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# ΛΑΒΕ ΤΗΝ ΓΡΑΦΗΝ! Book Format, Authority, and Authorship in Ancient Greek Medical Papyri

There is a force of exultation, a celebration of luck, when a writer finds himself a witness to the early morning of a culture that is defining itself, branch by branch, leaf by leaf, in that self-defining dawn.<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

The history of writing supports in Antiquity is crossed by a dichotomy between tablet-like formats (waxed tablets, metal leaves, wooden codices, parchment sheets, etc.), devoted to the recording of offhand writings (ephemeral annotations, restricted and sometimes sacred texts, transcriptions of oral discourses), and scroll-like formats (leather/papyrus rolls), devoted to fixing canonized writings to be preserved and transmitted through time.<sup>2</sup> The passage to the latter is always framed by concerns about authenticity and authorship.

A religious concern for authenticity (and efficacy) led the Messenian priests to transcribe ancient and precious rituals, earlier recorded on tin foils, onto rolls, for the sake of preservation, as recounted by Paus. 4.27.5.<sup>3</sup> The same claim underlays – according to C. Calame – the dichotomy between cultic commentaries on papyrus scrolls, like the well-known Derveni roll, and ‘practical’ texts on golden leaves, used as ‘manuals’ for the Netherworld by the initiates in the Orphic religion.<sup>4</sup> Even earlier, the big effort of the Athenian tyrants for transcribing (on leather [?] rolls) the oral Homeric poems is embedded with strong con-

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<sup>1</sup> From D. Walcott’s 1992 Nobel Prize lecture, quoted in Hirsch (1995) 307.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reggiani (2010), Reggiani (2018), and Reggiani (2020). Consequently, as I discuss in the cited contributions, the ‘book revolution’ at the end of Antiquity (i.e. the rise of the book in the codex format) consists in the change of purpose of the tablet-like format, which was then used to record and transmit canonized writings. Unless otherwise stated, translations are to be considered mine.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Henrichs (2003) 245–7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Calame (2011).

cerns about restyling the original oral text with propagandistic interpolations, thus re-creating a canon of authenticity<sup>5</sup> that came down to the Alexandrian philological practice.<sup>6</sup> Authenticity and authorship get so much embedded into the scroll-like format to be transfigured to myth and to generate the tradition about ‘Epimenides’ skin’, according to which an alleged leather book roll containing the Cretan seer’s oracles became to be considered as his own inscribed skin.<sup>7</sup>

Later on, the spread of the writing practice for ‘publishing’ a work in roll format becomes a brand of Sophistic authorship and of cultural authority,<sup>8</sup> widespread in Classical Athens and criticized as such by conservative authors. The famous parody of the *chresmologos* in Aristophanes’ *Birds* stages a self-styled seer, who answers every question insistently and irritatingly blaring ‘λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον!’ (‘take the book!’), five times in ll. 974–89), identifying the written roll with the utmost authority of oracular speech.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, Plato, who notoriously supported a non-fixed transmission of knowledge, mocks those who rely on the sole authority of ‘books’: εἶπεῖν ἄν οἴμαι ὅτι μαίνεται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐκ βιβλίου ποθὲν ἀκούσας ἢ περιτυχῶν φαρμακίους ἰατρὸς οἶεται γεγόνεναί, οὐδὲν ἐπαΐων τῆς τέχνης (*Phdr.* 268c2–4), ‘They would say, I suppose, that that man was mad and, since he read something in a book or bumped into some medicine, imagined he was a physician, while he did not have any real knowledge of the art’.

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5 Cf. Aloni (1984) and (2006) 101–18. On the writing support of the Homeric poems cf. Irigoin (2001) 8–19, and (2009) 9.

6 On the cultural activity of the Alexandrian library see recently Berti/Costa (2010) and forthcoming, with earlier bibliography.

7 Cf. Reggiani (2019b).

8 It was a ‘culture of the book’ as a means of ‘popular’ knowledge, promoting a new and different type of fruition of texts, exemplified by Isocrates’ words λόγον διέδωκα γράψας (*Antid.* 193.5; cf. Santamaría Álvarez [2008] 65–71). The book, apart from facilitating a practice of more and more private and repeated reading, became the main means of ‘publishing’ philosophical and rhetorical teachings, recovering the traditional meaning of the roll as authoritative writing but translating it into a proper editorial practice. The importance granted by the Sophists to the ‘written word’ is very likely due to the inadequacy of orality for their didactic activity: as teachers of political virtues they seek the power to control the *logos* and to discuss in an effective way. Their interest for the texts is mostly devoted to wordplays, rhetorical virtuosity and erudite show, but also to real analyses of language (cf. Scollo [2013]). On the ‘editorial culture’ in late Classical Athens cf. Turner (2002) 16–24 and Kleberg (2002) 27–30.

