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Mad Rituals. Aretaeus of Cappadocia on 'Divine' Frenzy*

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on a paragraph from the work *On the Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment of Acute and Chronic Diseases* by the Imperial-era physician Aretaeus of Cappadocia (1st or 2nd c. AD). Found in the chapter *On Mania*, this passage describes a specific form of the condition, characterized by violent self-mutilation occurring in ritual contexts marked by *aulós* music, drunkenness, and collective exaltation. A close analysis of the text suggests that the physician is comprehensively alluding to the widespread cults of female deities such as *Magna Mater*, Cybele, *Dea Syria* and Rhea, as well as to their devotees, known in ancient sources as *Galli*. While Aretaeus refers to this type of madness as *entheos* ("divinely inspired") and compares its phenomenology to that of initiatory rituals, this article argues that he employs such designations ironically. Rather than embracing a religious framework, he interprets this form of *mania* in entirely naturalistic and psychopathological terms – an approach with few parallels in ancient medical thought.

Keywords: Aretaeus of Cappadocia - Ancient psychopathology - Religious mania - Magna Mater

"Two species of mania". Remarks on medical and religious madness in the ancient world

Ancient scientific thought, although showing keen interest in mental and behavioural alterations *qua* medical conditions, ventured only seldom into the minefields of religious frenzy, divine inspiration, and ecstatic states. Yet the classical world pullulated with religious practices whose boundaries with regard to *current* psychopathology seem to be particularly blurred, such as, for instance, the initiatory vision culminating in the Eleusinian Mysteries or the prophetic utterances of the Delphic Pythia. While the Ancients generally tended to look at these conditions as being god-sent, modern scholars – at least since the 19th century – have engaged in demystifying what would remain unexplainable in the light of actual scientific paradigms, often trying to debunk these psycho-physical states as effects of psychoactive drugs or as eccentric outcomes of pathological conditions, projecting into the past some present-day nosological labels. But to what extent were ancient beliefs about inspired madness due to a failure to recognize physical causes of what looked like a supernatural event? The very fact that ancient physicians wrote at length about mental disorders from a purely natural perspective, as is increasingly shown by recent research on this topic[1], suggests rather that a wide range of religious behaviour was outside the medical field of interest. This situation was not determined by a failure, but by a cautious attitude towards some of the most unsettling aspects of ancient religions: doctors were used to dealing only with those forms of madness whose divine origin could be clearly ruled out.

The distinction between two kinds of madness, the human and the god-sent, had indeed been theoretically founded at least since Plato. In the *Phaedrus*, the philosopher distinguishes a kind of *mania* that has to be considered as "an evil thing" (κακόν, 244a6) caused by human diseases (ὑπὸ νοσημάτων ἀνθρωπίνων, 265a 9-10), from a *mania* defined as "a divine gift", through which "the greatest of good things come to us" (μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν γίγνεται διὰ μανίας, θείᾳ μέντοι δόσει διδομένης)[2]. This "divine madness" (θεία μανία) "arising from a divinely-inspired change in our normal behavior" (ὑπὸ θείας ἐξαλλαγῆς τῶν εἰωθότων νομίμων, 265a 10-11) is further divided into four different parts (μέρη), each tied to a particular god: prophecy (μαντική), inspired by Apollo, the mystic rites (τελεστική) by Dionysus, the poetic (ποιητικήν) by the Muses, and the madness of love (ἐρωτικὴ μανία) by Aphrodite and Eros" (265b 2-5)[3].

It is noteworthy that Plutarch still uses this distinction in his *Amatorius*, shortly before 120 AD[4], distinguishing a kind of madness that "rises from the body" and which is "a result of distempers or commixtures of a certain sort" (δυσκρασίαις τισὶν ἢ συμμίξεσιν) from another "which does not exist without divine inspiration" (ἑτέρα δ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀθείαστος οὐδ' οἰκογενής, 758d9-e1). But Plutarch also extends the range of inspired madness to other instances of mania not mentioned in the *Phaedrus.* Besides the "prophetic enthusiasm" coming "from the inspiration and possession of

Apollon" (ἐνθουσιασμοῦ δὲ τὸ μαντικὸν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιπνοίας καὶ κατοχῆς), the enthusiasm coming "from the Muses", the "erotic madness", and "the Bacchic from Dionysos" (τὸ δὲ βακχεῖον ἐκ Διονύσου, 758e9), he mentions the "kind which is called 'mad with Ares' (ἀρειμάνιος) and is concerned with war" as well as further forms of divine frenzy: the Corybantic rituals, the Metroac rites, and the ceremonies in honour of Pan, since they "have much in common with the Bacchic revels" (τὰ γὰρ μητρῷα καὶ πανικὰ κοινωνεῖ τοῖς βακχικοῖς ὀργιασμοῖς, 758e9-f1). Plutarch does not dwell on the common traits of Bacchic ecstasy and Corybantism, but they can be inferred already from Plato's dialogues (as suggested by I. M. Linforth in a seminal article)[5]: their collective character, the exposition to unbridled music elicited by the sound of flutes (*auloi*), tympani and cymbals, played so as to perform exciting, exotic tunes; the unrestrained bodily movements and dances, stirred by group exaltation and by the exotic tones of 'barbarian' melodies. Metroac rituals and Pan's festivals, most likely, were grouped along with Bacchic frenzy on the same grounds. In any case, Plutarch says that such states arise from a "kind of agitation in the soul" which "has been named 'enthusiasm' because it shares and participates in a power that is divine" (ὁ τοιοῦτος σάλος ψυχῆς ἐνθουσιασμὸς ὠνόμασται μετοχῇ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως, 758e6-8)[6]. The emphasis on the concept of *enthusiasm*, which directly recalled to the Greek reader the state of being *entheos* ('having a god within'), shows that Plutarch shares the belief about a real involvement of the gods in the orgiastic cults, or, at the very least, he implies that "strange and unaccountable behavior might be attributed, sometimes seriously, sometimes whimsically, to possession by these gods"[7].

Further authors provide similar descriptions of this kind of festival with the same favourable connotation characterizing Plutarch's platonising account of Bacchic enthusiasm. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares the moods aroused in him by the reading of Demosthenes to the emotions felt by the celebrants of Corybantic, Metroac, and similar ceremonies, who experienced every sort of fancy under the effect of scents, visions or sounds, if not under the influence of some *daimones*[8]. Iamblichus explains as forms of authentic 'enthusiasm', triggered by the hearing of cymbals, tympani, and peculiar tunes, the ecstatic condition of the participants in the Corybantic rites as well as of persons possessed by the Phrygian god Sabazios or initiated to the Metroac cult[9]. The influence of Platonism on this point must be particularly decisive if – some one thousand year after Plato and beyond philosophical milieux – the medical writer Caelius Aurelianus (5th c. AD) could explicitly draw on the *Phaedrus* to circumscribe the field of competence of the physician within the broader area of what, in Latin, was called indistinctly *furor*[10]. Unlike Plutarch, Caelius follows accurately the main points of the Platonic account of divine madness and avoids any reference to ecstatic states that were not mentioned in the *Phaedrus*. However, what is most relevant in his line of argument (likely retracing his Greek source Soranus of Ephesus, 2nd c. BC)[11] is that the four kinds of divine mania listed by Plato are excluded from medical theory

and practice, which deal instead with that form of madness whose aetiology is visibly found in the body. Plato's notion of the kind of mania caused by "human diseases" is made to correspond with the medical notion of *furor*/μανία.

At any rate, even though a distinction between bodily and divine mania was effective and widely accepted, the problem of telling which forms of madness were authentically 'divine' had probably been a much debated issue for a long time, as it can already be noted in the Hippocratic Corpus (where, however, the main targets are not religious beliefs *per se*, but those conceptions regarding illness as a pollution or a punishment originating from the gods and involving healing practices which were considered as impious or superstitious by the physicians)[12]. The differences between Plato's illustrations of divine mania and the inclusion of orgiastic and savage revels into the category of 'enthusiasm' by Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Iamblichus is a telling example of possible dissents regarding the divine causation of religious frenzies. Why should these not be rather recorded in the column of *bodily* mania, as was the case for the "so-called sacred disease" in the eyes of the Hippocratic physicians? The dialogical context of Plutarch's *Amatorius* retains trace of similar disagreements in showing the Epicurean Pemptides sarcastically equating erotic madness with epilepsy *qua* bodily diseases (σώματός τις... νόσος)[13]: and, as we shall see, Pemptides was indeed in good company in Antiquity.

