

NEW FRAGMENTS FROM RUFUS OF EPHEBUS' *ON MELANCHOLY*

Publishing a collection of fragments from a classical author is a risky business: the moment the book appears in print, it may already be outdated, as new fragments could have come to light. Or, in the words of Ecclesiasticus 18:7: 'When a man hath done, then he beginneth; and when he leaveth off, then he shall be doubtful' ('Όταν συντελέση ἄνθρωπος, τότε ἄρχεται, καὶ ὅταν παύσηται, τότε ἀπορηθήσεται).¹ The same fate befell me shortly after the publication of my collection of fragments from Rufus of Ephesus' *On Melancholy*.² Manfred Ullmann wrote to me that the late Rainer Degen had discovered a new fragment;³ in the course of my research, I came across some relevant quotations in the *Hippocratic Treatments* by the tenth-century author at-Ṭabarī;⁴ and recently, Klaus-Dietrich Fischer published two related fragments.⁵ The following short note contains these new fragments together with an English translation and commentary. At the end, I also offer some addenda and corrigenda, partly in light of the reviews that have since appeared.⁶

To give some background, Rufus of Ephesus (*fl. c. A.D. 100*) wrote his monograph *On Melancholy* in two books, and it was subsequently translated into Arabic some time in the ninth century. The Greek text and the Arabic translation have not come down to us in their entirety, but survive in a number of later quotations in authors such as Aëtius of Amida (*fl. c. 500–50*) and 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā' al-Rāzī (d. *c. 925*). Moreover, we have a number of Latin fragments, based on the Arabic translation, and, as Fischer has shown, on the Greek text as well.⁷ Rufus adhered to the idea of humoral pathology as developed in the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of Man*, and black bile, one of the four humours, obviously plays a major role in his conception of melancholy. The new fragments collected here illustrate that his thought on the subject greatly influenced Galen, who rightly said that τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν ἄριστα γέγραπται περὶ μελαγχολίας τῷ Ἐφεσίῳ Ρούφῳ ('among the recent physicians, Rufus of Ephesus has composed the best work on melancholy').⁸

¹ See M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts. Supplement Band I: A–O, Supplement Band II: Π–Ω* (Wiesbaden, 2006–7), 1.11.

² P.E. Pormann (ed.), *Rufus of Ephesus: On Melancholy* (Tübingen, 2008); the fragments of Rufus' *On Melancholy* are quoted here according to this edition.

³ Letter, 9 December 2008; **F 50a** below.

⁴ **FF 7a, 20a**. I thank Professor Lena Ambjörn for kindly sharing her work in progress, which allowed me to discover *F 7a*; see also Ambjörn, 'Book-Titles Mentioned in the 10th Century Medical Encyclopedia Al-Mu'ālajāt al-Buqrāṭiyya', *Galenos* 5 (2011), pp. 103–11.

⁵ K.-D. Fischer, 'De fragmentis Herae Cappadocis atque Rufi Ephesii hactenus ignotis', *Galenos* 4 (2010), 173–83, at 180–3; **FF 13a–b**.

⁶ I. Garofalo, *Lettre d'informations: Médecine ancienne et médiévale* n.s. 8 (2009), 95–9; P. Charlier, *BMCRev*, <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2010/2010-06-17.html>; O. Kahl, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55 (2010), 278–80; and G. Strohmaier, *Gnomon* 82 (2010), 686–90.

⁷ **FF 13a–b**.

⁸ **F 3**; for a full discussion of Rufus' *On Melancholy*, see Pormann (n. 2), esp. 1–23 (introduction).

F 7a 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Hippocratic Treatments (al-Mu'ālāḡāt al-Buqrā'īya)*, Book [maqāla] 9, ch. [bāb] 50; edited according to Sezgin, 2.309, line 16–penultimate line (henceforth **MS S**); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 158,⁹ fol. 340b, lines 4–15 (henceforth **MS O**); and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod arab 810, fol. 305a (henceforth **MS M**).

