

A Taste of Your Own Medicine

Approaching patients' experiences and sensory concepts in Hippocratic pharmacology

Thesis for the research master HLCS, literary studies

Student: Glyn Muijtens

Supervisor: dr. Floris Overduin

Tutor and second reader: prof. dr. André P. M. H. Lardinois

Radboud University, Nijmegen, 20/11/2017

Abstract

This thesis makes an attempt at uncovering the patient experiences of treatments recorded in the recipe lists of the Hippocratic Corpus. As will be argued, these recipe lists are very suitable texts to look for reflections of the patients. In order to get to these experiences, it proposes a model to interpret these recipes from the patient's point of view. The two main parts in which this thesis is divided correspond roughly to the construction of this theoretical model and its application. The model consists of two main elements: sensory concepts and the ingredients used in the recipes. These sensory concepts are not self-evident; ancient Greek sensory terms are in modern scholarship often considered to have a primary meaning, usually limited to a single sensory category such as taste, which can then metaphorically be transposed to the other senses or even outside of the sensory domain altogether. Metaphor thus implies a division between a primary and a secondary meaning, the first taking precedent over the other. However, this metaphorical/categorical approach might not be how the Greeks themselves thought of the sensory words they used. Rather, this thesis reconsiders sensory words as synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch. In other words, the sensory terms are concepts with an overarching meaning, which can be instantiated in many different sensory and non sensory contexts without losing this meaning. Tracing the cultural contexts of the sensory concepts in Greek literature would allow the construction of webs of meanings associated with these sensory concepts. Greek patients would have considered these associations when being treated with ingredients characterised by these sensory concepts in the Hippocratic recipes. Furthermore, the ingredients themselves carry rich cultural associations, which might determine how a patient would experience a recipe. In this thesis, two sensory terms, *δριμύς* and *στρυφνός*, are (re)defined as synesthetic concepts by tracing their usage throughout Greek literature and the Hippocratic Corpus specifically. The cultural associations will then be applied in the interpretation of two Hippocratic recipes, one for each term, which will also take into account the cultural contexts of the ingredients used in these recipes. With this, this thesis will argue that reading the recipes from this sensory perspective reveals possible reactions from the patients that would have otherwise remained hidden.

Preface

This thesis has been a long time in the making. The idea to study sensory approaches to Hippocratic medical texts hit me during a masterclass supervised by John Wilkins in December 2016, during my study abroad at the University of Exeter. A thesis which aims at constructing a model and then apply it to primary source material always runs the risk of turning up less than the researcher had hoped. Conversely, it might also turn out she bit off more than she could chew. The latter was the case here. That being said, although it took longer than expected to finish – due to reasons both welcome and unforeseen –, I am happy that I had the opportunity to complete my master thesis to the level of detail I am satisfied with. I hope the reader finds something interesting and unexpected in here, whether it be about Hippocratic medicine, ancient Greek sensory experiences, or simply because she enjoys reading weird texts few others do.

Many people were in some way involved in the making of this thesis, some more consciously than others. Thanks are due, first of all, to Floris Overduin for an expert eye, helpful comments, encouraging conversations, and generally excellent supervision during the whole process of making this thesis. I am also indebted to André Lardinois, who has been my tutor for the duration of my research master, and has provided me with invaluable academic advice, support, and some good laughs. My parents have always been there for me, but especially so in my research master. I sincerely thank them for always supporting me, even after their son told them he wanted to study Classics. If that is not unconditional, I do not know what is. My friends have made my time at university truly wonderful, and are all dear to me. A few should be mentioned specifically, for always being there, whether we made long hours in the library or just laughed our heads off over drinks. These are, in completely random order: Joost, Marieke, Lidewij, and Fons. I hope we will have each other's backs for a long time to come. I also want to mention, again in random order, Vera, Claudia, Eline, and Hendri. They know why. My fellow students in the research master and the HLCS staff have made the past few years very enjoyable, and I am glad to have met all of them.

GM, 19/11/2017

Contents

Abstract	2
Preface	3
Introduction	6
Part 1: Theory and Method	8
1.1. The Hippocratic patient: reading against the grain	8
1.1.1. <i>The Hippocratic patient and the Hippocratic physician</i>	8
1.1.2. <i>Finding the patients' voices: matters of perspective</i>	15
1.2 Hippocratic recipes and the patient's perspective	19
1.2.1. <i>Hippocratic pharmacology in context: professionalization of common knowledge</i>	19
1.2.2. <i>Reading ingredients as 'matrices of meanings'</i>	23
1.3. Reading the ancient senses	27
1.3.1. <i>The ancient sensorium</i>	29
1.3.2. <i>Synaesthesia and matters of metaphor in reading the ancient senses</i>	31
1.3.3. <i>The significance of sensory concepts in uncovering patient's experiences</i>	36
1.3.4. <i>Are the sensory denominators Hippocratic additions?</i>	39
1.4. General methodology	41
Part 2. Analysing sensory concepts and ingredients in Hippocratic recipe lists	44
2.1 The case of Δριμός	47
2.1.1. <i>Defining δριμός</i>	47
2.1.2. <i>The Hippocratics on δριμός</i>	56

2.1.3. <i>Reading recipes through a δριμύς lens</i>	65
2.2. The case of στρυφνός	78
2.2.1. <i>Defining στρυφνός</i>	79
2.2.2. <i>The Hippocratics on στρυφνός</i>	90
2.2.3. <i>Reading recipes through στρυφνός</i>	100
Part 3. Concluding remarks	112
3.1. Summary and conclusions	113
3.2. Reflection on relevance and suggestions for further research	118
Bibliography	120

"Doctor and Patient should be a relationship not a dictatorship"

- Jeanette Winterson, 'Can you stop the Menopause?'

So spoke doctor Marion Gluck, an expert in bio-identical hormone therapy, when consulted by world renowned author Jeanette Winterson back in 2014. Winterson suffered from insomnia and her hair falling out after recovering from a two-year mental breakdown. Her GP told her this may have something to do with her being perimenopausal, and provided her with dietary advice. After consulting several health experts on the subject, Winterson ended up at the clinic of Dr Gluck, who told her that she showed signs of hormonal imbalance. Listening to the complaints of a patient is paramount – "The blood profile will tell me a lot, but the patient will tell me more."¹ Winterson's GPs did not listen properly to what she had to say, and as a result failed to diagnose her condition.

Much like Gluck's, my focus in this thesis will be on the experiences of ancient Greek patients, specifically during the encounter with their doctors and the ensuing treatments. My aim is to unravel, at least in part, what thoughts may have gone through the minds of the patients as they were treated by the Hippocratic doctors. I will attempt this by placing the sensory words, along with the ingredients they qualify, used in Hippocratic recipe lists in the wider context of extant Greek literature, and so map out their significance for the patients of the Hippocratics. More specifically, I will demonstrate that sensory terms, rather than as words with a primary meaning in one sensory domain that is then applied metaphorically in other contexts, should be taken as synthetic concepts, which can be instantiated in different contexts without losing their overarching meaning and associations for the patients. I have chosen, for the sake of clarity, to divide this thesis in two main parts. Part 1 will offer an introduction to the Hippocratics and their patients, to the recipe lists and their significance in this thesis, and to theory about sensory concepts. By combining these theories, I will construct an explanatory model with which to analyse patient experiences in Hippocratic recipes. Part 2 will be more analytical, aiming both to contextualize relevant sensory concepts and to apply them in the analysis of several recipes from the patients' point of view, each of the chapters corresponding to one of the concepts under discussion. In short, the two parts roughly

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/11/jeanette-winterson-can-you-stop-the-menopause>. Consulted at 10/04/2017.

correspond respectively to building the theoretical model and applying it. All of this will be followed by part 3, which consists of concluding remarks.

As I limit myself here to the textual evidence of the Hippocratic Corpus, my understanding of ‘Hippocratic physician’ and ‘patients’ is limited to the authors of the Corpus’ treatises – and, in extension, the doctors who would have practiced medicine according to the same principles and by applying the same treatments – and the people who came to seek their help. It is relevant to mention at the outset that whether or not the authors of the Hippocratic treatises were practicing physicians is open to debate. Case studies such as the *Epidemics*, which include written observations and some other examples mentioned below in which the author reports to have been consulted for medical advice or describes a specific operation, seem to imply these authors were practitioners. I therefore often use the term Hippocratic physician and author interchangeably, although, of course, care should be taken here; it is hard to determine whether authors of the more theoretical works in the Corpus had any sort of practical medical experience, and even the case studies of the *Epidemics* should be handled with care, as we will see below.²

² Holmes 2013, 454-459 takes for granted a certain split between practicing physicians and the more rhetorically inclined authors of the Corpus, but this seems hard to hold with any level of certainty, in my opinion. Kazantzidis 2016, however, seems to presume that Hippocratic medicine was actually practiced.

Part 1. Theory and method

1.1. The Hippocratic patient: reading against the grain

In the first chapter of part 1 I will discuss the patients of the Hippocratics and the ways in which the authors/physicians of the Hippocratic Corpus interacted with them, and how other scholars have tried to recover the experiences of these patients. In the second, I will discuss the Hippocratic recipe catalogues in more detail; I will specifically emphasize why I think they are so suitable to help uncover patients' experiences of the treatments described in them. After introducing my main question, a more theoretical discussion of the senses in Greek antiquity will follow in chapter 3, mainly from a philological point view, which will function as the backbone of this thesis. In this chapter, I will discuss how sensory concepts can be useful in pursuing the way patients might have experienced the Hippocratic recipes. In the fourth and final chapter of this first part I will set out my methodology. Part 2 will then venture to put theory into practice and offer an analysis of several recipe case studies.

1.1.1. *The Hippocratic patient and the Hippocratic physician*

In classical Greek medicine – long before any awareness of hormonal imbalances, blood profiles, and the like – the body's insides were in many ways uncharted territory.³ As dissection was not yet practised on human bodies, physicians had all the more reason to listen closely to the complaints of their patients.⁴ This was certainly the case for the authors of the treatises now known as the Hippocratic Corpus, a diverse body of medical treatises attributed to the 'father of medicine' Hippocrates, usually dated to the second half of the fifth and first half of the fourth centuries BCE, and most likely compiled in Hellenistic Alexandria.⁵ The

³ For many of the references to Hippocratic treatises in the next section I am indebted to Lloyd 1983:58-86.

⁴ On the sudden rise of the short-lived practice of human dissection in third century BCE Alexandria see Von Staden 1992b.

⁵ Totelin 2009:4-13 provides a clear and concise general introduction to the Hippocratic Corpus and its gynaecological treatises. The geographical spread of many of the treatises is hard to determine – the

author of the treatise *Diseases* 1, for example, emphasizes the importance of a thorough questioning of the patient, but also of the proper answering of questions directed at the physician, at the outset of his work.⁶ In a similar vein, in *Epidemics* 4.43, the sensory observations of the patient are emphasized.⁷ In the gynaecological (parts of) treatises of the corpus the Hippocratic physician sometimes even admits to having gained knowledge from female patients about their bodies.⁸ The treatise *Fleshes* is a case in point; chapter 19 starts with the statement that it takes seven days for the seed in the womb to articulate all the body parts it is to have as a human. The author then continues: ‘one might wonder how I know this. I have seen many things in the following way: the common *hetaerae*, who have often experienced these things, when they have been with a man, recognize when they have conceived, and then destroy it [the embryo]’, after which he describes how the embryo falls out as a piece of flesh, and how one may recognize in this flesh limbs and organs when it is

Epidemics, for example, seem mostly oriented on the northern Aegean, but some of the authors may have visited Athens; see Demand 1998:72.

⁶ *Diseases* 1.1. For the Greek of most Hippocratic texts, I have used the Loeb editions. The exceptions are *Diseases of Women* 1 and 2, of which the only complete edition is to be found in Émile Littré’s 1839-61 *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrate*, included in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. These texts have never been translated into English in full, although Hanson 1975 contains English translations of several chapters in a preliminary effort towards a new edition, which has yet to appear. Scans of Littré’s editions are available at www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr. All translations are my own; I have translated most of the Greek passages quoted. For most of the Greek quoted, I have provided a reference to the corresponding Loeb edition, for the reader’s convenience. It is possible that there is sometimes a slight discrepancy in the page numbers given, as there occasionally appears to be a slight shift between the online and the paper Loeb editions – my apologies for any inconveniences caused.

⁷ *Epidemics* 4.43. Smith 1994:126. Ὅτι τοῖσιν ὄμμασι, τοῖσιν οὐᾶσι, τῇσι ῥίσι, τῇ χειρὶ αἱ κρίσεις, καὶ τὰλλα οἷσι γινώσκομεν. ὁ ἀσθενέων, ἡ ἰδὼν ἡ θιγὼν ἡ ὀσφρανθεὶς ἡ γευσάμενος, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα γνούς, ‘Because the crises (are perceived) by the eyes, the ears, the nose, the hands, and the other things by which we perceive. The weak person, the one who sees, the one who touches, the one who smells, the one who tastes, and he who perceives other things.’ Kazantzidis 2016:53 takes the first sentence to be about the doctor’s observations, the second about the patients’. This is possible, depending on whether the first person plural is taken to mean ‘us doctors’, or ‘us humans’.

⁸ It is commonly accepted that none of the treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus are in fact by Hippocrates’ own hand. Rather, the corpus was composed by a plethora of authors, with sometimes conflicting theoretical views. See Lloyd 1975 for a thorough discussion of these issues. This problematizes speaking about ‘Hippocratic authors’ as if they were a homogeneous group. Furthermore, Philip van der Eijk has recently drawn attention to the fact that the emphasis on the ‘Hippocratic’ treatises as a distinctive group has long obscured many other medical authors known from the classical period, and has pointed out that many of the characteristics of the Hippocratic authors can be traced in the works of these other authors as well; see Van der Eijk 2016. I am well aware of these problems, but will nonetheless, out of simple convenience, use the term ‘Hippocratic’ in this thesis to denote the treatises later compiled under Hippocrates’ name, and their authors.

put in water.⁹ Even more clearly, after suggesting that women of experience – as opposed to women inexperienced in pregnancy – themselves often know when they have conceived, he states that ‘it is in the measure in which they [these women] have instructed me that I am able to know of this.’¹⁰ Some Hippocratic physicians thus seemingly put a lot of trust in ὁκοῖα γυναικες λέγουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ‘what sort of things women say to each other’, as the author of *Nature of the Child* put it.¹¹

However, these practitioners had to retain some level of authority on the pathologies of the body vis-à-vis their patients.¹² Women’s own testimonies are sometimes accepted, as above, but refuted in other cases: *Epidemics* 4.6 discusses the abortion of the baby of one Achelous’ wife, who herself ‘said that [she had] also [lost] another [child], male, close to the twentieth day,’ but the author expresses his doubt at this: ‘whether these things are true I do not know.’¹³ The author of *Diseases of Women* 1 expresses his frustration about the fact that women sometimes do not realise they are ill until it is too late, because the disease has become incurable ‘before the physician has been properly informed by the ailing women because of what she is ill.’¹⁴ As to why this is, the author is quite clear: ‘for they are ashamed to talk, even if they know, and they think it [the disease] is shameful because of [their] inexperience and ignorance.’¹⁵

⁹ *Fleshes* 19, see Potter 1995:156. τοῦτο δέ τις ἂν θαυμάσειεν ὅπως ἐγὼ οἶδα· πολλὰ δὲ εἶδον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· αἱ ἐταῖραι αἱ δημόσιαι, αἵτινες αὐτῶν πεπείρηται πολλάκις, ὁκόταν παρὰ ἄνδρα ἔλθῃ, γινώσκουσιν ὁκόταν λάβωσιν ἐν γαστρὶ, κᾶπειτεν διαφθείρουσιν·

¹⁰ *Fleshes* 19. Potter 1995:158. ἡ δέ μοι ἔδειξαν, κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ἐπίσταμαι εἰδέναι. On the woman of experience as opposed to the inexperienced woman in Hippocratic gynaecology, see Hanson 1990:309-310.

¹¹ *Nature of the Child* 2. Potter 2012:34. This passage discusses an entertainer who visits the physician because she thinks she has conceived, based on what she heard from other women.

¹² On the competition in the field of healing which forced the Hippocratics to emphasize their authority and rebuke that of their competitors, often ritual practitioners, see Lloyd 1990:ch1 and 2. The examples most often quoted are *The Sacred Disease* and, although somewhat less well-known, *Diseases of Girls*.

¹³ *Epidemics* 4.6. Smith 1994:88. ἄρσεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τὰς εἵκοσιν ἔφη, εἰ ἀληθέα οὐκ οἶδα.

¹⁴ *Diseases of Women* 1.62. πρὶν ἂν διδαχθῆναι τὸν ἱητρὸν ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τῆς νοσεύσης ὑφ’ ὅτου νοσέει·

¹⁵ *Ibidem*. καὶ γὰρ αἰδέονται φράζειν, κῆν εἰδῶσι, καὶ σφιν δοκέουσιν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης. The author does go on to admit that the doctors are often mistaken in the onset (τὴν πρόφασιν) of the disease, but instead treat them as ἀνδρικὰ νοσήματα, ‘men’s diseases.’ The mistrust in women’s testimonies here is all the more striking, as the author of *Diseases of Women* 1, Grensemann’s author C, was also responsible for *Nature of the Child*, in which, as was pointed out above, the author believed the testimony of the courtesan. See Hanson 1991:76-78 for a discussion of Grensemann’s strata.

The same oscillation between reliance and mistrust can be found when doctors solicit the help of their patients in certain medical procedures. Small procedures can be left to the patient. This is the case for *Joints* 37, which discusses nose fractures that leave a depression in the nose. This is to be rectified by inserting support into the nostrils and then applying pressure to move the depressed part back up into place, which the author suggests the patient should try to do himself using his index fingers. As the hands should be soft, a woman or child may also be called in.¹⁶ The treatise *Affections* takes this further, its opening lines clearly stating that the layperson should be able to take good medical care of himself:¹⁷

Ἄνδρα χρή, ὅστις ἐστὶ συνετός, λογιζάμενον ὅτι τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισι πλείστου ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἢ ὑγιείν, ἐπίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γνώμης ἐν τῇσι νούσοισιν ὠφελέεσθαι· ἐπίστασθαι δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰητρῶν καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ προσφερόμενα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαγινώσκειν· ἐπίστασθαι δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐς ὅσον εἰκὸς ἰδιώτην.

It is necessary that any man who is intelligent, while reasoning that health is of the highest worth for humans, knows from his own disposition to help himself in diseases. And that he understands and evaluates what is said and applied to his own body by physicians. And that he knows each of these things to the extent that is suitable for a layman.

Similarly, female patients were sometimes asked to perform their own internal examination and report to the doctor, or themselves aided in simple treatments, such as trying to move the mouth of the womb back to the proper position or removing a vaginal pessary – although the internal examination could also be performed by the physician himself or another female healer/attendant, such as a midwife.¹⁸ A rather exceptional case is Phrontis, the perfect Hippocratic woman of experience, who after examining herself recognised that her genitalia were blocked, told this, and took care of herself accordingly.¹⁹ Yet self-treatment without the proper medical knowledge could also be very dangerous, as is emphasized by the author of *Diseases of Women* 1, who in chapter 67 discusses what to do ‘if a woman suffers a great wound

¹⁶ *Joints* 37. Withington 1928:270.

¹⁷ *Affections* 1. Potter 1988a:6.

¹⁸ For references, see Lloyd 1983:69-76. See 70-76, especially n46, for references to the rather elusive female healers mentioned in the corpus.

¹⁹ *Diseases of Women* 1.40.

from a miscarriage, or is ulcerated in her womb by sharp pessaries, the kind that women always use as treatment.²⁰ As King concludes, as far as the gynaecological treatises go, “[S]elf-knowledge is permitted; self-help is not.”²¹

Brooke Holmes has recently drawn attention to what she has termed the “structural disembodiment” of the physician in many of the more rhetorically heavy Hippocratic texts. Although the Hippocratic physicians acted upon the vulnerable bodies of their patients, they themselves, at least in the world of their texts, did not possess bodies that could be diseased and, in Holmes’ view, they thus claimed an authoritative position untouched by the physical deficiencies they were supposedly able to cure. The patient becomes simply a body, while the physician assumes the position of the active, disembodied knower.²² Although this rhetorical strategy begs some questions about the possible differences between Hippocratic writers and practicing physicians – questions which would be very difficult to answer indeed – it changes little about the fact that patients in practice were an integral and even sometimes active part of the clinical encounter.

Similarly interesting in the context of the relation between Hippocratic physician and his patients is the awareness some of the authors show of the emotional stakes of those under treatment. I have already mentioned the alleged reluctance of women to talk about their diseases out of shame for their condition. One might also think of the opening chapter of the short treatise *Excision of the Foetus*, which mentions as the first step in preparing this type of operation putting a fine cloth over a woman, girding it above her breast, adding that ‘it is necessary to cover her head with the cloth, so that she will not be frightened while seeing what you are doing.’²³ The author of *Joints* 37, quoted above, makes a point of the fear of ugliness

²⁰ *Diseases of Women* 1.67. Ἦν δὲ γυνὴ ἐκ τρωσμοῦ τρῶμα λάβη μέγα, ἢ προσθέτοισι δριμύσιν ἐλκωθῇ τὰς μήτρας, οἷα πολλὰ γυναικες ἀεὶ δρῶσί τε καὶ ἡτρεύουσι. More on the word δριμύς below.

²¹ King 1995a:143. It should be mentioned here, however, that in *Diseases of Women* 1.67, the author does admit could save herself if she healed herself quickly after using the pessary: αὕτη ἦν μὲν ἡτρεύηται ἐν τάχει, ὑγιὴς ἔσται, ἄφορος δέ, ‘if she cures herself quickly, she will be healthy, but sterile.’ Holmes 2013:462 suggests that self-help became more popular in the late fifth century BCE, but as the gynaecological treatises are only about female patients, the negative evaluation of their self-help practices may also be a gender issue.

²² Holmes 2013.

²³ *Excision of the Foetus* 1.1. Potter 2010:368. πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γυναικα σινδόνα ἐπιβαλὼν, κατὰζωσον ἀνώτερον τοῦ μαζοῦ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατακαλύψαι χρὴ τῇ σινδόνι, ὅπως μὴ ὀρώσα φοβῇται ὅ τι ἂν ποιήης.

of a fractured nose in his patients.²⁴ Another poignant example is *Haemorrhoids* 4, in which it is first described in which case one should remove an anal lump manually, after which the author recommends: ‘distract [the patient] by talking while you are doing these things.’²⁵ The deontological treatises, such as *Physician*, emphasize the importance of the self-presentation of the physician in the clinical encounter. The way the physician should look and behave should correspond to what his patients expect. However, this is not so much care for the patient, as it is a protection of the doctor’s own reputation and air of competence.²⁶ Additionally, George Kazantzidis has recently discussed in detail how Hippocratic authors would have most likely tasted bodily fluids of their patients, suggesting that in so doing these physicians crossed the limits of what was normally considered disgusting in ancient Greek culture out of empathy for their patients.²⁷ If true, this would be the ultimate expression of care for their patients.

It is interesting to note in this context that the Hippocratic physicians extended this care for their patients’ comfort during treatment to the application of drugs, which I will turn to in part 2. When comparing the beneficial effects of black hellebore and hellebore, the following is remarked by the author of *Regimen in Acute Diseases*:²⁸

ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ρυφήμασι διδόμενα ὑπήλατα ἀρῆγει, ὅσα μὴ ἄγαν ἐστὶν ἀηδέα ἢ διὰ πικρότητα ἢ δι’ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀηδίην, ἢ διὰ πλῆθος ἢ διὰ χροὴν ἢ ὑποψίην τινά.

But purgatives too, given in the gruels, help, as long as they are not too unpleasant, either through bitterness or through some other sort of unpleasantness, or through quantity, colour, or suspicion.

The author here is clearly concerned with the patient’s suspicion, which may be aroused by the unpleasant taste of the medicine. Although this could also be read in the context of the competitiveness of the Hippocratics in the medical marketplace, which I will discuss in more detail below.

²⁴ *Joints* 37. Withington 1928:270.

²⁵ *Haemorrhoids* 4. Potter 1995:384. καὶ ταῦτα διαλεγόμενος ἅμα λάνθανε ποιέων.

²⁶ Holmes 2013:455-456.

²⁷ Kazantzidis 2016.

²⁸ *Regimen in Acute Diseases* 23. Jones 1923b:82.

The patients of the Hippocratic physicians were not a homogeneous group. The author of the treatise *Barrenness* makes the case for female patients in a certain operation aimed at making women fertile again, advising his colleagues to '[t]ry to be in accordance with nature, looking at the state and strength of the woman: for there is no fixed standard of these things...'²⁹ The different effects of diseases and differing treatments to be used according to climate, but also among patients with different bodily constitutions – fat, slim, full of bile, to name a few – and in some cases also according to sex, are regularly remarked upon in the Hippocratic treatises.³⁰ The matter of social class is a complicated one. As Nancy Demand has demonstrated, Hippocratic doctors treated slaves as well as free men and women.³¹ The entertainer consulting a doctor in *Nature of the Child 2* mentioned earlier, for example, is a slave girl.³² Slaves, however, would not have paid for their treatments themselves, and one might wonder whether the free poor would have been able to afford the Hippocratic treatments. Pharmacological recipes in particular, as we will see, often call for costly ingredients which were most likely beyond the reach of most. Some discrimination on the base of wealth thus seems likely.

Of course, the patient and the doctor are only a part of the clinical encounter, as is well-observed by Flurin Condrau: “[I]f one wants to write medical history from below, the doctor-

²⁹ *Barrenness* 18.10. Potter 2012:372. Πειρῶ | δὲ φυσικὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τῆς ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἕξιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν βλέπων· τούτων γὰρ οὐδεὶς σταθμὸς ἐστίν. Earlier in the treatise, the physician took care to ensure the comfort of his patient in doubtlessly rather uncomfortable uterine vapour baths, making sure the patient does not burn herself or has to stay on the vapour bath apparatus longer than she can endure.

³⁰ Lloyd 1983:63-66 for references.

³¹ Demand 1998:passim, especially 77-78 on *Epidemics* 6.7, in which the author observes that the ‘Cough of Perinthus’ seems to have affected slave women much more than free women, but for which he does not suggest different treatments for these two groups. There does seem to have been an awareness of certain occupational hazards that especially slaves were exposed to, which dampens the enthusiasm one might have about the ‘equal’ approach of the Hippocratics to slaves and free people. On a slightly different but related note, I would suggest, as Demand seems to imply, that the concern of some Hippocratic treatises such as *Airs, Waters, Places* with environmental factors determining the bodily constitution of people may have perhaps largely taken root because of the fact that the Hippocratic doctors treated slaves, who were often foreigners.

³² See n. 11 above. In addition, *Epidemics* 3, for example, mentions patients lying sick ‘by the new wall’ or ‘in the garden of Delearces.’ These are perhaps references to people of low class, but this is pure speculation; they might as well have simply collapsed there while on their way. For a thorough prosopographical discussion of the patients in the *Epidemics*, see Deichgräber 1982, although I find he far too readily identifies patients’ names in the medical treatises with, among others, those included in inscriptions found at Thasos.

patient polarity is detrimental to the cause, obscuring rather than enhancing the analysis.”³³ This is problematic, “...as, throughout history, patients have in fact rarely encountered doctors and were looked after by their families, nurses, or perhaps even left to their own devices.”³⁴ Condrau is here concerned mainly with the history of medicine of the past few centuries, but, as we will see below, his point can be equally made for ancient Greece. There were indeed other experts available for consultation besides doctors, creating a competitive medical market, and this complicates the already neigh impossible estimation of how often a sick Greek would have encountered a Hippocratic physician. My aim here is not to write an all-encompassing “medical history from below”; I will limit myself to the patients that did consult the Hippocratics, however small in number they might have been.³⁵

1.1.2. *Finding the patients' voices: matters of perspective*

The relative wealth of information on patients and their experiences during the treatments prescribed by the Hippocratics, and the observations made by these physicians may invite a reading of the Hippocratic treatises from the patients' point of view. Yet, this is fraught with difficulty. Helen King has argued against taking the patients' experiences described by the Hippocratics too literally. Considering the possibility of reading the Hippocratic treatises 'against the grain' – trying to flesh out the experiences of silenced groups, in her case female

³³ Condrau 2007:533.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ In a 1999 article, Demand discussed the question of whether or not an ancient Greek would have believed in the efficacy of Hippocratic medicine. She concludes with a resounding 'yes.' Demand quotes parts of the famous Ode to Man in Sophocles' *Antigone*, and of Plato's *Laws* to strengthen her claim. After an insightful discussion of the problems inherent in applying modern notions of efficacy to ancient texts, she points to the shared general Greek worldview underlying Hippocratic treatises, but admits that the nascent empirical Hippocratic worldview could clash with what she called the more traditional one, based on divine intervention, that many of the patients still would have held. Demand interprets the silence of women and their reluctance to comply with the Hippocratic doctors as a rejection of their empirical worldview. She tries to resolve this contradiction by pointing to the increasing popularity of empirical philosophical discourse, to the point that it was well-known enough to be ridiculed in comedy, although she readily admits that some Hippocratic treatises would have corresponded with more traditional views. I find Demand's suggestion enlightening, but not wholly convincing. As I will discuss below, the contradiction of worldviews between doctors and patients can quite simply be resolved by accepting that they do not contradict each other in practice – even if a doctor explained a treatment in terms of a new medical theory, a patient may still have interpreted it based on the traditional elements in the treatment.

patients – King draws attention to the seductiveness especially of case studies such as found in the *Epidemics*, which often seem to be transparent reports, and asks the rhetorical question: “[a]re they not texts in which nothing should be taken at face value? Where women speak in these texts, they are as much the creation of male authors as is Clytemnestra...”³⁶ Finding women patients’ voices is of course particularly problematic in the context of the male-governed medical encounter. Still, I would like to add that King’s remarks are also applicable to the male patient. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that the Hippocratic authors seem to have had no qualms about reading their theories into their case studies, rather than constructing their theories through practice, which adds another caveat to the trustworthiness of the doctor’s accounts.³⁷ This indicates that we might have to look at other texts than case studies to get to patient experiences.

In an earlier search for the women patients’ voices in the Hippocratic corpus, Aline Rousselle proposed to read the catalogues of recipes included mainly in the gynaecological treatises as specifically women’s knowledge which was appropriated by the Hippocratics.³⁸ This suggestion gained much ground in the study of Hippocratic gynaecology, although many of its adherents have since then modified their views.³⁹ The most poignant criticism against the view of the recipes as the orally transmitted knowledge of the “cuisinière à son fourneau”, as Rousselle put it, was voiced once again by King.⁴⁰ There is no explicit reference in the corpus that these recipes are women’s knowledge, apart from a few hints which together admittedly do not amount to much, and some of the rare and exotic ingredients would not have been available to many women.⁴¹ Then there is the problem of anachronisms seeping into our reconstructions of the past: “I would suggest that part of the problem we need to face in assessing the recipes is our belief that this is the sort of thing mothers should

³⁶ King 1995a:140. This is not to deny the possibility of discovering women’s voices in the Hippocratic treatises – far from it – but it does advise caution. See also Condrau 2007:529 and King 2013:40-41, 44.

³⁷ Laskaris 2002:7-13. Rather than anachronistically taking Hippocratic medicine as scientific by the standard of testing and refuting hypotheses, Laskaris suggests to adopt an alternative definition of science formulated by the philosopher Karl Popper, in which “empirical evidence *results* from the theoretical process and is shaped by it...” (9). She goes on to qualify this definition to better suit the Hippocratic physicians.

³⁸ Rousselle 1980:1096-1100. For an overview of the treatises of the Corpus which include recipes – mainly, but not exclusively, gynaecological treatises – see Totelin 2009:9-16.

³⁹ See King 1995a:137-138 and Totelin 2009:112, especially n7, for references.

⁴⁰ Rousselle 1980:1096.

⁴¹ King 1995a:138-139.

pass to daughters, reflecting the nostalgia of women in today's world for a – real? imaginary? – time when such information was indeed handed down as women's knowledge."⁴²

Rather than attempting to read women's voices in the male-constructed Hippocratic treatises, or, for that matter, fall back to what she has termed the "weren't women treated abysmally?" approach, King suggests to look at what leeway women had within the Hippocratic system of the female body.⁴³ Women patients, King theorizes, could use the physicians' theories to their advantage, for example in order to stop an unpleasant treatment: "[d]enyng that your womb has moved to your liver gets you nowhere, but agreeing that it has moved, and adding that it is now safely back in place, stops the treatment."⁴⁴ The weakness of King's point, in my opinion, is the simultaneous trust and mistrust Hippocratic physicians held for the self-knowledge of inexperienced women, as King herself accepts; there are clearly instances in which the doctor does not believe his patient. Another point to consider is that King's approach relies largely on theoretical reconstructions of what women could have said to a doctor, rather than on firm references in the text. That being said, I do consider King's suggestion an important one, in that it focusses on the reconstruction of patients' experiences, the unheard voices in the study of ancient medicine, while taking into account both female agency and the constraints of the Hippocratic texts.⁴⁵ I also agree with King that it is most misleading to consider the Hippocratic recipes as solely women's voices or women's knowledge, as Rousselle had.⁴⁶

⁴² Ibidem. Admittedly, it is indeed hard to separate medicine from cooking, as many of the recipes in the gynaecological treatises call for cutting, grinding, boiling, and other such acts. See also Totelin 2014, who suggests that even within the Hippocratic treatises food and drugs are inseparable, even though ancient medical texts seemingly value dietetics over pharmacology. King 1995b discusses the central role of food in the corpus, especially in the gynaecological treatises. Interestingly, another medical author from the classical period, Diocles of Carystus, seems to have written a treatise on cookery, ὀψαρτυτικά; see Van der Eijk 2016:29 and his extensive bibliography.

⁴³ King 1995a:136.

⁴⁴ Eadem:144. King 2013:45-47 furthermore tentatively suggests that the female patients themselves might have had a slightly different view of their bodies than did the Hippocratic physicians, based rather on a 'collecting' or 'gathering' of fluids at the heart. On this, see pp. 109-110 below.

⁴⁵ The patient's agency is crucial in King's account. My approach will aim mainly at teasing out what a patient may have thought during the medical encounter, not so much at her/his active role in it.

⁴⁶ This is not to say that female knowledge of pharmacology should be rejected altogether; see Totelin 2009:116-119, and below for some considerations about the possible pharmacological knowledge of Greek women. King's solution to me also seems a good middle-ground to counter the problem in studying patient's experiences later observed by Condrau 2007: "[e]ither the patient is an independent

There is thus much material in the Hippocratic treatises on the interaction between the Hippocratic doctors and their patients, sometimes implied to be a relationship, and at other times presented as more of a dictatorship. In practice, uncovering the patient's point of view – especially that of the female patients – is fraught with difficulties, due to the nature of the Hippocratic treatises. Attempts have been made to get to the female patient's perspective, Rousselle's proposition of taking the recipe catalogues as female knowledge being one often followed, although it has received criticism as well. I would in this thesis shift the attention once again to the recipe catalogues, but for reasons very different from Rousselle's.

partner in the medical encounter akin to the formula that it takes two to tango or the patient is a result of the medical gaze, with no opportunity to tango" (528).

1.2. Hippocratic recipes and the patient's perspective

In this chapter I wish to discuss why I consider the Hippocratic recipes so important for the reconstruction of patients' experiences. As Niall McKeown has suggested, pharmacology "was the type of medicine that the Hippocratic patient was most likely to encounter, not least because the practitioners themselves recognised the dangers of the more drastic form of intervention..."⁴⁷ From this point of view, pharmacology thus emerges as a fruitful way to get to the patients' side of the story. I do not claim to provide any more certainty than King could in her reconstruction of women patients using the Hippocratic system for their own gain, but I do think our approaches can supplement each other in the common pursuit of giving the ancient patients – at least partly – their voice back.

I here adopt Laurence Totelin's definition of 'recipe' as "a written formula for mixing ingredients for culinary, medical or magical purposes; it lists the items required for making preparations."⁴⁸ This definition is particularly useful in the context of Hippocratic medicine, as it allows for inclusion of the instructions for making pessaries, ointments, plasters, clysters, and vapour baths so often prescribed by the Hippocratics, in addition to those for potions, which we would nowadays more readily categorise as 'recipes'.⁴⁹

1.2.1. Hippocratic pharmacology in context: professionalization of common knowledge

As Totelin has emphasized in her excellent *Hippocratic Recipes: Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Greece*, with Anne Hanson among others, the Hippocratic catalogues of recipes were part of both an oral and a written tradition. Although the recipes were at first approached by scholars such as Herman Grensemann as textual phenomena, others – Hanson foremost – have drawn attention to the oral component of the recipes, acknowledging that philological tools such as stemmatics could not suitably

⁴⁷ McKeown 2002:58.

