

Callimachus and Hippocratic Gynecology Absent desire and the female body in ‘Acontius and Cydippe’ (*Aetia* FR.75.10-19 Harder)¹

GEORGE KAZANTZIDIS
University of Johannesburg
george.kazantzidis@ouc.ac.cy

In an important article published in 1992 Lesley Dean-Jones observes in ‘The Politics of Pleasure: Female Sexual Appetite in the Hippocratic Corpus’, that in early Greek medical writings a woman’s urge to have sex with a man, and the satisfaction she occasionally derives from it, are marked by the systematic absence of ‘conscious sexual desire’. That is, unlike men whose appetite for sex is normally stimulated by a specific object of desire (be it an actual object or its mental image), women are almost automatically compelled to have intercourse in order to replenish

1 — I wish to thank the anonymous referees of *EuGeStA* for their immensely helpful comments on the first draft of this article as well as audiences in Oxford, Reading and Prato, Italy, where this paper was delivered, especially: Philip Hardie, Angelos Chaniotis, Tim Whitmarsh, Gregory Hutchinson, Bob Cowan, Damien Nelis, Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Aldo Setaioli. I would also like to express my warm thanks to Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides and Daniel Orrells, organisers of the splendid workshop ‘The Little Torch of Cypris: Gender and Sexuality in Hellenistic Alexandria and Beyond’ (Prato, Italy, 2-4 September 2013).

moisture in their bodies, facilitate menstruation and maintain physical balance internally. In Dean-Jones' words, female sexual appetite, as described in Hippocratic gynecology, 'precludes *directed* desire' and, along with it, 'the exercise of self-control over the body's imperative to' take part in 'intercourse'². Dean-Jones maintains that throughout the Hippocratic Corpus, it is consistently male patients those who are advised to abstain from excessive sex as part of a healthy regimen. This emphasis on 'curtailing rather than promoting intercourse'³ suggests that men are likely to feel the need to have sex beyond what their bodies require, so that whatever urge they feel, it cannot entirely be a physiological one, but external stimulation also plays a role. By contrast, insofar as women are concerned, Dean-Jones focuses on the pathological effects thought to follow after sustained abstinence from sexual intercourse. The womb, under normal circumstances the seat of sexual appetite, becomes too dry and light, and is displaced to others parts of the body where moisture can be found, such as the liver or the heart⁴. The theory has two important aspects. On the one hand, it assumes that the womb sometimes acts as an independent, self-directing entity⁵, travelling at will in the body, seeking comfort in bodily moistures; on the other hand, it reveals those places to be precisely the ones which ancient medical writers consider the seat of intelligence and the psyche⁶. When they suggest that the womb can closely attach to, press upon and suffocate⁷ such organs responsible for cognition and emotions, Hippocratic gynecologists are implying that female sexuality behaves as an exclusively biological system. In sum, sexual appetite apparently lies beyond a woman's conscious control.

Hippocratic gynecology pictures the woman as by nature passive and devoid of emotion⁸. In Dean-Jones's terminology, she lacks 'moral

2 — Dean-Jones 1992: 73.

3 — Dean-Jones 1992: 77.

4 — On the notion of the wandering womb, especially in the classical medical texts, see also Manuli 1980: 398-9; Dean-Jones 1994: 69-77 and Byl 2005.

5 — Plato, in fact, conceives of the womb as a separate animal within the woman, mastering the subject's life-force with its own desires when its needs remain unsatisfied (*Tim.* 91b7-c7). On the scholarly disagreement regarding the extent to which Plato's conceptualization of the womb as a sentient being survives also in Hippocratic medicine see King 1993: 80-81 and Dean-Jones 1992: 79. Cf. Hanson 1991: 83.

6 — See also Manuli 1980.

7 — Some of the verbs describing the womb's violent movements in the Hippocratic Corpus are: ἐμβάλλειν/ἐπιβάλλειν ('leap upon'), προσπίπτειν ('fall upon') and θεῖν ('rush towards'); accordingly, the womb can 'strangle' (ἀγγχειν) or 'suffocate' (πνίγειν) a female patient when pressed against the diaphragm or blocking other passages in the body; see Faraone 2011: 4.

8 — 'Emotion' should be distinguished here from what Dean-Jones calls throughout (sexual) 'appetite' – a kind of elementary and instinctive sex-drive which is not necessarily associated with any psychological affects. Cf. Hanson 1990: 316 (on [Hipp.] *De semine* 4 = 7.474-6 L.). On the distinction between emotion and appetite, more generally, see Konstan 2013.

agency'⁹ in sexual matters¹⁰. At the same time, the female body is also constitutionally frail, a fact that becomes especially obvious in the face of sexual abstinence, or lack of intimate contact with her husband. It is with these two intersecting medical concepts that I will here revisit the case of Cydippe in the third book of Callimachus' *Aetia*, calling attention to the way in which the narrative combines absence of expressive feeling and desire on the part of the woman with an exceptionally articulate female body that is sick. My point of departure is the 'love story' that will have occupied some 150 to 200 lines¹¹, and, as its Latin reception suggests, some impressive descriptions of erotic suffering¹², for desire circulates in the text as Acontius' prerogative, whereas Cydippe remains silent and remote throughout. Her silence looks all the more awkward and intense when one compares the companion 'love piece' at the beginning of *Aetia* 3, the story of Phrygius and Pieria, frs. 80-83b Harder. With Pieria Callimachus pictured for his audience a sexually liberated, resourceful and effectively manipulative female, so far as we can tell from the fragments. She not only responds to Phrygius' desire, she also elicits from the king his promise of peace between Miletus and, her native town, Myus. Cydippe, however, never speaks a single word¹³, and there is no way of knowing whether or not she has any desire for Acontius¹⁴. Even in fr. 75.44-49 describing the couple's first night as wife and husband, Cydippe evades our grasp, and all emphasis is on Acontius' own emotional and sexual excitement. I believe that Callimachus deliberately describes Cydippe as indifferent, for in my reading this is not so much a story of unreciprocated love but a tale that deliberately eschews references to female desire. Rather, the narrative's empowering force is Acontius and his desires.

In the first part I discuss Cydippe's three illnesses one by one (fr. 75.10-19), focusing on their medical allusions- some of which have hitherto remained unnoticed- and on the clinical details Callimachus encoded in his narrative, so as to create a coherent medical record. Cydippe's case history, as I shall demonstrate, includes some of the symptoms typically associated in Greek poetry with love-sickness; in contrast to Medea in

9 — Dean-Jones 1992: 83.

10 — Contrast the fact that in Greek literature (e.g. tragedy) women experience eros just as intensely and passionately as men do; see Carson 1990: 138-9.

11 — For this estimation see Harder 2012: II.542.

12 — On the reception of Acontius' erotic suffering in Latin literature see Kenney 1983; Barchiesi 1993: 353-63; cf. Hunter 2006: 39.

13 — Except, presumably for the words of the oath: 'by Artemis, I shall marry Acontius'; see Aristaenetus 10.39-40. As Kenney 1996: 18 n. 70 observes, however, 'we do not know for a fact that in Callimachus' these words 'were in direct speech'.

14 — On the similarities but also 'striking differences' between Pieria and Cydippe see Harder 2012: II.672-3 who believes that Callimachus invited his readers to compare the two stories.

Apollonius Rhodius or Simaetha in Theocritus, however, Cydippe falls ill precisely because she is not in love with Acontius, a theme worth pursuing, I think, because the female body may become diseased when desire is absent. Unlike other literary descriptions of love-sickness, where desire is often presented as *resembling* a disease without though being conceived as an actual illness¹⁵, Cydippe's failure to engage emotionally with Acontius turns her into a patient whose symptoms show her as clearly sick. Perhaps that is why Callimachus makes consistent use of medical terminology when describing what ails her. His ultimate aim, after all, is to stress differences between the two 'pathologies,' sustained abstinence from sexual congress and love-sickness. In the second part I move on to examine whether Callimachus fashioned his Cydippe so that she would be seen specifically as a *female* patient¹⁶. I therefore turn my attention to the Hippocratic gynecologists and examine their discussions of virginity, such as the general question as to when and how virginity should be surrendered if the young woman is to remain healthy. Absence of desire, according to Hippocratics, characterizes an adult woman's sexual life, yet it also defines the critical moment of a woman's first sexual experience¹⁷. Cydippe's silent transition from virgin to wife and the illnesses that affect her as long as this transition is suspended, belong within the same medical framework, thus inviting us to look at the sexual politics of Hippocratic medicine as an important background to Callimachus' love story¹⁸.

Part I: Cydippe as a patient

While Cydippe was visiting Delos for a local festival of Apollo, she unwittingly promised to marry Acontius, sealing her promise with an oath. When she returned to Naxos she found herself betrothed by her father to another man. As preparations are being made for the wedding, Artemis makes Cydippe ill to prevent her from breaking the oath, for the girl invoked Artemis when swearing her oath. When additional illnesses

15 — For the 'metaphorical conception of love as a sickness' in Greek and Latin literature see Booth 1997. Cf. Segal 1993: 90 who observes how 'Phaedra's "disease" [in Euripides' *Hippolytus*] veers... between the somatic and the emotional, physicality and metaphor, and human and divine causation'. For all its intensity and outward resemblance to an *actual* sickness Phaedra's concealed desire does not amount to a disease in the clinical sense: the point made by the nurse at 293-96, where she asks whether they should seek the professional help of female practitioners or even male doctors, is precisely this, namely to suggest that Phaedra's condition eschews medical treatment in the sense that only Hippolytus, and reciprocation of desire, can treat it.

