to identify Apuleius as a comic writer and a philosopher.

His direct citations from Apuleius are primarily from *Asclepius* and *De Platone*.²⁶ His marginal notes in his other Apuleian manuscripts are usually on names, rare words, or brief references to ideas.²⁷ Apuleius' rare and archaic vocabulary must have been very attractive to Salutati the philologist and textual critic. However, his annotations in his other Apuleius manu-

²¹ Cf. De la Mare 1973, 42.

²² De la Mare 1973, 36 f.

²³ Cf. De La Mare 1973, plate VIIe.

²⁴ Cf. De la Mare 1973, 34 and on this manuscript p. 42 with further evidence for the dating.

²⁵ Cf. Klibansky 1939, 22; Oliver 1940, 315.

²⁶ Cf. Ullman 1963, 215 f.

²⁷ Marginalia indicating rare words include (in *De Platone*): *navita*, *prodigit*, *meditullio*, *extraria*, in *De mundo*: *ningorem*, *nomina ventorum*, *indidem*; (in *De deo Socratis*): *modicus*, *facessat*, *fissiculandis*, *oscinibus*, *affatim*, *inpresentiarum*, *oppipare* (sic).

scripts are sparse in comparison to his long marginal note in his *Metamorphoses* codex. It is unusual in length as well as in content.

The use he made of the rare words he found in Apuleius can be seen in his letters and his other literary works, when he sometimes quotes passages from Apuleius or cites, marked and unmarked, Apuleius' rarer words. For example, in one letter²⁸ he employs the word *gurgustiolo* with the *Metamorphoses* in mind.²⁹

Similarly, in a letter to a certain Giovanni, dating from ca. 1397,³⁰ he alludes to Apuleius in one marked and one possible unmarked quotation:

Lacrimabilem, ne dicam inanem et iniustam, querimoniam tuam, qua, ut exotico verbo Madaurensis utar, erumnoso queritatu de musis flebiliter lamentaris, nuper relegi, frater optime. 'your tearful, if not to say empty and unjust complaint, in which, if I may use the exotic word of the man from Madaurus [i.e. Apuleius], in a wretched complaint you dolefully wail about the Muses, I recently read again, dearest brother.'

The marked *erumnoso* is taken from *De Mundo*,³¹ whilst *exotico* itself is an Apuleian word.³²

Salutati refers only once *explicitly* to Apuleius' *Met.*, when in *De Laboribus Herculis* he writes, whilst in a passage on Medusa:³³

Hec ultima pulcrrior est reliquis, decore presertim in crinibus, quoniam ornamentis (que per crines significantur, qui sunt, ut demonstrat Apulegius, precipuum mulierum decus. Nam si tollantur, nulla fuerit adeo pulcra quin turpissima videatur) et circumstantiis rhetorica florescat oratio et ipsa ceteris est pulcrrior... 'hair, ... as Apuleius demonstrates, is the principal ornament of women'.

²⁸ Epistolario vol. 1,10, line 1.

²⁹ It is probably taken from Apul. *Met.* 1,23 or 4,10, cf. Ullman 1973, 201.

³⁰ Epistolario vol. 3,221.

³¹ *Mund.* 35,4.

³² *Exoticus*: found in our prologue to the *Metamorphoses*, and twice more in Apuleius (*Apol.* 8,8 and *Met.* 10,16). It is a rare word, otherwise again in Pliny *Nat.* 13,24 and Gellius 13,5,5 (two of Salutati's favourite authors, cf. Ullman 1963, 229 and 246), and in Plautus, *Epid.* 232, *Men.* 236 and *Most.* 42. The latter two plays were not available to Salutati. For the Plautine connotations of the word cf. Zimmerman 2000, 234. The marginal note in Harley 4838 ad loc. is very likely not by Salutati but by Sozomeno (cf. appendix).

³³ *Lab. Herc.* 3,42,11 (p. 417 Ullman).

This must refer to the elaborate ekphrasis of women's hair in the *Metamorphoses* where the narrator describes the hair of the girl Photis.³⁴

In the same work, he also quotes repeatedly from Plautus, but only from *Amphitruo*,³⁵ an appropriate source, as it touches comically upon the wondrous conception and birth of Hercules. He also cites Terence 'very often';³⁶ his knowledge of both playwrights demonstrates that Salutati was familiar with comic and tragic iambic metres.

Salutati claims in the margin of Harley that he has also read the *Apologia*, for which so far there has been no proof. But his statement is problematic, since Salutati claims that Apuleius' wife was the one accused of magical practices, and that Apuleius defended her. In the *Apologia*, however, it is Apuleius who is accused of being a wizard. This slip of memory, together with one brief and doubtful reference to the *Florida*, may indicate that Salutati merely concentrated on the *Metamorphoses*.³⁷

Important for our purposes is a letter to Frà Giovanni Dominici from 1406 (*Epistolario* vol. 4, 239) in the context of Salutati's defence of poetry especially in connection with religion.³⁸ Here Salutati seems to indicate that Apuleius, though primarily writing in continuous prose, was capable of writing poetry. There are indeed verses in the *Apologia* and two verse passages

³⁴ *Met.* 2,8 f. (on this famous passage see Schmeling–Montiglio in the present volume). Boccaccio uses the same passage of Apuleius in his *Ameto*. Cf. Moreschini 1977, 470, referring to the edition of the *Ameto* by N. Bruscoli. Bari 1940, 31. In Harley 4838, 141 *recto*, marginalia mark this famous passage as *de Fotide* and *de capillis*. The hand could be Sozomeno's rather than Salutati's.

³⁵ *Amphitruo* 99, 100 ff., 185 ff. etc. He owned the first 8 plays in his ms 10 – cf. Ullman 1963, 246 and Zintzen–Ecker–Riemer 1992, s.v.

³⁶ Ullman 1963, 252.

³⁷ References to Apuleius according to Zintzen–Ecker–Riemer 1992: Apuleius is mentioned in *Epistolario* vol. 3: 82, 221, *Socr.* is quoted in *Epistolario* vol. 4: 139. *Flor.* may be referred to in *Epistolario* vol. 2: 187 (although this seems doubtful, since there is only a reference to a rather wide-spread idea, and no direct quotation from the *Florida*), *Met.* 2,8 f. in *Hercules* p. 417 Ullman, *Mund.* 5 in *De Fato et Fortuna* p. 11 Bianca, *Mund.* 16 in *De Fato et Fortuna* p. 14, *Plat.* 1,5,6 in *Hercules* p. 349, *Plat.* 12 in *De Fato et Fortuna* p. 24, *Ascl.* 14 in *Hercules* p. 4, *Ascl.* 37 in *Hercules* p. 78, *Ascl.* 39 in *De Fato et Fortuna* p. 25, *Ascl.* 40 in *De Fato et Fortuna* p. 26 and p. 46.

³⁸ *Ut non immerito primi theologizantes, sicut testatur Aurelius, dicti fuerint Museus, Orpheus et Linus, imo theologi, quoniam deos suos carminibus celebrarent. et quoniam poetica, non dico semper, sed, ut superius diffinivi, sepenumero versibus alligat si quid refert. prosam siquidem non recusat sive continuam, ut Apuleius, sive intercisam, ut Marcianus Capella, Alanus; et, si patiare, Torquatus.* Cf. the discussion in Witt 2000, 335 f.

in the *Metamorphoses* (the two oracles *Met.* 4,33 and 9,8). Given his patchy knowledge of the content of the *Apologia*, a reference to that work seems unlikely. He may well have referred to what he thought of as a metrical prologue to the prose novel, the *Metamorphoses*, since it (arguably) also has a theological-philosophical content.