⁴⁸ Totelin 2009:2. This is itself an adapted version of the definition provided in Goody 1977:137, "The recipe or receipt, then, is a written formula for mixing ingredients for culinary, medical, or magical purposes; it lists the items required for making preparations destined for human consumption."

⁴⁹ Totelin and Lisa Smith, the editors of the blog "The Recipes Project", have organised a virtual conversation on the theme of 'What is a Recipe?'. These web lectures and social media takeovers took place from June 2nd to July 5th 2017.

account for the variation in similar groups of recipes, not even mentioning the problem of unclear chronology. To quote Hanson, “[a] more flexible compositional model for the catalogs’ present form allows them to have drawn upon traditional repositories of medical information, including oral ones, and to fossilize only gradually into the shape and Greek text they now exhibit.”⁵⁰ The recipe lists likely represent small collections of recipes circulated throughout the Greek world – comparable to the later medical papyri and ostraca which include recipes found in Egypt –, which were eventually compiled at the end of the fifth century BCE in treatises such as *Nature of Women* and *Diseases of Women* 1 & 2.⁵¹ This written knowledge of the physicians was likely supplied by an oral tradition as well.⁵² The point is made succinctly by the author of *Ancient Medicine*: ‘As many as have attempted to *speak* or *write* about medicine...’⁵³

As Totelin emphasizes, there were many more experts on pharmacology available for consultation besides the Hippocratic doctors. In addition to the magical and religious healers, we may think here of midwives, the so-called ‘root cutters’, and even laypeople.⁵⁴ These

⁵⁰ Hanson 1997:310.

⁵¹ Several other recipe books are referred to in some of the treatises of the Corpus, see for instance Totelin 2016:292-293. For an in-depth analysis of several medical papyri, some containing recipes, see Andorlini 1981 (especially 37-41 on PRyl. III 531, which probably has some connections to *Diseases of Women*), 2001 and 2009, and Marganne 1994.

⁵² Totelin 2009:ch1, 2 and 3 passim. Totelin’s 2009 book is the only recent book-length study of Hippocratic pharmacology, and as such I will depend heavily on her work and references throughout this thesis. As Totelin suggests, the recipes were most likely derived from some oral source(s), but their catalogue format was a literary feature which only crystallized when the treatises were written down; see eadem:39-46.

⁵³ *Ancient Medicine* 1, Jones 1923a:12. Ὅποσοι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν περὶ ἱητρικῆς λέγειν ἢ γράφειν... My emphasis.

⁵⁴ See Totelin 2009:114-124 for a discussion of the other possible sources for pharmacological knowledge in the Corpus, including insightful comments on Lloyd’s observation that Hippocratic medicine differs from religious medicine in its lack of gestures, chants and prayers: “One may point out that chants or prayers never accompany the recipes of the Hippocratic Corpus, but gestures that evoke religious practice appear frequently. Fasting, bathing and abstinence from sexual activity—all acts that were loaded with religious symbolism in the ancient world—often accompany the administration of the medicaments recommended in the gynaecological treatises” (122). I would add here that – even though not directly related to Hippocratic medicine – in Plato’s *Charmides* 155E, a cure for a headache is contrived to be a certain kind of leaf, accompanied by a *charm* (ἐπωδὴ), see Lamb 1955:16 for the text. It is also worth noting here that Diocles is reported to have rationalised the use of charms by pointing to the effects of the voice on the vital πνεῦμα of the patient; see Van der Eijk 2016:35-36. Theophrastus reports that some of the root-cutters and drug-sellers prayed while cutting certain herbs; see Hardy and Totelin 2015:45 for a discussion. Lloyd 1990:30-31 provides a comprehensive list of the rivals of the Hippocratics in the medical marketplace. Laskaris 1999 adduces Archaic healing cults as a source of pharmacological knowledge for many exotic ingredients, noting that there is an overlap between the

laypeople include both men and women, and I thus agree with King and Totelin that reading these recipes as part of a specifically female or male tradition obscures much of the ancient evidence.⁵⁵ Totelin mentions two interesting sources for the inclusion of laypeople in the pharmacological tradition; the first is Aristophanes *Women at the Thesmophoria*, in which a husband prepares a cure for the στρόφος (...) κώδύνη, ‘colic and pain’, that supposedly ἔχει τὴν γαστέρ’, ‘are seizing the stomach’, of his wife, by grinding up juniper, anise, and sage-apple (κεδρίδας, ἄννηθον, σφάκον).⁵⁶ Interestingly, Totelin has recently re-examined this and several other recipes in Aristophanes’ poetry, and suggested that they parodied in their choice of sometimes ineffective ingredients the sort of medications prescribed by (Hippocratic) doctors. If she is right, this would not only imply that many members of the audience of Aristophanes’ comedies would be able to recognise – and would thus most likely have had first-hand experience with – physician’s recipes, but they also would have been aware of the properties of the ingredients used.⁵⁷ The second one is from the Hippocratic treatise *Affections*, and is worth quoting in full:⁵⁸

ingredients used in ritual procedures there and in Hippocratic recipes. See also my remarks on pp. 25-26 below on the supposed ‘rationality’ of the Hippocratic treatises.

⁵⁵ King 2013:44 repeats the point from the patient’s point of view: “If the patient did not believe in the theory, she would have no encouragement to follow the regimen offered as a cure. Rather than seeing theories of the nature of woman and remedies to treat their diseases as either women’s or men’s knowledge, a third option is thus probably nearer the truth; namely, that the image of women presented in these texts was one that both men and women would recognize and accept, while both sexes had knowledge of, and access to, the plant substances used to treat sexual diseases.” See also p. 109 below. The fact that the recipes appear mainly, but not exclusively, in gynaecological treatises – although some of them do not include any recipes – is not necessarily an indication that pharmacological knowledge was a female affair. Totelin has suggested the difference between the gynaecological and ‘non’ gynaecological treatises in their use of recipes can be explained by different literary conventions about keeping pharmacological knowledge a secret, or because of a difference in status between recipes for medications to be used externally or internally. It should also be kept in mind that many of the recipe books from antiquity may simply have been lost to the ages; see Totelin 2009:132-138. It is apt to here quote Von Staden 1992a: “The misconception that Hippocratic pharmacology is a phenomenon only or primarily of the gynaecological works simply does not stand up to scrutiny” (13). Furthermore, Totelin has even recently gone as far to suggest – based on a comparative study of Aristophanic and Hippocratic recipes – that the fact that most recipes are to be found in the gynaecological treatises was simply a quirk of the tradition; see Totelin 2016.

⁵⁶ *Women at the Thesmophoria* 483-486, see Henderson 2000:514. For a thorough examination of this and two other Aristophanic recipes for eye salves, see Totelin 2016.

⁵⁷ Totelin 2016.

⁵⁸ *Affections* 45, Potter 1988a:62. My emphasis.

Τὰ φάρμακα, ὅσα ποτὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὰ τραύματα προσφέρεται, μανθάνειν ἄξιον παρὰ παντός· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ γνώμης ταῦτα εὐρίσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἀπὸ τύχης, οὐδέ τι οἱ χειροτέχναι μάλλον ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται. ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ τῇ ἰητρικῇ γνώμῃ εὐρίσκεται, ἢ περ σίτων ἢ φαρμάκων, παρὰ τῶν οἴων τε διαγινώσκειν τὰ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ μανθάνειν χρή, ἢ τι θέλης μανθάνειν.

It is worth to learn about drugs, as many as are drunk and applied to the wounds, from all: for not by intent do people discover these, but rather by chance, *and in nothing more so the experts than the laypeople*. But what is discovered by intent in the art of medicine, whether of foods or drugs, it is necessary to learn from those who are able to discern the things in the art, if you want to learn anything.

Although the author here clearly reserves a privileged position in pharmacological knowledge for the Hippocratic physicians, he does admit that laypeople may also acquire knowledge about drugs. Furthermore, Totelin is right to point out that many of the more exotic ingredients in the Hippocratic recipe catalogues were most likely not readily available to people of average means, which would clearly set Hippocratic pharmacology apart from ‘lay’ pharmacology. This has led Totelin to suggest that many of the Hippocratic recipes may be enhanced versions of ‘home’ medications made from readily available ingredients, used to impress patients in order to compete with other healers, for which recipes she coined the term *Haute Médecine*: “Like chefs, Hippocratic physicians created their répertoires of recipes by picking up from a variety of traditional sources, but above all by creating new recipes based on ‘exotic’, luxury and flamboyant ingredients.”⁵⁹ However, this does still mean that the basis from which Hippocratic authors developed their more luxurious recipes was pharmacological knowledge available to many.

All of this is relevant in the context of using Hippocratic pharmacological catalogues: even though we are confronted with texts written from the physician’s perspective, containing recipes that were adapted by the Hippocratic doctors, much of this pharmacological knowledge is likely to have been familiar to their patients, as they had their own knowledge of pharmacology. This, I suggest, would make the patients more readily accept the application

⁵⁹ Totelin 2009:127. Eadem:125-131 on ‘high’ vs ‘low’ medicine and its relation to the competitive position of Hippocratic physicians.

of these recipes to their bodies, thus at least partly solving the problem of whether these recipes were actually used in treatments, rather than simply being show pieces intended to flaunt medical knowledge.⁶⁰ This becomes even more likely when we take into account that a level of self-help was sometimes expected from the patient, both inside and outside of the clinical encounter, although some Hippocratic authors, especially those of the gynaecological treatises, considered too far-going self-help practices controversial. In the words of Lesley Dean-Jones, who makes the case for female patients: “although the scientific theories may have displaced the traditional therapies, the treatment offered to women on the basis of the new theories must have been acceptable to them and have squared with their view of their own physiology.”⁶¹

1.2.2. *Reading ingredients as ‘matrices of meanings’*

Another, and related, reason I consider Hippocratic recipes a valuable source for uncovering the patient’s point of view in the medical encounter is because of the cultural significance that many of the ingredients in the recipe catalogues carry with them. As Heinrich von Staden has observed, “...the uses of ‘natural’ matter in social, religious, and scientific practice frequently illustrate how a given kind of matter is valorised by an individual, by a subculture, or by a society”; natural matter is thus a “matrix of meanings.”⁶² Totelin similarly emphasizes the cultural values of ingredients used in Hippocratic recipes, but shifts the focus to the patients’ perspective: “[W]hen using these ingredients, the Hippocratic compilers could not free themselves from the cultural connotations attached to them. These compilers may have explained the efficacy of their remedies in mechanical terms following the principle that ‘opposites are cures for opposites’; but their clients may have interpreted these treatments in a slightly different way. Recipes were and are read at many different levels.”⁶³ Even though

⁶⁰ The sheer quantity of recipes in some of the treatises may also have been for exactly this purpose; see Totelin 2009:96.

⁶¹ Dean-Jones 1994:27. See also King 1998:22, and King 2013:43-44. Although it should here be stressed that it would be naïve not to at least consider the importance of the doctor’s view, and – as King asserts – that of the woman’s male *kyrios*, in determining her treatment.

⁶² Von Staden 1992a:7. The same point has been made by King 1995a:137: “The substances used in the pharmacopaeia (sic) should not only be investigated in terms of their ‘efficacy’; *all natural matter carries rich cultural values*, and these are not necessarily best determined by laboratory tests.” My emphasis.

⁶³ Totelin 2009:300.

the doctors may have tried to fit the recipes within their own medical theories, the patients, crucially, would have read the recipes through the cultural value attached to the ingredients prescribed: medical knowledge was deeply situated in Greek culture.⁶⁴

This perspective fits in well with the relation between objects and cultural memory, examined by cultural historian Marius Kwant in his introduction to the 1999 volume *Material Memories*.⁶⁵ According to Kwant, objects are connected to memory in several ways in Western traditions. The most important memory function in this context is, in Kwant's words, that "objects form records: analogues to living memory, storing information beyond individual experience."⁶⁶ Objects can thus evoke certain recollections, and that beyond the level of the individual. If we recognise that the *materiae medicae* used to treat these patients served as markers of certain cultural information that could be recognised by many of the patients, this might allow us to construct – or at least approximate – what patients may have felt while experiencing treatment by the hand of the Hippocratic physician.

The cultural significance of ingredients used in the recipe catalogues thus becomes a salient topic of research in reading the Hippocratic texts within the wider framework of Greek culture, and this was already taken up by several scholars in the past. Von Staden, for example, has studied the use of excrement in treatments of the womb in Hippocratic gynaecology, and suggested to consider this a homeopathic practice: as women were considered dirty in Greek culture, 'dirt' could be used to purify them and cure their ailments.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ This is also true for the theories of the Hippocratic authors themselves; see for example Dean-Jones 1992 on how Hippocratic gynaecology suits traditional Greek ideas about the female sex. For the term 'situated knowledges', see Haraway 1988.

⁶⁵ Cultural memory, an incredibly popular term in the Humanities and Social Sciences, remains a broad – perhaps even somewhat vague – umbrella term, defined by Astrid Erll in her introduction to the 2008 *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* as "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts" (2). I will use the term – sparingly – in this thesis to refer to the cultural connections stored in medicinal ingredients and sensory denominators, that can later be recognised by especially the patients treated with them.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Von Staden 1992a:passim. For an earlier version of his argument in French, see Von Staden 1991. Hanson 1998:89 suggests to interpret the excrement as fertilizer for the womb, drawing on the Greek cultural metaphor of women as arable land, rather than as a means of 'magical' purification, but see Totelin 2009:212-214 for the sensible consideration that these two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. McKeown 2002:61 suggests astutely that faeces may have been primarily connected to the method of fumigation, rather than to female patients, but here again the two do not seem to exclude each other. I would add that certainly from the patient's point of view, a ritual or magic interpretation

He also pointed to the ritual usage of several other substances used in Hippocratic recipes, for instance squill and laurel, to mention two botanical examples.⁶⁸

It is important at this point to make short shrift of the often supposed ‘rationality’ of the Hippocratic treatises, as opposed to magic and ritual. The most famous proponent of this rationalist view was James Longrigg in his 1993 *Greek Rational Medicine: Philosophy and medicine from Alcmaeon to the Alexandrians*. In Longrigg’s words, ancient Greek medicine constituted an “emancipation from superstition”, as the ancient Greeks “...first evolved rational systems of medicine for the most part free from magical and religious elements and based upon natural causes.”⁶⁹ As King has pointed out, rationality is an unwieldy term as it either denotes a study of cause and effect in the treatment of a patient, in which case all medicine is rational, or it presupposes modern standards of scientific research in ancient texts, which effectively means that it precludes the supernatural.⁷⁰ Her point is clear: we would do well to remember the Greeks’ categories are not ours. Ludwig Edelstein had already in 1937 made the point: “Greek medicine in its aetiology as well as in its treatments of diseases is rational and empirical. (...) But this is Greek rationalism and empiricism: it is influenced by religious ideas.”⁷¹ Yet, the rational view seems to have some basis in the Corpus: we may think of the rejection of ‘magicians, purifiers, charlatans and braggarts’ by the author of *The Sacred Disease* and of temple priests in *Diseases of Girls*.⁷² Laskaris has pointed out, however, that the negative stance the author of *The Sacred Disease* takes vis-à-vis magic rites is most likely due to competition for clientele in the medical marketplace rather than any serious wholesale rejection.⁷³ Furthermore, temple medicine seems to have been endorsed by the Hippocratics, the cult of

seems hard to ignore. See also my comments below on ritual and rationality in the Corpus. For an insightful discussion of women as dirty in ancient Greek culture, see Carson 1990.

⁶⁸ Von Staden 1992a:18-20.

⁶⁹ Longrigg 1993:1.

⁷⁰ King 1998:6. The term rationality to me also seems inept from the patient’s perspective; it is not at all irrational to turn to magic and religion for healing in a society in which those are highly valued – even modern hospital complexes often include spaces for prayer. Hippocratic doctors were most likely not a more reliable alternative than magic purifiers were, judging from, for example, the high death rate in the *Epidemics*.

⁷¹ Edelstein 1937:246. It must be mentioned that Edelstein did think that magic was wholly rejected by the Hippocratics, which was not necessarily the case.

⁷² Jones 1923b:140. μάγοι τε καὶ καθάρται καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες.

⁷³ Laskaris 2002:ch3 and Lloyd 2003:43-50 for analyses of the speech. See also Lloyd 1990:ch1 and 2 for the broader tendency of Greek science to rhetorically separate itself from other areas of culture.

the healing god Asclepius being the most prominent example, and vice versa.⁷⁴ Poignantly, the presence of magic in the corpus is evinced by, for example, the inclusion of an amulet fashioned of red wool among a list of ὠκυτόκια, 'therapies to speed up delivery' at *Diseases of Women* 1.77.⁷⁵ Even if this amulet was included in the recipe catalogue on purely mechanical principals, the patient would have likely still recognised it for what it was. The Hippocratic authors may thus sometimes speak out against magico-religious thought, but the treatises in the corpus are a far cry from Longrigg's 'rational' view.⁷⁶

As for other examples of ingredients that carry specific cultural values, Totelin has studied the sexual reverberations present in many plants and fruits, such as roses and pomegranates, used in Hippocratic fertility treatments, taking into account their contextualization in Greek comedy.⁷⁷ Recently, Ashley Clements examined the importance of the scent of incense in the delineation of sacred spaces and the presence of the divine: "odour emerges as an experience of divinity, and divinity, in turn, as an experience of odour."⁷⁸ Crucially, it is the *smell* of the incense which both communicates and is itself the vessel for the cultural memory the frankincense plant carries within archaic and classical Greek culture.⁷⁹ The senses are pivotal in the interaction between culturally salient matter and the observer.

⁷⁴ King 1998:103 and Wickkiser 2008:53-55 on the symbiosis of Hippocratic medicine and (Asclepiad) temple medicine.

⁷⁵ Hanson 1998:82-83. For an insightful discussion of the parallel development of medicine and magic in the ancient treatment of spasmodic conditions, especially pertaining to uterine amulets, see Faraone 2011.

⁷⁶ I do want to point out that Longrigg's book is a rewarding read, especially for the influences of 'presocratic' thought on the Hippocratic authors. See Laskaris 2002:6-14 for another argument against a 'rational' view of ancient medicine. Horstmanshoff and Stol (eds.) 2004 includes contributions arguing against the scholarly devaluation of Near-Eastern medicine as magical and so 'irrational' as opposed to the 'rationality' of Greek medicine.

⁷⁷ Totelin 2009:ch5.

⁷⁸ Clements 2015:59.

⁷⁹ In the case of the Hippocratic recipes, we may wonder whether the use of ingredients did not change over time, especially as the pharmacological catalogues may have been added to at several stages of the transmission. This problem is hard to solve; the only thing to do is look closely at the usage of different ingredients and to establish patterns, which will hopefully allow us to see when the use of a certain ingredient differs from other contexts.

1.3. Reading the ancient senses

This brings us to a consideration of paramount importance: cultural associations stored in objects are *communicated through the senses*. This is what Greek cultural anthropologist C. Nadia Seremetakis terms “[m]nemonic sensory experience”, which “implies that the artefact bears within it layered commensal meanings (shared substance and material reciprocities), and histories. It can also be an instrument for mobilizing the perceptual penetration of historical matter... The sensory connection between perceiver and artefact completes the latter in an unexpected and nonprescribed fashion because the perceiver is also the recipient of the unintended historical after-effects of the artifact’s presence *or* absence.”⁸⁰ Sensory perception is thus an exchange: it prompts recognition and (involuntary) memory in the perceiver, but the perceiver herself also adds to this layering of cultural meaning in the objects, in this case the ingredients used in Hippocratic therapy. It is through the senses that the cultural connections stored in matter can be recalled; as David Sutton remarks, drawing from the work of Dan Sperber, in the context of smelling, “...smells evoke what surrounds them in memory, what has been metonymically associated with the smell in question.”⁸¹

Classical studies have recently experienced a surge of interest in this sensory exchange, as part of a “sensual turn” in both the Humanities and Social Sciences.⁸² The study of the Hippocratic Corpus has been similarly influenced by this trend. The Hippocratics – due to the lack of anatomical knowledge mentioned above – had to rely on what went in and came out of the bodies of their patients for a proper diagnosis; in order to properly analyse these bodily fluids, they had to look closely, listen intently, touch carefully, smell acutely, and even taste – perhaps sometimes somewhat reluctantly.⁸³ *Epidemics* 6.8.27 could be read as a poignant illustration of this fact:

⁸⁰ Seremetakis 1994a:10-11.

⁸¹ Sutton 2001:89. As Sutton observes, smell may have especially strong evocative powers, but the point can also be made for the other senses.

⁸² On the sensual turn, see Howes 2006:161-162. For Classics, this trend is perhaps best illustrated by the new Routledge series of six volumes, two of which are still to be published, on ancient sensory experiences.

⁸³ For a general overview of the senses in ancient medicine, see King and Toner 2014. Villard 2002 presents an overview of the uses of colour for diagnosis in Hippocratic medicine; Gourevitch 1999 and Totelin 2015 focus on how smell could be used both in diagnosis and as a cure, especially in Hippocratic gynaecology. Totelin 2017 discusses the importance of taste in ancient botany and medicine (although she excludes the Hippocratics). See also Kazantzidis 2016.

Τὸ σῶμα ἔργον ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἄγειν, ὄψις, ἀκοή, ῥίς, ἀφή, γλῶσσα, λογισμὸς καταμανθάνει.⁸⁴

It is the task to bring the body to observation, sight, hearing, the nose, touch, speech, reasoning do the perceiving.⁸⁵

As this author propagates, it is the doctor's task to use all his senses in diagnosing diseases. The same case could be made when looking at a specific disease. In *Diseases 2*, for example, sight, taste, and smell are all applied by the physician to recognize the symptoms displayed by the patient as the 'black disease.'⁸⁶ Yet considering the types of treatments proposed by the Hippocratic physicians – sweet-smelling vapour baths to lure downwards a uterus that had positioned itself too high up in the body, for example – Hippocratic medicine must have similarly dazzled the senses of its patients, and the recipe catalogues of the corpus are indeed full of sensory modifiers of ingredients used.

In this thesis, in keeping with my emphasis on the patient's point of view, I wish to shift the study of sensory experiences in the Hippocratic corpus from those of the physicians to those of the patients. This is possible by allowing that both the Hippocratic physicians and their patients perceived the world in similar cultural frame. Building on the suitability of Hippocratic recipe catalogues for this pursuit as explained above, the cultural codes connected to the recipe ingredients, and the denseness and variety of sensory terms in the recipe catalogues, the twofold question I wish to answer – and have in part started to answer – is as follows:

How are specific sensory words that are used in Hippocratic pharmacology conceptualized in different contexts in Greek literature, and what do these redefined sensory concepts – in

⁸⁴ *Epidemics* 6.8.17. Smith 1994:286.

⁸⁵ See Holmes 2013:444-445 for the argument that this passage casts the physician's senses as disembodied. Again, this rhetorical trick changes little about clinical practice; see p. 12 above.

⁸⁶ *Diseases* 2.73. Potter 1988a:288. Μέλαινα· μέλαν ἐμέει οἶον τρύγα, τοτὲ δὲ αἵματῶδες, τοτὲ δὲ οἶον οἶνον τὸν δεύτερον, τοτὲ δὲ οἶον πωλύπου θολόν, τοτὲ δὲ δριμύ οἶον ὄξος, τοτὲ δὲ σίαλον καὶ λάμπην, τοτὲ δὲ χολὴν χλωρὴν. καὶ ὅταν μὲν μέλαν καὶ τὸ αἵματῶδες ἐμέη, δοκέει οἶον φόνου ὄζειν, καὶ ἡ φάρυγξ καὶ τὸ στόμα καίεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμέσματος, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας αἰμωδιᾷ, καὶ τὸ ἔμεσμα τὴν γῆν αἴρει. 'The black [disease]: [the patient] vomits up black stuff like wine lees, sometimes bloodlike, sometimes like the second wine, sometimes like the ink of an octopus, sometimes sharp like vinegar, sometimes saliva and scum, sometimes green bile. And when he vomits black and bloodlike material, it seems to smell like gore, and the throat and the mouth burn because of the vomit, and his teeth are set on edge, and the vomit raises the earth.'

combination with the cultural connections of ingredients used – contribute to the study of the ancient patients' experiences?

1.3.1. *The ancient sensorium*

The sensory part of this question deserves additional attention, because it is not at all obvious that the ancient Greek conception of the senses is analogous to ours. We do not have to look outside of the Corpus to illustrate this point; the author of *Regimen* 1, in setting out his cosmology, is very concerned about demonstrating how much the arts or τέχναι are alike to human nature. As part of this exposé, he compares the senses to the *seven* vowels of the Greek alphabet; just as writing records knowledge and facilitates communication with other people, so do the senses allow humans to know the world (or not): 'Through seven figures come the sensations for humans also, hearing for sound, sight for the things visible, the nose for smell, the tongue for pleasantness and unpleasantness [in taste], the mouth for speech, the body for touch, inward and outward ducts for hot or cold air: through those comes knowledge or ignorance for humans.'⁸⁷ The Hippocratic author here lists seven senses: two more than the five – the number of senses which Jacques Jouanna holds became canonical only from Aristotle onward – we are used to.⁸⁸ Although it is very well possible, especially considering the tendency of the Hippocratics to match observations to theory mentioned earlier, that the two additional senses were listed simply to match the seven vowels, this is still an indication that the ancient conceptions of the senses are not straightforwardly comparable to ours, even within the Hippocratic Corpus.⁸⁹

The word αἴσθησις itself is somewhat problematic; usually translated as 'sense', 'sense-perception' or 'sensation', it can also mean a display of feeling rather than an

⁸⁷ *Regimen* 1.23. Jones 1931:260. δι' ἑπτὰ σχημάτων καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀκοὴ ψόφου, ὄψις φανερώων, ῥὶν ὀσμῆς, γλῶσσα ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀηδίας, στόμα διαλέκτου, σῶμα ψαύσιος, θερμοῦ ἢ ψυχροῦ πνεύματος διέξοδοι ἔξω καὶ ἔσω διὰ τούτων ἀνθρώποισιν γνῶσις, ἀγνωσίη.

⁸⁸ Jouanna 2003:16.

⁸⁹ Different conceptions of the senses seem to have existed in Greek antiquity; see e.g. Clements 2014 on different sensory conceptions in Greek philosophy. Baltussen 2015 provides a similar overview focussed specifically on smell. See e.g. also *Epidemics* 6.8.17, which adds 'reasoning', λογισμός, to a list of the senses. See p. 16 above for Hippocratics fitting practice to theory.

impression.⁹⁰ Similarly complicating matters, Jouanna has mapped the αἰσθήσεις mentioned at *Regimen* 1.23 and concluded that they can be taken to denote both the active sensory perception (e.g. seeing or hearing), and the sensory organs themselves (eyes and ears).⁹¹ Things get even more complicated according to Jouanna's account; "Ψαῦσις," for example "ne désigne donc pas ici l'action de toucher, pas plus qu'ὄψις ne désigne l'action de voir. Les deux noms en -σις ont dans le passage un sens concret. Mais ce sens concret n'est pas du même ordre: alors qu'ὄψις désigne, comme on l'a vu, la partie du corps qui est le canal de la sensation visuelle, ψαῦσις désigne ici la matière de la sensation qui passe par le canal du toucher."⁹² Developing Jouanna's argument, Roberto Lo Presti similarly argued for a conception of αἰσθησις which is both biological and cognitive; it is both the passive impression of sense perception and the active interacting with the world that it allows. Lo Presti concludes "...that the intersection/interaction between the theories of cognition, epistemology and biology of αἰσθησις constitutes a *schema of reciprocity*, which may be represented as a system of retro-active ties. In seeking to decipher and describe the structure of this system, one would have to undertake the task of formulating an interpretative framework which would permit movement from one segment of the system to another and to identify a *network of possible meanings* and a *map of the theoretical connections* underpinning the various manifestations of medical discourse, as developed in the classical period."⁹³

In a more recent article, Lo Presti examined several Hippocratic approaches to sense perception, trying to answer the question whether or not something like a coherent Hippocratic theory of cognition could be discerned in the corpus. Although many Hippocratic authors ascribe to what Lo Presti has termed a 'coherent body', several treatises – notably *Regimen* and *The Sacred Disease*, which also present a shift from the 'Presocratic' cognitive theories with which they interact – present very different theories on how this body perceived and interacted with the outside world. He concludes that "...we would (...) be mistaken if we thought that there existed 'Hippocratic' theory of cognition as such. Too many and too

⁹⁰ See the entry for αἰσθησις in *Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition, LSJ).

⁹¹ Jouanna 2003:12.

⁹² Idem:13. This particular use of ψαῦσις, Jouanna goes on to mention, is exceptional even within *Regimen* 1, but it should once again warn us that sensory perceptions should be read in context.

⁹³ Lo Presti 2007:144.

pronounced are the differences among the Hippocratic authors in approaching this idea of the ‘coherence of the body’...”⁹⁴

All of this is illustrative of cultural specificity of the conception of the senses themselves, rather than only of what is communicated through them. This is not to say that there is no biological side to sensory perceptions, as “...culture mediates sensation and sensation mediates culture...”⁹⁵, or that there is no possibility for differing constructions within the same culture, even within the corpus, as Lo Presti demonstrated. To again quote Sutton, here speaking of western vs. non-western sensory worlds: “we are not dealing with phenomena of radically different perceptions, but rather with the cultural elaboration of certain sensory registers and the relative dormancy of others.”⁹⁶

The most important illustration of the cultural construction of sensory perceptions for this thesis is the wide semantic range of ancient Greek sensory qualifications – already touched upon by Lo Presti in his characterization of αἴσθησις – which I will discuss in more detail below. I will now clarify the ‘sensory concepts’ mentioned in my research question.

1.3.2. *Synaesthesia and matters of metaphor in reading the ancient senses*

A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleu: voyelles,
Je dirai quelque jour vos naissances latentes:
A, noir corset velu des mouches éclatantes
Qui bombinent autour des puanteurs cruelles...

- Arthur Rimbaud, *Voyelles* (1883)

Arthur Rimbaud – one of the more famous proponents of the French Symbolist school of poetry – published his sonnet *Voyelles*, ‘Vowels’, of which I have here included the first stanza, in 1883. One of the most striking aspects of the poem is its blending of different sensory spheres – up to the point that language itself, or the vowels at least, is given colour, after which

⁹⁴ Lo Presti 2016:189.

⁹⁵ Howes 2006:162.

⁹⁶ Sutton 2001:91.

Rimbaud seamlessly moves from visual registers (colour, mixed with sounds) to those of touch (black velvet jacket), sound (buzzing flies) and smell (cruel malodours). This mixing of different sensory experiences is commonly termed synaesthesia, a technique much loved by Rimbaud's fellow Symbolist Charles Baudelaire.⁹⁷ It is, however, not hard to find poetic examples of this sensory blending from Greek antiquity, for which Sappho fr. 2 might serve as a good example.⁹⁸ Significantly, the Hippocratic medical texts are also full of instances of the blending of different sensory domains. The author of *Epidemics* 6 mixes taste and vision, suggesting that the tongue takes on the colour of whatever it touches.⁹⁹ Even more explicitly, *Regimen* 1.18 compares the cook to the musician, and argues that 'the tongue copies music' in differentiating tastes like musical tones.¹⁰⁰

Synaesthesia is a versatile term. It is most commonly understood to be a rare medical condition – not a pathology, as it is almost never experienced negatively – “of those individuals who regularly experience one kind of sensory stimulus as another.”¹⁰¹ This has been termed ‘actual’ synaesthesia. On the other hand, synaesthesia is often understood as a deliberate sensory blending in art, the creator of which does not need to be a synaesthete herself: we may think here of the sensory blending, the ‘artistic’ synaesthesia, in the work of

⁹⁷ See Butler and Purves 2013, introduction:3 for a discussion of Baudelaire's most famous synesthetic poem, “Correspondances.”

⁹⁸ Idem:4-5 for a discussion of Sappho fr. 2 from a synesthetic perspective. Other examples include Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 103, *Prometheus Bound* 21; Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 186, 473. All of these blend the domains of sight and sound. Thanks are due to Floris Overduin for these references. See also Stanford 1972:47-62 for other examples. Contrary to Stanford, however, I would not consider these examples metaphors, as I will explain below, but it should be mentioned here that Stanford considers synesthetic metaphor less rigidly categorical and artificial than those I will argue against in the following. For example, he emphasizes his belief that “...when the Greeks spoke of ‘flame like a trumpet-call’ they were deliberately trying to convey a real concept, and not indulging in some intricate zeugma, hypallage, or *schema etymologicum*...” (60).

⁹⁹ *Epidemics* 6.5.10. Smith 1994:244.

¹⁰⁰ *Regimen* 1.18. Jones 1931:256. γλῶσσα μουσικὴν μιμεῖται διαγινώσκουσα μὲν τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ ὀξύ τῶν προσπιπτόντων, καὶ διάφωνα καὶ σύμφωνα· κρούεται δὲ τοὺς φθόγγους ἄνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ οὔτε τὰ ἄνω κάτω κρουόμενα ὀρθῶς ἔχει οὔτε τὰ κάτω ἄνω· καλῶς δὲ ἡρμουςμένης γλῶσσης, τῇ συμφωνίῃ τέρψις, ἀναρμόστου δὲ λύπη, ‘The tongue mimics music, discerning the sweet and the sharp of the things that fall against it, and things that are different and things harmonic: and it hits the sounds high and low, and it is not right in hitting the high things low and the low things high: but, the tongue having harmonized beautifully, there is pleasure for symphony, and pain of the unharmonic.’

¹⁰¹ Butler and Purves 2013, introduction:1. An interesting case in point is a modern female patient who reported that her “numbers were colours”, and how, even though her peers considered it strange, this synesthetic perception felt like a normal part of herself; see Logsdail 2009.

Rimbaud.¹⁰² In ancient Greek, this sensory mixing on the level of language and culture could get decidedly more complicated than the example of Voyelles and even the above excerpts of medical texts might suggest, however.

In an important 2013 article, Clements attempts to elucidate an obscure passage in Aristophanes' *Knights*. The "strangely spicy response" of the Athenian Council upon hearing the false accusations made by Paphlagon against the knights, one of the elite classes in fifth century BCE Athens, included that they καῖβλεψε νᾶπυ, "looked mustard."¹⁰³ This is the starting point of an insightful discussion of ancient literary synaesthesia in the use of Greek sensory terms. Earlier explanations of this and other couplings of looks and spices in Aristophanes took them simply as metaphorical jumps from one sensory domain to the other – from sight to taste – creating a novel disparity which is supposed to have a comic effect. Clements, however, is alarmed by this approach, for "to depend entirely upon this discontinuity-as-comic-logic here is to come close to eliding cultural knowledge altogether; most worryingly, it is to allow our own failure to register anything but striking incongruity at these moments to be rationalized as their "comic" success, even their principal connective, in the absence of any attempt to enter the original audience's worldview."¹⁰⁴ The principal connective – which Clements found in the Peripatetic philosopher Theophrastus' *Inquiry into Plants* – between mustard and the other plants used to look with in Aristophanic comedy is their shared sensory denomination: δριμύς.¹⁰⁵ Much like other Greek words of sensory application, δριμύς is anything but straightforward. Not only is it translated into English with a wide variety of taste terms - 'acrid', 'sharp', 'pungent', 'bitter', to mention a few –, but it is also applied outside the domain of taste, ranging from Homeric battles to the smell of a fart.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² For 'actual' versus 'artistic' synaesthesia, see Cavallaro 2013:3-6. This book is an accessible introduction into the world of synaesthesia, including listings of different types of 'actual' synaesthesia without the scientific jargon scholars in the humanities might find confusing.

¹⁰³ Clements 2013:71. Aristophanes, *Knights* 631.

¹⁰⁴ Idem:75.

¹⁰⁵ Idem:75-77, and references there. Clements argues that the fact that Theophrastus uses sensory criteria, taste specifically, as reference points for introducing new plants into his categorization can be read to reveal a "folk categorization" of the plants under discussion. In other words, the categorization of these plants as δριμύς would be agreed upon by many Greeks at the time.

¹⁰⁶ Idem:77-78. I will discuss the various meanings of δριμύς in detail in 2.1.

