

Psyche's Sisters as *Medicae*? Allusions to Medicine in *Cupid and Psyche*¹

THOMAS MCCREIGHT
Loyola College, Maryland

One of the chief themes of this volume is the relationship between textual criticism at the “local” level and interpretation at the “global” level. For my part I examine a single passage containing textual difficulties and then discuss larger interpretive issues related to or stimulated by that section. Maaïke Zimmerman excels at exactly this sort of exegesis, and in this book in her honor I am very pleased to be able to offer my own efforts in this vein. I have learned a great deal over the years through exposure to her vast learning, good judgment, patient criticism and gentle guidance. Although she may not agree with the details of my analysis, I hope she will recognize that the very attempt, and the way in which it is executed, are heavily indebted to her, and I thank her for what she has taught me.

In what follows, proceeding from a contested reading in *Metamorphoses* 5,11, I offer a new way of looking at one of the very many levels of allusion

¹ Abbreviations used throughout: *GCA* = Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius, various editions; *GCN* = Groningen Colloquia on the Novel; *OLD* = Oxford Latin Dictionary; *ThLL* = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. All other abbreviations are the standard ones used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and *l'Année philologique*. References to Apuleius' cite from Helm's 1992 revised Teubner edition, giving standard book and chapter numbers followed by page and line numbers from Helm. References to the *Apology* give chapter and section numbers from Vallette's 1973 Budé edition.

Research for the various incarnations of this paper was generously supported by many individuals and institutions. I am grateful for release time and financial assistance from the Faculty Development committee and Center for the Humanities at Loyola College in MD, and especially to assistance long ago from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), which enabled me to work for an extended period under the guidance of Maaïke Zimmerman with the Apuleius group at the University of Groningen. I offer special thanks to Wytse Keulen, who offered a great many suggestions for improvements to this article.

and meaning that Apuleius has inserted into the most famous “tale” of his novel. In short, I propose that, in addition to the evocation of the military and erotic spheres in Apuleius’ depiction of Psyche’s sisters,² he also subtly paints them as greedy, unscrupulous and deadly doctors who are willing to mislead and damage their patient in order to enrich themselves. He does this through careful use of technical vocabulary from medicine and by evoking various facets of the popular reputation of and literary tradition regarding ancient physicians.³

The layout of the paper is as follows: To supply a broader context for my remarks on specific passages, in an introduction I review what Apuleius’ other works tell us about his knowledge of medicine. I then survey some passages from the *Metamorphoses*, both within and outside the Cupid and Psyche tale, that scholars agree make clear reference to medical vocabulary and material. After laying this foundation, in part I, “Textual problem in 5,11”, I make a detailed case for reading *deterentes* (5,11: 111,25), which is not printed by other editors. In order to better situate that contention I exam-

² See Panayotakis 1998, esp. 152–162.

³ The precise nature of “medical Latin” continues to be debated among specialists, and the controversy extends beyond the scope of this paper. Earlier studies (e.g. André and Önerfors) tended to rely on the deep debt to Greek, and they focused on neologisms or new attestations, loan-words, calques and (especially in encyclopedias or less technical treatises) clear, self-explaining periphrases. All of Adams’ and Langslow’s work, and much of Mazzini’s (see esp. 1997, 123–171), concentrate to some extent on such features. Other studies (including recently Langslow 2000, but see also Pinkster 1992 and 1995) have broadened in scope to investigate the syntax and style of medical Latin; a consensus appears to exist that sees, for example, a marked tendency toward parataxis and asyndeton, and sometimes even rhyme, especially in descriptions of symptoms or lists of remedies. This can change according to context, of course, but experts seem to agree on the existence of well-defined patterns. See Sconocchia 2004, 536–540 and below, section III, for some particularly clear examples.

A good bibliographical conspectus of recent studies appears in Sconocchia 2004, esp. 513 notes 72 and 73. That article functions as a review of sorts of Langslow’s magisterial 2000 book, and gives a digest of recent controversies: see esp. 496–497 and 520–524. See Adams 1995, 668–669 and Langslow 2000, 165–167 on the relation of medical Latin (which had many levels, depending on both author and audience) to other realms of discourse; for example, words for implements and medicines tend to come from standard, everyday vocabulary. Reviewers may differ from Langslow 2000 about details, but overall they praise the general findings of his study: medical Latin was “a *written* technical language in the strong sense” (Langslow 2000, 434). Apuleius often uses other specialist vocabularies (judicial, e.g.; see Norden 1912; Keulen 1997, with references), and his use of medical vocabulary should not surprise us.

ine some medical terms in the immediate context that are used both concretely and metaphorically in Apuleius and in other authors.

With this background, I proceed in Part II, “Medical Vocabulary and Doctors in Apuleius”, to an examination of previously unrecognized medical vocabulary in other chapters where the sisters appear. This section is deeply indebted to recent studies of medical Latin, and examines in addition some ways in which allusion to medicine in literature may affect the reader. The study in both Parts I and II concentrates often on Apuleius’ tendency to “concretize” the metaphorical, to use words or images literally that are regularly used in a transferred sense.⁴

In Part III, “The Broader Medical Context”, I move from a largely lexical study to examining other references to doctors and patients. After a review of the Romans’ mostly negative attitudes concerning imported Greek doctors and practices, I examine the strong similarity between this hostile tradition and Apuleius’ portrait of the sisters. In addition I use some recent work on medical writers’ conception of women and their illnesses to analyze parts of the sisters’ description. I then offer some examples of how recognition of this pattern of allusion can deepen our appreciation of some episodes in the tale. A conclusion summarizes the results of the investigation undertaken in parts I–III and suggests some possible avenues of further inquiry.

Introduction: Apuleius and Medicine

There is no doubt about Apuleius’ knowledge and use of medical lore and specialist medical terminology.⁵ The “doctor” stories in books 2 and 10 are particularly clear examples, as are his remarks on his own medical work in the *Apology*. Scholars have produced studies both general and specific of the

⁴ For a similar approach see the contributions in this volume of Plaza and Panayotakis.

⁵ See Harrison 2000, 25–26 with notes on a fragment from Apuleius’ medical work. Harrison gives a concise overview of evidence for Apuleius’ interest in medicine. The locus classicus, cited by almost all who look into the matter, is Apuleius’ statement in *Apol.* 40 that he is *medicinae nec instudiosus neque imperitus*; cf. with notes Hunink 1997, vol. II, 122–123 ad loc., who mentions *flor.* 19 (see Hunink 2001, 196–197) and 23,3–5 as evidencing medical knowledge and, more importantly (see below), the doctor as metaphor. On the *Florida* passages see Lee 2005, 178–181; 190–191. Cf. also Apuleius’ special connection with the cult of Asclepius as detailed in *flor.* 18,37. Note also that a charge of “medical malpractice” featured among the accusations brought against him, as detailed in *apol.* 42–52; for more on this see below, note 106.

employment and valence of medical lore in specific sections of the *Metamorphoses*.⁶ In addition to these articles that investigate individual passages, the study of medicine in general in Greco-Roman antiquity has grown significantly in the last twenty years. Recent studies like those of Flemming and Nutton, but especially of Mazzini, Adams, and Langslow, have made the findings of dedicated specialists in ancient medicine available in systematic fashion to literary critics. Luchner has recently offered a study of the role of medicine in the Greek literature of Apuleius' age.⁷ This work is a great boon for those of us not steeped in the likes of Galen or Scribonius Largus, nor intimately familiar with encyclopaedists who have a keen interest in medical practice like Pliny the Elder and Celsus. It allows us to understand better another level of Apuleius' learning and writing.

This paper examines in greater depth a tendency already present in Roman letters and in the *Metamorphoses* in particular. References to medicine are fairly common in classical literature, especially in erotic contexts. Across genres, but especially in poetry, stories of love frequently employ the metaphors of "love as a disease" and of "the wound of love".⁸ In other parts of

⁶ General studies of doctors in popular culture in general and in ancient novels in particular are Amundsen 1974 and 1978 and Crismani 1993; see also more recently with notes Luchner 2004, 229–240. These give good comparanda from the Greek novels of the use of the doctor in roughly contemporary imaginative narrative. Mudry 1992 gives a detailed discussion of medical lore in *Met.* 10,25. Mattiacci 1993 is an especially clear example of Apuleius' use of medical knowledge of rabies; see also the detailed elaborations and additions, with full bibliographical references, to be found in *GCA* 1995, 50 ad 9,3 (204,21) on *incresciente uirus* (both proper medical and veterinary terms); on hydrophobia in general, see 52–53 along with Appendix I on rabies, 357–358. See also Zimmerman in *GCA* 2000, 179–183 on the "doctor" story in 10,11 (244,28–245,3) with its various bits of medical lore like the (accurately described) effects of the drug *mandragora* and the proper use of medical terms like *gruedo*, *efficax* and *discutere*; also 317 ad 10,25 (256,17–22) on Apuleius' discussion of bile and its effects within the traditions of ancient medical thought; also 331 ad 10,26 (258,1–4) on his use of *demersus* as a possible translation of a Greek medical term; 345 ad 10,28 (259,4–13) the likely medical pedigree of *uirus infestum*.

On the various multiple levels of allusion (both to medicine and to Vergil) in Apuleius see Lazzarini 1985, 145–146 on 10,2,7 *heu ignarae mentes*. See also Graverini 1996 on Lucretius, Vergil and discussions of disease.

⁷ See Luchner 2004 *passim*, but especially relevant for this topic are 23–30 and 52–65 (see below, section III on Galen). Her study offers a wealth of comparanda in Greek literature for some of what I undertake below, especially in section III; I focus in sections I and II on lexical matters specifically in Latin.

⁸ See below, note 62. Cf. the description of the common effects of Cupid's intervention as described by Venus in 4,31 (99,3–4) *per tuae sagittae dulcia uulnera, per flammae istius*

the novel as well as in the narrative concerning Psyche itself these metaphors return. For example, in the “Phaedra” episode in *Met.* 10,2–12 the lovesick stepmother suffers from the standard elegiac “symptoms” of love,⁹ including a metaphorical “spiritual” wound (10,2: 237,19 *uulnus animi*).¹⁰ In her commentary on these chapters Maaïke Zimmerman provided copious references for the pedigree of the various elements included in the woman’s description.¹¹ Apuleius complicates and manipulates the traditional catalog of symptoms, however, sometimes by making concrete that which in earlier authors is metaphorical. In the story of the stepmother he creates a new character who is a dense intertextual embodiment of many previous lovesick heroines. He concretizes the “medical” provenance of the description of symptoms by introducing the notion of real doctors in the famous apostrophe (10,2: 237,25–238,1), “Alas for the perception of doctors” [who do not know how to diagnose the symptoms of erotic obsession] *Heu medicorum ignarae mentes* ... Moreover, he then has the “sick” woman achieve her aims by feigning a “real” (but different) illness (10,3). And then a genuine doctor is brought in to give a correct “diagnosis” of the situation (10,8–12).¹²

Apuleius also alludes to the “medical” side of the world of lovers in the *Cupid and Psyche* tale. Psyche is so formidably beautiful that she intimidates all suitors and is left alone and thus starved for love. Apuleius therefore describes her, even before she falls for Cupid, as “ill in body and wounded in spirit” *aegra corporis, animi saucia* (4,32: 100,12). This description includes allusions to passages from Ennius and Vergil that contain the notion of the wound of love. In addition, however, Apuleius goes beyond the traditional material, “incarnating” Psyche’s lovesickness by describing her as physically sick.¹³ Similar vocabulary (*saucia mente* “wounded mind”) returns in 5,23 (121,9),¹⁴ but here she is also actually injured: she has just punctured her thumb with one of Cupid’s arrows and “fallen in love with Love”. In this

mellitas uredines “by the sweet wounds of your arrow, by the honey-sweet burns of this flame of yours”; see *GCA* 2004, 67–68 ad loc. for references on the literary lineage of these notions.

⁹ See *GCA* 2000, 69–79 with copious references ad 10,2.

¹⁰ See *GCA* 2000, 73 ad loc. with references.

¹¹ *GCA* 2000, 59–195; Appendix I, 417–432.

¹² See above, note 6 for references to accurate representation of recondite medical lore in these chapters and elsewhere in book 10.

¹³ *GCA* 2004, 81–82 ad loc. with references.

¹⁴ See *GCA* 2004, 289 ad loc. with references to Apuleius’ dense intertextual structure here.

chapter both lovers wind up with real bodily harm: Psyche wounded in her finger (and soul, of course), and Cupid burned by oil from the lamp.¹⁵ In this tale of two lovers Apuleius has made “flesh and blood” characters suffer the actual burning and penetrating wounds of love that the literary tradition so often used as metaphor.

Moreover, when Venus learns of the affair she decides to disarm her son and even to inflict corporal punishment. This last course of action is described as a “treatment” to be applied to his body, a very concrete sort of “*remedia amoris*”¹⁶ (5,30:127,19–20): *immo et ipsum corpus eius acrioribus remediis coherceat* “yes, and to punish his body with even more severe treatments”¹⁷.

We see this combination of psychological pain and physical suffering in the “Charite complex”, the narrative framing the tale of Cupid and Psyche that has many points of contact with Psyche’s story.¹⁸ The presence of this element of physical distress in the frame may serve to contextualize and prepare for the medical imagery inside the more famous tale. In 4,25 (94,11) the exasperated *anus* asks Charite why she “has renewed her unbridled lamentation” over her kidnapping: *quid ... lamentationes licentiosas refricaret*.¹⁹ As *GCA* 1977, 190 ad loc. notes, Cicero uses *refricare* to mean “tear open wounds” (*Att.* 5,12,2); the verb emphasizes the physical side of her psychological distress and connotes more than mere “renewal”. Psyche’s self-flagellating behavior (after having also been separated from her own lover) is described in similar terms in 5,25 (122,14–16): *Psyche ... affligebat la-*

¹⁵ Cf. also with references *GCA* 2004, 325 ad 5,28 (125,12–13) *ille uulnere lucernae dolens ... iacens ingemebat* “he ... lay smarting from the pain of the wound of the lamp”; *GCA* 2004, 334 ad 5,29 (126,13) *aegroto puero* “ailing boy” with references to other passages mentioning both real and metaphorical wounds; *GCA* 2004, 298 on the literary tradition of Love himself suffering the wound of love.

¹⁶ The cure for love here is of course also Love’s cure: *amor* could easily be capitalized and serve as both objective and possessive genitive.

¹⁷ See *GCA* 2004, 348 ad loc. on the interplay here of the literal, literary and metaphorical. For a similar interplay, compare the “illness” of Venus herself, whose “blood is up” in 5,31 (127,25–26) *stomachata biles Venerias* (see *GCA* 2004, 349 ad loc.).

