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# PARLARE LA MEDICINA

fra lingue e culture, nello spazio e nel tempo





Isabella ANDORLINI  
(University of Parma)

### **Digitising Greek Medical Papyri**

In the field of humanities, papyrology is well provided with digital resources for accessing and controlling the primary materials, including texts, metadata, and images of the papyri written in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Egyptian, and several other languages. Papyrologists are aware of the fact that these resources will never reach their full value to users without extensive interlinkage, interoperation, and openness. In the last few years several projects have begun to strive for greater interoperation and a more efficient use of broadly distributed efforts and expertise. The discipline's fruits are most abundant when scholars can easily and effectively navigate and compare these different types of data. The subsequent challenge has been, in fact, the abandonment of the distinction operative in this field and has gone so far as to see this nexus of papyrological resources turning into a community. Despite the heroic efforts of past generations of papyrologists and other scholars, the scholarly community is worried about the vast quantities of literary and sub-literary papyri —and papyri of medical content among them— that have never been included in any existing database. These sources are not accessible as digitised texts; nor are they open to cross-searching by means of the tools readily available. To make the whole corpus of medical papyri available in the space of three years is the challenge of the DIGMEDTEXT project, funded by the European Research Council at the University of Parma, supported by a number of local team members and external collaborators (such as the team of the *Digital Corpus of Literary Papyri*, based in Heidelberg) for advise on the scientific and technical aspects of specific strategic matters.

*Isabella Andorlini graduated at Florence in 1979 with a dissertation in Papyrology (The Controbution of the Papyri to the Knowledge of Ancient Medical Practice), specialised at Florence in 1983/84, took a masterclass diploma in Ancient Studies at Urbino (1986), was Researcher at the Papyrological Institute "G. Vitelli" of Florence from 1992 to 2004, and is Associate Professor of Papyrology at the University of Parma since 2005. She participated in excavations in Egypt, restored and published literary and documentary papyri of the Vitelli Institute and of other European and US collections, with which she holds collaboration projects (Oxford, Köln, Düsseldorf, Durham NC, Center for the Tebtunis Papyri-Berkeley CA). She took part into international conferences and congresses and published numerous contributions, especially in the field of Greek papyri dealing with medicine. Since 2014 she is the Principal Investigator of the ERC-DIGMEDTEXT Project hosted in Parma.*

I session: TRANSLATING MEDICINE  
*medicine across languages and cultures*

Rachel MAIRS  
(University of Reading)

### ***Aegyptia Grammata:* Linguistic and Medical Training in Graeco-Roman Egypt**

A Greek letter of the second century BC, in which a mother congratulates her son for learning Egyptian so that he can teach in the establishment of an Egyptian doctor, offers insights into several

neglected aspects of the sociolinguistic landscape of Graeco-Roman Egypt. In contrast to the usual view that Greek was the language of advancement in Egypt at the period, we find Egyptian valued as a language of specialist knowledge. Little information is usually available on processes of language acquisition, but here we have attested an adult learner of Egyptian. Of note is also the identification of a specific medical specialisation as an Egyptian preserve. In a broader sense, this paper will also explore how medicine was practised in a multilingual society.

*Rachel Mairs is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Reading, United Kingdom. She is a papyrologist, archaeologist and social historian of the Hellenistic world, with particular emphasis on Egypt and Central Asia. Before coming to Reading, she held positions at Brown University, the University of Oxford and New York University (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World). Her latest books are The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language and Identity in Greek Central Asia (2014); with Maya Muratov, Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters: Exploring Egypt and the Near East in the late 19th-early 20th Centuries (2015), and From Khartoum to Jerusalem: The Dragomon Solomon Negima and his Clients, 1885-1933 (2016).*

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Andrea CANIATO  
(professional interpreter)

### **Getting Medicine Across to Multicultural Audiences**

Medical conferences are regarded as challenging assignments by any professional interpreter and require adequate background knowledge, thorough preparation and the ability to cope with extreme speed and understand a lot of different native and above all non-native accents and intonations. Medical audiences are normally very knowledgeable about the subjects discussed and attend specialised conferences to enhance their training and expertise in the framework of continuing education programmes, so they tend to be very demanding recipients, especially when it comes to accuracy and terminology.

English, including English as lingua franca, is by far the dominant language at medical conferences. In an attempt to reduce costs, speakers and participants are increasingly being invited or even required to hold and listen to presentations in English without the help of expensive interpreting services. The perceived need or the desire to showcase one's English also contributes to this trend. Although public speaking, even in the speaker's native language, is considered to be an art, the ability to do dissemination in English is almost taken for granted in many professional settings, and medical professions make no exception. This trend is particularly strong at the EU, especially in meetings organised by the European Commission, Council working groups and parliamentary hearings. Typical medical conferences where interpreting is provided nowadays see 90% of speakers struggling to present in English 'Out of respect for our (2 or 3) international guests' and simultaneous interpreters doing their utmost to grasp the gist and convey the speaker's message to those members of the audience who are not ashamed to be seen wearing a headset.

If not much can be done to enhance a well-prepared professional interpreter's ability to understand non-native speakers with insufficient command of the English language, a few strategies derived from interpreter 'retour' training can prove very effective in helping non-natives get their message across when addressing an international audience. Most non-native speakers are completely unaware of what they actually sound like when presenting in English, and have never been shown how to avoid the typical pitfalls of public speaking in a language other than their own. Strategies can be taught to optimise a speaker's use of English and increase his or her intelligibility. Useful and remarkably effective tips can be provided on how to improve a speaker's command of the English language and on how to move away from the syntax, idioms and above all mindset and presentation style of the

speaker's own language and learn to actually think in English and conceive and deliver understandable and even enjoyable presentations.

*Andrea Caniato is a Brussels-based EU-accredited freelance conference interpreter, a voice coach and a speech coach. He holds a Master Degree in conference interpreting (University of Trieste) and a Bachelor's Degree in contemporary saxophone. His interpreting experience includes medical conferences, finance, banking, politics and TV shows.*

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Dino GIGLIOLI  
(professional interpreter, University of Parma)

### **The Italian Sign Language Interpreter in Medical Contexts**

*Dino Giglioli (1950) is Assistant at the Gualandi Institute for Deaf-mutes of Bologna in the Seventies. He took a professional title as interpreter of Italian Sign Language (LIS) at Naples in 2002. He is currently LIS Interpreter, teacher of LIS, speaker at conferences, as well as author of several articles and publications on the Deaf world. Formerly National President of the ANIMU (National Association Interpreters of Sign Language) in 2008-09, he is currently President of the Association LISLearning for the study, research and promotion of the LIS (headquarters in Bologna), National Councillor ANIMU, Italian Representative of the ANIMU at the EFSLI (European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters), and Professor of Italian Sign Language and Culture at the University of Parma.*

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Giorgia RIMONDI  
(University of Milan /  
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

Marco VERONESE  
(University of Milan)

### **Foucault's Medical Discourse: Some Peculiarities of the Russian Translation**

This paper aims at analyzing the translational choices that have been overlapping each other in the course of the editorial fortune of Foucault's works first in the Soviet Union and then in Russia. Our choice fell on some particularly significant concepts that recur throughout the philosopher's work - not limited to the scope of specifically medical discourse -, i.e. key terms starting from which Foucault structures his reflection. As regards the existence of an overall Foucaultian *medical discourse*, it must be pointed out that it is a reconstruction *a posteriori*, that covers all the works that can broadly be related to this subject and takes into account, rather than their traditional periodization as proposed by commentators, the claims made by Foucault himself, who has always insisted on the unity and complementary nature of his work.

The attempt to undertake a similar analysis leads to a twofold fundamental problem. In fact, on the one hand, the terminology used by Foucault hides a multiplicity of meanings and possible interpretations *ab origine*, in addition to the complexity of his expository style and the constant renewal of a philosophical reflection that the philosopher himself conceives as never completely finished. In this regard, it may be noted that Foucault revisits the topic of insanity both at the beginning of his career (in the 1950s), in the 1960's (in his masterpiece *Madness and Civilization*) and again in the late 1970s, during the courses held at the Collège de France.

A second problematic issue rises on a linguistic level, concerning the rendering in a foreign language of Foucaultian key concepts. In this sense the story of Russian translations of the philosopher's work represents a case in point. The first translator of Foucault's major works in the Soviet Union, Natalija Avtomonova,

already in the 1970s began to highlight the difficulties encountered by the translator in approaching the dense network of meanings enclosed in Foucault's text. An example could be the rendering of the term *discours* (discourse), which in Russian is split into *diskurs* and *diskursija*. This choice is based on the acuteness of Avtomonova, who after realizing the complexity and multiplicity of meanings with which the term occurred, tried to convey this gap by introducing a neologism, such as *diskursija*.