16 — On γυναικεία νοσήματα or γυναικείαι νοῦσοι as a distinct and well-defined category of diseases in the Hippocratic Corpus, see Hanson 1990: 310 n. 11 and King 1998: 23.

17 — See Dean-Jones 1992: 78 (on [Hipp.] *De virginum morbis*); cf. King 2004: 54.

18 — On Callimachus and medicine in general see Oppermann 1925; Fraser 1972: 356; Most 1981; Langholf 1986 and more recently Faulkner 2011. Most 1981 deserves special attention in this context because the connection he draws is between Callimachus and Herophilus' gynecology.

cause the wedding to be cancelled for a third time, Cydippe's father consults Apollo's oracle at Delphi and, upon finding out everything, he conformed to divine will, saving his daughter from further sicknesses and likewise fulfilling Acontius' desire. Callimachus' account of Cydippe's illnesses runs as follows (*Aetia* fr. 75.10-19):

ἠῶιοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν
οἱ βόες ὀξεῖαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα-
δειελινὴν τὴν δ' εἶλε κακὸς χλόος, ἦλθε δὲ νοῦσος,
αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα,
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν· ἢ τότε ἀνιγρή
τὴν κούρην Ἰίδεω μέχρις ἔτηξε δόμων.
δεύτερον ἐστόρνυντο τὰ κλισμία, δεύτερον ἢ πα[ί]ς
ἑπτὰ τεταρταῖω μῆνας ἔκαμνε πυρί.
τὸ τρίτον ἐμνήσαντο γάμου κάττα, τὸ τρίτον αὔ[τι]ς
Κυδίππην ὀλοὸς κρυμὸς ἐσωκίσατο.

At dawn the oxen were about to tear their hearts, seeing the sharp blade reflected in the water; but in the afternoon, an evil paleness took hold of Cydippe and on came the illness which we send off to the wild goats and call 'sacred' by mistake. That terrible disease wasted the girl and brought her almost to the point of death. A second time the marriage-bed was spread, a second time the girl fell ill for seven months, with quartan fever. A third time they thought about marriage, a third time again a deadly chill settled on Cydippe¹⁹.

I.1 The so-called 'sacred disease'

Callimachus introduces Cydippe's first disease by commenting on people's misconception that it is sent by gods²⁰ and the equally false belief that magic cures it (fr. 75.12-15)²¹. Callimachus' critique recalls

19 — Translation is taken from Harder 2012: 236 (with modifications). Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Greek texts are my own.

20 — As Lang 2009: 86 rightly observes, Callimachus' insistence 'on the falsity of the disease's sacredness' and its simultaneous definition 'as something one exorcizes' can 'only make sense if the disease is believed to have divine, non-naturalistic origins'. With Callimachus' ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν contrast Posidippus' νόσον ἱερὴν at *Ep.* 97.3; in the latter case the patient's 'sacred disease' is explicitly said to be cured by Asclepius (δαίμων), and the fact that gods can both send and cure a disease seems uncontested; see Bing 2004 and Wickkiser 2013.

21 — The fact that Callimachus does not specify the disease, but prefers instead to introduce it by the 'false name' applied to it by people, has led to some misunderstandings regarding its exact nature already in antiquity. The ancient scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius 1.1019, for instance, identifies it as λοιμικὴν νόσον. Clearly, Callimachus has a different condition in mind, the 'so-called sacred' disease of the Hippocratic *DMS* (see the bibliographical references in the footnote below). Although the medical writer refrains from using the term ἐπιληψία in the text, it is agreed that 'epilepsy' is a reasonably accurate way of describing the disease at hand. See van der Eijk 2005: 45; cf. Lo Presti 2012.

the opening of the Hippocratic *De morbo sacro*²², as has been noted, in which the medical writer refuses to entertain the notion that gods cause disease²³. Instead he offers his own theory, a mechanical cause that is also an internal one. People's ignorance and the sickness's frightening aspect have fostered the notion that gods must be involved: at one moment the person healthy, standing, breathing normally, and then suddenly collapsing, losing his voice, convulsing and foaming at the mouth. Little wonder that those ignorant of the body's inner workings appeal to the divine (*DMS* 1.1-3 = 6.352 L.):

Περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς νόσου καλεομένης ὧδ' ἔχει. οὐδὲν τί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων θειοτέρη εἶναι νόσων οὐδὲ ἱερωτέρη, ἀλλὰ φύσιν μὲν ἔχει καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ νοσήματα, ὅθεν γίνεται, φύσιν δὲ αὕτη καὶ πρόφασιν. οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐνόμισαν θεῖόν τι πρῆγμα εἶναι ὑπὸ ἀπορίας καὶ θαυμασιότητος, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ἑτέροισι²⁴.

I am about to discuss the disease called 'sacred'. It is not, in my opinion, any more divine or sacred than others, but just as the other diseases have a nature from which they arise, likewise this one has a nature and a cause. But humans have considered it a divine thing because of their difficulty to understand it and their wonder at its peculiar character, since it looks quite different from other diseases²⁵.

DMS provides us with a rare instance in which divine causation is discussed in the Hippocratic Corpus and explicitly dismissed²⁶; whereas Hippocratic medicine 'effectively, ...blocked any move to explain diseases by invoking divine or supernatural agencies'²⁷, it is not often that we find a medical writer discrediting this notion openly. In an attempt to eliminate vengeful gods from being able to cause disease the author of *DMS*

22 — See Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004: 62-3; Massimilla 2010: 355 and Harder 2012: 597.

23 — As *DMS* 1.1-3 (cited in the main text above) suggests, the medical author 'does not reject the divine character of the disease, but modifies the sense in which this disease (and, as a consequence of this conception, all diseases) may be regarded as divine: not in the sense that it is sent by a god... but that it shares in the divine character of nature in showing a fixed pattern of cause and effect' (van der Eijk 2005: 45); cf. Laskaris 2002: 55. The point is further clarified in *DMS* 2.1-3 = 6.364 L.: 'It seems to me that this disease is in no respect more divine than the others (οὐδὲν τί μοι δοκεῖ θειότερον εἶναι τῶν λοιπῶν), but rather that just as the other diseases have a nature from which each of them arises, likewise this one has a nature and a cause, and it derives its divinity from the same source which all the others do' (transl. in van der Eijk 2005: 50). Cf. Hankinson 1998 and King 2006: 247.

24 — The edition followed throughout for *DMS* is that of Grensemann 1968. The German editor puts the sentence starting with οὐδὲν τί μοι δοκεῖ and ending with πρόφασιν between square brackets, on account of the fact that it is repeated almost verbatim in 2.1-2 (6.364 L.). But see van der Eijk 2005: 50 n. 15 on the reasons for keeping it out of brackets.

25 — Translation in Lloyd 2003: 61 (with modifications).

26 — For 'the very small number of references in the corpus to religious healing' and, accordingly, the absence of systematic critique against the notion of divine causation see King 2006: 247.

27 — Lloyd 1987:11; cf. Lloyd 1979: 37-49 and Hankinson 1998: 16-17 and 34.

appeals to humoral and anatomical observations, locating phlegm's origin in the brain, but isolating it as the malicious fluid that clogs passageways in the body's central trunk²⁸. The brain, in conjunction with this bodily fluid, combine to be cause of the condition – *aitios*²⁹. As is repeatedly stressed in the text, despite people's common assumption that a god should be blamed, the 'so-called sacred' disease originates in the body, its *aition* being not *θειον* but *ανθρωπινον*³⁰: the affected brain, also the cause for other serious diseases, suffices to account for its extraordinary symptoms (*ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ ἐγκέφαλος τούτου τοῦ πάθεος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νοσημάτων τῶν μεγίστων*)³¹. Moreover the same vocabulary is employed by those who believe that it is the gods who *cause* sicknesses, for instance in *DMS* 1.32 [6.360 L.]: 'people contrive and devise many fictions of all sorts, about this disease among other things, putting the blame, for each form of the affection, upon a particular god' (*ἐκάστω εἶδει τοῦ πάθεος θεῶ τὴν αἰτίην προστιθέντες*): thus, if a patient 'imitates a goat', grinding his teeth and 'suffering convulsions on the right side', it is believed that Cybele has affected him (*μητέρα θεῶν φασὶν αἰτίην εἶναι*); if he utters a loud, piercing sound, like that of a horse, people think of Poseidon as responsible (*φασὶ Ποσειδῶνα αἴτιον εἶναι*); likewise, if the seizure worsens and the patient foams at the mouth and kicks, Ares is blamed (*Ἄρης τὴν αἰτίην ἔχει*)³². According to Geoffrey Lloyd this linguistic overlap is intentional and is aimed at illustrating how the author's polemic is centered on the question of who explains 'the causes' more convincingly, and who, therefore, is better able to effect the cure³³; passages like the one discussed here indicate, as Brooke Holmes points out, 'that an etiological paradigm committed to daemonic and

28 — See especially *DMS* 3-7 [6.366-76 L.].