[1] والمتأخرون من شيعته متفقون على أنه خلط سوداوي يحصل في الأوراد مع الدم المحترق الغليظ، [2] ويحتبس في المعدة من انصبابه¹⁰ بأكثر¹¹ مما يجب من الطحال إليها، [3] ويحصل في الأوراد التي ترد المعدة أيضاً، فيحدث فيها ورماً. [4] ثم تتحلل منه بخارات غليظة سوداوية، فترتقي إلى المراق، [5] فتحترق هناك وتزداد حدة وعفونة. [6] ثم تصعد منها بخارات سوداوية أرضية إلى الدماغ وإلى فم المعدة [7] فتورث الوسواس والأفكار الرديئة والغم والحزن. [8] وأما روفس فإنه يعتقد أن هذا الورم سوداوي يكون في أسفل المعدة عند البواب [9] وتتحلل منه بخارات سوداوية أرضية غليظة، [10] فترتقي إلى المراق وإلى فم المعدة، [11] فيورث الأفكار الرديئة والغم والحزن. [12] ويستدل على أن هذا الورم¹² في المعدة من وجع يجده العليل بين الكتفين، [13] لأن رباطات المعدة تتصل بذلك الموضع وبالترقوة. [14] فإذا انتقلت¹³ المعدة بالورم الحديث فألمت ذلك الموضع بطريق التمدد. [15] ويستدل على¹⁴ الورم في قعر المعدة وعند البواب [16] بأن¹⁵ العليل يحتبس¹⁶ له خروج البخر ولا يخرج إلا في كل ثلاثة أيام أو أربعة منقطعاً [17] ويحسن العليل بالألم في ذلك الموضع [18] وأن الجشاء هي منه¹⁷ بخارات غليظة أرضية تتحلل عن ذلك الورم [19] فتصعد إلى فم المعدة [20] وأن الجنين¹⁸ ينتفخان من ارتقاء هذه¹⁹ البخارات الغليظة إلى المراق واحتدادها²⁰ وتعفنها²¹ هناك ثم ارتقانها إلى الدماغ وإيراث العليل الغم والحزن والفرع يكون عن هذه البخارات السوداوية²².

[1] The more recent authors belonging to his [sc. Hippocrates'] faction agree that it [sc. the efficient cause of hypochondric melancholy] is a melancholic humour that occurs in the blood vessels together with viscous burnt blood. [2] It is blocked in the stomach, because more of it than necessary is poured into it [sc. the stomach] from the spleen. [3] It also occurs in the blood vessels leading to the stomach, so as to produce in them a swelling. [4] From/through it (*minhu*), viscous melancholic vapours are dissolved, and then move up to the hypochondriac area. [5] There they are blocked and increase in acidity and putrefaction. [6] Then earthy melancholic vapours rise from there [sc. the hypochondria] to the brain and the orifice of the stomach. [7] Then they create delusion [*al-waswās*], bad thoughts [*al-'afkār al-radī'a*], sorrow [*al-ḡamm*], and sadness [*al-ḥuzn*].

[8] Rufus thought that this swelling is a melancholic one that appears in the lower part of the stomach near the pylorus. [9] From/through it (*minhu*), earthy melancholic vapours are dissolved, [10] and then rise to the hypochondriac region and the orifice of the stomach. [11] There, they produce bad thoughts [*al-'afkār al-radī'a*], sorrow [*al-ḡamm*], and sadness [*al-ḥuzn*]. [12] One can deduce that this swelling is located in the stomach from pain that the patient feels between the shoulders, [13] because the ligaments of the stomach are connected to this place and to the collarbone. [14] If the stomach is moved by the recent swelling, it

⁹ See E. Savage-Smith, *A New Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Volume I: Medicine* (Oxford 2011), 183–9, item no. 48b.

انصبابه: conieci; codd.: انصبابه.