¹⁸ For the term and the relationship between this tale and *Cupid and Psyche*, see with references *GCA* 2004, 9–11.

¹⁹ Cf. also the notion of physical punishment in 4,25 (94,1–3) (Charite) ... *uehementius adflictare sese et pectus etiam palmis infestis tundere et faciem ... uerberare incipit* “(Charite) ... began to attack herself far more vehemently, and even to beat her breast with cruel hands and strike her lovely face.”

mentationibus animum “Psyche ... tormented her soul with ... lamentations”; cf. Charite’s *adflictare sese* in 4,25 (94,1).

In addition to mirroring the mental and physical torments of Charite, the formulation *Psyche affligebat... animum*, owing to the “speaking name” of the heroine, collapses into the selfsame character (an ensouled body and a body that is literally “soul”) and renders coterminous the realms of bodily and spiritual affliction. This “concretizing” of the psychological in the physical is not restricted to Psyche, as we have noted above and shall see again below. It also reminds the reader of the oft-repeated play with (Greek) **psyche** = (Latin) *anima/animus*.²⁰ In addition to being a clever bilingual game, this ambiguity reflects a constant undercurrent in the novel as a whole: the Roman representation of Greek tradition, setting and content. But it also rehearses a preoccupation of Latin medical texts: how does one adequately bring into Latin the long and venerable tradition of Greek medical practice and literature?²¹ As both Roman novelist and knowledgeable medical writer, Apuleius offers in the “case” of the sisters an answer of sorts to these questions, as I hope to show in the sections that follow.

In the next part I address a passage with a contested reading that forces us to consider the medical nature of some of the vocabulary used in the description of the sisters.

I Textual problem in 5,11

In book five of Apuleius’ tale of Cupid and Psyche, the young wife ignores her husband’s predictions of disaster and prevails upon him to let her receive her sisters. Psyche entertains her sisters lavishly, who are then stricken with jealousy at her palace and riches, and determine to destroy her. They hide the opulent gifts given by their younger sibling, and feign grief at her death. At this point there is a textual problem, discussed in the recent *GCA* commen-

²⁰ See *GCA* 2004, 301 ad loc. with references on the bilingual pun; *GCA* 2004, 64 on 4,30 (98,25 f.) on the allegorical implications of the name.

²¹ See above, note 3 for references. In his *Apology* (49–51) Apuleius digresses on various theories about epilepsy, citing Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus (see ad locc. Hunink 1997, vol. II, 140–143), and does so in a section (42–52) where he responds to an accusation of faulty medical practice: see below, note 106; cf. also his comments on his own translations of Aristotle’s biological works (and mentions of others’) in 36, with the remarks ad locc. of Hunink 1997, vol. II, 114–115. See below, section III for Roman ambivalence about importations of Greek culture, especially medicine.

tary.²² The remarks in this first section follow closely the discussion in the commentary but explore and develop other points.

*placet pro bono duabus malis malum consilium totisque illis tam pretiosis muneribus absconditis comam trahentes et proinde ut merebantur ora lacerantes simulatos redintegrant fletus. ac sic parentes quoque redulcerato prorsum dolore raptim **deterrentes** (deserentes GCA 2004; deterrentes edd.) uesania turgidae domus suas contendunt dolum scelestum, immo uero parricidium struentes contra sororem insontem.*

Met. 5,11 (111,21–27)

‘The twin evils find their evil plan a good one, and after caching the whole of those very valuable gifts, tearing their hair and, just as they deserved, disfiguring their faces, they start anew their mock mourning. And in this way hastily rubbing raw their parents too by once again completely ripping the scab off their (parents’) grief, swollen with madness the sisters make for their own houses, plotting a criminal deception, or more exactly an execution, against their innocent sister.’²³

F and ϕ give *raptī det̄rentes*. The chief difficulty is *deterrentes*, which has long exercised commentators and emenders, and is printed by most editions. It must be nominative, modifying the sisters, and *parentes* should then be its object. The problems are as follows:

1. *Raptim* seems awkward with *deterrentes*. This has led many editors to make transpositions in word order (see *GCA* 2004, 180 ad loc. for various examples), all of which do violence to the transmitted text and offer little in the way of improvement.
2. *Deterreo* itself is a problem:²⁴ it usually means “to frighten” or “to discourage”, and most who retain this reading rely on a play between the

²² *GCA* 2004, 180 ad 5,11 (111,24–24); for another view see Graverini 2006, 4–6; also below, note 25.

²³ This translation is mine. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent translations of material from the *Metamorphoses* are from *GCA* volumes.

²⁴ Cf. *ThLL* s.v. *deterreo* 808,46, which gives as synonyms *coercere*, *continere*, *depellere*, *remouere*.

two meanings.²⁵ However, the notion of the sisters' frightening their parents quickly does not easily coincide with their first taking time to rehearse their own faked lamentations and thereby reawaken the parents' very real grief (see below on *redulcerato ... dolore*).

In light of this evidence, then, *deterrentes* needs to be changed.

Many other emendations have been proposed. The *GCA* commentary on this chapter, which I authored, prints and defends Colvius' *deserentes*, aducing in support the sisters' tendency to ignore their parents or treat them with disrespect, and their propensity for haste.²⁶ Nonetheless, for reasons outlined in what follows, I submit that Wiman's *deterentes* corresponds best with other resonances in the passage and should be strongly considered.

²⁵ Graverini 2006, 4–5, following earlier editors like Oudendorp and Grimal (and, to a lesser extent, Fernhout, Purser, and Robertson; see the *GCA* lemma ad loc.), interprets *deterreo* as an intensive form, “to terrify” (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2), and notes that the *ThLL* has 4 late instances of this. He also points to examples in the *Met.* where he sees this as the primary or sole connotation of the word. However, in the passages he cites (4,26 and 8,5; see below for these and others) there is a decided note of discouragement or prohibition through fear from actions planned or already in course: in 4,26 (94,16) Charite stops her extravagant lamentations in response to the threatening speech of the *anus*; in 5,22 (120,7–8) Psyche is prevented by Cupid's otherworldly beauty from carrying out her ‘assassination’ of him; in 9,21 Philesitherus is not dissuaded from playing the clever adulterer, and comes up with a plan to extricate himself from a difficult situation (218,28) *Philesitherus ... non enim deterritus ... recolens*; in 8,5 (179,15) the other hunters in Tlepolemus' party are frightened into withdrawing from the chase at the sudden appearance of a boar. Graverini maintains that the parents are frightened by the sudden change in the sisters' behavior from dutiful offspring (5,4) to crazed mourners swollen with madness. The only hint that the parents are frightened by this is, however, the disputed word *deterrentes*; the contrast in the sisters' conduct upon which he bases his interpretation is not (as far as the text tells us) elsewhere noticed or expressed by the parents, nor noted as a contrast by the narrator.

²⁶ The sisters desert their loved ones regularly, and *desero* is sometimes used of this behavior. Cf. 5,4 (106,10–12): *propereque maestae atque lugubres deserito lare certatim ... perrexerant* (“they immediately left home sad and in mourning, and vied with each other in their rush to see and address their parents”); after 5,20, where they suggest to Psyche “radical surgery”, i.e., cutting off her husband's head, 5,21 (119,4–8) begins thus: *tali uerborum incendio flammata uiscera sororis iam prorsus ardentis deserentes ipsae protinus, tanti mali confinium sibi etiam eximie metuentes ... ilico pernici[o] se fuga proripiunt, statimque conscensis nauibus abeunt* (“by such a blaze of words their sister's already thoroughly heated heart caught fire. They left her instantly, utterly terrified of being themselves close to such a disaster, and ... immediately ran in a hurried escape, and went aboard their ships and disappeared”). For the sisters' disrespectful haste towards their parents cf. 5,14 (114,7–8); 5,17 (116,8–10).

Those other resonances are the ones I attempt to make more audible in the sections below.

Detero is archaic, non-classical,²⁷ and thus consistent with many of Apuleius' stylistic proclivities. It is used of persons most often in Apuleius' contemporaries (*ThLL* s.v. 805,52 ff.).²⁸ Gellius uses it (15,30,1) in a discussion of older people (like Psyche's parents?), debilitated by other concerns, who come to the study of literature late in life: *qui ab alio genere uitae detriti iam et retorridi ad litterarum disciplinas serius adeunt* "(those) who, worn away and dried out by another kind of life, come rather late to the study of literature". Marcus Aurelius uses it metaphorically with a psychological sense (but in reference to a real sickness) in a letter to Fronto. There it appears not with a personal object like *parentes*, but with a dative referring to himself (5,41,2 = p. 76,15 van den Hout 1988): *tua ista ualetudo aliquantum detriuit mihi*, "Your sickness has worn me down some".²⁹ In Firmicus Maternus and later Christians, people, most often soldiers, are worn down by natural or professional causes, e.g., "the perpetual burden of military service" (*sempiterno onere militiae*); "age" (*aetate*); "the siege" (*obsidio*); "the locale and the heat" (*situ aestuque*) (*ThLL* s.v. 805,56–67).

This metaphorical use of *detero* with the notion of harming (see *ThLL* s.v. 805,36; 52) is consistent with the quite literally 'abrasive' tone of the rest of our passage: the sisters have torn out (*trahere*) their hair and scratched (*lacerare*) their faces. Moreover, *redulcerare* also contains the notion of abrasion;³⁰ it is attested only twice (probably) before Apuleius,³¹

²⁷ *ThLL* s.v. 804,71 ff.; it appears in Naevius and Plautus but is completely absent in Terence, Cicero, Vergil, Livy.

²⁸ Wiman 1927, 43 gives examples of *detero* used of things associated with humans, like cities or talent, but not people themselves.

²⁹ See Van den Hout 1999, 203 ad loc. with references; he translates "has bothered me a good deal."

³⁰ The use of *prorsum* here with *redulcerato*, used at *GCA* 2004 ad loc. (see with references) as support for adopting *deserentes*, may also be used for adopting *deterentes*: see *OLD* s.v. *prorsum* 2, 'as an intensive.' In 5,1 (103,19) it emphasizes the adjective coming before it; for its use in climax, cf. 10,1 (236,15) and *apol.* 4,12. Kenney 1990 ad loc. finds it 'odd' and cites with approval Van der Vliet's *rursum*. If we read *deterentes*, however, then *prorsum* here emphasizes the chafing notion present in both verbs *redulcerare* and *deterere*. There is a similar usage of the related *prorsus* at 5,21 (119,5), where the sisters set aflame Psyche's already kindled passions: *tali uerborum incendio flammata uiscera sororis iam prorsus ardentis*; see *GCA* 2004, 263 ad loc.

³¹ *OLD* s.v. lists its occurrence here in Apuleius as a transferred use; the *ThLL* archives show that other uses outside orthographical or grammatical works are concrete.

once in a glossary entry,³² and once in Columella's discussion of treating a skin ailment common to sheep (*RR* 7,5,8): *medicamentum illinitur scabrae parti, qua tamen prius aspera testa defricta uel pumica redulceratur* ("The medicine is then applied on the affected area, where it has first been reinfamed by chafing with a rough piece of pottery or stone"). The word is probably a technical term from the medical realm (see below, section II, for more on such words), since the only lengthy attestation post-Apuleius is in the medical writer Caelius Aurelianus (4th–5th century CE) and is reminiscent of the Columella passage. It describes the proper treatment for healing bleeding wounds, and counsels against any actions that might open recently closed lesions: *Chron.* 2,13,162 *recentium glutinationum atque mollium uulnerum redulcerantia probantur*, "newly healed and tender wounds are likely to open again"; *inflata etenim parua ex occasione atque turgentia redulcerantur*, "In fact, if the parts are given even a small opportunity to become puffed up and swollen, the wound will open again."³³

Perhaps not coincidentally, the passage here in 5,11 also combines the notions of inflammation and swelling. The words immediately following the contested reading encourage us to view this passage as in some way "medical", since the sisters are described as *turgidae*. *OLD* s.v. *turgidus* 1c lists only this passage and *Met.* 9,21 (218,22) as examples of the figurative meaning of the word as "frenzied or inflamed with passion"; the primary meaning is "swollen, distended",³⁴ as the sisters' faces would likely be from being scratched. Apuleius uses the word here in a transferred sense, to be sure, specifying that the sisters are swollen with *uesania*, but the primary and literal force of the word is also appropriate to the context.³⁵

³² The *ThLL* archives list a passage from L. Caesellius Vindex, a grammatical writer who appears not to have written past the age of Hadrian; his work is excerpted by Cassiodorus in Keil, *Grammatici Latini* VII 202,19–207,12. The word in question appears in a passage discussing the use of consonants in prefixes: *ulcero redulcero, ago redigo, eo redeo* ... The word also appears in a list in the *Notae Tironianae* (111,86a).

³³ Translation from Drabkin 1950, 671.

³⁴ For the association of *turgidus* with disease see *GCA* 2004, 428 ad 6,9 (134,21–22) *turgidi uentris* (in reference to Psyche's pregnancy).

³⁵ Cf. 4,31 (99,4) *dulcia uulnera ... mellitas uredines* "sweet wounds and honey-sweet burns", with *GCA* 2004,67–68 ad loc. Venus cites these as the traditional effects of Cupid's arrows and torch. They become "real" later on when Psyche punctures her thumb with his arrow and the lamp burns the god of love; see below, section III.

As I observed above in the introduction, Apuleius combines the notion of psychological pain and physical irritation in the tale of Charite,³⁶ so the imagery is not unexampled. Indeed, Apuleius here is working within a tradition of Greek and Roman letters that uses physical wounds as a metaphor for grief. This topic reaches beyond the scope of this paper,³⁷ but some examples will help put Apuleius' use of related terms in context. Seneca uses *exulceratio* and *exulcerare* frequently of grief, and is thereby exploiting its currency as a medical term.³⁸ He does so frequently, and one of the clearest examples is *Dial.* 11,1,3³⁹ (= *Ad Helviam Matrem De Consolatione*): *haesitabam uerebarque, ne haec non consolatio esset, sed exulceratio* "I held back and I was afraid that this would be not a consolation, but a rubbing raw"⁴⁰

Apuleius was certainly familiar with the medical use of *exulcerare*, as shown by his use of it in the description of the abused mules in the mill at 9,13 (212,17): *muli ... pectora copulae sparteae tritura continua exulcerati* "mules with their breasts full of festering sores through the continual rubbing of the rope harness". He uses other medical vocabulary there correctly and concretely.⁴¹ In light of his manifest knowledge and exploitation of specialist medical terminology elsewhere (see Introduction above and section II be-

³⁶ See Introduction above with notes 18–19.