It is not, however, the only term raising problems on a translational plan. In particular, the French term *dispositif*, translated into Italian as *dispositivo* (device), is one of the essential cores of Foucault's entire philosophical thought. It suffers a fate similar to that of *discours*, from time to time having been translated as *dispozitiv* (a borrowing from the French), or as *apparat* or *ustrojstvo*. All three translations bring with them their own issues, due to an often interpretive intervention operated by the translator. Furthermore, it must be noted that if Foucault's language, in Italian translation, has achieved an effective terminological stability during the years, the same cannot be said of Russian translations.

The Russian case, therefore, appears to be particularly significant and leads us to question the role of philosophical translation and the translator's responsibility, a topic certainly too wide to be discussed herein. Beyond the merely linguistic issues, its significance consists in its allowing us to draw attention to the difficulties of an essentially *conceptual*, rather than terminological, rendering. These difficulties, though, are precisely what constituted the core of Foucault's insight when, focusing on the analysis of the layers of meaning, he distinguished between *first* and *secondary* languages.

*Giorgia Rimondi holds a BA in Modern Foreign Languages and an MA in Philosophical Sciences. She is a PhD student in Slavic Studies at the University of Parma and the IMLI (Institute of World Literature) of the Russian Academy of Sciences at Moscow, working on Russian philosopher A.F. Losev. Among her interests, Russian religious philosophy in the Twenties bears currently a primary role.*

*Marco Veronese is an MA student at the University of Milan. At the same time, he is conducting a research in the archive of the former psychiatric hospital of Colorno (Parma). His interests encompass madness and mental diseases in Foucault's work and the relationships between philosophy and psychology.*

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Franco GIORGIANNI  
(University of Palermo)

### **Histories of Titles of Hippocratic Writings and Their Translations between Antiquity and Modern Age**

The paper aims at presenting through case studies the history of the titles of some writings belonging to the Hippocratic Corpus, with particular regard to their translations into ancient and modern languages.

This investigation is of some relevance in order to understand the historical conditions under which Hippocratic treatises were transmitted. In this connection, a relation can be shown between the translated titles of the writings considered on the one side (among them in the first instance *de genitura/de natura pueri* and *de aeribus*) and on the other side the ways in which their contents have been transmitted through scientific language in the various historical contexts.

*Franco Giorgianni is Researcher of Greek Language and Literature at the Department Cultures and Societies of the University of Palermo, where he teaches at the BA Courses of Cultural Heritage and at the MA Courses of Ancient Studies. His main research interests focus on the edition of ancient medical texts (Hippocrates, De genitura/De natura pueri, Wiesbaden 2006), the study of their transmission in the Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, and more recently the historical-medical*

*investigation of the terminology and the concepts of the hereditary (and genetic) diseases. On this topic he coordinated a FIRB Triennial Project (2012-15), conducted together with the Research Unit of Rome “Sapienza” and titled “Studies of medical terminology and epistemology for a Lexicon of genetics from Hippocrates to ICD-10”.*

II session: DEVELOPING A MICROLANGUAGE OF MEDICINE  
*linguistics, languages and medicine from past to present*

Anastasia MARAVELA  
(University of Oslo)

**Medical Micro-Language in the Greek Papyri**

The Greek papyri from Egypt (roughly from 300 BCE to 700 CE) have not only greatly enhanced our general knowledge of ancient medical literature and practice. They have more specifically also enriched our understanding of the Greek medical vocabulary, its development over time and its registers. The intention behind the creation of the dictionary Medicalia Online as a supplement to the digitised corpus of medical papyri was precisely to explore the relationship between the medical vocabulary in the papyri and the medical language known through the medical and veterinary corpus transmitted by way of the medieval manuscript transmission (the Hippocratic writings, the works of Soranus, Galen, Oribasius etc.) The bulk of the Greek medical vocabulary is attested in this very extensive corpus. Yet the lost medical works recovered on papyri add new items to the medical vocabulary, refine our understanding of the diachronic trajectory of medical terms and, taking a bird’s-eye-view, of the morphology, syntax and semantics of the Greek medical language more generally. On the other hand documentary papyri, in particular physicians’ reports and not least letters and petitions of private individuals that concern issues of health and disease bring to light the medical vocabulary used in everyday life by practising physicians or by lay persons. In some cases we get the opportunity to view a stratification of the ancient Greek medical language from the “deep”, specialized technical terminology employed by physicians in their written production to describe a pathological condition and its treatment down to the words that a lay person would have used for the same condition.

Following a brief presentation of the characteristics of technical languages, this paper will attempt to give an overview and first assessment of the contribution of the papyri to the knowledge of the Greek medical language by discussing the issues raised by select medical terms drawn from published medical and documentary papyri.

*Anastasia Maravela studied Classics and papyrology at the University of Athens, at University College London (UCL) and at the University of Oslo (Norway) where she got her PhD. She is, since 2009, employed as at the University of Oslo (Norway), first as associate professor and then as professor of Ancient Greek. Her chief scholarly interests are: literary interpretation of ancient Greek poetry, chiefly epic and lyric poetry, editions of papyri and other manuscripts, medical language semantics, scribal culture, linguistic contacts and translation between ancient Greek and Egyptian.*

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Vincenzo ORIOLES  
(University of Udine)

### **The Words for “Health”, “Safeness”, “Healthcare” Yesterday and Today**

*Vincenzo Orioles is Full Professor of Glottology and General Linguistics at the University of Udine. He is member of the Italian Society of Glottology (of which he was Secretary from 1987 to 1990 and President in 1999-2000) and of the “Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese”; he is also associated to the Center of Sicilian Philological and Linguistic Studies and to the Institute for the Middle-European Cultural Encounters (Gorizia). As preferential research topic, he conducts studies on linguistic interference, to which he devoted several methodological and applicative contributions. He is strongly committed to minority idioms, language status, and linguistic diversity policies. From the viewpoint of the ancient studies, he dealt with the dynamics of Osco-Greek bilingualism in pre-Roman Italy and in particular in Mamertine Messana. He also took part into scientific projects of national relevance (PRIN) about history of linguistic thought and of metalanguage.*

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Isabella BONATI  
(University of Parma)

### **Among Compounds, Suffixes and Neologisms in the Micro-Language of Medicine: Some *Specimina* from the Papyri**

Mainly from Hippokrates’ time onwards, the ancient Greek physicians felt the need to develop a terminology that would help them to describe in detail the medical phenomena, as well as to communicate each other and to express and explain their discoveries, inventions and insights. So, being the terminology the actual landmark of a technical language, they created a technical vocabulary of their own and many of the names given at that time to several pathological conditions are still in use today (e.g. *arthritis*, *nephritis*, *pleuritis*). The main strategies that ancient Greeks adopted to convey scientific contents creating technical terms are: the use of metaphors, the resemantization of already existing words (semantic neologisms), the coinage of new terms through suffixation and compounding.

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the last strategy. Neologisms are indeed the most common mean to build up a technical terminology, also considering the marked versatility of the Greek language at creating new words. This extraordinary compounding capability has provided a model, easily combining Greek prefixes, roots and endings, which has been highly productive in the past as well as in modern times.

Also the Greek papyri of medical content from Egypt offer rich attestation of technical terms formed by means of compounding and suffixation. Their contribution to our knowledge of Greek vocabulary is relevant even in this case, since, along with the occurrence of known words, they sometimes reveal medical compounds unattested or, at least, extremely rare in other kinds of medical sources. Some *specimina* will be useful to illustrate this aspect, such as the *hapax legomenon* ἐγκατατομικός, an adjective pertaining to the surgical procedure of cutting the fetus to pieces in the womb, better known as embryotomy, which appears in P.Oxy. LXXIV 4972,16-7 (II-III CE), a medical catechism describing the divisions of surgery.

*Isabella Bonati, after a BA on The mirrored image in Greek myth and literature gets her MA in Ancient Civilizations and Archaeology (Classics) in 2009 with a dissertation titled Exotic glosses in Hipponax’s fragments, then published in 2015. In 2014 she gets a PhD in Papyrology at the University of Parma. In 2012-13 she is Yggdrasil Scholar at the University of Oslo. Currently she is*

assistant researcher of Papyrology at the University of Parma (DIGMEDTEXT Project). Among her main scientific interests, beside papyrology, there are classical philology, history of explorations, linguistics, archaeology, and history of medicine. She published articles on various international journals and a recent monograph on The vocabulary of Greek vases and containers in the papyri (Berlin-Boston 2016).