9 Cf. Baumgarten (1998) 42–43; Dunbar (1998) 547–50; Henrichs (2003) 216–22.

## 2 Book Authority in Ancient Medicine

Plato's criticism introduces us to the much-articulated theme of book authority and book format in ancient medicine, with its close relationship with the issues of authorship. Medical science was, indeed, among those technical disciplines that were object of book divulgation within the Sophists' environment at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC;<sup>10</sup> however, in technical/practical fields of knowledge such as medicine itself, based on continuous progress, individual experience, and personal/oral teaching,<sup>11</sup> fixing a canon is senseless, and the claims for authenticity and authorship take different ways.

Hippocrates himself, the revered 'father' of western rational medicine, stressed that texts are fundamental, but must be evaluated and consciously utilized, relocating the focus from the authority of the books to the authority of their users: μέγα δὲ μέρος ἡγεῦμαι τῆς τέχνης εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι κατασκοπέεσθαι περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὀρθῶς. ὁ γὰρ γνούς καὶ χρεόμενος τούτοιςιν, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῆ μέγα σφάλεσθαι ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (Hippoc. *Epid.* III 3.16.1–4), 'I consider the ability of evaluating correctly what has been written as an important part of the art. He, who owns knowledge of it and knows how to use it, will not commit, in my opinion, serious errors in the professional practice'.

Some six centuries later, Galen echoes him with the following statement:

Μόνη γὰρ ἡ κατὰ διέξοδον ἄσκησις τε καὶ διδασκαλία τεχνίτας ἀπεργάζεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγειν ἀρίστην εἶναι διδασκαλίαν τὴν παρὰ τῆς ζώσης φωνῆς γινομένην, ἐκ βιβλίου δὲ μήτε κυβερνήτην τινὰ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι μήτ' ἄλλης τέχνης ἐργάτην· ὑπομνήματα γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῶν προμεμαθηκότων καὶ προεγνωκότων, οὐ διδασκαλία τελεία τῶν ἀγνοούντων. εἴ γε μὴν ἐθέλοιέν τινες καὶ τούτων, ὅσοι διδασκάλων ἀποροῦσιν, ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς σαφῶς τε καὶ κατὰ διέξοδον, ὅποιαν ἡμεῖς ποιούμεθα, γεγραμμένοις, ὀνήσονται μεγάλως, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν πολλάκις ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτὰ μὴ ὀκνῶσιν.<sup>12</sup>

'Therefore only the exercise and a detailed teaching do produce professionals; and for this reason it seems to me that people well say that the best teaching is that which takes place by means of the voice, and that from a book cannot emerge neither a good pilot nor anyone who practices any other art. The books indeed are a memorandum of what one has previously learnt and of what one already knows, not a complete teaching of what one does not know. Moreover, if someone – and among them, those who do not have teachers available – wants to read accurately the books written clearly and diffusely, like those

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gemelli Marciano (2009).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Andorlini (2018) 15–18.

<sup>12</sup> Gal. *Alim. fac.* 1.1 = 6.480.3–12 K.

written by us, he will take a great advantage of them, and above all if he does not hesitate to read them repeatedly'.<sup>13</sup>

The 'book', the medical writing, acquires authority from those who handle it, and not vice-versa. Accordingly, Galen claims the authenticity of two books of Hippocrates' *Epidemics* on the ground of the fact that they had been transcribed (onto rolls) from the latter's tablets (Gal. *Diff. resp.* 7.855.4–5 K.: 'two are of the great Hippocrates himself, and for this reason they were titled τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ πινακιδίου, *from the small tablet*').<sup>14</sup> It is through such tablets, containing clinical annotations and therapeutic prescriptions, that medical knowledge was originally recorded and passed down.<sup>15</sup> Before Hippocrates, they existed in the form of dedications in the healing god's temples such as the *Akslepieia*, with a focus on the healed person and the successful therapy rather than on its real 'author', being the god the alleged source.<sup>16</sup> According to the tradition, Hippocrates took the medical tablets out of the *Asklepieion* of Cos and founded his medicine on them, thus starting a new model of textual circulation.<sup>17</sup> The *Corpus Hippocraticum* is indeed unified under the authority of the 'father of medicine', but he is not the author of the entire collection, as everyone was and is aware of.