³⁷ Wöhrle 1991, 1–13 gives a good overview of the range of use of the *ulcus*/ἔλκος metaphor. See below, section III.d with note 138 for more.

³⁸ See *ThLL* s.v. *exulceratio* 2102,13–2103,24, which notes that the word is read from Celsus on, in Scribonius Largus, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, and especially among medical writers. The simplex form is used also, without seeming change in meaning, as at Garg. *Mart. med.* 30 and Plin. *NH* 30,80. Apuleius' willingness to use a different compound form of a root notion (*redulcerare* instead of *exulcerare*) is thus not remarkable. The *ThLL* article refers especially to metaphorical and specialist medical uses, and lists places where it is used as an antonym of *consolatio*.

³⁹ Busa and Zampoli's concordance lists 7 uses of the *exulc-* root, two thirds of them appearing in *De tranquillitate animi*, *De ira*, or the consolation to his mother. Duff's commentary (1915, 226) points out (with parallels) the use in this same passage of other medical vocabulary like *reptare*, "to crawl while wounded"; *obligare*, "often used of medical aid," to press on a wound; *immatura medica*, "too hasty treatment".

⁴⁰ For similar uses see *ThLL* s.v. *exulcero* 2105,53–69, where examples appear of the word used for aggravating psychological pain; cf. esp. Plin. *epist.* 8,23,5 and 9,9,3, where he mentions that recollection of the departed increases the pain of his bereavement, *dolorem meum exulcerat*.

⁴¹ There is no lemma on *exulcerati*, but see *GCA* 1995, 127–128 ad loc. on various terms like *follicantes*, *scabiosa* (both common in veterinary writers) and *tussedo*, a hapax that Langslow 2000, 314 sees as coined exactly because it sounds like many standard pathological terms in *-edo*, like *putredo* in the previous line, with which it rhymes.

low), his use here of two verbs relating to the “chafing” effect of grief would not be surprising. It seems clear that both the compounded and simplex forms of the verb could be used without significant difference in meaning and were prevalent in medical contexts (see *ThLL* s.v. *exulcero* 2103,40–45), so his evocation of the literary tradition associated with grief, while using a related verb, is not arresting.

One is tempted to see his use of *redulcerare* here as both functional and in keeping with his stylistic practice. Using *redulcerare* instead of *exulcerare* might be a typically Apuleian attempt to ornament an otherwise standard bit of terminology. He appears to do exactly that in 10,28 (258,24–26), where we read *sustinebat aegerrime*, “she was extremely vexed,” an Apuleian variation of a standard medical phrase *aegre ferre*.⁴² Moreover, Apuleius has a taste for rare compounds in *re-*, e.g. 5,26 (124,3) *rebulliuit* and 1,9 (9,7) *repigrato*.⁴³ But the *re-* prefix is appropriate for two reasons: the parents had already been grieving, so the sisters’ actions both renewed the parents’ anguish and rehearsed their own (mock) lamentation.

Another passage seems to indicate that Apuleius was willing to juxtapose two verbs, one more familiar and the other more exotic, as a way of both dressing up a passage and also helping the reader interpret the more obscure usage. In 9,37 (231,9) we encounter a highly unusual compound form of *terere* along with another more easily construed verb, as if he were trying to “explain” his use of the bolder formulation – perhaps much like his use of *redulcerare* and *deterere* in 5,11. In the later passage, one of three brothers is killed by dogs as the two other brothers try vainly to drive off the hounds: *nec tamen eorum ferociam uel conterere uel expugnare potuere ...* “Yet they could not crush or suppress their ferocity ...” The commentators defend the reading of *conterere* in F and φ,⁴⁴ in preference to Colvius’ *conterrere* (adopted by Helm) or van der Vliet’s *continere*, by stating, “these verbs do not differ much in meaning ... Possibly the two verbs are used interpretatively by the narrator to help the reader understand *conterere*.” It appears, in short, that there are examples within this novel for Apuleius’ bold use of both the metaphor and the verbal root of the verb (–)terere. That parallel and features of the immediate context in 5,11 make the employment of *deterere* possible or even likely.

⁴² See *GCA* 2000, 342 ad loc. for references; also *OLD* s.v. *aegre* 2.

⁴³ See respectively *GCA* 2004, 316 and Keulen 2003, 203 ad locc.

⁴⁴ *GCA* 1995, 310 ad loc.

There are additional advantages to *deterentes*:

1. *Detero* and *quoque*

Adoption of *detero* also helps to solve some problems concerning the presence of *quoque* in this passage;⁴⁵ the sisters have quite literally torn themselves up in feigned mourning, and by thus rekindling their parents' grief they metaphorically do the same to their mother and father. This type of play with the literal and metaphorical meanings of words is common in Apuleius.⁴⁶ Reading *deterentes* also avoids Grimal's strained attempt ad loc. to make sense of *quoque* and still retain *deterreo*: 'les (sc. parentes) effrayer, comme elles (sc. sorores) affectent de l'être elles-mêmes.'⁴⁷ The sisters pretend to be grief-stricken, not terrified.

2. *Raptim*

Close attention to Apuleius' stylistic practice, especially his fondness for etymology, permits a response to some of the arguments against reading *deterentes* that are put forth in *GCA* 2004, 180 ad loc. The *GCA* commentary points out that the other attested uses of *detero* with personal objects usually refer to slow actions, and that *raptim* thus clashes; however, if *raptim* is construed as **explaining** an action that usually takes some time but that the sisters perform rapidly, it makes sense. Haste characterizes the sisters' actions toward their parents throughout this tale (cf. note 26). Here their habitual hurrying moves them to perform what is usually a gradual action very quickly. Thus *raptim deterentes* ("hastily rubbing raw") becomes a sort of mild oxymoron like "deafening si-

⁴⁵ See Kenney 1990 ad loc., who articulates the problems well, and *GCA* 2004, 180 ad loc. The verbs *redulcero* and *redintegro* are parallel in a narrative sense here, so the *quoque* makes sense. So does *sic*: it shows how the sisters caused their parents to grieve genuinely by their own feigned mourning (described in the previous sentence). Graverini 2006, 5–6 has an illuminating discussion with parallels on the "loose" use of *quoque* to refer to the action of a whole phrase, not just the words in its immediate orbit. He interprets the passage differently (retaining *deterentes*), but his points on the flexibility of *quoque* can also serve as support for my interpretation offered here.

⁴⁶ See Introduction above. For a clear discussion with many examples of this "concretization" of words, see Plaza's contribution in this volume. See also, e.g., Mattiacci 1993, 180 note 3: Apuleius uses the Plautine word *carnifex* ("executioner") in 9,1 (202,21) in a properly comic situation, but also in a literally appropriate and concrete way: the person in question has just previously delineated his plans to execute the narrator.

⁴⁷ Watt's observation (1991, 140) is not much better: 'However, in itself **quoque** is excellent: the parents *also* grieved, i.e. they as well as (albeit hypocritically) the two wicked sisters.' See note 45 above.

lence". Apuleius uses this device occasionally, as when Psyche is described as a "widowed virgin" *uirgo uidua* in 4,32 (100, 11).⁴⁸ The stylistic flourish calls attention to the phrase and adds extra emphasis to their rushing.

In addition, Apuleius most often uses *raptim* elsewhere to modify actions usually performed with the hands – in short, actions more like *deterere* than *deterere* or *deserere*. *Raptim* appears among his extant works only in the *Met.*, and then only nine times.⁴⁹ The one instance in which it is clearly to be taken with a verb of motion (like e.g. *desero*) is in 9,1 (202,26–203,3), but even here there is other frantic activity usually performed with the hands (although Lucius there is using his hooves). In short, Apuleius' practice in his use of *raptim* can also be used to support the reading of *detero*.

Apuleius' fondness for etymological play⁵⁰ is at the root of the unusual collocation *raptim deterentes*. The verb from which *raptim* is formed, *rapio*, can mean "tear off or away", and there are many passages where it is used for the tearing of hair or skin.⁵¹ In a context where we also encounter forms of *redulcerare*, *lacerare*, and *comam trahere*, this connotation of *rapio* is likely to have been close to the surface (right under the skin, perhaps). There are examples of his employing a word in an unusual way that calls attention to the etymology.⁵² In many of those pas-

⁴⁸ See *GCA* 2004, 81 ad loc.; cf. *GCA* 2004, 67–68 ad 4,31 (99,3–4), the description of the effect of Cupid's weapons as "sweet wounds and honey-sweet burns" (discussed from a different standpoint in note 35 above); on other oxymora in the *Met.*, cf. 10,2 (237,22–23) *quies turbida* with *GCA* 2000, 57 ad loc.

⁴⁹ 2,17 (38,15); 3,13 (61,16); 3,28 (72,29–73,1); 4,11 (82,21–22); 6,25 (147,10–11); 8,17 (190,25–26); 9,20 (218,5–6); 11,26 (287,20–22).

⁵⁰ For instances of Apuleius' focusing on etymology, i.e., using a word in an unusual way by calling attention to and resuscitating its root meaning(s), see with references *GCA* 1985, 66 ad 8,6 (180,18) *definito iuene*, "when the young m[a]n had been finished off" (*definire* as used here has no parallels); *GCA* 1985, 67 ad 8,6 (180,20–21) *frontem adseuerat*, "assumed a sombre mien" (*adseuero* = "to make serious, *seuerus*" only here and 3,13: 61,23); with many references *GCA* 2000, 57–58 on 10,2 (237,1) *dissignatum scelestum* "a crime that was revealed" (*dissigno* = "break the seal of something" = "make known what was hidden").

⁵¹ The *OLD* lemma 13 c gives the definition 'to tear off or away,' and lists examples from Vergil, Ovid, Statius et al.

⁵² See note 50 above; also *apol.* 4,12 *inenodabilis* with Hunink 1997, vol. II, 26 ad loc., where Apuleius seems to be the first to use the adjective in a concrete way; 5,3–6 with Hunink 1997, vol. II, 27 on the series of etymological puns *eloquentia*, *eloquentior*, *eloqui*; *facundus*, *nefas* (from *fari*); *dissertissimum*, *disserere*.

sages the expression is abundant and supplies a set of clues or other alternative formulations that make the bold meaning clear and thus further underscore the stylistic novelty of his new expression (compare the use of *contero* with *expugno* in 9,37 as discussed above).⁵³ In other words, the sisters do what they do here quickly, which is of course the primary meaning of *raptim*. In addition, however, the root notion of *rapio* latent in *raptim* blends especially well with the violence of the other verbs in this passage (*lacerare, trahere, redulcerare*) in a way that it simply cannot with *deterrentes* or *deserentes*.

3. Paleographical considerations

The change from *detero* to *deterreo* is easy to explain paleographically, for *deterreo* occurs far more commonly than *detero*, which makes the latter the *lectio difficilior*.⁵⁴

For the above reasons I think *deterentes* is the best reading for this passage. The decisive consideration (at least for me) is the shared medical provenance of *detero* and *redulcero*. Both verbs appear to belong to the same lexical field and thus more easily help to interpret one another. Additional grounds are laid out in the following two sections: the sisters are often described with vocabulary and attributes commonly found in the medical sphere.

II. Medical Vocabulary and Doctors in Apuleius

In this section I will exploit recent studies (see Introduction above) that concentrate on Latin medical vocabulary in order to examine areas in *Cupid and Psyche*, especially with reference to Psyche and her sisters, that seem to

⁵³ For similar use of adverbs in *-tim* cf., e.g., *Met.* 4,8 (80,12–14) *Estur ac potatur incondite, pulmentis aceruatim, panibus aggeratim, poculis agminatim ingestis*, “There was unbridled eating and drinking, as they absorbed meat in heaps, bread in mounds, and cups in serried ranks”. See with references *GCA* 1977, 70–71 ad loc. *Aggeratim* and *agminatim* are first attested here, but their meaning is easily derived from their roots; note also the abundant expression that starts with the less unusual *aceruatim* and moves on to neologisms. Cf. a similar series, this time with four such adjectives, at *flor.* 9,30, with remarks by Hunink 2001, 117–118 ad loc.

⁵⁴ For a comparable case, see *GCA* 1995, 46, ad 9,2 (204,12), where the commentators argue for *concessionis* in preference to the almost universally printed *congressionis*. They base part of their decision on the fact that it is the *lectio difficilior* (along with its etymological appropriateness in context; see above), despite the lack of other attestations of the word with the meaning “approach”.

evoke and manipulate the medical lexicon and widely-held opinions concerning doctors.⁵⁵

The line of enquiry described above seems to me to be authorized by the narrator herself of the *Cupid and Psyche* tale. In 5,10 (110,18–24) she quotes one of the sisters who responds to the other's complaints about her woeful state. The second sister compares herself to a *medica*, a doctor or nurse and lists,⁵⁶ with accurate technical terms, some of her duties in caring for her aged and infirm husband:

Suscipit alia: 'ego uero maritum articulari etiam morbo complicatum curuatumque ac per hoc rarissimo uenerem meam recolentem sustineo, plerumque detortos et duratos in lapidem digitos eius perfricans, fomentis olidis et pannis sordidis et faetidibus cataplasmatibus manus tam delicatas istas adurens nec uxoris officiosam faciem sed medicae laboriosam personam sustinens.'

“The other one continued: ‘On my part, I have to put up with a husband who is even bent in two and crippled with arthritis, and for that reason hardly ever worships at the shrine of my love. For the most part I rub all over his disfigured and petrified fingers, and these so delicate hands of mine blister from the use of stinking compresses and filthy rags and foul-smelling plasters, and instead of having the dutiful appearance of a wife, I have to take on the laborious role of a nurse.’”

The *GCA* commentary ad loc. (2004, 173–175) provides good explanations and references for Apuleius' correct use of the seldom-encountered technical terms *articularis morbus* and *cataplasma*. It also discusses his accurate reflection of the pathology (deformed and inflamed joints) and treatment (various plasters) of arthritis and gout, and of common beliefs associated with

⁵⁵ For a good model of the sort of nuances that can be revealed in a given passage by a thorough knowledge of medical terminology, see Mazzini 1988.

⁵⁶ See *GCA* 2004, 174 ad loc. with references, who hold that the context here indicates a nurse and not a physician. As so often in Apuleius, however, a wide range of associations of a given word can be evoked once it has been used. *Medicae* often functioned as more than rudimentary care-givers, and much in the chapters where the sisters appear is redolent of the many facets of ancient doctors that we encounter in other sources. See below for more, and Jackson 1993, 85–86.

that illness (e.g., that sexual indulgence is counter-indicated);⁵⁷ it also gives adequate references for recent discussions of *medicae*. My comments in this section will focus first on possible additional allusions to medical practice in this chapter, and then I will move on to discussions of other passages.