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Mariella BONVICINI  
(University of Parma)

Rino PANU  
(University of Parma)

### ***Nomina Anatomica Veterinaria* between Latin and Italian**

This report considers the difficulty of using a universally shared vocabulary even in a strictly technical field as Veterinary Anatomy and presents the project by Rino Panu, Professor of Veterinary Anatomy, and Mariella Bonvicini, Professor of Latin and Greek.

This work aims at offering Italian scholars and students a tool which can reduce as much as possible personal choices when naming anatomical structures. Furthermore, this research may be useful for the creation of an Italian micro-language for veterinary medicine based in the rules of *Nomina Anatomica Veterinaria*.

It consists of two parts: an Italian translation of *Nomina Anatomica Veterinaria* and an alphabetical index with the essential details/explanations, both of language and anatomy.

The report explains some of the several problems faced while carrying out the work.

*Mariella Bonvicini* studied Classics at the University of Bologna, defending in 1975 a dissertation about Latin Pascoli (advisor Prof. Alfredo Ghiselli). In 1978 she took the diploma in Archive-keeping, Palaeography and Diplomatics at the State Archive of Bologna, and in 1980 she specialized in Classical Philology at the University of Bologna. Since 1993 she is a researcher at the University of Parma; as of December 2004 is Associate Professor of History of the Latin Language.

*Rino Panu* graduated in Veterinary Medicine in 1972 at the University of Sassari. From 1972 to 1986 he was ordinary assistant to the Chair of Anatomy of Domestic Animals with Histology and Embryology, then Associate Professor of Veterinary Topographical Anatomy at the University of Sassari. As of July 1986 he is Full Professor of Anatomy of Domestic Animals at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of the University of Parma. He is the Scientific Director of the Anatomical Museum of the same Faculty and member of several scientific societies.

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Laurence TOTELIN  
(University of Cardiff)

### **A Sea of Synonyms: Naming Plants in Ancient Pharmacological Texts**

In modern botany, each plant is given a Linnaean binomial name, where the first term indicates the genus of the plant and the second its species. For instance, the scientific name of the olive tree is *Olea europaea* L., where ‘*Olea*’ is the name of the genus, ‘*europaea*’ is the name of the species, and ‘L.’ refers to Linnaeus, who thus named this common tree.

While there is some instability in the Linnaean system – some plants have several synonyms – it pales into comparison with the instability that characterised ancient plant nomenclature. There, it was common for the same plant to have several different names, often reflecting local naming practices;

or for the same name to refer to different plants. This could cause problems to medical and pharmacological authors, for whom it was particularly important to use the correct plant: not to do so could have fatal consequences. This explains the interest these authors had in plant nomenclature in general and in listing plant synonyms in particular. This phenomenon is well studied in relation to Dioscorides (although there is still much work that could be done), but not so much in relation to other ancient medical authors. Here I will focus on the most prolific of them all: Galen.

The Pergamene physician had a strong interest in synonyms, which he listed in his writings on *Simples*, on *Foodstuffs* and in various lexica. Like Dioscorides he borrowed lists of synonyms from predecessors, but he also added much personal information, in particular relating to synonyms from his own region of Cappadocia. In later antiquity, plant lexica were attributed to Galen. Armand Delatte edited a *Lexicon botanicum* (or *Glossarium plantarum*), which is basically a list of synonyms, attributed to the physician, although it is most probably not authentic.

In this paper, I will examine concrete examples of how Galen and pseudo-Galen present their information on plant names. While their discussions of plant nomenclature are rather dry, they sometimes reveal interesting nuggets of information on ancient local dialects, pronunciation, and other customs.

*Laurence Totelin is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the School of History, Archaeology and Religion of the Cardiff University. She is a historian of Greek and Roman Science, Technology and Medicine, focusing on the history of pharmacology and botany. Her work is influenced by gender theory, and she has a particular interest in gynaecological treatments, aphrodisiacs, and the properties of milk (especially breast-milk). She has a background in Classics/Ancient History (BA, Free University of Brussels); History and Philosophy of Science (MPhil, Darwin College, University of Cambridge); and History of Medicine (PhD, Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL). She has published both on the history of ancient pharmacology (in particular on gynaecological pharmacology) and the history of botany. She is currently interested in the ancient history of milk, with a focus on its symbolism in ancient cultures. Her approach to research is cross-disciplinary and she is also an experienced blogger, writing posts for the Recipes Project (<https://recipes.hypotheses.org/category/laurence-totelin>), her own blog *Concocting History* (<http://www.ancientrecipes.wordpress.com>), and guest posts on other blogs.*

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Federico ALPI  
(University of Bologna)

### **Armenian Medical Micro-Language: A Brief Historical Sketch**

Armenian medicine is the result of the interaction between the several cultures and sciences with which the Armenians were in contact. In this, it reflects Armenian cultural history, whereby foreign elements were quickly absorbed and assimilated. The Armenian medical lexicon represents a convenient example of such a state of affairs.

A medical micro-language began to form in Armenia even before the country was populated by Armenians. Urartean myths related to health and hygiene, stemming from the VIII-XI centuries BC were re-elaborated and incorporated by the oldest layer of Armenian tradition; in some cases, such as that of Ara the Handsome, similar tales even found their way in Greek culture, as is shown by the well-known platonic myth of Er, son of Armenios.

From Greece, in later times, the Armenians inherited much of their medical science: after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the V century AD, many works were composed or translated into Armenian. For those which were not translated, as is apparently the case of Galen's works,

special dictionaries were created, of which the *Bark' Galianos* (literally: “words of Galen”) represents the most famous and curious example.

By the XI century, Armenian medicine was able to draw from Byzantine and Arab medical science, in addition to local knowledge. At that time, authors such as Grigor Magistros, imbued with medical science, could describe properties of plants and illnesses with great lexical detail.

In the later middle ages, some Armenian medics even contributed to the international development of medical science, as was the case Mxit'ar Herac'i about the study of fever and about the anatomy of the eye. Mxit'ar's effort also left remarkable traces in Armenian medical lexicon.

With the political decadence of Armenia, on the eve of the European Renaissance, medical art (and language) was not forgotten. An excellent medic like Amirdovlat Amasiac'i, personal doctor of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II, greatly contributed to the science of his time, writing several treatises among which the most curious is probably the one entitled *angitac' anpet*, that is, literally, “useless for ignorants”.

Armenian medical practice continued to live and occasionally flourish in Ottoman times, down until the XIX and XX centuries, when modern medicine was born: not surprisingly, this science could find in the Armenian language a rich inventory of specialized words, many of which are still in use today.

**Federico Alpi** (<https://www.unibo.it/sitoweb/federico.alpi3/>) is Research fellow in the project “The universal Rome in cross-cultural perspective. Perceptions of the Orient at the Papal court in the late Middle Ages” - tutor Prof. Irene Bueno. He mainly deals with Armenian Studies, with a focus on XI century history and on the history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. He has developed a strong interest for multi-disciplinary research, with particular attention for issues related with Byzantine Studies, Classical Studies and History of the Christian Heresies.

### III session: COMMUNICATING MEDICINE

*communication strategies and issues in medicine across the ages*

Peter JONES

(University of Cambridge)

#### **Language and Register in English Medieval Surgery**

This study will survey handwritten texts on surgery produced in England during the Middle Ages. The aim is to show that Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English were all used as vehicles for surgical writing, and that their use overlapped, at least from the thirteenth century onwards. Latin was always the principal language, but we need to be aware not only of the co-existence at a given era of different languages of surgery but the phenomenon of macaronic writing, in which all three languages appear in one text. This phenomenon is of course already well-known in medical and utilitarian texts, but surgery has had a simpler profile in modern scholarship, described in terms of texts originating in Latin and then being translated into Anglo-Norman or Middle English. This picture needs revising to take account of fluid linguistic boundaries, and texts not first compiled in Latin. It also needs to accommodate the differences between learned and scholastic texts on the one hand, and surgical texts that are closer to remedy books, or which employ descriptive and operational language in nonscholastic ways. For these differences in surgical discourse I am going to use the term ‘register’. Register as used here is a term that cuts across linguistic boundaries, so that texts in different languages might be said to share the same register. I intend to show that English surgical writing of the later Middle Ages can employ different languages but also different registers, even within a single

text. My principal example here is the surgical writing of John Arderne (1307-c.1380), who was the most original and innovative of medieval surgeons, and also one of the most copied of all English authors, at least until c.1525. The question of ownership and use of surgical texts is also crucial to our understanding of matters of language and register. There is limited surviving evidence available for ownership and use, but some of this evidence is at least suggestive for the investigation of language and register in surgery.