Salutati's marginal notes to Harley 4838

It is time now to take a look at those marginal notes to Harley 4838 in closer detail. The manuscript comprises several codices of different ages, bound together into one volume.³⁹ The various other works contained in this codex are primarily theological, and at the time of Salutati's and Sozomeno's ownership the Apuleius formed a single codex of its own, as the distribution of the press marks and ex libris on folios 135 and 191, as well as Sozomeno's Arabic numerals, demonstrate. Since we are now able tentatively to date the marginalia to Salutati's middle period (1370's), this gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the two hands in which the text of Apuleius is written. The manuscript itself is contemporary with Salutati's entry. It was written on parchment in Italy in the third quarter of the 14th century.⁴⁰

As for Salutati's marginalia, they consist of three elements: (a.) a prologue in metre, (b.) a note on Apuleius being a comic writer and a philosopher, which to my knowledge has not been edited yet, and (c.) on the facing page a comment on the metre of the prologue. As already mentioned, there is

³⁹ *Codex membranaceus, vel potius codices varii, diversae aetatis, in unum volumen compacti.* According to the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* 1808, Harley 4838 contains the following:

1. *Caesarii Episcopi, Admonitiones, Sermones, homeliae, &c.; numero 44, quorum tamen 41 et 43 sunt Augustini, 44 S. Ambrosii: folia 53 XII.*
2. *Libri 4 Dialogorum Papae Gregorii I, deest aliquid ad finem. fol. 55.*
3. *Petri Damiani Epistola de die mortis, cum Epistola Bonaventurae, excitatoria ad amorem Dei fol. 131. Bonaventurae Epistola, in fine vocatur. 'De balneo regio, multum utilis et devota.' XIV*
4. *'Lucii Apuleij platonici Madaurensis Metamorphoseon.' libri XI. Super folia 47. Scripturâ plane diversa et forsân recentiore, a fol. Ib usque ad fol. 18a. Prooemium bis datur: semel in versibus Jambicis, manu, ut crederem, adhuc antiquiore. Ordinem versuum, quia de hac re neque Editiones, neque virorum doctorum conjecturae consentiunt, infra exhibemus.*

⁴⁰ De la Mare 1973, 42.

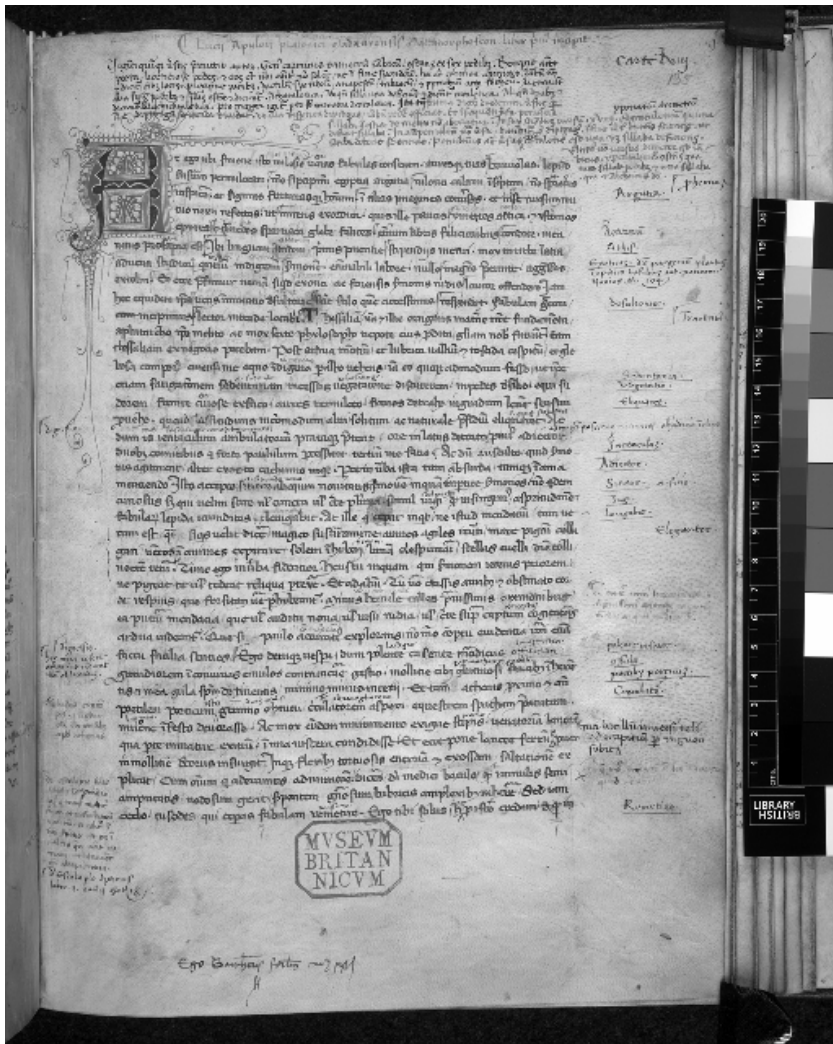


Plate 2. MS Harley 4838, folio 135 (reproduced with permission of the British Library).

no accurate transcription of the marginalia. I take this opportunity to offer my own transcription of the metrical prologue and the marginal notes.

(a.) *The Prologue in Metre*

The text in the left column is my transcription of the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* as written in Salutati's own hand. The variations found in the prose prologue on folio 135 recto, in the hand of the original scribe of the manuscript, are given in the right column:

prohemium

<u><i>Et ego tibi sermone isto Milesio</i></u>	(prose: <i>at</i>)
<u><i>Varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas</i></u>	
<u><i>Benivolas lepido susurro permulceam.</i></u>	
<u><i>Modo si papirum egiptia argutia</i></u>	
<u><i>Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris</i></u>	
<u><i>Inspicere, et figuras fortunasque hominum</i></u>	
<u><i>In alias ymagine conversas, et in</i></u>	(prose: <i>imagines</i>)
<u><i>Se rursum mutuo nexu refectas, ut</i></u>	
<u><i>Mireris exordior. Quis ille? Paucis.</i></u>	(prose: no question mark)
<u><i>Ymetos athica et hitmos epyrea</i></u>	(prose: <i>Ymettos attica et istomos</i> [h add. s.l.] <i>epyrea</i>)
<u><i>Et thenedos spartiaca, glebe felices</i></u>	(prose: <i>tenedos</i> [h add. s.l.])
<u><i>Aeternum libris felicioribus</i></u>	
<u><i>Conditae, mea vetus prosapia est.</i></u>	
<u><i>Ibi linguam athidem primis pueritie</i></u>	(prose: <i>atridem</i> ; corr. s.l.)
<u><i>Stipendys merui, mox in urbe latia</i></u>	
<u><i>Advena studiorum quirritium indigenum</i></u>	
<u><i>Sermonem erumnabili labore, nullo</i></u>	
<u><i>Magistro preeunte aggressus excolui</i></u>	
<u><i>Et certe prefamur veniam, si quid</i></u>	(prose: <i>en ecce</i>)
<u><i>Exotici, atque forensis sermonis rudis</i></u>	(prose: <i>ac</i>)
<u><i>Locutor offendero, jam hec equidem ipsa</i></u>	
<u><i>Vocis immutatio desultorie</i></u>	
<u><i>Scientiae, stilo quem accessimus</i></u>	
<u><i>Respondet, fabulam grecam incipimus,</i></u>	(prose: <i>grecanicam, cam</i> deleted)

*Lector intende, letaberis.*⁴¹

Explicit prohemium, incipit tractatus

Tessaliam nam et illic originis [add. s. l. *maternae nostrae fundamenta etc.*].

(This is the beginning of *Met.* 1,2).

(b.) *Salutati's notes on Apuleius, comic writer and Platonic philosopher*

Below follows my transcription and translation of Salutati's notes on Apuleius being a comic writer and a *philosophus Platonicus*, for which he used the testimonies of Macrobius and Augustinus:

Macrobius	<i><u>Hic autem autor comicus fuit.</u> unde M. ['acrobius' add. s.l.] in primo libro commentarij super Somnio Scipionis inquit vel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus vel multum se Arbiter exercuit vel Apuleium non numquam lusisse miramur. <u>Argumentum autem comicorum fabulas esse.</u> Cicero testis est ad Herennium, ubi dicit. Argumentum est ficta res. quae tamen fieri potuit, velut argumenta comediarum. In libro autem inventionum primo dixit idem Arpinas: Argumentum est res ficta quae tamen fieri potuit. Huius modi apud Terentium. Nam is postquam excessit ex ephēbis Sosia <u>Ut satis constare possit eum comicum extitisse.</u> Fuit autem et phylosophus imitatione et professione platonicus ut</i>
Augustinus	<i>testatur pater Augustinus. Libro viij de Civitate Dei. Ubi inquit. Recentiores tamen philosophi nobilissimi quibus</i>

⁴¹ Compare the translation of Harrison & Winterbottom (2001, 9–15) of the Apuleian text of the Prologue: 'But let me join together different stories in that Milesian style, and let me soothe your kindly ears with an agreeable whispering, if only you do not scorn to glance at an Egyptian papyrus inscribed with the sharpness of a reed from the Nile. I begin a tale of men's shapes and fortunes transformed into different appearances and back again into themselves by mutual connection, that you may wonder at it. 'Who is this?' Hear in brief. Attic Hymettus and the Corinthian Isthmus and Spartan Taenarus are my origin of old, ever fertile regions recorded in even more fertile books. There it was that I acquired the Attic tongue in the first campaigns of boyhood; thereafter in the Latin city as a foreigner to the studies of Rome I took on and developed the local language with laborious effort and without the lead of a master. Look then, I ask your pardon at the beginning, if I commit any offence, being an inexperienced speaker of the language of the forum which is foreign to me. Indeed, this very change of language corresponds to the style of switchback lore [?] which I have approached [?]: I begin a story of Greek origin. Reader, pay attention: you will be pleased.'