Though even the more elaborated treatises, conceived of as comprehensive reflections on specific topics of medicine, can be regarded as single steps of a 'work in progress', to which each generation adds its own contribution,<sup>18</sup> the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Roselli (2002) 36–43.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Manetti/Roselli (1982) 167; Reggiani (2018) 131–2.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Perilli (2007).

<sup>16</sup> Strab. 8.6.15; cf. Angeletti (1991); Girone (1998); Gregis (2017); Reggiani (2018) 130–1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Reggiani (2018) 129–30 with earlier bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Hippocrates himself, in the *incipit* of his treatise *De diaeta* (1.1), dealing with the philosophical foundations of medicine, treats the medical science as a progressive knowledge: εἰ μὲν μοί τις ἐδόκεε τῶν πρότερον ξυγγραψάντων περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης τῆς πρὸς ὑγίαν ὀρθῶς ἐγνωκῶς συγγραφέναι πάντα διὰ παντός, ὀκόσα δυνατὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ περιληφθῆναι, ἱκανῶς ἂν εἶχέ μοι, ἄλλων ἐκπονησάντων, γνόντα τὰ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα, τοῦτοισι χρέεσθαι, καθότι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐδόκεε χρῆσιμον εἶναι. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἤδη ξυνέγραφαν, οὐδεὶς δὲ πω ἔγνω ὀρθῶς καθότι ἦν αὐτοῖς ξυγγραπτέον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλω ἐπέτυχον· τὸ δὲ ὄλον οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρότερον. μεμψῆναι μὲν οὖν οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐξευρεῖν, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ μᾶλλον πάντας ὅτι ἐπεχείρησαν ζητῆσαι. ἐλέγγειν μὲν οὖν τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα οὐ παρεσκευάσμαι· προσομολογέειν δὲ τοῖσι καλῶς ἐγνωσμένοισι διανενοῦμαι· ὀκόσα μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον εἰρήνται, οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄλλως κως ἐμὲ ξυγγραψάντα ὀρθῶς ξυγγραψαί· ὀκόσα δὲ μὴ ὀρθῶς εἰρήκασιν, ἐλέγχων μὲν ταῦτα, διότι οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐδὲν περανῶ· ἐξηγεύμενος δὲ καθότι μοι δοκεῖ ἕκαστον ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, δηλώσω ὃ βούλομαι. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον προκατατίθεμαι, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀκόταν τινὸς προτέρου ἀκούσωσι περὶ τινος ἐξηγευμένου, οὐκ ἀποδέχονται τὸν ὕστερον περὶ τούτων διαλεγόμενον, οὐ

most significant witness as regards authorship and authority is what we can address as ‘therapeutic literature’ (recipes, prescriptions, collections of prescriptions). This is indeed shaped as the gathering of previous individual experiences, enriched by the compilers’ personal engagement (and therefore we can find such a personal annotation as οὐκ ἄν εὕροις τούτου ἄμεινον ‘you will not find anything better’, in Hippoc. *Mul.* 1.78), thus producing a ‘knowledge in progress’, which undergoes further customized transmission and adaptations.<sup>19</sup> The issue of authority and authorship gets more and more blurred, as any author could refer, for instance, to Hippocratic recipes for their authoritative efficacy, but without citing Hippocrates’ name at all<sup>20</sup> (on the contrary, literal quotes from proper treatises are usually introduced by explicit references). In a parallel and significant case, ancient Egyptian medicine produced written repertoires of prescriptions and other practical notions, without mention of the compiler but with traces of personal re-use, in a technical practice that stressed the authority of the text more than of the author.<sup>21</sup>