¹⁰ بالأكثر: MS S; MS M: بأكثر.

¹¹ om. MS M: [إلى فم المعدة ... الورم]

¹² نقلت: MS M; MS S: انتقلت.

¹³ على أن: MS S; MS M: على.

¹⁴ ان: MS S; MS M: بأن.

¹⁵ ويحتبس: MS S; MS M: يحتبس.

¹⁶ supra lineam MS M; MS S:] منه.

¹⁷ اما الحنين: MS M; MS S:] الجنين.

¹⁸ MS S; om. MS M:] هذه.

¹⁹ MS S; MS M:] واحتدادها.

²⁰ MS S:] ويقضها: MS S; scripsi:] وتعفنها.

²¹ MS M; MS S:] سوداوية.

²² MS M; MS S:] سوداوية.

then affects this place by way of a spasm. [15] One can deduce that the swelling is in the depth of the stomach and near the pylorus [16] from the fact that the excretion of excrements [?] is blocked, only coming out every three or four days in an interrupted fashion; [17] that the patient feels a pain at this place; [18] that burping causes thick, earthy vapours that dissolve from this swelling, [19] and then rise to the orifice of the stomach; [20] and that the two sides are inflated because these thick vapours rise to the hypochondriac region, and become sharper and putrefied there, and because they then rise to the brain and cause the patient to be affected by sorrow, sadness, and fear, generated by this melancholic humour.

Commentary

This fragment deals with the aetiology and diagnosis of hypochondriac melancholy. It is taken from the *Hippocratic Treatments*, a medical handbook (*kunnāṣ*) by 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī, a physician active in the second half of the tenth century. This handbook consists of ten treatises (*maqālas*), each further subdivided into chapters (*faṣṣ*). After the first treatise on general principles, the author arranges his material roughly from tip to toe, beginning with trichological disorders and ending with conditions of the liver, spleen, and intestines. The ninth treatise deals with 'the description, position, and usefulness of the stomach, and the various types of diseases affecting it, and how to treat them'. Towards the end of this treatise, we find chapter 50 on the 'disease known as the "epigastric" [disease] and the delusion [*waswās*] that results from it', in which the present fragment is located. We know from al-Rāzī (F 38 §3) and Ishāq ibn 'Imrān (F 5 §7) that Rufus only discussed the hypochondriac type of melancholy, and thought that the other two types (general and encephalic) could be diagnosed and treated in analogy to this type. This fragment deals more specifically with the cause for hypochondriac melancholy, namely a swelling (*waram*) in the blood vessels, and with how to diagnose this swelling.

Al-Ṭabarī begins this chapter by explaining that the 'epigastric disease (*al-illa al-marāqqīya*)' is a type of melancholy, and that he has decided to discuss it in the context of diseases of the stomach rather than the brain because it originates in the epigastric region. As specific symptoms, he mentions, for instance, bad thoughts, delusion, stomach ache, burping, and flatulence, and excessive excretion of faeces. He then reports that the Ancients (*al-awā'il*) differed in their opinions about the efficient cause of hypochondriac melancholy: Hippocrates, Galen, and their school believed that sharp, burnt melancholic blood mixed with some thick humour causes a swelling in the blood vessels in the epigastric region. More recent authors, however, believe that the swelling is caused by burnt melancholic humour (§1). It then blocks the blood vessels in the stomach itself (§2) and those leading to the stomach (§3) by producing a swelling. This in turn causes melancholic vapours to rise to the region below the rib cartilage (§4), where they are corrupted further (§5). Then 'earthy' melancholic vapours rise to the brain (§6), creating the symptoms mentioned above (§7).