Plato sectandus placuit, noluerunt se dici perhypatheticos aut achademicos sed Platonicos. Ex quibus sunt ualde nobilitati p [del. auctor] Greci Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyrius; in utraque autem lingua, id est et Graeca et Latina, Apuleius Afer extitit nobilis Platonicus. *Et non multum post inquit:* Apuleius tamen Madaurensis Platonicus. De hac re sola unum scripsit librum, cuius titulum esse uoluit ‘de deo Socratis’. *Haec inter alia a dyvo Augustino sumspisse sufficiat, ex quibus auctoris nomen Gens patria atque professio declarantur. Licet in re clarissima testes adhibendi non sunt. Et eo maxime quia et ipse quidem Madaurensis affirmat cognomine Lucium. Ut Lucium Apuleium Madaurensis Afrum hunc autorem fuisse manifestum sit. Fuit etiam orator eximius. Cuius orationes de magia legimus. In defensionem uxoris compositas quando de magiae artis ministerio fuerat accusata. Viginti quinque autem versus praemittit autor. Etc.*

‘He was moreover a comic author, whence Macrobius in his first book of his commentary on the *Dream of Scipio* (1,2) [states]: ‘or *argumenta* full of fictitious fortunes of lovers, with which [Petronius] Arbiter much busied himself, and Apuleius (we are amazed at this!) sometimes toyed.’ *Argumentum* can also refer to the plays of comic playwrights. Cicero is our witness in *Ad Herennium*, where he says (1,13): ‘*Argumentum* is a fictitious thing, which however could happen, like the *argumenta* of comedies.’ In the first book of his *De Inventione* the man from Arpinum [= Cicero] says the same (1,27): ‘*Argumentum* is a fictitious thing, which however could happen.’ Thus it is in Terence: ‘because he, after he left the ephebes, Sosia’ (Ter. *Andr.* 51). Thus it can be firmly established that he appeared to be a comic writer.

He was moreover also a philosopher by imitation and by profession a Platonist, as the church father Augustine gives evidence in his eighth book of *De Civitate Dei*, where he says (8,12): ‘The more recent and most noble philosophers, however, who were pleased to follow Plato, did not want to be called Peripatetics or Academics, but Platonists. Amongst these are most excellent the Greeks Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Porphyrius; but in both languages, that is Greek and Latin, Apuleius from Africa appeared an excellent Platonist.’ And not much further down (8,14) he

says: ‘Apuleius, furthermore, from Madaurus, a Platonist. About this topic alone he wrote a book, the title of which he wanted to be *De deo Socratis*’. It may suffice to have taken this amongst other things from the divine Augustine, from which the author’s [i.e. Apuleius’] name, family, native land and profession are made known. It may be permitted not to bring forth witnesses for this very obvious matter. And specially since he himself confirms that Lucius has the cognomen *Madaurensis* (cf. *Met.* 11,27). Thus it is manifest that Apuleius from Madaurus in Africa was this author. He also was an exceptional orator. I read his speeches on magic.⁴² They were composed for the defence of his wife when she was accused of the practise of the magical art. The author sets twenty-five verses before his book.’

This passage on Apuleius shows a remarkable learnedness on the part of Coluccio Salutati. He was able to gather more or less all the ancient testimonia on the life of the author; he also claims in its juxtaposition with his metrical prologue that Apuleius was a comic writer, which is original indeed. It is very unlikely that Salutati knew of Apuleius’ adaptation of Menander into Latin verse,⁴³ and he makes his proof by association: indeed, he leaves out that part of Macrobius’ quotation which makes the connection between comedy and Apuleius’ prose text much clearer (*auditum mulcent vel comoediae, quales Menander eiusve imitatores agendas dederunt*, ‘Also, comedies please the hearing, such as Menander and his imitators had staged’). This precedes the quotation from Macrobius provided by Salutati. It is clear that Salutati knows this part of the comparison, because he proceeds to argue that *argumentum* (as he, like Macrobius, terms Apuleius’ prologue in a marginal note) can also mean ‘comedies’ (*comicomum fabulas*). The evidence he cites from Cicero’s theoretical discussions and the practical example from Terence suffices, he says, to demonstrate that Apuleius was a *comicus*. The story is fictitious, but could have happened. This idea may have been the reason why Salutati decided to rewrite the prologue in comic metre: follow-

⁴² The *Apologia sive Pro se de magia* was transmitted in a two-book version in F, a format nowadays mostly ignored by editors. On the doubtful veracity of this claim cf. Salutati’s statement that it is Apuleius’ wife who is under attack in the *Apologia*, discussed above (with n. 37).

⁴³ Cf. Harrison 1992, 83–89 for an edition, and May 2002b and 2006 for the latest discussions.

ing this particular logic of Apuleius being a playwright, he has to be shown to be able to compose in the normal dramatic metre: iambs.

(c.) *Salutati's comment on the metre of the Prologue*

The problem of the prologue, however, is evident: we know that it was not written in verse, and in order to turn it into verse, Salutati has to allow many poetical licences, which he explains painstakingly in the last marginal note on fol. 135r:

Viginti quinque versus praemittit autor. Genus carminis trimetrum iambicum. constans ex sex pedibus. Excipit autem poeta licentiose pedes. Et eos etiam ubi communiter non solent ut in fine spondeum. hoc autem carmen admittit jambum unde et dicitur omnibus locis. Precipue paribus. Dactilum. Spondeum. Anapestum. Tribracon et pyrrichium atque trocheum. Metra autem alia suis pedibus et sillabis constant et dicuntur acatalectica. Aliquando sillaba una deficiunt et dicuntur catalectica. Aliquando duabus et dicuntur brachicatalectica. Pro maiori igitur parte sunt trimetra acatalectica. Ita tamen ('quod' add. s.l.) prima dictio duodecimi versus per ae diptongum scribenda dividatur. Ut illa dispartita diptongus iambum pedem efficiat. Et in sequenti versu penultima sillaba quae est a de metro non abiciatur. Insuper sciendum versum xvij esse ('yponactum trimetrum' add. s.l.) catalecticum quia una deficit sillaba. In antepenultimo vero versu dividitur etiam diptongus in fine illius dictionis scientie ut scribi debeat scientiaë. Penultimus autem versus ('etiam' add. s.l.) catalecticus est una videlicet sillaba deficiens. Ultimus vero versus dimeter est iambicus ypercatalecticus. Constans quatuor ('sillab' del. auctor) pedibus et una sillaba qui et alchaicus dicitur.

'The author sets twenty-five verses before [his book]. The poem is in iambic trimeters, consisting of six feet, but the poet makes exceptions about feet in licentious manner [i.e. he allows himself licences]. Those even where they universally do not do this, as at the end the spondee. This kind of poem admits the jambus (whence it also receives its name) in all positions, especially the even ones, the dactyl, spondee, anapaest, tribrachys, pyrrichius and trochee. But other metres consist of the appropriate number of feet and syllables, and are called acatalectica. Some-

times they lack one syllable and are called catalectica. Sometimes they lack two syllables and are called brachycatalectica. Therefore, for the most part they are acatalectic trimeters. Thus, moreover, the first word of line twelve has to be divided and must be written with ‘ae’ as a diphthong, so that this ‘split’ diphthong forms an iambic foot. And in the following verse the last but one syllable, which is ‘a’, forms a hiatus. Furthermore one must know that line eighteen is a hipponactean catalectic trimeter, because it lacks one syllable. But in the last but two line also the diphthong is split up at the end of the word *scientiae*, or, as it should be spelled, *scientiaë*. But the last but one line is also catalectic because it lacks one syllable. But the last line is an iambic hypercatalectic dimeter, consisting of four feet and one syllable, which is also called alcaicus.’

As I said, we know that Apuleius’ prologue was written in prose – or, at least, that is what modern editions tell us. Let us just for a moment pause, however, and take a look at some of the lines Salutati singles out for comment.

