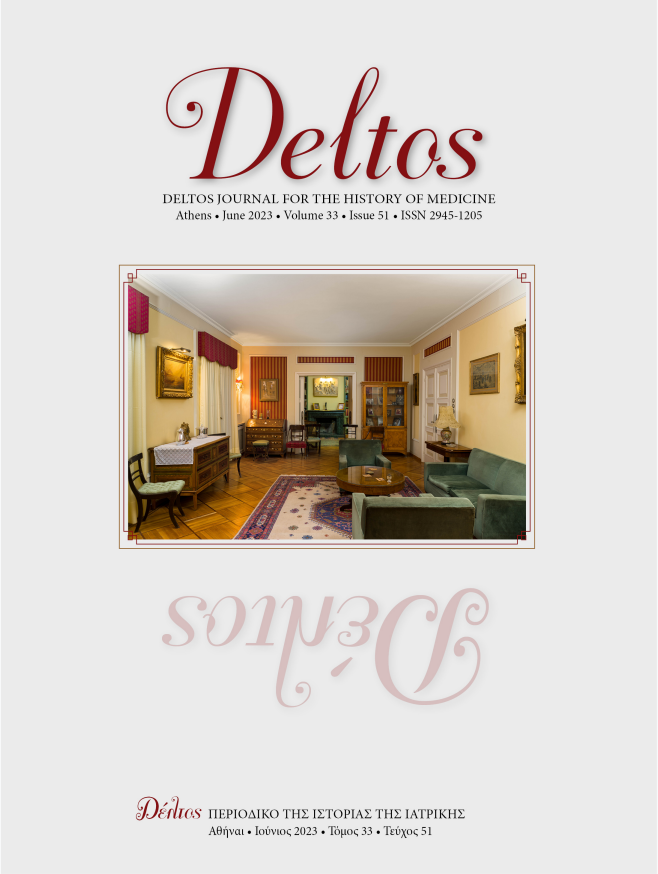
DELTOS

Vol 33, No 51 (2023)



Metaphors and allusions to ancient writers and the Bible in Ioannis Apocaukos' epistles relevant to medical and paramedical issues

Athanasios Diamandopoulos

doi: 10.12681/dj.38121

To cite this article:

Diamandopoulos, A. (2024). Metaphors and allusions to ancient writers and the Bible in Ioannis Apocaukos' epistles relevant to medical and paramedical issues. *DELTOS*, *33*(51), 106–113. https://doi.org/10.12681/dj.38121

Metaphors and allusions to ancient writers and the Bible in Ioannis Apocaukos' epistles relevant to medical and paramedical issues

Athanasios Diamandopoulos[1]

Ill 1. *Obverse:* Bust of St. George holding a round shield in his left hand. *Reverse:* "Martyr, confirm the letters of Acropolitou, the megas logothetes, who bears the same name as you".[1]

Abstract

Ioannis Apocaukos (1153/60 - 1235) was a famous Metropolitan of Naupactus, today a minor town in Southwestern Greece, but then one of the strongest Seats of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans. He was a prolific writer, and apart from many theological works he wrote extensively on political, social and medical matters. In the fashion of Byzantine epistolographers, he excelled in correspondence with numerous illustrious personalities of his area and era. A frequently recurring topic was his illness, described in a flamboyant language. In his letters, he used direct or indirect metaphors and allusions to passages from prominent religious or secular authors of antiquity. In this paper, we tried to trace the obscure threads joining his references to medical and paramedical issues with poets, historians, orators, philosophers and clergymen of the past. We identified nineteen and commented extensively upon them.

Key words: *Ioannis Apocaukos, Naupactus, Despotato of Epirus, Byzantine letter-writing, podagra, metaphors*

Aim

The aim of this paper is strictly limited to identifying the obscure metaphorical references to ancient religious or secular writers in the letters of Ioannis Apocaukos describing his diseases and ailments. An extended discussion on the use of metaphors and allusions by ancient and medieval Greek writers and in other works by Apocaukos himself is beyond the limits of this article.