It is at this point that Clements again warns against invoking (Aristotelian) metaphor to explain the application of words in different sensory domains. This chimes well with Geoffrey Lloyd's – whom Clements rightly cites – concerns about specifically Greek scientific 'metaphors.' Like Clements, Lloyd had emphasized the need, "when we are dealing with Greek ideas on these subjects, to keep as close as possible to their conceptual schemata."¹⁰⁷ Lloyd considers Aristotelian metaphor unhelpful in the analysis of specifically ancient medical texts, "...because it sets up a rigid dichotomy between a supposed primary, literal, use and other deviant ones."¹⁰⁸ Continuing this line of thought, Clements invokes Lloyd's concept of 'semantic stretch', which allows for "the display of complex associations and resonances, many of which are directly or indirectly relevant to most occasions of its [a term's] occurrence", as opposed to a hierarchy of literal and metaphorical; "it is one of the advantages of the concept of 'semantic stretch' that it does not seek to adjudicate on the limits of the 'strict' sense of terms."¹⁰⁹

The examples displaying 'semantic stretch' that Lloyd adduces include such polysemous terms as φάρμακον and – perhaps one of the most poignant in Greek medicine and beyond – κάθαρσις.¹¹⁰ The same applies to the sensory sphere in ancient Greek, Clements suggests; the wide applicability of δοῖμύς alone should warn against metaphorical interpretation: "[h]ow, after all, is the experience designated by δοῖμύς any more "basic" in one of these sensory domains than in any other?"¹¹¹ Rather than reduce the matter to a discussion about literal vs. metaphorical, proper vs. improper usage, Clements suggests to "consider the possibility that the semantic territory of this word [δοῖμύς] should be plotted on some other aspect of sensory, or somatic, experience, conceptually salient qualities of

¹⁰⁷ Lloyd 2003:8.

¹⁰⁸ Idem:8-9. This in turn harkens back to Lloyd's earlier work on the nascent scientific discourse in classical Greece, in which he argued that science attempted to separate itself from other areas of Greek culture. Aristotle's concept of the metaphor is thus used to create a new distinction – that between the literal and the metaphorical – which privileges the literal or scientific. See Lloyd 1990, especially ch1. See p. 47, n. 150 below on Aristotelian metaphor

¹⁰⁹ Lloyd 2003:10.

¹¹⁰ For a thorough discussion of the many uses of κάθαρσις – both within and without ancient medical discourse –, see Von Staden 2007.

¹¹¹ Clements 2013:80. Clements reinforces his arguments regularly by referring to philosophical linguist Marina Rakova's *The Extent of the Literal: Metaphor, Polysemy and Theories of Concepts*. Rakova is similarly suspicious of the modern literal vs. metaphorical divide. See idem:79-81 for references.

which presented themselves to native speakers in a variety of different sensory contexts or domains.”¹¹²

Tracing the uses of *δοῦμός* throughout several genres of ancient literature, including Hippocratic medical treatises, Clements fleshes out many sensations, spanning several sensory domains, associated with this particular sensory adjective. *Δοῦμός*, Clements holds, should thus be considered an overarching concept spanning many different referents, even outside of the sensory domain, rather than just another word with one specific literal meaning primarily associated with just one of the senses.¹¹³ This line of inquiry allows Clements to reconsider the logic behind the mustard glance in Aristophanes as a concrete instantiation of the many associations *δοῦμός* carries within itself:¹¹⁴ “[i]n this way, for those in the theatre, getting Aristophanes’ joke is not to understand one sensory experience, a sight, in terms of another, a taste, as the model of synaesthetic metaphor would suggest; rather it is to recognize intuitively the way in which *the two experiences of sensory exchange are already conceptually conjoined*.”¹¹⁵ Metaphor here, it bears repeating, only leads us down the wrong road, as “it entirely denies the existence of any other popular epistemologies at a time when the evidence of the comic stage suggests a flourishing rival poetic discourse of sensory relations.”¹¹⁶ Mark Bradley offers a similar approach to colour in the ancient world. Colour words, he argues, did not denominate a single colour, but through the objects they are used to qualify, one can get a sense that these words actually belong to different sensory domains.¹¹⁷ Bradley advocates an object-based approach in teasing out the meanings of colour concepts, an approach that fits well with Clements’ contention of sensory adjectives as synesthetic. Rather than synesthetic metaphor – as encountered for example in Rimbaud’s poem – for which the sensory domains are closed categories that can be intentionally crossed over for effect, the sort of synaesthesia

¹¹² Idem:81.

¹¹³ It is interesting to note here that Aristotle, the father of metaphor, in his *On the Soul* II.8.420a28 and onwards notes that the Greek words *ὀξύς* and *βαρύς*, sharp and heavy, when applied to sound are analogous to *ὀξύς* and *ἀμβλύς*, sharp and blunt, when applied to touch, which could be read as evidence that these sensory terms are to an extent conceptually conjoined, rather than metaphorically separated. See Stanford 1972:49 on this passage and on *On the Soul* II.9.421a26–, in which passage Aristotle admittedly does speak of extending sensory words from one domain to the other.

¹¹⁴ Idem:81-86.

¹¹⁵ Idem:87. My emphasis.

¹¹⁶ Idem:88.

¹¹⁷ Bradley 2013.

encountered here is a much more natural and unintentional spectrum of sensory experiences captured by the same concept.¹¹⁸ In this sense, the kind of synaesthesia found in the Greek sensorium, at least on the level of language, does not completely correspond to the artificiality of ‘artistic’ metaphor.¹¹⁹ Of course, I do not wish to do away with the possibility of synesthetic literary play altogether, but I would object to the rigidity of categorical metaphor.¹²⁰

1.3.3. *The significance of sensory concepts in uncovering patient’s experiences*

It is the existence of these popular epistemologies of sensory concepts that is so important for this thesis. Sensory adjectives can be considered to have wide semantic fields, which, as Lloyd has emphasized, stretch beyond any individual discourse into Greek literature – and can thus include comic as well as medical texts –, without any primary meaning.¹²¹ Furthermore, Clements crucially suggests to treat these terms as *concepts* with a wide currency among the Greek populace. This goes well with cultural theorist Mieke Bal’s analysis of concepts, in which she emphasizes that one of their most important characteristics is their intersubjectivity; concepts can mean different things for different groups of people in different contexts, but their overarching meaning would be recognisable to many, and thus they promote a level of consensus.¹²² One may also invoke Seremetakis’ insistence that “[t]he senses, like language, are a social fact to the extent that they are a collective medium of communication that is both

¹¹⁸ The ancient Greek senses are thus quite different conceptually from those in the modern West. Modern Greek parlance concerning the senses, however, actually comes very close to the semantically stretched concepts of Greek antiquity. An expression often invoked by anthropologists in this context is Seremetakis’ example “I hear the garlic.” The modern Greek ἀκούω not only means ‘I hear’, but can also be used for obeying an order, and witnessing in general, and can thus move into other sensory domains than the auditory; as Seremetakis 1994b notes “[t]his metonymic displacement violates any segregation of the senses as discrete perceptual organs” (40n7).

¹¹⁹ For different modern theories on synaesthesia and metaphor, see the overview in Caravallo 2013:141-175.

¹²⁰ Even sensory concepts need some kind of general focus, of course. Δέγκομαι, for example, is mainly used for perceiving in the visual domain, and so would allow for some literary play when used for hearing, such as at Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 103. Yet, following Clements, I would still view this disparity on a scale, with the word often meaning a more general ‘perceiving’ rather than a displacement to different categories.

¹²¹ Lloyd 2003:13. As was remarked earlier, this fits in well with the conceptualization of αἴσθησις in Lo Presti 2007, although he limits it to medical discourse.

¹²² Bal 2002:introduction and ch1. This is not to say people cannot disagree over the content of concepts, but they at least provide common ground.

voluntary and involuntary, stylized and personal.”¹²³ This would mean that, even though sensory experiences are on one hand very subjective “inner states not shown on the surface”, they can in the context of cultural associations be thought of as collective experiences “located in a social material field outside of the body.”¹²⁴ This also allows for a bridge from the study of language to the level of collective embodied senses. We would do well to remember here, as was remarked earlier, that doctors used sensory indicators both in prognosis and in treatments. As they may have relied at least partly on sensory accounts of the patient – such as in the appendix to *Regimen in Acute Diseases* 1, in which a patient is made to vomit if the inside of his mouth is bitter – there must reasonably have been some consensus on how sensory terms were to be understood. Although we must here keep in mind that the doctor may have tasted this himself.¹²⁵

All of this means that an analysis of the sensory adjectives used in the Hippocratic recipe catalogues, which themselves were partly derived from folk knowledge, would be able to reveal broad cultural associations with these sensory terms which were widely held in ancient Greece. As I noted earlier, the same goes for the cultural webs stored inside different ingredients used in Hippocratic recipes: to once again quote Seremetakis, “[m]emory cannot be confined to a purely mentalist or subjective sphere. It is a culturally mediated material practice that is activated by embodied acts and semantically dense objects.”¹²⁶ Indeed, what Clements’ and Bradley’s analyses also demonstrate to me is that the sensory adjectives cannot be studied without taking into account the words they qualify, that are supposed to express these qualities.¹²⁷ Studying the cultural associations of ingredients and their sensory denominators thus seems very rewarding in pursuit of patient experiences.

¹²³ Seremetakis 1994a:6.

¹²⁴ Eadem:5. We would also do well to remember here, as was remarked earlier, that doctors used sensory indicators both in prognosis and in treatments. As they may have relied at least partly on sensory accounts of the patient – such as in the appendix to *Regimen in Acute Diseases* 1, in which a patient is made to vomit if the inside of his mouth is bitter – there must reasonably have been some commonality in how sensory terms were to be understood. Although we must here keep in mind that the doctor may have tasted this himself, see Kazantzidis 2016.

¹²⁵ Kazantzidis 2016.

¹²⁶ Seremetakis 1994a:9.

¹²⁷ Clements 2013:87.

I should here shortly discuss the term ‘experience’, another key term often used in the above. By ‘experience’ I mean simply the cultural associations of the sensory words and ingredients used in the Hippocratic medical encounter, which *may* thus have crossed the minds of patients treated with these recipes, and the reactions these *may* have solicited from them. This is an admittedly rather reductive use of ‘experience’, or of ‘sensory experience’, for that matter. Like many other theorists of the ‘sensual turn’, David Howes has stressed the importance of the study of the senses in moving beyond a study of linguistic and literary phenomena, which is now considered somewhat reductionist in the context of the study of material culture.¹²⁸ I agree, but would stress that one of the limitations of classics – although I also consider it one of its most appealing strengths – is its focus on texts, which makes it difficult to go beyond literature into a true study of sensory experiences in antiquity.¹²⁹ The point is expressed well by Jane Draycott specifically on studying olfactory experiences in antiquity: “[i]n practice, (...) reconstructing the smells that these plants exuded, not to mention the ways in which the ancients and so responded to them, is much more difficult [than studying literary valuations of these smells] – perhaps, ultimately, impossible.”¹³⁰ In the case of Hippocratic medicine there are only texts to work with, but this textual focus has as an advantage over a more archaeological approach in that it relies on literary descriptions of *materiae medicae* rather than on the identifications of, for example, plant names found in the Hippocratic treatises with actual plants still in existence, which are often almost impossible to confirm;¹³¹ to this are added the questions of the circumstances of the collection of ancient ingredients and the dosages prescribed, again hard to ascertain; a material/archaeological approach might not get us much further.¹³² Although I accept that with my approach here a complete and thorough study of sensory experience is, in Draycott’s words, impossible, I do think it can get us closer to what the Hippocratic patients may have thought of during the medical encounter.

¹²⁸ Howes 2006:161-162.

¹²⁹ For a study of the senses in antiquity from an archaeological perspective, see Hamilakis 2013.

¹³⁰ Draycott 2015:60.

¹³¹ The silphium plant would be the main example, as it went extinct already in antiquity.

¹³² Demand 1999:141.

1.3.4. Are the sensory denominators Hippocratic additions?

Before moving on to my methodology, I would like to address one final point concerning the use of sensory concepts in Hippocratic recipes. Above, I have suggested that the fact that these recipes were based on some sort of common knowledge makes them particularly useful for the purpose of this thesis. However, as Totelin has shown, we also cannot ignore the fact that the recipes are Hippocratic redactions, likely adapted from folk knowledge to *Haute Médecine*. This begs the question: could the sensory words in the recipes be Hippocratic additions, not part of the traditional knowledge on which their redactions were based? Of course, sensory concepts could come to the Greek popular mind through certain ingredients without an explicit mentioning of them, as Clements has shown for, among other ingredients, mustard and δριμύς. But the fact that many of the Hippocratic recipes include these sensory terms merits some discussion, at the very least a short comparison with similar recipes.

The salves in Aristophanes, perhaps parodies of the sort of recipes physicians would have used and prescribed, do include some terms denoting geographical origin, but lack specific references to the senses.¹³³ In contrast, the extant work of the 4th century BCE medical author Diocles of Carystus includes recipes in which several sensory denominators are used. The medical writer Oribasius, working in the 4th century CE, records in his *Medical Collections* 8.22 several recipes for emetics which he claims come from Diocles, including such ingredients as τῶν σικυῶν τῶν ἀπαλῶν, ‘soft cucumbers’, and σφάγνου τοῦ ὑαλώδους ἀφεψήματος τὸ ὕδωρ, ‘the water of the transparent/green decoction of sage’.¹³⁴ Turning to the work of another (near) contemporary of the Hippocratics, the philosopher Theophrastus mentions several recipes – many of them for gynaecological problems, interestingly – in book 9 of his *Enquiry into Plants*. Although these generally lack sensory words, some of them do include several of these to qualify the wine used to mix other ingredients in, for example ἐν οἶνῳ γλυκεῖ, ‘in sweet wine’ or ἐν οἶνῳ ὀξίνῃ, ‘in sour wine’.¹³⁵ Theophrastus, however, provides detailed accounts of many plants, of which these recipes are only a part. In fact, he thoroughly treats the sensory properties of plants throughout his *Enquiry*; using sensory denominators for botanical ingredients in the recipes would thus be needless repetitions of information already

¹³³ All of these recipes are discussed in Totelin 2016.

¹³⁴ For the fragments of this and other recipes of Diocles, see Van der Eijk 2000:248-253.

¹³⁵ Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.9, 12 and 20; Hort 1916b:278, 318.

provided. My final point of comparison is a Hellenistic medical author, Herophilus of Alexandria. Much like Diocles', his work is transmitted mostly in fragments, and several of these contain recipes. Again, some of these specify the ingredients with sensory denominators, such as one recipe for an anal drug attributed to Herophilus by Andromachus the Younger and recorded by Galen in his *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 9.6, which calls for two drachmae of ῥόδων ξηρῶν ἢ χλωρῶν, 'dry or green/fresh roses.'¹³⁶

Three of the four sources for recipes mentioned here thus include sensory specifications in their prescriptions, the one exception being the only non-medical author. It is hard to determine where and how the authors in question got their recipes; are they redactions of itinerant recipe collections, as has been suggested for the Hippocratics? Were they perhaps even taken directly from the Hippocratic treatises? The context may suggest that the sensory denominators are a medical theoretical addition, but it is worth remembering that Theophrastus' work has been argued to reflect popular etymologies.¹³⁷ Although the question cannot be answered for certain, it at least seems probable – also keeping in mind that Diocles was a contemporary of the Hippocratics – that the sensory denominations in the Corpus were not a specifically Hippocratic invention, and that the patients would have recognized and agreed with these.

¹³⁶ Von Staden 1989:423 for the fragment.

¹³⁷ See p. 33, n. 105 above.

1.4. General methodology

To achieve this goal of approaching patient experiences I will stay close to the tools of classical philology and analyse several of the many sensory denominators used in the Hippocratic recipes. In order to decide which concepts to use for in-depth analysis, I have made a database of sensory words used in the Hippocratic treatises. To this end, I have surveyed the treatises of the Hippocratic corpus containing recipes, based on a list provided in Totelin 2009. The subsequent criteria of selection were as follows: first, a word needs to appear within the extant recipe lists and treatises of the corpus, which would imply that, at least on the basis of the available evidence, it was often encountered by the patients of the Hippocratics. It may appear both within and without the gynaecological treatises, which would invite a (tentative) gendered comparison of its usage within the corpus. Preferably, the word appears widely throughout extant Greek literature roughly contemporary to or older than the corpus, as this allows me to look widely at how a certain sensory term was used in different cultural contexts, and so construct the different layers of meaning the word may have carried within itself and the messages it may have communicated to the patients.¹³⁸ As for many of the treatises of the corpus, the gynaecological works are hard to date more precisely than the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century BCE, which means I will focus in my investigation on Greek literature up to the fourth century BCE, with some excursions to the third.¹³⁹ Ending my literary analysis in the third century BCE removes the risk of the corpus becoming too large for the scope of this thesis, while allowing the inclusion of source material slightly younger than the Hippocratic treatises under discussion. Furthermore, as I have suggested to also take into account the cultural associations of the ingredients qualified by the sensory adjectives under consideration, it would be interesting to focus on several marked ingredients, such as those listed by Totelin as exotic and luxurious, and thus most likely expensive and hard to come by.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ As Totelin 2009:85-91 remarks, the recipe catalogues were likely added to over the course of time after they were initially written down, which means that for a full analysis, it would be theoretically valuable to also take into account some Hellenistic sources of comparison, for example the philosopher Theophrastus' botanical works.

¹³⁹ Hermann Grensemann, in the seventies of the last century, constructed a relative chronology of the gynaecological treatises based on several layers (A-D) within the text, which can provide some support in placing recipes. For this division and exhaustive references, see Totelin 2009:6-9.

¹⁴⁰ Eadem:ch4.

Based on initial readings of the texts, and using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), I have made a database of about 130 sensory terms which I then tested according to the criteria described above. This yielded 25 terms useful for analysis, of which I have chosen to treat *δριμύς* and *στρυφνός* in this thesis, for reasons I will clarify below.¹⁴¹ In order to construct the cultural webs of sensory terms and ingredients to be analysed, the TLG is an indispensable tool. The word search functions of this online database of all extant Greek literature will allow me to see swiftly how often a word or phrase occurs, in which texts, and take into account its context within those texts. Once these webs are mapped out, it is possible to contextualize the usage of certain sensory term and ingredients and so construct what cultural contexts they would be able to make a Greek patient recall. Crucially, the sensory terms will through this process emerge as concepts with wide cultural applications and connections, and will so be freed from modern categorical ideas about the senses. By synthesizing all of these results in a cultural reading of a recipe, I hold, I will be able to approach the experience of a Greek patient to whom the treatment in question was applied, all the caveats as discussed in part 1 kept in mind. In other words, what would it mean for a patient to use a pessary with, for example, ingredients qualified as *δριμύς*?¹⁴² Would a patient perhaps have been inclined to refuse a treatment based on the negative cultural connections of its ingredients? It would also make sense here to take into account what sort of treatment the recipe is for, whether for a pessary, a fumigation, a clyster, etc., and thus consider what parts of the body were affected. In some cases, the specific condition to be treated is also interesting, many of which themselves include sensory terms.

The novelty of my approach in this thesis is not the analysis of the cultural contexts of ingredients, nor of sensory concepts, as the examples of Totelin and Clements attest. Similarly,

¹⁴¹ These 25 terms are: *ἀναλτος*, *ἀνοδμος*, *αὔος*, *αὐστηρός*, *βληχρός*, *γλυκύς*, *δριμύς*, *δυσοσμία/δυσοσμός*, *δυσώδης*, *ερυθρός*, *κιρρός*, *λειός*, *λεπτός*, *λευκός*, *λιπαρός*, *μέλας*, *ὀξύς*, *πικρός*, *πίος/πίων*, *πυκνός*, *πύρρος*, *σκληρός*, *στρυφνός*, *χλωρός*, *ώμος*. This selection was based on an earlier list of 130 Greek sensory terms. All 25 of the foregoing terms are represented both within the Hippocratic texts and in Greek literature more generally, and all of them can be found in Hippocratic recipes. Totelin 2017:63 provides a list of the most important sensory words provided by some ancient Greek botanists and medical authors, not including the Hippocratics.

¹⁴² It is often also possible to infer which sensory denominator belongs with a certain ingredient, even without them being explicitly connected in the recipes; other, often dietetically oriented (parts of) treatises provide valuable information here, as does the work of the philosopher Theophrastus, which will thus also be taken into account in treating these recipes.

taking into account the patient's point of view in the study of Hippocratic medicine is nothing new. What I propose to do is to combine these three elements within a single explanatory model which offers a new way of reading these recipes to try and gain deeper insight in how patients may have thought of and reacted to the battery of recipes the Hippocratic patients may have confronted them with. This would not only contribute to the study of subaltern voices in antiquity, but it would also deepen our understanding of the workings of the ancient senses, a very current topic in classical studies.

Part 2. Analysing sensory concepts and ingredients in Hippocratic recipe lists

In part 2 of this thesis, I will venture to put the theoretical model outlined in the first part into practice and analyse several recipes as case studies. Similar to Clements' reading of *δοιμύς* and Bradley's object-based method in approaching sensory concepts, I will map out in what contexts the sensory terms selected are used in Greek literature from Homer up to the fourth, sometimes the third century BCE. Although the sensory concepts will take pride of place in this thesis, the ingredients used in the recipes themselves carry strong cultural resonances, and can therefore not be ignored. Therefore, in a similar vein to the sensory concepts in the recipes, I will contextualize the ingredients used in those same recipes. I will emphasize specifically how sensory concepts and ingredients are applied in medical texts, and how these usages relate to other applications of the concepts.

The recipes analysed here were selected as case studies based on the words they contain. I have settled on two of the 25 sensory adjectives I had marked as interesting for this project to discuss: *δοιμύς* and *στρυφνός*. The first has been well studied, by Clements among others, is well represented in the Hippocratic treatises, in the recipe catalogues specifically, and in Greek literature from the relevant period more broadly, and it has a broad, synesthetic range of applications – a range I will discuss in more detail, especially within the Hippocratic Corpus, and supported by more excerpts of Greek than had Clements. Less well studied but broadly represented is *στρυφνός*, with the added advantage that this word likely has particular relevance in Hippocratic gynaecology as it is used to describe the bodies of a particular type of woman.¹⁴³ This of course means that many other concepts were disregarded for the sake of brevity. *Χλωρός* for instance, while on first glance an interesting term as it is often used to denote many different sensory domains, seems in the Hippocratic recipes only to be used to mean 'fresh', sometimes explicitly opposed to *ξηρός*, 'dry', for example in the

¹⁴³ *Nature of Women* 1; *Diseases of Women* 1.111.5. There are some textual problems surrounding these passages, which I will discuss in more detail later.

case of fresh vs. dried herbs.¹⁴⁴ I used the TLG to search for recipes including these two concepts. Naturally, the other criteria outlined in 1.4 above, such as whether the recipes include ingredients classified by Totelin as high-end, were also taken into consideration. Due to issues of thesis length, I will discuss one recipe per sensory concept.

This reflection on the usage of a concept, prior to my analysis of the recipes, rather corresponds to Adriaan Rademaker's approach in his study into the meaning of σωφροσύνη in Plato.¹⁴⁵ In order to reach his aim of gauging to what extent the many polysemous uses of this term in Plato's dialogues would have corresponded to the usage of σωφροσύνη and its cognates outside of philosophical language, Rademaker first needed to map out the applications of the term in Greek literature up to Plato. Existing descriptions of the term were to him unsatisfactory, as they either completely fail to account for the polysemy of the term, drawing up a rather rigid distinction between a moral and an intellectual meaning, or, on the other hand, acknowledge this polysemy, "but do not sufficiently account for the similarities and differences between the various uses of our terms, and thus fail to show, so to speak, whatever 'unity' there may be behind this surface variety."¹⁴⁶ Similarly to this approach, I too wish to map out the usages of the sensory terms under discussion, in order to see what meanings of these terms were available to, and could thus cross the mind of, a Hippocratic patient; to find a certain unity within the polysemy, but take into account the different contexts in which a term could appear. Furthermore, Rademaker's rejection of two distinct, separate meanings of σωφροσύνη, rather emphasizing the possible unifying features of the word, reflects my contention, discussed in part 1, that an Aristotelian divide of the literal and the metaphorical is unhelpful in the case of the terms under discussion. Indeed, Rademaker explicitly rejects theories based on Aristotle's theory of categorization, and of clear boundaries between categories of meaning.¹⁴⁷ Although my investigations of mapping out the meanings of sensory terms will not be by far as exhaustive as Rademaker's – as this is only partly the aim of my thesis – I do fully agree with his context based approach to the polysemy of Greek

¹⁴⁴ See for example: *Ulcers* 12; *Fistulas* 9; *Barrenness* 30. Of course, theoretically, other usages and meanings of the word could come to mind even if χλωρός was used to only mean fresh, as I have suggested in part 1. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I want to settle on words with slightly more ambiguous usage in the corpus.

¹⁴⁵ The following account of Rademaker's work is based on Rademaker 2005:1-40.

¹⁴⁶ *Idem*:3.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*:16, 23-24.

terms. The Hippocratic patient would have recognised these different, but interrelated meanings as belonging to the same concept, which would allow me to reconstruct in part the experience of those patients during the application of certain recipes containing the relevant sensory terms.

2.1 The case of *δριμύς*¹⁴⁸

As Clements has already recorded many of the uses of *δριμύς*, this particular concept seems a fair starting point for an analysis of sensory concepts in Hippocratic recipes. The term itself covers a startling variety of meanings, easily illustrated by its entry in LSJ, which includes “piercing, sharp, keen (...) [of things which affect the eyes or taste] pungent, acrid (...) [metaph. of persons] bitter, fierce.” Similarly, the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (LfgrE) defines the word generally as “scharf, schneidend, beissend”, belonging to the same “Wortfeld” as *ὀξύς* and *πικρός*.¹⁴⁹ Of these definitions, the LSJ’s ‘metaphorical’ application of the term to people goes to show that the concept can even leave the senses altogether and leak into the world of emotion – although it bears repeating that I do not consider the Greek sensory terms in this thesis to be Aristotelian ‘metaphors’, but rather synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch.¹⁵⁰

2.1.1. Defining *δριμύς*

Even within its strictly sensory application, *δριμύς* is applied in a wide variety of domains in which it is used. It often appears as a taste word – and even in that particular usage it is hard

¹⁴⁸ This chapter relies heavily on Clements 2013.

¹⁴⁹ Van Bennekom in Snell 1991:349. Both *ὀξύς* and *πικρός*, as an LSJ search would suffice to illustrate, are used synesthetically, and can move into the domain of emotion, similar to *δριμύς*. Useful here is the Wittgensteinian idea of family resemblance among words, explained well and concisely by Rademaker 2005:6-7: different meanings of a word are nodes in a network of uses, each of which also corresponds to larger networks of usages of other words: we are thus looking for a smaller, interrelated network of a single term within larger, overarching networks. This is quite similar to our treatment of *δριμύς*, and can account for its interrelationship with other sensory words such as *ὀξύς* and *πικρός*, which will not be treated in this thesis.

¹⁵⁰ For an analysis of Aristotelian metaphor as setting up a rigid dichotomy between what is literal and thus primary, and metaphorical and so secondary, see Lloyd 1990:14-28. See also Lloyd 2003:8-13. As was made clear in part 1, Aristotelian usage of metaphor is endorsed by, for example, Stanford 1972, whom Clements scapegoats as a main proponent of literal primacy over metaphor. See Rakova 2003:3-23 for adherents to what she calls ‘the standard assumption’, being that “only one meaning has to be considered as literal or basic, and all the other meanings have to be treated as its metaphorical extensions” (3). Poignant endorsers of this point of view are, for example, Lakoff and Johnson, criticised by Rakova 2003:23-33. For other adherents of this model of metaphor, see the references in Clements 2013:79-80. How often this rigid dichotomy between the literal and metaphorical is made can also be illustrated by several commentators, cited below, dismissing what they consider to be divergent uses of, for example, *δριμύς*, simply as ‘metaphorical usage.’

to determine what sort of flavour the word actually denotes.¹⁵¹ This is likely the sort of application Theophrastus had in mind when he made a list of plant juices which he considered to be *δριμεῖς*:¹⁵²

τῶν δὲ χυλῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσιν οἰνώδεις, ὥσπερ ἀμπέλου συκαμίνου μύρτου· οἱ δ' ἐλαώδεις, ὥσπερ ἐλάας δάφνης καρύας ἀμυγδαλῆς πεύκης πίτυος ἐλάτης· οἱ δὲ μελιτώδεις, οἶον σύκου φοίνικος διοσβαλάνου· οἱ δὲ δριμεῖς, οἶον ὀριγάνου θύμβρας καρδάμου νάπυος·

Of the *χυλοί*, some are winelike, such as [that of] the vine, mulberry, myrtle-berry; some are like olive oil, such as [those of] the olive, laurel, hazel, almond, two species of pine, silver-fir; some are like honey, such as [those of] date, fig, sweet chestnut; and some are *δριμύς*, such as [those of] oregano, savory, cardamom, mustard.

The noun *χυλοί* is of interest here. It can mean plant juices, which is how Clements decides to translate it – without a doubt trying to free *δριμύς* from the constraints that a specific sensory translation would impose on it in this context – but it is also used for ‘flavours.’¹⁵³

Besides this rather clear usage of *δριμύς* which is more to the taste side of things, we should also consider instances involving other sensory domains. Aristotle – whose rigid concept of metaphor was argued against in the previous chapter, drawing on the work of Lloyd and Clements – himself speaks of correspondences between smell and taste.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ We now prefer to make a distinction between ‘taste’ and ‘flavour’, the first being more about the chemical reactions food and drink solicit from the tongue, mouth, etc. and the second denoting “the intersection of aroma, taste, and some tactile sensations.” However, as Rudolph discusses in her introduction to the 2017 volume *Taste and the Ancient Senses*, the ancients considered taste not an act in itself, but in “relationship with the flavours and substances of the foods consumed in a cultural and environmental context with all its pleasures and dangers”, see Rudolph 2017, introduction:5-6. The two terms, in short, were not as strictly separated to the ancients as they are to us, which is illustrated by the fact that the Greek words *χυμός* and *χυλός* are used to denote both taste and flavour, on which see also n. 153 below.

¹⁵² Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 1.12. Hort 1916a:84.

¹⁵³ Clements 2013:75-76. See the entries in LSJ for both *χυλός* and *χυμός*, especially the useful remark that “Gal.11.450 distinguishes *χυλός* juice fr. *χυμός* flavour, attributing this usage to Aristotle and later writers [including Theophrastus], whereas earlier authors used *χυμός* in both senses: the Mss. vary.” The two words seem to be used interchangeably for both ‘juice’ and ‘flavour’, often hard to tell apart. For a commentary on this passage in Galen, which discusses its applicability to Theophrastus, see Sharples 1995:194.

¹⁵⁴ Aristotle, *On the Soul* 421a26-b3. Hett 1957:120. On Aristotelian metaphor, see pp34-35, with n107 in the above.

Ἔστι δ', ὥσπερ χυμός¹⁵⁵ ὁ μὲν γλυκὺς ὁ δὲ πικρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ὀσμαί. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀνάλογον ὀσμὴν καὶ χυμόν (λέγω δὲ οἶον γλυκεῖαν ὀσμὴν καὶ γλυκὺν χυμόν), τὰ δὲ τοῦναντίον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ δριμεῖα καὶ αὐστηρὰ καὶ ὀξεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἔστιν ὀσμή. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἵπομεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα διαδήλους εἶναι τὰς ὀσμάς ὥσπερ τοὺς χυμούς, ἀπὸ τούτων εἴληφε τὰ ὀνόματα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν πραγμάτων.

And just like there is a γλυκὺς and a πικρὸς flavour, so there are smells as well. But some are analogous concerning smell and flavour (I mention as examples a γλυκὺς smell and a γλυκὺς flavour), while others are the opposite. In the same way there is a δριμύς, αὐστηρός, ὀξύς, and a λιπαρός smell. But as we have said, because of the fact that smells are not very distinguishable compared to flavours, they have taken their names based on the similarity of these things.

While Aristotle is here somewhat careful in establishing a direct connection between taste and smell as far as the usage of certain sensory terms is concerned, he elsewhere seems to have no qualms about qualifying a smell as δριμύς, and does so rather matter-of-factly. In his *History of Animals* 624a16, for example, μίτυς, a particular kind of beeswax, is described as having an ὀσμὴν δριμύ (sic).¹⁵⁶ And in Aristophanes' *Wealth*, a fellow patient of Wealth at the Asclepius sanctuary in Athens is scared by the slave Carion, thereby βδέουσα δριμύτερον γαλῆς, 'breaking wind more δριμύς than a weasel.'¹⁵⁷ The author of the Hippocratic *Diseases* 3 recommends a patient under treatment for pus in his head to avoid sunlight, wind, fire, smoke and δριμέων ὀδμάς καὶ αὐτά, 'the smells of δριμύς substances and those substances themselves.'¹⁵⁸

While it is not particularly hard to see how δριμύς can have both an olfactory meaning and one pertaining to flavour considering that these two senses are closely conjoined in the

¹⁵⁵ As was noted in n. 153, χυλός and χυμός were used for both 'taste' and 'flavour', implying polysemy. For some notes on χυμοί in Hippocratic medicine as "flavours flowing in the body", see Demont 2005.

¹⁵⁶ Aristotle, *History of Animals* 624a16. Balme 1991:338.

¹⁵⁷ Aristophanes, *Wealth* 693. Henderson 2002:526. The fact that Henderson here opts to translate δριμύτερον rather vaguely as 'stinkier' illustrates the ambiguity of the word.

¹⁵⁸ *Diseases* 3.2. Potter 1988b:10.

body, it can also be extended to other sensory domains.¹⁵⁹ The auditory *δοιμός* is a rare case, which admittedly only appears once in extant Greek literature, in Euripides' *Cyclops*, in which Odysseus is described by the satyr Silenus as being a *κρόταλον δοιμόν*, literally a 'δοιμός rattle'.¹⁶⁰

The visual *δοιμός*, on the other hand, is quite visible in the source material. As I have mentioned in part 1, Clements' investigation into the word was sparked by the council 'looking mustard' in Aristophanes' *Knights* 631. More explicitly, and staying with Aristophanes for a moment, is *Frogs* 562, part of a list of complaints the innkeeper has about Heracles:¹⁶¹

κάππειτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰργύριον ἐπραττόμην,
ἔβλεψεν εἷς με δοιμὸν κάμυκᾶτό γε—

and then, when I prepared the bill,
he gave me a δοιμὸν look and bellowed—

Turning now to Plato's *Republic* 519a, at which point Socrates notices that the soul can turn the eyes to seeing either beneficially or in a harmful way depending on the way they are turned, and asks:¹⁶²

ἢ οὐπω ἐννενόηκας, τῶν λεγομένων πονηρῶν μὲν, σοφῶν δέ, ὡς δοιμὸν μὲν βλέπει
τὸ ψυχάριον καὶ ὁξέως διορᾷ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται, ὡς οὐ φαύλην ἔχον τὴν ὄψιν,

¹⁵⁹ Theophrastus was keenly aware of the close relation between smell and taste, positing a certain *συγγένεια*, 'kinship' between the two in *Causes of Plants* 6.9.1, and at *On Odours* 9, he again emphasizes that smell and taste are alike.

¹⁶⁰ Euripides, *Cyclops* 104. Kovacs 2001:68. For *δοιμός* as a word denoting sound, and the possibility that it has to do with sharpness of mind and clever speech, see Clements 2013:78, with Seaford 1984:122, "Nowhere else does *δοιμός* describe a sound, but there is no reason why it should not: cf. *διαπρύσιος* ['piercing'] of the sound of *κρόταλα* ['cymbals'] at *Hel.* 1308." This is perhaps not surprising, considering that *δοιμός* is, as we will see below, situated mainly in the mouth, the locus both for tasting and speech, see Rudolph 2017, introduction:15. There is, admittedly, always the possibility that *δοιμός* is here applied as a term describing character rather than a sound, as even Seaford seems to allow, but conversely one might wonder whether it is even used 'metaphorically' for character traits at all, while it could also denote a whole amalgam of sensory impressions emanating from a person.

¹⁶¹ Aristophanes, *Frogs* 561-562. Henderson 2002:100. Again, Henderson chooses the rather vague 'nasty'.

¹⁶² Plato, *Republic* 519a. Emlyn-Jones and Preddy 2013:120-122.

κακία δ' ἡναγκασμένον ὑπηρετεῖν, ὥστε ὅσῳ ἂν ὀξύτερον | βλέπῃ, τοσοῦτ' ὡ πλείω
κακὰ ἐργαζόμενον;

Or have you not yet noticed, of those who are called base, but wise, how δριμύ their
little soul sees and how sharply it distinguishes those things to which it is turned,
although not having weak sight, it is still compelled to submit to evil, so that the more
sharply it looks, the more it practises evil things?

As these instances make clear, δριμύς also has very clear visual connotations. It can be used
to denote a look and a certain effect it is supposed to have on its receiver – I will turn below
to what this particular effect might be –, as seems to be the case for Heracles' glare.¹⁶³
Additionally, it is also capable of qualifying a look as simply 'keen', as in the case of Plato's
little soul, where it perhaps means "'shrewdly,' 'astutely,' like a quick-sighted lawyer.'"¹⁶⁴ It
suffices to say for now that δριμύς can be used in the visual domain, in addition to the other
sensory applications mentioned above.