In Apuleius’ prose rhythm, hiatus is indeed admitted,⁴⁴ but the kinds of licences supposed by Salutati (e.g. the splitting of the diphthong in line 23 *scientiae*) are not common in Apuleius’ time, although they might be allowed in Lucretius’. Divided up into *cola*, the prologue offers a perfect display of prose rhythms, but not of iambic dimeters or senarii. It includes too many licences to be comic verse.

Salutati knew comic verse well; he owned a manuscript of Plautus, no. 10 (Laurent. 36, 47) in the list by Ullman.⁴⁵ It was perhaps written for Salutati himself, and belongs to the so-called Palatine recension, which places *Bacchides* after *Epidicus*. Salutati’s manuscript has only the first eight plays, breaking off at l. 668 of *Epidicus*. Copies of that particular recension of Plautus, but not particularly good texts, are not rare in Renaissance Italy.⁴⁶ The fact that he had the manuscript copied for himself shows his vivid interest in Plautus and perhaps his metres.

Salutati is interested in ancient poetry and Latin metres: some of his own compositions, mainly in elegiacs, are inspired by Ovidian metres. On the

⁴⁴ Cf. Nisbet 2001, esp. 19 f.; Hijmans 1978, 189–209.

⁴⁵ Ullman 1963, 144.

⁴⁶ Tarrant 1983, 302.

whole, Salutati's poetry scans smoothly according to classical rules, with only a few aberrations.⁴⁷

Salutati's sources for these metrical annotations

I have not been able to trace them to any particular ancient author, Salutati's comments are most likely his own; they are based on widely available school knowledge on metre. Salutati's sources for these remarks can however be traced in more detail. Salutati, who often relies on Servius' commentaries on Virgil, occasionally cites Servius' *De centum metris* in his *De Laboribus Herculis*.⁴⁸ One assumes that Salutati is heavily relying on Servius' analysis of metres, although there is no exact verbal parallel between his marginal notes and Servius, who indeed does not mention Plautus, and whose metrical analysis is very basic.⁴⁹

The section on iambics contains several phrases picked up in Salutati's note:

Metra iambica locis imparibus quinque recipere possunt pedes, iambum tribrachum spondeum dactylum anapaestum, locis autem paribus tantum iambum vel tribrachum, et apud comicos frequenter anapaestum, ita ut

⁴⁷ Cf. Jensen 1968, 116–123, esp. 115. For other editions of Salutati's poetry cf. Jensen 1976, 109–115; Jensen & Bahr-Volk 1976, 162–175; Hankey 1959, 363–365; Miglio 1983. I found Jensen's statement to be true on the whole.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ullman 1963, 251. He refers to Servius' *De centum metris* in *Epistolario* vol. 3,226: *iam centum, ut docet Servius, metrorum differentie reperte deque viginti octo pedum variatione confecte sunt.* (letter to a certain Giovanni, Florence, December 15th, 1397). This is the same letter which at its beginning quotes *erumnoso* and *exotico* from Apuleius, which may be significant.

⁴⁹ Cf. Keil vol. 4 (1864) 457 f. Other treatises on metre Salutati owned are Atilius Fortunatianus (no. 26 Ullman), which seems to be another source. Fortunatianus' chapter 'de pedibus' contains phrases like *acatalecticum est, quando plenum metrum sive versus est: aut catalecticum, quando syllaba deest, aut brachycatalecticum, quando pes deest: aut (hypercatalecticum) quando pes et syllaba deest* (Keil vol. 6 [1874] 281). Again, this seems to be common knowledge and varies only little from Servius' treatise. Salutati owned a copy of Marius Victorinus' commentary on Cicero (no. 92 Ullman), but never quotes or refers to him. It is also uncertain whether he had access to a copy of his metrical works, which are very detailed. He also owned the grammar of Priscianus, which he heavily annotated (cf. Ullman 1963, 44). There is no evidence, however, for his ownership of Priscianus' treatise *De metris comicorum*, and having looked at it, I think there is no evidence for any use of it by Salutati.

multarum brevium iunctura vitetur. ‘Iambic metres can in odd positions take up five feet, iambus, tribrachys, spondee, dactyl, anapaest; but in even positions only iambus or tribrachys, and amongst the comic writers frequently the anapaest, so that the juncture of many short syllables may be avoided.’

Salutati’s interest in metre also appears in his Catullus manuscripts.⁵⁰ Salutati owned two manuscripts of Catullus,⁵¹ both of which have metrical notes.⁵² Salutati’s gloss at the start of one on fol. 1 reads:

*Genus metri. Faleuticum endecasillabum constans ex quinque pedibus primo spondeo secundo dactilo et tribus trocheis...*⁵³ ‘type of metre. A faleutic hendecasyllabic consisting of five feet, at first a spondee, then a dactyl, and then three trochees...’

The similarity in style with the marginal notes of Harley 4838 is evident. This analysis of Apuleius’ so-called metrical prologue must be Salutati’s original work. He knows Plautus, Terence and Seneca and thus knows about iambs. He obviously knows his metrical terminology from several treatises on metre that he owned and used frequently, and as his own compositions show, is capable of writing poetry in the adequate Latin metres varying between the proper amount of long and short syllables.

There is a further detail that suggests this metrical composition is Salutati’s own work: the prose prologue contains some gallows-like nota-marks inserted into the lines of text. This type of mark also appears in his annotations. Obviously, Salutati has added these little gallows notes into the prose text to indicate suggested separation between the lines of poetry. This serves to confirm that the versification of the prologue was Salutati’s intervention and invention.

⁵⁰ According to Ullman 1963, 144, there are no Salutati notes in his Plautus manuscript.

⁵¹ Vat. Ottob. Lat. 1829 (no. 96 Ullman) and perhaps Paris Bibl. Nat. 14137 (no. 101 Ullman).

⁵² Cf. Ullman 1963, 22. Further bibliography on no. 96: *ibid.* p. 193.

⁵³ In marg. of Ottob. Lat. 1829. Cf. Pellegrin 1975 s.v.

Salutati's influence

Why are Salutati's marginal notes important? The idea of a prologue in verse is an innovation. There is no versified prologue in the Laurentian manuscript, nor in its immediate copies.⁵⁴ Salutati's manuscript is the first we know of which contains a metrical prologue to the *Metamorphoses*, in addition to the prose prologue (on 135 recto) in the scribal hand. Despite this being so evident, so far no scholar seems to have stated that it is Salutati to whom we owe the metrical prologue to the *Metamorphoses*. He is, however, not the only Renaissance scholar to rewrite part of a prose text into metre. Another example is the turning of Livy 1,34,8 into hexameters,⁵⁵ and Boccaccio wrote iambic prefaces to his works. In antiquity, literary works in other metres had hexametric or iambic prologues, or were rephrased into iambs.⁵⁶ Still, the choice of iambic senarii (or what at Salutati's time must have been considered as such) is to my knowledge unique and must have been inspired by his approaching Apuleius through Plautus.

Salutati's remarks about Apuleius being a philosopher are gleaned from ancient authors all known to us. Although this compilation may in itself be interesting for Salutati scholars, it is not really surprising. It confirms however that Salutati had some fresh and original approaches to classical scholarship. His attempt to present Apuleius as a comic writer has considerable interest. In Apuleian scholarship, the prologue to the *Met.* is a mystery: in a recent book, 24 papers, including one by Maaïke Zimmerman, deal with the problems of the prologue's addressee, speaker, and literary intertexts.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ A (Ambrosianus N. 180 sup.) and φ (Laurent. 29.2).

⁵⁵ Hildebrand 1842, 4: Quantum vero interpretes in versibus apud prosaicos pangendis genio suo dederint, exemplum est notissimum Rhenani [Beatus Rhenanus 1485–1547], qui Liv. 1,34 § 8, ubi poetae cuiuspian verba latere sibi persuaserat, locum in versus hexametros cogebat et recte a Drakenb. [Arnold Drakenborch, 1684–1748] vituperatus est, qui verum hac ratione, inquit, addendo, demendo, mutando integer Livius in numeros poeticos cogi potest. Drakenborch (1738) ad loc. actually identifies the author of the verses as 'Clariss. Clericus'.

⁵⁶ Augustus' *Res gestae* had a metrical 'prescript' (cf. Koster 1978); Servius *ad Aen.* 10,388–389 remarks that Avienus rewrote the whole of Livy (*totum Livium*) in iambs (*pace* Murgia 1970, who assumes it may have been Virgil rather than Livy), whilst Livy's preface was rewritten into hexameters by ancient readers, cf. Moles 1993, especially 141 with notes 2 and 3, and 157 f. for references, extensive bibliography and discussion. Other hexametrical examples in historiography include Thuc. 1,21,1, Sallust *Iug.* 1,5 and 5,1, Tac. *Ann.* 1,1,1.