29 — For a summary see Laskaris 2002: 54-59.

30 — For the opposition between *θειος* and *ανθρωπινος* in the text see the detailed discussion in van der Eijk 2005: 48-60. The first chapter of the treatise is devoted to an attack against all those who argue that the disease is sent by the gods and can, accordingly, be cured by means of magic. The author's main strategy is that of discrediting his opponents' views by showing them to be self-refuting at the best. In order, for instance, to illustrate that it is inconsistent to believe that the disease is 'divine' and, at the same time, to think that it can be cured through purification, he states that (*DMS* 1.24-25 [6.358 L.]): 'I hold that those who attempt in this manner to cure these diseases cannot consider them either sacred or divine; for when they are removed by such purifications and by such treatment as this, there is nothing to prevent the production of attacks in men by devices that are similar. If so, something human is to blame, and not the divine' (*ὥστε μηκέτι τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τι ἀνθρώπινον*); transl. in Lloyd 2003: 63. Not only are the authors' opponents misguided, they also agree with him without knowing it, for he also believes that the *aition* (soon to be revealed in the text as the brain) is indeed *ανθρωπινον*. For the rhetorical elements in *On the Sacred Disease* see the detailed discussion in Laskaris (especially ch.3).

31 — *DMS* 3.1 [6.366 L.].

32 — *DMS* 1.33-37 [6.360-2 L.].

33 — Lloyd 2003: 50.

divine agency' was still pervasive in the classical period³⁴: symptoms and diseases naturally turn, in this context, into 'contested sites of interpretation'³⁵, and while some of the explanations continue to invoke the gods' role as causes of the disease others incline more towards natural processes which place the emphasis on the human body.

Callimachus thus dialogues with a medical text³⁶ whose thrust is to demonstrate the superiority of its own explanations of the cause, and this, in turn reflects back on Callimachus' own concern with etiology³⁷ and reminds us that his *Aetia* is a poem that narrates origins. Nonetheless, whereas the medical author speaks from a standpoint that allows him to be consistent in his views and to dismiss categorically the notion of a god-sent disease, Cydippe's own story compromises the poet's remark that it is a mistake to call her illness 'sacred,' for this first sickness does in fact have a divine cause – Cydippe's oath in the name of Artemis. Callimachus seems conscious of his inconsistency: a few lines above, while introducing us to Cydippe's failed marriage and the repeated illnesses that prevent marriage from taking place, the poet draws attention to what he calls 'the difficult burden of excessive knowledge' (fr. 75.8: ἡ πολυδρεΐη χαλεπὸν κακόν). Once the comment is situated in a poem that is expressly devised to display that knowledge and is concerned with the process of selection among different versions of a story and different etiologies, the medical information added to the description of Cydippe's first illness turns out to be an example of such a burden³⁸. That is, Callimachus' inquiry into the real cause and nature of disease and his preference for a medical explanation emphasize the tension with Artemis' role as cause of Cydippe's suffering, but illustrate as well how science, once imported into a fictional narrative³⁹, is also diversionary.

34 — Holmes 2010: 56.

35 — Holmes 2010: 236. 'In the latter part of the fifth century', as Holmes observes, 'we witness proliferating explanations for the symptom'. As an example, she cites Herodotus' account of Cambyses' madness (*Hist.* 3.33) which mentions the possibility of god-sent retribution (madness as divine punishment) alongside the fact that Cambyses had a weak body by constitution- because he had suffered from birth a serious disease 'which some people call sacred' (τὴν ἰσθὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινας).

36 — For other indications in fr. 75.12-15 that Callimachus is alluding to the Hippocratic text see Lang 2009- drawing attention to the fact that, before Callimachus, it is only in the *DMS* where we find an explicit association between goats and the so-called sacred disease; cf. Massimilla 2010: 354.

37 — For a collection of medical passages using αἰτιολογία and its cognates see Loehr 1996: 32.

38 — See Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004: 61-2. On *Aetia* as a 'poem of knowledge' see the discussion in Hutchinson 2008: 42-63.

39 — The more we press into Callimachus' text, the more medical allusions seem to emerge. At fr. 75.10-12 Cydippe's 'terrible' disease is said to make its appearance 'in the afternoon' (δειτελνὴν τὴν δ' εἶλε κακὸς χλόος). While this detail is intended to create a contrast with ἡῶτοι at line 10, it may also evoke the Hippocratic notion that afternoon is the time in the day when disease occurs in its most violent and deadly form, e.g. in [Hipp.] *Epid.* 3.3.17(3) and 5.1.19 [5.218 L.]. Cf. also the medical parallelism between autumn and afternoon in [Hipp.] *Epid.* 2.1.4 [5.72-4 L.]: 'In fall diseases

I.2 Quartan fever

Callimachus' use of medical language in fr. 75.10-19 creates a sense of commitment to a clinical, rationalised account of events, but it also opens up space for religion and magic. This becomes evident in the case of Cydippe's second illness, her quartan fever that sickens her for seven months' (fr. 75.16-7):

δεύτερον ἐστόρνουντο τὰ κλισμία, δεύτερον ἢ πα[ί]ς
ἐπτὰ τεταρταίῳ μῆνας ἔκαμνε πυρί.

(A second time the marriage-bed was spread, a second time the girl fell ill for seven months, with quartan fever').

This is the first occurrence in Greek poetry of the adjective τεταρταῖος when referring to fever⁴⁰. Earlier occurrences derive from medical texts⁴¹, while in Plato's *Timaeus* 86a7 the word appears in the context of a detailed discussion of disease⁴². Callimachus observes that Cydippe's fever lasted for *seven* months. Annette Harder says, 'it is not quite clear why Cydippe is ill for seven months, but it is conceivable that the long period of returning fevers was making the disease... worse'⁴³. In fact, medical writers do claim that a quartan fever lasts longer than other fevers⁴⁴, so that instead of exaggeration on the part of Callimachus this is another example of his adoption of doctors' precision. To name one example, the case history of Hippostratus' wife (*Epidemics* 2.3.13, 5.114 L.) says that a quartan fever seized her for a year (ἐκ τεταρταίου ἐνιαυσίου) before reaching crisis through a chill followed by excessive menstrual bleeding.

While Callimachus may have been aware of the medical associations, had he read diligently in the professional literature on quartan fevers, it is also the case that these fevers figure large in magic and religion. In order to refute the idea that the extraordinary pathology (τὸ θαυμάσιον) of epileptic seizures is enough reason to call the disease 'sacred', the author of the *De morbo sacro* notes several other diseases with remarkable features that are by no means attributed to the gods, such as the periodic fevers⁴⁵

are most acute and most deadly; generally similar to the exacerbation in the afternoon' (τὸ ἐπίπαι ὅμοιον τῷ δειλῆς παροξύνεσθαι), transl. in Smith 1994: 21. Ambühl 2002: 6 n. 23 discusses fr. 75.10-12 in connection with Callimachus, *Ep.* 20.1-3, where a similar contrast between ἡῶται and afternoon (ἡελίου ... δυομένου) frames the death of two young persons.

40 — A quartan fever recurs after an interval of two days (i.e. every four days according to an inclusive way of counting); see Langholf 1990: 97.

41 — See e.g. [Hipp.] *Epid.* 7.45 [5.412 L.]; *De morbis* 2.43 [7.60 L.]; *De affectionibus* 18 [6.226 L.].

42 — On Callimachus' technical use of the term see Schmitt 1970: 42.

43 — Harder 2012: 599-600. Massimilla 2010: 356-7 leaves it without a comment.

44 — See Smith 1981.

45 — [Hipp.] *DMS* 1.5-6 = 6.352-4 L: εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ θαυμάσιον θεῖον νομεῖται, πολλὰ τὰ

– presumably on the assumption that their periodicity is strange and renders them open to supernatural interpretation. The author’s remark that this category of conditions cause no wonder to people, however, is misleading: the idea that fevers manifest themselves as daemonic forces is widespread throughout antiquity⁴⁶ and, especially the quartans. Inscriptional evidence from Samos (dating to the late Hellenistic period) confirms that the disease was formally acknowledged, in certain areas of the Greek East, as a god⁴⁷. Further, quartans likewise appear in curse tablets and love magic. The earliest occurrence of a binding spell, inscribed on a shard which dates to the late fifth/early fourth century BC, pictures the one casting the spell asking that ‘a quartan fever be put on Aristion and kill him’ (Ἀριστίωνι ἐπιτίθημι τεταρταῖον ἐς Ἄιδα)⁴⁸. It is worth remembering that Cydippe’s suffering can likewise be attributed to an act of magic: the apple, by whose inscribed oath Cydippe binds herself (Aristaenetos 10.25-40), is traditionally used as an object with incantations designed to induce desire into a woman⁴⁹.