Introduction

Ioannis Apocaukos (1153/60 - 1235) was born in Constantinople and after a glorious and turbulent career died ill and abandoned at the unimportant monastery of Cozyli. He held several offices in the Byzantine State, but he was particularly active during his tenure as Metropolitan of Naupactus from 1199/1200 to 1223/4. The period was characterised by the rivalry

[1]Louros Foundation for the History of Medicine

of the heirs of the Byzantine Empire after its conquest by the troops of the 4th Crusade in 1204, namely the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotato (Principality) of Epirus and later by the internal conflicts of the scions of the ruling Despotato Komnene Doukes Angeloi family. The secular rivalry was extended in the ecclesiastical field between the Patriarch of Constantinople, residing in Nicaea, and the Metropolis of Naupactus. Ioannis took an active role, corresponding with the Patriarch, the rulers of the Despotato, the bishops and monks under his jurisdiction and -rarely- with laymen. His writing style can be described as polemic or apologetic, or as the kind-hearted guidance of a benevolent advisor. His works remained outdated until the late 19th century, when Vasily Grigorievich Vasilievsky, a Russian historian specialising in Medieval Studies, published Apocaukos' then known letters in 1896[2]. Afterwards several publications appeared, indicatively by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, S. Petrides, N. Beis, E. Bei-Seferli and more recently by the late Father Hieronymus Delimaris[3], Lampropoulos Cosmas[4], Nesseris Ilias[5], and others. Apocaukos' letters embody the key features of Byzantine epistolography. They reveal important information about life in contemporary society, are usually short, include a laudatory address to the recipient and display of the writer's humility. They employ a kind of *attikizousa* language[a] and are richly embellished with metaphors and references to ancient and ecclesiastical writers. These were more aimed at erudition and eloquence rather than genuine exchanges of news and thoughts[6,7]. Byzantines had a wealth of metaphors at their disposal, drawing from both classical Greek and Christian sources. As stated: "*There have been many more discussions of what people from the Greek philosophers on called metaphor than any bibliography could show*[8]. Furthermore: *"Perhaps universal history is the history of a few metaphors"*[9].

The pre-Socratic philosophers Empedocles and Heraclitus greatly employed metaphors and had a notable influence on Hippocrates, particularly evident in his work "Regiment"[10]. The first systematic approach to the concept of metaphor is traced back to Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*[11].

Aristotle coined the terms that shaped the discourse on metaphor for centuries. Specifically, in his *Poetics*, metaphor is defined as: *"the application of an alien name either transferred from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion"* (*Po*. 21, 1457b 6-7). Hence, metaphor is inherent to the imagery of movement (ἐπιφορὰ), implied also in the etymology of the term (μεταφορά: μετά + φέρειν, lat. metaphora, i.e. to transfer something somewhere else. It has been likened to a "vivid mental picture"[12]. Although he used them occasionally, Aristotle's view on metaphors was generally negative[13]. The following Hellenistic and Roman era produced a wealth of metaphors, in both poetry and prose. Galen, in discussing the role of metaphor in scientific texts, deemed it inappropriate for conveying fundamental truths. Similar to Aristotle, he viewed metaphor as an obstacle to truth and therefore incompatible with science. Nevertheless, he also reluctantly used metaphors in his works. Christians, on the other hand, embraced this form of writing for didactic purposes. Jesus taught in parables and called Himself "the light of the world" and His body "the Bread"[14]. The Fathers of the Church and other writers followed this paradigm. Hence Apocaukos' extensive employment of metaphors and allusions is no surprise. He frequently used excerpts from Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Gregory of Nazianzus and others[15]. He covers all aspects of the elite's life and works and of the everyday problems of his flock. He openly includes mentions of his recurring illnesses. Various ailments such as acute nephritis, arthritis, sciatica, or foot pain[16] have been cited over time as possible explanations for his afflictions, albeit without any medical documentation. In an effort to understand the disease Apocaukos suffered from, Diamandopoulos and Scarpelos commented on a passage of his 1219 letter to the Bishop of Athens, Michael Choniates:*"I suffer and I am in chronic pain due to stones in my kidneys, as large stones - equal in size to a chickpea - come out through my glans, and -what's worse-, they are of different shapes, polygons and triangles and squares. And as these variously-shaped stones fall into the urethral lumen and push forcibly against the meatus, they create an agonising sensation for me, while, when in some cases they obstruct the urethra due to their size, no fluid can escape"*. The detailed description of the stones by Apocaukos points towards the coexistence of uric (smooth) and calcium oxalate (rough) stones due to the existence of factors favouring both types[17,18].