⁵⁷ Kahane–Laird (edd.) 2001, Zimmerman 2001.

Smith, Winkler⁵⁸ and myself⁵⁹ have demonstrated the intertextuality of the prologue with the conventions of a Plautine prologue as well as with Plautine language. It is interesting, to say the least, that Salutati, working with a much smaller corpus of Plautine plays than ours, and with their texts in much worse condition than ours, seems to have realised the similarities between the prologues of Plautus and Apuleius, inspired by his reading of Macrobius. Salutati seems to have been tricked by one of Apuleius' stylistic games: Apuleius, especially in the *Met.*, weaves Plautine plot elements as well as Plautine archaic language into his story, and Salutati, interested in archaic and rare words, picked them up together with the plot elements with remarkable intuition. It is noteworthy that Terence, whom he mentions as part of his citation of Cicero in his biographical note on Apuleius, cannot have formed his term of comparison. Terence's prologues are of quite a different nature to Plautus', and they do not share the similarities between Apuleius' and Plautus' prologues. I shall list only a few:

Exoticus (prologue l. 20) is only one example of Apuleius' usage of Plautine language. The question: *quis ille?* recalls similar questions in Plautine prologues,⁶⁰ *Amph.* 50 ff., *Cas.* 67 ff. *Accipe paucis verbis* is paralleled e.g. in *Aul.* 1 (*ne quis miretur qui sim, paucis eloquar*), *Capt.* 53, *Men.* 6. *Lector intende; laetaberis* resembles the usual appeal to the audience at the end of the prologue to sit back and enjoy the play, as found in *Merc.* 14 f., *Trin.* 11, or *Asin.* 4. Similarly, the prologue speaker turning in and out of his role within story and prologue is arguably parallel to Plautus' technique as exemplified in *Merc.* 1 f. and *Amph.* 53 ff. These parallels between Plautus and Apuleius might have contributed to Salutati's identification of Apuleius' prologue as comic. Salutati, however, takes these remarkable similarities one step further, in assuming a Plautine metre as well as Plautine language to be fundamental to Apuleius' prologue.

Finally, scholars interested in the *Nachleben* of Apuleius throughout the Renaissance should be interested in the repercussions of Salutati's playful iambs: Salutati's marginal note, the prologue rewritten in comic metre, proved highly influential on Renaissance scholarship. The epithet *autor comicus* is not mentioned in connection with Apuleius again, but the versification of the prologue remains important throughout the Renaissance, al-

⁵⁸ Smith 1972 = 1999, Winkler 1985, 200 ff.

⁵⁹ Cf. May 2002b, 112 ff.

⁶⁰ Cf. Winkler 1985, 195 note 25 for further examples for this and other phenomena.

though the amount of verse discovered in the prologue as well as the metrical setting and admission of poetical licences vary.

The metrical treatment of the Prologue after Salutati

Hildebrand⁶¹ lists an impressive number of scholars who treat the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* as iambics, and one other manuscript, Sangallensis 483,⁶² from St. Gallen Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana) (Sangallensis = Robertson's H).⁶³ The prologue is on p. 7 *recto*.

It contains, amongst other texts, Lucius Ampuleius (sic), *Metamorphoses* (pp. 7–259) and *De deo Socratis* (pp. 271–293). The hand of the Apuleius text is dated to 1424 on p. 308,⁶⁴ and this (crucial) part of the manuscript at least was thus written after Salutati's death and long after our marginalia from the 1370's. Variations in metrical versions include: l. 1: *at*, l. 3 *sermone post lepido*, del. auctor(?), l. 4: *papiro egiptiarum*,⁶⁵ l. 7: *immagines*; l. 10: *hitimos ephirea* (corr. in marg. prima manus: *isthmios*) *ephirea*; l. 11: *teneros spartica*; l. 19: *en ecce*; l. 24: *grecanicam*; l. 25: *lectaberis*(?). The verses are distributed in exactly the same way that they are distributed in Salutati's hand, but the text is closer to the prose version of Harley 4838, as e.g. *at ego*, *grecanicam* and *en ecce* demonstrate. This may perhaps indicate that the scribe had Harley 4838 before him; Sangallensis certainly dates about seventy years later than Salutati's hand, and is thus likely to be an apograph of it.

⁶¹ Hildebrand 1842, 3.

⁶² Harl. 4838 (Robertson's 'B3') does not seem to have a sigle in Hildebrand 1842 at all. Robertson lists ca. 40 manuscripts of Apuleius: Robertson 1924; cf. Robertson 1940, vol. I, xxxviii. For a description of the manuscript St. Gallen cf. Scherer 1864, 135 (no. 483), and Scarpatetti 1991, no. 52.

⁶³ Cf. Robertson 1924.

⁶⁴ Cf. Scarpatetti 1991, 20: 'Die datierende Hand schreibt p. 1 und 308 f. in flüchtiger Kursive. Es ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass der Hauptteil des Bandes von der gleichen Hand stammt. Von dieser 1. Hand p. 7–293, von einer 2. Hand p. 295–297.'

⁶⁵ My list of readings, after checking a copy of the manuscript, varies only slightly from the list given in Hildebrand 1842, 3, which he has second-hand from Orellius, who reads *papiron egiptiam* in l. 4 and omits some variants, since they are not important variants between Sangallensis and F.

Harley 4838 belongs to Robertson's class II b,⁶⁶ but H, the Sangallensis, belongs to a mixed group.⁶⁷ I have not been able to check the Sangallensis other than for its metrical prologue, but it seems clear from Robertson's description, although he is only interested in the *supplementa* in the gap of F, that Sangallensis is an apograph of Harley, since it has been copied originally from a Florentine manuscript and emended with the help of *phi*. All (traceable) manuscripts with metrical prologues thus ultimately derive from Salutati.

There are also several early printed editions which print the prologue in metre. Carver discusses the question of the prologue as verse which seems to have been the most pressing problem for Renaissance commentators.⁶⁸ Without mentioning Salutati's manuscript, which he apparently does not know, he lists the efforts of Beroaldus, in whose edition the text is given as prose, but in whose commentary it is indicated that the novel *exorditur ab epigrammate iambico bimembri*, with the first half of the proem (up to *Hymetos* [sic] *Attica*) being in iambs:

At ego sermone. *Lusus asinum aureum exorditur ab Epigrammate Iambico bimembri*,⁶⁹ 'When about to start playing with his Golden Ass, he begins with an iambic epigram consisting of two heterogeneous parts'

Beroaldus in 1501 identifies the addressee of the prologue with Apuleius' son Faustinus, to whom his philosophical works may be dedicated, whilst keeping up the idea of a metrical prologue. Beroaldus approves of the supposed verses, as Oudendorp states, who wrongly thinks that Beroaldus is the first to do so.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Cf. Robertson 1924, 37 f. The II b manuscripts contain some or all of the long *supplementa*, 'with plain traces that these have been inserted at some period, in a text originally lacking them', plus some traces of the short *supplementa* to *phi* in the textual gap of F fol. 160 (*Met.* 8,7–9), from which manuscript ultimately all copies of the *Met.* as we have them derive.

⁶⁷ It has examples of both classes and was heavily influenced by *phi*, but only at second instance.

⁶⁸ See Carver 2001, 163–174, esp. 165–167.

⁶⁹ Oudendorp 1786, quoting Beroaldus *ad loc.*

⁷⁰ *Milesiarum principium versibus conceptum fuisse primus observavit vir, patrum nostrorum memoria doctissimus, Philippus Beroaldus* ('the first to observe that the beginning of the Milesian tale was composed in verse was the man most learned in the generation of our forefathers, Philippus Beroaldus').

Strangely enough Beroaldus, a Neoplatonist philosopher, who usually finds learned references to Plato in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, favours the metrical reading of the prologue and its Plautine associations. He does not seem to be concerned that his text then is at the same time light-hearted comedy and a Platonic allegory of the journey of the soul, a literary creation full of contradictions. This may be a surprisingly modern interpretation, but *ex silentio*.⁷¹

Marianus Tuccus in 1512, and Franciscus Asulanus (the Aldine edition from 1521) set the text accordingly into verse, changing into prose after *hic exordior* in an emended and rephrased version of Salutati's text (note *at* instead of *et*, *fabellas* instead of *fabulas*, and the word order *atque aures tuas*).