But first, a few preliminary questions. What purpose might these allusions serve? How might Apuleius' audience have interpreted them? The broader questions about the meaning and extension of allusive practice are beyond the scope of this paper,⁵⁸ but a few remarks may help anchor the discussion to follow. Langslow (1999, 188–202) discusses the circumstances under which technical vocabulary from the realm of medicine enters poetry. He makes ample allowance for differences between authors (Lucan is much more willing to import technical terms than Vergil, for instance) and genres (satire, comedy and epigram are “looser” than epic, lyric or elegy). He also makes clear remarks (1999, 207) on the different levels or registers of medical discourse:⁵⁹ “lay-colloquial-informal” and “specialist-elevated-formal.” It is not surprising that these two levels should coexist, especially since, chiefly in the realm of therapeutics, most of the implements and medicines used to treat illness were derived from common household objects or plants familiar to the local inhabitants.⁶⁰ Overall, Langslow's investigation of medical language in poetry, although often expressing caution, does produce some strong findings: “Special vocabulary *sensu proprio* is avoided in high poetry if either its form or its meaning is held to be banal or otherwise unsuitable”, but he notes that translations of Greek terms were acceptable.⁶¹ In the novel,

⁵⁷ Cf. Luchner 2004, 352–372 on Lucian's use of gout as both focus of satire and platform for metaliterary discussion.

⁵⁸ For a good extended study of allusivity, with many references to theoretical discussions, see Finkelpearl 1998, esp. 1–35.

⁵⁹ See Langslow 1999, 206 with notes on controversies among specialists about the extent to which medical Latin had its very own vocabulary, and how it might be recognized; also Önnarfors *passim*; Langslow 2000, 351 with notes; above, note 3.

⁶⁰ Langslow 2000, 165; see also 188 on metaphorical terms in therapeutics (often to objects of material culture) and 194 on metaphor in anatomy and physiology, where the voice or senses are referred to as physical objects: e.g., *obtundere* is used of dull speech in Celsus. Cf. Adams' remark (1995, 669) on the significant overlap between normal vocabulary and specialist usage in veterinary medicine, especially with reference to body parts. In Apuleius, cf. esp. Keulen 2003, 250 (with references) on 1,13 (12,14) *utriculo admoto* on the overlap of colloquial language and technical medical jargon.

⁶¹ Langslow 2000, 195–196 and notes 38–39. He gives a particularly clear example in the evocation of **melancholia** as the cause of Hercules' madness at Verg. *Aen.* 8,219–220 *hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro / felle dolor*.

a much more catholic genre, we will then expect to encounter a wide range of both high- and low-register evocations of the medical realm.

Langslow's comments on the use of medical terminology in metaphor are particularly interesting. Specialist vocabulary can create vividness; "for the image to succeed, to engage rather than alienate the audience, the source domain must be familiar and authentic, both in content and in form" (1999, 198). He notes that the metaphor of disease is frequently encountered and manipulated, especially when discussing love, and that metaphors then often combine in suggestive ways (1999, 199–200). For example, the metaphors of sickness, medical treatment, and soldiery all work together in many poets' presentations of erotic obsession.⁶² The strong presence of allusions to military conquest and to Vergil (especially in the sections on Psyche's sisters) have received adequate comment,⁶³ and in light of Langslow's research it is not surprising to find medical metaphors mixed in with them. As he points out, in medical writers, diseases do battle (*militare*), make attacks (*impetus*; *temptare*), and take over places (*occupare*), while doctors must fight (*pugnare*) to drive out (*expugnare*) or defeat (*vincere*) a disease.⁶⁴ In high poetry, then, bald technical terms are often avoided, but in metaphor they are allowed, for they "sharpen and enrich" the imagery employed (Langslow 1999, 201).⁶⁵

We see something very much like this in passages that discuss the sisters: remarks by both Cupid and the *anus*-narrator employ vocabulary relating to disease. When Cupid first tries in 5,5 to dissuade Psyche from seeing her sisters, he uses a number of metaphors (military ones most prevalently), but he also describes their presence as deadly and painful, using terms frequently applied to illnesses and death, e.g. 106,15–16 *exitabile periculum*, "mortal danger". In 106,21 he says that if she does see them, she will "bring about the bitterest pain for [him]", *mihi ... grauissimum dolorem ... creabis*. *GCA* 2004, 141 ad loc. point out that the only earlier attestation of *dolorem*

⁶² See Langslow 1999, 200 with notes 47–50 for many good specifics on the combination of these metaphors in Propertius and especially Ovid.

⁶³ See most conveniently Panayotakis 1998 with notes and references.

⁶⁴ See Langslow 1999, 200 note 49 for full references (mostly from Celsus and the respective *ThLL* articles): Cels. 6,6,31A *militare*; 3,12,2, 6,6,37A *pugnare*; 3,15,4 and *ThLL* s.v. *expugnare* 1811,30 ff.; cf. also *ThLL* s.vv. *impetus* 604,79 ff.; *occupo* 386,29 ff.; *e-uinco* 1042,77 ff.

⁶⁵ See Langslow 1999, 203–215, especially 203–4 and 210–214 for examples from Plautus through Lucretius of figurative use of medical terminology.

creare is in a concrete sense in Celsus 2,8,39. When Cupid later attempts to convince Psyche to avoid seeing her sisters, he again mixes images (e.g., evil spirits, *Lamiae*, armed as if for battle). The narrator, as if to top him, then combines a number of disease metaphors. In 5,12 (112,22–113,1) she describes the sisters as “those infectious diseases, those disgusting furies breathing their snake-like poison”: *pestes illae taeterrimaeque furiae anhelantes uipereum uirus*.⁶⁶

But let us return to our passage in 5,10, where the sister is not described as a disease, but as a doctor (*medica*). The sister not only uses correct technical terms for the things used in treating her husband’s ailment;⁶⁷ she also describes her actions with verbs commonly encountered in medical treatises. *Aduro* occurs commonly in medical authors, especially with reference to cautery, but also with great frequency of harsh medicines, as here.⁶⁸ The sister uses another technical term in 5,10: *perfrico* turns up regularly in medical contexts to describe the sort of massaging the sister complains about having to perform.⁶⁹ Her use of *uenus* to mean sexual intercourse may also have medical resonances;⁷⁰ Celsus uses it fourteen times to refer to inter-

⁶⁶ See *GCA* 2004, 190–191 ad loc. with references for the resonances of these disease terms.

⁶⁷ Not only *cataplasmatibus*, but also *pannis*; to the references in *GCA* 2004, 173 ad loc. add Langslow 2000, 166 with note 134 and references on *pannus* used as a dressing.

⁶⁸ See *ThLL* s.v. *aduro* 898,26–33, where the word is listed as very common (“familiarissima”) in medical writers, but also 898,75–899,9, which includes this passage in many describing the action of painful medicines (“de medicamentis acribus”). This word describes Cupid in 5,28 (125,12) *adustum filium* (“her son, scorched by fire”). On the pun adumbrating both medical and erotic realms see *GCA* 2004, 327 ad loc. The burning metaphor with the root *urere* appears more than once: cf. 5,23 (121,16) *inustus... deus*. See Önnarfors 1993, 261 on the frequent use of participles, sometimes as substantives, to designate the patient or his complaint. *Dolens* is frequent among them; cf. 5,28 (125,7) *uulnere lucernae dolens* with *GCA* 2004, 325 ad loc.

⁶⁹ See *ThLL* s.v. *perfrico* 1402,67–34, esp. 1403,3–21, which lists body parts that are rubbed; this passage from *Met.* 5,10 is included; also Adams 1995, 167 for the related compound *infrico*. See also Adams 1995, 55 on *frico*. There he discusses an anecdote at Gell. 15,4,3 about the consul Ventidius Bassus who before his elevation used to massage mules. The use of the verb seems to be part of the joke, as well as the recipient of the massage. As in *Met.* 5,10, it indicates a lowering of status. Apuleius also uses *exfrico* at 1,2 (2,13) and 1,7 (6,17), the first in a veterinary context, the second in a broadly therapeutic one, where Aristomenes takes care of Socrates. I thank Wytse Keulen for alerting me to the passages in book 1.

⁷⁰ *GCA* 2004, 173 ad loc. discuss some parallels for this use, mostly in poetry.

course, but employs the synonyms *concupitus* and *coitus* only twice each.⁷¹ It seems that this sister not only performs the actions of a doctor; she talks like one, too.

Another passage concerned with the sisters seems to contain specialized medical vocabulary. On their third visit (5,17: 11–12) they manufacture tears in order to appear genuinely worried about Psyche as they try to convince her that her husband is a terrible monster. The narrator describes their actions thus: *lacrimisque pre<s>ura palpebrarum coactis*, “with tears forced out by squeezing their eyelids”. *GCA* 2004, 234 ad loc. correctly notes that this is a technical term for squeezing olives or grapes. Langslow’s study of forms in *-tura*, *-sura*, and *-ura* shows that these words tend to be associated with various craftsmen and their technical activities,⁷² clustering mostly in the realms of farming and animal husbandry, the culinary arts, and in medicine, especially in descriptions of wounds, lacerations and inflammations.⁷³ His research into twenty-three of these words across four medical writers from the first to the fifth centuries CE finds that many of them “make their first appearance and/or are mainly attested in medical writers.”⁷⁴ *Pressura* is among them, which “is found largely in Christian and medical texts.”⁷⁵ Langslow wants even to hazard the notion that “*-tura* is the nominalizing suffix of the ‘hands-on’ medical practitioner.”⁷⁶

Many of the attestations upon which Langslow bases the claims above are from writers active much later than Apuleius, and it may seem unwarranted to attribute a medical flavor to a word on the basis of its use in ages well after the author under consideration. On the other hand, Apuleius often seems to be the first to use a given phrase or word in a sense that is then taken over by later (often Christian) authors. For example, Langslow discusses what becomes a common medical phrase and locates its origin in Apuleius. In *Met.* 2,16 (38,12), in a passage concerned with Lucius’ impatient sexual desire, he says *formido ne neruus rigoris nimietate rumpatur*,

⁷¹ Langslow 1999, 212 with references.

⁷² Langslow 2000, 300–304; see especially 300–301 with notes for references.

⁷³ See Langslow 2000, 301. He cites Cassius 155,16 for *pressura* used of “a sense of being weighed down”, and points out (195) that Celsus and others use the verbs *premo* and *oppremo* for the action of diseases.

⁷⁴ Langslow 2000, 302, with examples like *fractura* (first in Cato and then often in medical and veterinary writers), *uinctura*, *sutura*.

⁷⁵ Langslow 2000, 302 note 121, based on his consultation of the *ThLL* archives.

⁷⁶ Langslow 2000, 304.

“I’m afraid my member may burst through an excess of stiffness.” Langslow observes that *nimius* was “very common in medical and veterinary texts, especially in accounts of the causes of disease.”⁷⁷ Using the related noun *nimietas* and a genitive, usually of a noun in *-or*, seems to have developed into a fairly common way of referring to diseases and symptoms. An example is Amm. 19,4,2 on the genesis of plagues: *Nimietatem frigoris aut caloris uel umoris uel siccitatis pestilentias gignere philosophi et illustres medici tradiderunt*. “Philosophers and famous doctors have taught that plagues are caused by a surfeit of cold or heat or moisture or dryness.”⁷⁸ Ancient medical teaching was dominated by the “hydraulic” view that located sickness and health in a proper balance of humors, so a phrase designating “an excess/surfeit of x,” as in the Ammianus passage above, has obvious attractions. Langslow hypothesizes, on the basis of the jocular tone in *Met.* 2,16, that collocations like *nimietas rigoris* might have had a “medical ring”; a faux-clinical reference to an erection here would be part of the joke. Proof is not possible, but Langslow wants to credit Apuleius with the invention of this type of medical phrase, or at least to place its genesis in his era.⁷⁹

This progression is similar in some ways to the development of the use and semantic import of words in *-tura/-sura/-ura*, and in the light of that there may be some medical color to the use of *pressura* in 5,17. If so, it gives added depth to the descriptions of the sisters’ very physical and concrete approach to deception in 5,11 and 5,17, and may indirectly support the reading of *deterentes* in 5,11. In 5,11 the sisters use their hands to disfigure their faces and tear their hair as part of their feigned mourning; they thereby upset their parents and then hasten home to work on their plan. In 5,17 they briefly visit their parents, hurry to the rock above Psyche’s castle, quickly descend and, just before starting to tell their lies, they squeeze tears out of their eyes with their hands. The actions are in a sort of rough chiasmus, and the repetition of the notions of haste (cf. note 26) and duplicity encourage us to juxtapose the two descriptions. In each instance they use their hands to hurt themselves in an effort to lend verisimilitude to their act. If *pressura* in 5,17 has a medical resonance, it may be used in order to correspond with the medical flavor in *redulcerato* (and perhaps in *deterentes*) in 5,11.

⁷⁷ Langslow 2000, 308 note 144 gives examples from Pelagonius and references the discussion in Adams 1995, 158 and 212.

⁷⁸ See Langslow 2000, 308 for other examples and references.

⁷⁹ Langslow 2000, 309.

If we accept that there may be more frequent allusion to medical practice in these chapters than has previously been acknowledged, we can appreciate with greater depth the richness of Apuleius' depiction of the relationships between Psyche, her sisters, and her husband. Common resonances or associations of medical vocabulary not audible or active outside the medical realm might be in play if the situation is recognizably "medical." Specialist studies have investigated a phenomenon that Langslow calls "contextual modulation": "ordinary words with ordinary meanings ... which arguably show a modulation of their meaning in a medical context."⁸⁰ We have seen this already in 5,10 (110,22) *pannis sordidis; pannus*, usually just a piece of cloth, in this context clearly refers to a bandage or rag used for applying medicines.⁸¹ I think this tendency is active in broader ways that I will develop in the next section: if there are linguistic features evocative of the world of medicine present in a section describing a given character(s), we can view other features of that character's presentation that are not strictly from the medical lexicon through a medical "lens".

III The Broader Medical Context

As mentioned above, the last two decades have seen a flowering of scholarship on ancient medicine that allows us to understand that world in greater depth and detail. If the vocabulary used of the sisters is frequently reminiscent of that sphere, what other associations might be active? In Langslow's terms, what aspects of the "target" realm might be evoked by these words?