Paragraphs 8–20 are specifically attributed to Rufus, but the first three (§§8–11) actually echo the opinion of the 'more recent authors belonging to his faction', mentioned in paragraph 1. Therefore, whoever these more recent authors may have been, they clearly adopted Rufus' ideas here. The rest of the report (§§11–20) is concerned with diagnosis. Shoulder pain provides an indication (§12), because the shoulders and collarbones are connected to the stomach (§13). Spasm in the stomach indicates a recent swelling in the stomach (§14). Infrequent stool indicates a swelling near the pylorus (§16), as does pain there (§17), burping resulting from vapours ascending through the body (§§18–19), and the inflation of the sides (§20).

This new fragment from Rufus' *On Melancholy* offers two new insights into his ideas about this disease, namely about the aetiology and the diagnosis of hypochondriac

melancholy. 'Ishāq ibn 'Imrān (d. before 909), author of a book *On Melancholy*, mentioned as one of the causes that melancholic vapours rise from the hypochondria to the brain.²³ I had previously surmised that this idea goes back to Rufus of Ephesus.²⁴ This fragment confirms this surmise. Moreover, Rufus insisted that early diagnosis of this condition is of crucial importance (e.g. **F 13** §1), and even described the dire consequence of not catching it early in a case history (**F 68**). In this fragment, Rufus offers a number of indications as to how to diagnose this disease, which had been previously unknown.

F 13a Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (ed.), *Agnellus of Ravenna: Lectures on Galen's 'De sectis'* (Buffalo, NY, 1981), 118–19:

[1] Bene enim dicit Rufus Effesius differentias melancholiae, [2] quia aliqui melancholia habentes credunt semet ipsos gallos esse et cantant, alii autem credunt se uas figuli esse, clamant et dicent: Illuc sta, ne me rumpas. [3] Sic autem et aliqui astronomus melancholia habens dicebat: Ne aliquando Atlans se subtrahat, qui portat humeros suos caelum et cadat super nos. [4] Sic enim et huic melancholia facta est, subsecutum spasmus mortuus est, quia et prope aqua erat quando morsit eum canis, et timens aquam pertulit melancholia et mortuus est.

[1] Rufus of Ephesus describes different kinds of melancholy well. [2] For some people suffering from melancholy believe that they are cocks, and crow; others think that they are an earthen vessel, shout and say: 'stay there; do not break me'. [3] In this way a certain astronomer who suffered from melancholy also used to say: 'Let not Atlas, who carries the sky on his shoulders, slip away, so that it fall upon us'. [4] In this way, he [sc. the patient affected by rabies], too, suffered from melancholy, and died after a spasm, because he was close to water when the rabid dog bit him: he feared water, contracted melancholy, and died.

Commentary

This fragment and the next come from lectures on Galen's *On the Sects for Beginners*, the first and most important text in the late antique medical curriculum.²⁵ This fragment is taken from Agnellus of Ravenna, an iatrosophist who lived around the year 600 in Byzantine Ravenna and about whom very little is known.²⁶ Agnellus is here discussing chapter 8 of Galen's *On the Sects*. There, an empiricist explains how he would treat a wound inflicted by a dog: instead of just letting it scar over, he would cleanse it and keep it open, as well as administer drugs against madness. The empiricist insists, however, that he does not need knowledge of hidden causes to come to this treatment. Moreover, the empiricist also quotes the case of a patient who has not been treated correctly, then succumbs to rabies and dies (ἐξαιφνης ἔδεισε τε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πασθεῖς ἀπέθανεν; 1.88, 19 Kühn). At the end of his commentary on this lemma, Agnellus quotes Rufus as cited above. Agnellus first praises Rufus for his discussion of the

²³ Adel Omrani (ed.), *Ishāq Ibn Imrān: Traité de la mélancolie, Beit al-Hikma* (Tunis, 2010), 31 (Arabic text), 22 (French translation).

²⁴ Peter E. Pormann, 'Melancholy in the medieval world: the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim traditions', in Pormann (n. 2), 179–96, at 184.

²⁵ P.E. Pormann, 'Medical education in Late Antiquity: from Alexandria to Montpellier', in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff and C.R. van Tilburg (edd.), *Hippocrates and Medical Education: Selected Papers Read at the XIIIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, Universiteit Leiden, 24–26 August 2005* (Leiden, 2010), 419–41, at 424.