Aretaeus' "infinite species of mania" (*SD*, III, 6, 1–10)

It is within this problematic frame that it is possible to shed new light on the work of Aretaeus of Cappadocia, a Greek physician active in the 1st or 2nd century AD[14], author of one of the rare general treatises on acute and chronic diseases handed down to us from Antiquity[15]. Aretaeus' artificial and archaising Ionic prose, echoing 5th–4th century BC medical 'classic' texts[16], vividly evokes the Hippocratic accuracy in clinical depictions of patients and illnesses, not without some quirky features in which the traits of a "certain hermétisme médical" have been glimpsed[17]. In his clinical portrayals that can be regarded as "the best disease descriptions of any surviving ancient author"[18], and especially in the colourful depictions of psychic disorders, modern medicine has often recognised – whether rightly or wrongly – anticipations of contemporary pathological labels[19]. On the other hand, research on Aretaeus' psychopathology in classical scholarship has remained approximately at the stage where J. Pigeaud left it decades ago[20], despite the wave of interest in Imperial and late ancient medicine in recent years. Aretaeus' treatise, nonetheless, deserves particular attention insofar as it provides essential (though overlooked) information as regards the movable boundaries between 'enthusiasm' and bodily madness in ancient medical thought. Against the background of the Platonic influence on the medical understanding of madness, we will point out the peculiarities of Aretaeus' treatment of divine frenzy as a major wit-

ness of an alternative strand of thought on this matter, developed in counterpoint with the tradition still attested in Caelius Aurelianus. We will take our cue from Aretaeus' description of 'mania' (μανίη) as a "chronic distraction (ἔκστασις) without fever"[21], a standard definition paralleled in other medical treatises from the 4th c. BC onwards. In his account, Aretaeus goes on to distinguish the disease itself from other temporary conditions caused by allogeneic factors as well as from its epiphenomena and other similar pathological patterns:

> *Even if a fever may whenever supervene, this would not be characteristic of mania but would rather derive from some other incident. Thus, wine inflames to derangement in drunkenness, and certain edibles, such as mandragora and hyoscyamus, drive mad, without these effects being ever called 'mania' since, arising extemporarily, they subside within a short time, while madness affects steadily. In mania there is nothing resembling the senile dotage, calamity of the old age, which is a torpor of the senses and a benumbing of the cognitive and intellectual faculties due to the chilling [of the patient's complexion]. Mania, instead, is somehow hot and dry as regards its cause, and disordered as concerns its effects. Moreover, while dotage arising in senility is not intermittent, and dies together [with the patient], mania has intervals and, though with sufferings, it eventually ceases. An interval occurring by reason of mania itself is not [to be considered] complete if the evil is not suitably cured with medical treatment or [if it recurs] because of the mildness of the season. For certain who seemed to have recovered, either the season of spring or errors in the regimen or a passion provoked by circumstances has brought on a relapse*[22].

In short, mania is a *chronic* pathological condition involving alternate moments of acme and relief which Aretaeus calls "intervals" (διαλείψεις). According to Aretaeus intervals of quietness are not to be seen as momentary recoveries from the disease, as is shown by its fits occurring again when the disease is defectively cured or triggered by temperate climate (spring being the most propitious season for its recrudescence). Unlike momentary alterations of drunkenness and intoxication via ingestions of substances, mania is produced by an excess of internal heat and may recidivate in spring owing to dietary misconducts or to the outbreak of violent emotions (ὀργή). The illness affects those natures that are irascible (ὀργίλοι), irritable (ὀξύθυμοι), active (ῥέκται), gentle (εὐμαρέες), hilarious (ἱλαροί), puerile (παιδιώδεες), especially in puberty and youth (these ages being characterised by plenty of heat and blood) as well as in individuals who are at the height of their strength (ἀκμή). Such bad habits as voracity (πολυφαγίη), immoderate repletion (πλησμονὴ ἄμετρος), insobriety (μέθη), lechery (λαγνείη), and lust (ἔρωτες ἀφροδισίων) may work as 'precipitating causes' (προφάσιες) of the disease by provoking obstructions in the habitual flows of blood, bile or sweat[23]. Later in the text, Aretaeus describes varied behavioural manifestations of mania:

> *Those whose madness is joyful laugh, joke around, dance night and day, or go publicly to marketplace with a crown in their head as if they had won a contest; this species is inoffensive to those around. Others become mad because of passion; and these sometimes rend their clothes and kill their attendants, and lay hands upon themselves. This calamity is not without danger for those around*[24].

Pigeaud saw in this passage a polarity between two main kinds of madness, "l'une gaie, l'autre funèbre et funeste"[25], a typology which is indeed well attested in ancient medico-philosophical literature from the Hippocratics to Plato, Galen, and beyond[26]. But this reading contrasts with the very first words of the chapter, where Aretaeus states that "the ways of madness are numberless in *species*, although belonging to a single *genus"* (μανίης τρόποι εἴδεσι μὲν μύριοι, γένει δὲ μοῦνος εἷς)[27]. One can observe here a clear borrowing from the Aristotelian categories of species and genus[28], whereby εἶδος and γένος (as their Latin equivalents *species* and *genus* adopted in English) underline respectively the 'visible', 'apparent' features of mania (εἶδος and ἰδέη being in direct etymological connection with the verb εἴδω/ὁράω, "I see"), and the common 'origin' recognisable behind exterior appearances (*genos* ultimately meaning a lineage reality that gathers all beings from the same progenitor)[29]. Therefore, if ἰδέη and εἶδος are employed synonymously by Aretaeus, as I think[30], the "hilarious" and "raging" ἰδέαι of mania must be considered as concrete exemplifications, among other possible cases, of the unity of genus behind the "countless species" of the disease. This view is confirmed later on, when Aretaeus reiterates that ἰδέαι are μυρίαι[31] and then goes on to describe further manifestations of the disease: the various species of mania are therefore only 'phenomenological' varieties of the same pathological kind, arising from the same causal complex (*i.e.* excessive heat and dryness of the patient's constitution).

Interestingly, the ways in which mania manifests itself are also said to vary even in relation to the socio-economic conditions of the patients and their level of literacy – a fairly exceptional trait if compared with the medical literature of the Imperial age, which mostly reflects the situation of the wealthy classes, these having servants and diversified measures for containing and caring for their patients[32]. Aretaeus gives here a unique insight into the socially determined 'variants' of madness, specifically focusing on the "bizarre fancies" (ἀλλόκοτοι φαντασίαι)[33] of uneducated patients such as porters, ceramists, carpenters or stonemasons: one is afraid of the falling of oil-flasks, another, who believes himself a brick, does no longer drink as if he could dissolve into liquid, while a third one – Aretaeus' most famous case report –, a "sound workman" (σαόφρων ἐργάτης), used to completely lose his mind only when being outside his customary workplace[34]. The roughness of the disease in patients from lower classes is openly contrasted with the milder ἰδέαι affecting educated (and hence upper-class) individuals. These latter's portrayals, however, seem to betray some ironical remarks:

> *In patients of a good natural disposition and ready at learning [mania produces] untaught astronomy, spontaneous philosophy, poetry from the Muses, forsooth: a good education has something useful even in disease*[35].

Such statements can hardly be taken seriously. The adjectives ἀδίδακτος and αὐτόματος to denote the astronomical, philosophical, and poetical performances of these learned patients acquire meaning only when recognising their ironical usage, a hue that can be

glimpsed also in the use of the particle δῆθεν ('forsooth', 'in very truth')[36] as well as in the whole following sentence, whereby Aretaeus depicts the oddities of these sick individuals as resulting from their education: the whole passage certainly alludes, with some humour, to the action of the Muses (or to comparable beliefs about inspiration) that these rich and educated patients (and perhaps their entourage) imagined to be at the origin of their ramblings.