More generally, fever is typically sent, through love magic, to an emotionally unresponsive victim so that the latter’s resistance be overcome⁵⁰. What underlies this technique, as John Winkler has shown⁵¹, is a combined logic of transference of pain, sympathy and intensification: the agent’s burning desire is imagined to be infecting the victim while assuming a more violent and concrete form. As Winkler points out, casting a love spell implicates a series of ‘displacements’: ‘the first displacement, presumably of therapeutic value in itself, is the intense imaging of the agent’s illness as a thing felt by someone else’⁵². The ‘violence of language’ used on these occasions, involving pathological details that one expects

ἰρὰ νοσήματα ἔσται τούτου εἶνεκεν, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω ἕτερα οὐδὲν ἦσον ἐόντα θαυμάσια οὐδὲ τερατώδεα, ἃ οὐδεὶς νομίζει ἰρὰ εἶναι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ πυρετοὶ οἱ ἀμφημερινοὶ καὶ οἱ τριταῖοι καὶ οἱ τεταρταῖοι, ‘but if it is to be considered divine because it is wonderful, then many diseases can be ‘sacred’ on account of that, for I will show that other conditions are no less wonderful and portentous, and yet nobody considers them sacred. For instance, quotidian fevers, tertians and quartans’ (transl. in Lloyd 2003: 61, modified). See Temkin 1945: 15-20 who argues that the term ‘sacred disease’ in antiquity included epilepsy, stroke, and quartan fevers. For the association between epilepsy (ἐπιληψία) and τεταρταῖος πυρετός in the context of temple medicine see T426 Edelstein with Cox-Miller 1994: 113-4; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010: 231-2.

46 — See the evidence discussed in Padel 1992: 114-37.

47 — The inscription survives in three lines, each one consisting of five letters, and reads as follows: ΤΕΤΑΡ/ΤΑΙΟΥ/ΒΩΜΟΣ. See the discussion in Dunst 1968.

48 — For the text see Nilsson 1967: 1.801 and Gager 1992: 31. Cf. *IG* II² 13209 (2nd cent. AD) and Versnel 1994.

49 — See Faraone 1999: 69-78 and Rynearson 2009: 341-3.

50 — Rich material can be found in Pachoumi 2012.

51 — Winkler 1991.

52 — Winkler 1991: 226.

from a medical text⁵³, also helps to enhance the impression that what is wished on the victim is an actual sickness⁵⁴.

Cydippe's intense symptomatology can be placed in this context. Acontius' erotic suffering can only be inferred from later sources, there is little doubt, however, that it was intended to be compared by readers with Cydippe's three illnesses. Note how the verb which Callimachus uses to describe the 'wasting' effects of epileptic seizures, ἔτηξε (fr. 75.15), occurs typically in association with a 'melting desire' and, if we trust Aristaenetus⁵⁵, was also applied to Acontius. Seizures are also reminiscent of the 'madness' of love⁵⁶, while *krumos*, 'a shivering cold', at fr. 75.19 can easily be connected with classic passages of erotic symptomatology, of which Sappho fr. 31.13-14 Voigt, is an important early example τρόμος δὲ/παῖσαν ἄγρει⁵⁷. At this point it is worth remembering that just before the 'sacred disease' occurs at fr.75.12, Cydippe is affected with an 'evil paleness': the word used to indicate it, χλόος, seems to derive its origin from medical texts⁵⁸, and in one of its rare appearances in Hellenistic poetry it is used to describe love's paralytic effects on Apollonius Rhodius' Medea (*Arg.* 298)⁵⁹. This intense dialectic between love and disease is characteristic of the Hellenistic poets' views about erotic desire as actual sickness or, as Nicholas Rynearson puts it, of their tendency to describe it 'in increasingly detailed and precise physiological terms'. This, in turn, results in a model in which 'desire becomes even more closely identified with the experience of its symptoms'⁶⁰ and transforms into an entity expressed in clinical terms. What is ingenious about Callimachus' version is that it proceeds not, as one would have expected, as an account of a

53 — On medical terminology and anatomical details in curses see Versnel 1998.

54 — See e.g. *PGM* VII.888-9, where the caster of the erotic spell wishes that the victim remain sleepless and be terrified by visions of hostile spirits and compare it with the fits of delirium which are said to affect young girls in [Hipp.] *De virginum morbis* [8.466-8 L]. These two texts are discussed in more detail below.

55 — See Aristaenetus 10.51-2: ... ἐκτακείς δὲ τὰ μέλη καὶ δυσθυμίας μαραινόμενος.

56 — On the association between ἐπιληψία and μανία see e.g. [Hipp.] *Aphorismi* 3.20 [4.494 L.]; cf. [Hipp.] *Epid.* 6.8.31 [5.354-6 L.].

57 — See Acosta-Hughes 2010: 81-2.

58 — Though absent from the Hippocratic Corpus, χλόος appears both in Erotian's and Galen's Hippocratic glossaries: the first explains its genitive χλοός as χλωριάσεις, while Galen [19.155 K.] mentions the contracted form χλοῦς which he explains as χλωρότης. Cf. the word's medically flavoured use in Nicander, *Alex.* 474-5: χλόος... ἰκτερόεις.

59 — *Arg.* 3.296-8: τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἶθετο λάθρη/οὔλος ἔρωσ, ἀπαλάς δὲ μετετρωπάτο παρειάς/ἔς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο, 'so, coiling beneath her heart, disastrous love burnt secretly, and the hue of her soft cheeks changed colours, now red, now pale, in her soul's distraction'. On the medical significance of these lines see Erbse 1953: 189 and Campbell 1994: 273, 'Given Hippocr. ap. Gal. 19.155 and the context of Call. fr.75.12, it seems unlikely that χλόος was an independent poetic creation'.

60 — Rynearson 2009: 357-8. On the use of medical language in Hellenistic descriptions of love see also Hunter 1999: 224; Fowler 2000: 153-4 and Faraone 2006.

woman falling in love, but rather of a woman who excludes love entirely. Cydippe shows no signs of emotional engagement, yet it is precisely this absence of desire in her and the medically-inspired side-effects that suggest not only how different the couple's pathologies look, but how they coalesce in the end, as Acontius' love-sickness complements Cydippe's illnesses⁶¹.

I.3 Κρυμός/Chill

The third and final of Cydippe's illnesses is identified as κρυμός:

τὸ τρίτον ἐμνήσαντο γάμου κάτα, τὸ τρίτον αὐτ[ις]
Κυδίππην ὀλοὸς κρυμὸς ἐσωικίσατο.

(A third time they thought about marriage, a third time again a deadly chill settled on Cydippe').

The word, as attested in medical writings ([Hipp.] *De morbis* 4.52-3 [7.590-4 L.]), has the meaning of a cold fit or chill; it describes the shivering that affects patients with high fevers⁶². Two tragic passages figure here, because with the exception of Hippocratic *De morbis* 4.52, they represent the only two uses of κρυμός prior to Callimachus, when the referent is to a pathological condition⁶³. One derives from Sophocles' *Herdsmen* (fr. 507 Radt)⁶⁴. Though its context is missing, it is pretty clear that the one who speaks mentions a tertian fever as succeeding a quotidian one and causing a 'chill' to the patient's jaws:

⊥ =] τριταῖος ὥστε πῦρ ἀφί[ξεται
κρυμὸν φέρων γναθμοῖσιν ἐξ ἀμφημέρου

(‘The tertian fever will arrive like a fire, succeeding the quotidian, bringing a chill to the jaws’).

61 — It is worth mentioning that Cydippe's quartan fever is evoked by Theocritus (*Id.* 30.2) in an explicitly erotic context; in that case an ageing lover declares that he has suffered for two months with a 'quartan eros' for a young boy (τετόρταιος ἔχει παῖδος ἔρος μὴνὰ με δεύτερον). Hunter 1996: 185 believes that Theocritus alludes here to Callimachus; cf. Toohey 2004: 78.

62 — [Hipp.] *De morbis* 4.52 [7.590 L.]: δηλονότι περὶ τὰ νεῦρα καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰ ὀστέα ὁ ὕδρωψ ὁ τὸν κρυμὸν ποιέων ἐστί. τὰ γὰρ ὀστώδεα τοῦ σώματος μάλιστα ῥιγεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, 'it is clear that it is mainly around the sinews and bones that the 'water' causing the chill is to be found. For it is in the bony parts of the body that a man feels chill the most'. The next time, after Callimachus, that we find *krumos* in Greek poetry is in Nicander's (medically flavoured) *Theriaca* 382-3: ὅτ' ἐν παλάμησιν ἀεργοί/μάλκai ἐπιπροθέωσιν ὑπὸ κρυμοῖο δαμέντων, 'when a feeling of idle numbness runs through the palms of hand which have been affected with *krumos*'.

63 — The word occurs, for instance, also in Herodotus 4.8.12 (χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμὸν) and 4.28.3, but in that case it means very 'cold weather'; cf. Callimachus, *In Dianam* 115.