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609, his Apuleius edition was published in 1600), thinking the prologue was written in senarii, even rewrites the prologue up to *paucis accipe* into verse, while Johannes Rutgers (1589–1625) argues that *vocis immutatio* refers to the change from verse to prose within the prologue. Given the problematic nature of that particular phrase, it is a natural, but still erroneous, conclusion. Translators, such as William Adlington (1566) and his French forerunners, followed this tradition and translated the prologue into verse, thus leaving the impression of a Plautine prologue, in vocabulary and metre, with a large part of Renaissance readers. In all these editions and translations the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* is much shorter than Salutati's version.

One particularly interesting case of a defender for the verse prologue is Gebhardt Elmenhorst (1580–1621). He in 1621 prints a more faithful version of the text, but set into twenty-five lines of verse. According to him, this is an interlinear gloss directly copied from a codex he calls F, but Carver points out that Hildebrand found this to derive from unpublished manuscript annotations by Lindenbrogius (Friedrich Lindembrog, 1573–1648).⁷² I have not been able to check these annotations by Lindembrog, but the codex F, Laurent. 68.2, has no marginalia of a metrical kind.

⁷¹ Boccaccio (cf. above, n. 34) offers a similar 'double' perception of the *Met.*, for he interpreted it both as a comic novel (using it as a source for his *Decamerone*) and as a philosophical-religious allegory (using *Cupid and Psyche* as a source for his *De genealogiis deum gentilium*). I am grateful to Wytse Keulen for drawing my attention to this.

⁷² Carver 2001, 166 with n. 2.

I suspect, however, that Elmenhorst⁷³ or perhaps Lindenbrog used Salutati's manuscript, too. From the beginning, Elmenhorst states his source clearly as a manuscript which is easily recognised as Harley 4838: it is a vellum codex written in Lombard script (whilst F is in Beneventan script):

*Principium hujus libri membranae Florentinae Longobardis literis scriptae (Gothicas eas vocat Bernardus Aldreta Canonicus Cordubensis in Commentario de Origine Linguae Hispanicae libro III. pagin. 252.254 et specimen ponit ex lapide antiquo) versibus constituunt, quod et Beroaldus et Aldus adverterunt, quos jure hic sequimur, nec eos audimus, qui contra sentiunt, qui nihil sentiunt. De istis autem ita glossa interlinearis praedictarum membranarum: 'The beginning of this Florentine vellum codex written in Lombard script (Bernardus Aldreta, a canon of Cordoba calls it 'Gothic' in his Commentary on the Origin of the Spanish Language III p. 252.254, and offers an example from an antique stone) consists of verses, which both Beroaldus and Aldus observed, too. I rightly follow them here, nor do I listen to those, who think the opposite, or who understand nothing. About these (verses) there is also an interlinear gloss in the aforementioned vellum codex.'*⁷⁴

Hildebrand, one of the oldest commentators still used by Apuleian scholars, adds to the confusion. He rightly states that the metre does not scan properly, and that the metrical prologue can be attributed to a scholar, not to Apuleius. He is not so lucky with his analysis of the origin of the metrical prologue. Hildebrand turns to the editor of Cicero, Orellius,⁷⁵ who found the 'Apuleian verses' in the Sangallensis, too, and also dates their origin correctly to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but considers him to be in error:

'Quantis vero erroribus metricis hi versus scateant, nemo est quin intellegat, ut cum Orellio l.c. recte statuamus, ingenii lusu commotum esse grammaticum quendam vel librarium, qui multa verba in iambos redigi posse viderat, ut omnia per numeros efferret. In eo tamen erravit Orellius, quod grammatico Italo saec. XIV. vel. XV. hunc errorem attribuit,

⁷³ Again, quoted in Oudendorp 1786 *ad loc.*

⁷⁴ Here the gloss from Harley 4838 is quoted *verbatim*.

⁷⁵ Iohannes Caspar Orellius, the editor of *M. Tulli Opera qui supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1830).

quum codex F., quem pervetustum nominat Lindenbrogius, his certe saeculis prior sit, ut a saeculo inde undecimo vel duodecimo hic error profluisse videatur. Oud. teste Morianus Tuccius clericus Florentinus in ed. Iuntina a. 1512 primus versibus vere Iambicis omnia constituit Francisco Asulano in Aldin. edit. a. 1521 aliisque sequentibus.’ ‘Everyone can see that these verses do not scan because of so many metrical errors, as we might state rightly with Orellius loc. cit. that some grammarian or scribe was moved to do this in a thought game, who had seen that many words can be turned into iambs, so that he set out everything in metre. Orellius, however, erred in this, when he attributed this error to an Italian grammarian of the 14th or 15th century, because codex F, which Lindenbrog declares to be very old, is certainly earlier than these centuries, so that this error seems to issue from the eleventh or twelfth century. According to Oud., Morianus Tuccius, a clergyman from Florence, was the first who in the Iuntine edition of 1512 set everything properly out in verses, and Franciscus Asulanus in the Aldine edition of 1521 and others followed.’

Hildebrand assumes the metrical prologue is much older and found in F. He seems to have been confused by the fact that there are several Florentine manuscripts, all of which could be referred to as F. He himself admits in a different context to this confusion:

*‘Itaque non clare apparet, quinam sint Codd. Florentini, quorum variae lectiones ab Elmenhorstio et Lindenbrogio citantur: nam complures extant Florentiae auctoris nostri Codices.’*⁷⁶ ‘Because of this it does not appear clearly, which these Florentine codices are, out of which the variant readings are quoted by Elmenhorst and Lindenbrog: for several Florentine codices of our author (i.e. Apuleius) are extant.’

Orellius has dated the versified prologue correctly to the fourteenth century. Hildebrand assumes that Florentinus must indicate the modern-day F Laurentianus 68.2 which is indeed the manuscript stolen from Monte Cassino and our only manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* from the eleventh century. The whole scholarly confusion is based on a siglum, on Hildebrand confusing Harley and F, based on Elmenhorst’s or Lindenbrog’s reading of

⁷⁶ Hildebrand 1842, lxxi.

Harley 4838, since both the verses of the prologue as well as the metrical marginal note that is quoted in the variorum edition of Oudendorp under Elmenhorst's name vary only insignificantly from the marginalia by Salutati, but more from the variations in the Sangallensis.

Since Harley 4838 was doubtlessly written in Florence, with marginalia in a typical Florentine handwriting, and at the time only lately brought out of Florence to join the Harley collection, it can easily be mistaken for F, the Laurentianus from Montecassino. It is Harley 4838, and thus Salutati, to which all versifications found in Renaissance texts, from Beroaldo's Neoplatonist commentary to Adlington's light-hearted translation, ultimately go back.

There are yet other Renaissance and early modern commentators who vie with each other in rewriting and resetting Apuleius' iambics. Rutgersius' version is metrical down to *Exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis offendero locutor*, and varies significantly both from the transmitted text (as also noted by himself, since he states that he wrote *fabellas* instead of the transmitted *fabulas*, just as Beroaldus had done) and the text of Harley 4838, e.g. in 'l. 2 f.', where he writes *varias fabellas conseram atque aures tuas / lepido susurro benevolas permulceam*. or 'l. 6', where he writes *Inspicere. Figuras formasque hominum imagines*. Still, as he admits himself, he has been inspired by a codex into writing his own verses. He states that *Atqui haec quidem sunt, quae partim auctoritate codicum, partim ex ingenio mutavimus* ('anyway, these are those verses which I changed partly on the authority of the codices, partly on my own accord').

Thus variations on the text of the metrical prologue are a response to Salutati, not independent of him, and Renaissance scholars again and again point out that in printing or re-writing a metrical prologue they rely on the authority of manuscripts, which seem to be Harley 4838 and its apograph Sangallensis 483. Salutati's metrical prologue sets free a wild goose, that the whole of the Renaissance scholarship has to chase – for even if scholars denied the prologue to be in metre, they still noted the problem or even discussed it in detail.

There were a few early editions which supported the prose prologue, notably the *editio princeps* from 1469, which is most rare. Of 275 copies ever printed, only one copy survived the Inquisition undefaced, and is now in the John Rylands Library Manchester (Deansgate). It was printed in Rome by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, who stresses the Neo-Platonist

elements in the *Metamorphoses*.⁷⁷ Unlike Beroaldus, he is not taken in by the temptingly Plautine prologue and seems to prefer the straightforward Platonic and ultimately Christianised perspective of contemporary Neoplatonism.