Although it is not possible here to give a review of the current state of our knowledge of medicine in Apuleius' day, it may be helpful to discuss some commonly held beliefs about doctors that will help us flesh out the picture of the sisters. My remarks will perforce concentrate on the negative, since the sisters are the unsympathetic characters who are the focus of this study. To be sure, some Romans, particularly Cicero and Seneca, give voice to a tradition of praise for the physician as a valuable friend, possessor of liberal learning and guarantor of health; this tradition finds its fullest expres-

⁸⁰ Langslow 2000, 165.

⁸¹ Langslow 2000, 166 uses *pannus* as an example of contextual modulation; see with references *GCA* 2004, 173 who note that the word occurs both in medical and non-medical contexts.

sion in Galen's long record of achievements and self-justifications.⁸² But this was a minority view at least insofar as our sources tell us, and the discussion below will reflect that.

In Roman letters there was a long literary tradition hostile to professional physicians;⁸³ its first coherent description appears in Cato the Elder⁸⁴ and perhaps its fullest expression in Pliny the Elder,⁸⁵ but it is already clearly discernible as early as Lucilius.⁸⁶ Varro appears to have devoted parts of his satires to poking fun at the pretensions and ineptitude of physicians,⁸⁷ and that theme is common enough in light poetry and epigram, especially in

⁸² See Nutton 1986, 32 with notes 5–7 for full testimonia. The evidence he assembles is from Cicero's letters; *Fam.* 13,20; 16,4 and 9; *Att.* 15,1–3; *Brut.* 1,6. Cicero could argue to the contrary; cf. his depiction of the criminally duplicitous and deadly itinerant country doctor in *Pro Cluentio* 40. For Seneca the testimonia are primarily from *Ben.* 3,35,4 and 6,5–16. For similar attitudes see Plutarch *De sanitate tuenda I* (= *Mor.* 122d–123), where we encounter a self-promoting and aggressive fool as a foil in the dialogue to the philosophically inclined physician. See Flemming 2000, 39–44 for a survey of attitudes, positive and negative, towards various types of medical practitioner, especially females; also Pleket 1995 (very brief and schematic). See also Flemming's appendix 2 (383–391), a collection of inscriptions relating to female medical practitioners, many of which are very laudatory.

⁸³ There are many accessible treatments of this theme: see Scarborough 1993; Amundsen 1974, 320–321 with notes is very good on testimonia, and 1978 gives a fine overview; also Mazzini 1982. Nutton 1986 (especially good) and Kudlien 1986 supply evidence (primarily inscriptions) and discussion of the reliability of this portrait.

⁸⁴ *Cataplasma* (see above in Section II on *Met.* 5,10) seems to appear first in Latin in his works: Cato, frag. at Prisc. 77,94; Pliny the Elder (*HN* 29,5) quotes from Cato's vituperative letter on doctors. See for more Scarborough 1993, 13–15; Amundsen 1978, 652. Cato's attitude is best summed up by Nutton 1992, 35: "Roman medical tradition as expounded by Cato the Elder and, long after him, by Pliny the Elder ..., was one of domestic, practical medicine, marked by a strong chauvinism. The effete philosopher was contrasted with the sturdy, self-sufficient Roman farmer." See further Nutton 1992, 35–38 with notes.

⁸⁵ See above all Nutton 1986; Amundsen 1978, 652–653, with notes; Scarborough 1993, 22–27; Marchetti 212–225. Pliny's longest diatribes are in *NH* 29,1,1–29,8,28; see also 26,6,10–26,8. See Flemming 2000, 132 with notes for bibliography on discussions of these passages.

⁸⁶ See Santini *passim*. He focuses on the issue of genre, pointing out (29) that satire, concerned with human foibles, will likely make remarks on health, so some presence of medical terms is not surprising. Greek words appear rarely; anatomical terms (with the exception of *stomachus*) are usually in Latin, and these tend to appear in groups, along with lists of symptoms and affected parts and mention of medical implements (31–34), much as we see in the sentence in *Met.* 5,10 describing the affliction and treatment of one of the sisters' husband's arthritis.

⁸⁷ Especially his *Quinquatrus*, fragments 444–451.

Martial.⁸⁸ Galen himself, a rough contemporary of Apuleius and the foremost medical authority of his day (and later), often mentions the general public's suspicion of doctors, and is unsparing in his criticism of the greed, folly and incompetence of his professional rivals.⁸⁹ If we posit some degree of allusion to the world of medicine in the chapters concerned with the sisters (as I think the previous section allows us to do), then looking at possible evocations of the larger sphere of experience will give us a more rounded picture of Psyche's siblings. In light of the generally disparaging tone of much written about ancient medicine, I organize this discussion in sections corresponding to rough categories of moral and professional failings among doctors.

a Greed

In this section I offer a reading of the greed of Psyche's sisters' that is informed by two things: commonly lodged complaints about doctors in general as avaricious, and stereotypical thinking about women found in medical lore. One of the sisters describes herself as a *medica*, so looking for attributes commonly associated with medical personnel seems sound. In addition, in light of the remarks above about "contextual modulation", it seems reasonable to view these women through a medical "lens"; to look at them as the medical writers might have, especially given the many linguistic features of their presentation that invite the reader to assume or supply a medical context.

Chief among the complaints levied against doctors by Pliny is their greed.⁹⁰ Psyche's sisters are repeatedly described as grasping even after Psyche has given them extravagant gifts; indeed, the more they see and get, the more avaricious they seem to become. Some examples (and this is only a sample) are 5,8 (109,16–20), where Psyche loads them up with worked gold and necklaces of gems, and their immediate response (5,9: 109,19–22) is to "[seethe] with the bitterness of increasing envy" *gliscentis inuidiae felle*

⁸⁸ Amundsen 1974, 320–321, with notes.

⁸⁹ See Scarborough 1993, 33–35 with notes. There are many discussions of the nature and reliability of Galen's self-presentation: Nutton 1972, 1984, 1995; Von Staden 1997. For fuller bibliographical references see Luchner 2004, 52–99, with notes and references.

⁹⁰ Flemming 2000, 132 sums up his attitude well: they are "out to profit by murder". The accusation was not new in Roman letters; cf. Varro's *Quinquatrus* frgg. 450 and 451, which mocks the rich doctor who owns extravagantly opulent furniture.

fraglantēs; chapter 5,10 is full of references to their resentment of Psyche's wealth; they decide to hide their gifts in 5,11 (111,21–22); in 5,20 (119,1–2) after instructing Psyche how to kill her husband, they encourage her to plunder the castle before she leaves.

Greed and subterfuge are associated in Roman literature with women in general and women in elegy in particular.⁹¹ I do not mean to imply that the medical resonance here is primary, but rather to suggest that it deepens the portrait of the sisters; it characterizes them as doubly bad through comparison to two different sets of people associated with avaricious prevarication.⁹²

The two realms (the medical and the female) are combined in writers roughly contemporary with and active shortly before Apuleius. In Plutarch's *Instructions for Health* women are held up as bad examples of excess or temptation.⁹³ Galen often found women "good to think with" in his own self-aggrandizing presentations. Flemming's treatment of this current in Galen's thought is instructive: for her the male is the paradigm of self-mastery and the female of its lack. Women are "useful symbols of what he despises;" "The insatiable desire of women for pearls, other jewels, and the most elaborate and costly clothing, all for their personal adornment, stands as an example of the worst kind of bodily greed that must be completely excised through the discipline of the soul;..."⁹⁴ In combining allusions to the females of elegy and of the medical writers, Apuleius deepens his already vivid portrait of some important subsidiary characters. As noted above in section II, those who write about erotic obsession (chiefly elegists) often resort to medical metaphors. In describing Cupid and Psyche's relationship, Apuleius has literally "fleshed out" this tradition (see discussion in introduction above of a similar narrative strategy in 10,2–12); he introduces actual *medicae* (as greedy as both the doctors in the hostile tradition and as the grasping older women in elegy) who claim to minister to the lovesick Psyche.

⁹¹ The literature on this subject is very large and beyond the focus of this paper. *GCA* 2004 has many good references to the subject of elegiac females in the chapters on the sisters.

⁹² See Von Staden 1997a, esp. 159–164 on the tendency in Apuleius' time to focus on the moral character and qualifications of physicians as much as on their professional competence.

⁹³ See Flemming 2000, 135, with notes; Luchner 2004, 176–187 with notes for a fuller discussion.

⁹⁴ See Flemming 2000, 258–259 with copious notes for full references and comparanda. Quotations are from p. 259.

b Lust

In the ancient invective tradition, one moral failing tended to imply another: greed led to luxury, which led to sexual dissipation (among other things).⁹⁵ Pliny links the two in one of his disparagements of doctors; not only are they the source of poisoned spouses and illicit enrichment, they foster intrafamilial strife and “even acts of adultery in the very homes of the royal family” *iam uero et adulteria etiam in principum domibus* (29,8,20). Similar is Martial’s joke in 11,71 where the young wife of an older man (cf. the complaints of the first sister in 5,9: 110,14–16) claims hysteria in order to gain from her doctors the standard therapy for that ailment – namely intercourse.⁹⁶ Apuleius tells a memorable story of a lustful woman using a doctor to help her in her plots in 10,23–28.⁹⁷ Psyche’s sisters (“queens” in the cities where they live) are certainly depicted as lustful in 5,9 and 5,10.⁹⁸ When Psyche later tells her sister the lie that Cupid wants to marry her instead, the sister immediately deceives her husband and runs off to commit adultery, calling to Cupid to accept her as his new wife. Before she plummets to her death, the narrator describes “her sister, driven by the spurs of delirious passion and harmful envy” *illa uesanae libidinis et inuidiae noxiae stimulis agitata* 5,27 (124,11–12).⁹⁹ The sisters seem to be as lustful as the doctors in the hostile tradition.

c Envy and Professional Competition

Section III.a. above treats the sisters’ envy of Psyche’s wealth. This section, much longer, expands the concept of resentment into many other realms. Psyche’s siblings are also jealous of her spouse and her position as the potential mate of a god. As soon as they see the palace and are acquainted with

⁹⁵ See Flemming 2000, 26–30 for interesting comments on the tendency after Actium to locate and discuss moral decline in the behavior of women.

⁹⁶ For comments and references see Parker 1997, 133 and notes 16 and 17.

⁹⁷ See *GCA* 2000 passim on these chapters. Apuleius uses a term with a medical flavor (*urigo*) in 1,7 (7,14) when describing another lustful female: see the discussion in Keulen 2003, 182 ad loc.

⁹⁸ See the comments on their exchange of complaints about their respective husbands in *GCA* 2004, 170–174 ad 5,9–10 (110,14–24), and above in section II on the use of *uenus* in one sister’s discussion of frequency of intercourse.

⁹⁹ The same phrase, *uesanae libidinis*, is used of a woman driven by passion at 10,19 (251,24).

the invisible servants, they are described (5,8: 109,7–8) as “deep in their hearts ... nurturing their envy,” *praecordiis penitus nutrent inuidiam*. In 5,9 and 10 their complaints about the perceived unfairness of Psyche’s elevation are given at length, and elaborated upon in 5,16. Their plan for revenge begins to be hatched in 5,11, is elaborated in 5,17–18, and specifically laid out in 5,20. In all of these chapters Cupid or the narrator comments on the sisters’ resentment. How does this relate to the medical profession?

Recent research emphasizes the agonistic nature of ancient medicine, comparing it to unregulated fields like astrology as opposed to contemporary medical science.¹⁰⁰ This is a large subject; I offer here but a sketch of some recent ways of thinking that can cast light on the case of the sisters. Nutton (1992) and his student Flemming (2000, 8–10) have referred to the world of the Greek and Roman doctor as a “medical marketplace,” an area “pluralistic and competitive ..., fractious and fragmented, not subject to official control or internal policing.” In such surroundings, competition for patients could be fierce, as could the envy of those who had landed a coveted position as physician to a member of the imperial family or someone otherwise very wealthy. We see this most clearly in many anecdotes and in case histories related by Galen (more on this below).

Flemming gives a thorough account of the development of this state of affairs from the beginnings of medicine up until Galen’s time. For her, Roman medicine was a “discursive formation” within certain “social and economic relations” (80); the chief requirement of imperial Roman doctors as opposed to their classical Greek forbears was “the continual need to claim the authority to intervene in an acutely competitive context”(81). Unlike modern doctors, ancient physicians’ influence was based on knowledge they had inherited but not themselves created. Moreover, their claims to authority were “externally constructed,” i.e. subject to verification by people outside the group of practitioners (i.e., chiefly patients) (84–85). Traditional healers in small communities could rely on local lore to convey this authority, but in cities and closer to the elites there was competition from other knowledge systems, like philosophy. The result was an increasing elaboration of medical theory: an “epistemologization” of knowledge in the various sects of medical practitioners and theorists that were usually allied in some way with

¹⁰⁰ Flemming 2000, 8. There are many accounts of this. See especially Nutton 1992 and 1984; Von Staden 1997; Luchner 2004, 52–54.

a philosophical school.¹⁰¹ The single best example of this is Galen's oeuvre: he wrote dialogues and philosophical and scholarly works in addition to his many works on medicine.¹⁰² In short, in Apuleius' time the acerbity of personal contestation and ambition that one sees among sophists (in Gellius, for instance) is evident also among doctors.¹⁰³

Galen gives some particularly clear illustrations of this state of affairs in his *On Prognosis*, and Nutton's (1979) full commentary gives many parallels and analyzes the individual episodes.¹⁰⁴ A few examples will be helpful. The piece opens with commonplaces reminiscent of Juvenal or Pliny on the appeal of doctors' flattery of the rich.¹⁰⁵ Galen then immediately moves on to discussing the envy of the successful doctor (i.e., himself); when bested in a contest over prognosis, his rivals accused him of sorcery and alleged that he had killed a patient.¹⁰⁶ He complains that he cannot get free of the machinations of the jealous, and he uses the metaphor of civil war, employing lots of military vocabulary (ἀντέγω, διαγωνίζομαι, ἐκφεύγω, πολεμέω; resisting, fighting, fleeing, battling).¹⁰⁷ Later, after an account of a successful cure, we get a speech by the patient just healed by Galen on the generally bad morals of Roman doctors. The patient and philosopher Eudemus attributes this evil partly to the corrupting influence of money and partly to envy; unscrupulous doctors get rich, see others doing the same and succeeding, and they become even worse.¹⁰⁸ Galen (as Eudemus) continues, saying (more than once) that

¹⁰¹ Flemming 2000, 84–85. The topic of the various schools and their theoretical foundations and influence is too large to treat here. For a recent discussion with some good examples (again from the Greek side) from (roughly) Apuleius' age, see Luchner 2004, 99–144.