When all of these examples are lined up, δριμύς emerges as one of the synesthetic
sensory terms, discussed in the previous part, which display semantic stretch. However, it
would be wrong here to conclude, as Stanford did, that δριμύς is one of "...those words of
loose sensory application as γλυκύς, δριμύς, ὀξύς, βαρύς, ἀμβλύς, πικρός, τραχύς which
seem to have lost their precise sense-sphere (if they were ever thus precisely defined, *vide sub.*)
long before even Homer's time (probably because they belonged to the lower senses of touch,
taste and smell)..."¹⁶⁵ Not only does δριμύς cover the visual register besides those of the
"lower" senses, I also agree with Clements' contention that in order to truly understand what
δριμύς does as a concept, it is necessary to see in what contexts it is used and what unifying
features emerge from these, especially considering these contexts are quite diverse.

Furthermore, δριμύς is sometimes seemingly applied outside of the sensory sphere. A
very specific example would be its usage, ever since Homer, as a term of war, as in *Iliad* 15.696

¹⁶³ In his commentary on *Frogs*, Dover characterizes δριμύ in line 562 as "lit. 'sharp', usually in a disagreeable sense", and decides to translate the line as 'he gave me a hard look', see Dover 1993:265. Interestingly, he refers to the passage in Plato's *Republic* just now mentioned. An emotive meaning and a more sensory based meaning are once again difficult to distinguish here.

¹⁶⁴ Adam 1963:100.

¹⁶⁵ Stanford 1972:54.

(δοριμεῖα μάχη, ‘δοριμύς battle’, to describe the Trojan raid of the Greek ships), Hesiod’s *Theogony* 713 (μάχην δοριμεῖαν, on the battle between the Olympians and the Titans), twice in *The Shield*, attributed again to Hesiod (at 261 and 411, both μάχην δοριμεῖαν), and, stretching to the end of the relevant period for this thesis, in Theocritus *Idyll* 22.107-108, part of the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus:¹⁶⁶

Ἐνθα μάχη δοριμεῖα πάλιν γένετ’ ὀρθωθέντος,
ἀλλήλους δ’ ὄλεκον στερεοῖς θείοντες ἰμάσιν.

And then again, after he got up, a δοριμύς battle ensued,
and they ruined each other, hitting with firm thongs.

Clements considers this particular usage of δοριμύς “apparently more abstract” than its sensory application.¹⁶⁷ This might have something to do with the fact that the sixth century CE lexicographer Hesychius later explained the phrase δοριμεῖα μάχη as ἔνθερμος, καὶ ἐνεργός, ‘passionate, and vigorous.’¹⁶⁸ Hesychius clearly prefers a more emotive meaning, treating the word here as an *enallage* describing the people involved in the battle. The LfgrE defines δοριμεῖα when combined with μάχη simply as “scharf, heftig”, but also lists among its possible applications that δοριμύς is used “von Schmerz bzw. Schmerzverursachern.”¹⁶⁹ Δοριμεῖα could here thus perhaps again be used as an *enallage*, in this instance for the pain caused in the battle or of those causing pain. Richard Janko, in his commentary on *Iliad* book 15, translates δοριμεῖα at 15.696 as “‘fierce’, originally ‘acid’”, and here considers it “metaphorical”, similar to its usage in *Iliad* 11.270 – where it is used to characterise the βέλος, or ‘dart’ of pain of a woman in labour, as a comparison to the sting of the wound Agamemnon sustained in battle (note again the martial context).¹⁷⁰ These interpretations could be considered part of what LSJ called ‘metaphorical’ usage of δοριμύς, but I again want to stress here that – in the Aristotelian conception of the word – a metaphor implies a literal and a metaphorical, a primary and a secondary meaning, and that there is no reason to assume that a fifth century Greek person would consider the one context of the word as ‘primary’ over

¹⁶⁶ Theocritus, *Idyll* 22.102-108. Hopkinson 2015:302. Theocritus is here likely alluding to *Iliad* 15.696, see Sens 1997:149.

¹⁶⁷ Clements 2013:79n30.

¹⁶⁸ Hesychius, *Lexicon* Δ 2382. Latte 1953:479

¹⁶⁹ Snell 1991:349.

¹⁷⁰ Janko 1992:304.

another – although, in all fairness, this is of course difficult to prove conclusively either way.¹⁷¹ In my opinion, the phrase might even include a more sensory explanation, as a battle, whether it be one between gods or a boxing match between a mythical hero and a king, is an overwhelming sensory affair; we might think of the taste and smell of blood and sweat flowing, the clanging of armour, and the facial expressions of those fighting.

Sarah Hitch, tracing the importance of taste in Greek poetry from archaic epic to classical comedy, recently observed that taste words in Homeric poetry are never applied to foodstuffs. The Homeric banquet scenes emphasize communality, the display of power, and the ensuing relationship between the providing host and the accepting guest, through an abundance of food, rather than foregrounding the individual food choices of the partakers as comedy later would.¹⁷² In fact, taste in Homeric poetry features “as a metaphor in two separate contexts: for experimentation, usually in fatal contests on the battlefield, and for poetry.”¹⁷³ This particular contextualization of taste, Hitch holds, seems to have found its way even into fifth century BCE comedy.¹⁷⁴ This resonates well with the usage of *δοιμύς* as a term of war just analysed. As Hitch notes, “[I]n Homer, taste is frequently used of death in antagonistic speeches to opponents, so that it has the extended meaning of “try”. Homeric heroes threaten each other with the taste of blood, spears and arrows. We see this first in the rousing speech to Achilles where Aeneas says, “Come now, let’s quickly taste each other’s bronze spears.” Such imagery builds on a notion of tasting as both experimental and irrevocable, and therefore potentially dangerous: like all forms of eating, once what is ingested has passed the barrier of the teeth, it cannot come back.”¹⁷⁵ Taste in Homer thus resonates strongly with the dangers of

¹⁷¹ See n. 150.

¹⁷² Hitch 2017:23-31.

¹⁷³ Eadem:34. This lack of emphasis on taste in epic poetry might make us wonder about whether or not *δοιμύς* can actually be considered a taste word in Homer and Hesiod. Then again, there is little reason to suppose it was not, and it would still have these taste resonances for a fifth century BCE audience. Hitch’s observation that taste words are very often used for poetry again recalls the ancient emphasis on the mouth as locus of both taste and speech, and this conception of taste might also partly explain how *δοιμύς* could cover sounds, see again n. 160 above.

¹⁷⁴ Eadem:34-42. See also next footnote.

¹⁷⁵ Eadem 2017:35, with reference. This is, of course, a Homeric representation: food can, in fact, quite easily cross the barrier of the teeth again in the opposite direction. Tasting, however, cannot be undone. Interesting in this context is also Hitch’s analysis, following Clements, of the ‘oregano look’ the slave Xanthias gives in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*: “Xanthias, the pseudo-heroic slave speaks of “looking oregano” in a mock heroic battle” (41). Here oregano, a *δοιμύς* herb, confers an epic martial context.

the battlefield. It would here again be difficult to vouch for a metaphorical or synesthetic interpretation of taste, but this resonance at least in part explains why a battle could be considered *δοιμεία*, even though its exact meaning here remains a mystery. Furthermore, we must remember, a fifth century BCE Greek audience familiar with the Homeric poems – the same people who might call for a Hippocratic doctor’s aid in times of illness – would be aware of the sensory meanings of *δοιμύς*.

We are already partly on the way of contextualizing *δοιμύς*: it is, for instance connected to instances of battle in epic, although it is still somewhat vague what characteristics exactly would make a battle *δοιμύς*. Clements himself has suggested a particular meaning for *δοιμύς* as organizing concept with different instantiations, which encompasses all of its sensory domains without resorting to metaphor. Based on his readings of Plato’s *Timaeus* 65e4-66a2 – in which passage Plato discusses *δοιμύς* flavour particles, which have a lightness that make them fly up to the head, and cut (*τέμνοντα*) other things – and of the Hippocratic treatise *Ancient Medicine* 18 – on the common cold and the *δοιμύς* discharge from the head – Clements concludes that “[w]hat emerges from the descriptions of Plato and the medical writers, then, is a sense that the meaning of the adjective here is tied to a localized set of sensations felt to rise to the face and pulse through a specific body site, the nose. And precisely that impression is reiterated if we compare the word’s use on the comic stage (...) What makes all of these things intuitive members of the *δοιμύς* category is the fact that each one is experienced as instantiating a core concept in only very slightly differing ways.” Thus, *δοιμύς* accommodates “... a much larger set of physiological sensations spanning a continuum of prickling, pangs, and twinges, into which taste experience variously, but not exclusively, encroaches.”¹⁷⁶ As it turns out then, *δοιμύς* is the sensation, or can be used to describe things that invoke the sensation of “a flush of nasal irritation/heat/prickling pain, presaging tears”, quite like the onset of a sneeze, often accompanied by fluids leaving the body.¹⁷⁷ We can imagine the plants mentioned by Theophrastus as bringing about such a sensation. This is not a particularly pleasant experience, underlined by the fact that Plato’s *δοιμέα* particles ‘cut’, a sensation which can be explained by following Mario Telò’s

¹⁷⁶ Clements 2013:83.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem.

conclusion of his analysis of taste in the poetry of Matro of Pitane that “[t]aste is, to an extent, always a question of texture.”¹⁷⁸ A sharp, δριμύς surface would ‘cut’ on touch.¹⁷⁹

But as we saw earlier, the concept may have an emotive stretch as well, and Clements astutely adduces several poetic examples in which the word is used in a more emotive context. Yet, as Clements also addresses, it is often very hard to draw a line between a physical and an emotional state in Greek poetry: the Homeric χόλος, for example, can mean both ‘gall’ and ‘grief’. Another example, μένος, an emotive word with similar physical associations, is sometimes even specified as being δριμύ, and could induce a physical reaction akin to Clements’ working definition of the concept.¹⁸⁰ I quote here only one of Clements’ examples to illustrate the point, part of the reunion of Odysseus with his father in the *Odyssey*:¹⁸¹

τοῦ δ’ ὠρίνετο θυμός, ἀνὰ ῥῖνας δέ οἱ ἤδη
δριμὺ μένος προὔτυψε φίλον πατέρ’ εἰσορόωντι.

and his heart was stirred, and at the same already
a δριμύ pang rushed up his nostrils for him looking at his own father.

Riek van Bennekom, in her entry for δριμύς in the LfgreE, translates the word in this particular passage as “der *scharfe Drang* vor dem Tränenausbruch”¹⁸², which fits well with the above mentioned definition of the word. To once again quote Clements, “[t]o follow this path of inquiry, then, is to arrive at an understanding of δριμύς as a physiological/affective state which can both be engendered through a variety of different senses and sensory contexts, but also transmitted to its recipients from those who inspire it [through a look, for example] exactly in accordance with the flow elsewhere in Greek thought of affective states like desire or fear.”¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Telò 2017:88. Interesting here is also Aristotle’s dictum in *On the Soul* 422a, stating that τὸ δὲ γευστόν ἐστιν ἅπτόν τι, ‘the tasteable is something touchable’. Hett 1957:124.

¹⁷⁹ See also Theophrastus, *Causes of Plants* 6.1.3, in which chapter δριμύς is described as τμητικός, ‘cutting’.

¹⁸⁰ Clements 2013:84-86, with the Greek examples mentioned there.

¹⁸¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 24.318-19. Murray and Dimmock 1995:434.

¹⁸² Van Bennekom, in Snell 1991:349. Again, it would not be difficult to imagine certain pungent tasting plants such as mustard to bring about such an effect.

¹⁸³ Clements 2013:86.

Hitch interprets the meaning of δριμύς both as an experience and as a transferral of that experience to others as a reception of the Homeric application of taste words, mostly used in instances of battle and for transferring sweet poetry from the lips of the muses to those of the poet: “Underlying such descriptions [of bellicosely looking δριμύς substances] is not only the multisensory poetic shock described by Clements, but also the tradition of taste metaphors coming from Homer’s battlefields through the lyric gaze: taste is to possess, but also to transfer.”¹⁸⁴ I would suggest that this definition of the concept would also explain how a battle can be δριμεῖα. In fact, a μάχη δριμεῖα might unify all the different instantiations of δριμύς discussed so far, as an amalgam of all sorts of stimuli in different sensory domains that might lead to a δριμύς physical reaction, including the loss of bodily fluids such as blood and tears, and/or a transferral of that state to others – for example through a δριμύ look – as well as cover the emotional states of those fighting. Δριμύς, in short, is an active concept used to cover many sensory domains as an unpleasant sensation that ‘cuts’, often presaging the breaking out of fluids, and which can thus also be used in the context of highly emotional moments, both in positive situations, as the reunion of father and son, as in a negative context such as a battle, again drawing upon the same sensations. Furthermore, δριμύ matter can provoke these experiences in others.

2.1.2. *The Hippocratics on δριμύς*

Now to return to the Hippocratics. The authors of the Corpus regularly list what they consider to be δριμέα ingredients both in their treatises and in the gynaecological recipe lists. The author of *Diseases 2*, for example, urges at the end of a therapy for a mortal disease involving much sputum and pus in the lung that μηδὲ λαχάνοισι δριμέσι χρῆσθω, ὅτι μὴ θύμβρη ἢ ὀριγάνω, ‘[the patient] must not eat δριμύς vegetables, save savory and oregano’ in case of high fever.¹⁸⁵ Slightly later in the same treatise – in the treatment of a similar disease and again in case of heavy fevers – this list is expanded by the admonition σιλφίω δὲ μηδὲν χρῆσθαι μηδέ τιτι ἄλλω λαχάνω δριμεῖ, ὅτι μὴ ὀριγάνω ἢ θύμω ἢ πηγάνω, ‘[the patient] must not

¹⁸⁴ Hitch 2017:41.

¹⁸⁵ *Diseases 2.48*. Potter 1988a:74.

eat silphium, nor any other δριμύ vegetable, save oregano or thyme or rue.¹⁸⁶ And again at *Diseases* 2.73 – the description of the black disease quoted in part 1 – the patient vomits matter which can sometimes be δριμύ οἶον ὄξος, ‘δριμύ like vinegar.’ *Nature of Women* mentions as προσθετὸν καθαρτήριον, ‘cleaning suppository’ for women the following recipe:¹⁸⁷

Ἅτερον δριμύτερον· κράμβης, πηγάνου, ἑκάτερον ἴσον τρίψας, χρῶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

Another more δριμύ [suppository]: having ground equal amounts each of cabbage, rue, use in the same way.

And a therapy for when the womb has established itself against the hip or flank of a woman in childbed in *Diseases of Women* 2 recommends eating δριμύς foods, save radish, onion and cardamom.¹⁸⁸

With these final two examples, we have reached the Hippocratic recipe lists, in which δριμύς ingredients figure often. Furthermore, with Clements’ definition, we now have a way to explain why these ingredients were classified as such: δριμέα matter would elicit a multisensory response from the patient of a hot, prickling sensation especially in the nose, but as we have seen, also in the mouth and eyes, as taste and presaging tears. Yet, the fact that δριμύς figures several times in recipes for *gynaecological* problems, and is often applied to the womb, already hints that further contextualization of this word within the Hippocratic Corpus is necessary – and also goes to show how selective Clements was in his consultation of the Hippocratic sources.¹⁸⁹ What were δριμέα ingredients considered to do within the treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus, and within the *gynaecological* recipe lists specifically? And how do their functions correspond to Clements’ definition of the concept?

Of course, as was remarked earlier, the Hippocratic Corpus represents a multitude of medical doctrines, so it is very well possible that the *gynaecological* authors might have had a slightly different idea of what effect δριμύς was supposed to have on the body than Plato

¹⁸⁶ *Diseases* 2.50. Idem:284.

¹⁸⁷ *Nature of Women* 1.109.10. Potter 2012:318.

¹⁸⁸ *Diseases of Women* 2.136.7-8.

¹⁸⁹ Clements 2013 mentions only *Ancient Medicine* 18. Examples of recipes including δριμύς ingredients are given below.

and the author of *Ancient Medicine*. Therefore, reading different Hippocratic treatises together always poses some risk. Yet, as a general concept, *δριμύς* must have been recognizable as such to many, so it is important to take into account as many instantiations of the concept as possible in order to arrive at a clearer picture of its overarching meaning, especially if those instantiations seemingly do not add up to others. Furthermore, the gynaecological treatises are generally taken to be unified in concepts and theories of the body. King argues, with Hanson, that “there are sufficient points of agreement – particularly within the *Diseases of Women* treatises – to make such an overview [of a Hippocratic gynaecology] worth attempting.”¹⁹⁰ These are relevant matters to keep in mind before analysing several recipes for patients’ experiences.

Ancient Medicine 18, one of the two explicitly mentioned sources on which Clements based his definition, speaks of the common cold and the *δριμύτερον* discharge from the nose that is the result of the disease. This discharge makes the nose swell and inflames it to a high heat. If the disease persists it could even lead to ulceration of the nose. Of course, if the composition of the discharge becomes less *δριμύ*, the heat ceases.¹⁹¹ This seems to be in broad agreement with *Regimen* 56, which includes *δριμύς* foodstuffs in a list of heating substances:¹⁹²

τὰ γλυκέα καὶ τὰ δριμέα καὶ τὰ ἀλυκὰ καὶ τὰ πικρὰ καὶ τὰ αὐστηρὰ καὶ τὰ σαρκώδεα θερμαίνειν πέφυκε...

Sweet substances and *δριμύς* substances and salty substances and bitter substances and astringent substances and flesh-like substances are by nature heating...

This particular quality of *δριμύς* can account for the admonitions in *Diseases* 2 mentioned above which advise against taking *δριμύς* substances in case of high fever: the patient is already overheated, and ingesting these heating ingredients, or their smells, would only worsen the problem.¹⁹³ As the Hippocratics thought of health in terms of balance of bodily fluids and such traits as hot and cold, dry and wet, *δριμύς* ingredients are in some cases

¹⁹⁰ King 1998:21. See also Dean-Jones 1994:11 on the general compatibility in medical theory of the gynaecological treatises.

¹⁹¹ *Ancient Medicine* 18. Jones 1923a:46-47. See also Clements 2013:82-83 on this passage.

¹⁹² *Regimen* 2.56. Jones 1931:240.

¹⁹³ Theophrastus also characterises *δριμύς* as capable of heating at *Causes of Plants* 6.1.3.

beneficial and in others not.¹⁹⁴ Quite often, δριμύτης is a quality that should be purged from the body, especially if it is transferred to bodily fluids, which I will discuss below. For instance, *Fistulas* 7 treats a rather horrifying inflammation of the rectum, accompanied by fever, an inability to pass stool, anal protrusion and strangury, which came about because of too much phlegm. The advice is the following:¹⁹⁵

Ευμφέρει δὲ τὰ θερμά· δύναται γὰρ τάδε προσφερόμενα λεπτύνειν καὶ ἐκτῆκιν
τὸ φλέγμα, καὶ ἅμα τῷ δριμυεῖ τὸ ἀλμυρὸν ἐξυδατοῦν, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸ καῦμα μηδὲ
δῆξιν τινα ἐν τῷ ἐντέρω.

Warm substances help: for these applications can thin and melt out the phlegm, and water down the salty together with the δριμύς, so that there will be no heat or some sort of biting in the intestine.

In Hippocratic theory, δριμύς substances are heating and, as we will see below, they generate phlegm, so it would in this case make perfect sense to purge the δριμύς phlegm out of the body.

The prickling sensation that Clements attributes to δριμύς is perhaps mirrored by the Hippocratic assertion that ingredients with its qualities ‘bite’:¹⁹⁶

Ἦν ὑγρότερον τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ στόμα τῶν ὑστερέων ἢ, προστιθέναι τὰ δριμέα, ὅπως
δηχθῇ, καὶ φλεγμῆναν σκληρὸν λίην γένηται. Ἦν δὲ σκιρωθῇ, τὰ δριμέα
προσφέρειν δάκνοντα ἃ διαχεῖ τὸν ἰχώρα·

If the mouth of the uterus is moister than what is proper, apply as a suppository δριμύς substances, so that it [the mouth] will be bitten, and becomes very hard by being inflamed. If it is indurated, apply δριμύς substances that by biting disperse the ichor.

¹⁹⁴ See King 2005:151 and 156, and Totelin 2009:197-198 on health as fluid balance and disease as imbalance. However, as was observed above, this balance was not the same in all people, but depended on personal and environmental factors. Totelin 2009:197-198 explains the principle of curing through opposites implicit in the gynaecological treatises, but see Von Staden 1992a:passim for some observations of *similia similibus*, ‘like curing like’ in Hippocratic excrement therapy. Whenever one of these opposites gains prevalence, ἐπικράτεια, over the other, disease ensues. On the concept of prevalence, see Lonie 1981:126, 129-130.

¹⁹⁵ *Fistulas* 7. Potter 1995:396, 398.

¹⁹⁶ *Nature of Women* 24. Potter 2012:220, 222. Or ‘gnaw’, ἀπεσθίει, at *Nature of Women* 42. Idem:276.

Clearly, δριμύς bites and inflames, but is also able to make liquids dissolve, similar to Plato's 'cutting' particles.¹⁹⁷ Additionally, due to its irritating, biting effect, it is able to dry out and so harden the mouth of the womb, which again in some cases can be beneficial.¹⁹⁸

This more tactile dimension of δριμύς might also explain how there are some 'δριμύς pessaries that draw blood', sometimes mentioned in the gynaecology.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, perhaps this same 'biting' quality can be linked to the fact that, especially in the case of pregnant women, δριμύς matter can be considered dangerous in Hippocratic gynaecology. We remember the warning, mentioned above in 1.1.2, of the author of *Diseases of Women* 1 that some pregnant women used δριμύς pessaries on themselves. These would ulcerate the womb and so kill the child.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ See also, for example, *Affections* 39, which states that δριμύς, biting substances can clean unclean and rotting wounds, and *Sight* 9, which lists δριμύς salves as beneficial in ophthalmia, the treatment of which requires cleaning out the head and lower cavity. See also *Nature of Women* 42: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσθετῶν, ὅκοσα δηλαδὴ δριμέα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπεσθίει, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν καθαίρεται αἷμα (Potter 2012:276), and *Diseases of Women* 2.165.6-7: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσθετῶν, ὅσα τε δριμέα ἐστὶ καὶ ὑφ' ὧν καθαίρεται αἷμα, both of which attribute to δριμέα pessaries the ability to clean blood, perhaps again to be linked to its ability to think down and get rid of unwanted substances.

¹⁹⁸ *Barrenness* 14 brings to the fore this function of δριμύς in similar terms: ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας, τὰς ὑστέρας καθαίρειν· ἢν ὑγρότερον τὸ στόμα τῶν ὑστερέων ἢ, προστιθέναι τὰ δριμέα, ὅπως δηχθὲν καὶ φλεγμῆναν τὸ στόμα τῶν ὑστερέων σκληρόν γένηται, 'after having left [the patient] for several days, clean the uterus: if the mouth of the uterus is too moist, apply δριμύς substances, so that the mouth of the uterus, upon being bitten and becoming inflamed, becomes hard.' Potter 2012:362.

¹⁹⁹ *Diseases of Women* 1.32.134 and 1.74.47 both mention these προσθετὰ δριμέα αἷμα ἄγοντα, followed by very similar lists of pessaries. This particular quality can also be linked, at least as far as the gynaecological treatises are concerned, to the heating properties of δριμύς, as blood is hot – *Diseases of Women* 1.1.40-41, for example, clearly states that women are hotter than men because they retain more hot blood.

²⁰⁰ *Diseases of Women* 1.67.1-3. Ἦν δὲ γυνὴ ἐκ τρωσμοῦ τρῶμα λάβῃ μέγα, ἢ προσθέτοισι δριμέσιν ἐλκωθῇ τὰς μήτρας, οἷα πολλὰ γυναῖκες ἀεὶ δρῶσί τε καὶ ἰητρεύουσι, καὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον φθαρεῖ..., 'If a woman receives a great wound from miscarriage, or is ulcerated in her womb by δριμύς pessaries, the kind women always use and treat with, and the embryo perishes...' *Diseases of Women* 1.25.34-38 contains a similar warning that δριμύς substances could kill the embryo, but this is a more general statement which seems to have to do rather with the fact that if a woman's body, and especially her cavity, is not accustomed to a particular sort of substance, ingesting this might kill the child if still very small: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ φθείρουσι τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἢν δριμύ τι ἢ πικρὸν φάγωσι παρὰ τὸ ἔθος ἢ πῖωσι, νηπίου τοῦ παιδίου ἐόντος· ἢν γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τι γένηται, καὶ ἢν σμικρὸν ἔτι ἦ, θνήσκει, καὶ ἢν τοιαῦτα φάγῃ ἢ πῖῃ ἢ γυνὴ, ὥστε οἱ ἰσχυρῶς ταραχθῆναι τὴν κοιλίην, νηπίου ἐόντος τοῦ παιδίου, 'And there are some who kill the embryo's, of they eat or drink something δριμύς or bitter contrary to habit, the child being very small. For if something happens to the child contrary to habit, and it is still small, it dies, and if the woman eats or drinks such things, so that her cavity is heavily stirred, the child being very small.'

The author of *Diseases* 4 lists δριμύς substances as generating phlegm, which then immediately moves to mouth and nose, situating the effects of δριμύς in the exact area where Clements placed them in his definition:²⁰¹

Ἐπὶν τις φάγη τυρὸν ἢ ὅ τι ἐστὶ δριμύ, ἢ ἄλλο τι φάγη ἢ πῖν ὅ τι ἐστὶ φλεγματοῦδες, αὐτίκα οἱ ἐπιθέει ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας, καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως γινόμενον πάντες ὁρῶμεν.

When someone eats cheese or whatever is δριμύς, or eats or drinks something else which is full of phlegm, it immediately runs upon the mouth and the nose, and we all see that this happens in this way.

Furthermore, the ability of δριμύς to transfer its effect to other people and matter is perhaps illustrated by the author of *Diseases of Women* 2 in a treatment for ulcerated pudenda:²⁰²

διανιζέσθω δὲ ὕδατι ἀπὸ μυρσίνης καὶ ἐλελίσφακου χλιερῶ· σιτίοισι δὲ χρήσθω μήθ' ἄλμυροῖσι μήτε δριμέσιν, ὥς μὴ δακνῶδες τὸ οὖρον γένηται, καὶ τῶν θαλασσίων εἰργεσθαι, καὶ κρεῶν βοείων, καὶ ὄϊων, καὶ χοιρείων.

Let her [the patient] wash herself with warm water, a solution of myrtle and sage: she must eat neither salty nor δριμύς foods, lest her urine becomes biting, and she must eat fish, beef, mutton, and pork.

In this passage, the author fears the δριμύς ingredients might pass on their biting quality to the urine, an apparently undesired transfer of δριμύτης from the medicinal foods to the body and so, the urine.

So far, and perhaps not to our surprise, the Hippocratic conception of δριμύς seems to correspond rather closely to Clements' definition of the term. It emerges as a biting and irritating substance, one that is able to thin down liquids due to its tactile properties, and which appears to be able to generate the sort of prickling sensation in the mouth and nose that

²⁰¹ *Diseases* 4.4. Potter 2012:108. In the above example of *Fistulas* 7, the phlegm was concentrated in the intestine and at the rectum, rather than in the mouth and nasal area. However, it should be noted here that the author of this passage indicates that this is an abnormal displacement of phlegm to the lower body: ...τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα γίνεταί, ὅταν φλέγμα ἐς τὸν ἀρχὸν καταστηρίξη ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, '...this disease arises, when phlegm settles from the body near the anus.'

²⁰² *Diseases of Women* 2.121.15-18.

Clements has analysed. Furthermore, δριμύς substances are able to pass on their δριμύτης to other matter and people. I would add here that, even more strongly than in the examples Clements adduces, δριμύς for the Hippocratics seems to be connected to fluids leaving the body, whether that be breaking out pus, or the drawing of blood.²⁰³ The issue of localization, however, requires some additional exploration; although we have seen that the Hippocratics sometimes situate the effects of δριμύς in the mouth and nose, it appears that in the gynaecological treatises specifically, δριμέα ingredients are mainly used to treat the uterus. How does this relate to Clements' contention that δριμύς is situated mainly in the mouth and nose?

An answer to this matter might be given by the Hippocratic construction of the female body. Women, in Hippocratic thought, absorb much more blood – food broken down and transferred to the veins – than men do, due to the spongy nature of their flesh, making blood the primary governing fluid of their bodies.²⁰⁴ When too much blood builds up in the body, this would lead to suffocation of certain organs and so to disease. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that the excess blood is evacuated as menses, which explains the Hippocratic preoccupation with the womb as the receptacle and consequent exit for menstrual blood. The Hippocratics imagined the womb to be a jar, an ἄγγος, and so, like any jar, the womb had a mouth. In fact, the lower female body had two mouths, one being the mouth of the uterus, and the other τὸ στόμα τοῦ αἰδοίου, 'the mouth of the vagina', or τὸ στόμα τῆς ἐξόδου, 'mouth of the exit'.²⁰⁵ Problems with menstruation arose when the uterine mouth would dry out or harden, or if the womb turned to other parts of the body, which would mean its mouth no longer aligned with the vagina, and the menses would consequently not be able to flow out properly.²⁰⁶ The 'wandering womb' would thus cause the fatal build-up of blood in the

²⁰³ This ties in well with, for example, the Homeric δριμύ βέλος mentioned above, which describes both the pain which Agamemnon feels when his body is nearly drained of blood, and the pain that a woman feels close to parturition, the child leaving her body; see p. 52 above.

²⁰⁴ The following account of the body of 'Hippocrates' woman' is based on King 1998:21-39 and her references there. See also Hanson 1990 and 1991 on the subject. See *Diseases of Women* 1.1 for an account of some of the most important tenets in Hippocratic gynaecology. For criticism on the theory of the four humours as a general Hippocratic idea, see King 2013.

²⁰⁵ See *Diseases of Women* 1.40.2 and *Diseases of Girls* 1.

²⁰⁶ There is some scholarly disagreement over whether the womb was considered to be a living creature in Hippocratic gynaecology, able to move on its own, or rather that it turned according to more mechanical principles (a dry womb would turn to wetter parts of the body, etc.). See, for example, Dean-

body mentioned earlier, and the Hippocratics had a battery of therapies at the ready to ensure it moved back to its proper place, often through smell-based treatments such as vapour baths.²⁰⁷ Important for our discussion of δριμύς here is the fact that the womb, so often treated with δριμύς ingredients, had a mouth. We can even take this one step further, as these uterine and vaginal mouths are suggested to have been directly connected to the upper mouth and nose through a tube – which, it should be mentioned, is never explicitly described in the Hippocratic treatises.²⁰⁸ Even when applied to the womb, δριμύς ingredients would have reacted not only on the lower mouth, that of the uterus, but it is likely that, through the tube, these substances would have reacted on the upper mouth and nose as well, corresponding to Clement’s definition of δριμύς after all. It is worth emphasizing at this point that the different contexts in which δριμύς is used are just as important for this thesis as their overarching conception: I do not consider one of these contexts and meanings as primary over the others, and neither would a Greek patient have. With this, harkening back to my research question, I have demonstrated how δριμύς is conceptualised within Greek literature, and in the treatises of the Corpus specifically, arising as a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch.

Before moving on to an in-depth analysis of several recipe case studies proper, there is one final link between Hippocratic gynaecology and δριμύς that I wish to explore, which will make a start with reading recipes through sensory denominators. As we have seen in the above, δριμύς often appears in archaic epic poetry in a martial context, the δριμεῖα μάχη we have come to be familiar with. This, I have suggested, can be seen as part of a wider epic tendency, analysed by Hitch, to use taste words mainly for instances of battle and to describe

Jones 1991:122-124, and Hanson 1998:86. Faraone 2011 provides a synthesizing and exhaustive account of the wandering womb throughout antiquity.

²⁰⁷ See Totelin 2015 for a discussion of the importance of smell in ancient medicine. She also discusses the paramount importance of this sensory sphere in the treatment of gynaecological problems.

²⁰⁸ King 1998:27-28 and her references there. For indications of the existence of this tube connecting the lower mouth with the mouth and nose, see, for example *Diseases of Women* 2.133, which discusses a case of a tilted and closed mouth of the womb, and adds that in this case αἱ ῥῖνες ξηραὶ τε καὶ ἐμπεπλασμέναι εἰσιν, οὐκ ἀειρόμεναι, ‘the nostrils are dry and clogged, not raised’, and Coan *Prenotions* 537, which states that τὰ φρικώδεα, κοπιώδεα, καρηβαρικά, τραχήλου ὀδυνώδεα, γυναικεῖα καταρρήγνυσιν, ‘shivers, weariness, headaches, pains in the neck/throat, [are signs that] the menses break out.’ See Potter 2010:240 for the text. Another good indication for this tube is the often used therapy, discussed in detail by Totelin 2015, of luring the womb downward by placing sweet smelling substances under the vagina, and stinking substances under the patient’s nose. This emphasis on the olfactory abilities of the womb could be taken to indicate that one of the lower mouths, that of the womb, was accompanied by a nose as well.

poetry, a contextualization which seems to have found its way into lyric, and even comic poetry, contemporary to the Hippocratic gynaecological treatises, as well.²⁰⁹ Moving now to the Hippocratic treatment of gynaecological problems with δριμύς ingredients, we might wonder whether the application of these ingredients to their bodies would remind the female patients of this martial context of δριμύς.

Yurie Hong has recently demonstrated that in the embryological treatises *Generation* and *Nature of the Child*, the birth of the child is characterised by conflict, a “war in the womb.” This conflict is gendered, and entails the implicitly male child – as in Hippocratic gynaecology and embryology, a male child is envisioned to be stronger than a female child – struggling to fight his way out of the restrictive womb of his mother: the mother is thus imagined to be a danger to the child.²¹⁰ Could this potentially somewhat bellicose conception of the mother and child relationship be linked to the use of δριμύς ingredients to treat the womb of female patients? Would these ingredients, through the martial context of δριμύς, alert their mothers to the potential risks of these ingredients for their children? And conversely, was the use of δριμύς abortives by the women mentioned in *Diseases of Women* 1.67 an attempt to win this “war in the womb”?²¹¹ It would be difficult to prove whether or not the Hippocratic patient would ascribe to such a characterization of the birth process, but it is possible that the connections δριμύς had to battle and risk would make them consider the danger to their child, and thus refuse – or welcome – the treatment. Admittedly, this interpretation is made slightly more difficult by the fact that, as Hong has noted, *Diseases of Women* 1 – even though it was likely written by the same author as *Generation* and *Nature of the Child* – seems to portray the mother-child relationship in pregnancy and birth somewhat more sympathetically towards the mother, characterizing them as dangerous periods for both mother and child, although Hong does note that “In both gynecological and embryological accounts, the woman is figured as a potential cause of harm. Mother and child are thus set against one another.”²¹²

²⁰⁹ See n. 175 above.

²¹⁰ Hong 2012:78-85. Hong’s analysis extends this gendered conflict to the generation of the child, with the male and female seed fighting for dominance inside of the womb, and the potentially defective female physiology versus strong male physiology that might result from it (74-81).

²¹¹ Note again the δριμύ βέλος, mentioned on p. 52 above, which is used in the *Iliad* for a comparison of a martial and a birthing context.

²¹² Eadem:79.

2.1.3. Reading recipes through a *δριμύς* lens

With the ‘war in the womb’ we have reached the patient’s experiences of the Hippocratic recipes through sensory adjectives. I will now turn to a recipe including *δριμύς* ingredients.²¹³ By looking at the context of *δριμύς* as outlined above, and similarly contextualizing the ingredients, I will try and extrapolate some possible reactions from the patients whose bodies these recipes would be applied to, while at the same time emphasizing why it is important to include this particular sensory term in a cultural reading of the Hippocratic recipes from the patients’ side of the medical encounter. This will both test my theoretical model, and answer our research question about how this model of sensory concepts and contextualized ingredients might elucidate ancient patient experiences. Now, it is our turn to look *δριμύς*.

Diseases 2.47 is one of the longest treatments of disease in the treatise. It discusses pneumonia, infection of the lung, starting by listing the symptoms: fever for 14 to 18 days, coughing, and expectorating sputum. If the patient – whose sex is not specified, as the usage of a male pronoun does here not exclude female patients, who might also have suffered from the disease – coughs up all of the sputum by the 15th day, or stops coughing on the 18th, s/he will recover, if not the lung might start to fester.²¹⁴ The taste of the sputum is here an important

²¹³ This recipe was selected by looking for the lemma *δριμύς* using the simple text search option of the TLG corpus, limiting the search to the Hippocratic treatises. Therefore, I have chosen a recipe in which the word *δριμύς* or its derivatives are used explicitly; this for the sake of brevity, but also to keep a clear overview. Many other recipes include ingredients that the Hippocratics would classify as *δριμύς* without explicitly saying so, but including all of these would far exceed the scope of this thesis.