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γινώσκοντες ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίης ἐστὶ γνῶναι τὰ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα, ἐξευρεῖν τε τὰ μὴ πω εἰρημένα. ἐγὼ γοῦν, ὡσπερ εἶπον, τοῖσι μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρημένοισι προσομολογήσω· τὰ δὲ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐγνωσμένα δηλώσω ὅκοῖα τινὰ ἐστίν· ὅκόσα δὲ μηδὲ ἐπεχείρησε μηδεὶς τῶν πρότερον δηλῶσαι, ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω καὶ ταῦτα ὅκοῖα ἐστὶ (‘If I thought that any one of my predecessors to write on human regimen in its relation to health had throughout written with correct knowledge everything that the human mind can comprehend about the subject, it would have been enough for me to learn what had been correctly worked out by the labours of others, and to make use of these results in so far as they severally appeared to be of use. As a matter of fact, while many have already written on this subject, nobody yet has rightly understood how he ought to treat it. Some indeed have succeeded in one respect and others in another, but nobody among my predecessors has successfully treated the whole subject. Now none of them is blameworthy for being unable to make complete discoveries; but all are praiseworthy for attempting the research. Now I am not prepared to criticise their incorrect statements; nay, I have resolved to accept what they have well thought out. The correct statements of my predecessors it is impossible for me to write correctly by writing them in some other way; as to the incorrect statements, I shall accomplish nothing by exposing their incorrectness. If, however, I explain how far each of their statements appears to me correct I shall set forth my wish. These preliminary remarks are made for the following reasons: most men, when they have already heard one person expounding a subject, refuse to listen to those who discuss it after him, not realising that it requires the same intelligence to learn what statements are correct as to make original discoveries. Accordingly, as I have said, I shall accept correct statements and set forth the truth about those things which have been incorrectly stated. I shall explain also the nature of those things which none of my predecessors has even attempted to set forth’ (transl. W.H.S. Jones).

**19** Cf. Reggiani (2018).

**20** On the Hippocratic tradition in the Greek papyri from Egypt cf. Andorlini (2018) 105–16.

**21** The reference is to Papyrus Ebers, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century BC catalogue of recipes (loosely arranged by disease) and clinical cases, collected along with anatomical sections to serve as a reference

### 3 Authority in the ‘Therapeutic Literature’

Annotated evaluations of the medicaments’ efficacy start appearing in Greek medical papyri from the first centuries of the Roman Empire onwards,<sup>22</sup> reflecting a new trend in the medical practice: the exchange and swapping of single recipes or small collections of prescriptions among professional physicians, as attested in both literary<sup>23</sup> and documentary<sup>24</sup> records. This ‘hunt’ for the best or

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manual for practicing physicians. Marginal annotations, added by the user, record the physician’s individual experience (‘really effective’). On Papyrus Ebers see recently Scholl (2002). Updated bibliographic references (up to May 25, 2018) are available at the following link: <[http://sae.saw-leipzig.de/fileadmin/redakteure/user\\_upload/Literaturliste\\_pEbers.pdf](http://sae.saw-leipzig.de/fileadmin/redakteure/user_upload/Literaturliste_pEbers.pdf)>; on the marginal additions cf. Andorlini (2018) 16 n. 5.

22 Cf. Lang (2013) 180 n. 164.

23 Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 1.1 = 12.423.13–15 K.: τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον οὕτω γεγραμμένον εὗρε Κλαυδιανὸς ὁ ἐταῖρος ἡμῶν ἐν π(τ)υκτίδι (l. πτυκτῆ) διφθέρα, τοῦ χρωμένου αὐτῷ ἀποθανόντος, ‘This medicament, written as it is, has been found by our colleague Claudianus in a folded parchment, having its user died’; *Indol.* 33–5: τούτων τῶν φαρμάκων πάντων αἱ γραφαὶ κατὰ δύο διφθέρας π(τ)υκτὰς ἐφυλάττοντο μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας, ἄστινας τῶν κληρονομησάντων τις αὐτὸς φίλτατος ὧν ἐμοὶ μηδὲ αἰτηθεὶς αὐτομάτως ἔδωκεν. αὕτη μὲν ἢ προτέρα τύχη τῆς τῶν φαρμάκων εὐπορίας, τὴν δὲ {δὲ} δευτέραν ἐφ(εξ)ῆς ἄκουσον. ὡς ἐγενόμην ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον [...] πολίτην τε καὶ συμφοιτητὴν ἐμὸν ὀνόματι Τεῦθραντα διατρίβοντα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εὗρον ὃς διεδέδεκτο τὰς Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ ἱατροῦ διφθέρας, ὄντος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῦ Περγαμηνοῦ, φιλοφαρμάκου δὲ καὶ πολυφαρμάκου πάντων τῶν ἱατρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ αὗται δὲ αἱ διφθέραι ἐν ἐνὶ σχεδὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν συνηθροισμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐπιγινόμενας ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ [...]. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν παρασκευῶν, εἴ τις τι τῶν θαυμασίων εἶχε φαρμάκων, ἐλάμβανον οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀντιδιδούς δύο καὶ τρία τῶν ὁμοίων, ‘The recipes of all these medicaments were safely kept in two folded parchments that one of the heirs, a great friend of mine, spontaneously gave me without asking him. This was the first stroke of luck that put the medicaments at my disposal, and listen to the second one. When I came to Rome for the first time [...] I found a fellow citizen and student of mine, Teuthras, who lived in the city, and who had received the parchments of physician Eumenes, who was from Pergamum as well, loved the medicines, and was richer in medicines than the other doctors. Such parchments were gathered in one [*scil.* notebook] from all over the world, so to say, thanks to his continuous travels [...]. From such preparatory annotations, if someone was in possess of an extraordinary medicine, I obtained it easily, giving two or three similar recipes in exchange’.