All the symptoms stated by Apocaukos are described in modern medical writings: "Stones that obstruct the ureter or the renal pelvis or any part of the kidneys associated with drainage may cause back pain or kidney colic. This colic is characterised by excruciating intermittent pain [...] that often radiates to the genitals. Other symptoms include nausea, vomiting [..] pain radiating to the testicles or vagina and

a An artificial kind of language used by the Byzantines attempting to imitate the language of the Athenian authors of the 4th/5th cent. BC

the expulsion of stones from the urethra. Fever may appear while the urine might have a strong odour[19].

In conclusion, there are strong indications that Apocaukos suffered from gout, renal lithiasis with stones with a mixed composition of urate and calcium oxalate and chronic infections of the lower urinary tract, which frequently made his life unbearable. This paper will deal exclusively with Apocaukos' complaints and his metaphors and allusions to previous authors.

Material and Method

We utilised Apocaukos' 156 letters, published by Delimaris in 2000, as our primary material. Through a comprehensive analysis of these letters, we endeavoured to uncover the connections between descriptions of medical and paramedical topics and renowned works from the past. While the majority of fragments from classical authors and the Bible have been expertly translated and published by scholars, the author of this article was compelled to translate Apocaukos' relevant passages. The outcome is not a scholarly philological translation, but it strives to remain true to the original text. Nonetheless, it fails to capture the splendour and elegance of Apocaukos' writing style. In this regard, the author humbly requests forgiveness for boldly echoing St. Augustine's golden sentence: *"Let the grammarians find fault with us, if only the people understand us".*

Results

Our findings are presented in a chronological order:

1217

[....] To Gorgianiti Niceforo: "*I was overridden by podagra and used the couch as bed and urinal and latrine and moreover I become a crooked-legged (cyllopodion) Hephaestus […] and I thought that I was suffering harder than the Athenians due to the cutting down of the fruit-trees at Acharnae by Archidamos[…] "And for me, the Persian torture of the boat and the painful grinding of the women with the hoe among the Artabri are not to be compared with this condition of mine*"[20].

In this letter, we note three metaphors referring to ancient Greek writers.

a. The description of Haephestus as crooked-legged by Apocaukos, (*cyllopodion* in the original Greek text), mirrors Homer's description of the god in his meeting with Achille's mother Thetis: "*Thus did they converse. Meanwhile Thetis came to the house of Vulcan, imperishable, star-bespangled, fairest of the abodes in heaven, a house of bronze wrought by the lame* (*cyllopodion) god's own hands*"[21].

b. The similarity of his sufferings with the feelings of Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, when Archidamos destroyed the trees at the municipality of Acharnae, recalls Thucydides' description of the event and its literal retelling by Synesius (5th cent. AD) in his work "The Eulogy of Baldness". *We read "When it proceeded further, and one hair went after another - then two at a time, and finally several - and the war became keenly contested, my head being plundered, then indeed I esteemed myself to suffer more harshly than did the Athenians at the hands of Archidamos when their groves at Acharnae were destroyed*"[22].

c. "*the Persian torture of the boat and the painful grinding of the women with the hoe among the Artabri are not to be compared with this condition of mine*"[23]. This is an exaggeration by Apocaukos in comparing his misfortunes with infamous tortures in antiquity. This expression is a loan from Eunapius (4th–5th century AD): "[…] He (Mithridates)(165 BC to 132 BC) suffered beyond any tragedy, and none could have the power of utterance or take such pleasure in the misfortunes of others as to report fully the terrible sufferings of this great man. For even the Persian torture called "The Boat", or the painful toil of the women with the hoe among the Artabri is not to be compared with the agonies inflicted on the body"[24].

[***author's note:*** "The Boat" is an ancient Persian torture leading to a slow and painful death. The victim was tied between two small boats covered with a mixture of milk and honey. This attracted a crowd of insects and rodents, which slowly devoured the victims' flesh and infected them. "The painful toil of the women with the hoe among the Artabri" refers to Strabo's "Geographica". According to him,the Artabri (or Arrotrebae) were an ancient Gallaecian Celtic tribe living in the extreme north-west of modern Galicia, about Cape Nerium (Cabo Prior), outskirts of the city and port of Ferrol, in nowadays Spain. He says that […] their earth, containing gold, is brought down by the rivers: this the women scrape up [*diamân*] with spades, and wash [*plunein*] in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. Such is the substance of what [Posidonius] tells us concerning the mines [*metallon*] of Iberia][25]. Apparently, the work was very harsh and soon acquired the legendary fame of a torture].