²¹⁴ That female patients too might suffer from pneumonia is confirmed by *Diseases* 1.3, which warns that this disease is fatal for a pregnant woman. This does of course not mean that the treatment of pneumonia is the same for both men and women. Indeed, Comiti 1999, has observed that there are cases in *Diseases* 1 and 2 in which the author advises men and women should be treated differently. There is no indication, however, that this is the case for pneumonia. In fact, Comiti’s case of “un traitement spécifique du fait du sexe” (132) is *Diseases* 2.51 – a case of consumption of the back in which it is clearly stated the patient is male, as indicated by his capacity to ejaculate (nocturnally) and sleep with women. While the Hippocratic author here focusses on a male patient, he does not explicitly compare his treatment to that of a female patient. Comiti has based his comparison on other cases, which focus on women, which means that there is no clear case of therapeutic discrimination on the level of individual diseases. *Diseases* 2.70 starts by stating that the phlegmatic disease affects women more often than men, and describes the signs of the disease in the patient using feminine adjectives to denote the patient. When speaking of the treatment of the disease, however, the author reverts to male forms to designate the patient, which could be considered to indicate both sexes were to be treated in the same way. Of course, women have a womb and men do not, so there is some obvious discrimination in the treatments of uterine diseases, most clearly in the gynaecological treatises. Both women and men, however, have lungs, and there is to my mind no reason to assume the author of *Diseases* 2 was under the impression that women could not suffer from pneumonia or that they should be treated differently

indicator for whether or not the patient will recover quickly.²¹⁵ The author then moves on to treatments – all of them quite detailed, specifying critical days and moving on to other treatments in case the former does not seem to work –, the first of which includes a warning to τῶν δριμύων ἀπέχεσθαι, ‘abstain from δριμύς foods’, again likely because their heating properties would be unbeneficial in case of high fever.²¹⁶

Then follows another condition: internal suppuration after pneumonia. Again, the symptoms of the disease are concisely mentioned, and followed by treatments, including recipes. The first recipe, aimed at making pus break out of the lungs, is of little interest for our current purposes, as the ingredients are not δριμύς.²¹⁷ The following recipe, however, does include these ingredients:²¹⁸

ἦν μέντοι ὑπὸ τούτου τὸ πύον ῥαγῇ. εἰ δὲ μή, ἕτερον ποιῆσαι: **σίδια δριμέα** ἐκχυλώσας καὶ κυκλάμινον—ὅσον ὀξύβαφον τῶν σμικρῶν ἑκατέρου ἔστω—ἔπειτα ὁπὸν **σιλφίου** τρίψας ὅσον κύαμον, διεῖναι, καὶ συμμῖξαι γάλακτος ὅσον ὀξύβαφον αἶγειον ἢ ὄνειον· τοῦτο χλιαρὸν ἐγχεῖν.

If through this the pus breaks out, [fine]. If not, make another: squeeze out **δριμύς pomegranate peels** and cyclamen – there must be as much as a small oxybaphon of each²¹⁹ – then grind juice of **silphium**, as much as a bean, soak, and mix in as much as an oxybaphon of goat’s or ass’s milk. Pour this in warm.

than men when suffering from that disease. Admittedly, *Nature of Women* 38 (a parallel to *Diseases of Women* 1.129) states that a woman suffering from her uterus falling against her sides might *seem* to have pneumonia while this is in fact not the case, but there is again no indication in *Diseases* 1.3 that the pneumonia in pregnant women is a faulty prognosis. There is only a single (male) patient mentioned in the *Epidemics* (5.1.5) suffering from pneumonia.

²¹⁵ See pp. 27-28 above on the importance of the senses in diagnosis.

²¹⁶ *Diseases* 2.47. Potter 1998a:268. See pp. 56-59 above on δριμύτης and its relation to fever.

²¹⁷ *Diseases* 2.47. Idem:270. τοῦτον, ἐπὴν δεκαταῖος γένηται, ἐφ’ ἧς ἂν ἄρξηται ἔμπυος γίνεσθαι, λούσας πολλῷ θερμῷ, τρίψας ἄρου ῥίζαν, ὅσον ἀστράγαλον μέγεθος, καὶ ἄλός χόνδρον, καὶ μέλι καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄλειψα ὀλίγον, ἐξειρῶσας τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἐγχεῖαι χλιαρόν. ἔπειτα κινῆσαι τῶν ὤμων, ‘when it is the tenth day after the internal suppuration has begun, wash him [the patient] with a lot of warm [water], grind the root of cuckoo-pint, as much as a vertebra in size, and a handful of salt, and honey and water, and a bit of unguent, pull out the tongue, pour over warm. Then shake the patient by his shoulders.’

²¹⁸ Ibidem.

²¹⁹ I have chosen to translate ὅσον ὀξύβαφον τῶν σμικρῶν ἑκατέρου ἔστω as ‘there must be as much as a small oxybaphon of each’ – following both Jouanna’s 1983 Budé edition (‘pour la quantité, vous prendrez un petit oxybaphe de chaque’) and Potter’ 1988 Loeb (‘let there be a small oxybaphon of each’),

This treatment contains several ingredients characterised by the Hippocratics and/or Theophrastus as **δριμύς**, which are printed in bold.²²⁰ While the earlier treatment for pneumonia abstained from **δριμύς** ingredients, most likely because of their heating and fever-inducing properties, it seems these ingredients are hard to avoid when the aim is breaking out pus – corresponding well to the characterization of **δριμύς** as driving out fluids. It is, however, always somewhat difficult to isolate certain effects of specific ingredients in a recipe so elaborate.

The general **δριμύτης** of the recipe is reinforced by the usage of ingredients in the remainder of the treatment, notably the inclusion of such plants as **λιβανωτόν**, ‘frankincense’, **ὀρίγανον**, ‘oregano’, **πήγανον**, ‘rue’ and **θύμβραν**, ‘savory’ – all of which are characterised as **δριμύς** in the Hippocratic treatises – in the following stages of the therapy.²²¹ Not all the matter used is **δριμύς**, however. Milk, for example, even seems to have the ability to weaken the effects of the **δριμύς** plants, perhaps used, again, out of fear for ulceration and fever.²²² Although these ingredients too have cultural resonances, I will here, for the sake of brevity, concentrate on those substances characterised as **δριμύς**, and contextualize each of them in turn – by tracing their usage in Greek literature from Homer up to the third century BCE, with special emphasis on comic texts, which were already singled out by Totelin in her research into the sexual connotations of many of the ingredients used in Hippocratic gynaecology – much as I did in the above with **δριμύς** as a concept.²²³ After this, I will comment on what all of these contextualizations might have meant for a patient’s experience of this particular recipe. After this, I will mention several other recipes with **δριμύς** ingredients, especially including the two under inquiry here, and which may thus be interpreted in a similar way.

although I find this a somewhat unsatisfactory rendering of the Greek text. One might consider translating ‘there must be as much as an oxybaphon of each of the small things’, not reading τῶν σμικρῶν as a specification of ὀξύβαφον, but rather considering the word as denoting the residue of the squeezed pomegranate peels and cyclamen.

²²⁰ The σίδια are in this recipe quite clearly characterised as **δριμύς**. For σίλφιον as **δριμύς**, see, for example: Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.1.4, *Causes of Plants* 6.12.8; *Epidemics* 7.1.68; *Diseases* 2.50.

²²¹ For the final three, see 2.1.2 above. For frankincense as **δριμύς**, see *Diseases of Women* 1.74.47.

²²² See *Diseases of Women* 1.63.26 for ass’ milk as toning down the effects of **δριμύς** substances.

²²³ Totelin 2009:199.

Σίδια δριμέα: The first ingredient of importance in this recipe are ‘δριμέα pomegranate peels’; the term σίδιον, however, is not very well represented in Greek literature from the period relevant to this thesis. A scholiast on Aristophanes’ *Clouds* 881 glosses the term as τῶν λεπύρων τῶν ῥοιῶν, ‘rinds of the pomegranate’, which seemingly ties in well with some of the descriptions of σίδια in the Hippocratic treatises.²²⁴ *Nature of Women* 60, for example, is a recipe that calls for ῥοιῆς γλυκεῖης σίδια, ‘peels of a sweet pomegranate’, in order to cure aphthae on a woman’s genitalia.²²⁵ Σίδια are thus part of the pomegranate proper, the ῥοιά. In this sense, the combination σίδια δριμέα emerges as quite marked, as it represents the single instance in Greek literature from the relevant period in which pomegranate peels – or a pomegranate for that matter – are called δριμύς, and even within the corpus σίδια do not often have a sensory adjective.²²⁶ In fact, the sensory term usually associated with the ῥοιά is γλυκύς, ‘sweet’, both within and outside of the Hippocratic Corpus.²²⁷

Of course, the peel is usually not the part of the pomegranate actually eaten. The author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* relates how Hades tricked Persephone into eating a pomegranate in the underworld – perhaps the most famous instance of the consumption of this fruit in ancient literature – as follows:²²⁸

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ’ αὐτὸς

²²⁴ Σ in *Nubes* 119a 52. Holwerda 1977:176.

²²⁵ *Nature of Women* 60. Potter 2012:288. See also, for example, *Diseases of Women* 1.78.250 and 2.206.37. Admittedly, *Nature of Women* 32 lists σίδια of the pomegranate next to its φλοιόν, ‘bark’. This, however, is the only time this differentiation is made in the Corpus.

²²⁶ *Ulcers* 12 calls for σίδιον αὔον, ‘a dry pomegranate peel’, 14 for σίδιον λεπτόν ξηρόν, ‘a fine, dry pomegranate peel’, and *Interior Affections* 45 denotes the colour of the σίδιον as ωχρός, ‘pale’.

²²⁷ For ῥοιά γλυκεῖα see, for example, *Regimen* 1.55.12, *Nature of Women* 32, Euripides *Bacchae* 711, Alexis fr. 73.1. As Arnott 1996:206 notes in his commentary on Alexis fr. 73, “γλυκεῖαν is no idle ornament [for ῥοάν], but a recognised specific for one kind of pomegranate (*Punica granatum*), a cultivar presumably with a relatively acid-free fruit...”, citing several passages by Theophrastus in favour of this. However, this changes nothing about the fact that nowhere in extant Greek literature a ῥοιά is called δριμεῖα, and that γλυκεῖα appears to be the main sensory adjective used for it. Σίδη, another word for pomegranate – perhaps for a different kind, seeing how both ῥοιά and σίδη are called for in a series of recipes in *Nature of Women* 32 – makes its appearance in the Corpus a few times, sometimes with sensory adjectives: *Nature of Women* 32 calls for σίδας οἰνώδεας, ‘wine-like pomegranates’, as does *Diseases of Women* 1.52.7 (σίδης οἰνώδεος). *Diseases of Women* 1.75.45 and 2.192.23 both have σίδης γλυκεῖης.

²²⁸ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 371-2. I have consulted Richardson’s 1974 edition for the Greek text.

ῥοιῆς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιθεῖα λάθρη

But he himself

secretly gave her a honey-sweet seed of a pomegranate to eat...

The κόκκοι, 'seeds' of the pomegranate are the part usually eaten, not the peel, from which perspective σίδια again stand out in the recipe.²²⁹ One could thus also reasonably infer that it is the insides of the pomegranate that are usually referred to as sweet, but it does not seem to press things too far to suggest that the whole of the fruit, including the σίδια, would usually be associated with the sweetness so characteristic of the ῥοιῶ, thus marking σίδια δοιμέα out as a somewhat strange combination to the Greek mind.²³⁰

As Totelin has remarked, the pomegranate, and specifically its seeds, seem to have strong fertility connotations.²³¹ Helene Foley, in her commentary on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, puts it even more strongly: "Pomegranates were associated with blood, death, fertility, and marriage and may have served, at least symbolically, as an aphrodisiac", making the fruit perfectly suited for a story about rites of passage between the world of the living and that of the dead, and which has strong connections to sex and fertility rites.²³² Ann Suter agrees, remarking on the *Hymn* that "If it were not for the pomegranate seed, the symbol of human sex, it would be a simple symbolic story of the earth's seasonal fertility. But there is the pomegranate seed, which is the *Hymn's* link between vegetal and human fertility: it is the symbol of sex and fertility, and it is also the narrative agent that causes Persephone's coming and going, parallel to that of the earth's vegetation."²³³

²²⁹ For some other recipes in which pomegranate peels are used, see n. 225.

²³⁰ The scholiast on *Clouds* mentioned above might of course be wrong in calling σίδια 'peels', – another term for pomegranate is σῖδη, making at least theoretically possible that σίδια in fact means 'little pomegranate fruits.' It is worth here to emphasize the synesthetic character of the δοιμύτης of the pomegranate peels, which might not only be experienced in terms of taste, but also, at least, in terms of smell.

²³¹ Totelin 2009:205.

²³² Foley 1994:56 with references. See also Richardson 1974:276, "It [the pomegranate] was symbolical of blood and death, but also of fertility and marriage. Thus it aptly signified the marriage of Persephone and Hades." For the pomegranate as perhaps a (magical) aphrodisiac, see Faraone 1990:236-243.

²³³ Suter 2002:98.

Related, perhaps, to this fertility connotation is the pomegranate's appearance in passages denoting plenty and fecundity, as, for example, in part of the description of Alcinous' orchard in the *Odyssey*:²³⁴

ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθόωντα,
ὄγχναι καὶ ῥοιαί καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι
συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

And there tall trees are growing, blooming,
pears and pomegranates and apples bearing shining fruit
and sweet figs and blooming olives.

And again, at the end of Aristophanes *Peace*, the pomegranate is included in a long list of foodstuffs in a prayer to the personified Peace, emphasizing the plenty and bounty of Athens during peacetime. The Homeric parodist Matro of Pitane similarly mentions pomegranates as part of the second course of a lavish dinner party in his *Attic Dinner*.²³⁵ Antiphanes and Ephippus both place the food among the νόγαρα, 'dainties', 'desserts', thus indicating that pomegranates may not have been considered staple foods and so, perhaps, connecting them to images of plenty, even luxury, in these fragments.²³⁶

It is striking that the peel of the ῥοιᾶ, a fruit seemingly so closely connected to images of fertility, and perhaps to luxury, should appear in a recipe decidedly not related to fertility, but aiming at clearing pus from the lungs, and in a non-gendered context. Of course, the peel is, as was noted above, less likely to carry these associations than the seeds, but they are still part of the same fruit. Should this ingredient have appeared in one of the gynaecological treatises, most recipes of which are aimed at restoring women's fertility, the δριμύς element of the pomegranate peels would have alerted the patients, perhaps, to the connections the pomegranate had to death and fertility, recalling the 'war in the womb' and the death of the

²³⁴ *Odyssey* 7.114-116. Interestingly, verses 115-116 are also used in the description of Tantalus' punishment in the underworld in *Odyssey* 11.589-590, perhaps reinforcing the connection the pomegranate has with both the earth and the underworld.

²³⁵ Matro, *Attic Dinner* fr. 1.113. Olson and Sens 1999:64.

²³⁶ Antiphanes fr. 66. Kassel and Austin 1991:346. Ephippus fr. 24. Kassel and Austin 1986:151. Herodotus seems to attach a certain level of exoticness and eastern luxury to pomegranates, connecting them to the Persians in his *Histories* 4.143 and 7.41, the second passage being a description of Xerxes' army marching out of Sardis with silver and golden pomegranates on their spear shafts.

foetus as a possible outcome of this war.²³⁷ But even in this non gynaecological setting of the recipe, it is worth to recall the connection the Hippocratics posited between the mouth and uterus. The recipe does not specify where exactly to 'pour in' the medicine, but the mouth seems the most likely option, which would mean that, according to the Hippocratic physiology of female bodies, the treatment might still affect the womb. Perhaps the abortive qualities of δριμύτης were not completely lost on a female patient swallowing this particular medicine, although it is of course not entirely certain whether women would completely subscribe to the Hippocratic view of their bodies.²³⁸ Although the pomegranate is in this sense an ambiguous symbol, denoting both fecundity and death, it might be exactly this ambiguity that makes the fruit a suitable reminder that a pregnant woman (fertility) could abort (death) her child.

In the context of this recipe, however, the fertility element seems less important. Rather, I would again draw attention to the fact that δριμύτης is a markedly strange characteristic for the pomegranate; one that is, however, very suited to 'cut' and remove sputum from the lung and cure the pneumonia the patient was suffering from. Perhaps the associations with plenty and luxury the pomegranate carried, would have heightened the attractiveness of the recipe from the patient's point of view, somewhat softening the violent connections of δριμύς. The phrase σίδια δριμέα would thus highlight the medically desirable traits of δριμύτης while also downplaying its less attractive ones by choosing an ingredient strongly associated with the ῥοιᾶ, charged with positive cultural associations.

²³⁷ In fact, as noted by King in her 2006 entry "Abortifacients" in Brill's New Pauly Online, modern laboratory research has found some confirmation for abortive qualities in the pomegranate. However, she adds that "...it is still not easy to make a comparison between modern botanical chemistry and ancient medicine; the portion of ethereal oil and, therefore, the effect of the plants each varied according to the condition of the ground, harvest time and method of preparation."

²³⁸ See p. 23 above and 109 below for female patient's views on the Hippocratic physiology of their bodies. While δριμύς usually has the capacity to cut and drive out fluids, it is worth noting in this fertility context that at *Enquiry into Plants* 2.7.3, Theophrastus notes that a certain Androtion has mentioned the pomegranate among those trees that need the most δριμεῖα manure. However, rather than attributing a direct fertilizing function to δριμύτης, this manure is to ensure the tree does not become diseased – perhaps the underlying idea is again driving out the elements that induce sickness.

Σίλφιον: As we saw in the above, the author of *Diseases* 2 mentioned σίλφιον, ‘silphium’, as being a δριμύ vegetable.²³⁹ Theophrastus agrees with this characterization, stating in his *Enquiry into Plants* that τὸ δὲ τοῦ σιλφίου δριμύ, καθάπερ αὐτὸ τὸ σίλφιον, ‘that [juice] of the silphium is δριμύς, just like the plant itself.’²⁴⁰

Perhaps due to its δριμύτης, the plant seems to have purging qualities, as is noted, again, by Theophrastus:²⁴¹

ἄμα μὲν οὖν τῷ ἥρι τὸ μάσπετον τοῦτο ἀφήσιν, ὃ καθαίρει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ παχύνει σφόδρα καὶ τὰ κρέα θαυμαστὰ ποιεῖ τῇ ἡδονῇ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καυλόν, <ὄν> ἐσθίεσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἐφθὸν ὀπτόν, καθαίρειν δὲ καὶ τοῦτόν φασι τὰ σώματα τετταράκοντα ἡμέραις.

In springtime it [the silphium plant] sends up this μάσπετον [leaf], which purifies the sheep and greatly fattens their meat, making it amazingly delicious. After these things the stalk, <which> is to be eaten in any way cooked or roasted, and they say that this [stalk] purifies bodies in forty days.

The Hippocratic *Diseases of Women* 1 records a dietary prescription – part of a long therapy aimed at purification of the womb – which lists several δριμύς foods, including σίλφιον πουλὺ ἐγκλῶντα, ‘a lot of silphium which breaks in’, which can perhaps be related to the cutting, biting effect of δριμύς.²⁴² Similarly, silphium juice is included in softening recipes aimed at a powerful cleansing of the womb in *Superfetation* 33.²⁴³

Seemingly related to this purificatory function of the plant is its quality, acknowledged both in medical and in literary texts, to generate wind, or, more specifically, to cause

²³⁹ *Diseases* 2.50. As Olson and Sens 2000:46–47 note in their commentary on fr. 9 of Archestratus, several ancient sources distinguish different parts of the silphium plant that could be eaten. There is the root, called σίλφιον, the καυλός, ‘stem’, the μάσπετον, ‘leaf’, and the ὀπός, ‘juice’ or ‘gum.’ Arnott 1996:387 suggests that if it is left unspecified what part of the plant exactly is used, the seed is meant.

²⁴⁰ Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.1.4. Hort 1916b:220.

²⁴¹ Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 6.3.1. Idem:16. See *Enquiry into Plants* 6.3.1–6 for an account of the silphium plant and its different parts.

²⁴² *Diseases of Women* 1.133.192.

²⁴³ Potter 2010:346. This seems at odds with our earlier characterization of δριμύς as heating and drying, but it is very well possible that, this particular recipe being rather lengthy and including many ingredients, a combination of ingredients that only soften and, on the other hand, ingredients with purging qualities is represented here.

flatulence. The sausage seller of Aristophanes *Knights*, for example, reminds the demos of the time Paphlagon lowered the prices of τὸν καυλὸν τὸν σιλφίου, ‘the stalk of silphium’, so that everyone would eat them and in court βδέοντες ἀλλήλους ἀποκτείνειαν οἱ δικασταί, ‘the judges would kill each other by farting.’²⁴⁴ Note here the not-so-subtle move from δριμύτης as taste to its olfactory – and perhaps also sound – quality, thereby again highlighting the synesthetic nature of the concept.²⁴⁵ Interesting in this context is also the passage from Aristophanes *Wealth* mentioned above, ‘breaking wind more δριμύς than a weasel.’ Herodotus mentions in his *Histories*, in a short account of the fauna of eastern Libya, that εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίῃσι ὁμοιώταται, ‘there also live weasels in the silphium, very much alike to those in Tartessus.’²⁴⁶ Taken together, these two passages confirm that it is indeed silphium’s δριμύτης that causes the flatulence.

This corresponds to its usage in the Hippocratic gynaecological treatises. *Diseases of Women* 1.75, for example, lists silphium juice among ingredients that are φουσητικά, ‘causing flatulency.’²⁴⁷ This quality of silphium allows it to be used to create ‘wind in the womb’:²⁴⁸

Ποιέειν δὲ φῦσαν ἐν τῇ μήτρῃ ὅταν βούλῃ, σκοροόδου μώλυζαν καὶ ὀπὸν σιλφίου παραμιγνύναι πρὸς τὰ προσθετά.

If you want to make wind in the womb, mix a head of garlic and juice of silphium together in order to make suppositories.

Silphium can also serve against wind in the womb, according to the principle of like curing like, as it does at *Diseases of Women* 2.211 and in a parallel recipe at *Nature of Women* 64.²⁴⁹ As Totelin observes, “Although ‘winds in the womb’ referred to a genuine condition that needed treatment, ‘to create a wind in the womb’ may have been a euphemistic way to refer to an abortion; another important use of the herb was as an expulsive of the dead foetus or as an abortive.”²⁵⁰ To illustrate this point, one might look, for example, at *Superfetation* 27, in which silphium is used to salve the womb during or after abortion, or – the example that Totelin

²⁴⁴ Aristophanes, *Knights* 896-898. Henderson 1998a:338.

²⁴⁵ The scholia to Aristophanes *Knights* 894 and *Birds* 1582 highlight the smell of the plant.

²⁴⁶ Herodotus, *Histories* 4.192. Godley 1938:396.

²⁴⁷ *Diseases of Women* 1.75.40-41.

²⁴⁸ *Barrenness* 239. Potter 2012:382.

²⁴⁹ *Diseases of Women* 2.211.5; *Nature of Women* 64. Potter 2012:290.

²⁵⁰ Totelin 2009:160.

herself adduces – *Diseases of Women* 91, where silphium is included in a διεκβόλιον, ἣν ἀποθάνῃ τὸ ἔμβρυον, ‘an abortive, if the embryo has died.’²⁵¹ This fits well with the abortive properties of δριμύς as observed earlier, and I would thus suggest that – again, even though the context of this recipe is not directly related to fertility issues, or specifically to women –, that these associations of δριμύς might very well come to the mind of a female patient ingesting this recipe.²⁵²

Totelin lists silphium among the luxury ingredients used in Hippocratic recipes. The plant was most often associated with the Cyrenaica area in Libya, and, if it was indeed found there, it must have been imported to the Greek mainland.²⁵³ Add to this that silphium seems to have been notoriously difficult to cultivate, and it is not hard to see how using this ingredient might elevate a recipe to – to use Totelin’s term – *Haute Médecine*.²⁵⁴ It thus seems fair to suppose that this particular recipe was only accessible to the well-off households: Aristophanes *Wealth*, for example, emphasizes the plant’s high value.²⁵⁵

By far the most popular usage of silphium is as a (pricy) condiment in dishes. The plant seems to have been so popular that it was eaten to extinction in Late Antiquity.²⁵⁶ Silphium seasoning is very well represented in Greek comedy. Aristophanes mentions it in his *Birds*, as part of the seasoning of a roasted bird – an inhabitant of Cloud-cuckoo-land who had betrayed the bird democracy.²⁵⁷ The middle comic poet Axionicus attributes to silphium the ability to bring half-eaten remnants of food back to life, perhaps emphasizing its strong taste, and Anaxippus includes the plant in a list of ἀρτύματα, ‘condiments’, used by the god Kronos.²⁵⁸ Archestratos of Gela, a gourmet and author of an epic poem mainly on where to find and how to prepare certain kinds of fish and seafood, seems somewhat reluctant of using

²⁵¹ *Superfetation* 27. Potter 2010:334, 336; *Diseases of Women* 1.91.1, 8-10.

²⁵² Needless to say, this of course only goes for patients aware of this context. See also n. 260.

²⁵³ On the geographical provenance of silphium, see Totelin 2009:158-159.

²⁵⁴ For the difficulty of growing silphium, see, for example, *Diseases* 4.34 – which emphasizes that the plant only thrives in the climate of Libya – and, perhaps, Theophrastus, *Causes of Plants* 1.16.9 – noting that the plant φεύγει τὴν ἐργασίαν, ‘flees from tendance.’

²⁵⁵ Aristophanes, *Wealth* 925.

²⁵⁶ Totelin 2009:158.

²⁵⁷ Aristophanes, *Birds* 1579-1585.

²⁵⁸ Axionicus fr. 8.3. Kassel and Austin 1983:25; Anaxippus fr. 1.7. Kassel & Austin 1991:300. The list of culinary occurrences of silphium in Greek comedy is long, see for references Olson and Sens 2000:188.

the strong taste of – among other ingredients – silphium in the preparation of a desirable variety of the grey mullet:²⁵⁹

μηδὲ προσέλθῃ σοι περὶ τοῦψον τοῦτο ποιοῦντι
μήτε Συρακόσιος μηθεὶς μήτ' Ἰταλιώτης·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται χρηστοὺς σκευαζέμεν ἰχθῦς,
ἀλλὰ διαφθείρουσι κακῶς τυροῦντες ἅπαντα
ὅξει τε ῥαίνοντες ὑγρῷ καὶ σιλφίου ἄλμῃ.

And let not come near the dish you are preparing
neither a Syracusan nor an Italian:
For they do not know how to prepare good fish,
But they ruin everything by covering it in cheese in a bad manner,
and sprinkling over flowing vinegar and brine of silphium.

Silphium might thus elevate, to the mind of the patient, this recipe to a more culinary, high-end experience.²⁶⁰ At the same time, the perhaps less desirable windy qualities of the plant, connected to its δριμύτης, although positive from a medical perspective, are hard to ignore, but perhaps toned down somewhat by silphium's culinary associations.

It is clear how this recipe, from the Hippocratic point of view, might cleanse the pus from the patient's lungs and so cure the pneumonia. For the patients, the associations δριμύς as a concept and the ingredients used carry, warrant us to look at the recipe in more detail. For male patients, while the physical reaction δριμύς matter elicits might not be particularly pleasant, the negative consequences of δριμύτης might not go further than some flatulence. At the same time, the inclusion of silphium in this recipe might secure some level of status for them, being able to afford a luxurious and culinary recipe. For women, however, this δριμύτης would, I would suggest, have been more pertinent. The marked combination of

²⁵⁹ Archestratus fr. 46. Olson and Sens 2000:180. Interestingly, as is noted by Olson and Sens 2000:188, silphium is often used to flavour seafood in comic texts. As seafood seems to have had strong ties to sexuality, especially in comedy, silphium – if it was indeed connected to seafood in the Greek (gourmet) mind – might in the Hippocratic recipe under consideration perhaps evoke a piscine fertility context, emphasizing again the abortive qualities of δριμύτης. For the connections between sex and seafood, see Davidson 1997, and, specifically for comedy, Shaw 2014.

²⁶⁰ One could speculate that a more elite clientele, able to afford these expensive recipes, would be more keenly aware of the poetic associations of δριμύς and the ingredients.

σίδια δριμέα would alert women to this quality, and the associations of the pomegranate with both fecundity and death, would, perhaps, relate the recipe to fertility to their mind – even though the recipe is not set in such a context –, and remind them of the abortive qualities of δριμύτης, strengthened by the ability of silphium to cause ‘wind in the womb’, and perhaps also by the plant’s strong δριμύ taste. This might evoke a certain unease, or perhaps even willingness, in the female patient to ingest this particular medicine. It would theoretically be possible for a woman who would want to induce an abortion to tell the physician that she felt a suppuration in her lungs, knowing she would be given δριμέα ingredients to cure the lung sickness, but instead hoping they would abort her child prematurely. The symbolic ambiguity of the pomegranate might here even help the female patient in misleading her husband about her intentions, as she could stress the positive fertility symbolism of the pomegranate while leaving out its connections to death. Including the cultural associations of both δριμύς as a sensory concept and of the ingredients used thus allows for a subtle reading of this recipe from the patient’s point of view.

My interpretation is of course based on this single recipe. I would suggest, however, that it could be applied in reading recipes including the same ingredients throughout the Hippocratic Corpus. The recipes calling for pomegranate (peels) and silphium in the gynaecological part of the Corpus specifically would reinforce my reading based on the abortive qualities of δριμύς, as these treatises and the recipes they contain are concerned almost solely with female (in)fertility. Before moving on to the second and final sensory concept to be discussed in this thesis, therefore, I will first provide a selection of recipes, particularly those from outside the gynaecology, which call for σίδια and σίλφιον.²⁶¹ Pomegranate peels are called for at, among other instances, *Fistulas* 9 (used in a recipe to cure a prolapsed anus, in which chapter σίλφιον is also used in a different recipe with the same purpose); *Nature of Women* 33 (twice in a list of douches); *Diseases of Women* 1.23.3 (to promote conception), 1.75.59 (aiding conception), 1.78.216 (in a long list of douches); *Superfetation* 41 (in case thick material comes forth from the womb). Σίλφιον makes its appearance in recipes at *Diseases* 3.15; *Interior Affections* 6 (part of a long therapy for inflammation in the lung), 23 (in a treatment for dropsy mainly affecting the lung), 24 (for dropsy from the liver); and *Diseases*

²⁶¹ In addition to those recipes already mentioned above in n. 225, 226, 227 and 249. I have refrained from mentioning abortive recipes, as applying my reading to these would be moot.

of Women, 1.81.6 (for a complete bodily cleansing), 2.200.10 (when the heart and throat are pressed upon by the womb).²⁶²

²⁶² This list is not exhaustive by far, and not representative of how often these ingredients occur in different treatises – I have mentioned one or two examples for several treatises, simply to illustrate their spread over both gynaecological and non-gynaecological treatises.

2.2. The case of στρυφνός

Let us now move on to the final sensory term discussed in this thesis: στρυφνός. As I have done for δριμύς, I will first contextualize this sensory concept in Greek literature up to the fourth century BCE. In this case, the sources available are limited mainly to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, as στρυφνός does not appear in the Homeric poems. Στρυφνός as a concept has been the subject of far fewer studies than δριμύς.²⁶³ This, of course, has both advantages and disadvantages. One consequence for this chapter will be that I will mainly base myself on primary source material, consulting less secondary literature to aid my study and support my case than I have in the previous chapter. Indeed, this is one of the reasons I specifically selected στρυφνός as my second concept, as it allows me more freedom in applying my theoretical framework, and to cover some largely untrodden territory – no detailed study on στρυφνός exists, to my knowledge. Στρυφνός is well-represented in the Hippocratic Corpus in particular, and, as I will clarify below, might have some special significance in Hippocratic gynaecology.²⁶⁴ For this reason I have structured this chapter like the previous one, first trying to synthesize appearances of the term in non-Hippocratic texts – some Hippocratic passages will be added to support my case, however – and then shifting my focus to the occurrences within the Corpus.

A good place to start, perhaps, is here too LSJ. In fact, there is hardly a lot more to go on, as only precious few commentators find στρυφνός interesting enough to write on.²⁶⁵ LSJ defines the word as “[of taste], sour, harsh, astringent; [metaph. of temper or manner], harsh, austere; stiff, rigid.” Robert Beekes too, in his etymological dictionary of ancient Greek, seems to consider στρυφνός primarily as a word denoting taste, as do Pierre Chantraine and Hjalmar Frisk in theirs.²⁶⁶ As we will see, however, the term στρυφνός encompasses far more

²⁶³ The only study explicitly on στρυφνός I have been able to find through *L'Année Philologique* (AP) is Miloslav Okàl's "Le sens des expressions utilisées par Démocrite pour désigner les goûts" (1969), published in *Listy filologické/Folia philologica*, which I unfortunately have not been able to access. Okàl's focus is on the taste words expounded by Democritus, which include στρυφνός. He seems to conclude that στρυφνός means "âpre", 'sour', as written in the abstract in AP. Democritus' remarks on στρυφνός will be discussed below. For some comments on flavours, including στρυφνός, in book 6 of Theophrastus *Causes of Plants*, see Thompson 1941.

²⁶⁴ The TLG counts 48 occurrences of the word in the Corpus, on a total of 123 occurrences in the fifth-third centuries BCE.

²⁶⁵ The term is not included in the LfgrE.

²⁶⁶ Beekes 2010:1415-1416; Chantraine 1977:1065; Frisk 1970:811.

than these definitions might suggest. Specifically, I will problematize and dispute the term's primary meaning as a 'taste word', as I think the evidence in Greek literature from the classical period for this can be read differently. Needless to say at this point, I will analyse the term as a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch, considering what modern scholars took as different 'meanings' of the word rather as different instantiations of a single concept. However, although Clements had already analysed *δοιμύς* as such, this is the first time, to my knowledge, that *στρυφνός* has been studied from this point of view.

2.2.1. *Defining στρυφνός*

Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανενόηκας, ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δοιμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.²⁶⁷

"Why, have you looked at", said Hieron, "all these contrivances, that are put in front of tyrants, ὀξέα and δοιμέα and στρυφνὰ, and those related to these?" "Certainly", said Simonides, "and to me these seem to be completely against nature for men."

This passage is part of the historiographer Xenophon's biography of the Sicilian tyrant Hieron. Hieron and his guest, the lyric poet Simonides, discuss who derives more pleasure from feasting: the tyrant, or the man of modest means. Hieron holds that, as tyrants are used to luxury, they would derive far less pleasure from a feast than would the man who is not used to them. Simonides counters that the man who feasts at all surely has more pleasure than the one who does not, to which Hieron answers with the above passage, complaining that the tyrant has to eat uncommon dishes that are not actually that good in order to challenge their bored appetite. For our purposes, it is interesting that *στρυφνός* dishes appear in Hieron's list. This at first sight corresponds well with the characterization of *στρυφνός* as a taste word, as LSJ would have the term's primary meaning. Simonides' remark that they are against the

²⁶⁷ Xenophon, *Hieron*, 1.22. Marchant and Bowersock 1968:10 for the text.

nature of men indicates it is not a particularly enjoyable taste – and neither is δριμύς, as we have already seen.

Another occurrence of στρυφνός seemingly denoting a taste is in a fragment attributed to Antiphanes, most likely part of his play *Παροιμίας*.²⁶⁸

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τι τῶν ὑμετέρων φάγοιμι,
μύκητας ὠμοὺς ἂν φαγεῖν ἐμοὶ δοκῶ
καὶ στρυφνὰ μῆλα κεῖ τι πνίγει βρῶμά τι.

If I would eat something of yours,
I would seem to me to eat raw mushrooms
and στρυφνὰ apples and whatever food stifles.

Whoever is speaking in this fragment clearly dislikes the taste of στρυφνὰ foods, describing it – if the final part of the third verse can indeed be considered to qualify στρυφνὰ μῆλα – as ‘stifling’, ‘choking.’ A sour, harsh or astringent taste can certainly solicit such a response, and is perhaps the underlying reason why Theophrastus calls the fruit of the ἀρκεύθος tree μέλας δὲ καὶ στρυφνός καὶ ὥσπερ ἄβρωτος, ‘black and στρυφνός and almost inedible.’²⁶⁹ In fact, Theophrastus’ oeuvre includes several instances where he seemingly indicates στρυφνός as a gustatory term. Consider, for example, *On Odours* 10, in which he tackles the question why perfume gives an agreeable flavour to wine, but not to other foods. His answer:²⁷⁰

τὸ δ’ αἴτιον ὑποληπτέον ὅτι συμβαίνει τῶν μὲν ξηρῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τε τὸν οἰκεῖον χυλὸν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἅμα συνεπιφαίνειν τὸν αὐτοῦ ὄντα στρυφνὸν καὶ ὑπόπικρον·

And the cause must be understood to be that it occurs that their [of the dry things] proper flavour is taken from the dry things because of the power [of the perfume] and that it makes perceptible at the same time that [flavour] of itself [the perfume], which is στρυφνός and somewhat bitter.