Yet a major problem arises here: is Aretaeus limiting his irony to individuals sick with mania or, conversely, is he suggesting that all those who claim to be inspired by the Muses should be considered clinically mad, which would critically hint at the reception of Plato's treatment of poetic mania on the ancient medical line of thought culminating in Caelius Aurelianus? It is difficult to come up with a clear-cut solution: probably, this is one of those passages whereby Aretaeus best expresses his 'hermeticism'. In any case, a similar issue is at stake later in the treatise, when Aretaeus takes into account other assertedly godly-inspired behaviour. In this case we will have more chances to grasp his view on the matter.

"Another species of mania": Aretaeus on entheos maniē.

In Aretaeus' *De causis et signis diuturnorum morborum*, immediately after the chapter on mania we examined above, we find a separate paragraph whose title reads μανίης εἶδος ἕτερον, "another species of mania"[37]. The nominative form of this heading (not expressed through περί + genitive, *e.g. perì maniēs*, as usual in the treatise) as well as its cryptic phrasing reveal that the whole paragraph has suffered some ecdotic vicissitudes:

> *Some slash their limbs as if their own gods exacted it, pleasing them in a pious fancy. This mania uniquely concerns this assumption, while for the rest they are sane. They are stirred by the sound of flutes and elation, by inebriation, or by the incitement of those around them. That's what divine mania (entheos... maniē) is. When they recover from madness, they are cheerful and heedless, as though they were initiated to the god; yet they are pallid and emaciated, and feeble because of the pains of their wounds*[38].

As for the cases of mania described above, Aretaeus' main focus is on behavioural facts such as aberrant self-mutilative practices accomplished by unnamed people during a festival in honour of unnamed gods, characterised by abuse of alcoholic beverages, collective euphoria and the strident sounds elicited by flutes. The crisis is described as marked by different phases. In the first one, presumably in a *crescendo* of unrestrained rhythms and collective elation, the participants in the revel make deep cuts on the surface of their body, dancing frantically as long as (one might guess) weariness and severe bleeding allow. After the climax of the fit (we are not told if going through fainting, or continuous or interrupted music), they enter a state of ostensible joy and serenity somehow comparable to a mystical state. Yet appearances are contra-

dicted by Aretaeus' clinical interpretation: rather than composed and pacified, these people appear weakened and exhausted by the severity of the self-inflicted physical pain. Such a crude and effective description, nonetheless, leaves aside a central issue that needs to be solved before tackling the problem of Aretaeus' assessment of what he calls 'divine mania': who are the subjects of this portrayal?

The few, essential lines of Aretaeus' picture have often been compared to the ancient descriptions of the collective revels in honour of the Anatolian goddess Cybele[39] (known in Antiquity by a number of denominations, for instance *Mater Deorum*, *Mater Magna* / Μεγάλη Μήτηρ[40]) – roughly the same festivals which Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus refer to as 'Metroac' rituals (μητρῷα). The passage can indeed be read as a fairly faithful description of the bloody religious festivals celebrated for this exotic divinity, whose cult was introduced very early in Greek and Roman societies, at least, respectively, since the 6th and the 3rd centuries BC. However, this goddess "both ancestral and foreign"[41], was never completely assimilated into 'canonical' cults, since several features of the related rituals (as well as the anomalous way of life entailed by her worship) were usually perceived as repugnant and inhuman, as witnessed by the polemical or denigrating tone of their ancient descriptions[42]: besides all those traits highlighted above for Bacchic-like festivals, the devotees of Cybele, called *galli* (Gr. γάλλοι), are often described in ancient sources as emasculating themselves with sharp earthenware shards in the course of their rites, wearing female clothing and living as itinerant beggars moving from town to town. As ancient sources were more interested in mockery and criticism than in faithful reporting, most details of these rituals remain obscure: at any rate, among the few traits beyond doubt in the orgiastic worship seem to be unbridled music and dancing, frantic agitation and some kind of bodily mutilation or self-chastisement (the invariable presence of castration in the ritual being increasingly questioned in recent literature[43]). It should be noted that the disquieting features of the revel described by Aretaeus were also shared by rituals not uniquely linked to the cult of Cybele. B. Kollmann, suggesting that Aretaeus' depiction may have stemmed from his autoptic observation of religious festivals actually celebrated in his native region, extended the physician's possible targets from the attendants of the cult of Cybele/*Mater Magna* to the followers of *Dea Syria*/Atargatis and the devotees of the Cappadocian goddess Mâ (the equivalent of the female Greek and Roman deities Enyo and Bellona)[44], owing to the way how these are depicted in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* and in two writings – the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*[45] and the novel *Lucius*[46] – whose ascription to Lucian is debated when not openly rejected. Aretaeus, therefore, could have most likely alluded to this group of similar rituals performed in honour of various divinities by their consecrated 'slaves'[47] – in so far as "the most visible and dramatic similarity between the goddesses" – as remarked by J. L. Lightfoot – "was of course their highly distinctive bands of eunuch followers"[48].

Pierre Petit (1617-1687), author of the first modern commentary to Aretaeus' treatise[49], was already well aware that this passage might refer comprehensively to "the Corybants, the *galli* of the Mother of the Gods and of the Syrian Goddess, which is perhaps the same as Cybele, priests who, simulating inspired frenzy to deceive people with a pretence of prophecy, lacerated their arms with swords and even bruised themselves with scourges"[50]. The French *érudit* also linked Aretaeus' depiction to the cruel, albeit parodistic, portrayal of the cult of Atargatis traced out in the *Metamorphoses* by Apuleius[51], and enriched his tableau with two quotations from Plautus[52] and a biblical reference to the priests of Baal confronted by Elijah – who "cried aloud and, as was their custom, [...] cut themselves with swords and lances until the blood gushed out over them"[53]. Therefore, whether for erudite ostentation or because of interpretative prudence, Petit did not assimilate Aretaeus' description to any of these rites, preferring to loosely hint at a cluster of 'barbarian', 'orientalising' cults characterized by aberrant behaviour, wildness, cruel self-punishment and bodily mortification. All in all, this hypothesis seems the most convincing. It can be confirmed by Aretaeus' reference to the μέλεα ('limbs', 'members') that the fanatic worshippers of these divinities slashed during their rituals[54], which can hardly allude *exclusively* to their self-castration (the word αἰδοῖα, 'pudenda', would have been more suitable in this case). Rather than to a particular ceremony, the text plausibly refers to any sort of religious festival involving self-harming performances, as suggested by Aretaeus' generic allusion to the *theoi* worshipped in the ritual.

Be that as it may, Aretaeus' charge of 'madness' on these "poor wretches"[55] living on the margins of ancient societies is not isolated. One can actually find in ancient literature (although without any medical connotation) frequent descriptions of the rites performed by the *galli* emphasizing the insane traits of their self-mutilative behaviour, often linked to the will of their goddesses or with a striving to imitate their majestic femininity[56]. In Christian literature, Metroac rites are mostly presented as a diabolical subversion of the eucharistic sacrifice, operated by demons that possess or influence the servants of the goddess, driving them mad and impelling them to a dramatically blaspheme parody of religious celibacy[57]. Their 'inspired' frenzy is regarded by the Middle-Platonist Apuleius as an utter pretence, giving rise to false prophecies and conflicting with some basic theological assumptions, "as if", he writes, "the gods' presence was not supposed to make men better than themselves, but rather weak or sick"[58].

Such judgments are in striking contrast to the positive assessments reserved to Corybantic and Metroac revels as well as to the acknowledgement of their divine origin by Plutarch and Iamblichus (and perhaps implied by Dionysius of Halicarnassus). On which side should therefore be placed Aretaeus' treatment of ἔνθεος μανίη? According to Linforth, who took into account the text as a witness for the history of Corybantism, "Aretaeus' description of the mad enthusiasm of the rites is definitively distinguished from pathological madness"[59]. On the same lines, more recently,

A. Henrichs has stated that Aretaeus' description, though rigorous, does not prevent him from seeing in the divine madness a special condition not to be subjected to medical treatment[60]. Against these readings, I am going to argue that one should understand Aretaeus' description of Corybantic behaviour on the very grounds of his medical conception of mania.