1219

To the Bishop of Athens, Michael Choniates[32]

a. […] *And this hath stiffened the meatus, and casteth it into the earth, and before my eyes is death, as the people of Ashdod who suffered in their nether areas; but in this place I have ulcers and liveth as a burden of the bed that I hate. The pain in my foot could be called lesser than this, but at times it may feel slightly better than having your body torn apart.*

In this letter, we trace also four metaphors:

a. The first is the phrase: "*as the people of Ashdod who suffered in their nether areas; but in this place I have ulcers*" brings to mind the section of the Old Testament: "*When the people of Ashdod saw what was happening, they said: "The ark of the god of Israel must not stay here with us, because his hand is heavy on us and on Dagon our god".*[a] *So they called together all the rulers of the Philistines and asked them: "What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel?" They answered: "Have the ark of the God of Israel moved to Gath." So they moved the ark of the God of Israel. And it was so, that, after they had carried it about, the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and they had emerods in their secret parts*[26]. This literary likening of Apocaukos' wounds and the rectal tumours of the people of Ashdod was easy to detect.

b. The second metaphor is traced in his phrase: "*but in this place I have ulcers and liveth as a burden of the bed that I hate*" It derives from Achilles' monologue in Homer's Iliad: *"Far lies Patroclus from his native plain! He fell, and falling, wish'd my aid in vain. Ah then, since from this miserable day I cast all hope of my return away; Since, unrevenged, a hundred ghosts demand the fate of Hector from Achilles' hand; Since here, for brutal courage far renown'd, I live an idle burden to the ground"*[27].

c. Apocaukos also used a third metaphor to characterise the pain in his foot as *"slightly better than having your body torn apart",* which brings to mind the previous chapter of Samuel I: *"And the Philistines took the ark of God, and brought it from Ebenezer unto Ashdod […] And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him"*[28].

d. To Bishop Michael Choniates (complaining for his earache and loss of hearing): *"and because my left ear, already passing the second year, hears an endless and heavy sound […] and if I cover my right with my hand or obstruct it with my finger, as in the past did Ulysses using wax the ears of his mates, I remain not hard to hear but absolutely deaf as the statues"*[32].

1219

[….] To the mighty Komnenos (wishing God to help him get better and not bedridden) [*and restores me from my bed of illness*[29]. This is an allusion to the Psalm 41.3: *"The Lord sustains them on their sickbed and restores them from their bed of illness".*

1219

To the mighty Komnenos (praising the king because: *"[…] as a bright sun warmed him being old and due to the cold laying rolled up and covered with five coverlets"*[30].

The phrase recalls, and Ioannis indirectly admits it, the Aristophanean: "And then there's him—this *fine young man, who never once wakes up, but farts the night away, all snug in bed, wrapped up in five wool coverlets"*[31].

1222

In a personal note he *returns to the melodramatic descriptions of his pains.*

a. *"The over fullness of our body [with toxic substances] and the frequent attacks by diseases this vicious and corruptible body and prison in which we are enclosed and frequently forced us to appeal to God, to release our soul form the prison of the body, obliged us to see Vonthiza and meet its bishop, because exactly as he is a doctor of the souls by invocation of the Spirit, similarly he is a healer of the bodies. And we walked on foot from the Church's portico and having bent our knees over the marble steps we exchanged thoughts about the diseases and other ailments and about the evils each one of us would like to inflict in the present time"*[33].

Two more metaphors here:

a. First the likeness of the body to the prison of the soul, which is looking forward to its release recalls the similar passage from Plato's Phaedo, Five Dialogues: *"I will tell you, he replied. The lovers of knowledge," said he, perceive that when philosophy first takes possession of their soul it is entirely [82e] fastened and welded to the body and is compelled to regard realities through the body as through prison bars"*[34]. Socrates believed that the soul is confined in the body like in a prison, and remains obedient to the Gods until they release it.

b. In the same note, he employs a second metaphor, seeking to justify why the two bishops, despite their ecclesiastical positions, were preoccupied with wicked thoughts instead of contemplating matters of the divine. Their ailments are attributed as the cause: "*and about the evils each one of us would like to make in the present time*".Again this echoes Plutarch: "*For as the sun does not then properly become bright when he has escaped out of the cloud,—for he is always so, though to our eyes, being clouded, he seems obscure and*

a Dagon was an ancient northwest Semitic god worshiped by the early Amorites and by the people of Ebla and Ugarit. He was also a major god, perhaps the chief god, of the biblical Philistines. Mythological sources on Dagon are far from consistent.

dark,—so the soul acquires not then the faculty of divining when gotten clear of the body, as from a cloud, but having the same before, is blinded by the commixture and confusion which she has with the mortal body"[35]. Just another example of the "I told it first syndrome"[36].