Its distribution obviously was not as wide as that of the Aldine, which does print the prologue in verse. One can thus assume that with the publication of the Aldine, most Renaissance readers of Apuleius assumed an iambic, and thus quintessentially Plautine, prologue. Still, strong support amongst the printed books against this versification of the prologue includes Bernardus Philomathes in 1522 in the Second Juntine edition, and Petrus Colvius (1567–1594) in 1588, who argues rightly (*Notae Vberiores* p. 3, quoted after Carver 2001, 166):

*Non bene illi, qui proloquium hoc versibus ab Apuleio scriptum arbitrati sunt, et in numeros reponere conati. Nam fere tota hujus scriptoris sic fluit oratio, et in Milesio hoc lusu praecipue, ut saepius comicum genus scribendi, et Plauti numeros innumeros agnoscas.*⁷⁸ ‘Those have not done well, who believe that this prologue was written in verse by Apuleius, and try to reorder it into metre. For almost the whole speech of this writer flows in this manner and particularly in this Milesian entertainment [*in Milesio hoc lusu*], so that you may quite often recognize the comic style of writing and the unscannable metres [*numeros innumeros*] of Plautus.’

The prologue shows remarkable affinity with Plautine metre, without ever becoming such. This may partly be derived from the fact that iambs in antiquity were considered to be the metre closest to prose, an argument used by the supporters of the prose-prologue, as e.g. voiced by Cicero, *Orat.* 191,2 *sunt enim qui iambicum putent, quod sit orationis simillimus* (‘for there are some people who believe iambs [sc. to be useful in oratory], because they are most similar to normal speech’).

Finally, Oudendorp 1786 writes in the *notae* that the verse prologue is based on the authority of a Florentine codex:

⁷⁷ Cf. D’Amico 1984, 351–392, esp. 365.

⁷⁸ Cf. Oudendorp 1786 *ad loc.* who quotes this passage. See Carver 2001, 166.

*Hoc libri principium ad ea usque verba ‘Thessaliam (nam et illic, &c)’ multi in versiculos tribuunt, auctoritate nixi Florentini codicis: sed, cum multi alii extant mss codices, in quibus aliter se habet, et revera hi versus tam licentiosi sint, totque pedum genera admittant, ut quaevis prosa oratio, ipsaeque adeo Ciceronis orationes in versus similes digeri possint, melius visum est, neglecta metrorum ratione, haec omnia uno tenore excudi, auctoribus Wowerio (1606), Pricaeo (James Price, 1600–1676; published his *Apologia* in 1635), et Scriverio (1624). ‘Many distribute this beginning of the book up to these words ‘Thessaliam (nam et illic, &c)’ into verses, relying on the authority of a Florentine codex. But, since many other manuscript codices are extant in which the situation is otherwise, and since these verses are in truth so free with metrical rules and allow so many types of foot, so that a prose speech of any kind, and to the same degree even the speeches of Cicero can be rendered into similar verses, it appears to be better, to neglect the reason for the metres and to print all this uninterruptedly [i.e. in prose], following the authority of Wower, Pricaeus and Scriverius.’*

Again, we find a reference to a Florentine manuscript which must be Harley 4838. It seems that all references to earlier editions, unpublished marginal notes or apograph manuscripts go back without exception to the same codex with its marginalia, namely our Harleianus with its annotations by Salutati.

Especially to early Renaissance scholars, working with a corrupt text of Plautus, Plautine metre must have been very difficult to make out. Extant manuscripts ‘testify to a carelessness about the metres of Republican drama evidenced elsewhere in the record of late antiquity.’⁷⁹ Only the generation after Salutati, that of Poggio and Niccolo Niccoli, was able to access the better manuscripts of the Palatine recension and the missing twelve plays.⁸⁰

This lack of a reliable text may be the reason why the idea of a metrical prologue full of licences and hiatus as found in their own corrupt Plautine editions, might have had such an enduring appeal to Renaissance scholars. In 1588, Petrus Colvius, with a learned reference to Gellius’ quotation of Plau-

⁷⁹ Thus Jocelyn 2002, 5, with further literature. (I am very grateful to my colleague John Briscoe for supplying me with a copy of this article).

⁸⁰ With the arrival of D = Vatican. Lat. 3870 in Italy.

tus' funeral epigram,⁸¹ could still call the metres of Plautus 'unscannable' (*Plauti numeros innumeros*). It has taken the effort of many modern scholars and much better Plautus editions to create a text of the comedies good enough to be subjected to metrical analysis which does not include the understandable errors found in Salutati's marginalia. Similarly, Apuleius' wilful reproduction of Plautine prologue elements, and the substantially higher frequency of Plautine language in the prologue may have strengthened the hand of those arguing their case for a versified prologue: prologues were delivered in iambic senarii, and Plautus' text seems to allow a considerable amount of metrical licences. Furthermore, the remarks of the venerated Macrobius in the marginal note to Harley 4838 associated Plautus with Apuleius. This seductive combination of isolated facts fooled important scholars from Beroaldus to Scaliger to Adlington.

Conclusion

Harley 4838 and Salutati's remarks are the reason for the Renaissance confusion on whether, and if, how, and how long, the prologue of the *Met.* is to be read as verse: Salutati's influence on Apuleius' tradition is larger than hitherto assumed. Salutati has heavily influenced Renaissance scholarship, perhaps even restrained it from studying other issues of Apuleian interest, by giving them a metrical prologue to analyse and rewrite according to their own taste and knowledge of metre.

Generations of humanist and Renaissance readers conceived of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as a prose novel with a metrical prologue. These readers include, through the early French and English translations, most readers up until modern times, and certainly prominent writers such as Shakespeare. Whilst no one nowadays associates Salutati's name with Apuleian scholarship, it is time for this scholar to be recognised as an important influence on the textual transmission of Apuleius.⁸² Salutati anticipated the comic interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* prologue and its intertextuality with Plautus, and in that respect, I would like to argue, he has added uniquely to our un-

⁸¹ Gellius 1,24: *Epigramma Plauti, quod dubitasset, an Plauti foret, nisi a M. Varrone positum esset in libro de poetis primo: postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comoedia luget, / scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus Iocusque / et Numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.*

⁸² Senecan scholars usually mention him in a footnote at least.

derstanding of this novel-comedy relationship. Even if he is not right in the matter of Apuleius' iambics, he nevertheless has surprisingly easily recognised Plautine words and elements in this Latin novel. Therefore, I would like to argue, *Salutati* should be added to the list of important literary critics of Apuleius from the Renaissance.

Appendix: Sozomeno of Pistoia
and the Nonius Marginalia in Harley 4838

In the context of this paper it is interesting that Plautus is occasionally mentioned in marginalia, which also name Nonius as their source for these Plautine words. It is worth considering whether it was *Salutati* or Sozomeno, the subsequent owner of the manuscript, who wrote these marginalia. For the idea of the prologue being seen as Plautine, influencing the other Renaissance scholars, this is an academic question: they saw the finished product, with the Plautine references in the margin, very likely oblivious to the problem whether it was *Salutati* or Sozomeno who wrote them. Sozomeno certainly seems to have decided to continue *Salutati*'s interest in Plautine elements in Apuleius, and is the more likely source of them: No references in marg. to Nonius can derive from *Salutati*, who did not manage to obtain a copy of Nonius' text.

Ullman⁸³ states that *Salutati* was unable to obtain a copy of Nonius Marcellus, although he tried at least five times: cf. the note to *Epistolario* vol. 3,616 (*Salutati*'s letter to Ser Guido Manfredi of Pietrasanta, Florence 1402) and *Epistolario* vol. 3,291: Leonardo Bruni writes a letter from Siena to Niccoli in 1407:

De bibliotheca Papiensi curavi equidem diligenter ut quantum librorum ibi sit et quid certior fiam utque Nonius Marcellus, quem Colucius habere numquam potuit, meo nomine transcribatur. 'Nonius Marcellus, whom Coluccio was never able to get'.