I think that one should not take literally the statement that ἔνθεος ἥδε ἡ μανίη, "this mania is inspired by the god" (6, 11, 8), as both Linforth and Henrichs did. This reading would indeed conflict with Aretaeus' account of the auto-mutilative practices of the devotees, described as a response to an *alleged* request by their gods (θεοῖς ἰδίοις ὡς ἀπαιτοῦσι), as well as with the description of the ostensible calm and nonchalance they show after the ritual – "as they had been initiated to a god" (ὡς τελεσθέντες τῷ θεῷ) –, which is actually explained as a kind of traumatic shock. The use of the adverb ὡς before the participles ἀπαιτοῦσι and τελεσθέντες clearly indicates the deceptiveness of both circumstances[61]: the devotees mutilate themselves *in the belief that* their gods exacted it, they appear cheerless *as though* initiated into a mystery cult. But neither situation is real, so that the nature of their 'inspiration' is reduced to a sort of inner delusion. Moreover, remembering the ironical tone of Aretaeus' treatment of the mania of erudite patients, we might translate ἔνθεος ἥδε ἡ μανίη as "that's what divine mania is", or even as "that's what is called divine mania", which would echo the beginning of the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease* – and the paragraph would remain quite consistent. In the same sentence, the devotees' conviction to indulge their gods' whims through gory acts is also characterised as delusional, as I am going to argue through an analysis of the expression εὐσεβεῖ φαντασίῃ.

Let us focus first on the term φαντασίη, whose meaning ranges approximately from 'appearance' to 'representation' or 'imagination', given its connection with the verb φαίνομαι, and thus the link – from its earliest occurrences in Plato[62] – with sensory perception. Here, however, the term has a different connotation, as its other occurrences in the treatise may suggest. Although φαντασίη (and related terms) are also attested in Aretaeus to indicate sensory perception and its impairments[63], this use is neither exclusive nor preferential in his work, as shown by the aforementioned case of the "bizarre" phantasíai of mad craftsmen, consisting in delirious *ideas* and beliefs *not* involving the patients' sensibility, or by his definition of melancholy as a "discouragement in relation to a single *idea*" (ἀθυμίη ἐπὶ μιῇ φαντασίῃ)[64]. Therefore, 'fancy' is the proper way to render Aretaeus' particular use of the word in the phrase εὐσεβεῖ φαντασίῃ. This nuance is more and more enhanced in the following sentence, whereby the ἔνθεος mania is said to solely concern an individual "assumption" (ὑπόληψις) about the requests of the gods[65]. This supplies a key to gather the sense of the association of φαντασίη with the adjective εὐσεβής. Pigeaud, in his tentative renderings of the whole expression, hesitated between "images de piété", "religieuse imagination", and "imagination pieuse"[66], displaying an interpretative oscillation (already

perceptible in earlier English translations of the passage[67]) between a comprehensive notion of 'religiousness' as including what customarily pertains to religion, and an idea of 'piousness' *qua* conformity to traditional beliefs, norms and practices – the latter being more adherent to the literal meaning of the word. It would be difficult to decide between these two options without considering again the features of Aretaeus' style. Here, with the usual irony we already noticed in some passages, Aretaeus uses εὐσεβής in its narrow meaning, *i.e.* 'pious', to express his critical attitude toward the attendants at Metroac-like revels and their 'fancy' of acting religiously.

The inspired nature of this form of mania is then to be specifically understood as a form of misbelief about the gods entailing severe behavioural aberrations, whose divine origin can be undoubtedly excluded. The title of the paragraph itself (quite regardless of its philological reliability) appears at present under a new light, as it discloses exact information about the nosological positioning of the picture it contains: like the different *ideai* of mania described above, the *eidos maniēs* by which these religious fanatics are affected is to be taken as a *species*, among others, of the only *genus* of the disease. A unitary reading of this paragraph and the preceding one *On mania* confirms this point, since the description of *entheos* frenzy appears indeed to be strictly modelled on that of bodily mania, as it emphasises those symptoms and behavioural traits that are more easily inscribable within the general outline of the disease. Firstly, the characterisation of religious frenzy is coherent with Aretaeus' general account of *maniē* as a disease affecting primarily intellectual faculties and, for this reason, distinguishable from other pathological conditions (like *phrenītis*, which is said on the contrary to entail perceptive alterations). The representation of manic patients as individuals unable to form appropriate judgments about things (οὐ γιγνώσκουσι δὲ περὶ αὐτέων ὡς χρὴ γιγνώσκειν, *SD* I, 6, 8, 1) may well be mirrored in the description of self-harming insanity as a form of *mental* delusion. Drunkenness, music and collective euphoria can be considered as external, secondary causes contributing to the outbreak of the disease, similarly to how the intoxicating effects of wine, mandragora, hyoscyamus contributed to the ὀργή provoked "by circumstances" in III, 6, 2, 9. The identikit of the temperaments more inclined to mania (ὀργίλοι, ὀξύθυμοι, ῥέκται, εὐμαρέες, ἱλαροί, παιδιώδεες)[68] as irritable, puerile young individuals at the height of their vital strength[69] is consistent with the image of the *galli* in other ancient sources, from which secondary literature has sometimes drawn the portrait of young male beggars whose callow personality and disordered sexual desire would have impelled a sort of psychotic disorder[70]. Similarly, drunkenness (μέθη), lechery (λαγνείη), and lust (ἔρωτες ἀφροδισίων), which are counted among the precipitating causes (προφάσιες) of mania[71], which sometimes manifests itself as a total loss of modesty in patients performing sexual acts in public[72], all these elements frequently occur in the sources quoted above, where Metroac devotees are often depicted as "sexually aberrant fanatics"[73] who hypocritically presented their lasciviousness as an

eccentric expression of chastity and purity[74]. Further similarities between the paragraph on *entheos maniē* and the preceding ones regard the continuous dancing of patients affected by hilarious mania (ὀρχῶνται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρης) and the self-harming acts carried out by those suffering with the 'raging' form of mania (ἑωυτέοισι χεῖρας ἐπήνεγκαν)[75]. Furthermore, some manic patients are described as hearing "ringings and buzzings in the ears, up to [the sound] of trumpets and flutes" (ἐπ' ἐνίοισι γὰρ ἔασι ἰδίῃ ἦχοι ὥτων καὶ βόμβοι, μέχρι δή γε σαλπίγγων τε καὶ αὐλῶν, 6, 9, 1): and this feature is clearly reminiscent of a passage in Plato's *Crito* where Corybants are said to imagine hearing pipes even in the absence of any external stimulus[76]. Other patients stare with "hollow eyes", unblinking[77], like the Corybants described by Pliny who seem to sleep with their eyes open[78]. Even the periodic occurrence of Metroac revels – mostly held in spring, as the Roman *Hilaria* and *Megalesia*, celebrated in honour of the Great Mother on the March equinox and in April – might have suggested to the physician an analogy with the intermittent outbreaks and relapses of mania caused by seasonal warming in predisposed individuals.

All these remarks should show that Aretaeus considers religious frenzy as a *human* disease: in his depiction of *entheos maniē* there is no room for positive appraisals nor for any acknowledgement of its divine origin, as found in Plutarch's *Amatorius* and in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He makes no concession to the claims of divine inspiration of the participants in the rituals, exactly as he does with the educated people who believe themselves inspired by the Muses or ramble about astrology. In this respect, the *entheos maniē* appears closer to the "bizarre fancies" dramatically striking low social classes than to the pretentious reveries of the erudites.