1225

To the mighty king Komnenos.

He expresses his regrets to King Theodore Komnenos for being unable to meet him in person, despite his strong desire to do so, due to his illness, specifically gouty arthritis affecting his hands and feet. Thus, his soul, which is the master of the slave-body, becomes its slave and the body-slave becomes the master. He incriminates his sins for his ailments with a complicated parable."The soul is the guardian of the vineyard/ body. It has the duty to prune it by cutting away the tendrils/ sins and by pure thinking to arrow it hence eventually to produce the sweet grapes of an innocent and healthy life. But unfortunately, the guardian, his own soul, didn't guard the vineyard/body resulting the vineyard to be full of weeds and to fall ill"[37].

This passage also refers to the unknown 4th cent. BC author, King Solomon Solomon according to legend, and his work *Song of Songs*, in which the beautiful beloved accepts the loss of her virginity in the verse: *"Look not upon me, because I am black, Because the sun hath looked upon me: My mother's children were angry with me; They made me the keeper of the vineyards; But mine own vineyard have I not kept"*[38].

There is a contradiction between the indirect showing off of his education in amid the crisis of his disease and his simultaneous argument, via another metaphor, that these frequent attacks led to a sluggishness of thought and depression: *"Thus it happened to me, my reckoning became abortive and indeed it delivers dead foetuses* (amblothridia), *looking as if a heavy stone is laying over the head and hits the imagination and mind and the field of memory"*[38]. Apocaukos chose the word "amblothridia" as a metaphor from "amblithrides", the women who deliver immature dead foetuses. The same term is used for abortive drugs and for the women who supply them, and, via another metaphor, for the vines that do not allow their buds to develop into fully matured grapes but let them fall to the ground[40-42].

Apocaukos believed that his thoughts had died alongside his barren mind, burdened like a heavy stone by the impact of the disease. In the subsequent section, we will explore three passages from Apocaukos' writings that, while not directly referring to his ailments, align with our present medical and paramedical concerns.

1218

Letter to the Archiater master Constantinos

The first passage is laudatory for surgeons: *"[...] Mars was standing up raising the din of war, soldier was falling, and there was a call for doctor and the surgery was honoured, an agent continuously dissolving and immediately fastening, and the scalpel was separating the union and soldering the distanced. And if someone is naming the doctors paid executioners for the scalpel, for the incision, but myself and the discoverer of the incision beatify and the surgeons admire, because they cut the oedematous flesh, and break the bones and divide the adjusted and immediately join the …. And bring together the divided ones"*[43]. This is a direct reference to Hippocrates' *"Cobblers divide wholes into parts and make the parts wholes; cutting and stitching they make sound what is rotten. Man too has the same experience. Wholes are divided into parts, and from union of the parts wholes are formed. By stitching and cutting, that which is rotten in men is healed by physicians. This too is part of the physician's art: to do away with that which causes pain, and by taking away the cause of his suffering to make him sound* […][44].

1222

a. To the Protovestiarion [High Officer in the Byzantine Court] who fell ill and drank a laxative twice. The second passage is devoted to his negative stance on overprescribing drugs:"*The therapeutic agent (the medicament) […] must be given in analogue amount with the strength of the morbid agent. Because if it exceeds it will affect the neighbouring parts [of the body], exactly as when the fire burns out all the fuel, it ignites the neighbouring material, similarly the medicaments having dealt with the intruder, then affect the body parts*[45]. It is evident that this passage draws inspiration from the concept of Whole Substance in Galen's Simple Medicines. It highlights the connection between the affected bodies and the drugs causing harm, establishing a correspondence: *"as the body is to the protecting capacity, so is that capacity to the poison; and as the poison corresponds to the protective drug, so does the protective drug to the body. For this reason, almost all drugs opposed to poisons when taken in quantity do great harm to the body of an animal. Now all such capacities must be given in such an equilibrium of quantity that they neither damage the body in large amounts nor by being too little are overcome by the poisons"*[46].