²⁶ J. Scarborough, 'Agnellus of Ravenna', in P.T. Keyser and G.L. Irby-Massie (edd.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists* (London, 2008), 46–7.

various types of melancholy (§1), and then provides three examples of melancholic delusions: that one is (1) a cock or (2) a fragile earthen vessel (§2); or that an astronomer fears that the heaven will fall upon him, when Atlas becomes tired (§3). Agnellus then returns to the patient suffering from rabies who has not been treated correctly (§4): he is similarly delusional about water, because he is affected by melancholy.

Rufus of Ephesus did conceive of rabies as a form of melancholy (see **F 20**, and **F 20a** below), and this is probably the reason why Agnellus quotes Rufus in the context of rabies. But, more importantly, this fragment has a close parallel in Galen's *On the Affected Parts*, Book 3, chapter 10:²⁷

ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ φόβοι συνεδρεῦουσιν τοῖς μελαγχολικοῖς, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ ταῦτὸν εἶδος τῶν παρὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς γίγνεται φαντασιῶν, εἶγε ὁ μὲν τις ὄστρακοῦς ἄετο γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξίστατο τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν, ὅπως μὴ συντριβεῖη θεώμενος δὲ τις ἄλλος ἀλεκτρυόνας ἄδοντας, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς πτέρυγας προσέκρουον πρὸ ἠδῆς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς βραχίονας προσκρούων ταῖς πλευραῖς ἐμμεῖτο τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ζώων. φόβος δ' ἦν ἄλλω, μὴ πως ὁ βασιτάζων τὸν κόσμον Ἄτλας ἀποσεισθῆται κεκμηκῶς αὐτόν, οὕτως τε καὶ αὐτὸς συντριβεῖη καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ συναπολέσειεν· ἄλλα τε μυρία τοιαῦτα φαντασιούνται.

Fears always accompany melancholic people, but they do not always get the same kind of unnatural imaginations. For instance, the one thinks that he is a piece of pottery so that he avoids those who approach him in order not to be broken. Another one saw cocks crowing, just as they flapped their wings before crowing. Like them, he would beat his arms against his side and imitate the animals' voice. Another feared that somehow Atlas, who carries the world, would get tired and shrug it off, and thus he would be crushed and he would cause us all to perish with him; and innumerable other of such imaginations.

Both Rufus and Galen thus list the same cases of fearful delusions that accompany melancholy: being a cock, being made of pottery, and having the sky crumble upon one because Atlas no longer supports it. Importantly, however, Rufus provides an additional detail: the person fearing that Atlas would no longer be able to sustain the heavens is identified as an astronomer. This fits in well with Rufus' notion of scholarly melancholy: too much thinking leads to melancholy (**FF 35–6**); he also lists the case of the geometer succumbing to melancholy in his case notes (**F 68**).

This parallel between Rufus and Galen further confirms Philip J. van der Eijk's and my suspicion that much of what Galen writes in the section on melancholy in *On the Affected Parts* actually goes back to Rufus;²⁸ in other words, Galen drew on the latter here (as presumably elsewhere)²⁹ without any acknowledgement. The delusion of being an earthen vessel is also mentioned in another fragment found in Aëtius of Amida (**F 11** §3), where Aëtius also mentions cases of melancholics thinking that they have parchment skin (§4) or do not have a head (§5; see also **F 12**). Moreover, the Arabic-writing physician ar-Rāzī (d. 925) quotes one of Rufus' cases where someone imagines that he has swallowed a snake (**F 13** §3); Galen repeats this story in his *Commentary on Hippocrates' 'Epidemics'*.³⁰ This last case confirms, again, that Galen drew on Rufus for clinical accounts.