*Peter Murray Jones is a Fellow and the Librarian of King's College, Cambridge. He is one of the co-applicants of the Wellcome Trust Strategic Award on "Generation to Reproduction", headed by Nick Hopwood. In 2005 he was a co-organiser of the Cambridge Illuminations exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and in 2004 curated The Art of Medicine exhibition at the Beinecke Library, Yale. His main research interests relate to medieval medicine and science; image-making in medicine; medical books and the circulation of medical information.*

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Innocenzo MAZZINI  
(University of Macerata)

### **Greek-Latin and English in the Contemporary Italian Medical Language. Past, Present, Perspectives**

This paper has two basic objectives: 1. to provide an idea of the numbers and characteristics of the Graeco-Latin and English lexicon in the context of medical Italian contemporary language; 2. To understand the mutual relations and the prospects of the two lexicons within the medical Italian language. At this purpose, the exposition is divided into three parts: a) consistency of the lexicon of Graeco-Latin origin within the medical Italian language as a whole, its nature, historical and cultural causes of his success through the centuries; b) consistency of the English lexicon in the medical Italian language today, particularly in the branches of pharmacology, anaesthesia and orthodontics, its nature, historical and cultural causes of the current success; c) relations between the two lexicons, i.e. Graeco-Latin and English, and their perspectives for future developments.

*Innocenzo Mazzini, former full professor in History of the Latin language at the University of Macerata, also taught at the Universities of Urbino and Florence; he was visiting professor in various European universities, including Leuven, Belgium. In his research activity, he has focused on questions related to the history of the Latin language from the sixth century BC to this day, on the modalities whereby ancient civilization, culture and language are present in the contemporary world and on history of medicine, notably ancient medicine, and of its language. He published a dozen books and about a hundred of articles in Italian and foreign scientific journals and journals for a broader public. A selection of the most significant volumes: Introduzione alla terminologia medica di origine greca e latina, Bologna 1989 (Pàtron); La medicina dei Greci e dei Romani, voll. I e II, Roma 1997 (Jouvence); Storia della lingua latina e del suo contesto, voll. I e II, Roma 2007 e 2010 (Salerno Editrice); Letteratura e medicina nel mondo antico, Roma 2011 (Università La Sapienza).*

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Francesca CORAZZA  
(University of Berlin / University of Parma)

### **The Relationship between Templar and Traditional Medicine in the Testimony of the Papyri from Antinoopolis**

In a context of medical plurality like late-antique Antinoopolis, where a Christian healing sanctuary and at least one hospital institution run by professional physicians are attested, the analysis of the papyrological evidence contributes to the evaluation of the cultural-historical environment, particularly as regards the extent to which Greek medicine reflects the influence of the Egyptian ritual tradition. The medical papyri from Antinoopolis display varying degrees of continuity with local forms of healing and lead us to consider a more complex combination of traditional medicine, magical belief and temple practice.

*Francesca Corazza graduated in Classics at the University of Parma and is completing her PhD in History of Ancient Science at the Humboldt University of Berlin as part of the research program “Medicine of the Mind, Philosophy of the Body”. As of January 2016, she is working on the Digital Humanities project DIGMEDTEXT (University of Parma). Her main research interests include papyrology, late-antique and Byzantine medicine, and the ways in which authors use earlier sources in their work.*

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Gianni RASTELLI  
(Hospital of Vaio)

### **Frontier Doctors and Health Operators: Communication Problems in the Emergency Room**

*Gianni Rastelli is a specialist in Cardiology and Diabetology. Since 1989 he deals with arterial hypertension, conducting health care and clinical research activities at the “Centro Ipertesi” of Fidenza. In 1999 started getting interested in echocardiography, getting a certificate of competence in Cardiovascular Echography (2002). Since 2007 he is associated to the SIMEU (Italian Society of Emergency-Urgency). As of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 he is in charge of the Complex Operative Unit of First Aid and Urgency Medicine at the hospital facilities of Vaio (Fidenza).*

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Davide ASTORI  
(University of Parma)

### **Some (Ancient, but Still Up-to-Date) Prejudices about Doctors**

The paper will take into consideration proverbs and sayings about doctors from different languages and cultures (from ancient – Hebrew, Greek, Latin – to modern – for instance: Italian, Turkish and Rumanian – languages, from local dialects to ancient India), choosing among the most prejudicial (and often enjoyable!) ones, trying to illustrate some *filis rouges* that surprisingly cross geographical and chronological borders, pointing to a possible global perception of medicine and health care.

*Davide Astori holds a BS in ancient languages and a PhD in Romance Philology from the LMU in Munich (Germany). After teaching Hebrew language and culture, Arabic and Sanskrit, he is, since March 2015, associate professor in ‘General Linguistics’ at the University of Parma (Italy). Among his*

*chief scientific interests are languages and cultures in contact, traductology, languages and Weltanschauungen, social and linguistic minorities, sociolinguistic aspects of national identities*

IV session: CONTEXTUALIZING MEDICINE  
*historical and social contexts of medicine*

Tanja POMMERENING  
(University of Mainz)

**Who Knows What?  
Medical Knowledge and Its Transfer in Pharaonic Times**

This lecture focuses on medical knowledge in Ancient Egypt, asking which people had access to it and how it was transferred in terms of content and space, crossing cultures and time. Furthermore, some social and political aspects that could have been involved will be discussed. The term ‘transfer of knowledge’ is very broadly defined, considering also transfers that have not necessarily been intended as such. Despite the fragmentary state of text preservation, the contextualization of the sources will provide an insight into specific constellations, motivations, and different ways of transfer. Starting point of the discussion will be texts from the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC). The lecture is also intended to introduce the audience into the medical sources and their history, and to give insights into the health care system of Ancient Egypt.

*Tanja Pommerening holds a degree in pharmaceutics and has worked as a pharmacist for 15 years. After her first studies and the approbation (1995) she completed a M.A. (2001) in Egyptology and in the history of pharmacy and sciences. In 2004 she received her PhD in Egyptology from the University of Marburg and started to work in several DFG-funded research projects. Since 2010 she is professor of Egyptology at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz. Her interests include ancient medicine and science, early concepts of men and nature, knowledge systems and transfer, Egyptian archaeology and language.*

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Fausto PAGNOTTA  
(University of Rome “Sapienza” / University of Parma)

**To the Ancient Origins of the Concepts of ‘Balance of Powers’ and ‘Mixed Government’:  
The Intersections between Medicine and Politics**

In the History of political thought the concepts of ‘balance of powers’, ‘mixed government’ or ‘mixed constitution’ are very important because represent some of the essentials of the modern political and constitutional thought that in the division and balance of powers in a State has some of the most important constitutional principles of modern Western democracies: without these concepts we can’t think the idea of constitutional democracy. The concepts of ‘balance of powers’ and ‘mixed government’ or ‘mixed constitution’ have emerged in Western political culture through a long and often troubled processing, and were formed by means of a specific conceptual paradigm: that of the integrated and balanced union of different elements into a composite, balanced and proportionate whole. This conceptual paradigm is transmitted in Western culture through the cosmological, medical

and political Greek speculation. Starting from the Pythagorean philosophy the concept of harmony of different elements has had much diffusion in the history of Western thought; for example, we can observe the presence of this conceptual model in the thought of the the Pythagorean Philolaus of Crotona or in the speculation of Empedocles of Agrigento who was influenced by the Pythagorean philosophy; further the physician Alcmaeon of Crotona, who was close to the theories of the Pythagorean school, used in his medical theory the same conceptual model of the harmony of the elements and established a first relationship between medical language and political language by means of the use of the political concepts of *ισονομία* and *μοναρχία*. The same conceptual model represented by the idea of the balance of different elements in an ordered and proportionate cosmos that characterizes the medical speculation of Alcmaeon, although with lexical differences and with semantic variations, is present in some of the works of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* as for example in *De natura hominis*, in *De victus ratione in morbis*, or in *De prisca medicina*. Plato and Aristotle, in their mutual speculative differences, but through common semantic analogies with the medical and physiological thought, extended to their philosophical and political speculation, some of the concepts derived from the ancient model of the balance of elements in a balanced and proportionate cosmos. These same concepts were then introduced to Rome, in terms of political philosophy, through the cultural mediation of Polybius with his considerations on the roman mixed constitution but especially through the philosophical and political Cicero's thought. Through the concept of *aequabilitas* Cicero translated in Rome, on the political and constitutional level, the conceptual model, inherited from Greek tradition and represented by the concept of 'balance' of different elements in a cohesive, coherent and harmonious *κόσμος*, and the concept of 'balanced mixture' of heterogeneous elements.