It also echoes Ibn Sina's versified 4th comment in his Canon: *"The potency of the drug should be equal to the strength of the disease. If some of the drugs are inadequate with regard to heat when compared to the coldness of an illness, they will not be able to effect a cure. Sometimes during their application against coldness, their function for producing warmth is weakened. So it is best to experiment first using the weakest [dosage] and then increase it gradually until you know the potency of the drug, leaving no room for doubt"*[47].

b. In that same year, his remarkably progressive attitude towards individuals with disabilities was recorded. He consciously refrained from using realistic terms to describe their condition, opting instead for euphemisms, as dictated by today's standards of political correctness: *"My attendant Kotas died, whom I had as companion at table, whose glottal bond I renamed as the blatherings of a nightingale"*[48] ["stomylmata» in the original Greek). It refers to "Aristophanes' "Frogs":

"[…] Heracles

Surely you must have some other youngsters,
At least ten thousand tragic playwrights,
All babbling miles further than Euripides.

Dionysus

These are but stunted offshoots and mere blatherings, (stomylmata in the original Greek) show cases of swallows […][49].

Conclusions

Apocaukos' descriptions and lamentations for his diseases embody the quintessential traits of the Byzantine civilization, founded on four pillars: The Alexandrian-Judaic philosophy and poetry incorporating elements of the Classic Era, the Roman adherence to State authority; Christianity; and the Orient. The latter offered its theocratic tendencies, its love for over decoration in all aspects of writing or visual arts and its propensity for romance[50]. Their influence varied during the Empire's eleven-century existence. During its zenith, in the 9th and 10th centuries, authors who wrote weighty treatises on rhetoric, grammar, medicine, geometry, and mathematics also indulged in composing playful poems filled with metaphors and allusions. A notable example is Ioannis Geometris, who crafted 340 such poems[51]. During the Late Byzantine period, to which Apocaukos belonged, there was a gradual shift away from the dogmatic and autocratic approach of earlier authors due to the decline of central power. During this period, epistolographers, while maintaining their affinity for antiquarianism and verbosity, adopted a more compassionate style and expressed their own personal views. Fine examples we find in the Letters of Georgios Acropolites, and his son Constantine,[52] Theodoros Metochites[53] and Theodoros Prodromos. The latter is a very interesting case of an obscure literati, close to the imperial family but always complaining about his misfortune, his poverty, his illness. There exist two of his poems with verses glorifying the recipient and referring also to his disease. He described his sickness, - sciatica and smallpox? -[54] and its physical and psychological symptoms in Homeric metre and language[55]. He wrote to Eirene (Eirene the sebastokratorissa, sister in law of the Emperor Manuel A!), describing the hot iron treatment he had suffered in the treatment of a serious disease (smallpox?), comparing himself to the three youths in the fiery furnace[56]. He wrote two hexameter poems for Ioannikios, one a foreword to a book containing some of Ioannikios' schedographical exercises, the other apologising on the grounds of illness for not visiting him[57]. In contrast to Apocaukos he was writing in an everyday common language and for two particular poems referring to his disease he used allegories to everyday scenes of the market and not to mythology. Characteristically he uses the image of an octopus crushed against the rocks by the fishmonger so as to soften it; in a similar way the illness wears him down with its unbearable pain[58]. And again, in contrast to Apocaukos he tries, via the sentimentality of these descriptions, to gain monetary favours. His almost contemporary Ioannis Apocaukos, the persona under discussion in this article, added a personal touch to his letters by elaborating also on his health issues, which evoked a feeling of tragedy through allusions and metaphors referencing to ancient Greek authors and the Bible, but never used for beggary. Perhaps only equally well-educated recipients of his letters would grasp his references.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Μεταφορές και αλληγορίες στους αρχαίους συγγραφείς και τη Βίβλο σε επιστολές του Ιωάννη Απόκαυκου σχετικές με ιατρικά και παραϊατρικά θέματα