64 — The fragment survives in the ancient scholia on Nicander's *Theriaca* 382 (cited in n. 62 above).

The passage underscores the extent to which medical details season Greek tragedy's descriptions of disease⁶⁵ and raise the possibility Callimachus' medical allusions could have come to him through medical discourse in earlier Greek literature. The second tragic fragment derives from Sextus Empiricus when discussing Euripides' merits as a poet who had a firm understanding of medical science (*Adv. Mathem.* 1.308). The three lines Sextus cites to prove his point derive from Euripides' *Scyrians* (fr. 682 Kannicht), a dialogue between Deidameia's nurse and Deidameia's father Lycomedes. The nurse reports that Deidameia is gravely ill and in danger of dying; Lycomedes asks its cause (πρὸς τοῦ;) and wonders if it is the case that 'a chill of bile has been exercising her ribs', alluding to pleurisy:

(TP.) ἡ παῖς νοσεῖ σου κάπικινδύνως ἔχει.
(LYC.) πρὸς τοῦ; τίς αὐτὴν πημονὴ δαμάζεται;
μῶν κρυμὸς αὐτῆς πλευρὰ γυμνάζει χολῆς⁶⁶;

(Nurse: 'Your daughter is ill and her condition is dangerous'. Lyc. 'Because of what? What sort of plague is holding her down? Is it a chill that exercises her ribs with bile?').

Although this conversation has been interpreted in various ways, mention of Deidameia's sickness apparently represents her nurse's attempt to arouse sympathy from Lycomedes for his daughter, before she announces that the girl is pregnant with Achilles' child. A similar intertwining of pregnancy and disease also features in Cydippe's medical record, for her second illness, a quartan fever held her in its sway for seven months – precisely the number of months deemed necessary for a child to be conceived and born healthy (there is even a treatise on the subject, entitled 'On the seven months child', *De septimestri partu* = 7.436-52 L.)⁶⁷. In ps.-Moschus' *Megara* Cydippe's long-lasting fever seems to have been echoed in the narrative of Alcmene's troublesome pregnancy with Heracles: Massimilla believes that Alcmene's δέκα μῆνας ἔκαμνον at line

65 — See Guardasole 2000: 232-4 with Holmes 2010: 237 n. 45; on medical language in Sophoclean fragments see Craik 2003.

66 — Sextus explains the text by stating that Lycomedes πυνθάνεται ... μὴ τι πλευριτικὴ γέγονε διὰ τὸ τοῦς πλευριτικούς βήσσοντας ὑπόχολον ἀνάγειν, 'he is asking whether she is perhaps suffering from pleurisy, since patients with pleurisy bring up somewhat bilious sputum when they cough' (transl. in Blank 1998: 63-4). One of the medical texts Sextus could have in mind here is [Hipp.] *De morbis* 3.16 [7.142 L.]: [in cases of pleurisy] ὀδύνη τὴν πλευρὴν καὶ πυρετὸς καὶ φρίκη ἔχει... καὶ ἀναβήσσει ὑπόχολα, 'the patient's side is in pain, and he is affected with fever and chill and coughs up bilious stuff'. See Kannicht 2004: 667-8.

67 — Cf. [Hipp.] *De carnibus* 19 [8.612 L.] τὸ παιδίον ἐπτάμηνος γόνος γενόμενον, λόγῳ γεγένηται, καὶ ζῆ... ὀκτάμηνον δὲ γενόμενον, οὐδὲν βιοῖ πάποτε, 'when a child is born after seven months have been completed, he is born naturally and lives... but when he is born after eight months, he never survives'.

84 is a deliberate allusion to Callimachus, a hypothesis strengthened by similarities between ps.-Moschus 86 (καί με πυλάρταο σχεδὸν ἤγαγεν Αἰδωνῆος, 'he has almost driven me to the gates of Hades') and Cydippe's lethal seizures (Αἰδέω μέχρις ἔτηξε δόμων)⁶⁸.

On the whole, the tragic subtext of Cydippe's suffering, and, more specifically, her connection to Euripides' Deidameia, prompt Callimachus to think of pregnancy, for Cydippe's story provides an *aition* about genealogy, and giving birth is central to that script. Once Cydippe falls ill plans for her wedding are suspended and the notion of motherhood, which is integral for the narrative's completion, is put at risk. Callimachus' subtle allusions to pregnancy, in what seems otherwise an exclusively pathological context, reflect precisely the poet's anxiety to move the story forward and foreshadow, in a sense, the following successful union between Acontius and Cydippe⁶⁹. At the same time, the literary allusions centering on Cydippe's third illness underscores the point raised earlier – that tragedy remains an important source of detailed descriptions of disease and morbidity. Euripides' Phaedra, for example, is often invoked by scholars as a model for Medea's lovesickness in Apollonius Rhodius or Simaetha's in Theocritus; Callimachus' Cydippe surely belongs in this quasi-tragic grouping⁷⁰, and participates as a patient in an extended network of 'tragic' diseases.

Part II: Cydippe as a female patient

To what extent does Hippocratic gynecology participate in informing the medical details of fr. 75.10-19? Does Callimachus intend for Cydippe to be understood as a *female* patient? Cydippe's profile is that of a young girl, a παρθένος, who is about to marry, yet fails to do so because her sicknesses intervene. Her maladies are successfully treated once she is reassigned to her proper groom, yet the one who encourages her marriage with Acontius, naming him as the only cure for her sicknesses, is Apollo, god of prophecy as well as of healing.

Epileptic seizures are of central import here. Apart from the *De morbo sacro*, the only other treatise in the Hippocratic corpus where seizures are discussed in a context that rejects divine causation occurs in the short gynecological treatise devoted to the diseases that affect young girls of

68 — Massimilla 2010: 356-7.

69 — Notice how Callimachus' description of Acontius' and Cydippe's first night (fr. 75.44-49) is immediately followed by an emphatic shift to its successfully reproductive function (fr. 50-52): ἐκ δὲ γάμου κείνοιο μέγ' οὔνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι·/δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ὑμέτερον φύλον Ἀκοντιάδαι/πολύ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν, 'and from that wedding a big name was about to rise, for even now the Acontiaids, your tribe, inhabit Ioulis, many in numbers and highly honoured'.

70 — See e.g. Rynearson 2009: 346-7.

marriageable age (the title is *Περὶ παρθενίων*, *De virginum morbis* = 8.466-71 L.)⁷¹. The 'so-called sacred disease' heads the list of medical conditions⁷² believed to afflict girls who 'remain without a husband' (*παρὰνδρούμεναι*), even though their time for marriage has arrived, indicated by the fact that the girl's body has grown and has collected enough blood in it for menstruation to occur for the first time⁷³. According to the author, sudden seizures, 'apoplexies', unnatural visions and panic attacks occur because the girl's menstrual blood, gathering in the womb in excess, flows downward as if to pass out of her body. It does not, however, because the 'mouth of the exit' (*τὸ στόμα τῆς ἐξόδου*)⁷⁴ remains closed. On the face of it, reference is made here to a virginal hymen which has not yet been ruptured through intercourse; but since we have no concrete evidence in Hippocratic gynecology to suggest the existence of an imperforate membrane in the vagina⁷⁵, the passage is generally interpreted as referring to the constricted nature of the female body and the narrowness of a young girl's veins⁷⁶: on this interpretation, first intercourse should

71 — I here reproduce the text and translation by Flemming and Hanson 1998. The treatise, as it has been transmitted to us, is too short, and this has led some to believe that it could be only the opening part of what formed a more extensive discussion on the subject; see Flemming and Hanson 1998: 242. Despite attempts to date it after Aristotle (Bonnet-Cadilhac 1993), it is now generally agreed that the text must have been written at some point towards the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th cent. BC. and, as such, it converges conceptually with several other treatises from the Hippocratic Corpus; see Flemming and Hanson 1998: 241-7.

72 — The text reads as follows: *Πρῶτον περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς νόσου καλεομένης, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποπληκτικῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν δευμάτων, ὅκοσα φοβεῦνται ἰσχυρῶς ἄνθρωποι, ὥστε παραφρονεῖν καὶ ὀρῆν δοκέειν δαίμονας τινὰς ἐφ' ἑωυτῶν δυσμενέας, ὅκοτε μὲν νυκτὸς, ὅκοτε δὲ ἡμέρης, ὅκοτε δὲ ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῆσιν ὥρησι*, 'First of all my topic relates to the sacred disease, and concerning apoplexies, and concerning terrors of the sort that people feel so strongly, that they are beside themselves and seem to see certain hostile spirits, sometimes by night, sometimes by day, and sometimes at both times'. Compare the similar phrasing at [Hipp.] *De morbo sacro* 14.4 [6.386-8 L.]: *μαϊνόμεθα καὶ παραφρονέομεν, καὶ δειμάτα καὶ φόβοι παρίστανται ἡμῖν, τὰ μὲν νύκτωρ, τὰ δὲ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρην*. For further points of convergence between the two texts see Flemming and Hanson 1998: 243 n. 3; cf. Lami 2007: 33.