*Fausto Pagnotta is a PhD student in Political Studies at the 'Sapienza' University of Rome and 'Cultore della materia' in the History of Political Doctrines at the University of Parma; his researches are interested in the history of ancient political thought, with a particular focus on Cicero's political thought and in the history of human rights. Furthermore, his studies are interested in the socio-cultural problems of Web society and in the digital transmission of the Graeco-Roman literary heritage and classical texts of political thought.*

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Francesca BERTONAZZI  
(University of Parma)

### **Skull Trephination in Antiquity: Some Cases in Medical Literature and (Maybe) in a Greek Papyrus**

Trephination may be defined as the removal of a piece of the skull of a living individual without penetration of the underlying soft tissues" (CRUBÉZY *et al.* 2001: 419). The beginning of the procedure of trepanation (or trepanning, trephination, trephining, all possible translations for the ancient *ἀνάτρησις*, craniotomy in technical surgical term), practised for religious or medical purposes, can dated back to the Mesolithic Era, being maybe the oldest surgical procedure for which there are archaeological evidence, and it is attested, in addition to the 'distant' in time, also in 'distant' in (contemporary) spaces. A big challenge, in such a specific study, is combining literary texts, *realia* of surgical tools from archaeological sites, and trepanned skulls; since none of previous data, taken alone, proofs that a specific typology of cranial trepanation had been performed, this research intends to combine different sources of information from literature, archaeology, paleopathology, integrating with papyrology, in an interdisciplinary point of view. In particular, the chronological range is limited to the II century AD in Mediterranean area.

The present paper aims at showing just some cases (without any wish to complete the records) of the most ancient examples of cranial trepanning from 10.000 BC coming from different European

archaeological sites, which will be paralleled with an instance from the Far East, in the tribal community of Tolai, described at the beginning of XX century by H. Parkinson. However, the core of this writing is the discussion of the most relevant Greek medical texts dealing with skull surgery, from the Corpus Hippocraticum and Galenicum, showing how technical innovations in surgical instruments have been able to improve the performing of trepanning from V-IV century BC to II AD. An unexpected piece of evidence from Fidenae (near Rome), dated to the II century AD, showed in a 5-6 years-child's skull clear traces of a cranial surgery carried out with the same technique and tools explained in medical literature; in particular, the gouge (έκκοπέύς) probably used for this surgery is very similar to one model founded in the *Domus 'del Chirurgo'* in Ariminum. In the end, a specimen of cranial trepanation will be presented from a literary papyrus, P. Strasb. inv. 1187, written in an unknown place of Egypt, which may convey – according to the most reliable scholars – the surgical procedure of trepanning a skull and some therapeutic postoperative remedies.

*Francesca Bertozzi*, after a BA dissertation on Garbhopaniṣad: introduction, translation and commentary (rewarded by the Order of the Physicians of Piacenza in 2010), in 2012 got an MA degree in Ancient Civilizations and Archaeology (Classics) with a dissertation titled The semantic field of reincarnation in the Bhagavadgītā between the Sanskrit original and its main modern Western versions. She is currently conducting a PhD research in Papyrology at the University of Parma (DIGMEDTEXT Project) on the topic of the surgical instruments attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt.

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Giacomo CACCIAPUOTI  
(University of Bologna)

### **The Social Profile of the Physicians in the Roman World, or on Healthcare Personnel of Rome between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD**

In this study, a research regarding the social profile of the health personnel from the *Urbs* is proposed, from the first century BC to the third century AD, through the analysis of the 165 Latin inscriptions by doctors. After introducing the main medical specialisations and the chronological distribution of all of the inscriptions, an analysis regarding the *medicus* social status is outlined, which may determine the transformation that occurred within the Roman society with regard to these specialists: in fact, the high number of the freedmen may testify the great necessity, on the market, of these professional figures and the opportunity, for those who practiced this job, to get a juridical and social redemption. Linked to this last point is the research regarding the onomastic datum, characterised by the high presence of names of Hellenistic origin. Nevertheless, this cannot certainly indicate the doctor's geographical origin, as replacing the doctor slave's name with a Greek one became a common costume, in order to make it desirable on a market that used to appreciate these figures' culture and professionalism. The analysis concerning the doctors' biometrical datum is relevant as well, as it allows us to outline the medical art learning manners. Also, the health personnel economic condition is introduced, derivable from either the epitaphs text, when they point out the dimensions of the funeral area or the presence of slaves and freedmen, and the epigraphic support material. Eventually, linked to the doctors' economic capacity, is the indication of the, epigraphically certified, places in which the medical art was practiced, which is to say the so-called *tabernae medicae*.

*Giacomo Cacciapuoti* got a degree in Historical Studies at the University of Bologna with a dissertation in Social history of the ancient world, and his studies focus on the *medicus* in the Roman world. He published an article about the figure of the *medicus auricularius* and a preliminary survey on the obstetrics in Roman Italy on the website "Ager Veleias" edited by Prof. N. Criniti.

*Forthcoming are an enquiry on the integration and homologation of the physicians in Rome and in the Regio I between the I century BC and the III cent. AD, and on surgery in the Roman world.*

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Jozo MAREVIĆ  
(esperantist, latinist, lexicographer)

### **Which Language in Medicine?**

In this paper the author analyses the differences, difficulties and needs of a uniform international medical terminology, and explores and looks into the important problem of the once crucial position and leading role of the Latin language in medicine, in the light of the *Eight-Language Medical Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Esperanto and Croatian), authored by him for an ever better and more successful communication in the medical world. The author is interested in researching all the possibilities for one common language in the medical world, since medicine as well as all the medical disciplines are the most human sciences.

*Jozo Marević graduated at the Faculty of Arts (Germanistics and classical languages), postgraduated and got a doctorate on the theme of pedagogical marketing with specific regard to the marketing of scientific information. His specific interests currently relate to languages and cultures, social and sociolinguistic aspects in today's world, a common future in one language, above all in medicine.*

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Sabrina GRIMAUDO  
(University of Palermo)

### **Medical Metaphors in the Rhetoric-Politic Discourse in Ancient Greece**

*Sabrina Grimaudo graduated in Classics with honours in 1988 at the University of Palermo and took her PhD in Greek and Latin Philology in 1994 at Rome, defending a dissertation titled Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Greek: Theories, History, Ideologies, published in 1998 (Palermo, L'Epos). As of 2004 she is Researcher of Greek Language and Literature at the University of Palermo, where she took part into several national projects about ancient medical texts and culture. Her research focuses on historical-epistemological and philological aspects of ancient (in particular Greek) medical texts, on the direct and indirect tradition of Greek authors (Plato, Galen), on the Greek vocabulary of kinship. Since several years she has been working on Galen, with particular attention to his writings on hygiene and to the doxographical sections in the Galenic corpus.*

V session: ATTESTING TO MEDICINE  
*written sources of medicine*

Giuseppe VELTRI  
(University of Hamburg)

**Between Physician, Magician and Sceptical:  
On the Art and Language of the Probable in the Late Antiquity**

My lecture focuses on the professions of the physician and of the magician according to Greek and Jewish sources. My thesis is that both of the professions used the same (or similar) logical conclusions, which are of sceptical origin, namely *plausibility*: something may or may not succeed, and the success of a (medical or magical) practice is not certain *a priori*. Experience is a criterion, another one is expertise. However, the physician was considered as a “serious” profession, while magic was rather considered charlatanry, which (it had to be added) can also succeed.

*Giuseppe Veltri is Full Professor of Hebrew Philosophy at the University of Hamburg. He founded the “European Journal of Jewish Studies” and is the director of the series “Studies in Jewish History and Culture” (Brill, Leiden–Boston). His research fields encompass cultural history of Hebraism, Hebrew philosophy, magic, history of medicine, Biblical translations and the Biblical canon.*

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Lutz POPKO  
(University of Leipzig)

**Digitizing Ancient Egyptian Medical Texts  
and the Search for Technical Language(s)**

In 2013, the Saxon Academy and the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities launched the lexicographical project “Strukturen und Transformationen des Wortschatzes der ägyptischen Sprache. Text- und Wissenskultur im Alten Ägypten“. The aim of the project is to undertake research of the semantical and syntactical structures of the Ancient Egyptian lexicon, and how these structures changed over time from the Early Old Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods. Within this overall aim, the project partner in Leipzig (Saxony) focuses on the corpus of “scientific” or “knowledge texts”, in particular medical, magical, astronomical, astrological and divinatory texts, etc. These will be collected in two online databases, TLA (<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/TlaLogin>; primarily intended for Egyptologists and linguists) and “Science in Ancient Egypt” (<http://sae.saw-leipzig.de/startseite/>; primarily intended for historians of medicine and historians of science) respectively, and their semantic structures, lexicon and spellings will be studied. This research will help to identify the nature of their technical languages and to determine, how they differ from one another, and from other varieties of the Egyptian language; if they share common linguistic features; and how they changed in the course of time. The project will thus contribute to linguistic research on Ancient Egyptian language, and it will provide a new basis for research on the history of medicine and history of sciences before the Greeks.