²⁷ 8.189–90 Kühn; text and translation are taken from Ph.J. van der Eijk and P.E. Pormann, 'Appendix 1: Greek text, and Arabic and English: translations of Galen's *On the Affected Parts* iii. 9–10', in Pormann (n. 2), 265–87, at 282–3.

²⁸ Van der Eijk and Pormann (n. 27), 265.

²⁹ A. Sideras, 'Rufus von Ephesos und sein Werk im Rahmen der antiken Welt', *ANRW* ii.37.2 (1994), 1080–1253, at 1235.

³⁰ *CMG* v. 10.1, p. 207, line 45–p. 208, line 17; Madrid, Escorial, MS árabe 804, fol. 58b, lines 5–3 *ab imo*.

F 13b C.D. Pritchett (ed.), *Iohannis Alexandrini Commentaria in librum De sectis Galeni* (*John of Alexander: Commentary on Galen's 'On the Sects'*) (Leiden, 1982), 73:

[1] unde Rufus³¹ bene decernens differentias melancholie [2] dicit quod aliqui melancholia laborantes credunt se esse gallos et cantant, aliqui se a singulis invadi et clamant: 'Illic sta ne me rapias'. [3] Sic et aliqui astronomici melancholiam habentes timent ne aliquando Atlas se subtrahat et celum cadat. [4] sic et hac melancholia facta subsecutus est spasmus qui propter aquam erat factus quando canis eum momordit, et timuit aquam et pertulit melancholiam et mortuus est.

[1] Therefore, Rufus distinguishes the different kinds of melancholy well, [2] saying that some people suffering from melancholy believe that they are cocks, and crow; other think that they are beset by individual people and shout: 'stay there; do not rob me'. [3] Likewise, certain astronomers who had melancholy are afraid that Atlas slip away, and the sky fall down. [4] Likewise, after this melancholy came about; a spasm ensued.

Commentary

Westerink and his students have argued that the commentary on the *Sects for Beginners* attributed to John of Alexandria is little more than a 'freely rewritten, often much condensed version of most of Agnellus' commentary', and that one should speak of pseudo-John as the author of this work.³² The identities of various late antique 'Johns' have in any case often been conflated in the sources and are notoriously difficult to distinguish.³³ Be that as it may, Fischer also noted correctly that there is at least one textual corruption that would suggest that Agnellus is closer to the source than John (§2): in the latter, we read *ne me rapias* ('do not rob me'), whereas Agnellus has *ne me rumpas* ('do not break me').³⁴ The latter, of course, makes much better sense: the melancholic thinks that he is a piece of pottery and hence fragile; he is afraid of being broken, not of being robbed. Therefore, in so far as Rufus' text is concerned, Agnellus appears to be closer to the source.

For further analysis of parallels, see the commentary on **F 13a**.

F 20a 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Hippocratic Treatments (al-Mu'ālaḡāt al-Buqrā'īya)*, Book 3, ch. 30; edited according to MS S, p. 139, lines 16–19; MS O, fol. 113b, line 20–fol. 114a, line 4, and MS M, fol. 94a, lines 5–2 *ab imo*:

[1] ومن أعراض هذه الخاص بها [2] أنه ينظر إلى من ينظر إليه شذرا [3] ويقلب عليه عينيه ويهم بالوثوب³⁵ عليه [4] ويهز³⁶ في وجه من يكلمه [5] ولأجل هذا يلقب³⁷ بالكلب [6] وذكر روفس أنه إنما سمي بالكلب لأنه إذا عض إنسانا قتله كما يقتل الكلب الكلب [7] وحكى أن امرأة حدثت بها هذه العلة [8] وبالت على رجل في البئر فهلك³⁸ الرجل [9] ولم يذكر هذا أحد³⁹ سواه.

³¹ Following, with Fischer (n. 5), 182, the reading of manuscripts B and C in Pritchett's terminology; Pritchett himself adopted the corrupt reading *rursus*.

³² Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (ed.), *Agnellus of Ravenna: Lectures on Galen's 'De sectis'* (Buffalo, NY, 1981), x–xi.

³³ See P.E. Pormann, 'Jean le grammairien et le *De sectis* dans la littérature médicale d'Alexandrie', in I. Garofalo and A. Roselli (edd.), *Galenismo e medicina tardoantica: fonti greche, latine e arabe* (Naples, 2003), 233–63; P.E. Pormann, 'The Alexandrian summary (*Jawāmi'*) of Galen's *On the Sects for Beginners*: commentary or abridgment?', in P. Adamson, H. Baltussen, and M.W.F. Stone (edd.), *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, BICS Supplement 83, 2 vols (London, 2004), 2.11–33.

³⁴ Fischer (n. 5), at 182–3; the variant reading *ne me ledas* ('do not harm me') also exists in some of the manuscripts, and it could be a scribal attempt to correct the corrupt *rapias*.

³⁵ بالوثوب] MSS O, S; MS M: بالوثب.

³⁶ ويهز] MSS O, S; MS M: ويهد.

³⁷ ما يلقب] conieci; MS O: فالقرب; MSS M, S: ما يلقب.

³⁸ فيهلك] MSS S, M; MS O: فيهلك.

³⁹ أحد] MS M; MSS O, S: أحد.

[1] The symptoms of this [disease, i.e. rabies] that are specific to it include the following. [2] He [the patient] stares evilly at those looking at him. [3] He turns his eyes against them, intending to jump at them. [4] He shakes in front of those who talk to him. [5] Therefore, he is called 'dog [*al-kalb*]'. [6] Rufus said that he is called 'dog' because if he bites a human being, he kills him, just as a rabid dog [*al-kalb al-kalīb*] does. [7] He [sc. Rufus] recounted that there was a woman who suffered from this illness. [8] She urinated on a man in a well, and the man died. [9] No-one mentions this but he [Rufus].

Commentary

Like **FF 13a**, **13b**, and **20**, this fragment deals with rabies as a form of melancholy. It is taken from the *Hippocratic Treatises* by aṭ-Ṭabarī (see above, **F 7a**). It occurs in chapter 30 of the third treatise, a treatise which deals with internal diseases of the head, that is, various forms of headaches and mental disorders. Chapter 30 on rabies (strangely entitled 'On *māniyā*, that is rabies [*al-kalab*]') is followed by chapter 31 on melancholy, which shows that the author saw a connection between the two diseases.

In this chapter, 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī first describes the general symptoms of rabies, and then distinguishes it from a number of other similar ailments such as 'hot brainfever' (*as-sirsām al-ḥārr*), 'phrenitis' (spelled *qarānītis*),⁴⁰ and 'redness (in the brain)' (*al-ḥumra fī l-dimāğ*).⁴¹ The last illness, 'redness', for instance, is accompanied by virulent fever, but the patient does not lose his ability to speak coherently, whereas, in the case of rabies, no fever occurs, but the patient gradually loses his ability to speak coherently. Then 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī lists a number of symptoms specific to rabies (§1), such as staring in an evil and menacing manner (§§2–3), and reacting aggressively when spoken to (§4). This behaviour resembles that of dogs and the patient is therefore called 'dog' (§5). Rufus is cited as supporting this view (§6). Finally, 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī quotes the case history of a woman: she had contracted rabies, but then urinated on someone in a well, who eventually died (§§7–8). 'Abū l-Ḥasan insists that only Rufus related this story (§9). After the fragment above, 'Abū l-Ḥasan lists further symptoms of rabies, notably incredible daring and insolence: some patients jump into wells or from up high to their death. Then follows a long list of treatments and recipes against rabies.