73 — Girls at puberty produce more blood due to what the medical author describes as 'nourishment and the increase of their body' (*τὸ δὲ αἷμα πλέον ἐπιρρήη διὰ τε τὰ στήθια καὶ τὴν αὐξῆσιν τοῦ σώματος*). On the *Περὶ παρθενίων* as a text on menarche see King 1998: 78.

74 — King 1998: 35 identifies *τὸ στόμα τῆς ἐξόδου* with *τὸ στόμα τοῦ αἰδοίου* ([Hipp.] *De mulierum affectibus* 1.40 = 8.96 L.) and differentiates it from the inner, uterine mouth which is normally designated as *τὸ στόμα τῆς μήτρας* (*De mulierum affectibus* 1.85 = 8.210 L.).

75 — See the seminal discussion in Sissa 1990 and now Sissa 2013, especially pp. 89-96, which refutes Hanson's argument (1990: 324-30) that, on the basis of images in Greek literature which liken the first penetration of the vagina to the breaking of a seal on a wine jug as well as Soranus' polemic against the existence of a hymen at *Gyn.* 1.16-17, we may infer that some authorities in the ancient world did believe that the hymen was imperforate before defloration. Sissa (pp. 91-92) draws attention to the fact that the young girl is not described by the medical author as having a permanently 'closed mouth' (which would support the idea of an existing hymen); rather, the phrasing (*ὀκόταν οὖν τὸ στόμα τῆς ἐξόδου μὴ ἢ ἀνεστομωμένον*) 'carries a strong conditional force', referring to blood that is being trapped *whenever* (*ὀκόταν*) the 'mouth of the exit' *happens* to be closed.

76 — See also Dean-Jones 1994: 51 who adduces as a parallel [Hipp.] *Superf.* 34 [8.504-6 L.], a text which describes the symptoms of suppressed menses in the *parthenoi* in terms very similar to

not be imagined as removing some sort of closing device but extending a pre-existing, yet protected, fissure. Whatever sort of impediment the medical author may have had in mind, its presence in the *parthenos'* body causes the menstrual blood to rush back upward and gather in excess around the heart and the diaphragm, the areas of the body where archaic and classical Greeks located sensation and intelligence. Consequently, the centre of consciousness is affected, giving rise to madness⁷⁷, fears, terrors, shivering and fever⁷⁸. The medical author then describes the patient's contingent sufferings – hallucinations (φάσματα) that turn her suicidal. Even when she has regained consciousness, she nonetheless takes pleasure in the idea of death. To cure her, the author has only one suggestion for the young girl – marry as soon as possible, have sex and become pregnant. Pregnancy, here as elsewhere in the Corpus, usually indicates health⁷⁹; in the meantime, penetration is suggested to help 'unblock' and extend the 'mouth of the exit', removing the impediment and allowing the blood that has been trapped inside the body to find its way out:

Ἡ δὲ τῆσδε ἀπαλλαγῆ, ὁκόταν μὴ ἐμποδίζη τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ἀπόρρουσιν. Κελεύω δὴ τὰς παρθένους, ὁκόταν τοιοῦτο πάσχωσιν, ὡς τάχιστα συνοικῆσαι ἀνδράσιν· ἦν γὰρ κυήσωσιν, ὑγιέες γίνονται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτέων ἢ ἅμα τῇ ἡβῆ ἢ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀλώσεται, εἴπερ μὴ ἐτέρῃ νούσῃ· τῶν δὲ ἡνδρωμένων γυναικῶν αἰ στεῖραι ταῦτα πάσχωσιν.

Release from this [disease] comes whenever there is no impediment for the flowing out of blood. I urge, then, that whenever young girls suffer this kind of malady they should marry as quickly as possible. If they become pregnant, they become healthy. If not, either at the same moment as puberty, or a little later, she will be caught by this sickness, if not by another one. Among those women who have regular intercourse with a man, the barren suffer these things.

Marriage is the only therapy proffered, and continued sexual intercourse provides temporary closure to mental and bodily suffering of the young girl. Symptoms associated with love and erotic desire have been here transformed into insanity. The medical text mentions the pleasures of desire, yet it transforms it into a patient's thoughts of suicide: what a virgin craves for is not the man's body, but her own death, 'as if death

De virginum morbis. What is recommended in that case are fumigations and warm applications rather than intercourse, which suggests that what is being treated is the constricted nature of the female body and not an imperforate membrane in the vagina.

77 — ὁ τόπος ἐπίκαιρος ἐς παραφροσύνην καὶ μανίην, 'the place [i.e. the heart and the diaphragm] is critical for both mental aberration and madness'.

78 — Fears, night-terrors and strangulation are among the commonly shared symptoms between young girls in *De virginum morbis* and insane patients in *DMS*. See Lami 2007: 33.

79 — See Hanson 1990: 314-20 and King 2013.

was something good' (ἡδονὴ τις, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρᾷ θανάτου ὥσπερ τινος ἀγαθοῦ)⁸⁰.

Consistent with the text's strategy to suppress erotic desire by evoking it and then converting it into a pathology is the fact that the resultant restlessness of mind the author describes recalls the eroticism in magical papyri. The medical writer emphasizes the 'terrifying demons' (δόκσα φοβεῦνται ἰσχυρῶς ἄνθρωποι, ὥστε παραφρονέειν καὶ ὄρην δοκέειν δαίμονας τινὰς ἐφ' ἐωπτῶν δυσμενέας) and 'phantoms' (φάσματα) that appear to the young girl while she is sick and hallucinating. She resembles the woman whom the caster of an erotic spell wishes to deprive of sleep and terrify through visions of hostile spirits: καὶ κέλευσον ἀγγέλῳ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, ἄξει αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν ποδῶν. φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη, ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτί μου καὶ τῇ ἐμοῦ φιλίᾳ, 'and order the angel to go off to her, NN, to draw her by her hair, by her feet; may she, in fear, see phantoms, sleepless because of her passion for me and love for me'⁸¹ (PGM VII.888-9). What magic ascribed to supernatural forces occurs in the medical text as a symptom with a physical cause⁸². Similarly, whereas in love magic the woman's troubles are thought to have been eased once desire is reciprocated, the medical writer prescribes intercourse and pregnancy as a mechanical means to bring on menstruation. As Dean-Jones points out in connection to the text, 'the young women have a physiological need of intercourse, but no conscious desire for it nor knowledge of what it is they need. The satisfaction of their appetite is not even tied to any pleasure beyond simple relief of the pressure of blood on their heart'⁸³.

In assessing some of the central notions which underlie female sexuality in ancient Greek culture Anne Carson observes how 'a woman's life' is usually conceived as having 'no prime, but rather a season of unripe virginity followed by a season of overripe maturity, with the single occasion of defloration as the dividing line'⁸⁴. The Hippocratic *De virginum morbis* is an example of that model. As Helen King observes, '[b]y ordering sufferers to marry, and adding 'if they become pregnant' the author essentially 'suggests that the successful transition from *parthenos* to *gynê* depends on compressing menarche, marriage and childbirth into as short

80 — ἡδονὴ is not a word that we encounter often in the Hippocratic Corpus. In one of its few appearances in the gynecological texts, it occurs (repeatedly) in the description of a woman's orgasm in [Hipp.] *De semine* 4 [7.474-6 L.].

81 — Translation in Betz 1986: 142.

82 — For the close intersection between magic and medicine see von Staden 1992, illustrating how, when it comes to women, Greek doctors are especially prone to employ therapies that would have otherwise been contested as irrational and unhygienic.

83 — Dean-Jones 1992: 78.

84 — Carson 1990: 144.

a space as possible⁸⁵. In this environment of ‘medical terrorism’⁸⁶ – the phrase is Paola Manuli’s – a woman’s desire is omitted from the discussion because there is neither time nor need for it. What matters instead is that a woman acts as her society requires, marrying and giving birth at the age considered medically and socially acceptable⁸⁷.

Overall, I would argue that Cydippe’s voiceless transition from unmarried young girl to wife in a context in which female desire is absent and illness substitutes for desire and takes its place, summons a similar physical model. Epileptic seizures, Cydippe’s first sickness, provide an initial indication: while Callimachus’ remark at fr. 75.14 (that the disease is mistakenly called sacred) was probed above in conjunction with *De morbo sacro*, it is possible that the poet may also intend an allusion to *De virginum morbis*⁸⁸, for that text is likewise concerned with showing that the so called ‘sacred disease’, among other physical and mental disorders, occur whenever menstrual blood is trapped within a female body- and has therefore no divine cause. The medical writer’s concluding remark, that after the patient’s recovery womenfolk are deceived by diviners (κελευόντων τῶν μάντεων) into believing that Artemis provided the cure, creates tension between the author’s mechanical explanations and the popular belief that gods both cause and cure sicknesses⁸⁹.