*Lutz Popko holds a Magister in Egyptology and Classical Studies and a PhD in Egyptology from the University of Leipzig (Germany). Since October 2005, he is research associate at the Saxon Academy of Sciences, first in the project ‘Ancient Egyptian Dictionary’, and since 2013, in the project ‘Structure and Transformation in the Vocabulary of the Egyptian Language’. His research focuses on Egyptian language, historical consciousness and Ancient Egyptian historiography, royal propaganda, and on political and military history.*

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Nicola REGGIANI  
(University of Parma / University of Heidelberg)

### **Medical Prescriptions and Material Supports in Antiquity**

The metaphor of the “writing tablets” to indicate human memory and the phonosymbolic charge of the words for “to write” attest to the great importance of the writing support in the ancient world. The materiality of writing was always declined according to a dichotomy between texts transcribed for the eternity and texts transcribed for the moment: consider the establishment of the Homeric canon on parchment [?] rolls at Athens *versus* the transcriptions of sacred utterings on tablets made of various different materials, in a ballet that arrives to the pouring of Plato’s *Laws* from wax tablets to papyrus rolls, and to the striking “fight” between roll and codex book format in the Roman empire. The paper will contextualise the text typology of the medical prescriptions in that panorama. Stemming from an oral tradition, of which they keep a strong formulaic structure, they were soon recognised as “temporary” fragments of knowledge and entrusted to the tablet-like supports: first the wooden tablets (*pinakia*) that constituted medical recordings of clinical cases (*iatrika grammateia*), then papyrus or parchment scraps, either single or in the practical format of the notebook, which was conceptually identical to the “codex” of wooden tablets. It is in this “fragmentary” state that medical recipes circulate: they are prescribed to the patients but also exchanged among physicians, and provide the basis for bigger compilations such as the *receptaria* or the pharmacological treatises. Yet they still maintain their original “fragmentary” aspect, in a complex set of layout and graphical devices by which they are framed.

This makes once more time clear that the textual data must be read and considered in relation with the paratextual data, including the material support itself: hence the importance of a complete, global analysis of the Greek medical texts from the papyrological point of view, and the fundamental role played by the digital tools towards a fully comprehensive digital edition.

*Nicola Reggiani, PhD in Greek History, has been collaborating for years with the courses of Greek History, Papyrology (<http://www.papirologia.unipr.it>), and General Linguistics of the University of Parma. He is currently Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Institute of Papyrology of the University of Heidelberg, and holds also a research grant from the DIGMEDETX Project at Parma, of which he is Technical Editor. He conducts his researches mainly on archaic and classical Greek history (politics, society, philosophy and religion), papyrology, history of the sciences, history and anthropology of writing, linguistic issues in the ancient world, digital classics – topics on which he published about thirty contributions (<https://unipr.academia.edu/nicolareggiani>).*

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Amber JACOB  
(University of Copenhagen)

### **Demotic Pharmacology: An Overview of the Medical Manuscripts in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection**

Although a great deal of scholarship has focused on the early history of Western medicine in general, our knowledge of Egyptian medicine in the Graeco-Roman era, preserved in the Demotic script, has remained shadowy at best. While the Greek material of this era has been increasingly well-served, research on Egyptian medicine has remained dominantly focused on Hieratic texts from the New Kingdom and Saite periods. Accordingly, previous scholarship has been constrained to compare Greek medical texts with Egyptian treatises from roughly a half-a-millennium earlier. However, a substantial number of demotic medical texts do indeed exist in collections around the world, but have

until recently attracted little scholarly attention. Hence, the majority of this significant corpus remains untranslated, unpublished, and largely inaccessible. The resulting half-a-millennium gap in our diachronic understanding of ancient Egyptian medicine has rendered the prospects of assessing questions of the internal development of Egyptian medicine, the level of cross-cultural interaction between Egyptian and Greek medicine, and the influence of Egyptian medicine on the Western scientific tradition, problematic at best.

The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, housed at the University of Copenhagen, contains the largest collection of Demotic medical texts worldwide. In contrast to almost all other extant Egyptian medical papyri, the Carlsberg material is unique in that it has a known archaeological and social context, originating from a temple library in the Graeco-Roman city of Tebtunis in the Fayum oasis. Preliminary sorting of this material has revealed approximately 200 fragments, belonging to at least 8 manuscripts. From the same city, some 14 Greek medical papyri have been found, of which some can be shown to derive from the same temple library. This underscores the unique value of Tebtunis as a case study for the cross-cultural exchange of medical knowledge in antiquity. The shared context of these Greek and Demotic compositions clearly indicates a degree of interaction between the two medical knowledge systems and study of the Greek papyri has already begun to reveal the nuances of this exchange. It may be expected that the edition of the Demotic medical material will reveal further important insights.

Recent years have seen a surge of interest in Demotic medical literature among Demoticists, with collaborative projects forming for the study and publication of the material. This paper will present the preliminary results of the work that has begun on the project of editing the collection of Demotic medical texts housed in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection.

*Amber Jacob holds an MA in Egyptology from the University of Copenhagen, specializing in Demotic philology, particularly of medical texts. She is currently editing the Demotic medical papyri in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection as part of her upcoming PhD project. She trains in papyrus conservation and will attend the 2016 season at Tebtunis as asst. papyrologist. Her primary research interests lie in the history of science and medicine and the cross-cultural encounter between the ancient Egyptians and Greeks.*

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Alberto LEGGERI  
(pharmacist)

### **From the Doctors' Cacography to the Electronic Recipe**

I am an aged pharmacist and since 1956 I am an active spectator of the evolution of the medical recipes. The medical recipe (*praescriptio*) had been for centuries, or at least since Frederick II's *Constitutiones*, the expression of the physician's professional will, addressed to the pharmacist with the purpose of preparing and delivering the medicine (it was asked, usually, with a "f.s.a." – "fai secondo arte"; i.e. "do according to the art"). The evolution of the prescriptions depended above all on the progress in the medical-scientific knowledge: it was therefore a document with an almost exclusive healthcare value. So was it at the beginning of my activity.

During the Sixties, after the creation of many mutual aid institutions (ENPAS, INADEL, artisans, etc.), the recipes started possessing not the only healthcare value, becoming also orders of expense. In 1978, with the Law 833 that established the National Healthcare Service, the recipes became orders of expense on charge of the State, with consequences that everyone can easily guess. In few years, the new technologies and in particular informatics have spread widely both in the private and in the work sector, allowing to perform operations once unimaginable.

Since few time the digital recipe has been adopted at a national level. I am certain that it represents a progress for several reasons, but I am likewise sure that this change is propedeutical to the total abolishment of the paper sheet. Great innovations imply great changes, and the professional too is called to adapt to the technological progress at work. Nonetheless, it will be sacrificed the constructive consultation between doctor and pharmacist that, along with the paper prescriptions, has characterized a preponderant part of my professional activity.

*Alberto Leggeri* was born in 1934 in Cremona and took a degree with honours at the Faculty of Pharmacy at Pavia in July 1956. He also acted as pharmacist lieutenant at the military hospital of Brescia. Owner of the ancient Pharmacy of Cremona as of 1960, since then he has always practised in his family pharmacy. For 18 years he was president of the Order of the Pharmacists of Cremona, for 4 National Councillor of the ENPAF (National Authority for the Welfare and Support to Pharmacists) and for 22, up to 2014, President of the Association of the Professionals of the Province of Cremona. He still practises in the family pharmacy, now held by his own son.

VI session: NARRATING MEDICINE  
*medicine and literature from Antiquity to our times*

Chiara THUMIGER  
(University of Warwick / University of Berlin)

**Narrating Patient Histories in Hippocratic Medicine.  
The Example of the Wife of Theodorus**

The patient cases of the Hippocratic *Epidemics* are a unique source for us as we try to reconstruct ancient ways of ‘narrating’ medical experiences and knowledge, alongside theoretical doctrinal exposition or nosological accounts. No other text is preserved in Graeco-Roman medicine that details to such extent the encounters between patient and physician, and the course of individual illnesses.

Patient cases, and ‘medical narratives’ can be defined, with some generalisation, as characterised by a greater openness of viewpoints, by biunivocity (or even by a plurality of voices), by a more vivid sense of dramaticity in the reported facts, and by attention to the subjectivities involved – that of doctor and patient primarily, but also of other parties. Most of these stem from the patient cases’ characteristic investment in the ‘particular’ of individual destinies as opposed to the ‘universal’ of a medical doctrine. The Hippocratic’s patient cases also reflect these features, in their own specific way and in agreement with their own professional agenda and operational context. I propose to look at a particularly long and fascinating case report, that of the wife of Theodorus (*Epidemics* 7.25), to illustrate the various voices (and audiences) that contribute to the composition and transmission of a typical Hippocratic case – to its ‘narrative’.