¹⁰² See next note and Nutton 1979, 60 note 4 for references to Galen's philosophical works, some in dialogue form.

¹⁰³ See Bowersock 30–58 and 89–100; esp. Nutton 1979, 60 with notes; Von Staden 1997, 51–54 with notes, where he gives a conspectus of Galen's non-medical works; Flemming 2000, 255 with references.

¹⁰⁴ See Nutton 1972, 50–51 for a brief but thorough outline of the piece. For fuller and more recent bibliography, see Luchner 2004, 52, note 142.

¹⁰⁵ Nutton 1979, 68 = Kuehn 14,599–600 = *De praecog.* 1,1–4; see note on 70,22 on p. 151 for a listing of many other places where envy is discussed; see note p. 152 on 70,23 for comparanda discussing the problem of doctors' credibility and the common claim that they are murderers.

¹⁰⁶ Nutton 1979, 70 = Kuehn 14,601–602 = *De praecog.* 1,5–9. Cf. Apuleius' own problems with an accusation of sorcery, treated at length in his *Apology*, including a section on questionable (to the accusers) medical treatment (chapters 42–52); see above, note 5.

¹⁰⁷ Nutton 1979, 72 = Kuehn 14,603 = *De praecog.* 1,9–10.

¹⁰⁸ Nutton 1979, 90 = Kuehn 14,621–622 = *De praecog.* 4,5–10. See his note p. 154 on 72,22 for comparanda about the luxury of the rich.

other doctors, because they are unscrupulous, assume that everyone else is also a liar and on the make.¹⁰⁹

The similarity of many of the elements above to the conduct of Psyche's sisters should by now be clear. It seems to me that especially under the rubric "envy" this resemblance is unlikely to be merely random. There is, however, another point of contact between this treatise of Galen's and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. It does not concern Psyche's sisters, but rather the story of the lovesick woman in 10,2–12. In that section Apuleius explored (and confounded and complicated) the idea that the symptoms of love can be read by a clever physician (see introduction above).¹¹⁰ This finds its echo in Galen's treatise, where he tells his own version, presented as a factual case history, of the "Antiochus and Stratonice" affair. Like his literary forbears, in this anecdote he too makes a miraculous diagnosis of lovesickness from knowing how and when and why to measure changes in pulse rate.¹¹¹ The presence of this "novelistic" anecdote in an apologetic treatise written by one of the most insistent self-promoters of antiquity shows the ease with which the realms of medicine and literary fiction could interpenetrate one another.¹¹² My argument here is that similar play in *Cupid and Psyche* is therefore entirely plausible, especially if there are other contextual or linguistic elements that incline one to look for connections.

So how are we to read the sisters' envy as somehow "medical"?¹¹³ As is typical in Apuleius, the situation has multiple levels. Since the one sister

¹⁰⁹ Nutton 1979, 92 = Kuehn 14,623–624 = *De praecog.* 4,13–15.

¹¹⁰ See *GCA* 2000, 424, 430–31 and esp. 73–79, with references; Crismani 1996; next note. See also Keulen in this volume, n. 99.

¹¹¹ See Flemming 2000, 262–263; Amundsen 1974, 333–337 with notes and references and Nutton 1979, 100–104 = Kuehn 14,630–635 = *De praecog.* 6,6–16, and especially 194–196 with notes for excellent remarks on all the various versions of this "tale" (this is the word used by Flemming 2000, 263), including different ones by Galen himself.

¹¹² *GCA* 2000, 73–79 comments often on the frequent appearance of technical medical vocabulary and other elements specific to the medical realm in 10,2, while Nutton 1979, 61 remarks on the light tone (appropriate for comedy) of many of the anecdotes in *On Prognosis*, especially this one. See also Luchner's chapter on medical elements in Greek novels (2004, 229–240).

¹¹³ If the sisters are depicted as envious doctors, we might expect them to compete with one another. They are clearly a unit, however, treated almost as a single character and never given separate names (see with references *GCA* 2004, 317 ad 5,26: 124,7 *sororem tuam*). Their envy seems to be almost entirely directed toward their younger sibling. We see the first hint of competition with one another only after Psyche's separation from Cupid;

describes at length treating her own husband, these women appear at least in part to be representatives of a peculiarly Roman tradition of “self-help” reaching back to Cato for its theoretical justification of the aristocratic *paterfamilias* who treats his own family, slaves and animals.¹¹⁴ The technical jargon employed in the description of the sisters’ actions brings an element of *Romanitas* into this “Greek” story, as does, e.g., legal jargon employed elsewhere in the tale.¹¹⁵ But medicine was also viewed as something typically Greek and therefore suspect, so this bit of Roman vocabulary also has (with typically Apuleian ambiguity) its dark side. Moreover, the sisters, displaced into Psyche’s world, have no “external authority” (in Flemming’s terms) with which to convince her, so they fall back on another font of influence; the tradition of family devotion, which they exploit in order to gain Psyche’s trust.¹¹⁶ Cupid might easily be viewed as a rival doctor (effete and Greek unlike the Catonian sisters?) who offers in his repeated warnings a competing (and true) diagnosis of the situation.¹¹⁷ But in a wonderfully Apuleian complication, Cupid can only allude to his own divine authority and cannot name himself because he is (like a doctor?) involved in clandestine, self-serving and lustful behavior.

when Psyche tells her sisters the lie about Cupid’s wanting to marry (each) of them (5,26–7), they run off in haste without any concern for the other.

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., Scarborough 1997, 13–15; 19–20, with references. Celsus wrote in the same tradition for heads of households who would have been treating their own family or slaves (Langslow 2000, 352; 48).

¹¹⁵ See, e.g., *GCA* 2004, 430–432 with references on the allusions to Roman family law in 6,9; also, *GCA* 2004, 316–318 with references on Psyche’s allusion to the same realm when telling the lie in 5,26 that leads to the sisters’ deaths. See note 3 above for references to studies of Apuleius’ use of other technical vocabularies.

¹¹⁶ The sisters evoke the family bond (*originis nexus*) explicitly in 5,20 (118,8–9) as the basis for their plan to kill her husband. Cupid and the narrator often comment on their abuse of this connection. Cf., e.g., 5,12 (113,10–12), where Cupid insists that they have trampled the bonds of blood and no longer deserve to be called sisters; the narrator calls their plan to separate Psyche from her riches *parricidium* in 5,11 (111,26).

¹¹⁷ See Luchner 2004, 52–53 with notes for remarks on the frequency in Galen’s circle of “dueling diagnoses”; identification and treatment of illnesses frequently unfolded as a contest held between groups of rival doctors summoned to the sickbed by the elite patient. See also Nutton 1995. In this tale Cupid is more patient than doctor, of course (see notes 15, 68), but both he (especially “bedside”) and the sisters offer competing advice to the confused and suffering Psyche. For the doctor unable to cure himself, see below, note 129. For Cupid’s “diagnosis” of the sisters as a disease, echoed by the narrator, see above, section II with note 66.

All of this is rendered more plausible by the way in which the situation is described once the sisters, having given their counsel, have been removed from the scene. When Psyche tries to execute their “cure” for her situation by cutting off her husband’s head (for this *Radikalkur* see below, section d. with note 138), she is described at length as suffering from the classical indicators of erotic obsession in 5,21 (119,13–15) *festinat differt, audet trepidat, diffidit irascitur et, quod est ultimum, in eodem corpore odit bestiam, diligit maritum* “She is impatient, she procrastinates, she is courageous, she panics, she has no confidence, she becomes angry, and, what is the worst, in one and the same body she hates the beast, she loves the husband.”¹¹⁸

This list of symptoms is rendered in a style mirroring the asyndetic prose with rhyming and alliterative phrases that one often encounters in medical writers’ descriptions of symptoms.¹¹⁹ An example from Celsus’ *Proemium* (41) is illustrative. This part has a higher literary color than the rest of the work and is thus perhaps more legitimately compared to Apuleius’ novel. In his discussion of his opposition to vivisection he says that the body parts revealed by it are not necessarily as they are in a healthy person: Proem 41: *Nam colorem, leuorem, mollitiem, duritiem, similiaque omnia non esse talia inciso corpore, qualia integro fuerint...* “For when the body had been laid open, colour, smoothness, softness, hardness and all similars would not be such as they were when the body was untouched.”¹²⁰ To a reader who reads the sentences aloud, the similarities may seem even stronger, and such a reader is invited to diagnose the description of Psyche’s behavior as a list of “symptoms of love”.

A description of the “symptoms of love” returns later in 5,25 (123,1–5),¹²¹ crafted with similar stylistic tools. Pan tells Psyche what he thinks is wrong with her and why he thinks so:

¹¹⁸ See *GCA* 2004, 266–268 ad loc. with references for a detailed analysis of both the structure of the sentence and the many evocations of erotic themes and poetry.

¹¹⁹ Rhyme in medical Latin is a contested topic, but there are clear examples. Langslow 2000, 303 discusses (although most of the evidence is later than Apuleius) the tendency of words in *-tura* to cluster as “rhyming derivatives” in reference to physical and structural aspects of the body. See also above, notes 3 and 41. Sconocchia 2004, 536–537 has a good list of asyndetic passages from Celsus, Scribonius Longus and Pliny the Elder.

¹²⁰ Translation is by W.G. Spencer from the 1938 Loeb edition.

¹²¹ See *GCA* 2004, 307 ad loc. on the literary pedigree (elegiac/erotic) of the elements in this passage.

Verum si recte coniecto, quod profecto prudentes uiri diuinationem autumant, ab isto titubante et saepius uaccillante uestigio deque nimio pallore corporis et assiduo suspiritu, immo et ipsis maerentibus oculis tuis, amore nimio laboras. ⁶

But, if I guess right – sages, I assure you, claim that this is ‘prophecy’ – judging from that staggering and often reeling gait of yours, and from the extreme paleness of your frame and your constant sighing and, moreover, especially from your mournful eyes, you are suffering from an overwhelming love.⁷

Recall the remarks above in section II about the frequent occurrence of *nimius* in descriptions of causes of disease. *Laborans* appears often in medical literature (along with, e.g., *patiens* or *cubans*) to designate “the patient”¹²²; Apuleius has changed it to an inflected verb form. Note also the rhyme and alliteration. In this passage we see instead of asyndeton anaphora with *et*. Anaphora instead of asyndeton sometimes occurs also in medical authors in passages with literary pretensions,¹²³ and another passage from Celsus’ *Proemium* (48) will serve as an example. Here he ruminates on the nature of medicine, “... for it is an art based on conjecture. However, in many cases not only does conjecture fail, but experience as well; and at times, neither fever, nor appetite, nor sleep follow their customary course.”: *...est enim haec ars coniecturalis. Neque respondet ei plerumque non solum coniectura sed etiam experientia et interdum non febris, non cibus, non somnus subsequitur, sicut adsueuit.*¹²⁴

There are similarities beyond style between Pan’s remarks here and other aspects of the medical world. Pan prefaces his diagnosis (*coniecto*; cf. *coniecturalis* in the Celsus passage above)¹²⁵ with a remark on the tendency of intellectuals to dismiss it as based on divination. There are two obvious jokes here, one an allusion to Cicero¹²⁶ and another situational; a god does not need prophecy (so much for the *prudentes*!). In addition, however, this pas-

¹²² See Langslow 2000, 345–361 for examples and discussion.

¹²³ See Sconocchia 2004, 538.

¹²⁴ Translation by Spencer. See Sconocchia 2004, 538.

¹²⁵ *Coniectura*, *coniectatio*, and *conicere* add to the “technical” tone of the passage, since they are used with reference to a specialized body of knowledge (usually physiognomy), as in Ter. *Ad.* 822 f. and Gell. 1,9,1–2: see the discussion and parallels in Keulen (2006, forthcoming) ad 1,23 (21,10) *conicerem* (cf. Keulen in this volume, note 3).

¹²⁶ Cic. *div.* 2,12; see GCA 2004, 307 ad loc. for the many ironies in this sentence.

sage bears a striking similarity to material in Galen's *On Prognosis*. He notes in the opening of the work that anyone good at prognosis is almost viewed as a magician (γόης).¹²⁷ This word or the related term for magic (γοητεία) appears three times within fifteen lines in his complaint about the charges leveled by his jealous rivals, all of them less well-educated than he is. He spends a great deal of the first section of the piece (Nutton 1979, 68–72) establishing his credentials, citing his deep reading of Hippocrates and other authorities along with his wide clinical experience. Similarly, Pan establishes his credentials or, to use Flemming's term, "epistemologizes" his authority, in the sentence immediately preceding the one discussed above (122, 28–29) ... *sum quidem rusticanus et upilio, sed senectutis prolixae beneficio multis experimentis instructus*. "... I may be a rustic fellow, a herdsman, but thanks to my advanced old age I have the advantage of much experience."

There are many metaliterary games afoot in this passage, and this is not the place to discuss them.¹²⁸ I hope merely to point out another stratum in the multilayered tale of Cupid and Psyche. Apuleius has Pan playing many roles – pastoral fixture, adviser and helper, loser in the game of love – but he also, like the sisters, talks like a doctor.

To review: by 5, 27 both of the competing "doctors" (sisters and Cupid) have given bad advice, been unable to cure themselves (another well-known medical topos)¹²⁹ of their greed or lust (or, in the sisters' case, both), and are killed or injured by their own patient. In this final "diagnosis" scene, Pan correctly identifies (like Galen triumphing after the bumbling attempts of others)¹³⁰ Psyche's symptoms and prescribes a treatment regime that ultimately works. He claims the ability to make a correct diagnosis by citing not his divine status but his age and wide experience of love. In other words, the "doctor" Pan grounds his advice in an appeal to an "external authority" consisting on one level in his mythological erotic escapades and on another in the literary figure and tradition of the *praeceptor amoris*. He cites both spe-

¹²⁷ Nutton 1979, 70 = Kuehn 14, 601–602 = *De praecog.* 1, 7–10. See above, note 106.

¹²⁸ See *GCA* 2004, 305–310 with references for the many literary issues (allusion, role of the reader) that this chapter brings up.

¹²⁹ See Amundsen 1978, 648 for a group of fables and anecdotes on the "physician, heal thyself" theme.