Rufus here makes the point that rabies can be transmitted from one human being to another. This is not entirely surprising, as Rufus (**F 20**) and others thought that rabies was caused by a 'poison' (ióc) that is transferred from the diseased animal to the bitten human being.⁴² More remarkable is surely the case history of the rabid woman who urinated on someone in a well, so that the latter contracted rabies. Because of the way in which 'Abū l-Ḥasan quotes this story, we can be fairly certain that he is indeed quoting a rather strange case history accurately, even if he mentions jumping into wells as a symptom of rabies afterwards.

⁴⁰ In other authors, *sirsām ḥārr* and *qfarānītis* are used synonymously; see P.E. Pormann, 'Theory and practice in the early hospitals in Baghdad: al-Kaškarī *On Rabies and Melancholy*', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 15 (2002–3), 197–248, at 223–4. For more information about *phrenitis* in the Greek sources, see G.C. McDonald, 'Concepts and treatments of phrenitis in ancient medicine' (Diss., Newcastle University, 2009). 'Abū l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī discussed *qarānītis* in chapter 28.

⁴¹ Discussed in chapter 29.

⁴² See 'Tollwut', in K.-H. Leven (ed.), *Antike Medizin: Ein Lexikon* (Munich, 2005), 870–1.

F 50a Ibn al-Bayṭār, *The Enriching Book on Simple Drugs (al-Kitāb al-Muḡnī fī l-ʿadwiya al-mufrada)*, fol. 190b, lines 7–9.

قال روفس في المالنخوليا: شرب الماء البارد يهيج شهوة الطعام أكثر مما يهيجه الخمر

Rufus on Melancholy: Drinking cold water stimulates the appetite more than wine does.

Commentary

Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248) was a botanist and pharmacist from Muslim Spain, most celebrated for his major work, the *Comprehensive Book on Simple Drugs and Foods (al-Ġāmī li-mufradāt al-ʿadwiya wa-l-ʿaḡḍiyya)*.⁴³ The present fragment is taken from the much more modest treatise titled *Enriching Book on Simple Drugs (al-Kitāb al-Muḡnī fī l-ʿadwiya al-mufrada)*, which details, in 20 chapters, various simple drugs according to where they are to be employed in the body.⁴⁴ The short fragment occurs in the entry on the various uses of water. The quotation is nearly identical to **F 50** from ar-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book*; as Ibn al-Bayṭār often quotes from the latter, it is likely that this quotation is not an independent witness to the Arabic version of Rufus' *On Melancholy*, but depends on al-Rāzī.

Corrections

F 7 §2: instead of 'stomach', read 'intestines'.

F 14 §7: instead of '*tābitatan*', read '*nātiʿatan*'; change 'rigid' to 'prominent' (cf. the Latin version 'eminent'; and **F 11** §14 ἐξόφθαλμοι).

F 17 §13: instead of '*baʿn*' read '*baqar*'; change 'camels' to 'cows' (cf. the Latin version 'vaccinae').

F 42 §2: instead of 'absinth juice', read 'absinth wine' (cf. ἀπινθίτης οἶνος in Dsc. 5.39).

F 49 §1: instead of '*wa-yuʿtaru*' read '*wa-yudattaru*'; change translation to 'All he eats he must eat warm, he should be covered with blankets, and sit by the fire'.

F 54 §4: instead of '*yusqā*', read '*yusaffā*'; replace 'Then the water should be administered by drinking.' by 'Then filter the water.' (cf. the Latin version 'colatum').

F 57 §1: instead of '*fī l-tāniyati*' read '*fī maqālatihī*'; change translation to 'Rufus in his book *On Melancholy*'.

F 57 §3: instead of '*li-Urfiyūsa*', read '*li-Diyūniyūsa*'; change translation to 'for Dionysus'.⁴⁵

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⁴³ See now the excellent study by Fabian Käs, *Die Mineralien in der arabischen Pharmakognosie: eine Konkordanz zur mineralischen Materia medica der klassischen arabischen Heilmittelkunde nebst überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Studien*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 2010), 1.149–53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.154–9.

⁴⁵ Following Strohmaier (n. 6), 687; Ullmann (n. 3).