These marginal notes mainly consist of corrections or explanations of difficult words, but some entries derived from Nonius mention Plautus, e.g. the marginale fol. 135r on *exoticus*: *dicit (?) peregrinum plautus in epidico*

⁸³ Ullman 1963, 119 n. 3 and p. 238.

basilicum aut exoticum. Nonius M. 104. Sozomeno's distinctive method of cross-referencing indicates that this entry was written by him, in his most common style for indicating the lemma. He has the habit of underlining his Arabic numerals with a semicircle when he uses them as part of a cross-reference.⁸⁴

Other notes from Nonius mention Plautus: 143 *recto ad impendio* in *Met. 2 (impedio excusarem)*: Nonius M. 32. *Ad superbos (Met. 2)* 144v (just before the resurrection of the dead husband): *Plautus in Amphitrione. Veteres mortuos S. dixerunt. Plaut. – 6. At. ref. to Nonius M. 41.* These numerals must refer to pages in Sozomeno's Nonius manuscript and show these entries to be his, indicating a continued interest in the link between Plautus and Apuleius after Salutati's death.⁸⁵

Bibliography

- Billanovich, G. 1953. *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini*, Friburgo: Edizioni Universitarie.
- Carver, R.H.F. 1991. *The Protean Ass. The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the English Renaissance*, D.Phil. Thesis Oxford.
- Carver, R.H.F. 2001. 'Quis ille? The Role of the Prologue in Apuleius' *Nachleben*', in: Kahane-Laird 2001, 163–174.
- Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum. With indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters.* 1808. Vol. III, London.
- D'Amico, J. 1984. 'The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose. The Case of Apuleianism', *Renaissance Quarterly* 37, 351–392.
- De la Mare, A.C. 1973. *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*. Vol. I Fasc. I, Oxford: OUP.
- De Rosa, D. 1980. *Coluccio Salutati. Il cancelliere e il pensatore politico*, Firenze: La Nuova Italia.
- Fubini, R. 1992. 'All'uscita dalla Scolastica medievale: Salutati, Brunì, e i "Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum"', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 150, 1065–1103.
- Hankey, Th. 1959. 'Salutati's Epigrams for the Palazzo Vecchio', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22, 363–365.
- Harrison, S.J. 1992. 'Apuleius eroticus: *Anth. Lat.* 712 Riese', *Hermes* 120, 83–89.

⁸⁴ Cf. De la Mare 1973, 101.

⁸⁵ I would like to thank Dr. David Rundle, the participants in the Corpus Christi College Classics Seminar at Oxford and the University of Manchester Classics Seminar for their comments, and especially the librarians of the John Rylands Library Deansgate, the Manuscript Room at the British Library and the Vadiana in St. Gallen for their support and help in obtaining copies of manuscripts. I would also like to thank Peter Robinson (British Library), Clifford Webb and Rosa Vidal-Doval for helping me with the images of the manuscript.

- Harrison, S.J. & M. Winterbottom 2001. 'The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Text, Translation and Textual commentary', in: Kahane–Laird 2001, 9–15.
- Hijmans, B.L. 1978. 'Asinus numerosus', in: B.L. Hijmans (jr.) & R.Th. van der Paardt (edd.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 189–209.
- Hildebrand, G.F. (ed., comm.) 1842. *L. Apuleii opera omnia ex fide optimorum codicum aut primum aut denuo collatorum recensuit notas Oudendorpii integras ac ceterorum editorum excerptas adiecit perpetuis commentariis illustravit prolegomenis et indicibus instruxit Dr. G.F. Hildebrand*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Cnobloch (repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms 1968).
- Jensen, R.C. 1968. 'Conquestio Phyllidis', *Studies in Philology* 65, 116–123.
- Jensen, R.C. 1976. 'Coluccio Salutati's Lament of Phyllis', *Studies in Philology* 73, 109–115.
- Jensen, R.C. & M. Bahr-Volk 1976. 'The Fox and the Crab. Coluccio Salutati's Unpublished Fable', *Studies in Philology* 73, 162–175.
- Jocelyn, H.D. 2002. 'The Text of Plautus' *Pseud.* 173–184 and the Copyists and Grammarians of Late Antiquity', in: A. Isola (ed.), *Curiositas. Studi di cultura classica e medievale in onore di Ubaldo Pizzani*, Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- Kahane, A. & A. Laird (edd.) 2001. *A Companion to the Prologue to Apuleius' Metamorphoses*, Oxford: OUP.
- Keil, H. (ed.) 1855–1880. *Grammatici Latini*. 7 vols., Leipzig: Teubner.
- Klibansky, R. 1939. *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages*. London: The Warburg Institute.
- Koster, S. 1978. 'Das "Präskript" der *Res Gestae* Divi Augusti', *Historia* 27, 241–246.
- Lowe, E.A. 1920. 'The Unique Manuscript of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (Laurentian. 68.2) and its Oldest Transcript (Laurentian. 29.2)', *CQ* 14, 150–155.
- Lowe, E.A. ²1980. *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. By E.A. Loew. 2nd ed. prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.
- Magnaldi, G. & G.F. Gianotti (edd.) 2000. *Apuleio. Storia del testo e interpretazioni*, Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- May, R. 2002a. Review of Magnaldi–Gianotti 2000, *CR* 52, 79–80.
- May, R. 2002b. *A Comic Novel? Roman and New Comedy in Apuleius' Metamorphoses*. D Phil Thesis Oxford.
- May, R. 2006. *Apuleius and Drama. The Ass on Stage*, Forthcoming Oxford: OUP.
- Miglio, L. 1983. 'Un nome per tre epitaffi. Coluccio Salutati e gli elogi funebri dei Corsini', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 26, 361–374.
- Moles, J. 1993. 'Livy's Preface', *PCPS* 39, 141–168.
- Moreschini, C. 1977. 'Sulla fama di Apuleio nel medioevo e nel rinascimento', in: *Studi filologici letterari e storiche in memoria di Guido Favati*, Padua: Antenore, 457–476 (Medioevo e Umanesimo 29)
- Murgia, C.E. 1970. 'Avienus' supposed iambic version of Livy', *CSCA* 3, 185–197.
- Newton, F. 1999. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino 1058–1105*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Nisbet, R.G.M. 2001. 'Cola and Clausulae in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* I.1', in: Kahane–Laird, 16–26.
- Novati, F. (ed.) 1891–1905. *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*. 4 vols. Rome: Fonti per la storia d'Italia.
- Oliver, R.P. 1940. 'Plato and Salutati', *TAPhA* 71, 315–334.

- Oudendorp, F. 1786. *Appuleii opera omnia, cum notis integris Petri Colvii, Ioannis Wowerii, Godeschalci Stewechii, Geverharti Elmenhorstii, et aliorum, inprimis cum animadversionibus hucusque ineditis Francisci Oudendorpii. Tomus primus continens Metamorphoseon libros XI. Cui praefationem praemisit David Ruhnkenius*. Lugduni Batavorum: Van der Eyk et Vygh.
- Pellegrin, E. et al. 1975. *Les manuscrits classiques Latins de la bibliothèque Vaticane. Catalogue établi par E. Pellegrin et al.* Vol. 1. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique.
- Reynolds, L.D. (ed.) 1983. *Texts and Transmission: a Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Reynolds, L.D. 1983. 'Apuleius, *Opera philosophica*', in: Reynolds 1983, 16–18.
- Robertson, D.S. 1924. 'The Manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius', *CQ* 18, 27–42; 85–99.
- Robertson, D.S. 1940–1945. *Apulée : Les Métamorphoses* [3 vols], Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Sabbadini, R. 1905–1914. *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli xiv e xv*. 2 vols., Firenze: G.C. Sansoni.
- Scarpattetti, B.M. v. (ed.) 1991. *Die Handschriften der Bibliotheken St. Gallen – Zürich in alphabetischer Reihenfolge, bearbeitet von B. M. V. Scarpattetti et al. Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*. Vol. 3, Zürich: Graf.
- Scherer, G. 1864. *Verzeichniss der Manuscripte und Incunabeln der Vadianischen Bibliothek in St. Gallen, St. Gallen* (repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms 1976).
- Smith, W.S. 1972–1999. 'The Narrative Voice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *TAPhA* 103 (1972), 512–534. Repr. with a New Afterword (1997) in S.J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel*, Oxford: OUP, 195–216.
- Tarrant, R.J. 1983. 'Plautus', in: Reynolds 1983, 302–307.
- Ullman, B.L. 1963. *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*. Padova: Antenore (Medioevo e Umanesimo 4).
- Ullman, B.L. 1973. *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.
- Winkler, J.J. 1985. *Auctor & Actor. A Narratological Reading of Apuleius'* Golden Ass, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Witt, R.G. 1983. *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Witt, R.G. 2000. 'In the Footsteps of the Ancients'. *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Leiden: Brill.
- Wright, C.E. 1972. *Fontes Harleiani*, London: British Museum.
- Zimmerman, M. 2000. *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses. Book X — Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Zimmerman, M. 2001. 'Quis ille ... lector. Addressee(s) in the Prologue and throughout the *Metamorphoses*', in Kahane–Laird 2001, 245–255.
- Zintzen, C., U. Ecker & P. Riemer 1992. *Coluccio Salutati: Index*, Tübingen: G. Narr.