

Luca Vocaturo (The Ohio State University)

Email contact: vocaturo.1@buckeyemail.osu.edu

Melancholy: The Social Construction of a Disease

1) Aristot.*Probl.*XXX.953a

Διὰ τί πάντες ὅσοι περιττοὶ γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες ἢ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἢ ποίησιν ἢ τέχνας φαίνονται μελαγχολικοὶ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνεσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς ἀρρωστήμασιν, οἷον λέγεται τῶν τε ἡρωϊκῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα; καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔοικε γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς φύσεως, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα τῶν ἐπιληπτικῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγόρευον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἱερὰν νόσον

(my own emphasis)

“Why are those men who have become great, whether in philosophy, politics, poetry, or those who display skills melancholic, and some are as such that they are affected by the diseases stemming from black bile (as, among the heroes, the accounts regarding Herakles tell)? He seems to have been of such a nature, and for this reason the ancients called the disease of the epileptics ‘sacred disease’ after him”

(my own translation)

2) *Aristot. Probl. XXX.954a*

ἐν τῇ φύσει εὐθὺς ὁ τοιοῦτος χυμὸς ὁ μελαγολικὸς κεράννυται· θερμοῦ γὰρ ψυχροῦ κρᾶσις ἐστίν· [...]. διὸ καὶ ἡ μέλαινα χολὴ καὶ θερμότατον καὶ ψυχρότατον γίνεται

“By nature, such a melancholic humor consequently becomes mixed up. In fact, it occurs the mixture of a hot element and a cold element. [...]. Therefore, black bile becomes utmost hot and utmost cold”

(my translation)

3) *Aristot. Probl. XXX.954a*

καὶ ἡ χολὴ δὲ ἡ μέλαινα φύσει ψυχρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως οὔσα, ὅταν μὲν οὕτως ἔχη ὡς εἴρηται, **ἐὰν ὑπερβάλλῃ ἐν τῷ σώματι**, ἀποπληξίας ἢ νάρκας ἢ ἀθυμίας ποιεῖ ἢ φόβους, **ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερθερμανθῇ**, τὰς μετ’ ᾧδῆς εὐθυμίας καὶ ἐκστάσεις καὶ ἐκζέσεις ἐλκῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα

(my emphasis)

“And since black bile is cold and does not come to the surface by nature, each time it happens what has been said, namely **when it overflows throughout the body**, it engenders apoplexies, paralysis, dejections and fears; on the other hand, **when it gets too much warm**, it engenders joy that makes sing, causes bewilderment, wounds, ulcerations and other symptoms as such”

(my own translation)

4) *Hipp. De nat. hom. IV* (edition : Jones 1931)

Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἑωυτῷ αἷμα καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν ξανθὴν καὶ μέλαιναν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ φύσις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγεῖ καὶ ὑγιαίνει. **ὑγιαίνει μὲν οὖν μάλιστα, ὅταν**

μετρίως ἔχη ταῦτα τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα κρήσιος καὶ δυνάμιος καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ μάλιστα
 μεμιγμένα ἢ· ἀλγεῖ δὲ ὅταν τούτων τι ἔλασσον ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἢ χωρισθῆ ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ μὴ
 κεκρημένον ἢ τοῖσι σύμπασιν

(my emphasis)

“The human body has inside of itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, and these elements
 constitute for the body its nature. Also, it is through these elements that the body is sick or healthy.
**It is healthy especially when the elements engage with one another with temperance (in terms
 of mixture, quality and quantity) and especially if they are blended with one another. On the
 contrary, the body is sick either when an element is more or less abundant than the others or
 when it becomes separated inside of the body and is not mixed with all the other elements”**

(my own translation)

5) [Hipp.]. *Pseudep.X* (edition: Smith 1990)