Furthermore, the ‘sacred disease’ makes its appearance in a narrative which is systematically emphasizing Cydippe’s status as an unmarried young girl, a virgin⁹⁰, and more, it occurs at that point in the story where the change of her status is about to occur. The transition from *parthenos* to *gyne* interests the medical writer as well, for he sees it as a time of increased susceptibility to sicknesses. The lines which open Callimachus’ reference to epileptic seizures contain a striking image of the fear experienced by sacrificial animals on the day of Cydippe’s wedding (fr. 75.10-12):

ἡῶιοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν
οἱ βόες ὀξεῖαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα.
δειελινήν τήν δ’ εἶλε κακὸς χλόος, ἤλθε δὲ νοῦσος

85 — King 1998: 79.

86 — Manuli 1980: 404.

87 — See the discussion in Pinault 1992: 129.

88 — See Asper 2009: 17, followed by Harder 2012: 597-8.

89 — See Lloyd 2003: 49-50.

90 — See e.g. fr. 67.2 (Κυδίππη ... παρθενική); fr. 75.1-2 (where a prenuptial custom is mentioned, deceiving, for a moment, the readers into believing that Cydippe has already slept with a man before the wedding); fr. 75.24-5 (where Apollo explains to Ceyx that at the time of Cydippe’s oath, Artemis, the virgin-goddess par excellence, was present on Delos) and fr. 75.46 (μίτρης ... παρθενίης).

(‘At dawn the oxen were about to tear their hearts, seeing the sharp blade reflected in the water; but in the afternoon, an evil paleness took hold of Cydippe and on came the illness’).

The reason why Callimachus chose to focus on the oxen, rather than Cydippe, has long puzzled scholars. D’Alessio, for example, speaks of a ‘shift of perspective’ that is typical of the *Aetia*’s narrative techniques, when peripheral details are spotlighted on centre stage and distract a reader’s attention. He considers this a playful mode of composition that may include ironic touches⁹¹. Alternatively, it is equally possible that no such shift has taken place and that Cydippe continues to hold the poet’s attention, as he takes advantage of the associations between sacrifice and female bleeding from menarche onward⁹². Once marriage has transformed the young girl into a wife and sexually mature woman, she continues to bleed each month and also after the birth of each child. As Helen King observes, ‘the Hippocratic texts lead towards a definition of the *gynê*, the mature childbearing married woman, as she who bleeds’⁹³. More to the point, the analogy between woman and sacrificial victim occurs in the Corpus’ gynecological treatises, such as in *De mulierum affectibus* 1.6 (8.30 L.): ‘if a woman is healthy, then during menstruation the blood flows like that of a sacrificed victim and it clots quickly’ (χωρέει δὲ αἷμα οἶον ἀπὸ ἱερείου, καὶ ταχὺ πήγνυται, ἣν ὑγαιίνῃ ἢ γυνή)⁹⁴. Similar wording is used on other occasions to describe the lochial flows when she bleeds following childbirth (*De mulierum affectibus* 1.72 = 8.152 L.; *De natura pueri* 18 = 7.502 L.). Aristotle agrees that a young girl’s menstrual blood is οἶον νεόσφακτον, ‘like that of a freshly-slaughtered beast’ (*HA* 581b1-2), and it may be that this is common knowledge within Greek society⁹⁵. In addition, the phrase θυμὸν ἀμύξειν, ‘tearing one’s heart,’ at fr. 75.10 is consistently applied to humans, from Homer onwards⁹⁶, another indication that Cydippe’s anxiety as she transfers from virgin to wife is never absent from Callimachus’ characterization of her.

A final point of intersection between Callimachus and the Hippocratic *De virginum morbis* is the fact that marriage is the only solution proposed for the nubile girl exhibiting symptoms of illness. The medical writer’s urgent advice that a virgin should find a husband and get pregnant

91 — D’Alessio 1996: 5-6.

92 — See Burkert 1983: 62: ‘Defloration turns into sacrifice mainly because of the exclusively human phenomenon of shedding blood in the first intercourse’. Cf. King 1987.

93 — King 1998: 90.

94 — See Lonie 1981: 196.

95 — See Byl 1980: 53; cf. Duminil 1983: 207-8. As Detienne 1989: 147 points out, citing Aristotle, in Greek culture ‘a woman is... a body that, like a stabbed beast, bleeds’; cf. Osborne 2000: 300-1.

96 — See Harder 2012: 594.

as quickly as possible (κελεύω δὴ τὰς παρθένους, ὁκόταν τοιοῦτο πάσχωσιν, ὡς τάχιστα συνοικῆσαι ἀνδράσιν) fits nicely with the action Apollo's oracle at Delphi suggests to Cydippe's father, Ceyx: in order to find relief from illness, Cydippe needs to fulfil her oath to Artemis by marrying Acontius and becoming the mother of his children⁹⁷. In the passage quoted below the god's imagery of metals being mixed together refers not only to sex – μειζέμεναι – but also to reproduction, for ἤλεκτρον at fr. 75.3 is the alloy of gold and silver both of which are mentioned in the last two lines:

τέτρατον [ο]ὐκέτ' ἔμεινε πατήρ ἐ...φ..φ...[
 Φοῖβον· ὁ δ' ἐννύχιον τοῦτ' ἔπος ἠὺδάσατο·
 Ἄρτεμιδος τῇ παιδί γάμον βαρὺς ὄρκος ἐνικλᾶ·
 Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάσις
 οὐδ' ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ θρῦρον ἔπλεκεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ θήρης
 ἔκλυζεν ποταμῶ λύματα⁹⁸ Παρθενίῳ,
 Δῆλῳ δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὀππότε σὴ παῖς
 ὤμοσεν, οὐκ ἄλλον, νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι.
 ὦ Κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ἦν με θέλης συμφράδομονα θέσθαι,
 ..]ν.. τελευτήσεις ὄρκια θυγατέρος·
 ἀργύρω οὐ μόλιβον γὰρ Ἀκόντιον, ἀλλὰ φαεινῶ
 ἤλεκτρον χρυσῶ φημί σε μειζέμεναι (fr. 75.20-31).

Her father did not wait for a fourth time... Phoebus; and he spoke his word at night: 'A heavy oath by Artemis frustrates your child's marriage: for my sister was not troubling Lygdamis at that time nor was she plaiting rushes in the sanctuary at Amyclae or washing the dirt after the hunt in the river Parthenius, but she was at home on Delos, when your daughter swore that she would have Acontius, and no other, as her bridegroom. But, Ceyx, if you want to make me your counsellor... you will fulfil your daughter's oath; for I tell you that you will not be mixing Acontius as lead with silver, but as electrum with shining gold'⁹⁹.

Although there has been a recent tendency to deemphasize the separation of religious healing from the mechanical explanations of Hippocratic in the 5th and 4th cent. BC¹⁰⁰, we still have strong hints for a competitive

97 — Motherhood is also emphasized in Callimachus' description of Acontius' first night with Cydippe at fr. 44-50. The last line reads: ἐκ δὲ γάμου κείνοιο μέγ' οὖνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι.

98 — The imagery of washing off dirt in a river (ἔκλυζεν ποταμῶ λύματα) is also attested in cases of birth and foreshadows Cydippe's successful transition to motherhood; see e.g. Callimachus, *H.* 1.15-17 (Rhea cleansing herself after giving birth to Zeus): ἐνθα σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων, / αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ὧ κε τόκοιο / λύματα χυτλώσατο.

99 — Translation from Harder 2012.

100 — See e.g. Parker 1996: 184; cf. Nutton 1985: 46; King 1998: 99-113 and 2006. See also Gorrini 1995: 143-5 who discusses epigraphic evidence showing the presence of physicians at Asclepieia (with the criticism in Harris 2009: 249 n. 117, who believes that Gorrini's contention that

and antagonistic environment between the two domains¹⁰¹. As William Harris observes in his study on dreams in antiquity, after the Hippocratic *On Regimen* (composed ca. 400 BC) ‘doctors took the study of dreams no further, in spite of the fact that the Hippocratic tradition was progressive in spirit and well aware that knowledge could be extended by research’. One ‘easy explanation’, Harris continues, ‘is that in practice physicians eventually realized that dreams were seldom much use, but it is also possible that the growing popularity of incubation shrines... meant that relying on dreams came to be associated *with a rival form of medicine* (my italics)’¹⁰². Ceyx’s decision to consult Apollo’s oracle at Delphi through an incubation¹⁰³, could aim at setting up a contrast with the mechanical explanation for Cydippe’s medical conditions¹⁰⁴. Cydippe’s symptoms *qua* symptoms juxtapose explanations and therapies from medical science and from the world of the divine cause and therapy. The tension thus created can be fully appreciated only if we place Callimachus’ scientific references to the ‘sacred disease’ in the context of the Hippocratic *De virginum morbis*, as well as with *De morbo sacro*, the only two treatises in the Corpus to speak against the idea that gods belong in discussions of disease as both cause and cure. Towards the end of the text, and just before stressing once more that only the release of menstrual blood can help an afflicted unmarried young girl, the medical author contrasts gullible women who have been led to consider recovery as available only through divine intervention:

Φρονεούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι αἱ γυναῖκες ἄλλα τε
πολλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια πουλυτελέστατα καθιερούσι τῶν γυναικείων,
κελευόντων τῶν μάντεων ἐξαπατεῶμεναι. Ἡ δὲ τῆσδε ἀπαλλαγῆ,
όκόταν μὴ ἐμποδίῃ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ἀπόρρυσιν. Κελεύω δὴ τὰς

‘physicians themselves allowed their patients to go to the temple’ is overdrawn).