¹³⁰ See the story of Galen's first triumph over rivals in Rome with the case of Eudemus in *On Prognosis* Nutton 1979, 74 ff. = Kuehn 14, 606 ff. = *De praecog.* 2, 1 ff. with Nutton's comments 157 ff. ad locc.

cifically. The elegiac atmosphere is explicitly evoked, while the medical sphere is called to mind by the similarities in situation and diction. By including in his portrait of the sisters many associations with the world of medicine, Apuleius has subtly prepared the reader for the bald use of the medical metaphor in both the description of Psyche's symptoms when she first sees her husband (5,21) and in the interview with Pan (5,25).

d Murderous Intent or Effect

Many critics have pointed to the sisters' extreme malevolence and inclination toward violence; indeed, military metaphors predominate in remarks about them.¹³¹ Thus I will give only some selected examples and not reproduce a full account of their wickedness. In 5,10 (111,8) one sister insists that Psyche be toppled from her good fortune, and the narrator next (5,11: 111,26) describes their strategy as murder (*parricidium*). Their plans and actions increase in severity until they convince Psyche to kill her own husband in 5,18–20. Her husband warns her in 5,12 (113,6–14) that the sisters are going for her throat with swords drawn and compares them to the Sirens, bringers of death. The narrator describes Psyche as the sisters' prey (*praeda*) in 5,15 (114,14). After they convince Psyche they desert her because they fear the enormity of what they have brought about (5,21: 119,4–6).

Doctors in the literary and even the inscriptional record turn up as murderers actual, potential or negligent; if the sisters are in other ways depicted as physicians, this part of the portrait is consistent with significant portions of contemporary *realia*. There are many examples beyond the "evil doctor" story in Apuleius' own book 10. Galen cites the case of a doctor who was exiled because he was (falsely, according to Galen) accused of killing his patients.¹³² Nutton's commentary on this passage includes references to scholarly literature and provides a list of inscriptions that protest about killer doctors. One example is *CIL* 3,3345, complaining about the death of a loved one at their hands, *per culpam curantium*.¹³³ Elsewhere Galen admits that

¹³¹ Panayotakis 1998 gives an admirable discussion with references.

¹³² Nutton 1979, 70 = Kuehn 14,602 = *De praecog.* 1,9; commentary on 152, which includes Hadrian's conduct on his deathbed, "shouting aloud the popular saying: 'Many physicians have slain a king'": Dio Cassius 59,22,4, translation by E. Cary in the 1925 Loeb edition. See also Nutton 1992, 25 with notes for more references.

¹³³ See *ThLL* s.v. *curo* 1503,65 ff. for similar instances.

poor care can easily cause the patient's death.¹³⁴ Amundsen¹³⁵ gives a large list with lively English translations of various fables, anecdotes and poems on the subject of deadly doctors, many of whom kill for their own enrichment.

Psyche's sisters act in similar fashion. Ancient therapeutics were traditionally divided into three areas: diet, drugs and surgery.¹³⁶ The last was by far the most dangerous and radical, and therefore avoided when possible by those who were conscientious and careful.¹³⁷ Included under the rubric "surgery" was cautery, and "the fire and the knife" were proverbial for the most extreme treatment.¹³⁸ The medical writer Scribonius Largus makes this clear in the dedicatory *epistula* that opens his work (*Ep.* 2, p. 2); he says that a firm knowledge of drugs is important "because the fearful human race does not easily entrust itself in the early stages to the knife and cautery" *quia timidum genus mortalium inter initia non facile se ferro ignique committent*. The sisters' "cure" for Psyche's predicament can, I think, be viewed as a hasty (as is typical of them) prescription of the most drastic treatment. The oil lamp provides the "cautery" by burning Cupid before the "surgery" can be attempted. Some vocabulary in the piece encourages us to look at things

¹³⁴ See Garcia Ballester 1981, 17 with notes and references. As examples he notes Galen's admitting that a doctor can "provoke disease with his own hands," (*Ad Glaucum de methodis medicis* 1,4 = Kuehn 11,17; *De locis affectis* 5,8 = Kuehn 8,362) or even kill his patient (*De crisis* 3,5 = Kuehn 9,726).

¹³⁵ Amundsen 1978, 645–648 with notes.

¹³⁶ See Jackson 91–94 and Flemming 2000, 111 with notes and references.

¹³⁷ See, e.g., Nutton 1992, 25 with notes.

¹³⁸ See Wöhrle 1991, 13 and cf. above, section I, note 37 on Wöhrle's overview of the range of use of the *ulcus/ἔλκος* metaphor. One of his prime examples is Polybius 1,81,6–8: "Such horrors justify the remark that it is not only the bodies of men, and the ulcers and imposthumes which are bred in them, that grow to a fatal and completely incurable state of inflammation, *but their souls also most of all* [my italics – TM]. For as in the case of ulcers, sometimes medical treatment on the one hand only serves to irritate them and make them spread more rapidly, while if, on the other hand, the medical treatment is stopped, having nothing to check their natural destructiveness, they gradually destroy the substance on which they feed ..." Wöhrle notes (13) that such metaphors often mention the tendency of ulcers to spread, their soreness, and the fact that treatment can make them worse. "Die Radikalkur bleibt immer das Brennen oder Schneiden." Since this rarely works, authors often then move to military metaphors, and talk about the violence and difficulty of the treatment and disease (compare note 64 above). Cf. Demosthenes *Against Aristogeiton* 1,25,95 "Just as physicians, when they detect a cancer or an ulcer or some other incurable growth, cauterize it or cut it away, so you ought all to unite in exterminating this monster."

this way: Cupid is later referred to with a technical term for a burn victim (5,28: 125,12 *adustum*).¹³⁹ Moreover, when Psyche tells her sisters (5,26: 124,4–5) the lie about her encounter with her husband, she says that upon the lamp's burning him he awoke and "he saw me armed with fire and sword" *me ferro et igni conspexit armatam*. As the *GCA* commentators point out, this phrase is used in military imagery and elegiac poetry – but also in medical contexts.¹⁴⁰ In short, Psyche's sisters, if they are depicted as bloodthirsty doctors "out to profit by murder"¹⁴¹, have lots of (bad) company.

Apuleius exploits other ironies and ambiguities here. As mentioned above, *ferrum et ignis* are regularly used in military contexts as tools of destruction and in medical contexts as implements of healing (but also potential harm). They are also, however, the stock attributes of Cupid, namely his arrows and torch. Apollo's oracle (4,33: 101,2) describes the "monster" Psyche is to wed as hurting individuals with these same tools: *flammaque et ferro singula debilitat* "with flames and iron [he] weakens every single creature".¹⁴² These literary trappings return in 5,20–23 as medical implements that will (as Psyche has been convinced by her sisters) bring her back to health¹⁴³ – but will also (in keeping with the sisters' duplicitous and murderous plot) destroy the couple's union. Cupid conceals his identity from Psyche, but with hostile intent she brings back to him two concrete manifestations of his own standard accessories, one of which (the lamp) both reveals his nature and makes physical the burning of his love for his consort. Because of Cupid's immediate departure, the burn from the lamp also banishes the symptom ("Love"), which is what good cauterization should do. In other words, the sisters' diagnosis and recommended treatment are more accurate and literarily appropriate than they had imagined: Psyche's spouse is revealed as a monster, although not the one they had thought. Moreover, the treatment they prescribe, even though Psyche fails to execute it, achieves (if only for a short time) their own ends: the lovers' separation and Psyche's

¹³⁹ See above, part II, note 68 for a discussion of this technical term.

¹⁴⁰ See *GCA* 2004, 316 ad loc. with references; also note 138 above.

¹⁴¹ The phrase is Flemming's: see note 90 above.

¹⁴² See note 36 in Hijmans' contribution to this volume. Note that Cupid here is described as having a disastrous effect on people's health, and recall that Apollo is the father of the god of medicine.

¹⁴³ Cf. the sisters' description of their plan to kill the husband as "the only [way] which steers your course to safety" *uiam, quae sola deducit iter ad salutem* 5,20 (118,10–11); but *salus* can also mean physical health: see *OLD* s.v. 2.

misery. Like bloodthirsty doctors described elsewhere they recommend a murderous treatment using standard tools: fire and blade. In addition, in keeping with their selfishness, this prescription (at least temporarily) actually treats their **own** symptoms of (professionally approved, as it were) envy and greed.

e Professional malfeasance

Amundsen's list mentioned above includes stories of doctors who kill both through incompetence and with malice aforethought. What sets the portrait of Psyche's "doctor-sisters" apart is the thoroughness of their deception; they play the part well when they interact with their naive younger sibling. From their first encounter they question her closely about her husband, his background, profession, and habits. I provide here a summary of their interrogation:

In 5,8, after the sisters have seen how Psyche lives, the narrator says that they were filled with envy. The first action described immediately following is a close and thorough interrogation about the husband (109,8–10): "And so one of these two did not cease from inquiring meticulously and curiously, who was the owner of these heavenly riches, or who and what kind of a person her husband was." After the sisters leave, they discuss the implications of Psyche's (false) replies and the evidence of what they have seen, and then they make a diagnosis along these lines (5,9: 110,8–14, paraphrased): "If she really has such a beautiful husband, no one could be luckier. He's probably a god and will make her the same – in fact, she already acts like one." When they return for their second visit, immediately after having been luxuriously entertained they again begin their questioning (5,15: 115,8–10): "... they deviously begin to ask over and over again what sort of husband she has, and what was his parentage, and from what walk of life he comes." After Psyche's second lie in 5,16, the sisters carefully pick apart the inconsistencies between her replies and arrive at a new diagnosis and course of treatment, taking the time first to make their reasons for both clear.

In much of this the sisters act like their younger sibling who is famously curious,¹⁴⁴ and especially so about her husband's "physical condition". But

¹⁴⁴ On Psyche's curiosity, especially with reference to her husband, see with references *GCA* 2004, 148 and 235. There the commentators point out that, at least initially, the sisters are the more inquisitive ones who induce Psyche to try to identify her mysterious husband.

their conduct also conforms to medical practice as prescribed in theoretical handbooks. The interest in the basis for knowledge claims is a concern throughout the novel in ways not to be explored here, but it also figures prominently in medical treatises. Galen remarks often that a good physician must be indefatigably curious and persistent in questioning his patients.¹⁴⁵ Garcia Ballester's survey of Galen's clinical practice includes many instances in which Galen questions the patient and relatives about his situation and circumstances both past and present.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the sisters' interrogation reads very much like the practices suggested by Rufus of Ephesus, one of Galen's admired predecessors from the age of Trajan. He wrote a complete treatise *On the Interrogation of the Patient*¹⁴⁷ that recommends, like Galen, an attempt to construct a sort of modern "case history" by interviewing the patient and others about her general habits and appearance. It also, however, counsels careful observation and evaluation of the patient's delivery of the answers: whether they are relevant, given from memory, and in a manner consistent with the patient's usual practices; also, whether she in fact answers the questions put to her, and how she responds – confidently or hesitantly.¹⁴⁸

Given these similarities, we can view the sisters as doctors using textbook clinical procedure, but for the wrong reasons. There are examples of this outside the novel: in addition to the stories supplied by Amundsen (see above), Scribonius Largus in his proem (*Ep.* 9, p.4) complains about duplicitous doctors who not only neglect to read the ancient authorities but make a show of their knowledge by fabricating things about them.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, the *Digest* 50,13,3 mentions doctors who give bad medicine for the eyes in order to steal from the patient. It seems that even when the sisters are doing the correct thing "professionally", they are doing the wrong thing morally.

¹⁴⁵ See Garcia Ballester 1981, 25 with notes 100 and 101.

¹⁴⁶ See Garcia Ballester 1981, 30 with notes 164, 174, and 178 for references (e.g. *De locis affectis* 1,1= Kuehn 8,8).

¹⁴⁷ Greek text in Daremberg 1897; English translation of much of the work in Brock 1929, 112–120.

¹⁴⁸ Brock 1929, 112–113.

¹⁴⁹ See with notes and references Kollesch 1972, 29–30. Cf. Pliny's complaints at *NH* 92,8,18–19 that there are no laws against malpractice, however lethal the doctors are, and that doctors can practice on the innocent and even kill them without fear of retribution.

Conclusion

In the description of Psyche's sisters Apuleius makes much deeper and broader reference to the world of medicine than has previously been noticed. In both the sisters' own words and in remarks made about them by others we see numerous terms and shades of meaning taken from medical jargon. Allusion to medicine is a frequently encountered part of Apuleius' complex and densely woven portrait of Psyche's siblings. My investigation of these patterns of allusion reveals that the sisters behave like malicious doctors as they are commonly described by both literary artists and practising physicians. Moreover, throughout *Cupid and Psyche* the medical thread turns out to connect episodes more tightly than had previously been acknowledged and also to deepen their color and texture.

In an Introduction I review Apuleius' knowledge of medicine and his patent use of medical vocabulary in *Cupid and Psyche*. I also discuss his manipulation of the medical material through his characteristic and frequent collapsing or redrawing of the boundaries between the concrete and the metaphorical. Against this background I make a detailed case in Part I for accepting the reading *deterentes* in *Met.* 5,11 (111,25). A fundamental prop for my argument is the overall "medical ring" of the surrounding vocabulary, which my study of medical terms in this passage bears out. Using this analysis as a foundation, and taking into account some important results of recent studies of medical Latin, I move on to Part II, "Medical Vocabulary and Doctors in Apuleius". This section reveals more references to medical vocabulary (not previously noticed as such) in other chapters where the sisters appear. In this part I also discuss some possible effects on the reader of allusions to medicine in non-medical literature. In Part III, "The Broader Medical Context", additional light is shed on Apuleius' portrait of the sisters by explicating allusions to other 'medical' aspects, such as the interaction between doctor and patient, and the Roman hostile tradition toward imported Greek medicine. The sisters' characteristics turn out to correspond strikingly with categories of moral and professional failings regularly imputed by Roman writers to Greek doctors: greed, lust, envy and professional competition, murderous intent or effect, and professional malfeasance. Recent work on how the medical writers (especially Galen) viewed women and their treatment also throws light on Apuleius' description of the sisters' conduct.

As this investigation demonstrates, a recognition of this level of allusion can increase our understanding of Apuleius' complex portrayal of the sisters, and generally refine our interpretations of individual passages that contain medical content. My overall contention is that by depicting the sisters as devious, grasping, unscrupulous and bloodthirsty doctors, Apuleius adds significant depth to his multilayered and damning portrait.

How might this line of enquiry be useful elsewhere? For students of Cupid and Psyche, close scrutiny of medical allusion might help us better understand certain episodes. For example, more levels of irony and complexity could be revealed by looking at Cupid and the sisters as doctors who cannot heal themselves, a topic only briefly mentioned above. The medical background might even permit a clearer understanding of the choice of implements for Cupid's beheading, the lamp and blade: both appear in medical *instrumentaria* and in the iconography of doctors' tombstones. Regarding the novel as a whole and its structure, the "medical sisters" in the central tale might balance the doctors' stories in books two and ten.