²⁶⁸ Antiphanes fr. 186. Kassel and Austin 1991:415.

²⁶⁹ Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.4. Hort 1916a:236. As we will see, darkness or blackness is an important characteristic of στρυφνός.

²⁷⁰ For the text, see Hort 1916b:336.

The flavour of the perfume is apparently so strong, as Theophrastus notes in the next chapter, that it overpowers the native taste of the foods it tinges.²⁷¹

Aristotle too seems to think of the term as pertaining to the palate. In his *On the Soul* 422b, when speaking of τὸ γευστόν ‘the tasteable’, he lists στρυφνός among τὰ δ’ εἶδη τῶν χυμῶν, ‘the types of flavours.’²⁷² Τὸ γευστόν, ‘that which can be tasted’ actualizes these types of flavours. In another one of his treatises, *On Sense and Sensible Objects*, however, Aristotle indicates that there is more to στρυφνός than simply the domain of taste:²⁷³

ἔτι δ’ εἴπερ ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ὑγροῖς ποιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι οἶον ἀποπλυνόμενον τὸ ξηρόν, φανερόν ὅτι δεῖ ἀνάλογον εἶναι τὰς ὁσμάς τοῖς χυμοῖς. ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦτό γε ἐπ’ ἐνίων συμβέβηκεν· καὶ γὰρ δριμύειαι καὶ γλυκεῖαί εἰσιν ὁσμαὶ καὶ αὐστηραὶ καὶ στρυφναὶ καὶ λιπαραί, καὶ τοῖς πικροῖς τὰς σαπρὰς ἄν τις ἀνάλογον εἴποι. διὸ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα δυσκατάποτα, τὰ σαπρὰ δυσανάπνευστά ἐστιν. δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι ὅπερ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὁ χυμός, τοῦτ’ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ὕδατι ἢ ὁσμή.

And again, if the dry makes, in a similar way, in the fluids and in the air something which is like it being washed away, it is clear there must be an analogy to flavours concerning smells. And this follows certainly concerning some: for there are δριμύς and γλυκὺς smells too, and αὐστηρός and στρυφνός and λιπαρός, and someone could say that there is an analogy to πικρός flavours concerning putrid (smells). Therefore, as those things [πικρός things] are hard to swallow, the putrid things are hard to inhale. Thus it is clear that what is flavour in water, that is smell in the air and water.

Aristotle here posits a clear analogy between taste and smell, and, even more importantly, explicitly states that there is such a thing as a στρυφνός smell.²⁷⁴ This clearly indicates that as

²⁷¹ See, for example, *Causes of Plants* 6.6.5, for στρυφνός as the intermediate stage in the changing flavour of the grape vine from watery to sweet.

²⁷² Aristotle, *On the Soul* 422b. Hett 1957:126. For τῶν χυμῶν as ‘the flavours’, see n. 151, 153 and 155 above.

²⁷³ Aristotle, *On Sense and Sensible Objects* 443b. Hett 1957:250 for text.

²⁷⁴ For a commentary on Aristotle’s analogy of taste and smell, see Ross 1973:179ff. Theophrastus, in his *On Odours* 5, while discussing smells independent of and those incidental to taste, states that τὰ εὖοσμα, ‘things which smell good’, are often στρυφνά of taste: the smell and taste are not always the same. For the Greek text, see Hort 1916b:330. See also *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.5, where Theophrastus discusses the fruits of the three kinds of μεσπίλη tree, the fruit of two of which is ἐλάττω τέ τι καὶ

a sensory term, στρυφνός is not only a taste word, but might have an olfactory meaning as well.²⁷⁵ We might consider this instance a signal that it is worth to look for στρυφνός in other sensory domains.

Although an auditory στρυφνός is decidedly lacking in the source material, there is some indication that the term could be used in relation to vision. A hint in this direction might be found in Aristophanes, again concerning a scowl given by one of the characters in *Frogs*.²⁷⁶ A slave informs Xanthias about the contest to be held in the underworld between Aeschylus and Euripides to determine whose plays are best for the people of Athens. After the slave reports that Euripides will closely examine the plays, Xanthias answers that ἡ που βαρέως οἶμαι τὸν Αἰσχύλον φέρειν, ‘I would think Aeschylus takes that heavily.’ The servant replies, in verse 804:

ἔβλεψε γοῦν ταυρηδὸν ἐγκύψας κάτω

He did, after lowering his head down, give a look like a bull.

Joannes Tzetzes, in a scholion on this verse, describes the bull-like look as follows: χαρακτηρίζει τὸ στρυφνὸν καὶ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, καὶ ζωγραφεῖ δὲ τοῦτον, οἷος ἦν ὀργιζόμενος, ‘it characterises the στρυφνός and αὐστηρός of Aeschylus, and paints him, as if he were angered.’²⁷⁷ What would such a στρυφνός and bull-like scowl look like? I will return to this question later – for now, it suffices that we have, albeit tentatively, located an optic στρυφνός.²⁷⁸

εὐωδέστερον καὶ στρυφνότερον, ‘somewhat smaller and more fragrant and more στρυφνός (considered by Hort to be “more astringent in taste”), confirming that, for Theophrastus, scent and taste do not necessarily have to match. See Hort 1916a:238-239. At *Causes of Plants* 6.16.1 he states a similar correlation between στρυφνός and fragrancy, and at 6.16.8 he holds that the privative and unperfected flavours, to which στρυφνός seems to belong, are most fragrant.

²⁷⁵ It is possible that this analogy is unique to Aristotle’s doctrine, and would not be accepted by his contemporaries. Theophrastus explicitly rejects the existence of a στρυφνή smell at *Causes of Plants* 6.9.2., for example, but he does posit a certain correlation between στρυφνός and fragrancy, see the previous footnote. Taste and smell are closely interrelated, of course, on which see n. 159 above.

²⁷⁶ Aristophanes, *Frogs* 803-804. Henderson 2002:134.

²⁷⁷ Σ in Aristophanem (recentiora Tzetzae). For the text, see Koster 1962:910.

²⁷⁸ Interesting too in this context, perhaps, is Plato, *Timaeus* 67d-e. After expounding his ideas about the workings of vision, he goes on to characterise the particles flying into the visual ray of the eye as ἀδελφὰ, ‘akin’ to (among others) τοῖς περὶ τὴν γλῶτταν στρυφνοῖς, ‘the στρυφνός [particles] on the tongue’, thus drawing a link between taste and vision. Bury 1929:172, 174 for text.

A far more common characterization of στρυφνός, however, is as a word denoting texture, which is as such connected to the sense of touch. This haptic usage of the term is translated in LSJ as ‘stiff’, ‘rigid’, and although I do not think this rendering of the word is wrong per se, I will try and nuance the meaning slightly.

As has already been briefly mentioned in the above, taste in antiquity was, at least in some cases, considered to be closely connected to touch.²⁷⁹ We may consider, for example, Aristotle’s insistence that Τὸ δὲ γευστόν ἐστιν ἅπτόν τι, ‘The tasteable is something touchable’, after which he goes on to draw a close analogy between taste and touch.²⁸⁰ Particularly interesting for our purposes here is the following passage from Plato’s *Timaeus*:²⁸¹

Πρῶτον οὖν ὅσα τῶν χυμῶν πέρι λέγοντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀπελίπομεν, ἴδι’ ὄντα παθήματα περὶ τὴν γλῶτταν, ἐμφανιστέον ἢ δυνατόν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ πολλά, διὰ συγκρίσεών τε τινῶν καὶ διακρίσεων γίνεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ αὐταῖς κεχρηῆσθαι μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων τραχύτησί τε καὶ λειότησιν. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ εἰσιόντα περὶ τὰ φλέβια, οἷόνπερ δοκίμια τῆς γλώττης τεταμένα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, εἰς τὰ νοτερὰ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἀπαλὰ ἐμπίπτοντα γῆϊνα μέρη κατατηκόμενα ξυνάγει τὰ φλέβια καὶ ἀποξηραίνει, τραχύτερα μὲν ὄντα στρυφνά, ἥττον δὲ τραχύνοντα αὐστηρὰ φαίνεται.

First, one must elucidate, as far as is possible, as many as we have left out when speaking about the flavours in the previous, being the affections belonging to the tongue. And it is apparent that these, as do the many, exist through some sort of contractions and dilations, but that in their case, more than the others, they are affected by roughness and smoothness. For as many of them as come in through the veins, like tests for the tongue which are stretched to the heart, the earthy particles, falling upon the wet and soft parts of the flesh and, being melted, contract the veins and dry them out, the rougher appear to be στρυφνός, those that are less rough αὐστηρός.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ See specifically pp. 54-55 above.

²⁸⁰ Aristotle, *On the Soul* 422a. Hett 1957:124.

²⁸¹ Plato, *Timaeus* 65c-d. See for text Bury 1929:166. Plato’s ideas on στρυφνός are paraphrased by Theophrastus in his *On Senses and Sensible Objects* 84, and at *Causes of Plants* 6.1.4.

²⁸² There is clearly some relation between στρυφνός and αὐστηρός. At *Causes of Plants* 6.1.3., Theophrastus describes τὸ αὐστηρόν as sometimes simply a softer version of τὸ στρυφνόν.

In this long description of the workings of tasting and flavours, Plato emphasizes the haptic aspect of these gustatory experiences. Tasting, and thus flavours, ‘exist through contractions and dilations’, and are ‘affected by roughness and smoothness’: all clear instances of touching. Focussing on the στρυφνά taste particles, Plato describes them as being rough, and able to contract the veins and dry them out.²⁸³ Plato’s account corresponds well to Democritus’ description of τὸ στρυφνόν, as transmitted in paraphrase by Theophrastus:²⁸⁴

τὸν δὲ στρυφνὸν ἐκ μεγάλων σχημάτων καὶ πολυγωνίων καὶ περιφερὲς ἥκιστ’ ἐχόντων· ταῦτα γὰρ ὅταν εἰς τὰ σώματα ἔλθῃ, ἐπιτυφλοῦν ἐμπλάττοντα τὰ φλεβία καὶ κωλύειν συρρεῖν, διὸ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας ἰστάναι.

The στρυφνὸν [consists of] of big and polygonal figures and which are the least rounded: for these things, when they come to the body, clog the pores by stuffing them and prevent [what is in them] to flow together, and thereby they stay the intestines.

Apparently, στρυφνός particles draw together – in this case coagulating themselves so as to clog up the veins, and in Plato’s account they draw together the veins – due to their rough surface. The drying, mentioned by Plato, might be part of this converging effect. Compare, for example, Theophrastus’ own description of the taste at *Causes of Plants* 6.1.3., where he characterises the στρυφνός flavour as τὸν ξηραντικὸν ἢ πηκτικὸν ἡρέμα ταύτης, ‘the one [flavour] that dries or gently coagulates this [fluid of the tongue].’²⁸⁵ Στρυφνός makes things converge, perhaps by drying them. The Hippocratics – already making a short excursion into the Corpus – would have agreed with this characterization: the author of *Places in Man* advises using στρυφνά to make a lesion contract.²⁸⁶ Looking back at the fragment of Antiphanes quoted above, we now begin to understand how a στρυφνόν food might be ‘stifling.’

²⁸³ The Aristotelian *Problems* 931a state that στρυφνός things can work the tongue and open up the pores, which contrasts Plato’s account of these substances contracting the veins. I can offer no seamless solution to this contradiction, but I do want to remark that 1) the dating of the *Problems* is wide and unclear – from the third century BCE to the 6th century CE –, and 2) if part of the pores were to be contracted, the ends would necessarily be opened a bit: imagine squeezing a tube – although this is tentative. In *On Odours* 62, not included by Hort in his Loeb edition of the text, Theophrastus similarly calls στρυφνός substances heating and easily passing through the pores.

²⁸⁴ Theophrastus, *On Senses and Sensible Objects* 66. Stratton 1964:144.

²⁸⁵ Einarson and Link 1990:206 for the Greek text.

²⁸⁶ *Places in Man* 13. Potter 1995:48.

But στρυφνόν matter also seems to carry dryness in itself. Concerning the dryness of στρυφνά, Theophrastus is rather clear: ἡ καὶ στρυφνὰ τὰ πολλὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἀλόγως, ἅτε καὶ ξηρὰ ὄντα, 'because of this many [pericarps] are στρυφνά as concerns the beginnings, not illogically, as they are dry, too.'²⁸⁷ And what about contraction? The toughness of στρυφνά is remarked upon several times throughout classical Greek literature. The fourth century BCE physician Mnesitheus is reported by Athenaeus to have written that στρυφνά nuts should be roasted in order that they become soft, and Phylotimos, a physician from the third century BCE remarks that astringent nuts are hard to digest.²⁸⁸ Theophrastus, once again, remarks on the texture of certain fruits:²⁸⁹

φέρει δὲ ἡ μὲν σατάνειος τὸν καρπὸν μείζω καὶ λευκότερον καὶ χαυνότερον καὶ τοὺς πυρῆνας ἔχοντα μαλακωτέρους· αἱ δ' ἕτεραι ἐλάττω τέ τι καὶ εὐωδέστερον καὶ στρυφνότερον...

The medlar carries a fruit whiter and more spongy and has softer stones: but the others have somewhat smaller, more fragrant and more στρυφνός [fruit]...

Theophrastus here clearly contrasts the texture of the στρυφνός fruit with the open texture of another: στρυφνός is not-χαῦνος. Following this passage, I would suggest that the toughness characteristic of στρυφνός – the LSJ translation of the word as 'stiff' or 'rigid' – comes from it being dry and compact, 'contracted', 'not-spongy', which traits στρυφνός are also able to pass on to other things: it is, as we have seen in the above, both dry and drying, contracted and contracting. The most common translation for στρυφνός-as-taste, 'astringent', is correct according to this characterization of the term – στρυφνός taste is the sort of taste that would make the mouth contract, and the same could perhaps be said of a στρυφνός smell and its effect on the nose. Στρυφνός, I would suggest at this point, is a concept denoting both 'contraction' and 'contractedness', which can then be applied to different sensory domains as

²⁸⁷ Theophrastus, *Causes of Plants* 6.6.5. Einarson and Link 1990:230. Theophrastus in this passage might not mean 'dry' in the sense of 'not containing fluids', as he specifies that certain types of fluids are called 'driest'. At *Causes of Plants* 3.7.2., Theophrastus mentions that the fruit of the ρόα becomes στρυφνός when exposed to the sun, perhaps because it is dried out?

²⁸⁸ For Mnesitheus (τὰ δὲ σκληρὰ καὶ στρυφνὰ πεπαίνεται, ἐάν τις ὀλίγῳ καὶ μαλακῷ πυρὶ χρῆται, 'the hard and astringent (nuts) are softened, if affected by a low and soft fire.') see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 2.54c. For Phylotimos, see *Deipnosophists* 2.53f. See Olson 2006:302 and 304 for the Greek text.

²⁸⁹ Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.5. Hort 1916a:236, 238.

such. These different sensory applications are simply instantiations of an overarching concept displaying semantic stretch: a Greek person reading the word would probably not have considered it a radically different term in different sensory contexts.

There is, however, a common usage for στρυφνός that seemingly falls completely outside of the sensory sphere: its application as a character trait.²⁹⁰ A clear instance of this usage can be found in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, part of Bdelycleon's prayer to Apollo aimed at softening the character of his father:²⁹¹

παῦσόν τ' αὐτοῦ τουτὶ τὸ λίαν στρυφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος,
ἀντὶ σιραίου μέλιτος σμικρὸν τῷ θυμίδιῳ παραμείξας.

Bring an end to this very στρυφνόν and oaken character of his,
mixing his little heart with a bit of honey, instead of boiled down wine.

Aristophanes here draws an interesting parallel between στρυφνός as representing an apparently nasty disposition on the one hand, and between a taste that is to be sweetened, like one would do with boiled down wine, by infusing it with honey, on the other. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the term with πρίνινον, 'oaken', adds a material and textural dimension of toughness to the characterization – a dimension which we have already seen to be present in στρυφνός as well. In short, στρυφνός might here, to a Greek audience, represent more than simply an ethical attribute.

But let us, for the moment, return to the ethical side of στρυφνός. Staying with comedy for a spell, Amphis seems to clearly use στρυφνός in an ethical sense in a fragment recording part of a conversation between a man from Acanthus and another, anonymous, speaker. When the Acanthian man has introduced himself as such, the other asks:²⁹²

εἶτα πρὸς θεῶν
οἶνου πολίτης ὢν κρατίστου στρυφνὸς εἶ,
καὶ τοῦνομ' αὐτὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοῖς τρόποις
ἔχεις, τὰ δ' ἦθη τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ ἔχεις;

²⁹⁰ The same can be said of αὐστηρός, see, for example, Taylor 1928:465.

²⁹¹ Aristophanes, *Wasps* 877-878. Henderson 1998b:334.

²⁹² Amphis, fr. 36. Kassel and Austin 1991:230.

And yet, by the gods,
you being a στρυφνός citizen of the strongest wine,
and you have the name itself of your country in your ways,
you do not possess the characters of the citizens?

Leaving aside what exactly is meant with this exclamation, the Acanthian man here seems to be designated as στρυφνός, which, to the mind of the other speaker, does not add up to the characters of other citizens.²⁹³ A similar contrast arises in a fragment tentatively attributed to the third century BCE poet Alexander of Aetolia, describing the poet Euripides:²⁹⁴

ὁ δ' Ἀναξαγόρου τρόφις ἀρχαίου στρυφνὸς μὲν ἐμοί γε προσειπεῖν,
καὶ μισογέλως, καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἶνον μεμαθηκώς,
ἀλλ' ὅ τι γράψαι τοῦτ' ἄν μέλιτος καὶ Σειρήνων ἐπεπνεύκει.

The nursling of old Anaxagoras was στρυφνός, [it seems] to me, in speaking,
a hater of laughter, and not taught to jeer even over wine,
but whatever he wrote, that breathed from honey and the Sirens.

According to Alexander, Euripides apparently had a nasty στρυφνός personality when it came to conversation, contrasting strongly with his great skill with the written word – we may here, too, note the honey and the sweet taste this implies, contrasted with στρυφνός. We here again find confirmation for στρυφνός as a negative character trait: a 'harsh' or 'austere' temper, as LSJ would have it.

Perhaps the clearest evidence for this characterization of the word comes from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Discussing the nature of friendship and its different guises at 1157b, Aristotle remarks that οὐ φαίνονται δ' οὐθ' οἱ πρεσβῦται οὐθ' οἱ στρυφνοὶ φιλικοὶ εἶναι· βραχὺ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐδεὶς δὲ δύναται συνημερεῦν τῷ λυπηρῷ οὐδὲ τῷ μὴ ἡδεῖ, 'neither the old people nor the στρυφνοὶ appear to be given to friendship:

²⁹³ Perhaps this fragment is to be read as "Even though you are from Acanthus, and you share in its name in your ways of doing things, how come you are στρυφνός in character, contrary to your countrymen?" I accept that this reading is somewhat tentative – the text is simply too fragmentary to be certain. Athenaeus quotes it merely for its mentioning wine.

²⁹⁴ Alexander of Aetolia fr. 19. Lightfoot 2009:138 for the Greek text. The attribution to Alexander is made, among others, by Aulus Gellius. See eadem:139n17 for sources for the attribution of the verses to Aristophanes.

for what is in them of friendship is small, and no one can pass one's day together with someone painful and not pleasing.' These people are not capable of friendship, as they cannot enjoy being together with people. At best, they are εὔνοις, 'good willing'.²⁹⁵ In the next chapter, Aristotle repeats the point:²⁹⁶

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς στρυφνοῖς καὶ πρεσβυτικοῖς ἥττον γίνεται ἡ φιλία, ὅσω δυσκολώτεροί
εἰσι καὶ ἥττον ταῖς ὁμιλίαις χαίρουσιν· ταῦτα γὰρ δοκεῖ μάλιστ' εἶναι φιλικὰ καὶ
ποιητικὰ φιλίας.

In the στρυφνοί people and old people the friendship becomes weaker, the more difficult they are and the less they take pleasure in company. For these seem to be the things most given to friendship and constituents of friendship.

As Aristotle reiterates, the best the στρυφνοί and the elderly can do is show goodwill for one another, although they will never attain true friendship. These passages form clear evidence for στρυφνός as a term denoting an unpleasant personality, a personality described by LSJ as 'harsh' or 'austere'.

But things are not quite as simple. The LSJ considers the usage of στρυφνός as a character word a *metaphorical* application of στρυφνός-as-taste. In other words, the primary meaning of the term is designating a taste, while other applications are derivative. However, as the quote from Aristophanes' *Wasps* above already indicated, there seems to be more going on here than a mere metaphorical transposition. As I have suggested earlier, στρυφνός should, at least in the sensory sphere, be considered a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch. But how then, could an unpleasant, unsociable character be related to an overarching concept which denotes contraction?

To this question, too, Aristotle provides an answer. In discussing the parts of the human body in his *History of Animals*, starting at the head, Aristotle has the following to say about the human eyebrows:²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1157b. Rackham 1934:468. I follow Rackham 1934:469 in his translation of φιλικός.

²⁹⁶ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1158a. Idem:472 for the Greek text.

²⁹⁷ Aristotle, *History of Animals* 491b. Peck 1965:38

Ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ μετώπῳ ὀφρύες διφυεῖς· ὧν αἱ μὲν εὐθεῖαι μαλακοῦ ἥθους σημεῖον, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ῥίνα τὴν καμπυλότητ' ἔχουσιν στρυφνοῦ, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κροτάφους μωκοῦ καὶ εἰρωνος.

Underneath the forehead are the eyebrows, two in nature: of these, straight ones are an indication of a soft personality; others, having a curvature towards the nose, [are an indication] of a στρυφνός [personality], and yet others [curving] towards the sides of the head [are an indication] of a mocking and misleading one.

The position of the eyebrows on the human face, Aristotle holds, is indicative of the character of that person. Interestingly, a στρυφνός person's eyebrows are curved towards his nose: they are contracted towards the middle of the face. This same passage is repeated almost verbatim by the third century BCE author Antigonos of Carystus, who similarly suggests that Ὀφρῶς (...) πρὸς τὴν ῥίνα κεκαμμένας στρυφνοῦ, 'eyebrows equipped towards the nose [are an indication] of a στρυφνόν [character].'²⁹⁸ But it is not only the eyebrows that can indicate character – the Aristotelian *Problems* posit the following, discussing the movement of the eyes:²⁹⁹

ἕτεροι δὲ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον, ὥσπερ οἱ μανικοί, οἱ δὲ εἰς τοὺς μυκτῆρας, ὥσπερ τὰ τραγικὰ πρόσωπα καὶ οἱ στρυφνοί· σύννουν γὰρ τὸ βλέμμα.

And others [turn their eyes] to the side, like the manic, and some towards the nostrils, such as the tragic masks and the στρυφνοί people: for the look is thoughtful.

A look downward towards the middle of the face can apparently also reveal a στρυφνός personality. I would suggest to link these expressions contracting towards the middle of the face, a thoughtful look, to the contractedness of στρυφνός. With a frown as described by Aristotle, it is not hard to understand how στρυφνοί people might have trouble making friends, or why an angry look might lead them to be considered to have unattractive personalities.³⁰⁰ This facial contraction can also explain, returning to the visual dimension of στρυφνός discussed earlier, what Aeschylus' στρυφνός look in *Frogs* might have looked like.

²⁹⁸ Antigonos of Carystus 114b. Giannini 1965:80 for the Greek text.

²⁹⁹ *Problems* 958a.

³⁰⁰ This is of course somewhat problematic – did the Greeks consider a frown to express a negative emotion? I have here based myself simply on the coupling of στρυφνός-as-look with the seemingly

Thus, στρυφνός-as-personality is, I hold, not a metaphorical transposition of a term related primarily to taste. In fact, the term is not a taste word at all: both its sensory and its ethical applications can all be seen as instantiations of an overarching concept of contraction – a concept which thus displays semantic stretch. The closest to this conceptual definition a modern dictionary has come, to my knowledge, is Frisk’s “zusammenziehend.”³⁰¹ The most common translation of στρυφνός, ‘astringent’, is thus not necessarily wrong, but it encompasses far more than LSJ would suggest. This once again demonstrates that applying modern ideas about the senses to ancient concepts eschews ancient language.

2.2.2. *The Hippocratics on στρυφνός*

Now that we have teased out what the concept of στρυφνός might mean, we will look at how it is instantiated within the context of the Hippocratic Corpus, and particularly in Hippocratic gynaecology. The reason I insist on this is, of course, partly that most of the recipes in the corpus – which may include στρυφνά ingredients – are found in the gynaecological treatises. The other reason is that στρυφνός denotes contractedness, density, which, I suspect, may be related to the texture of a female Hippocratic patient’s flesh.

Perhaps the most fundamental tenet of Hippocratic gynaecology is the difference between the flesh of women and that of men, as expounded by the author of *Diseases of Women* at the very beginning of the treatise. A woman is ἀραιότερη, ‘of looser texture’ and ἀπαλοσάρκος, ‘soft-fleshed’. In contrast, the man is στερεοσαρκότερος (...) τῆς γυναικός, ‘of firmer flesh than the woman.’³⁰² This has important consequences for the health of women, as was discussed above: the spongy flesh of women would draw more blood from their veins,

negative cultural appreciation of στρυφνός as a smell or scent, and the negative character descriptions coupled with the term in the above quotes. A comparable term, perhaps, is the Homeric ὑπόδρα, which means a “looking out from under brows drawn down in expression of great displeasure.” (J. N. O’Sullivan in Snell 2010:757). However, it is impossible to be completely certain about the matter, and perhaps this is how it should be. After all, to insist on certainty here would border on biological determinism.

³⁰¹ Frisk 1970:811.

³⁰² *Diseases of Women* 1.1.36-38, 43. For a full account of the body of the Hippocratic woman, see King 1998:28-33. On the wetness of women, see also *Airs, Waters, Places* 10 and *Nature of the Child* 15. For the loose texture, the sponginess of women’s flesh as the cause of their wetness, see also *Glands* 16.

leading to them always running the risk of becoming ill due to an excess of blood.³⁰³ Women needed to menstruate in order to evacuate this blood, making menstruation the primary mechanism of health regulation for their sex. The firmer flesh of men, in contrast, leaves less room for blood. Interestingly, as I will discuss below, some women were considered more στρυφνός – which we have just determined to mean ‘contracted’ – than others, and in the light of the Hippocratic construction of the texture of the female flesh, it seems interesting to pursue these στρυφναί women a bit more in-depth. But first, as I have done for δριμύς, it is important to spend some words on how the Hippocratics conceptualized στρυφνός, to what extent this corresponds to our earlier definition of the term, and what elements might be added to this definition.³⁰⁴

The wife of Theodorus – her fatal disease was included among the case studies in *Epidemics* book 7 – suffered from a heavy fever in winter, the result of haemorrhage. When the fever stopped the next day, she felt a certain heaviness on her right side, as if it was her womb. Her situation deteriorated over the next few days: chest pains, difficulty with breathing, acute fever... On the fifth day, the fever seemed to let up slightly, but the symptoms returned with a vengeance later. When discussing her excrement, the Hippocratic author mentions that it was πέμπτη πάλιν ὑγρὸν ὀλίγον· κοιλίη δὲ λαπαρή· οὐρα στρυφνά, ὁποιεῖδέα, ‘on the fifth day, again, a bit wet; and her belly was slack; the urine was στρυφνά, milky.’³⁰⁵ In the context of the synesthetic potential of στρυφνός, not simply regarding the term as denoting taste, it becomes difficult to determine what sensory domain στρυφνά is here supposed to cover. Is it supposed to be a taste, endorsing Kazantzidis’ contention that Hippocratic physicians sometimes tasted the bodily fluids of their patients?³⁰⁶ Is it a smell that would contract the face of the person smelling it? Is it perhaps even the look one might have while smelling or tasting the urine? Or does it maybe characterize the urine as thick and coagulated? As I have argued above, it is not impossible that στρυφνός might here encompass all of these things. What is interesting here is that στρυφνός is included in the *Epidemics* as a relevant marker of disease,

³⁰³ See p. 61 above.

³⁰⁴ I once again want to stress here that the Hippocratic treatises are not unified in doctrine. This caveat notwithstanding, as στρυφνός – like δριμύς – is a concept used throughout Greek literature in general, one might expect a certain commonality in its usage between different Hippocratic authors.

³⁰⁵ *Epidemics* 7.25. Smith 1994:310 for the Greek text.

³⁰⁶ See p.12 above.

and that it emerges as synesthetic, corresponding well to my analysis of the term. Are there more parallels in usage to be discovered in the Corpus' treatises?

The two main elements of στρυφνός isolated earlier were that this word denotes contraction or contractedness, sometimes accompanied by the dryness or drying effect the term seems to include. We have already briefly mentioned the contracting στρυφνός in the Corpus while analysing the term, in *Places in Man* 13. In a long discussion of several eye conditions and their treatments, the Hippocratic author includes what to do if bloody material gets in the moisture of the eye. Having advised to burn out the blood, he adds the following:³⁰⁷

Ἦν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ῥαγῇ, μαλθακοῖσι φαρμάκοισι χρῆσθαι καὶ στρυφνοῖσιν, ὥς στυφόμενον τὸ ἕλκος ἐς σμικρὸν συνίη, καὶ ἡ οὐλὴ λεπτὴ ᾗ.

If the eye is broken, use soft and στρυφνός drugs, so that by being drawn together the wound comes together to a small (lesion), and the scar is thin.

Στρυφνός drugs, whatever these might consist of, can apparently be used to contract a wound and help make the scar thin. The author of *Affections* concisely makes a similar point about the term: τὰ δὲ στρυφνὰ ξηραίνει καὶ ξυνάγει τὸ σῶμα καὶ στάσιμα, 'στρυφνός foods dry and contract and halt.'³⁰⁸ Not only is στρυφνός here characterised as contracting, it is also connected to what we had already determined was another important quality of the term: the ability to dry things, to which I will turn in more detail below. Another indication that the Hippocratics too considered στρυφνός as contracting and compacting can be found in a long list of the properties of vegetables in *Regimen* 2, which mentions that of the wild vegetables, ὁκόσα δὲ ἐστὶ στρυφνὰ ἢ αὐστηρά, στάσιμα, 'as many as are στρυφνός or αὐστηρός are steadying.'³⁰⁹ This is reminiscent of the stifling, blocking effect στρυφνός can have, which was remarked upon earlier, but in itself, it is not enough to define the term as contracting.³¹⁰ A final

³⁰⁷ *Places in Man* 13. Potter 1995:48.

³⁰⁸ *Affections* 55. Potter 1988a:74.

³⁰⁹ *Regimen* 2.54. Jones 1931:332.

³¹⁰ See p.79 above. A similar idea seems to be expressed at *Regimen* 2.55, in which passage several fruits are described as both στάσιμος and στρυφνός; and at *Regimen* 2.59, where it is advised, should one want to stay (στησαι) the bowel by vomiting, to preferably use στρυφνός and αὐστηρός ingredients to do this. *Regimen* 2.56, again on the powers of different foods, includes στρυφνός items in a list of foods of which some contract and make the fluids in the flesh compress, although this capacity is not explicitly linked to στρυφνός.

passage which might be taken as pointing to στρυφνός-as-contracting is *Nature of Women* 44, prescribing a douche with στρυφνός ingredients for when the uterus prolapses. This douche would perhaps contract the lower abdomen of the patient – already lying on her back – and force the uterus back inside, although this admittedly is a tentative interpretation.³¹¹

Much like the contracting capacity of στρυφνός the drying powers of the concept are unambiguously expressed in the Corpus' treatises. *Internal Affections* 22 discusses a case of dropsy: Τούτῳ ξυμφέρει τὴν κοιλίην ξηραίνειν, 'it is fitting for him [the patient] to dry the cavity', is the author's advice, prescribing several foodstuffs which might attain this effect. After discussing bread and meats, he adds οἶνον δὲ πινέτω μέλανα ὡς παχύτατον καὶ στρυφνότατον, 'let the patient drink dark wine as thick and as στρυφνός as possible.'³¹² Keeping the drying effects of this particular sensory term in mind, it is understandable why one might apply substances qualified as such to a patient who is overly moist.

Apart from it being drying, the Hippocratics also consider στρυφνός substances to be dry themselves, as is indicated in the treatise *Regimen in Health*, when discussing the different constitutions of people and what diets would suit these best:³¹³

τοὺς δὲ στρυφνοὺς τε καὶ προσεσταλμένους καὶ πυρροὺς καὶ μέλανας τῇ ὑγροτέρῃ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ χρόνου· τὰ γὰρ σώματα τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει ξηρὰ ἐόντα.

στρυφνός people and the tight-drawn and the ruddy and the dark should use a wetter diet most of the time: for the fact is that bodies of that kind are dry.

The bodies of στρυφνός people are dry, which is to be countered by having them follow a wet diet. Interestingly, this passage does not only illustrate that the Hippocratics considered στρυφνός matter dry, in addition to drying, but it also comments on their bodily texture. The coupling of στρυφνοὺς and προσεσταλμένους, 'tight-drawn' recalls my earlier characterization of στρυφνός as compact and contracted, and suggests that the term here means a compact bodily structure: Jones, in his translation of this passage, renders στρυφνοὺς

³¹¹ Another treatment for a prolapsed womb which calls for στρυφνός matter can be found at *Superfétation* 36.

³¹² *Internal Affections* 22. Potter 1988a:128.

³¹³ *Regimen in Health* 2. Jones 1931:46.

here as 'lean', with which I concur.³¹⁴ In the next section of the treatise, discussing the suitable amount of bathing for different sorts of people, the author notes that τοὺς στρυφνοὺς χορὴ μᾶλλον λούεσθαι τῶν σαρκωδέων, 'στρυφνός people must wash themselves more than the fleshy.'³¹⁵ The author here explicitly contrasts στρυφνός with 'fleshy', once again implying the concept is here instantiated to denote a contracted, lean body, as opposed to a fatter one. To these passages, we may add a remark from the treatise *The Sacred Disease*, the author of which, in a chapter on the effects of the sacred disease on the brain, notes that people after their twentieth year, unless it is present from infancy, rarely suffer from the disease:³¹⁶

αἱ γὰρ φλέβες αἵματος μεστὰι πολλοῦ εἰσίν, καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος συνέστηκε καὶ ἐστὶ στρυφνός, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπικαταρρεῖ ἐπὶ τὰς φλέβας· ἢν δ' ἐπικαταρρυῇ, τοῦ αἵματος οὐ κρατεῖ, πολλοῦ ἐόντος καὶ θερμοῦ.

For the veins are filled with a lot of blood, and the brain is compact and στρυφνός, so that it [the blood] does not run down the veins: and if it would run down, it would not overpower the blood, which is plenty and warm.

We find στρυφνός here once again juxtaposed to a word denoting a compact texture, συνέστηκε in this case, which goes well with the above characterization of the concept as 'contracted'.³¹⁷ This passage also indicates that, contrary to the negative appearances of στρυφνός, especially as a character trait, in the above, it can be a positive quality too in some medical cases.

Looking at all the previous passages, the Hippocratic conception of στρυφνός corresponds very closely to that in Greek literature in general as analysed above: στρυφνός arises as both contracted and contracting, dry and drying within the parameters of the Corpus' treatises. Finally, I would like to add a specific characteristic to the concept that is most visible in the treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus: darkness. Theophrastus, as was remarked earlier, characterised a certain fruit as 'black and στρυφνός and almost inedible' at *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.4.³¹⁸ The Greek term he uses for black, or 'dark', μέλας, is actually often coupled with

³¹⁴ Idem:47.

³¹⁵ *Regimen in Health* 3. Idem:48.

³¹⁶ *The Sacred Disease* 13. Jones 1923b:168.

³¹⁷ I follow Jones 1923b:169 in his translation of συνέστηκε as 'is compact'.

³¹⁸ See p. 80 above.

στρυφνός in the Hippocratic treatises. We have already seen the two terms juxtaposed in the passage from *Places in Man* 2 just quoted. Similarly, in *Internal Affections* 22 – mentioned above – the author recommended thick, στρυφνός and dark (μέλανα) wine.³¹⁹ This kind of dark, στρυφνός wine is included in therapies throughout this treatise: *Internal Affections* 30 suggests οἶνον Κῶον ὑπόστρυφνον ὡς μελάντατον, ‘somewhat astringent Coan wine, as dark as possible’ for a disease of the spleen, and both chapter 40 and 42 again suggest οἶνον μέλανα στρυφνόν, ‘dark, στρυφνός wine.’³²⁰ Last but not least, this kind of wine is also included in *Barrenness* 19.