24 P. Mert. 1.12.13–24 (AD 59, letter from Chairas to Dionysos): ἀντιγράφια (l. ἀντιγράψια) δέ μοι δύο ἐπεψας, | τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀρχαγαθίου (l.–εἰου) τὸ δὲ τῆς | ἐλκωτικῆς. ἢ μὲν Ἀρχαγάθ(ε)ι(ο)ς ὑγιῶς | περιέχει, ἢ δὲ ἐλκωτικὴ ῥητ(ε)ῖνης | συνσταθμῖαν οὐ περιέχει. ἐρωτῶ | δὲ σε περὶ ἐλκωτικῆς γενναίας | δυναμένης ἀκινδύνως πέλματ(α) | ἐλκῶσαι· γ[ά]ρ [κ]ατ’ ἀνάγκην | ἐπέιγομαι· περὶ δὲ τῆς σκληρᾶς | ἔγραψας δύο γένη εἶναι. τὸ τῆς διαλυτικῆς μοι γραφ(ε)ῖον πέμψον· ἔστιν | γὰρ καὶ ἡ τετραφάρμακος σκληρά. ‘You sent me two copies [*scil.* of recipes], one of Archagathus’ plaster, the other of the cicatrizing one. Archagathus’ one is cor-

most exact medicaments (that we may summarize in the formula λαβὲ τὴν γραφήν, mocking Aristophanes' *chresmologos*) introduces the need for, on one hand, pursuing authority as a synonym of efficacy and, on the other hand, maintaining the authorship of one's own 'products' (see below for the latter). Galen himself produced pharmacological books that are in fact collections of prescriptions taken from other 'authors' and compilers (the pharmacological compendiasts of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD),<sup>25</sup> and very often the memory of the original composer is retained in the medicament's name.

In the papyri, sometimes authority is given by the antiquity of the remedy, such as the 'ancient astringent' (ἀρχαίου στατικ[οῦ]) in O. Bodl. 2.2181 l. 3 (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) and perhaps the πατρικό(ν), the remedy of 'the fathers', in PSI 10.1180r fr. b col. 2 l. 15 (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century AD),<sup>26</sup> but the most frequent expedient was to refer to the name of the author (either physician or pharmacist) of a particular prescription. Though this practice is sporadically attested already in the Ptolemaic age – a collection of prescriptions from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC mentioning remedies 'of Mnason' (Μνά[ς]ωνος), 'of Euedus/Euenus' (Εὐήδου), 'of Praxagoras' (Πραξαγόρας), and 'of Dionysius' (Διονυσίου)<sup>27</sup>, it is from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards that we find most of the instances.

Medicaments 'of Theodotus' (?),<sup>28</sup> 'of Aphrodas' (Ἀφροδᾶ),<sup>29</sup> 'of Democritus' (Δημοκρήτου),<sup>30</sup> 'of Nikon' (Νίκωνος),<sup>31</sup> 'of Kollousis' (Κολλούσιος),<sup>32</sup> 'of the queen' (i.e. Cleopatra) (τῆς | βασιλίσσης),<sup>33</sup> 'of Ioannes

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rectly composed, while the cicatrizing one lacks the dosage of the resin. Please let me know of a strong cicatrizing medicament that can heal without risk the soles of the feet, since I need it urgently. As to the hard one, you wrote me that there exist two types of it: please send me the recipe of the dispersing one; indeed, the *tetrapharmakon* is hard as well'.