To take a wider perspective, this investigation shows the benefits and promise of investigating technical jargon and "scientific language" in non-technical literature. Much work of this sort has been done with, e.g., legal terminology, but studies focusing on medical language could enlarge our picture of many authors. Furthermore, we can now see that Apuleius' use of contemporary scientific discourse may mirror the valetudinarian preoccupations of his contemporaries Aelius Aristides and Fronto; this comical, nuanced and literary "treatment" of doctors situates him yet more firmly in the intellectual debates and social concerns of the Antonine age. In addition, looking at medicine can throw more light on Apuleius' exploration of "realism" and "Romanitas" in the novel; the sisters now look more like actual practitioners living (like so many other characters in the *Metamorphoses*) between Greek and Roman conceptions of their duties and actions. Moreover, the "medical angle" may offer a bridge of sorts between allegorical readings of the tale and Antonine *realia*. Galen for one was interested in the "mind-body" problem and the nature of the soul,¹⁵⁰ and Apuleius may be offering his own take on the issue in his highly sophisticated literary enter-

¹⁵⁰ See *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* ('That the Faculties of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body' = Kuehn 4,767–882, translated in P.N. Singer. 1997. *Galen: Selected Works*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. I thank Wytse Keulen for bringing this to my attention (cf. Keulen in this volume, note 17).

tainment that concentrates on the physical sufferings of what were traditionally viewed as two non-corporeal entities: Love (Cupido) and the Soul (Psyche).

Bibliography

- Adams, J.N. 1995. *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (Studies in Ancient Medicine vol. 11), Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill.
- Adams, J.N., Mayer, R.G. eds. 1999. *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Amundsen, D.W. 1974. 'Romanticizing the ancient medical profession. The characterization of the physician in the Graeco-Roman novel', *BHM* 48, 320–337.
- Amundsen, D.W. 1978. 'Images of physicians in classical times', *Journal of Popular Culture* (Bowling Green Popular Culture Assoc.) 11, 642–655.
- André, J. 1991. *Le vocabulaire Latin de l'anatomie*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres (Collection d'études anciennes. Série latine).
- Baldini, M., Cecere, M., Crismani, D. eds. 2004. *Testi medici latini antichi. Le parole della medicina: lessico e storia. Atti del VII convegno internazionale Trieste, 11–13 Ottobre 2001* (Lingue Tecniche del greco e del latino, IV), Bologna: Patron.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1969. *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Brock, Arthur J. 1929. *Greek Medicine*, London: Dent and Sons; New York-Toronto: E.P. Dutton (reprint New York 1977).
- Busa, Roberto, Zampolli, A. eds. 1975. *Concordantiae Senecanae*, Hildesheim–New York: G. Olms.
- Citroni Marchetti, Sandra. 1991. *Plinio il Vecchio e la tradizione del moralismo romano* (Biblioteca di 'Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici', 9), Pisa: Giardini.
- Colace, Paola Radici, ed. 1997. *Atti del II. Seminario di studi sui lessici tecnici greci e latini (Messina, 14–16 dicembre 1996)* (Atti, supplemento 1, vol. LXXI), Messina: Accademia peloritana dei pericolanti.
- Colace, Paola Radici, Caccamo Calabiano, Maria. eds. 1991. *Atti del I. Seminario di studi sui lessici tecnici greci e latini (Messina, 8–10 marzo 1990)*, Messina: Accademia peloritana dei pericolanti.
- Colace, Paola Radici, Zumbo, Antonio. eds. 2000. *Atti del Seminario internazionale di Studi "letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina" (Messina, 29–31 ottobre 1997)* (Lessico e Cultura, 3), Messina: Edas.
- Crismani, Daria. 1993. 'Filtri, veleni e diagnosi mediche nel romanzo greco', in: Sconocchia et al. (eds.) 1993, 182–188.
- Crismani, Daria. 1996. 'Heu medicorum ignarae mentes...: medici e malatti nel romanzo latino: tra scienza, superstizione e magia', *Sileno* 22, 43–56.
- Daremberg, C., Ruelle, E. eds. 1879. *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, Paris: Ballière.
- Drabkin, I.E., ed. and trans. 1950. *Caelius Aurelianus. On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Duff, J.D. 1915. *L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum Libri X,XI,XII. Three Dialogues of Seneca*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fernhout, J.M.H. 1949. *Ad Apulei Madaurensis Metamorphoseon librum quintum commentarius exegeticus*, diss. Groningen.
- Finkelpearl, Ellen. 1998. *Metamorphosis of language in Apuleius: a study of allusion in the novel*, Ann Arbor (Mich.): University of Michigan Press.
- Flashar, Hellmut, Jouanna, Jacques. eds. 1997. *Médecine et morale dans l'antiquité: dix exposés suivis de discussions*, Vandoeuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt.
- Flemming, Rebecca. 2000. *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women. Gender, Nature and Authority from Celsus to Galen*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- French, R., Greenaway, F. eds. 1986. *Science in the early Roman Empire. Pliny the elder, his sources and influence*, London: Croom Helm.
- Furst, Lilian R., ed. 1997. *Women Physicians and Healers: Climbing a Long Hill*, Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Garcia Ballester, Luis, 1981. 'Galen as a medical practitioner: problems in diagnosis', in: Nutton 1981 (ed.), 13–46.
- GCA 1977 = Hijmans, B.L. Jr., Van der Paardt, R.T., Smits, E.R., Westendorp Boerma, R.E.H., Westerbrink, A.G. 1977. *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses. Book IV 1–27. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis.
- GCA 1981 = Hijmans, B.L. Jr., Van der Paardt, R.T., Schmidt, V., Westendorp Boerma, R.E.H., Westerbrink, A.G. eds. 1981. *Apuleius Madaurensis: Metamorphoses, Book VI, 25–32, and VII. Text, Introduction, and Commentary*, Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis.
- GCA 1985 = Hijmans, B.L. Jr., Van der Paardt, R.T., Schmidt, V., Settels, C.B.J., Wesseling, B., Westendorp Boerma, R.E.H. eds. 1985. *Apuleius Madaurensis: Metamorphoses, Book VIII. Text, Introduction, and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- GCA 1995 = Hijmans, B.L. Jr., Van der Paardt, R.T., Schmidt, V., Wesseling, B., Zimmerman, M., eds. 1995. *Apuleius Madaurensis: Metamorphoses, Book IX. Text, Introduction, and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- GCA 2000 = Zimmerman, Maaïke. 2000. *Apuleius Madaurensis: Metamorphoses, Book X: Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- GCA 2004 = Zimmerman, M., Panayotakis, S., Hunink, V., Keulen, W.H., Harrison, S.J., McCreight, T.D., Wesseling, B., Van Mal-Maeder, D. eds. 2004. *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses, Books IV,28 – VI,24. Cupid and Psyche. Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Graverini, Luca. 1996. 'Apuleio, Virgilio e la 'peste di Atene': note ad *Apul. met.* IV 14', *Maia* 48, 171–187.
- Graverini, Luca. 2006. review of GCA 2004, *AN* 5, 1–11 (preliminary).
- Grimal, P. 1963. *Apulei Metamorphoseis (IV,28–VI,24), Édition, introduction et commentaire* (Érasme: Collection de textes latins commentés, 9), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Gourevitch, Danielle. ed. 1992. *Maladie et maladies: histoire et conceptualisation: mélanges en l'honneur de Mirko Grmek* (École Pratique des Hautes Études IVE section Sér. 5: 70), Genève: Droz.
- Helm, R., ed. 1955. *Apuleius Metamorphoseon Libri XI*. 3d ed. of 1931, with additions and corrections. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Hijmans, B.L. Jr., Van der Paardt, R.T. eds. 1978. *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis.
- Hunink, V. ed. 1997. *Apuleius of Madauros Pro se de magia (Apologia)*, vols. I & II, Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Hunink, V. ed. 2001. *Apuleius of Madauros: Florida*. Ed. with comm. Amsterdam: Gieben.

- Jackson, Ralph P.J. 1993. 'Roman medicine: the practitioners and their practices', *ANRW* 2,37,1, 79–101.
- Kenney, E.J. 1990. *Apuleius: Cupid & Psyche*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keulen, W. 1997. 'Some Legal Themes in Apuleian Context', in: Picone et al. (eds.), 203–230.
- Keulen, W.H. 2003. *Apuleius Madaurensis. Metamorphoses, Book I, 1–20. Introduction, Text, Commentary*, diss. Groningen.
- Keulen, W.H. 2006 (forthcoming). *Apuleius Madaurensis: Metamorphoses, Book I: Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Kollesch, J. 1972. 'Artztwahl und aerztliche Ethik in der roemischen Kaiserzeit', *Altertum* 18, 27–30.
- Langslow, D.R. 1999. 'The Language of Poetry and the Language of Science: The Latin Poets and 'Medical Latin'', in: Adams et al. (eds.), 183–225.
- Langslow, D.R. 2000. *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Lazzarini, Caterina. 1995. 'Il modello Virgiliano nel lessico delle *Metamorphosi* di Apuleio', *SCO* 35, 131–160.
- Lee, Benjamin Todd. 2005. *Apuleius' Florida: a Commentary*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Luchner, Katharina. 2004. *Philiatroi. Studien zum Thema der Krankheit in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Hypomnemata 156), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Mattiacci, S. 1993. 'L'episodio della *canis rabida* e la prova dell'acqua: una innovazione Apuleiana tra scienza e parodia (*Met.* 9.1–4)', *Sileno* 19, 179–195.
- Mazzini, I. 1982. 'Le accuse contro i medici nella letteratura latina ed il loro fundamento', *QLF* 2, 75–91.
- Mazzini, I. 1988. 'La medicina nella letteratura latina. I. Osservazioni e proposte interpretative su passi di Lucilio, Lucrezio, Catullo, e Orazio', *Aufidus* 4, 45–75.
- Mazzini, I. 1997. *La medicina dei greci e dei romani*, Rome: Jouvence.
- Mudry Philippe. 1992. 'Le médecin félon et l'énigme de la potion sacrée: (Apulée, *Métamorphoses*, 10, 25)', in: Gourevitch (ed.), 171–180.
- Norden, F. 1912. *Apuleius von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht*, Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner.
- Nutton, V. ed. 1979. *On prognosis, Galen (Galen De praecognitione): edition, translation and commentary* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum 5,8,1), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Nutton, V. ed. 1981. *Galen: problems and prospects*, London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.
- Nutton, V. 1972. 'Galen and medical autobiography', *PCPhS* 18, 50–62.
- Nutton, V. 1984. 'Galen in the Eyes of his Contemporaries', *BHM* 58, 315–324.
- Nutton, V. 1986. 'The perils of patriotism. Pliny and Roman medicine', in: French (ed.), 30–58.
- Nutton, V. 1992. 'Healers in the medical market place: towards a social history of Graeco-Roman medicine', in: Wear (ed.), 15–58.
- Nutton, V. 1995. 'The medical meeting place', *CM* 27, 3–25.
- Önnerfors, Alf. 1993. 'Das medizinische Latein bis Cassius Felix', *ANRW* 2,37,1, 227–392; 924–937.
- Panayotakis, S. 1998. 'Slander and War Imagery in Apuleius' Tale of Cupid and Psyche (*Apul. Met.* 5,5–5,21)', in: Zimmerman et al. (eds.) 1998, 151–164.
- Parker, Holt. 1997. 'Women Physicians in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire', in: Furst (ed.), 131–150.

- Picone, M., Zimmermann, B. eds. 1997. *Der antike Roman und seine mittelalterliche Rezeption*, Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag.
- Pinkster, Harm. 1992. 'Notes on the syntax of Celsus', *Mnemosyne* 45, 513–524.
- Pinkster, Harm. 1995. 'Notes on the syntax of Celsus', *CM* 28, 555–566.
- Pleket, H.W. 1995. 'The social status of physicians in the Graeco-Roman world', in: Van der Eijk et al. (eds.), 27–34.
- Robertson, D.S., ed., Vallette, P., trans. 1940–45. *Apulée: Les Métamorphoses*. 3 vols., reprint 1965–71, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Santini, Carlo. 2004. 'Lessico Medico in Lucilio', in: Baldini et al. (eds.), 29–38.
- Scarborough, John. 1993. 'Roman Medicine to Galen', *ANRW* 2,37,1, 3–48.
- Sconocchia, Sergio, Toneatto, Lucio, Crismani, Daria, Tassinari, Piero. eds. 1993. *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino. Atti del I. Seminario internazionale sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina*. Associazione internazionale lessicografica sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina. Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità, Trieste: Università degli studi di Trieste.
- Sconocchia, Sergio, Toneatto, Lucio, Crismani, Daria, Faraguna, Michele, Pin, Italo. eds. 1997. *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino II. Atti del II. Seminario internazionale sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina*. Associazione internazionale lessicografica sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina. Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità, Università di Trieste, Bologna: Patron.
- Sconocchia, Sergio. 2004. 'La lingua della medicina greca e latina', in: Baldini et al. (eds.), 493–544.
- Sorabji, Richard. ed. 1997. *Aristotle and after* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 68), London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.
- Van den Hout, Michael P. J. 1999. *A commentary on the letters of M. Cornelius Fronto*, Leiden: Brill.
- Van der Eijk, Ph.H., Horstmanshoff, H.F.J., Schrijvers, P.H. eds. 1995. *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Van der Paardt, R.T. 1971. *L. Apuleius Madaurensis. The Metamorphoses. A commentary on book III with text and introduction*, Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Von Staden, Heinrich. 1997. 'Galen and the 'Second Sophistic'', in: Sorabji (ed.), 33–54.
- Von Staden, Heinrich. 1997a. 'Character and competence: personal and professional conduct in Greek medicine', in: Flashar et al. (eds.), 157–210.
- Watt, W.S. 1991. 'Five notes on Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche*', *LCM* 16, 140–141.
- Wear, A. ed. 1992. *Medicine in society: historical essays*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiman, Gerhard. 1927. *Textkritiska studier till Apuleius*, Göteborg: Elanders.
- Wöhrle, G. 1991. 'Zur metaphorischen Verwendung von *elkos* und *ulcus* in der antiken Literatur', *Mnemosyne* 44, 1–16.
- Zimmerman, M., Hunink, V., McCreight, T.D., van Mal-Maeder, D. Panayotakis, St., Schmidt, V., Wesseling, B. eds. 1998. *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass II. Cupid and Psyche. A Collection of Original Papers*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.