*Chiara Thumiger* graduated in Greek Literature in 1999 at the State University of Milan and holds a PhD in Classics from the King’s College, London (Supervisor: Prof. M.S. Silk). From 2010 to 2015 she has been Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin (Research Associate/Lecturer) at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (Klassische Philologie, research Project “Philosophy of the Body, Medicine of the Mind”) and as of 2015 is Wellcome Research Fellow in Classics of the University of Warwick with a research project on “Ancient Histories of Phrenitis”, and Visiting Scholar at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Klassische Philologie, research project “Philosophy of the Body, Medicine of the Mind”). Her research interests encompass ancient medicine (especially Hippocrates, Galen,

*Caelius Aurelianus), ancient disabilities, theories of cognitive embodiment and their application to the hermeneutics of ancient texts, ancient views of mind, mental health and mental disorder, history of psychiatry; history of psychology; psychiatric nosology and taxonomy, patient cases and their history, ancient emotions, Greek tragedy, ancient animals, narratology, literary theory.*

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Stefano MAZZACURATI  
(psychiatrist, psychotherapist, member of International Pen Club)

**Everybody is His Own Tale.  
Notes on the Relationship between Psychiatry and Literature**

In a Borges-style garden, paths fork. Likewise, this contribution intends to offer a sort of panoramic journey to the search for the nature and the characters of the (im)possible relationship between psychiatry and literature, two worlds that are already elusive and not well definable by themselves. Their relation takes immediately shape as a composite patchwork of occasions of synergy, which follows – in a parallel riskily eloquent – the function of the neurons, which, though undertaking billions of synaptic relations among themselves, never touch each other. “Psychiatry of/in literature”, “literature of/in psychiatry”: wanting to sketch the map (which is something completely different than the territory, as geographers know) of a “relation not relation” between two autonomous and independent spheres, nonetheless so pregnant of meaning in their possible dialogue, also through more or less famous examples, it will be shown how man is “narration” and his life “novel”, and how it is possible, by understanding – through the *semeia* – its profound *logos*, to assert the primary way of Communication (and, first of all, of the Word), within which a person gives fullness to his own existence. Therefore, psychotherapy is, among other things, trying to help someone writing his own novel. Of which everyone is the paper, the pen, and the ink.

*Stefano Mazzacurati comes from Bologna and has been living in Parma since many years. Writer, doctor in psychiatry and psychotherapist, he was hospital head physician and Director in the National Health Care Service for more than 16 years, and now is a freelance professional. He was Contract Professor in Psychiatry from 2009 to 2011 at the University of Parma, where he taught psychiatry also in 2011-12. He gave lectures about the relationship between psychiatry and literature during seminars organized by the Chair of Contemporary Italian Literature of the University of Parma (a.a. 2010-11). He is President of the Association Museum of the History of Psychiatry of the “San Lazzaro”, Reggio Emilia, and member of several scientific, cultural and literary societies, among which the Italian and the International Pen Club.*

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Matteo AGNOSINI  
(SNS Pisa)

**Communicating Medicine Through Poetry:  
The Case of Andromachos (fr. 62 Heitsch)**

Andromachos the Elder, from Crete, was personal physician to Nero and the author of a poem consisting of 87 elegiac couplets describing the many benefits, the appropriate doses and the preparation of a *θηριακή* – a powerful antidote against poisons, bites of poisonous animals and different kinds of diseases – which is quoted in two passages of Galen (*de antid.* I 6, XIV 32-42 Kühn; *de theriaca ad Pisonem* 6, XIV 233 Kühn). Despite the influential role Andromachos might have

played as court physician, he was never mentioned by ancient historians such as Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. After having enjoyed considerable success from the XVI<sup>th</sup> to the XIX<sup>th</sup> century due to its practical use in the preparation of remedies [cf. Heitsch 1963, 26-31], Andromachos' poem has been largely neglected over the XX<sup>th</sup> century: the few remarkable exceptions either concerned textual criticism and the elucidation of difficult passages [cf. Schneider 1858; Heitsch 1963 and 1964; Salemme 1972, 128-34] or dealt only with partial aspects of Andromachos' work, such as its socio-historical context and its possible relationship with Lucan's *Pharsalia* [cf. Cazzaniga 1955, 119-21; Houston 1992]. But it is only in quite recent times that a more thorough historical contextualization has been attempted [cf. Cassia 2012], while other studies have adopted a more literary approach [cf. Luccioni 2003; Vogt 2005; Hautala 2005, 2010 and 2014], culminating in the commented critical edition by Maria Dorella Giangrosso [Giangrosso 2015-6].

Taking the cue from these recent contributions, this paper aims at providing further examples of Andromachos' literary engagement. After discussing some possible reasons for the choice of the verse form, the paper will focus on some metric and stylistic features of Andromachos' poem. In particular, a closer comparison will be drawn with other instances of Greek pharmacological poetry, such as the poems (in elegiac couplets) by Eudemus, Philo of Tarsus and Aglaïas of Byzantium, in order to highlight points of contact and discontinuity and the strategies the different authors deploy to address the readers and to guarantee the efficacy of their recipes. Attention will also be paid to some often overlooked passages in the poem which show Andromachos' skillful mastery of the literary tradition. The paper will also examine how Andromachos exploits the resources of poetry and rhetoric in order to transmit a medicine-related topic. This approach will hopefully shed more light on a peculiar way to communicate medicine.

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Giorgio MACELLARI  
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### **The Ethic Revolution in Medicine: from Ethical Paternalism to Narrative Medicine**

In the last century we assisted to a first big ethical revolution: the discovery of DNA and the new, impressive, bio-medical skills (organ transplants, embryo selection, surrogate maternity, contraception, euthanasia, assisted suicide, vegetative state, medical futility, artificial insemination, advance directives, refusal of treatments, palliative care, genetic information, abortion, clinical research, non-human animal experiments, use of stem cells, clonation, conscientious objection ...) imposed a strong re-thinking about which ones – among all these extraordinary possibilities – are also morally permissible.

This first revolution has led, in the very past decades, to the second one, switching from a doctor-centred to a patient-centred medicine. This second epochal change is justified on the basis that the ancient Hippocratic paternalism, although founded on the principle of a genuine beneficence, was in conflict with the patient's right of autonomy. Since then, the modern National Health Systems have been conceived around the patient, so that a Copernican-like revolution has now been achieved.

But this is not the end of the story. In more recent years the third ethical revolution has seen its light: the centre of the system is occupied not by the “patient”, but by the “ill person”. This has led from the medicine of the scientific and technological distance, to the medicine of the empathic and relational closeness.

So, the disease is no more seen as an affection, but as an affliction. An affection is notoriously organic, objective, concrete, stereotyped and predictable. On the contrary, an affliction is subjectively lived, it is invisible, abstract, complex and uneasily predictable. An affection will cicatrize. An affliction can last for years, even all life long, or suddenly wake up again at a far distance from when it was apparently cured. All this means that:

1<sup>st</sup>, a doctor has not to treat a pathologically affected organ, he must rather take care of a person;

2<sup>nd</sup>, an ill person cannot be adequately treated unless he is known in his existential deepness.

It is wrong to enclose a patient into the fixed pattern of stiffed guide-lines, protocols or algorithms. On the contrary, a doctor should do his best to look at the patient as an unique person with his own story and very individual needs, hopes and desires. Through this perspective the problem turns into a methodological one: how can a doctor learn to go deep into the ill person?

The narrative medicine can here play a basic role. What do we mean with “narrative medicine”? It is a new interpretation of medical art that brings out the therapeutical role of describing the illness from the patient's point of view. It is a subjective description of his own pain and discomfort: the suffering is displayed like a movie, read through the doctor's eyes and enriched with a meaning, so that it can be turned into a resource.

Evidence-based medicine is irreplaceable. But its limit is just the inability to explore the unpredictable and individual world of emotions, places of the mind that strongly influence the disease and its evolution.

**Giorgio Macellari** holds a degree in Medicine and Surgery (Parma 1976), a specialisation in Surgery (Parma 1981) and a degree in Philosophy (Parma 2013). He is the Director of Senologic Surgery of the Local Healthcare Utility of Piacenza. Contract Professor in the School of Specialisation in Surgery of the University of Parma (class: “Ethics in demolitive surgery”), he authored more than eighty publications on Italian and foreign journals on topics of surgery, senology, ethics, and bioethics, gave presentations at conferences and courses of Senology and Bioethics, and wrote thirteen academic monographs, five philosophical essays, and a novel.