**25** Essential reference to this matter is still Fabricius (1972). For the papyrological evidence of this tradition cf. Andorlini (2018) 226–9.

**26** Cf. Andorlini (2004) *ad loc.*

**27** SB 8.9860, respectively at fr. a col. 1 l. 1 and fr. b col. 4 l. 8; fr. a col. 1 l. 17; fr. b col. 2 l. 1; fr. b col. 3 l. 4. Cf. Tsoukalas (1962) *ad locc.*

**28** PSI 10.1180r fr. b col. 2 l. 5 (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). Cf. Andorlini (2004) 115 *ad loc.*

**29** SB 24.15917 l. 19 (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). Cf. Reiter (1997) 811–2 *ad loc.*

**30** GMP 2.5 col. 6 l. 12 (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century AD). Or Damocrates: cf. Hanson (2009) 98 n. 40.

**31** BGU 3.953 l. 1 (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century AD).

**32** GMP 2.8, verso (5<sup>th</sup> century AD). This mention acts as a docket tag on the back of a prescription. The name can be a variant of Κολλούθιος: cf. Mitthof (2009) 140 *ad loc.*

**33** P. Ant. 3.127 fr. 5b ll. 4–5 (7<sup>th</sup> century AD) if it is not Βάςς[ου], cf. Andorlini (2018) 89–91; perhaps also PSI 10.1180r fr. b col. 2 l. 22 (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) if it is not βασιλικ[όν] 'royal' (Andorlini [2004] 116 *ad loc.*).

Lucius' (Ἰω|άνν(ο)υ Λυκίου)<sup>34</sup> were undoubtedly famous, though what remains to us is a little more than a name, exhibited as a proof of prestige and efficacy in single recipes or collections of prescriptions. The extant pages of the famous 'Michigan Medical Codex' (P. Mich. 17.758, 4<sup>th</sup> century AD), a practising physician's working manual on a papyrus codex that includes personal additions and comments,<sup>35</sup> record the 'authorities' of 'Azanites' (Ἀζανίτης (folio Br l. 2), 'of Dionysios' [Διονυσίου] (folio Cr l. 8),<sup>36</sup> and 'of Hygienus' Ὑγιεῖν[ου] (folio Dr ll. 4–5), while the second hand adds prescriptions 'of Heras' Ἡρᾶ (folio Er l. 5) and 'of Telamon' Τελαμώνιος (folio Er l. 9).<sup>37</sup>

This last example (*Telamonios*) shows a further step in marking the authorship of a medicament: the connection with its creator is so strong that the product is called with a derivative of the physician's name. We find three more attestations of this trend: Ἀρχαγαθίου / ἡ Ἀρχαγάθις = ἡ Ἀρχαγάθειος from Archagathus,<sup>38</sup> τὸ Ἀρτεμώνιον from Artemon,<sup>39</sup> and [Θεο]δότειον from Theodotos.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, this was not a rule at all, as is shown for example by P. Scholl 15 (6<sup>th</sup> century AD), reporting an anonymous antidote that others call Φίλωνος 'of Philon'.<sup>41</sup> This is explained by the fact that the formulations could be changed, adapted, customized by each individual physician, partly losing the connection with the original recipes. Such circumstances generated the second issue mentioned above, maintaining the authorship of one's own 'products' by means of stratagems like deploying an incomprehensible handwriting, symbols, more or less intentional alterations,<sup>42</sup> to preserve some sort of 'autho-

<sup>34</sup> P. Ant. 3.127 fr. 2b ll. 3–4 (7<sup>th</sup> AD). Cf. Andorlini (2018) 88–89 also for the attestations of this source in Galen and the connection between Galen and the papyrus tradition.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ann Hanson's introduction to Youtie (1996).

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the same as SB 8.9860b mentioned above. The reference is accompanied by the citation `β' τόμου indicating the 'second book' of said physician as the source for the following formulation.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Youtie (1996) *ad locc.*; Andorlini (2018) 6. On Azanites (attested also in Oribasius) cf. also Andorlini (2018) 93–94.

<sup>38</sup> P. Mert. 1.12 l. 14 (AD 59), see above. Cf. Andorlini (2018) 26.

<sup>39</sup> PSICongr.XXI 3 col. 2 l. 9 (1<sup>st</sup> century BC); the same name is attested in Gal. *Comp.med.sec.loc.* 4.7 (12.780.7–11 K.).