Αθανάσιος Διαμαντόπουλος

Ο Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος (1153/60-1235) ήταν διάσημος Μητροπολίτης Ναυπάκτου, μιας άσημης τώρα μικρής πόλης στην Νοτιοδυτική Ελλάδα, αλλά τότε μια από τις ισχυρότερες Έδρες της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας στα Βαλκάνια. Ήταν χειμαρρώδης συγγραφέας, και εκτός από τις πολλές θεολογικές του μελέτες έγραψε εκτενώς επί πολιτικών, κοινωνικών και ιατρικών θεμάτων. Κατά τη συνήθεια των Βυζαντινών διέπρεψε αλληλογραφώντας με σχεδόν όλους τους επιφανείς της περιοχής και της εποχής του. Ένα συχνά επαναλαμβανόμενο θέμα ήταν η νόσος του την οποία περιγράφει με μια επιδεικτική γλώσσα. Με αυτήν εισάγει συχνά μεταφορικό λόγο που υπαινικτικά παραπέμπει σε γνωστούς συγγραφείς της αρχαιότητος ή στη Βίβλο. Σε αυτό το άρθρο έγινε προσπάθεια να ανιχνευθεί ο μίτος που συνέδεε τις αναφορές του επί ιατρικών και παραϊατρικών θεμάτων με ποιητές, ρήτορες, φιλοσόφους και κληρικούς του παρελθόντος. Εντοπίσαμε δεκαεννέα και τις σχολιάζουμε εκτενώς.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος, Ναύπακτος, Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Βυζαντινοί επιστολογράφοι, ποδάγρα, μεταφορικός λόγος*

REFERENCES

1. Seal for the authenticity of Georgios Akropolites letters with the stereotypic invocation (George Akropolites, grand logothetes (thirteenth century), doaks.org, https://www.doaks.org
2. Vasilievsky VG, Apokaukos John, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII', Vizantiski Vremennik 3 (1896), 233–299).
3. Delimaris H, Fathers of the Church and Ecclesiastical Authors of Western Greece, Ioannis Apocaucos Corpus, Vol 1, Naupactus, 2000
4. Lampropoulos C, Ioannis Apocaukos, A contribution to the research in his life and his writings, Vasilopoulos S (Publ), 1988, Athens
5. Nesseris I, Ioannis Apocaukos and the Cutting down of Trees at Acharnae and Synesius of Cyrene, Dodoni, History and Archaeology, 2017, vol. 43, pp185-205
6. Tziatzi M, Short Introduction and texts in Byzantine Epistolography, Corpus ΕΕΒΦ, 2016, 275, duth.gr, https://eclass.duth.gr › file.php ›) (in Greek)
7. Papaioannou S, The Epistolographic Self, In: A Companion to Byzantine Epistolography, 2020, Chapter 12 , pp 333–352, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004424616_014
8. Kirby JT, Aristotle on Metaphor, The American Journal of Philology, 1997, 118(4):517-554, DOI:10.1353/ajp.1997.0056
9. Borges JL, Other Inquisitions, University of Texas Press 1937-1952, 1964, referred in: Coughlin S, 2013, Method and Metaphor in Aristotle's Science of Nature, philarchive.org, https://philarchive.org › archive › COUMAM-2
10. Lebedev AV, The Logos of Heraclitus. A Reconstruction of his Word and Thought. (With a New Critical Edition of the Fragments), "Nauka", 2014, Saint Petersburg, 533
11. Plati E, Medical Metaphors in Plutarch: The Example of πολιτικὴ ἰατρεία Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde der Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. phil) der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften, Fachbereiche Sprache, Literatur, Medien I & II der Universität Hamburg, 2020
12. Debatin B, Die Rationalität der Metapher. Eine sprachphilosophische und kommunikations theoretische Untersuchung, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1995
13. Lloyd GER, Aristotelian Explorations, Cambridge University Press, 1996
14. Lee BG, Jesus and the Metaphors of God: The Christs of the New Testament, Paulist Press, 1993, amazon.com, Https://www.amazon.com
15. Nesseris I, Ioannis Aocauhkos and the cutting down of trees at Acharnai and Synesius of Cyrene, Dodoni/History and Arcaheology, 43-44, 2017, 185-255 (In Greek)
16. Lampropoulos, ibid, p.56
17. Diamandopoulos A, Skarpelos A, Illustrious personalities of ancient and Byzantine Greeks with renal problems, J Nephrol, Jul-Aug 2004;17(4):590-9
18. Marickar YM, Calcium oxalate stone and gout, Urol Res. 2009 Dec;37(6):345-7
19. Jimenez X, Psutka SP, Stone IH, Carruthers MN, Stones in the Urinary Tract - MSD Manuals, https://www.msdmanuals.com ›, 18 May 2015, Wiley Online Library.
20. Delimaris, ibid, 72
21. Iliad E-Text | Books 17-20 – GradeSaver, gradesaver.com https://www.gradesaver.com ›, 2022
22. Synesius, Eulogy of Baldness, introduction, l. 1168 -, livius.org, https://www.livius.org ›
23. Delimaris ibid, p. 124-125
24. Wright WC, Eunapius, Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists, 1921_1922, pp. 448.28-450.1, documentacatholicaomnia.eu, http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu,