A last point has still to be made for a better collocation of this medical text in the context of its literary genre: namely, the suggestion that Aretaeus could have described a phenomenon which he had been witnessed in his native Cappadocia and considered with his clinical gaze[79]. I think that this suggestion cannot be demonstrated nor fully denied. Our knowledge of Aretaeus' biography is limited to his geographical origin mentioned in the incipits in some manuscripts, and nothing else can be conjectured about his possible journeys[80], in a time when his colleagues could cross far and wide the Mediterranean in search of training and professional opportunities. Furthermore, although originating from the Anatolian area, in particular from Phrygia and Lydia, the Metroac and Corybantic cults were widespread throughout the Graeco-Roman world. In any case, Aretaeus' paragraph, whether it is or not an eyewitness testimony of such rituals, should be read as a valuable testimony of a rationalistic attitude towards 'enthusiastic' states which has parallels only in texts from different times and places. A passage of the *Anonymus Parisinus*, approximatively coeval with Aretaeus' treatise, describes at length a pathological condition (denominated ἐνθεαστικά[81]) almost identical to that outlined by Aretaeus, as it arises from physical causes, is stirred by music and fumigations and is accompanied by an "entrenched false opinion about

the gods" (τῆς ἐμπεφυκυίας… ψευδῶς περὶ θεῶν δόξης)[82]. Much less in detail, similar conditions are variously mentioned in the Pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae*[83], in Oribasius' *Collectiones medicae*[84], in Paulus of Aegina's *Epitomae medicae*[85], and in Paulus of Nicaea's *De re medica*[86]. A comparison between Aretaeus' description of *entheos maniē* and these texts would go considerably beyond the scope of this work, yet as a whole they are valuable proofs of the persistence of significant lay explanations of divine mania in ancient thought. The *Anonymus Parisinus* reports that the 4th c. BC physician Praxagoras of Cos was "the only one among the ancients" (τῶν ἀρχαίων)" – or perhaps "almost the only one"[87] – who explained the so-called "enthusiastic affection" (ἐνθεαστικὸν πάθος) by a "certain rising of bubbles" (πομφολύγων ἐπανάστασιν) around the heart[88]. In ascribing a physical cause against the divine origin suggested by the very denomination of the disease, Praxagoras was probably following a path opened in the Peripatetic school, whose physiological and anatomical doctrines he was most likely acquainted with[89]. Along with other scant evidence – a lost work of Theophrastus *On enthusiasms* (περὶ ἐνθουσιασμῶν[90]) and the inclusion of the Sibyls, the Bakides, "and all those who are inspired" (*entheoi*) among the *enthousiastikoi* in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problem XXX*[91] – this testimony on Praxagoras probably reflects a medico-physiological line of enquiry stemming from the Aristotelian definition of *enthousiasmos* as "an affection of the character of the soul"[92], whereby the hypothesis of the influence of the gods was plainly dismissed. Aretaeus' treatment of divine frenzy might be connected to this 'rationalistic' tradition of thought about enthusiastic states. In any event, his account of *entheos maniē* stands out among extant sources as representative a medical line of thought on divine madness opposed to Caelius Aurelianus, who accepted the "two kinds of mania" (μανίας... εἴδη δύο) defended in Plato's *Phaedrus*[93]. Aretaeus belongs to a neglected strand in ancient scientific thought, one that certainly deserves further consideration[94].

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1. For fresh overviews on the subject, see Harris WV (ed.), Mental Disorders in Classical World. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2013, and Singer P, Thumiger C (eds), Mental Illness in Ancient Medicine. From Celsus to Paulus of Aegina. Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2018.
2. Plat., Phaedr., 244a 5-8 (ed. and transl. Emlyn-Jones – Preddy, pp. 404-405).
3. Ivi, 265a 10-11, 265b 2- 5 (ed. and transl. Ref. 2. p. 479).
4. See Jones CP, Towards a chronology of Plutarch's works. JRS 1966;56:61-74.

5. Linforth IM, The Corybantic Rites in Plato. UCPCP 1946;13(5):121-162. esp. p. 131 ff.
6. Plut., Amat., 758d9-e8 (transl. Hembold, pp. 363-365).
7. As Linforth, Ref. 5, put it regarding Corybantism.
8. Dion. Hal., Dem., 22: διαφέρειν τε οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ τῶν τὰ μητρῷα καὶ τὰ κορυβαντικὰ καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι, τελουμένων, εἴτε ὀσμαῖς ἐκεῖνοί γε ‹εἴτ' ὄψεσιν› εἴτε ἤχοις εἴτε τῶν δαιμόνων πνεύματι αὐτῶν κινούμενοι τὰς πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσι φαντασίας ("I feel exactly the same as those who take part in the Corybantic dances and the rites of Cybele the Mother-Goddess, and other similar ceremonies, whether it is because these celebrants are inspired by the scents, ‹sights›, or sound or by the influence of the deities themselves, that they experience many and various sensations", transl. Usher, p. 323).
9. Iambl., Myst., III, 9, 1–5: ὡς τῶν ἐξισταμένων ἔνιοί τινες αὐλῶν ἀκούοντες ἢ κυμβάλων ἢ τυμπάνων ἤ τινος μέλους ἐνθουσιῶσιν, ὡς οἵ τε κορυβαντιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῷ Σαβαζίῳ κάτοχοι καὶ οἱ μητρίζοντες (ed. Saffrey-Segonds-Lecerf 2013 p. 88, 15-20).
10. Cæl. Aur., Chron., I, 144 (Bendz-Pape, I, p. 514, 29 – 516, 5): *Plato in Phaedro duplicem furorem dixit: unum fieri mentis intentione ex corporis causa vel origine, alterum divinum siue immissum eiusque Apollinem inspiratorem esse, atque nunc vocari divinationem, ab antiquis vero appellatum furorem. Magna Graecorum vetustas manían appellabat, quae nunc mantice dicta est. Item alium inquit ex Libero fieri patre, alium ex Amore et appellavit eroticon, alium ex Musis, quem appellavit protrepticon, quod carmen instruere videatur*.
11. See Pigeaud J, Pro Caelio Aureliano. In: Sabbah G (ed.), Mémoires III. Médecins et Médecine dans l'Antiquité. Saint Étienne: Centre Jean Palerne; 1982. pp. 105-117 and Urso AM, Dall'autore al traduttore. Studi sulle Passiones celeres et tardae di Celio Aureliano. Messina: EDAS; 1997.
12. One may think of the clash between medical 'rational' thought and magical-religious beliefs that shapes such treatises as Sacred Disease and Diseases of Young Girls. In the former (late 5th c. BC), the author argues against those "magicians, purifiers, mendicants, and charlatans" (μάγοι τε καὶ καθάρται καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες, II, 2-3, ed. and transl. Potter 2023, pp. 142, 9-10 = L VI, p. 354, 13-14) who claim that the "sacred disease" (in which we can recognize a description of epilepsy) is caused by capricious demones and fickle divinities whose wrath must be appeased with magics and enchantments. In Diseases of Young Girls (a fragment of a lost work datable to the Hellenistic period, according to Lami A (ed.), [Ippocrate]. Sui disturbi virginali. Testo, traduzione e commento. Galenos 2007(1):15-59, p. 17 n. 4.), the author describes the impressive hallucinatory seizures of a number of young female patients who "think they see malevolent spirits" (ὁρῆν δοκέειν δαίμονάς τινας, 1, 7-8 (ed. and transl. Potter 2010, p. 358, 7-8 = L VIII, p. 466, 6-7) urging them to hang themselves or to throw themselves down wells: a state of derangement exploited by self-styled seers who order them to "dedicate many different things to Artemis" instead of healing them. Both authors provide an explanation based on anatomic and physiological knowledge to refute all sort of non-natural causation.
13. Plut., Amat., 755e 4-7.
14. For these dating hypothesis see Oberhelman SM, On the Chronology and Pneumatism of Aretaios of Cappadocia. In: Haase W, Temporini H (eds), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW), II (37, 2). Berlin-New York: De Gruyter; 1994. pp. 941-966, Nutton V, Aretaios. In: Cancik H, Schneider H (eds), Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der

Antike (I). Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler; 1996. pp. 1051-1052; Nutton V, Ancient Medicine. London-New York: Routledge; 2004. p. 210.