<sup>40</sup> P. Haun. 3.47r = SB 18.13310, ll. 1 and 4 (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD); the same name is cited also by Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 4.8 (12.754.10–18 K.), Celsus *Med.* 6.6.6, Marcellus Empiricus 8.15 Niedermann, Alexander of Tralles 2.51 Puschmann, and Paulus of Aegina 7.16.26 Heiberg. Cf. Youtie (1985).

<sup>41</sup> Paul. Aeg. 7.11.13.1–3 Heib.; Orib. *Syn. ad Eust.* 3.182.10–11.

<sup>42</sup> On the peril of the transmission of prescriptions, see Gal. *Antid.* 1.5 = 14.31.10–15 K.: ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνια κακῶς εἰσι γεγραμμένα, τινῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τοῖς αἰτήσασι δίδοναι τὰς γραφὰς ἔκοντι



rial primacy’ (or ‘copyright’, so to say) in a fluid environment without canons of any kind.

## 4 Conclusions

In general, and to sum up, in the ‘therapeutic literature’ authorship and authenticity are stressed not at the book level, but at the level of each single prescription, transmitted and collected as one fragment of a fluid and ever-changing knowledge.<sup>43</sup> This made the tablet-like format particularly fitting as the recipient of texts ‘in progress’. Recipes usually circulated in papyrus tickets/sheets or parchment ‘notebooks’ and subsequently were very often collected in codex formats,<sup>44</sup> which are open to collections, annotations, additions, modifications, updates, making the concepts of ‘authority’ much more fluid and unstable, towards the definition of a ‘multi-authorship’, and stresses once more the importance of the book format for the transmission of texts and for the definition of their authenticity/authorship. Even when the prescriptions are transcribed in papyrus roll, there is room for previous and subsequent textual revisions. This is the case, for instance, with P. Berl. Möller 13, the remains of a roll from 4<sup>th</sup>-century AD Hermopolis Magna, which is a free elaboration of Heras’ recipes as preserved by Galen, with a space left blank likely for further additions or annotations by the user.<sup>45</sup> A case like Onomacritus’, who was banned by the Athenian tyrants because uncovered while forging some oracular texts to be collected in a written edition,<sup>46</sup> was not conceivable anymore.

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ψευδομένων, ἐνίωιν δὲ καὶ διαστρεφόντων ἢ παρὰ τινων ἔλαβον ἀντίγραφα. τὰ δὲ δὴ βιβλία τὰ κατὰ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἀποκείμενα, τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔχοντα σημεῖα, ῥαδίως διαστρέφεται, ‘Some prescriptions are transcribed badly, because some people alter them purposely when they give them to those who requested them, while others move away from the copies received; and indeed, of the books kept in the libraries, those containing the symbols of the numbers (*scil.* for the dosage) are easily forged’. See also Gal. *Comp. med. gen.* 4.7 = 13.726.5–17 K.; cf. Andorlini (2018) 34–35. Elsewhere, Galen says that the parchment recovered by his colleague Claudianus (see above) was written very badly, almost in symbols. For incorrect transcriptions see also Chairas’ letter in the Merton papyrus cited above.

43 Cf. Reggiani (2018) and (2019a).

44 See Reggiani (forthcoming).

45 For details see Reggiani (2018) 138.

46 Hdt. 5.90.2 and 7.6.3–4. Cf. Baumgarten (1998) 48–52.



## **Defining Authorship, Debating Authenticity**

# **Beiträge zur Altertumskunde**

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Herausgegeben von  
Susanne Daub, Michael Erler, Dorothee Gall,  
Ludwig Koenen und Clemens Zintzen