Downloaded form: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eunapius)
25. Strabo Geography 3.2.9, adapted from translation by Hamilton & Falconer, Perseus
26. 1 Samuel 5:9 — King James Version (KJV 1900)
27. The Iliad of Homer Translated by Alexander Pope, with notes by the Rev. Theodore Alois Buckley, M.A., F.S.A. and Flaxman's Designs. 189, The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Iliad of Homer by Homer, book xvii, l. 550
28. Samuel I, chap. 1-4
29. Delimaris, ibid, 119
30. Delimaris, ibid, 123
31. Johnston I (transl.), Aristophanes, Clouds, 10. Vancouver Island University, Nanaimo, British Columbia Canada, 2020.
32. Delimaris, ibid, 124
33. Apocaukos Ioannis, Personal Note, year of Our Lord, 1222 – aromalefkadas, https://aromalefkadas.gr siteadmin • 1 January 2016
34. Plato (5th/4th cent AD), _Phaedo, Church's Translation of Some Dialogues of Plato The Trial and Death of Socrates, being the Euthyphron, Apology, Crito and Phaedo of Plato, translated into English by F. J. Church, M.A. London, Macmillan and Co. and New York, 189, VI 62-VII 63, bard.edu, https://www.bard.edu › pdfs
35. Plutarch, De defectu oraculorum, Goodwin W W (ed).,l.39, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu ›
36. Diamandopoulos A, The use of Ancient and Medieval Greek literature for avoiding the «I said it first» research syndrome, In: University of Patras, Proceedings, Medical World Congress, Olympia, Greece, 2002).
37. Delimaris, ibid, 287
38. Solomon, Song of Songs, 1:6 King James Version, 1, 6 (KJV)
39. Delimaris, Letter to an undefined recipient, p. 328
40. Basil (St.), Letter 188, To Amphilochius, concerning the Canons. - CHURCH FATHERS - New Advent, newadvent.org, https://www.newadvent.org › ...
41. Suidas, lexicon (gr. et lat.) ex recensione et cum notis ... google.gr, https://books.google.gr › ..., · 1630
42. Etymologikon to mega egoun e megale grammatike. Etymologicon ..., google.gr, https://books.google.gr › books, Fredericus Sylburgus · 1816
43. Delimaris, p. 104
44. Hippocrates, Full text of - Internet Archive, archive.org, https://archive.org › stream, regimen XV, 252 - 55
45. Delimaris, ibid, p. 201
46. Wilkins I, The Concept of Whole Substance in Galen's Simple Medicines, Studia Ceranea 11, 2021, p. 479–491, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4371-2975,
47. Nasser M, Tibi A, Savage-Smith E, Ibn Sina's Canon of Medicine: 11th century rules for assessing the effects of drugs, J R Soc Med. 2009 Feb 1; 102(2): 78–80
48. Delimaris, ibid, p. 247
49. Aristophanes, Frogs, 89, Matthew (Ed)) Perseus Catalog
50. New Advent, Byzantine Literature, newadvent.org, https://www.newadvent.org ›
51. Tomadaki M, Ioannis Geometris, iambic poems, critical edition, translation and comments, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Department of Medieval and Modern Greek Studies, 2014, (in Greek) Thessaloniki, Greece http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-7222883
52. Kotzabassi S, Reconsidering the Letters of Constantine Akropolites, in: Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture Antonopoulou T, Kotzabassi S, Marina Loukaki M (edt), [2015] ISBN-13:978-1-5015-0156-2, pp.211-216
53. Bazzani M, "THEODORE METOCHITES, A BYZANTINE HUMANIST." Byzantion, 2006, vol. 76, pp 32
54. Tsiamis K, Lakaratos I, Cases of smallpox in Byzantium, Archives of Hellenic Medicine, 2002, 19 (2): 179 - 186
55. Wolfram H, Prodromos, Historische Gedichte, Text und Kommentar, Wiener Byzantinische Atudien, 1974, 11, LXXVII-LXXVIII
56. Wolfram, ibid, XLVI
57. Wolfram, ibid, XVII
58. Bazzani M, The Historical Poems of Theodore Prodromos, the Epic-Homeric revival and the crisis of intellectuals in the Twelfth century, muni.cz, https://is.muni.cz › podzim, 2019 p. 10

Corresponding author:
Athanasios Diamandopoulos
e-mail: 1453295@gmail.com