The term μέλας is thus seemingly connected to στρυφνός, especially within the Hippocratic treatises, and especially in the case of wine. However, for my purposes, there are two more important passages, parallels, in the Corpus that, as I will argue, couple the two terms. They appear at *Nature of Women* 1 and *Diseases of Women* 111. After stating that the most important factor in human affairs is the divine, the author of *Nature of Women* 1 continues, in Potter’s rendering of the text:³²¹

ἔπειτα αἱ φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ χροαί· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέρλευκοι ὑγρότεραί τε καὶ ῥοωδέστεραι, αἱ δὲ μέλαιναι ξηρότεραί τε καὶ στριφνότεραι, αἱ δὲ οἰνωπαὶ μέσον τι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχουσιν.

Next are the natures and complexions of women: for the exceedingly white women are moister and more affected by fluxes, the dark women are drier and more στρυφνός, de wine-coloured women have something in between both.

Dark women are more στρυφνός, a word LSJ translates as “firm, hard, solid.” This translation of the word seems to correspond closely to our term στρυφνός as ‘compact’, ‘contracted’, and the two terms do look rather similar. In fact, Littré, in his 1851 edition of *Diseases of Women*, decided to disregard στριφνότερος, and rather chose to emend to στρυφνότερος, as he did in his edition of *Diseases of Women* 111, a parallel for the passage quoted.³²² However, this latter

³¹⁹ See p. 93 above.

³²⁰ For the Greek text of *Internal Affections* 22, 30 and 40, see Potter 1988a:128, 180 and 186.

³²¹ *Nature of Women* 1. Potter 2012:192.

³²² The text of *Diseases of Women* 111 reads: αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέρλευκοι ὑγρότεραί τε καὶ ῥοωδέστεραι, αἱ δὲ μέλαιναι ξηρότεραί τε καὶ στρυφνότεραι· αἱ δὲ οἰνωποὶ μεσηγύ τι· ἀμφοῖν ἔχουσιν, ‘For some are very white and moister and more affected by fluxes; others are dark and drier and more στρυφνός; yet

reading is, as far as I can judge, not supported by the manuscripts, and Littré does not explain his choices. For this reason, it is more than understandable that Helga Trapp in her 1967 edition, Valeria Andò in her 2000 edition and Paul Potter in his 2012 Loeb decided to render the word as στριφνότερος.³²³ Yet, I think there is good reason to assume that Littré's reading of the text is the original one.³²⁴

Let us briefly examine the contents of the text. The author discusses three types of women, two of them extremes: these are the 'exceedingly white women' and the 'dark women'. The first of these, we are told, are moister and more subject to fluxes, the second group of women is drier and more στρυφνός/στριφνός. We have seen, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most fundamental difference between men and women according to the *Diseases of Women* treatises – to which *Nature of Woman* is closely related – is the texture of their flesh.³²⁵ Women are rarefied, with soft flesh, which results in them retaining more blood and having to menstruate regularly to stay healthy. Men, in contrast, have dense flesh. This characterization of females as rarefied, soft, and thus wet and necessarily subject to fluxes (menses) to get rid of excess, and so possibly disease-inducing, blood fits well with the characterization of the ὑπέρλευκοι, 'exceedingly white' women in *Nature of Woman* 1. In fact, paleness or whiteness was a desirable trait for women in ancient Greece, which would mark out the ὑπέρλευκοι women in this passage as 'true' women in terms of Greek aesthetics, which in turn corresponds to them being real Hippocratic women in terms of their flesh and wetness.³²⁶ The dark women, in contrast, are drier and more στρυφνός/στριφνός. In contrast with the wetness and susceptibility to fluxes of the white women, due to their implicitly rarefied flesh, the dark women are drier, texturally 'firm' (στριφνός), or, I would suggest,

others, wine-coloured, have something in between both.' Littré 1953:238. For Littré's text of *Nature of women* 1, see Littré 1951:312.

³²³ Trapp 1967:70, Andò 2000:86. I am very grateful to Laurence Totelin for providing me with scans of Andò's edition.

³²⁴ I cannot determine whether στρυφνός is also supported by the manuscript tradition on the basis of the editions available to me.

³²⁵ On the close connection between *Nature of Women* and the *Diseases of Women* treatises, see Totelin 2009:12-13. Totelin herself suspects all these texts used similar sources, see eadem:85-91.

³²⁶ On the aesthetics of paleness, see Telò 2017:76 and his references there. See pp. 62-63 and 90-91 above on the body of the Hippocratic woman.

‘dense’, ‘contracted’ (στρυφνός). Both στρυφνός and στριφνός are thus suitable terms to express the contrast between the dark and the exceedingly white women.

Yet, dryness is an integral part of the concept of στρυφνός as analysed above, and this concept also seems to be associated with a dark (μέλας) quality, especially in the Hippocratic treatises.³²⁷ In this passage, στρύφνος thus seems preferable over στριφνός, in my opinion, as it is connected specifically to dryness and darkness. Furthermore, it should be noted that στριφνός appears surprisingly little within extant Greek literature, and mainly in texts far younger than most Hippocratic treatises: the lemma appears 47 times in total, with only six occurrences in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, four of which in the Hippocratic Corpus.³²⁸ All other occurrences of the word are dated from the first century BCE onward, which leads me to suspect that στριφνός is a rather recent term when compared to the Hippocratic treatises, perhaps mistakenly replacing στρυφνός in the manuscripts. This becomes even more likely when considering that under the influence of iotacism, στριφνός and στρυφνός would have been pronounced exactly the same, and scribes might have easily confused the one with the other. As the words have similar meanings, one might even suggest that στριφνός as a lemma is a late invention developed out of στρυφνός, but this may be taking things too far.

There seems to be a problem, however, concerning στριφνός/στρυφνός, as there seems to be no consensus among editors about which of the two is the correct reading. Littré, as we have seen above, generally prefers the latter even if the former is supported by the manuscript tradition. Modern editors differ. For example, in the gynaecological part of the corpus, Potter seems to prefer στριφνός over στρυφνός, but outside of the gynaecology the Loeb editors, including Potter, often opt for στρυφνός where στριφνός can also be found in the manuscripts.³²⁹ Unfortunately, I have no means of uncovering whether στρυφνός is in these cases an emendation or similarly has some basis in the manuscripts. There seems to be a close correlation between the two words in meaning, as we have already seen, but also in etymology – but on what this correlation exactly entails the etymological dictionaries are

³²⁷ Μέλας is not, however, exclusively associated with στρυφνός.

³²⁸ This was determined using the statistics tool of the TLG for the lemma στριφνός. It should of course be noted that the TLG uses Littré’s texts, so that, in some cases, στρυφνός is found where later editors would prefer στριφνός, such as at *Nature of Women* 1.

³²⁹ For example at *The Sacred Disease* 13 (Jones 1923b:168) and *Internal Affections* 22 (Potter 1988a:128).

undecided. Beekes, for example, in his entry for στριφνός, suggests that the term is etymologically “reminiscent” of, among other terms, στρυφνός, and that there might be contamination at play here.³³⁰ For στρυφνός, he finds “no convincing etymology.”³³¹ Chantraine is equally unclear on the matter, suggesting that στριφνός “...fait penser à στιφρός, στέριφος, στρυφνός (ce dernier est de sens différent mais constitue quelquefois une faute des mss pour στριφνός).”³³² However, not only does Chantraine not support this final claim, but from my analysis of στρυφνός above, it appears that the meaning of the term is actually rather close to that of στριφνός, contrary to what Chantraine would suggest. As the matter cannot be resolved here, I would simply like to draw attention to the fact that στρυφνός and στριφνός are apparently close enough both in meaning and in etymology that both editors and etymologists are at a loss as to their exact relationship. For my purposes in this thesis, I can only base myself on the characteristics connected to στρυφνός as they surfaced in my earlier analysis of the term, and trust the choices of the modern editors unless I have a sound reason to think otherwise. On this basis, I would suggest that in *Nature of Women* 1 and *Diseases of Women* 111 the correct reading is στρυφνός rather than στριφνός, thereby endorsing Littré’s 1951/1953 emendations of the text.

This would add another layer of significance to στρυφνός as a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch, as it can, in the context of Hippocratic gynaecology, be instantiated to denote a bodily texture opposite to what a real Hippocratic woman was supposed to have. In order for a woman’s flesh to become completely open – thus more easily storing a larger quantity of blood and so diminishing the risk of disease – her body had to be broken down by menarche, in pregnancy and in childbirth – young women and women who had not yet experienced childbirth were considered to have denser flesh. To quote King, “[i]n terms of Hippocratic theory, *parthenoi* are thus physically incomplete women; some are still growing towards menarche, while others have bled but their channels are narrow and, in any case, their flesh has not yet been broken down (*katarrêgnymi*, DW 1.1, L 8.10) by childbirth.”³³³ A (partly) opened up body was at the same time a necessity for a successful pregnancy, as the

³³⁰ Beekes 2010:1414.

³³¹ Idem:1416.

³³² Chantraine 1977:1064.

³³³ King 1998:72.

stored blood was necessary to feed the child.³³⁴ Older women nearing the menopause dry out, and their flesh becomes firmer, thus also disabling them to carry children.³³⁵ Although στρυφνός is never explicitly used in the treatises expounding gynaecological theories of the body, the terms used to describe the flesh of a woman who has not yet given birth – ἰσχυρός, ‘strong’, στερεός, ‘firm’ or πυκνός, ‘constricted’ – seem to correspond closely to στρυφνός as a concept. Adding to this that both women pre-childbirth and older perimenopausal women are drier, as both groups have less (room for) blood than the complete Hippocratic woman, στρυφνός, as a concept meaning contracted/contracting and dry/drying corresponds rather well to the bodies of these women. It is my contention then, that στρυφνός can be used to refer to a female bodily structure opposite to the ideal Hippocratic female wet body with its rarefied flesh. Now that we have contextualized στρυφνός as a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch both in Greek literature more generally and in the Hippocratic treatises specifically, let us turn to reading Hippocratic recipes, and their ingredients, with the help of στρυφνός.

³³⁴ King 2013:61-62. Another interesting case in this context is the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* 4, describing the inhabitants of the city regularly exposed to cold, seasonal winds, but sheltered from the hot ones. When speaking of the female inhabitants, the author notes, in Jones’ rendering of the text: τῇσι δὲ γυναιξί· πρῶτον μὲν στερίφαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διὰ τὰ ὕδατα ἔοντα σκληρὰ τε καὶ ἀτέραμνα καὶ ψυχρά. αἱ γὰρ καθάρσιες οὐκ ἐπιγίνονται τῶν ἐπιμηνίων ἐπιτήδειαι, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγαι καὶ πονηραί. ἔπειτα τίκτουσι χαλεπῶς· ἐκτιτρώσκουσι δὲ οὐ σφόδρα. ‘For the women: first many become firm through the waters being harsh and hard. For the purging of the menses do not come to pass as suitable, but they are scanty and painful. Next, they give birth with difficulty: but they do not often miscarry.’ Jones 1923a:78. Jones opts for στερίφαι, which is an older emendation, but some of the mss also read στρυφναί. Littré, once again, emends to στρυφναί. It should be mentioned that the Hippocratic author in this chapter mentions that the inhabitants of the city are dry. This dryness, combined with the firmness of the women’s bodies and the fact that στερίφαι/στρυφναί/στρυφναί again look quite similar and might, according to Beekes 2010:1414, share the same etymology, could indicate that the correct reading here again should be στρυφναί. I would suggest the same for *Nature of Women* 90, where a patient is advised to use τοῖσι ξηροῖσι καὶ τοῖσι στρυφνοῖσι, ‘dry and στρυφνός ingredients.’ The element of dryness here again rather points to στρυφνός.

³³⁵ King 1998:30, 72, and her references to the Greek texts there. Andò, too, in her commentary on *Nature of Women* 1, links the dry quality of the dark women to them being older, Andò 2000:209. One may read the text this way, as *Nature of Women* 1 also discusses the ages of women and states that older women are drier, but it is not explicitly stated in the text that the darker women are also the older women.

2.2.3. Reading recipes through στρυφνός

Ἦν ἐκ τόκου ἡ μήτηρ ἐλκωθῇ, ῥόδων ἄνθη ἰῆσθαι· διακλυζέσθω δὲ καὶ στρυφνοῖσιν.

If the womb is ulcerated after childbirth, heal with flower of roses: and douche with στρυφνός ingredients.

Thus is the advice of the author of *Diseases of Women* 1.³³⁶ Typically, he does not specify exactly what στρυφνός ingredients he had in mind when including this recipe in his treatise. In this, στρυφνός in the Hippocratic Corpus differs from δριμύς; whereas it was relatively easy to isolate a group of ingredients that were considered δριμύς, there are fewer ingredients specifically characterised as στρυφνός. The most straightforward is *Regimen* 2.55, οὐα δὲ καὶ μέσπιλα καὶ κράνια καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ὀπώρη στατική καὶ στρυφνή, ‘service-berries and medlars and cornelian cherries and fruit of that kind are astringent and στρυφνός.’³³⁷ Apart from these ingredients, there is another indication in the Corpus of a fruit that might be considered to be στρυφνός, although it is a slightly problematic reference. Among recipes (presumably) for cleaning away bile at *Nature of Women* 32 is the following: Ἐτερα στρυφνά· ῥοῦν οἶνω μέλανι φυρήσας, προσθεῖναι, ‘Other στρυφνά ingredients: sumac mixed with dark wine.’³³⁸ Littré again opts for στρυφνά rather than στρυφνὰ – supported by the mss –, and, similarly to the case of *Nature of Women* 1/*Diseases of Women* 2.111, I again tend to agree with him, as the dark (μέλας) wine seems to indicate the former rather than the latter term.³³⁹ If my reading is correct, then we can include sumac among those ingredients recognised as στρυφνός by the Hippocratics.³⁴⁰ The main ingredient in the Corpus connected to this sensory concept is of course οἶνος μέλας, ‘dark wine’, as we have already seen on ample occasions in the above.³⁴¹ This is where the explicit identifications of στρυφνός ingredients stop, however.

³³⁶ *Diseases of Women* 1.49.1-2.

³³⁷ *Regimen* 2.55. Jones 1931:334. At *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.5, Theophrastus distinguishes three kinds of μεσπίλη, one being more στρυφνός than the others.

³³⁸ *Nature of Women* 32. Potter 2012:248.

³³⁹ Littré 1951:364.

³⁴⁰ Theophrastus notes that the fruit of the ἄρκευθος is στρυφνός at *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.4. Although this fruit is included in the Hippocratic recipes a couple of times, it is never specified as στρυφνός there.

³⁴¹ I will add just one to those mentioned in the above, *Nature of Women* 33. Although the cases should be limited to those in which the wine is explicitly called στρυφνός, as the Hippocratics also recommend αὐστηρός dark wine, for example. The occurrences are numerous, but see, for instance, *Fractures* 29 and *Interior Affections* 30.

In fact, most often when a recipe calls for στρυφνός ingredients, these are left unspecified as in *Diseases of Women* 1.49 above.³⁴² The final recipe that I have selected for discussion in this thesis, however, does stipulate one other στρυφνός ingredient.

Diseases of Women 2.192 presents a wide array of potions for various conditions. The chapter follows a clear schema: a treatment for a certain problem is presented, followed by alternatives to that recipe, all preceded by ἢ, 'or.' The list starts with recipes for a red flux, followed by those for a flux and all diseases, as long as it concerns diseases of the womb. The next series of potions starts with the following recipe:³⁴³

Ἦν αἷμα ῥέη λαῦρον ἐξ ὑστερέων, ἄγνου φύλλα ξὺν οἶνω μέλανι· τὰ στρυφνὰ ῥόον ἴστησιν, οἶνω μέλανι μιγνύμενα.

If turbulent blood flows out of the uterus, leaves of the *agnus castus* in black wine: στρυφνός ingredients stay a flux, mixed in black wine.

Thinking about ingredients characterised by the Hippocratics as στρυφνός, this recipe can be read supposing that there is a causal connection between the two sentences quoted. Thus, ἄγνου φύλλα, 'leaves of the chaste-tree' are included among τὰ στρυφνὰ.³⁴⁴ This is likely, not only from the text itself – which stipulates a recipe to stay a flux followed by the statement that στρυφνός ingredients stay fluxes – but also because of the coupling of the *agnus castus* with black wine, an ingredient we have already seen is often associated with στρυφνός, perhaps due to its colour. This final point is crucial, as Littré – whose edition is still authoritative for *Diseases of Women* – reads τὰ στρυφνὰ in the second sentence, but also

³⁴² To mention a few examples: *Nature of Women* 17, for a woman who is moist and suffering from fluxes; 44, for a prolapsed uterus; 90, for a flux (see n. 334 above); *Diseases of Women* 1.49.2, for when the uterus ulcerates after childbirth; 57.15, for when the womb is filled with phlegm, and an ulceration occurs during the treatment; 65.6, during the treatment of a particularly bad ulceration of the womb; 119.30, to wash away bloody material; 149.8, a parallel for *Nature of Women* 44. Admittedly, I find it hard to isolate specific usages of στρυφνός ingredients in the Hippocratic treatments and link these to στρυφνός as overarching concept denoting contraction and dryness, apart from the cases that I have discussed in the analysis of the term above. Additionally, for the gynaecological treatises, these particular ingredients seem to be used mostly against ulceration of the womb and for a prolapsed uterus, perhaps also to cleanse phlegm. Phlegm was considered to be wet (see King 2013:37), and countering it with στρυφνός ingredients which were drying thus seems logical.

³⁴³ *Diseases of Women* 2.192.26-27.

³⁴⁴ As King 1983:123 supposes.

mentions that one of the manuscripts has στριφνᾶ.³⁴⁵ Considering the problems of keeping apart στριφνός and στρυφνός in the Hippocratic gynaecological texts, the juxtaposition of the term with the dark wine, which is in the remainder of the Corpus often coupled with στρυφνός, ensures – I hold – that we can be reasonably sure that στρυφνός is here the correct reading. This would also make sense medically: an ingredient that would cause contraction, which we have seen is the main meaning of the concept στρυφνός, might well be able to astringe a woman’s abdomen and so stop too heavy blood loss, which the Hippocratics considered unhealthy.³⁴⁶ That στρυφνός is demonstrably the likely reading here is one of the reasons I selected this recipe for further analysis. The second is that the ἄγνος, ‘*agnus castus*’ or ‘chaste-tree’, is a plant well represented both in Greek literary texts from the relevant period and in secondary literature, and, as we will see, also holds special significance for the female body. The analytical procedure will be similar to that used for the previous recipe; I will contextualize the ingredient using both primary and secondary source material, followed by a reading of the recipe which attempts to tease out what a patient may have thought when being treated with this recipe. I will again argue that reading the recipe with στρυφνός as a concept in mind yields information that would have remained hidden without it.

Ἄγνος: This plant, now known as the *vitex agnus castus* or ‘chaste-tree’, was known under another name in Homeric Greek: λύγος.³⁴⁷ As just discussed, the ἄγνος was likely considered to be στρυφνός by the Hippocratics, which at least implies that its character and medical usage would correspond to the contracted/contracting and dry/drying qualities associated with στρυφνός. Indeed, Theophrastus comments on several occasions on the toughness and compactness of the plant. For example, at *Enquiry into Plants* 1.3.2 he notes that under cultivation, the ἄγνος can grow large enough to effectively be considered a tree, but still belongs to the class of θαμνώδη, ‘shrubs’, and at 9.5.1 he compares the cinnamon and

³⁴⁵ Littré 1853:374.

³⁴⁶ King 1998:34.

³⁴⁷ See Christian Hünemörder’s 2006 entry for “Agnos” in Brill’s New Pauly Online. The ancient lexicographers quite consistently identify the two plant names with each other. For this reason, and following the secondary literature, I assume that whenever the primary source material mentions ἄγνος, λύγος can also be read, and vice versa.

cassia shrubs to the ἄγνος, noting that they are οὐ μεγάλους, ‘not large.’³⁴⁸ Additionally, he mentions that the roots of the plant are strong and indestructible, and qualifies its leaf as being not soft, implying toughness.³⁴⁹ This characterization of the ἄγνος as tough and compact chimes well with στρυφνός.

In the Hippocratic recipes, too, the ἄγνος/λύγος seem to display properties in line with the contracting and compacting στρυφνός. One could think here of the treatise *Ulcers*, which includes two recipes that require ἄγνος. The first mentions that the plant should be boiled and can then be used in one of καταπλάσματα οἰδημάτων καὶ φλεγμασίης τῆς ἐν τοῖσι περιέχουσιν, ‘plasters for swellings and inflammation in the places around [the lesions]’, but of particular interest here is the second occurrence of the plant, included in a list of recipes for ὅταν ξυνάγειν βούλη, ‘when you want to draw together [a lesion].’³⁵⁰ Another interesting application of the shrub is at *Internal Affections* 30, describing a disease of the spleen and its therapy, which stipulates fruit of the ἄγνος as one of the ingredients – to be used daily – ἃ μέλλει τὸν σπλῆνα ἰσχυναίνειν, ‘that will dry out the spleen.’³⁵¹ Considering that the cause of the disease was that the spleen drew too much bile to itself because of the heat of the sun, we might imagine that the στρυφνός ἄγνος could make the structure of the spleen dry and less open, thus ensuring it does not take up as much bile as it did. This in turn would go well with our earlier analysis of στρυφνός as dry and drying, and as opposed to the loose texture of the female body due to which they absorbed more blood than did men. *Diseases of Women* 75 might serve as another example, which advises to wash a woman with, among other ingredients ἄγνος as part of a κυητήριον, ‘[a treatment] to promote conception.’³⁵² Although the exact problem is not stated here, the contracting properties of the plant might help in retaining the seed in the womb, as sperm running out of the open uterus would impede conception.³⁵³ Lastly, at *Diseases of Women* 77, a woman who has difficulty giving birth should first be phlebotomised if she is young and full of blood – clearly the author here considers there to be too much blood in the woman’s body – and afterwards drink, among other

³⁴⁸ *Enquiry into Plants* 1.3.2 and 9.5.1. Hort 1916a:24 and 1916b:242.

³⁴⁹ *Enquiry into Plants* 3.12.2 and 4.10.12 respectively.

³⁵⁰ Both occurrences are in *Ulcers* 11. Potter 1995:348, 350.

³⁵¹ *Internal Affections* 30. Potter 1988a:156.

³⁵² *Diseases of Women* 1.75.16.

³⁵³ The seed was to remain inside the womb, which had to close after conception, see King 1998:32, 49.

ingredients, fruit of ἄγνος.³⁵⁴ Could this perhaps be meant to contract her body so that she would store less blood and that it would run out more easily?³⁵⁵ Other usages of the compacting ἄγνος might point to it being used according to the formula ‘like cures like.’³⁵⁶ For example, at *Diseases of Women* 46, it is advised to give petals of the ἄγνος to drink to help expel the afterbirth, and later in the treatise these petals are recommended as an abortive.³⁵⁷ Similarly, in the same treatise, raw fruit of the λύγος is given to expel the afterbirth. This function of the ἄγνος/λύγος as an expellant in the gynaecological treatises seems to run opposite to its function as a contracting retentive. Yet, perhaps we can consider its usage in the aforementioned cases as curing through similarities – a retentive plant is used to treat a contracted womb.

This seeming contrasting usage the ἄγνος as in some cases preserving fertility and as aborting in others, is very well reflected in the cultural significance of the plant as related to female sexuality, to which I will turn now. As Claude Calame observes, “[c]es qualités [associated with female sexuality] du *vitex* s’arcitulent selon deux axes sémantiques opposés, celui de la chasteté et celui de la fertilité. D’une part, les feuilles de cet arbre sont réputées tempérer le désir sexuel; ainsi les couches sur lesquelles se tenaient les Athéniennes observant la continence sexuelle prescrite durant les Thesmophories étaient formées de branchages de gattilier. D’autre part, ce même gattilier était connu pour favoriser les menstruations et l’abondance du lait.”³⁵⁸ The conflicting qualities of the ἄγνος/λύγος, which can both boost fertility and constrain to chastity, is noted by several other scholars.³⁵⁹ King was the first to connect these opposing facets of the plant to the body of specifically the Hippocratic Greek woman. She starts from the treatise *Girls*, which discusses an impediment to menarche, causing the girls to suffer all sorts of medical complaints due to an excess of blood in her body which cannot escape. This condition can only be resolved by having sex and in so doing

³⁵⁴ *Diseases of Women* 1.77.19.

³⁵⁵ This contradicts the statement of King 1998:138 that “...nothing could change the essential wetness and sponginess” of the female body.

³⁵⁶ See p. 60 n. 194 above on ‘like curing like.’

³⁵⁷ *Diseases of Women* 1.46.9 and 1.78.85.

³⁵⁸ Calame 1977:288. At *Diseases of Women* 44.14, for example, the plant is used when the milk runs dry in a woman’s breasts. This might perhaps again be read as a case of ‘like curing like’, as the breasts were perhaps constrained – they are normally considered to be as rarefied as the rest of the female body, see *Glands* 16 – and their flesh should thus be loosened by applying constraining ingredients.

³⁵⁹ For example Detienne 1979:213, King 1983:122-124.

‘opening up’ the body of the girl, which would allow the blood to flow out. By this process, the girl becomes a woman who is ready to conceive. After they are cured, many girls offer their clothes to Artemis. King has identified this guise of Artemis with Artemis *Orthia*, Λυγόδεσμα, ‘Bound by the λύγος’ and Λυσίζωνος, ‘Releaser of the girdle.’ Drawing on an aetiological myth for the cult of Artemis Orthia reported by Pausanias, King suggests that the ἄγνος/λύγος, with its ambiguous connection to both chastity and fertility, fits perfectly well with the virgin goddess Artemis: Her own body is always bound by the chaste plant, but the goddess is also able to ‘release the girdle’ both for women in childbirth and for young women who are still ‘bound’, thereby opening up their bodies and, in the case of young παρθένοι, ‘virgins’, allowing menstruation to begin. She is also able to reverse this process and prevent women from menstruating again, thus causing them to fall ill. This transitional character of the goddess is reflected perfectly by the ἄγνος/λύγος plant, which is often used in bindings, and in its promotion of chastity and fertility reflects both the bound condition of the young girl (παρθένος), and the released bodily status of the mature woman (γυνή).³⁶⁰ As King rightfully notes, “...in the Hippocratic texts (...) these opposite qualities are brought out clearly.” She goes on to mention several of the treatments which call for the ἄγνος/λύγος in the gynaecology which I have mentioned above as reflecting both the retentive and the expelling function of the plant.

This dual capacity of the plant can be noted in other mythical contexts as well. Dorothea Baudy has analysed the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in which the young and witty Hermes steals the cows of the god Apollo, from the perspective of the binding capacities of the ἄγνος/λύγος.³⁶¹ After being ordered by Zeus to reveal their location to Apollo and bringing him there, Apollo tries to bind Hermes with binds made from the ἄγνος. Hermes makes the plants take root, however, and grow over the stolen cows.³⁶² Baudy interprets this as the foundation of animal herding by Hermes, who by covering the cows with binds of ἄγνος claims Apollo’s cattle as his own. She takes a step further, however, and argues that the dual qualities of chastity and fertility inherent in the plant point to Hermes keeping the

³⁶⁰ Aristotle notes the ability of the λύγος to be bent and straightened at *Meteorologia* 385b, and Athenaeus remarks that the λύγος is most suited to tying objects and to wickerwork, see *Deipnosophists* XV, 671f.

³⁶¹ Baudy 1989.

³⁶² *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 387-414.

cows chaste until they are reunited with their bulls and ready to be bread.³⁶³ She finds support for her interpretation in the fact that virgin girls are often compared to or changed into cows in myth, and in several other cults, notably that of Artemis *Orthia*, discussed above, in the Thesmophoria and in a Samian cult of Hera.³⁶⁴ Athenaeus provides the aetiological myth for a ritual for Hera on Samos, which consisted of the yearly binding outside of the temple of her cult statue with λύγος bindings. Baudy considers the ritually bound Hera – herself connected to cows – as παρθένος, ensnared by the chaste plant, as opposed to her status as wife of Zeus, and thus a mature married woman, within the temple. The Thesmophoria, as already became clear in the quotation from Calame above, included women sleeping on beds made from the ‘chaste-tree’, again interpreted by Baudy as reflecting the double nature of the plant. Baudy emphasizes the Thesmophoria was essentially a harvest festival, and compares the women who vowed chastity during the festival to the pure agrarian land ready to receive rain and seed in the next seasonal cycle. The ‘chaste-tree’ here again is indicative of a female fertility transition: it both emphasizes the chastity of the bodies of the participants of the festival and the earth, and points ahead to their fertilization.³⁶⁵ In short, to quote Baudy, “[v]or dem Hintergrund der in der Antike gelaufigen symbolischen Identifikation von Frauen und Kühen erkannten wir in ihm [the ἄγνος/λύγος] das Modell für eine bestimmte Form der Ritualisierung des Übergangs von Mädchen zur verheirateten Frau.”³⁶⁶

³⁶³ For a counterargument, see Vergados 2013:495. See also idem:496 for the consideration that Apollo in fact attempts to bind Hermes, a god, which is a common theme in myth. For example, the pirates who kidnap Dionysus at the start of the Homeric hymn dedicated to him, try to bind the god with binds made from λύγος, which again fails. In these cases, it seems, there is less of a connection to the female body but rather to a recognition that an assailant is dealing with a god, as Vergados notes in the context of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*: “...due to their immortality, gods can only be controlled by being bound and restrained.”

³⁶⁴ Although I find Baudy’s argument compelling and, on the whole, convincing, I would like to draw attention to the fact that not only female animals are bound by the ἄγνος/λύγος, and not always in a sexual context. The prime example here is *Odyssey* 9.425-436, in which passage Odysseus binds himself and his men under rams, explicitly male animals (ἄρσενες οἶες), with bindings of λύγος. In Euripides’ rendering of Odysseus’ deceit in his *Cyclops*, Polyphemus notes τοῦσδ’ ἄρνας, ‘these lambs’, bound with λύγος, in his cave. The sex of the sheep here is not specified. Also worth mentioning in this context is *Iliad* 11.104-6, which mentions that Achilles once bound two sons of Priam with the λύγος when they were herding sheep.

³⁶⁵ For Baudy’s detailed treatments of the different cultic instantiations of the ἄγνος/λύγος outside of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, see Baudy 1989:13-27.

³⁶⁶ Eadem:1989:28.

As King and Baudy illustrate, the dual medical usage of the ἄγνος/λύγος as both retentive and expelling, restoring fertility and aborting, has a strong ritual background, especially in the cult of Artemis, as the plant is often used to illustrate the transition from a chaste παρθένος to a fertile γύνη. Not only the bodily structure of the Hippocratic woman – loose as women versus compact as girls – can be understood against this background and interpreted as perpetuating it, but also, I would emphasize, the fact that the ἄγνος/λύγος was a στρυφνός plant. This sensory denominator emphasizes the plant was considered compact and compacting, and so corresponds to the bodily texture of young girls, but can also be used, perhaps under the Hippocratic logic of ‘like curing like’, to open and expel, in correspondence with the loose texture of the mature female body.

There remains one difficulty here: what of dryness? As we have seen, στρυφνός was intimately connected to dryness and a drying capacity. It therefore seems reasonable to expect that, in the recipe under discussion here, in which the ἄγνος/λύγος plant is mentioned explicitly as a στρυφνός plant and is coupled with another ingredient often associated with this sensory term, black wine, the ἄγνος/λύγος plant would here be associated with a certain drying ability. Yet, as King notes about the ἄγνος/λύγος and Artemis, “...plant and goddess are associated with wet and marshy areas (...)”, and as she astutely adds, “[t]his in turn links both to women, usually seen as wetter than men.”³⁶⁷ King rightfully connects the wetness of the plant to the innate wetness of the female body, especially in Hippocratic medicine. That women were seen as wet can also be gleaned from other areas of Greek literature, notably poetry.³⁶⁸ To a Greek patient treated with this recipe, then, the wetness of the plant would seemingly contrast even more strongly with the specification of στρυφνός, which is associated rather with dryness. What King overlooks, however, is that, at least in Hippocratic theory, only mature γυναίκες were completely wet, as their bodies were the most rarefied. The flesh of young girls and older women in their menopause, as was noted earlier, was seen as drier and more constricted. Considering all this, the patient, and other members of the household perhaps standing by her during treatment – which would most likely entail her drinking the potion, as is specified at the beginning of *Diseases of Women* 2.192 – would see the στρυφνός capacities as both contracting and drying her body, highlighted by the contrast between

³⁶⁷ King 1983:123 and her references there.

³⁶⁸ Carson 1990:137-145.

wetness of the plant on the one hand and dryness of the sensory epithet on the other. When bearing in mind the dual associations of fertility and chastity, as retentive and expellant, inherent in the ἄγνος/λύγος, another ambiguity of wet versus dry is perhaps not surprising.

The latter opposition, I would suggest, only becomes apparent when reading this recipe with the context of the sensory concept of στρυφνός in mind, and is of importance when considering patient experiences of the recipes. First, let us try and resolve the dry versus wet ambiguity. As Anne Carson has noted, women were usually considered wetter than men, who were dry, both inside and outside Greek medical texts.³⁶⁹ She goes on to suggest, however, that woman's innate wetness would, in Greek thought, protect them from drying out. This is why women were so sexually voracious: their wet bodies would ensure the sexual heat would not wear them out. Men, by contrast, rather easily became too dry, and should thus be able to restrain themselves from having too much sex. Women did not possess this σωφροσύνη, this moderation. This sexual voracity was especially associated with young and unmarried women – the παρθένος was considered a dangerous, unbound creature, who was eventually to be 'tamed' in marriage by the moderation of her husband.³⁷⁰ Thus, women can be considered both wet and drying, as they could dry out their husbands during sex. This chimes well, I would emphasize, with the dual nature of the ἄγνος/λύγος shrub as being both dry and wet.

Turning back to my research question, what does this mean for patient experiences of this recipe, which explicitly juxtaposes ἄγνος/λύγος and στρυφνός? I suggest that for women, much like the nature of the plant, its application to their bodies might instantiate two different feelings. On the one hand, the drying capacity of the plant might bind and dry their rarefied abdomen, which would presumably cure the flux. On the other hand, this binding and drying effect might bring to mind their maidenhood, or, conversely, their old age, a time before and after their reproductive period that ensured their position within the household. For, as Carson emphasizes, the wetness of the female body was connected to women's dangerous capacity to overstep boundaries – including a lack of sexual restraint – and thus her sensitivity to pollution: in her boundlessness, the Greek woman was considered a

³⁶⁹ The following account is based on Carson 1990.

³⁷⁰ See also King 1998:24.

polluting danger, to be bound by marriage. Her sexual voracity, again an overstepping of boundaries before marriage, might be redeemed by using it to procreate and so secure her role within the household.³⁷¹ Applying the ἄγνος/λύγος to her body might make women weary of returning to or moving ahead to a bodily state in which they were no longer able to reproduce – their bodies being too dry or constricted to do so – and thus again become unbound creatures with no clear place and role within Greek culture. For the male guardian, perhaps attending the treatment, the ἄγνος/λύγος might have a more positive ring: it would help restrain his wife’s polluting wet body and sexual licentiousness.³⁷² The dual association of the ‘chaste-tree’ as both dry/constricting and wet, corresponding to its connection with both fertility and chastity/infertility, is strengthened in this recipe by the addition of the sensory concept στρυφνός, and this determines the patient’s possible interpretation of the recipe.

This interpretation of course assumes that the women treated by the Hippocratics agreed to the way these physicians conceptualized their bodies, for which assumption there is ground.³⁷³ However, King warns that we should not rule out the influence of the male physician and the male guardian of the patient in treatment. “Rather than seeing theories of the nature of woman and remedies to treat their diseases as either women’s or men’s knowledge, a third option is thus probably nearer the truth; namely, that the image of women presented in these texts was one that both men and women would recognize and accept, while both sexes had knowledge of, and access to, the plant substances used to treat sexual diseases.”³⁷⁴ Yet, King suggests, there might be some particular feelings described by women in the Hippocratic Corpus, as reported by the physician, that are particular to their own conceptualization of their bodily experience. She mentions several cases of female patients reporting a ‘gathering’ near their hearts. An example is *Epidemics* 7.28, which describes the disease of the wife of a Polemarchus. Not only did she feel a πνιγμός, ‘choking’ at her pharynx, which was healed by phlebotomy, but on the fifth day of her, eventually deadly, condition, κατὰ τὴν καρδίην ἔφη δοκεῖν τι ξυνάγεσθαι ἐωσπῆ, ‘she said she thought something was drawn together near her heart.’³⁷⁵ King translates this as “a ‘clenching’ of the

³⁷¹ Carson 1990:149-164.