101 — See the seminal discussion in Lloyd 1979, esp. 15-29, 37-49 and 86-98; cf. Lloyd 1983: 131.

102 — Harris 2009: 249. Cf. Sassi 2001: 142. Harris believes that it is only later, in the Roman period, that ‘rational’ medicine and incubation shrines begin to ‘cooperate’ more energetically. Cf. Sherwin-White 1978: 275-8.

103 — See fr. 75.21: Φοῖβον. ὁ δ’ ἐννύχιον τοῦτ’ ἔπος ἠυδάσατο with the discussion in Harder 2012: 601-3.

104 — The fact that Cydippe’s father waits for a considerable amount of time (the quartan fever alone is said to last for seven months) before deciding to consult Apollo at Delphi seems to suggest that the god is consulted as a last resort. Cf. a remarkable inscription from Lebanon, recording the case of a man who had seen thirty six (!) doctors in vain, and who was cured by a god (Roesch 1984: 290; cf. Nutton 1995: 14). Although the inscription obviously praises the divinity’s healing powers it also has implicit in it a story of exceptional endurance and belief in the capacities of human science; what leads, eventually, the patient to the god is desperation and not necessarily pure faith; accordingly, rather than suggest a symbiotic relationship between rational and temple medicine, this particular inscription can be pointing towards a tension between the two.

παρθένους, όκόταν τοιούτο πάσχωσιν, ώς τάχιστα συνοικῆσαι
 άνδράσιν.

When the female is recovering her senses, the women dedicate to Artemis many other things and especially expensive female clothing at the orders of priests¹⁰⁵. But the women are being deceived. Release from this comes whenever there is no impediment for the flowing out of the blood. I urge, then, that whenever young girls suffer this kind of malady they should marry as quickly as possible.

Whether Callimachus was aware of the medical concepts about young girls outlined in the *De virginum morbis* and was acquainted with medical literature, or whether medical concepts about female bodies circulated in learned conversation of scholars from the sophisticated atmosphere the poet inhabited in Ptolemaic Alexandria, it remains ironic that Cydippe's disease requires the intervention of the *iatromantis*¹⁰⁶ par excellence Apollo, who advises the appeasement of *Artemis* so that Cydippe become healthy once again. Helen King warns that 'the apparent rivalry between the Hippocratics and Artemis over the treatment of girls who failed to menstruate when expected can mislead us into seeing religion and medicine as opposed, when in fact they agreed on the place of women's bleeding in the proper ordering of the world. Like sacrificial ritual', she continues, 'Hippocratic gynecology is about ensuring blood is shed at the proper times and in the proper ways'¹⁰⁷. Several aspects of *De virginum morbis* corroborate this statement, for instance the author's emphasis on strangulation as one of the main side effects of the disease (πολλοὶ ἤδη ἀπηγχονίσθησαν), which seems to be intrinsically connected with the cultic imagery of Artemis Ἀπαγχομένη in Arcadia¹⁰⁸. At the same time, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that the author's concluding remark is aimed precisely at leaving Artemis out of the picture, by insisting that any attempt to invoke the divine in the therapy (and explanation) of the disease relies on deception (ἐξαπατεώμεναι)¹⁰⁹, orchestrated

105 — Flemming-Hanson 1998: 251 translate 'at the orders of the goddess's priests'; however, the linkage of μάντεων to Artemis is not made explicit in the text. Be that as it may, μαντεία has, on the whole, negative connotations in medical texts. See e.g. the programmatic statement at [Hipp.] *Proorrhethicon* 2.1 [9.6 L.] which distinguishes between divination and rational deduction based on signs and symptoms: Ἐγὼ δὲ τοιαῦτα μὲν οὐ μαντεύσομαι, σημεῖα δὲ γράφω οἷσι χρῆ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοὺς τε ὑγιέας ἐσομένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανομένους, 'I will not do any guesswork about these things, but I will write down the signs on the basis of which one should deduce which patients will recover and which will die'. As Vlastos 1949: 286 n. 74 points out, with a few exceptions, 'references to divination in the Hippocratic treatises are critical and contemptuous'; cf. Sassi 2001: 142-8; Nutton 2004: 88-9 and Harris 2009: 153.

106 — On *iatromantis* see Dean-Jones 2003: 100 n. 7.

107 — King 1998: 99.

108 — For a detailed discussion see King 1998: 80-84.

109 — The choice of ἐξαπατεώμεναι reminds us of the critique in *De morbo sacro* 1 [6.354

by the *manties*¹¹⁰, and lack of knowledge about how the female body works: rather, the only thing that matters in this case is that the impediment in the girl's body is removed so that blood can flow out freely¹¹¹.

Callimachus' clinical catalogue of Cydippe's diseases opens with a remark which leaves little doubt that the poet's learned inquiry into the medical *causes* (*aitia*) of the illness has led him to dismiss the common assumption that it is god-afflicted; as the story evolves, however, Artemis' integral role in the narrative resurfaces and the disease, which is first dissociated from the divine, is finally cured by an appeal to the gods. I suggested above that Callimachus is aware of the 'inconsistency', and uses it to exemplify what he neatly calls 'the burden of too much knowledge'. The *Aetia* is a playful narrative which pursues, in an erudite and systematic way, the origins of local customs, names and cults but allows, quite often, the possibility that multiple, and sometimes conflicting – if not mutually exclusive – explanations can exist for the same thing: the notion of 'a single explanation' is constantly undermined in the poem by Callimachus' 'quotation of variant versions and variant sources', leading to what Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter have recently called 'a parodically confident parade of knowledge'¹¹². On a broader level, 'indeterminacy of truth' – to use one of Susan Stephen's terms¹¹³ – in the writings of the period has been seen as a strategic move to help accommodate the plurality of voices in the intercultural environment of

[L.] against those who pretend to know that epilepsy is a sacred illness and deceive people by posing as mediators between the divine and human world: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέουσιν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα ἰρώσαντες τοιοῦτοι εἶναι ἄνθρωποι οἷοι καὶ νῦν εἰσι μάγοι τε καὶ καθάρται καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες, ὁκόσοι προσποιέονται σφόδρα θεοσεβέες εἶναι καὶ πλέον τι εἰδέναι (1.10) ... τοιαῦτα λέγοντες καὶ μηχανώμενοι προσποιέονται πλέον τι εἰδέναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἑξαπατῶσι (1.27), 'My own view is that those who first attributed a sacred character to this malady were like the mages, purifiers, charlatans and quacks of our own day, men who claim great piety and superior knowledge... By these sayings and devices they deceive people' (transl. in Lloyd 2003: 61-3).

110 — On the word's derogatory associations see n.105 above and cf. [Hipp.] *Regimen on Acute Diseases* 8 [2.240-4 L.] (discussing how lack of consensus among physicians discredits the notion of medicine as *art* and makes it resemble to divination): 'Yet the art as a whole has a very bad name among laymen, so that there is thought to be no art of medicine at all. Accordingly, since among practitioners there will prove to be so much difference of opinion about acute diseases that the remedies which one physician gives in the belief that they are the best are considered by a second to be bad, laymen are likely to object to such that their art resembles divination (καὶ σχεδὸν ἂν κατὰ γὰρ τὸ τοῖόνδε τὴν τέχνην φαίεν ὁμοιωθῆναι τῇ μαντικῇ); for diviners (μάντιες) too think that the same bird, which they told to be a happy omen on the left, is an unlucky one when on the right, while other diviners maintain the opposite' (transl. in Potter 1988: 69). See Jouanna 2012: 101.

111 — Lloyd 1979: 28-29 counts *De virginum morbis* among the Hippocratic texts where 'the belief in the possibility of supernatural intervention in diseases' is '*vigorously attacked* [my italics]'

112 — Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004: 50-51. On Callimachus' *Aetia* and the central notion of multiple explanations in the programmatic fr.7a (on the genealogy of the Charites) see Harder 2012 vol.2: 119ff. Cf. Schiesaro 2002: 65 (Ovid models his exposition of alternative and contradictory causes on Callimachean aetiological premises).

113 — Stephens 2003: 86.

Ptolemaic Alexandria; in this intellectual context, as Stephens points out, ‘what constitutes “truth” or “lies” may differ fundamentally with one’s cultural perspective’¹¹⁴. Cydippe’s medical case combines gynecological lore – which helps, among others, to explain her absence of desire as that of a typically female Hippocratic patient – with a more traditional view of the gods as causes and healers of human disease; as such it provides Callimachus with a first class opportunity to explore the complexities of aetiological discourse and to build up a narrative whose multiple ramifications do not always sit easily with each other.

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114 — Stephens 2003: 113. Cf. also Stephens 2002 (on Callimachus’ *Aetia*).

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