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Marco CAPRA  
(University of Parma)

### **The Opera in Music, or the Defeat of Medicine**

**Marco Capra** graduated with honours in Letters at the University of Parma, defending a dissertation on the managing activity and the musical journals of the publisher Sonzogno (then published in 1995 with the same publishing house). Since 1985 he works at the International Center of Research on Musical Journals (CIRPeM) of Parma, first as an archivist and researcher, then as the Scientific Director. He is currently in charge of the teachings of History of Modern and Contemporary Music, History of the Musical Theatre, History and Systems of Musical Communication at the University of Parma, having been President and Scientific Responsible (2005-15) of the “House of the Music”, institution of the Municipality of Parma. His publications deal mostly with topics of material history (institutions, information system and musical critics, theatrical production) and of the reception of Italian music from the XVIII to the XX century. In particular, it is worth citing contributions devoted to the birth and the evolution of the Italian musical critics and press, to the XVIII-century musical associations, to particular aspects of Giuseppe Verdi’s work.

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Anna AKIMOVA  
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### **Peter the Great and His Illness in A. N. Tolstoj’s Novel**

Peter the Great (1672-1725) is the most interesting person in the history of Russia for physicians. Based on the memoirs of his contemporaries and the results of the study of the posthumous mask of the emperor, they provide a new version of his illnesses. However, before he reached the age of fifteen, according to N. Ustryalov, we don’t have any information concerning his growth and development. According to the testimony of P. Gordon, in his 13 (1685) Peter fell ill with smallpox, I. Golikov mentions that in March 1697 he fell ill with fever. N. Kostomarov wrote about Peter’s nervous seizures, but dated that to the time of the Great Embassy. Scary ugly grimaces, his head turning round, jerking of shoulders and arms were described by Danish envoy Justus Julius. S. Soloviev, referring to the contemporaries of Peter, wrote about his constantly excited state that changed into depression. Some historians believe that Peter’s nervous disease had developed because of the shock experience during the first streltsy revolt (1682). Some physicians also see a combination of factors: genetic predisposition and psychological trauma in his childhood aggravated by alcoholism.

In the novel *Peter the First* Aleksey Tolstoy used a large number of historical sources, but the memories and works of Justus Julius, Ustryalov and Solovyov should be mentioned as the main ones. The image of Peter the Great was created, basing of historical sources and in the context of perception of his person in the Russian culture and literature. In addition, it was a continuation of the traditions of the Russian literature describing epilepsy-characters as “God’s fool” or “possessed by the devil”. In the first edition of the novel in *Noviy Mir* journal (1929-1930) Peter’s epileptic attacks were shown stronger and brighter, Peter was described as a strong child who is physically and mentally developed, but who is not able to control his feeling bouts of illness after a strong psychological trauma and forced to resist to princess Sophia and her environment, fearing for his life and the lives of his relatives. After the first journal publication Tolstoy corrected the text three times for the collection of his works (1930, 1931) and a separate edition (1932). From one edition to another Tolstoy smoothed out the effects of Peter’s explosive, unbalanced nature and bouts of illness, which was found in his childhood. A stress during the first streltsy’s revolt was an external motive for it. Tolstoy describes all the major symptoms of the disease: epileptic reactions, which are expressed in the single convulsive attack. They result from the external influences (an emotional stress) and the sleep disorder (parasomnia), but Tolstoy gradually corrected these descriptions in the 1930s and finally canceled them in 1944. Unfortunately, the text, which we have got since Tolstoy’s death, contains the last author’s editing of 1944. That editing was not finished and published, when he was alive. This gradually formed the image of a more restrained and reasonable and healthy ruler in the novel.

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## ALPHABETICAL INDEX

AGNOSINI, Matteo: p. 22  
AKIMOVA, Anna: p. 25  
ALPI, Federico: p. 10  
ASTORI, Davide: p. 13  
BERTONAZZI, Francesca: p. 15  
BONATI, Isabella: p. 8  
BONVICINI, Mariella: p. 9  
CACCIAPUOTI, Giacomo: p. 16  
CAPRA, Marco: p. 25  
CORAZZA, Francesca: p. 13  
GRIMAUDDO, Sabrina: p. 17  
JACOB, Amber: p. 19  
JONES, Peter: p. 11  
LEGGERI, Alberto: p. 20  
MACELLARI, Giorgio: p. 24  
MARAVELA, Anastasia: p. 7  
MAREVIĆ, Jozo: p. 17  
MAZZACURATI, Stefano: p. 22  
MAZZINI, Innocenzo: p. 12  
ORIOLES, Vincenzo: p. 8  
PAGNOTTA, Fausto: p. 14  
PANU, Rino: p. 9  
POMMERENING, Tanja: p. 14  
POPKO, Lutz: p. 18  
RASTELLI, Gianni: p. 13  
REGGIANI, Nicola: p. 19  
RIMONDI, Giorgia: p. 5  
THUMIGER, Chiara: p. 21  
TOTELIN, Laurence: p. 9  
VELTRI, Giuseppe: p. 18  
VERONESE, Marco: p. 5

# ADDENDA

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**Frontier Doctors and Health Operators:  
Communication Problems in the Emergency Room**

Communication is one of the most important features in contemporary medicine, though the less thorough. It is made up of three main parts: verbal, non-verbal and para-verbal communication. In the particular setting of the emergency room, the interaction between patients and health workers is crucial, in order to make the diagnostic and therapeutic workout more effective. A unique feature of the emergency setting is the role played by the triage nurse. He is the first actor who takes part in the workout, the first one who begins the interaction with the patient. Then communication will be carried on by the other health workers: nurses, health social operators, doctors.

Communication in the emergency room is often compromised by the lack of space and time, noises and frequent intermissions, the burden of feelings that the patient is bringing. It becomes harder when we are relating to a weaker bracket of population, such as children, elderly, foreign or disabled people, people being victim of abuse or violence, and the approach to the end of life or fatal prognosis. In many of these special cases, relatives and other people accompanying the patient play a key role. They often may receive information when the patient is unable to interact. Moreover, they often can help transmitting important information to the health workers, therefore helping diagnostic workout.

A poor communication affects in a negative way the effectiveness of the relationship, but mainly the impartiality and the ability of patients to take conscious choices. Through an healthy communication, patients can better appreciate the assistance they are receiving. They feel understood and accurately supported, which elicits also a more satisfying work for the health workers too and less conflicts with the patients.

A challenging situation can be represented by immigrants, when in addition to language barriers, cultural differences can translate in a different approach to health related problems.

For these reasons health workers should be trained not only for technical skills but also for an effective and empathic communication.

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Marco CAPRA  
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### **The Opera in Music, or the Defeat of Medicine**

The paper deals with XIX-century Italian opera: the period in which even in musical theatre illness can start showing up as it is really: not only the effect of a moral condition or of the unfathomable design of the fate, but also the sign of the body's physical decay. Two are the aspects taken into consideration: the character of the physician and the depiction of the illness. Physicians can be divided into two categories: the true physician and the false physician. It is the latter that enjoys a particular success, above all in the operas of comic content. Exemplar cases are the character of "Dottor Dulcamara" in the *Elisir d'amore* (1832) by Gaetano Donizetti and the opera *Crispino e la comare* (1858) by the brothers Luigi and Federico Ricci, which bears the almost unique peculiarity of showing various physicians among the main characters. As to the depiction of illness, the research is focused on the operas of tragic content, where the diseases are never trivial nor temporary, but mortal. Physicians are destined to failure, because the mortal disease is an essential element in the dramatic development. Thus, the musical expression of the illness, and therefore of suffering, takes advantage of well-defined rhetoric devices that cover every musical parameter: texture, rhythm, dynamics, timbre, expression signs, melodic design, harmonic setting. On the whole, it serves to delineate a character expression as most realistic as possible.

*Marco Capra graduated with honours at the University of Parma with a dissertation about the musical publisher Sonzogno, which published it in 1995. Since 1985 he works at the International Center of Research on Musical Journals (CIRPeM) of Parma, of which he is appointed as the Scientific Director in 2001. From 2000 to 2003 he is member of the National Board of the Italian Society of Musicology as the responsible for the "General coordination of publishing activities". In 2002 he obtains qualification as Associate Professor in History of the Music and Musicology at the University of Parma, where he teaches History of Modern and Contemporary Music. From 2005 to 2015 he has been President and Scientific Responsible of the "House of the Music", institution of the Municipality of Parma. His research deals mostly with topics of material history (institutions, information system and musical critics, theatrical production) and of the reception of music from the XVII century to the present. In particular, it is worth citing contributions devoted to the birth and the evolution of the Italian musical critics and press, to the XIX-century musical associations, to Italian opera, to Giuseppe Verdi and Arturo Toscanini, to the history of musical theatre in Parma.*