15. The only two other similar treatises are the aforementioned Caelius Aurelianus' De morbis acutis et chroniis and, in Greek, the Imperial-age treatise Anonymi medici de morbis acutis et chroniis (or Anonymus Parisinus). Aretaeus' surviving eight books, gathered two by two under four different titles (De causis et signis acutorum morborum = SA, I-II, De causis et signis diuturnorum morborum = SD, III-IV, De curatione acutorum morborum = CA, V-VI, De curatione diuturnorum morborum = CD, VII-VIII) and originally grouped under a general heading presently unknown, were preserved in a single Byzantine manuscript lacking its incipit and final parts, which is the source of the subsequent handwritten tradition dating from 15th and 16th centuries (see Roselli A, Les malades d'Arétée de Cappadoce. In: Jouanna J, Leclant J (eds), La médecine grecque antique. Actes du 14ème colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 10 & 11 octobre 2003. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; 2004. pp. 163-176, p. 164 n. 3). – The only modern edition of this work is Hude K (ed.), Aretaeus. Berlin: Berlin: Akademie Verlag; 1958.
16. On Aretaeus' style cfr. Deichgräber K, Aretaeus von Kappadozien als medizinischer Schriftsteller. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig 1971;63(3); Pigeaud J, La rhétorique d'Arétée. In: Jouanna J, Leclant J (eds), La médecine grecque antique. Actes du 14ème colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 10 & 11 octobre 2003. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres; 2004. pp. 177-197; Roselli A, Areteo di Cappadocia lettore di Ippocrate. In: van der Eijk Ph J (ed.), Hippocrates in Context Papers Read at the 11th International Hippocrates Colloquium (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27-31 August 2002). Leiden-Boston: Brill; 2005. pp. 413-432.
17. Petit C, Médecine et hellénisme à la Renaissance: le problème du grec chez Baillou. Medicina e Storia 2011;10:113-139, p. 123.
18. Porter R, The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: a Medical History of Humanity. London: Norton & Co.; 1997. p. 71.
19. See Ilberg G, Das neurologisch-psychiatrische Wissen und Können des Aretäus von Kappadokien. Zeitschrift fur die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie 1923;86:227-246; Altschule MD, The development of traditional psycho-pathology. A sourcebook. Washington: Hemisphere; 1976. p. 330; Pichot P, Les grandes écoles psychiatriques de l'Antiquité. Neurologie-Psychiatrie 1982;18:3-5; Pélicier Y, Histoire de la psychiatrie. Paris: PUF; 1971. p. 128, Rothkopf A, Manie und Melancholie bei Aretaios von Kappadokien. Les confins de la psychiatrie 1974(17):4-14; Hubert JP, Arétée de Cappadoce et la psychose maniaco-dépressive. Inf. Psychiatry. 1985;61(10):1375-1386; Kotsopoulos S, Aretaeus the Cappadocian on Mental Illness. Compr. Psychiatry 1986;27(2):171-179; Papadopoulos T, Mélancholie et manie dans l'œuvre d'Arétée de Cappadoce. Evol. Psychiatr. 1990;55:427-436; Aydemir O, Malhi GS, Aretaeus of Cappadocia. Acta Neuropsychiat. 2007;19(1):62-63; Pearce JMS, The Neurology of Aretaeus: Radix Pedis Neurologia. Eur. Neurol. 2013;70:106-112.
20. Pigeaud J, Folie et cures de la folie chez les médecins de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine. La manie. Paris: Les Belles Lettres; 1987(20102). p. 71-94.
21. Aret., *SD* I, 6, 1, 2 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 13: ἔκστασις γάρ ἐστι τὸ ξύμπαν χρόνιος, ἄνευθε πυρετοῦ). Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine.
22. Aret., *SD* I, 6, 1, 2 – 2, 9 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 13-27): εἰ γάρ κοτε καὶ πυρετὸς ἐπιλάβοι, οὐκ ἀπὸ μανίης ἂν ἴδιος γίγνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐκ ξυντυχίης ἄλλης. Ἐκφλέγει γὰρ καὶ οἶνος ἐς παραφορὴν

ἐν μέθῃ· ἐκμαίνει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐδεστῶν μετεξέτερα, ἢ μανδραγόρη, ἢ ὑοσκύαμος, ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τί κω μανίη τάδε κικλήσκεται· ἐπὶ γὰρ σχεδίου γιγνόμενα καθίσταται θᾶττον. τὸ δὲ ἔμπεδον ἡ μανίη ἴσχει. τῇδε τῇ μανίῃ οὐδέ τι ἴκελον ἡ λήρησις, γήραος ἡ ξυμφορή· αἰσθήσιος γάρ ἐστι νάρκη καὶ γνώμης νάρκωσις ἥδε τοῦ νοῦ ὑπὸ ψύξιος· μανίη δὲ θερμόν τι καὶ ξηρὸν τῇ αἰτίῃ, καὶ ταραχῶδες τῇσι πρήξεσι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ λήρησις ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ γήραος οὔτε διαλείπει, καὶ ξυναποθνήσκει· μανίη δὲ καὶ διαλείπει καὶ μελεδῶνι ἐς τέλος ἀποπαύεται. Διάλειψις δὲ ἀτελής, ἢν τῷ τῆς μανίης λόγῳ γίγνηται, οὐκ εἰκότως ἀκεομένου τοῦ κακοῦ ἰητρείῃ, ἢ τῆς ὥρης εὐκρασίῃ· μετεξετέρους γὰρ δοκέοντας ἀσινέας ἔμμεναι, ἢ ὥρη τὸ ἔαρ, ἢ ἁμαρτωλὴ διαίτης, ἢ ὀργὴ ἐκ ξυντυχίης ἐς ἀνάκλησιν ἤγαγε.

23. *SD* I, 6, 3, 9–4, 4 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 4-8).
24. Ivi, 4–5 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 9-14): καὶ οἶσι μὲν ἡδονὴ ᾖ ἡ μανίη, γελῶσι, παίζουσι, ὀρχῶνται νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρης, καὶ ἐς ἀγορὴν ἀμφαδόν, καὶ ἐστεμμένοι κοτὲ ὅκως ἐξ ἀγωνίης νικηφόροι ἔασιν· ἄλυπος τοῖσι πέλας ἡ ἰδέη. μετεξέτεροι δὲ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐκμαίνονται ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε καὶ ἐσθῆτάς τε ἐρρήξαντο, καὶ θεράποντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἑωυτέοισι χεῖρας ἐπήνεγκαν· ἥδε καὶ τοῖς πέλας οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ξυμφορή.
25. Pigeaud J, Ref. 20. p. 90.
26. Jouanna J, The Typology and Aetiology of Madness in Ancient Greek Medical and Philosophical Writings. In: Harris WV, Ref. 1. pp. 97-118.
27. *SD* I, 6, 1, 1-2 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 12-13).
28. Cfr. Pigeaud J, Ref. 20. p. 79.
29. Cfr. Pellegrin P, Dictionnaire Aristote. Paris: Ellipses; 2007. p. 103.
30. Cfr. the occurrence of ἰδέη in *SD* I, 6, 3, 3 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 29).
31. *SD* I, 6, 5 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 14-15).
32. Cfr. Stok F, Concetto e trattamento dell'insania in A. Cornelio Celso. Studi di filologia e letteratura 1980;4:9-42. p. 37 ("… sul destino dei folli delle classi servili o povere possiamo solo fare congetture").
33. Cfr. Hipp., Gland., 12, 2: ἀλλοκότοισι φαντάσμασιν (ed. Craik, p. 76, 18 = L VIII, p. 568, 3).
34. *SD* I, 6, 5, 7 – 6, 7, 1 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 17-29): τοῖσι δὲ ἀπαιδεύτοισι ἀχθοφορίη, πηλοεργίη· τέκτονες, ἢ λιθοξόοι. γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι φαντασίαι. ἐδεδίει γάρ τις ληκύθων ἔκπτωσιν, καὶ ἄλλος οὐκ ἔπινε, δοκέων ἑωυτὸν πλίνθον ἔμμεναι, ὡς μὴ τῷ ὑγρῷ λυθείη. μυθολογέεται δὲ καὶ τόδε· τέκτων ἤδη ἐπὶ οἴκου μὲν σαόφρων ἐργάτης ἦν, μετρῆσαι ξύλον, κόψαι, ξῦσαι, ξυγγομφῶσαι, ἁρμόσαι, ξυντελέσαι δόμον νηφαλέως, τοῖσι ἐργοδοτέῃσι ὁμιλῆσαι, ξυμβῆναι, ἀμεῖψαι τὰ ἔργα μισθοῦ δικαίου. ὅδε ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ ἔργου ὧδε εἶχε γνώμης· ἢν δὲ ἐξίῃ κοτὲ ἐς ἀγορὴν <ἢ> ἐπὶ λουτρόν, ἤ τινα ἑτέρην ἀνάγκην, τιθεὶς τὰ ὅπλα πρῶτον ἔστενε, εἶτα ἐπῆγε ὦμῳ ἐξιών· ἐπὴν δὲ ἀπῆλθε τῆς τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑέης καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔργου πρήξιος καὶ τοῦ χωρίου, πάμπαν ἐξεμαίνετο· κὴν παλινδρομήσῃ, ταχὺ αὖθις ἐσωφρόνεε. καὶ ἥδε τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἡ ξυμβολή. A commentary on this last example is offered in Gourevitch D, Gourevitch M, Phobies. Evol. Psychiatr. 1982;47:888-893, pp. 888-889 and p. 891.
35. *SD* I, 6, 5, 4-6 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 15-17): τοῖσι μέν γε εὐφυέσι τε καὶ εὐμαθέσι ἀστρονομίη ἀδίδακτος, φιλοσοφίη αὐτομάτη, ποίησις δῆθεν ἀπὸ μουσέων. ἴσχει γάρ τι καὶ ἐν νούσοισι εὔχρηστον ἡ εὐπαιδευσίη – This passage is probably an allusion to the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problem XXX* (954a 32: μανικοὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς).
36. Pigeaud J, Ref. 20. p. 76 translated as "apparemment"; cfr. also p. 90, and *ibid.*, n. 87. See *LSJ*, *s.v.* δῆθεν.
37. *SD* I, 6, 11, 28 (ed. Hude, p. 43, 30).