**Band 385**

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# Bibliography

## Abbreviations

- AE (1888–) *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris.
- ANRW (1972–) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin–New York.
- Aq.N. (1930–) *Aquileia Nostra. Bollettino dell'Associazione nazionale per Aquileia*, Aquileia.
- CAG XXI/2 Rabe, H. (1896) *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca. Stephani in artem rhetoricam commentarium*, Berlin.
- CIL Mommsen, T. (1863–) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
- CJ Krueger, P. (1877) *Corpus Iuris Civilis, Codex Iustinianus*, II, editio stereotypa.
- CLE Bücheler, F. (1895–7) *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Leipzig (= Amsterdam 1964); *Supplementum* cur. E. Lommatzsch, Lipsiae 1926 (= Amsterdam 1964).
- CLEAfr Cugusi, P., Sblendorio Cugusi, M.T. (2014) *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Africarum provinciarum post Buechelerianam collectionem editam reperta cognita*, Faenza.
- CLEPann Cugusi, P., Sblendorio Cugusi, M.T. (2007), *Studi sui carmi epigrafici. Carmina Latina Epigraphica Pannonica*, Bologna.
- CLRE 1987 Bagnall, R.S., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S.R., Worp, K.A. (1987) *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta, GA.
- CPF 2015 (2015) *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini, II 2: Autori noti e "chreiai"*, Florence.
- CPF 2017 (2017) *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini, II 3: Gnomica*, Florence.
- CPF1/2\*\* (2008) *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini: testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina, I/2\*\**. *Cultura e filosofia (Galenus–Isocrates)*, Florence.
- CSEL (1864–) *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Berlin–Boston.
- CTh Krueger, P., Mommsen, T. (1905) *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, I, pars posterior, textus cum apparatu, Berlin.
- D.–K. Diels, H., Kranz, W. (1951–1952<sup>6</sup>) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I–III, Berlin.
- Dig. Mommsen, T. (1872) *Corpus Iuris Civilis, Digesta*, I, editio stereotypa, Berlin.
- DNP Cancik, H., Schneider, H., Landfester, M. (eds.) (1996–2003), *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart.
- DPhA Goulet, R. (ed.) (1989–) *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, Paris.
- FgrHist Jacoby, F. (1923–58) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Leiden; Schepens, G. (ed.) (1998–9) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued. Part Four. Biography and Antiquarian Literature*, Leiden–Boston–Cologne. Schorn, S. (2018–9) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued. Part Four. Biography and Antiquarian Literature*, Leiden–Boston.
- GLNT Kittel, G., Friedrich, G. (eds.) (1965–92) *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. by F. Montagnini, G. Scarpato, O. Soffritti, Brescia [TWNT, Stuttgart, 1932–79].
- GVI (1955) Peek, W. (ed.) *Griechische Vers–Inschriften. I, Grab–Epigramme*, Berlin.

- ICVR* De Rossi, G.B. (1857) *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, Vatican.
- IE Aquil* Lettich, G. (2003) *Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi*, Trieste.
- ILS* Dessau, H. (1892–1916) *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin.
- InscrIt* (1931–) *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Rome.
- MGH* Pertz, G.H. et al. (1826–) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab a. c. 500 usque ad a. 1500*, Hanover–Berlin et al.
- MS* (2015) *Menandri Sententiae*, in *CPF 2015*, 117–320.
- PCG* Kassel, R., Austin, C. (1983–2001) *Poetae Comici Graeci*, I–VIII, Berlin–Boston.
- PG* Migne, J.–P. (1857–66) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, Paris.
- PL* Migne, J.–P. (1844–55) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, Paris.
- PLG* Bergk, T. (1882<sup>4</sup>) *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (1843<sup>1</sup>, 1853<sup>2</sup>, 1861<sup>3</sup>), Leipzig.
- PLRE I* Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R., Morris, J. (1971–80) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire – A.D. 260–395*, I, Cambridge.
- PMG* Page, D.L. (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford.
- RE* Wissowa, G.G., Kroll, W., Witte, K., Ziegler, K. (eds.) (1839–1980) *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen, I–XXIV, I A–X A, Suppl. I–XV, Register, Stuttgart–Munich.
- SupplIt* (1981–) *Supplementa Italica*. Nuova serie, Rome.
- TWNT* Kittel, G., Friedrich, G. (eds.) (1932–79) *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart.
- TrGF* (1971–2004) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen.

## Online Databases and Resources

- AKL* *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* < <https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/akl> >.
- BNJ* *Brill's New Jacoby* < <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby> >.
- DBF* *Dizionario Biografico dei Friulani. Nuovo Liruti on line* < <http://www.dizionariobiograficodefriulani.it/> >.
- DBI* *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* < <http://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html> >.
- EDH* *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* < <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/> >.
- EDR* *Epigraphic Database Roma* < <http://www.edr-edr.it/> >.
- FgrHist* *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* < <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/cluster/jacoby%20Online> >.
- LDAB* *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* < <https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/> >.
- LGGA* *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* < <https://brill.com/view/db/lgga> >.
- MP<sup>3</sup>* Mertens–Pack<sup>3</sup>, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins* < <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml> >.



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