ἐκλαθόμενος γὰρ ἀπάντων καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ πρότερον, ἐγρηγορῶς καὶ ἡμέρην καὶ νύκτα γελῶν ἕκαστα
 σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα. γαμεῖ τις, ὁ δὲ ἐμπορεύεται, ὁ δὲ δημηγορεῖ, ἄλλος ἄρχει. πρεσβεύει,
 χειροτονεῖται, νοσεῖ, τέτρωται, τέθνηκεν· ὁ δὲ πάντα γελᾷ, τοὺς μὲν κατηφεῖς τε καὶ σκυθρωπούς,
 τοὺς δὲ χαίροντας ὀρῶν. **ζητεῖ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ γράφει ταῦτα καὶ εἰδώλων
 φησὶ πλήρη τὸν ἡέρα εἶναι καὶ ὀρνέων φωνὰς ὠτακουστέῃ· καὶ πολλάκις νύκτωρ ἐξαναστὰς
 μόνος ἠσυχῆ ὠδὰς ἄδοντι ἔοικεν.**

(my emphasis)

“Earlier he used to forget about everything, including himself, while now he remains awake at night
 and in the daytime, laughing at each thing that happens, whether if it is of small or great relevance.
 Somebody gets married, embarks on a business travel, speaks in public, another holds a magistracy,
 carries out an embassy, is elected, is sick, has been wounded, is dead: **he laughs at everything,**
 whether he sees people downcast, angry, or happy. **He researches into the underworld, writes**

about it, says that the air is full of images and eavesdrops on the sounds of birds. Furthermore, he often wakes up at night, and seems to be softly singing alone”

(my own translation)

6) **Hipp. Epidem.I.27.3** (edition: Jones 1923)

τρίτη πάντα παρωξύνθη· ὑποχονδρίου σύντασις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων παραμήκης πρὸς ὀμφαλόν, ὑπολάπαρος· διαχωρήματα λεπτά, ὑπομέλανα, οὔρα θολερά, ὑπομέλανα, **νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἐκοιμήθη**, λόγοι πολλοί, **γέλως, ᾠδή**, κατέχειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο

(my emphasis)

“On the third day, all (*scil.* ‘symptoms’) became acute: the hypochondrium became rigid on both the sides to the navel; weakness; feces of small size, slightly black, turbid urine; **no sleep at night**; much talking; **laughter, singing**, impossibility of exerting self-control”

(my own translation)

7) Synopsis of [**Hipp.**] **Pseudep.XII** and **Aristot. Probl.953b**

[Hipp.] Pseudep. XII (edition: Smith 1990)	Aristot. Probl.953b
<p>συμβαίνει μὲν οὖν τὰ πολλὰ τοῖσι μελαγχολικοῖσι τοιαῦτα· σίγηροί τε γὰρ ἐνίστε εἰσιν καὶ μονήρεις καὶ φιλέρημοι τυγχάνουσι· ἀπανθρωπέονται τε ξύμφυλον ὄψιν ἀλλοτρίην νομίζοντες</p> <p>(my emphasis)</p>	<p>καὶ γὰρ ἐλεήμονές ποτε γίνονται καὶ ἄγριοι καὶ σιωπηλοί· ἔνιοι γὰρ αὖ ἀποσιωπῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μελαγχολικῶν ὅσοι ἐκστατικοί</p> <p>(my emphasis)</p>

<p>“In fact, most of such symptoms befall the melancholic people: sometimes they are taciturn and happen to be also solitary and in love with solitude. They avoid people out of misanthropy, since they consider the appearance of those who belong to their same tribe as if it were the appearance of entities of an extraneous nature”</p> <p>(my own translation)</p>	<p>“In fact, some become merciful, some violent, others taciturn. Indeed, some of them are silent, and the most part of melancholic people is accounted for by those who are mercurial”</p> <p>(my own translation)</p>
--	---

8) [Hipp.], *Pseudep. XIV* (edition: Smith 1990)