38. *SD* I, 6, 11, 29-42 (ed. Hude, p. 43, 31 – 44, 4): Τέμνονταί τινες τὰ μέλεα, θεοῖς ἰδίοις ὡς ἀπαιτοῦσι χαριζόμενοι εὐσεβεῖ φαντασίῃ· καὶ ἔστι τῆς ὑπολήψιος ἡ μανίη μοῦνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα σωφρονέουσι. ἐγείρονται δὲ αὐλῷ καὶ θυμηδίῃ, ἢ μέθῃ, ‹ἢ› τῶν παρεόντων προτροπῇ. Ἔνθεος ἥδε ἡ μανίη. κἢν ἀπομανῶσι, εὔθυμοι, ἀκηδέες, ὡς τελεσθέντες τῷ θεῷ· ἄχροοι δὲ καὶ ἰσχνοὶ καὶ ἐς μακρὸν ἀσθενέες πόνοισι τῶν τρωμάτων.
39. See Pigeaud J, Ref. 20. p. 93; Borgeaud Ph, La Mère des dieux. De Cybèle à la Vierge Marie. Paris: Seuil; 1996. p. 71, n. 73; Pérez Molina ME (ed.) Areteo de Capadocia. Obra médica. Madrid: Akal; 1998. p. 113 n. 50.
40. On this point Belayche N, La Mater Magna, Megalè Mètèr? In: Bonnet C, Pirenne-Delforge V, Pironti G (eds), Dieux des Grecs, dieux des Romains. Panthéons en dialogue à travers l'histoire et l'historiographie. Bruxelles-Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome; 2016. pp. 45-59.
41. Borgeaud Ph, Mother of the Gods: From Cybele to the Virgin Mary (transl. by L. Hochroth). Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press; 2004. p. 59 (or. ed. Ref. 39).
42. For a survey of extant sources and fresh contributions on this subject see Borgeaud Ph, Ref. 39; Roller LE, In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press; 1999; Baslez F-M, Les Galles d'Anatolie: images et réalité. Res Antiquae 2004;1:234-245; Latham L, "Fabulous Clap-Trap": Roman Masculinity, the Cult of Magna Mater, and Literary Constructions of the galli at Rome from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity. The Journal of Religion 2012;92(1):84-122; Beard M, The Cult of the "Great Mother" in Imperial Rome. The Roman and the "Foreign". In: Rasmus Brandt J, Iddeng W (eds), Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice. Oxford: OUP; 2012. pp. 323-361; Rauhala M, 'Obscena Galli Praesentia'. Deshumanizing Cybele's Eunuch Priest Through Disgust. In: Lateiner D, Spatharas D (eds), The Ancient Emotion of Disgust. Oxford-New York: OUP; 2017. pp. 235-252; Rolle A, Dall'Oriente a Roma. Cibele, Iside e Serapide nell'opera di Varrone. Pisa: ETS; 2017. p. 11-122; Van Haeperen F, Des "médecins de l'âme". Les prêtres des Religions orientales selon Cumont. In: Bonnet C, Ossola C, Scheid J (eds), Rome et ses religions: culte, morale, spiritualité. En relisant Lux Perpetua de Franz Cumont. Supplemento a Mythos. Rivista di Storia delle Religioni 2010;1(n.s): 49-62; Van Haeperen F, Étrangère et ancestrale. La Mère des dieux dans le monde romain. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf (Collection Les conférences de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études); 2019; Van Haeperen F, Rappresentazioni e ministri della Mater Magna a Roma e nelle province occidentali dell'Impero. In: Fontana F, Murgia E (eds), Sacrum facere. Atti del IV Seminario di Archeologia del Sacro. Trieste: EUT; 2018. pp. 241-262.
43. See for instance Baslez F-M, Ref. 42. p. 239.
44. Kollmann B, Eine Mysterienweihe bei Aretaios von Kappadokien. Philologus 1993;137 (2):252-257.
45. Lighfoot JL (ed.), Lucian. On the Syrian Goddess. Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Oxford: OUP; 2003. p. 184-208 argues for its Lucianean authorship.
46. [Luc.], Asin., 37, 4-10.
47. For the 'mistress-slave' relationship shaping the religious attitude of the galli, see Henrichs A, Despoina Kybele: Ein Beitrag zur religiosen Namenkunde. HSCPh 1976;80:253-286.
48. Lightfoot JL, Ref. 45. p. 62. Cfr. also Lightfoot JL, Sacred Eunuchism in the Cult of the Syrian Goddess. In: Tougher S (ed.), Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond. Cardiff-London: The Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth; 2002. pp. 71-86.
49. Petit P, In tres priores Aretæi Cappadocis Libros Commentarii. London: Bowyer; 1726.