³⁷² King 2013:43-44 on the male guardian, who may have called in and payed the physician.

³⁷³ See p. 23 above.

³⁷⁴ King 2013:44.

³⁷⁵ *Epidemics* 7.18. Smith 1994:314.

heart”, and mentions other cases in the *Epidemics* of women experiencing similar symptoms.³⁷⁶ Interesting for our purposes here is that the words used in the *Epidemics*, πνίγμος, ‘a stifling’ and ξυνάγειν ‘to contract’, closely recall the stifling and contracting effect of στρυφνός, often in the exact same wording.³⁷⁷ In fact, *Diseases of Women* 201 specifically recommends to use the fruit of the ἄγνος, which we now know was considered a στρυφνός plant, ἣν ἡ καρδίη πνίγεται ὑπὸ ὑστέρης, ἀναθλίβεται, καὶ πνεῦμα ἔχει καὶ ἄσθμα, ‘when the heart is stifled by the womb, is forced up, and has wind and panting.’³⁷⁸ From a Hippocratic point of view, the treatment for this stifling, gathering feeling with a στρυφνός stifling and contracting plant such as the ἄγνος/λύγος can be again explained as ‘like curing like.’ However, if this gathering sensation around the heart is a condition very peculiar to the Greek women’s own sensation of their bodies, as King suggests is a possibility, it would not take things too far that a female patient might resist treatment with this plant, which at least in theory would thus be able to cause such a suffocation of the heart.³⁷⁹ Especially in a recipe such as the one at *Diseases of Women* 2.192 now under consideration – in which case the στρυφνός ἄγνος/λύγος is supposed to cure a too heavy flux of blood, rather than countering the stifling of the heart *similia similibus* as in the example just given – I would suggest that a female patient might fear that this plant might cause a ‘clenching’ around her heart, and for this reason might refuse to drink this recipe.

This reading of the recipe in *Diseases of Women* 2.192.26-27 is of course tentative – ultimately, it is impossible to reconstruct a patient’s experience of a treatment 2500 years ago with any degree of certainty. We can, however, culturally contextualize both the ingredients used in the recipes and the sensory denominators applied to these ingredients, and so at least suggest what a (female) patient *may* have thought when being treated with a Hippocratic recipe. As I have attempted to show, treating sensory terms as synesthetic concepts and

³⁷⁶ King 2013:45-46.

³⁷⁷ See for example Antiphanes fr. 186, Plato, *Timaeus* 65c-d and *Places in Man* 13, all quoted in the above.

³⁷⁸ A parallel for this passage can be found in *Nature of Women* 32: “Ἦν πρὸς τὴν καρδίην προσπεσοῦσαι | ὑστέροι πνίγωσι, τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ ἄγνου καὶ τῆς γλυκυσίδης δίδου ἐν οἴνῳ πίνειν, ‘When the womb, having fallen upon the heart, stifles it, give fruit of the ἄγνος and of the peony in wine to drink.

³⁷⁹ See King 2013:47. King allows that the clenching of the heart women feel might be considered by the Hippocratic doctor to fit perfectly within his view of the body, but “[a]lternatively, the fact that we learn of this from a reported sensation of a patient may reflect a greater interest among women in fluids and in the danger believed to arise of they ‘gather.’”

contextualizing them in Greek literature aids in uncovering certain contexts patients may have connected to the recipe they were treated with that would otherwise remain out of our grasp. In this case, highlighting the importance of the concept στρυφνός in its application to the ἄγνος/λύγος plant uncovers yet another binary – wet and dry – associated with this shrub that needed to be negotiated by the patients in making sense of their treatment by the Hippocratic doctor. Furthermore, for female patients, treatment with the plant might carry the danger of inducing a very specific condition that was literally very close to their hearts.

Part 3. Concluding remarks

In this thesis, I have ventured to construct and test a model to tease out patient experiences in Hippocratic pharmacology through sensory concepts and the cultural connections of the ingredients recommended in specific recipes. The two main parts of this thesis roughly correspond to these two goals of constructing and testing: in part 1, I contextualized my primary corpus, the recipe catalogues in the Hippocratic medical treatises, from a philological point of view, and constructed my theoretical model and methodology to approach patient experiences in these texts. In part 2, I applied this theoretical model: first I recontextualised two sensory terms – *δοιμύς* and *στρυφνός* – as synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch. I then read several case studies of recipes by investigating the cultural context of the ingredients used in them, and, crucially, by applying the contexts evoked by the sensory concepts together with those of the ingredients – their ‘cultural memory’ – in a reading of a recipe from the patient’s point of view. In this final part, I will first provide a summary of the foregoing thesis per chapter and the conclusions drawn. Afterwards, I will reflect on the research process and make some suggestions for further research.

3.1. Summary and conclusions

Chapter 1.1, 'The Hippocratic patient: reading against the grain' provided historical and philological context for the Hippocratic treatises and treated earlier scholarship on patient experiences, specifically within the Hippocratic Corpus. In 1.1.1., I discussed scholarship and primary sources on the Hippocratic physician and their patients. While these physicians sometimes seem to listen closely to their patients in trying to make the right diagnosis, these medical men had to retain a certain dominance over their patients in order to assert their legitimacy as medical experts. The relationship of practitioner and patient thus seems to have been characterised by reliance and mistrust. Especially in the case of female patients doctors sometimes had to rely on the patients' own accounts of their illness, as female bodies were still not mapped out as well as the male body was, although the same could be said of patients in general. In the end, however, Hippocratic theory prevailed over patient account, and they would base treatment on their construction of the patient's body. Thinking further about this, 1.1.2 considers the possibility of reading patient experiences in texts that are all written from the male physician's point of view. Drawing mainly on the work of Helen King, doubt was cast on the probability that the Hippocratic texts truly can reflect patient experiences, especially those of women – even the case studies of the epidemics are suspect. The Hippocratics seem all too ready to construct practice from theory, rather than the other way around. King, however, sensibly suggests to allow room in our interpretations for agency of both doctor and (female) patient in the encounter. While the doctor would have constructed the parameters of the patient's body and its treatment, women could, in theory, manipulate these to their own gain. While I find King's approach tantalizing, the problem is that the patient's reactions here remain wholly theoretical, and that their accounts were not always accepted by the doctors.

In the next chapter, 1.2, I moved on to treat the main primary corpus of this thesis: the Hippocratic recipe catalogues. Although these recipes were thought to reflect patient experiences for the wrong reason – they were assumed to reflect a 'women's lore' –, I would still emphasize the importance of the recipe collections in uncovering these experiences. In 1.2.1, recent scholarship on the Hippocratic recipe lists, mainly to be found in and as appendices to the gynaecological treatises in the Corpus, was discussed. From new insights

in the work of scholars such as Anne Hanson and Laurence Totelin, the Hippocratic recipe lists arise as repositories of oral and written knowledge, the latter in the form of itinerant recipe collections. Most importantly, many laymen, both men and women, would have had access to and knowledge of these medical recipes as well. The recipes were eventually compiled and included in the Hippocratic treatises, thus representing a certain professionalization of commonly held knowledge in the Greek world. The fact that these recipes would have been available to and recognisable for both the Hippocratic physicians and their patients makes them, I hold, a suitable corpus to look for patient experiences. 1.1.2 emphasizes the importance of the ingredients used in the recipes, and, specifically, the cultural connections these ingredients hold. The ingredients used in Hippocratic treatments, many experts hold, have cultural connections that go beyond their significance in medical theory. Even if doctors would explain the usage of certain matter as medically significant, scholars such as Totelin hold, patients would have picked up on their cultural significance as well, and would have interpreted the recipes as such. These ingredients are thus repositories of cultural meaning which, significantly, works on a collective level, as material memory studies assert. Studying the ingredients from this perspective thus allows us to approximate what cultural experiences patients might have had when being treated with these ingredients.

But we can take this one step further. As I discuss in chapter 1.3, following scholars in material memory studies such as C. Nadia Seremetakis, cultural associations stored in objects are communicated through the senses. This fits well with the current scholarly ‘sensual turn’, both in classical philology and other fields such as the Social Sciences. As the Hippocratics relied strongly on their senses in diagnosis, and the treatments proposed by them would leave strong sensory impressions on the patients as well, it seems important to investigate these when trying to recover patient experiences, which led me to the following research question:

How are specific sensory words that are used in Hippocratic pharmacology conceptualized in different contexts in Greek literature, and what do these redefined concepts – in combination with the cultural connections of ingredients used – contribute to the study of the ancient patients’ experiences?

This question partly looks ahead to the rest of the chapter, in which I explain the importance of sensory concepts. Thinking further about the sensory concept part of this question, in 1.3.1,

I emphasize that the ancient conception of the senses and of sensory experience is not necessarily analogous to ours. In 1.3.2, I introduce the term *synaesthesia*, which denotes sensory blending. Ashley Clements has demonstrated the importance of reading sensory words – *δριμύς*, in the case of his own research – as *synaesthetic* sensory concepts. Rather than seeing *δριμύς* simply as a taste word which is applied metaphorically, as is so often assumed especially in the Greek lexica, in other sensory domains such as that of smell or touch, Clements contextualizes the term in Greek literature, and notes that differing sensory and non-sensory instantiations of the word are all relatable to a single unifying concept. Treating these different instantiations as (Aristotelian) metaphors would lead us along the wrong path, for, as Geoffrey Lloyd asserts, a metaphor implies a categorical separation of a primary meaning and a secondary, metaphorical meaning. Clements suggest to rather see *δριμύς* as a *synesthetic* sensory concept, one that can be instantiated in different contexts, but would still keep its conceptual meaning. To a Greek listener, there would be no significant difference between the concept used in one context and in another. This chimes well with Lloyd's concept of semantic stretch, which similarly proposes to treat terms such as *φάρμακον* used in different contexts as instantiations of a single concept. In this, Clements' and Lloyd's approaches seem closer to the experience of Greek patients than a metaphorical interpretation would be. Concepts are particularly relevant for uncovering patient's cultural and sensory experiences, for, as I discuss in 1.3.3, Mieke Bal and Seremetakis emphasize that (sensory) concepts are collective knowledge. Using sensory concepts would allow for a study of sensory experience on a collective, cultural level, thus avoiding the problem that sensory experiences are normally very individual and subjective. In 1.3.4, a short appendix, I consider whether or not the sensory words in the Hippocratic recipes are a purely Hippocratic addition, which appears hard to either prove or disprove.

If *synesthetic* concepts are instantiated throughout Greek literature and understood collectively, I hold, it should be possible to retrace, in a similar way as for the recipe ingredients, the contexts in which sensory concepts are used, and to use these contexts to reconstruct what a patient might have thought of when reading a recipe with ingredients that are qualified by this sensory concept. Arguing from sensory concepts, none of these contexts would take primacy over another. Not only would applying Clement's and Lloyd's framework to sensory terms other than *δριμύς* give a radically different interpretation of these

sensory terms from those in the lexica, it would also allow for a detailed and nuanced reading of Hippocratic recipes from the patient's perspective, including both the ingredients and the sensory concepts used in a recipe. This is the model with which I will read recipes in part 2, by contextualizing and interpreting sensory concepts and recipe ingredients. I limit myself to textual evidence from the Homeric poems up to and including the third century BCE. The exact details on how I do this are described in 1.4, in which my methodology is mapped out.

In part 2, then, I apply the theoretical model as outlined in chapter 1 on two sensory terms and two recipes, one for each term. In 2.1 I follow up on Clement's study on *δριμύς*. While Clements only adduces a handful of loci in the secondary literature, I broaden the scope in 2.1.1 by including more literary contexts for *δριμύς* in order to locate cultural connections the concept may have carried. I conclude that Clements' conceptualization of the word as "a physiological/affective state [localised in nose, mouth and eyes] which can both be engendered through a variety of different senses and sensory contexts, but also transmitted to its recipients from those who inspire it [through a look, for example] exactly in accordance with the flow elsewhere in Greek thought of affective states like desire or fear" is indeed reflected in the primary texts.³⁸⁰ To this I add Sarah Hitch's contention that *δριμύς* is connected to instances of battle in epic. In 2.1.2 I focus on *δριμύς* in Hippocratic texts, as these form the most important corpus in this thesis, and because Clements' analysis of them is somewhat lacking. What seems especially strange is that *δριμύς* in Hippocratic gynaecology is often localised in the womb, rather than in the mouth, nose or eyes. This is to be resolved, I suggest, by considering that the womb in Hippocratic thought also had a mouth. Having contextualized *δριμύς*, in 2.1.3, I turn to a recipe in the Hippocratic *Diseases* 2.47 and contextualize two *δριμύς* ingredients in it, drawing on both primary and secondary material - *σίδια δριμεία*, 'δριμύς pomegranate peels', and *σίλφιον*, 'silphium'. Afterwards, I reconstruct what a patient may have thought if this recipe were applied to her/his body. I highlight the fact that applying the contextualization of *δριμύς* as a sensory concept in this reading yields insights that would have otherwise remained unsuitably emphasized, notably the (un)desirable abortive qualities of *δριμύς*, which could be exploited by female patients.

³⁸⁰ Clements 2013:86.

A similar setup as in 2.1 can be found in 2.2, in which I try to cover some untrodden ground and apply my theoretical model to a sensory term that has never been contextualized as a synesthetic concept displaying semantic stretch: στρυφνός. I here again focus both on Greek literature more widely (2.2.1) and on the Hippocratic texts specifically (2.2.2). Contrary to what the lexica suggest, configuring στρυφνός as primarily a word denoting taste, the term from my analysis appears to be a truly synesthetic, covering many different sensory and even emotional contexts as a concept with the overarching meaning of ‘contracted/contracting and dry/drying.’ This reading of the term dramatically diverges from how the word is usually conceptualized by text editors and lexica. In the Hippocratic gynaecological texts, στρυφνός appears particularly interesting as it is seemingly strongly connected to the texture of female flesh. I discuss its medical usage, which corresponds well to the concept as I have outlined it. The Hippocratic texts also raise questions about the relation of στρυφνός to στριφνός. These two terms are used by different editors for the same loci, which calls for some investigation. Although it is hard to make a conclusive statement about the relation of στρυφνός to στριφνός, it is my contention that στρυφνός has clear connections that warrant its place in several loci where στριφνός was read by some editors. With this reading of στρυφνός, I move on to a recipe in *Diseases of Women* 2.192, which includes the στρυφνός ingredient ἄγνος, ‘chaste-tree.’ After considering the cultural contexts of this ingredient, with which στρυφνός fits well, I provide a reading of the recipe both from the patient’s point of view and from that of her male guardian. I again hold that using the connections of the sensory concept adds a layer of meaning to my reading of this recipe that would not have surfaced without it. This goes, for example, for the stifling feeling ἄγνος might cause in women, for which they seem particularly afraid, and which might lead them to refuse treatment with this recipe.

With this, I have answered my main question for the terms δριμύς and στρυφνός: I have (re)defined sensory terms as synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch, and considered how emphasizing these sensory concepts, in addition to the cultural contexts of the ingredients used, uncovers new insights on patient’s (possible) experiences in readings of Hippocratic recipes.

3.2 Reflection on relevance and suggestions for further research

Of course, as reading patient's experiences is a matter of nuance, radical conclusions are here necessarily lacking. I can provide little more certainty than King could in her reading of Hippocratic patients' agency. Yet, my model provides a more nuanced way of at least approaching these experiences, trying to give the Hippocratic (female) patients, a largely silenced category, their voice back. However, the true strength in this thesis lies exactly in the model it presents and its implications. Although the individual elements of this model – patient experiences, sensory concepts, and cultural contexts of ingredients – have been researched before, unifying all three of them in a single explanatory model has not been done to date. This model emphasizes the importance of reading ancient sensory terms as synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch, which leads to radically different interpretations of how these terms were conceptualized in antiquity from that which the modern lexica suggest – it shows that modern scholars applying their own ideas about metaphorical sensory categorization on ancient Greek texts leads to a completely eschewed idea of how a Greek listener/reader would have conceptualized sensory terms, and, perhaps, sensory experience.³⁸¹ Furthermore, this model is widely applicable to other recipes, and perhaps even to other genres of texts and other sensory terms, which would, like in this thesis, likely lead to new discoveries both concerning the meaning and application of ancient sensory terms, as well as to more nuanced readings of ancient texts. In short, I have provided a workable model with which to tease out sensory concepts and approach patients' experiences in Hippocratic pharmacology.

There are limitations, too. Due to the limited length of this thesis, I have only been able to cover two sensory concepts, and only two recipes in total. In order to make the relevance of the model as put forward in this thesis even more poignant, it should be researched whether other sensory terms can similarly be usefully analysed as synesthetic concepts displaying semantic stretch. I have included 25 additional terms that might be relevant in the context of Hippocratic pharmacology in footnote 140 above. Similarly, I have, especially in the case of

³⁸¹ It also calls into question the contention of Kazantzidis 2016, who, on the basis of sensory terms, suggests that the Hippocratics may have tasted what came out of their patient's bodies. In fact, as we have seen, sensory terms likely covered much more than just taste, which makes it hard to interpret Hippocratic practice from the term alone.

Diseases 2.47, only been able to analyse a handful of ingredients of a far greater number included in the recipes. In order to truly and more holistically approach patient experiences in Hippocratic pharmacology, simply more recipes and more ingredients should be looked at. Connected to this is the problem of gendering. I had originally intended to separate masculine and feminine experiences of the recipes. Yet, as most of the Hippocratic recipes are included in the gynaecology, and likely because women are more culturally marked than men in ancient Greece, my readings of the texts – even that of *Diseases* 2.47, a non-gendered case – are more poignant for female patients. In order to compare experiences based on gender, one might have to look at more recipes in non-gynaecological treatises and maybe even in other medical texts – I would suggest medical papyri containing recipes or writings of other classical Greek medical men who have been overshadowed in modern scholarship by the Hippocratic Corpus.³⁸² Are some sensory terms connected more closely to male experiences? This might perhaps also yield interesting new insights into doctrines of non-Hippocratic classical Greek medicine, seeing whether or not their usage of sensory terms differs from that of the Hippocratics.

³⁸² Van der Eijk 2016.

Bibliography

Adam, J. 1963. *The Republic of Plato. Edited with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Appendices. Volume 2, Books VI-X.* Cambridge.

Andò, V. 2000. *Ippocrate: Natura della Donna.* Milan.

Andorlini, I. 1981. "Ricette mediche nei papiri: note d'interpretazione e analisi di ingredienti." *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria* 46:33–82.

--- (ed.) 2001. *Greek Medical Papyri I.* Florence.

--- (ed.) 2009. *Greek Medical Papyri II.* Florence.

Arnott, W. G. *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary.* Cambridge.

Bal, M. 2002. *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide.* Toronto.

Balme, D. M. 1991. *Aristotle XI.* Cambridge MA, London.

Baltussen, H. 2015. "Ancient Philosophers on the sense of smell." *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (ed. M. Bradley) 30-45. New York.

Baudy, D. 1989. "Das Keuschlamm-Wunder des Hermes (Hom. h. Merc. 409-413): ein möglicher Schlüssel zum Verständnis kultischer Fesselung?" *Grazer Beiträge: Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft* XVI:1-28.

Beekes, R. (with L. Van Beek) 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek, Volume Two.* Leiden, Boston.

Bradley, M. (ed.) 2015. *Smell and the Ancient Senses.* New York.

Bury, R. G. 1929. *Plato IX.* Cambridge MA, London.

Butler, S. and A. Purves (eds.) 2013. *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses.* New York.

Calame, C. 1977. *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque: I. Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale.* Rome.

- Carson, A. 1990. "Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire." *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient World* (eds. D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin) 135-169. New Jersey, Oxford.
- Cazzato, V. and A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.) 2016. *The Look of Lyric: Greek Song and the Visual*. Leiden.
- Chantraine, P. 1977. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots. Tome IV-1; P-Y*. Paris.
- Cavallaro, D. 2013. *Synaesthesia and the Arts*. Jefferson, NC.
- Clements, A. 2013. "'Looking Mustard': Greek Popular Epistemology and the Meaning of ΔΠΙΜΥΣ." *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses* (eds. S. Butler and A. Purves) 71-88. New York.
- 2014. "The senses in philosophy and science: five conceptions from Heraclitus to Plato." *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity* (ed. J. Toner) 115-38. New York.
- 2015. "Divine scents and presence." *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (ed. M. Bradley) 46-59. New York.
- Comiti, V. P. 1999. "Variations de la thérapeutique en fonction du sexe du patient dans la collection hippocratique." *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum* (eds. I. Garofalo, et al.) 125-137. Florence.
- Condrau, F. 2007. "The Patient's View Meets the Clinical Gaze." *Social History of Medicine* 20:525-540.
- Craik, E. 1998. *Hippocrates, Places in Man: Greek text and Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Davidson, J. N. 1997. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. London.
- Dean-Jones, L.-A. 1991. "The Cultural Construct of the Female Body in Classical Greek Science." *Women's History and Ancient History* (ed. S. B. Pomeroy) 111-137. Chapel Hill NC.
- 1992. "The Politics of Pleasure: Female Sexual Appetite in the Hippocratic Corpus." *Helios* 19 nos. 1 and 2:72-91.

- 1994. *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford.
- Deichgräber, K. 1982. *Die Patienten des Hippokrates: historisch-prosopographische Beiträge zu den Epidemien des Corpus Hippocraticum*. Mainz.
- Demand, N. 1998. "Women and Slaves as Hippocratic Patients." *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations* (eds. S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan). London, New York.
- 1999. "Did the Greeks Believe in the Efficacy of Hippocratic Treatment— And, If So, Why?" *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum* (eds. I. Garofalo, et al.) 139-148. Florence.
- Demont, P. 2005. "About philosophy and humoral medicine." *Hippocrates in Context* (ed. Ph. J. van der Eijk) 271-286. Leiden.
- Detienne, M. 1979. "Violentes 'eugénies'". En pleines Thesmophories: des femmes couvertes de sang." *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (eds. M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant) 183-214. Paris.
- Dover, K. 1993. *Aristophanes: Frogs. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. New Jersey.
- Draycott, J. "Smelling flowers, trees and herbs in the ancient world." *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (ed. M. Bradley) 60-73. New York.
- Edelstein, L. 1937. "Greek Medicine in Its Relation to Religion and Magic." *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 5:201-246
- Eijk, van der Ph. J. 2000. *Diocles of Carystus: A Collection of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary. Vol. 1, Text and Translation*. Leiden.
- 2016. "On 'Hippocratic' and 'Non-Hippocratic' Medical Writings." *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic* (eds. L. Dean-Jones and R. Rosen) 15-47. Leiden, Boston.
- Einarson, B. and G. K. K. Link 1990. *Theophrastus: De Causis Plantarum Books V–VI*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Emlyn-Jones, D. and W. Preddy. 2013. *Plato VI*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Erll, A. and A. Gunning (eds.) 2008. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin, New York.

- Faraone, C. A. 1990. "Aphrodite's κεστός and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual." *Phoenix* 44, no. 3:219-243.
- 2011. "Magical and Medical Approaches to the Wandering Womb in the Ancient Greek World." *Classical Antiquity* 30, no. 1:1-32.
- Frisk, H. 1970. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Band II: Κρ – Ω*. Heidelberg.
- Foley, H. P. 1994. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter: Translation, Commentary, and Interpretive Essays*. Princeton.
- Giannini, A. 1965. *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae*. Milan.
- Godley, A. D. 1938. *Herodotus: The Persian Wars II, Books III-IV*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1921]
- Goody, J. 1977. *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge.
- Gourevitch, D. 1999. "Fumigation et Fomentation Gynécologiques." *Aspetti della Terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum* (eds. I. Garofalo, et al.) 203-217. Florence.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2013. *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect*. Cambridge.
- Hanson, A. E. 1975. "Diseases of Women 1." *Signs* 1, no. 2:567-584.
- 1990. "The Medical Writer's Woman." *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (eds. F. I. Zeitlin, J. J. Winkler and D. M. Halperin) 309-337. Princeton.
- 1991. "Continuity and Change: Three Case Studies in Hippocratic Gynecological Therapy and Theory." *Women's History and Ancient History* (ed. S. B. Pomeroy) 73-110. Chapel Hill.
- 1997. "Fragmentation and the Greek Medical Writers." *Collecting Fragments: Fragmente sammeln* (ed. G. W. Most) 289-314. Göttingen.
- 1998. "Talking Recipes in the Gynaecological Texts of the Hippocratic Corpus." *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity* (ed. M. Wyke) 71-94. Oxford.

- Haraway, D. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3:575-599.
- Hardy, F. G. and L. M. V. Totelin. 2015. *Ancient Botany*. New York.
- Henderson, J. 1998a. *Aristophanes I*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1998b. *Aristophanes II*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 2000. *Aristophanes III*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 2002. *Aristophanes IV*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Hett, W. S. 1957. *Aristotle XIII*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1936]
- Hitch, S. 2017. "Tastes of Greek poetry: from Homer to Aristophanes." *Taste and the ancient senses* (ed. K. C. Rudolph) 22-44. Oxon, New York.
- Holmes, B. 2013. "In Strange Lands: Disembodied Authority and the Physician Role in the Hippocratic Corpus and Beyond." *Writing Science: Medical and Mathematical Authorship in Ancient Greece* (ed. M. Asper) 431-472.
- Holwerda, D. 1977. *Scholia in Aristophanem. Fasc. III 1 continens Scholia Vetera in Nubes, edidit D. Holwerda, cum duabus appendicibus, quas subministravit W.J.W. Koster*. Groningen.
- Hong, Y. 2012. "Collaboration and Conflict: Discourses of Maternity in Hippocratic Gynecology and Embryology." *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome* (eds. L. Hackworth Petersen and P. Salzman-Mitchell) 71-96. Austin.
- Hopkinson, N. 2015. *Theocritus, Moschus, Bion*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Horstmanshoff, H. F. J. and Stol. M. (eds.) 2004. *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*. Leiden.
- Hort, A. 1916a. *Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants Books I–V*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1916b. *Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants Books 6–9 and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Howes, D. 2006. "Scent, Sound and Synesthesia: Intersensoriality and Material Culture Theory." *Handbook of Material Culture* (eds. C. Tilley et al.) 161-172. London.

- Jones, W. H. S. 1923a. *Hippocrates Volume I*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1923b. *Hippocrates Volume II*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1931. *Hippocrates Volume IV & Heracleitus: On the Universe*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Janko, R. 1992. *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume IV: books 13-16*. Cambridge.
- Jouanna, J. 1983. *Hippocrate. Tome X. 2e partie. Maladies II*. Paris.
- 2003 "Sur la dénomination et le nombre des sens d'Hippocrate à la médecine impériale: réflexions à partir de l'énumération des sens dans le traité hippocratique du *Régime*, c. 23." *Les cinq sens dans la médecine de l'époque impériale: sources et développements* (eds. I. Boehm and P. Luccioni) 9-20. Lyon.
- Kassel, R. and Austin, C. 1983. *Poetae Comici Graeci Vol. 4: Aristophan – Crobylus*. Berlin.
- 1986. *Poetae Comici Graeci Vol. 5: Damoxenus – Magnes*. Berlin.
- 1991. *Poetae Comici Graeci Vol. 2: Agathenor – Aristonymus*. Berlin.
- Kazantzidis, G. 2016. "Empathy and the Limits of Disgust in the Hippocratic Corpus." *The Ancient Emotion of Disgust* (eds. D. Lateiner & D. Spatharas) 45-68. Oxford.
- King, H. 1983. "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women." *Images of Women in Antiquity* (eds. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt) 109-127. Detroit.
- 1995a. "Self-Help, self-knowledge: in search of the patient in Hippocratic gynaecology." *Women in Antiquity: New assessments* (eds. R. Hawley and B. Levick) 135-148. London, New York.
- 1995b. "Food and Blood in Hippocratic Gynaecology." *Food in Antiquity* (eds. J. M. Wilkins, D. Harvey and M. Dobson) 351-358. Exeter.
- 1998. *Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece*. London.
- 2005. "Women's Health and Recovery in the Hippocratic Corpus." *Health in Antiquity* (ed. H. King) 150-161. London, New York.

- 2013. "Female fluids in the Hippocratic corpus: how solid was the humoral body?" *The Body in Balance: Humoral Medicines in Practice. Epistemologies of Healing* 13 (eds. P. Horden and E. Hsu) 25-52. Oxford.
- King, H. and J. Toner. 2014. "Medicine and the Senses: Humors, Potions, and Spells." *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity* (ed. J. Toner) 139-161. London, New York.
- Koster, W. J. W. (ed.) 1962. *Jo. Tzetzae: Commentarium in Ranas et in Aves Argumentum Equitum*. Groningen, Amsterdam.
- Kovacs, D. 2001. *Euripides I*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1994]
- Lamb, W. R. M. 1955. *Plato XII*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1927]
- Laskaris, J. 1996. "Archaic Healing Cults as a Source for Hippocratic Pharmacology." *Aspetti della Terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum* (eds. I. Garofalo et al.) 1-12. Florence.
- 2002. *The Art is Long: On the Sacred Disease and the Scientific Tradition*. Leiden, Boston, Cologne.
- Latte, K. 1953. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, Vol. I*. Copenhagen.
- Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott (eds.) 1968. *A Greek English Lexicon* (Ninth edition, reprint) Oxford.
- Lightfoot, J. L. 2009. *Hellenistic Collection: Philitas. Alexander of Aetolia. Hermesianax. Euphorion. Parthenius*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Littre, E. 1851. *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 7. Paris.
- 1853. *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 8. Paris.
- Lloyd, G. E. R. 1975. "The Hippocratic Question." *Classical Quarterly* 25:171-192.
- 1983. *Science, Folklore and Ideology*. Cambridge.
- 1990. *Demystifying Mentalities*. Cambridge.
- 2003. *In the Grip of Disease: Studies in the Greek Imagination*. Oxford.
- Lo Presti, R. 2007. "The ambiguous role of perception. Empiricist views and biological perspectives on sense perception within the Hippocratics." *Acta Classica* 50:129-146.

- 2016. "Perceiving the Coherence of the Perceiving Body: Is There Such a Thing as a 'Hippocratic' View on Sense Perception and Cognition?" *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic* (eds. L. Dean-Jones and R. Rosen) 163-194. Leiden, Boston.
- Logsdail, S. 2009. "A Patient's Journey: Synaesthesia." *British Medical Journal* 339:261-262.
- Longrigg, J. 1993. *Greek Rational Medicine: Philosophy and medicine from Alcmaeon to the Alexandrians*. London, New York.
- Lonie, I. L. 1981. *The Hippocratic Treatises 'On Generation', 'On the Nature of the Child', 'Diseases IV': A Commentary by I.M.L. Berlin*, New York.
- Marchant, E. C. and G. W. Bowersock. 1968. *Xenophon VII: Scripta Minora and Pseudo Xenophon: the Constitution of Athens*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1925]
- Marganne, M.-H. 1994. "La gynécologie dans les papyrus grecs de médecine." *Acta Belgica Historiae Medicinae* 7:207-217.
- McKeown, N. 2002. "The Hippocratic Patient: or an archaeology of the Greek medical mind." *The Archaeology of Medicine* (ed. R. Arnott) 53-68. Oxford.
- Murray, A. T. (trans.) and Dimmock, G. E. (rev.) 1995. *Homer, Odyssey. Books 13-24*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1919]
- Olson, S. D. 2006. *Athenaeus: The Learned Banqueters Books I-III.106e*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Olson, S. D. and Sens, A. 1999. *Matro of Pitane and the Tradition of Epic Parody in the Fourth Century BCE. Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Atlanta.
- 2000. *Archestratos of Gela. Greek Culture and Cuisine in the Fourth Century BCE. Text, Translation and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Peck, A. L. 1965. *Aristotle IX: History of Animals Books I-III*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Potter, P. 1988a. *Hippocrates Volume V*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1988b. *Hippocrates Volume VI*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 1995. *Hippocrates Volume VIII*. Cambridge MA, London.
- 2010. *Hippocrates Volume IX*. Cambridge MA, London.

- 2012. *Hippocrates Volume X*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Rackham, H. 1934. *Aristotle: the Nicomachean Ethics*. Cambridge MA, London [first ed. 1926]
- Rademaker, A. 2005. *Sophrosyne and the Rhetoric of Self-Restraint: Polysemy and Persuasive Use of an Ancient Greek Value Term*. Leiden.
- Rakova, M. 2003. *The Extent of the Literal: Metaphor, Polysemy and Theories of Concepts*. New York.
- Richardson, N. J. 1974. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford.
- Ross, G. R. T. 1973. *Aristotle: De sensu et De memoria*. New York.
- Rousselle, A. 1980. "Observation féminine et idéologie masculine: le corps de la femme d'après les médecins grecs." *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 35, no. 5:1089-1115.
- 1988. *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, trans. F. Pheasant. Oxford & New York.
- Rudolph, K. 2017. *Taste and the Ancient Senses*. New York.
- Scarborough, J. 1981. "Theoretical Assumptions in Hippocratic Pharmacology." *Formes de pensée dans la Collection hippocratique* (eds. F. Lassere and P. Mudry) 307-325. Lausanne.
- Seaford, R. 1984. *Euripides: Cyclops*. Oxford.
- Sens, A. 1997. *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22): Introduction, Text, and Commentary*. Göttingen.
- Seremetakis, C. N. (ed.) 1994a. "The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory." *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (ed. C. N. Seremetakis) 1-18. San Francisco, Oxford.
- 1994b. "The Memory of the Senses, Part 2: Still Acts." *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (ed. C. N. Seremetakis) 23-44. San Francisco, Oxford.
- Sharples, R. W. 1995. *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence. Commentary vol. 5: Sources on Biology*. Leiden.
- Shaw, C. 2014. "'Genitalia of the Sea': Seafood and Sexuality in Greek Comedy." *Mnemosyne* 67:554-576.

- Smith, W. H. 1994. *Hippocrates Volume VII*. Cambridge MA, London.
- Snell, B. (ed.) 1991. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos. Band 2: B-Λ*. Göttingen.
- (ed.) 2010. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos. Band 4: P-Ω*. Göttingen.
- Staden, H. von. (ed.) 1989. *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria*. Cambridge.
- 1992a. "Women and Dirt." *Helios* 19 nos. 1 and 2:7-30.
- 1992b. "The Discovery of the Body: Human Dissection and Its Cultural Contexts in Ancient Greece." *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 65:223-241.
- 2007. "Purity, purification, and catharsis in Hippocratic medicine." *Katharsiskonzeptionen vor Aristoteles: zum kulturellen Hintergrund des Tragödiensatzes* (eds. M. Vöhler and B. Seidensticker) 21-51. New York.
- Stanford, W. B. 1972. *Greek metaphor: studies in theory and practice*. New York [first ed. 1936]
- Stratton, G. M. 1964. *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle*. Amsterdam [first ed. 1917]
- Suter, A. 2002. *The Narcissus and the Pomegranate: An Archaeology of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Ann Arbor.
- Sutton, D. E. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. New York.
- Taylor, A. E. 1928. *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*. Oxford.
- Telò, M. 2017. "Tastes of Homer: Matro's gastroaesthetic tour through epic." *Taste and the ancient senses* (ed. K. C. Rudolph) 72-89. Oxon, New York.
- Thompson, G. R. 1941. *Theophrastus on Plant Flavors and Odors: Studies on the Philosophical and Scientific Significance of De Causis Plantarum VI, accompanied by translation and notes*. Princeton.
- Totelin, L. M. V. 2009. *Hippocratic Recipes: Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Greece*. Leiden, Boston.
- 2014. "When foods become remedies in ancient Greece: the curious case of garlic and other substances." *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 167:30-37.

--- 2015. "Smell as sign and cure in ancient medicine." *Smell and the Ancient Senses* (ed. M. Bradley) 17-29. New York.

--- 2016. "Hippocratic and Aristophanic Recipes: A Comparative Study." *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic* (eds. L. Dean-Jones and R. Rosen) 292-307. Leiden, Boston.

--- 2017. "Tastes in ancient botany, medicine and science: bitter herbs and sweet honey." *Taste and the ancient senses* (ed. K. C. Rudolph) 60-71. Oxon, New York.

Trapp, H. 1967. *Die hippokratische schrift De Natura Muliebri: Ausgabe und textkritischer Kommentar*. Hamburg.

Vergados, A. 2013. *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary*. Berlin, Boston.

Villard, L. 2002. "Couleurs et maladies dans la *Collection Hippocratique*: les faits et les mots." *Couleurs et vision dans l'antiquité classique* (ed. L. Villard) 45-64. Rouen.

Wickkiser, B. L. 2008. *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece: Between Craft and Cult*. Baltimore.

Withington, E. T. 1928. *Hippocrates Volume III*. Cambridge MA, London.

Online resources

Brill's New Pauly Online (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>)

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/index.php>)