50. Petit P, Ref. 49. p. 89: Corybantes innuit, Gallosque matris Deûm atque etiam Deæ Syriæ, quæ forte eadem ac Cybele est, sacerdotes, qui omnes furorem mentientes, quo vulgum vaticinationis specie luderent, sibi brachia gladiis laniabant, flagellis etiam semet converberabant.
51. In Apuleius' words, the devotees of Atargatis, who had suddenly burst into the country residence of a rich man during their wanderings, "frantically flung themselves forward, filling the place with the sound of their discordant shrieks, dropped for a long time their heads and rotated their necks in writhing motions, swinging their hanging locks in a circle. Sometimes they bit their own flesh with their teeth, and finally they all began slashing their arms with the two-edged blades they were carrying" (*absonis ululatibus constrepentes fanatice provolant, diuque capite demisso cervices lubricis intorquentes motibus crinesque pendulos in circulum rotantes et nonnunquam morsibus suos incursantes musculos, ad postremum ancipiti ferro quod gerebant sua quisque bracchia dissicant*), *Met.*, VIII, 27 (ed. and transl. Hanson with slight modifications, pp. 92-93) – Petit also quotes from VIII, 28: *cerneres prosectu gladiorum ictuque flagrorum solum spurcitia sanguinis effeminati madescere* ("You could see the ground growing wet with the filthy, effeminate blood from all this slashing of swords and lashing of whips", ed. Hanson, pp. 94-95).
52. Plaut., Truc., 601-602: *hoc vide, dentibus frendit, icit femur; | num obsecro nam hariolust, qui ipsus se verberat?* ("Look at this! He's gnashing his teeth and beating his thigh. Please, is he a soothsayer who's beating himself?", ed. and transl. De Melo 2013. pp. 332-335) – where the allusion clearly refers to Cybele's worshippers. The second quotation from Plautus (Most., 358) is not pertinent, as is based on a wrong understanding of the text: Petit read *Dindymeneis* (*Dindymene* being an epithet of Cybele) instead of *quinis aut denis* (cfr. *ad loc.* ed. De Melo, p. 350).
53. 1 Kgs., 18, 28: Clamabant ergo voce magna et incidebant se iuxta ritum suum cultris et lanceolis, donec perfunderentur sanguine (transl. Coogan – Brettler – Newsom, p. 531).
54. Aret., SD I, 6, 11, 5 (ed. Hude, p. 43, 30).
55. As Van Haeperen, Étrangère et ancestrale… Ref. 42. p. 40 has tellingly defined them ("des pauvres hères").
56. Cfr. ivi, pp. 75-77.
57. See Sanders G, Les galles et le gallat devant l'opinion chrétienne. In: De Boer M, Edrige TA (eds), Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren (vol. III). Leiden: Brill; 1978. pp. 1062-1091.
58. Apul., Met., VIII, 27 (ed. and transl. Hansons, pp. 94-95).
59. Linforth I M, Ref. 6. p. 148.
60. Henrichs A, Der rasende Gott: Zur Psychologie des Dionysos und des Dionysischen. Mythos und Literatur. Antike und Abendland 1994; 40:31-58. p. 35.
61. See LSJ, s.v. ὡς (C.III.2)
62. Watson G, Phantasia in Classical Thought. Galway: Officina Typografica Galway University Press; 1988. pp. ix and 1.
63. See for instance *CA* I, 1, 3, 3–4 (ed. Hude, p. 92, 4–5).
64. SD I, 3, 1 (ed. Hude, p. 39, 27).
65. The word ὑπόληψις has philosophical connotations with the meaning of preconceived, unproven notion, see Plat., Def., 413a; Arist., An., 427b 25, Eth. Nic., 1139b 17. Diogenes Laërtius, in his catalogue of the works of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus, relates a treatise 'περὶ ὑπολήψεως' (*On Assumption*), whose content is unfortunately lost. It is however impossible to establish if Aretaeus is hinting here at this Stoic inflection of the notion.

66. See Pigeaud J, Ref. 20. p. 78; ibid., n. 25; p. 94.
67. Cfr. transl. by Moffat, p. 129 ("religious idea"), and Adams, p. 304 ("holy phantasy").
68. SD I, 6, 3, 1-2 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 27-28).
69. Ivi, I, 6, 3, 5-6 (ed. Hude, p. 41, 31-42, 1).
70. Cfr. Carroll MP, The Cult of the Virgin Mary. Psychological Origin, Princeton: PUP; 1986; Roccatagliata G, Il culto della Grande Madre e la psicosi. Roma: Il Pensiero Scientifico; 1982. See Borgeaud Ph, Ref. 39. p. 9-10 for a critical view on the interpretative excesses stemming from Carroll's psychoanalytic approach.
71. SD I, 6, 3 - 4.
72. Ivi, 6, 10, 2–3 (ed. Hude, p. 43, 20-21: ἀφροδισίων δὲ ἄσχετος ἐπιθυμίη, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ ἀμφαδὸν αἰδὼς ἢ ὄκνος ὁμιλίης).
73. Latham J, Ref. 42. p. 109.
74. Cfr. Lighfoot JL, Ref. 48. p. 81.
75. SD I, 6, 5, 2-3 (ed. Hude, p. 42, 13-14), cfr. supra.
76. Plat., Crit., 54d 2-5: "This, my dear friend Crito, be assured, is what I seem to hear, just as the Corybantes think they hear the flutes, and this sound of these words resonates within me and makes me unable to hear any others" (ταῦτα, ᾧ φίλε ἑταῖρε Κρίτων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ δοκῶ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ ἠχὴ τούτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν, ed. and transl. Emlin-Jones – Preddy, p. 263).
77. Aret., SD I, 6, 9, 6 (ed. Hude, p. 43, 15).
78. Plin., Nat. Hist., XI, 54, 147 (*quin et patentibus dormiunt lepores multique hominum, quos* κορυβαντιᾶν *Graeci dicunt*, "moreover hares sleep with the eyes wide open, and so do many human beings while in the condition which the Greeks term 'corybantic'", transl. Rackham, p. 525).
79. Cfr. Kollmann B, Ref. 44. p. 254 ("Offenkundig stützen sich diese Ausführungen des Aretaios auf konkrete Fälle aus seiner Praxis") and p. 257 ("… in seiner kappadokischen Heimat"), and Henrichs A, Ref. 60. p. 35 ("Derart pregnänte Angaben können nur auf Autopsie beruhen").
80. See Oberhelman S, Ref. 14. p. 943.
81. An. Par., XX (ed. Garofalo, p. 120-123). – The text is (partly) edited also in: Van der Eijk Ph J (ed.), Diocles of Carystus. A collection of the fragments with translation and commentary. Leiden-Boston: Brill;2000/2001 (vol. I, pp. 148-149, frg. 76; vol. II, p. 158 for commentary) and in: Lewis O (ed.), Praxagoras of Cos on Arteries, Pulse and Pneuma. Leiden -Boston: Brill; 2017. pp. 76-77 (frg. 26, pp. 198-200 for commentary).
82. An. Par., XX, 3, 1 (ed. Garofalo, p. 122, 10-11).
83. Ps. Gal., Def. med., 546 ed. Kollesch (p. 178, 8-10: Τί ἐστιν ἐνθουσιασμός; Ἐνθουσιασμὸς δέ ἐστι, καθάπερ ἐξίστανταί τινες ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποθυμιωμένων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁρῶντές τι ἢ τυμπάνων ἢ αὐλῶν ἢ κυμβάλων ἀκούσαντες) [Kühn, XIX, def. 487 p. 462, 14-16], on which Kollesch J, Untersuchungen zu der pseudogalenischen Definitiones Medicae. Berlin: Akademie Verlag; 1973. p. 56.
84. Orib., Coll. med., VII, 26, 177 (ed. Raeder, I, p. 242, 32: ἐνθεαστικοῖς ἰλίγγοις), and Id., Libri incerti, XXXII, 3 (Raeder, IV, p. 124, 33: ἐνθεαστικῶν).
85. Paul. Aeg., Epit. med., III, 14, 1, 12-14 (ed. Heiberg, I, p. 156, 20-22: τινὲς δὲ καὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπό τινων μειζόνων ἐφορᾶσθαι δυνάμεων καὶ προλέγειν τὰ ἐσόμενα καθάπερ ἐνθεάζοντες, οὓς καὶ ἐνθεαστικοὺς ἰδίως ὀνομάζουσιν).
86. Paul. Nic., 20 (Ieraci-Bio, p. 85). – See also Ieraci Bio AM, La malattia mentale in Paolo di Nicea. In: Dal Covolo E, Gianetto I (eds), Cultura e promozione umana. La cura del

corpo e dello spirito nell'antichità classica e nei primi secoli cristiani. Un magistero ancora attuale? Troina: Oasi Editrice; 1998. pp. 419-428. p. 424.

87. For these alternative translations of μόνος ἐπ' ὀλίγον see respectively Lewis O, Ref. 81. frg. 26, p. 77, 198-199, and Van der Eijk Ph J, Ref. 81, fr. 76. I, p. 148-149.
88. An. Par., XX, 1, 1 (ed. Garofalo, p. 120, 13-16).
89. See Lewis O, Ref. 81. p. 234-237, 251, 282-284, 304.
90. Cfr. ed. Fortenbaugh – Sharples – Gutas, II, pp. 580-583 (frg. 726a, 726b, 726c).
91. Ps. Arist., Probl., XXX, 1, 954a36.
92. Arist., Pol., 1340a 12-13 (ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἤθους πάθος ἐστίν).
93. Plat., Phdr., 265a9.
94. I am currently preparing a short series of studies, which will provide a survey on the aforementioned set of sources.

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