καὶ εἶπομι' ἄν ὑπῶ· ‘Δημόκριτε, καὶ νοσέοντος καὶ κτεινομένου καὶ τεθνεῶτος καὶ πολιορκουμένου Δημόκριτε, καὶ νοσέοντος καὶ κτεινομένου καὶ τεθνεῶτος καὶ πολιορκουμένου καὶ παντὸς ἐμπίπτοντος κακοῦ ἕκαστον τῶν πρησσομένων ὕλη σοι γέλωτος ὑπόκειται. οὐ θεομαχεῖς δέ, εἰ δύο ἐόντων ἐν κόσμῳ, λύπης καὶ χαρᾶς, σὺ θάτερον αὐτῶν ἐκβέβληκας; μακάριός τ' ἄν ἦς, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον, εἰ μήτε μήτηρ σοι νενόσηκε μήτε πατὴρ μήτε τὰ ὕστερον τέκνα ἢ γυνὴ ἢ φίλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν σὸν γέλωτα, ἵνα σώζεται, εὐτυχεῖς πάντα. ἀλλὰ νοσεόντος γελᾷς, ἀποθνησκόντων χαίρεις, εἴ τι που πύθοιο κακόν, εὐφραίνει· ὡς πονηρότατος εἶ, ὃ Δημόκριτε, καὶ πόρρω γε σοφίης. ἢ νομίζεις αὐτὰ μηδὲ κακὰ εἶναι; **μελαγχολᾷς οὖν, Δημόκριτε, [...]**’.

(my emphasis)

“And I would say to him: ‘Democritus, regardless of whether one is sick, is killed, is dead, is oppressed, or each and every disgrace is befalling, everything that happens is for you grounds for laughter. **Given that there are two things in the universe, suffering and joy, do not you challenge the gods by having driven either of these two things out? You would be happy as a god (but this is impossible) if neither your mother, nor your father, nor again your children nor your wife, nor a friend of yours has been ill, but they are fortunate in everything thanks to your laughter, so that it could be maintained.** Yet, you laugh when people get sick, when people die, and you are cheerful if you come to know that a disgrace has happened. In this way, Democritus, you are extremely wicked, and far beyond wisdom. Maybe do not you think that these are disgraces? Thus, **Democritus, you suffer from melancholy, [...]**’

(my own translation)

9) **Democr. B1 DK** (edition: Diels/Kranz 1968-9)

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος ἦν ἀπόσβεσις, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῆς συμπάσης ζωῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μὲν πληγῆς τινος ἴσως καὶ τραύματος παρεῖτο, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οἱ περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἔμενον ἔτι δεσμοὶ κατερριζωμένοι καὶ ἡ καρδία τὸ ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ζωῆς εἶχεν ἐγκείμενον τῷ βάθει

(my emphasis)

“**Nor death was the extinction of the whole life inside the body (as it seems)**, but it appears to be a consequence of a strike as well as of a wound, while the ties of the soul still remain firmly in the region around the brain, and the heart holds the ember of life, ember that remains in the depths”

(my own translation)

10) **Emped. A2 DK** (edition: Diels/Kranz 1968-9)

οὗτος στέμμα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀμύκλας ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμματα Δελφικὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπήει τὰς πόλεις δόξαν περὶ αὐτοῦ κατασχεῖν ὡς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλόμενος

“With a golden wreath on his head, with bronze sandals on his feet and Delphic crowns in his hands he traveled from city to city, desiring that people remembered him as a god”

(my own translation)

11) **Emped. B112 DK** (Diels/Kranz 1968-9)

ἔστιν Ἀνάγκης θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν

[...]

εὐτέ τις ἀμπλακίησι φόνῳ φίλα γυῖα μίηνη,

<νεῖκεῖ θ'> ὅς κε ἐπίορκον ἀμαρτήσας ἐπομόσση

δαίμονες οἶτε μακραίωνος λελάχασι βίοιο

τρίς μιν μυρίας ὄρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάλησθαι
 [...]

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει,
 πόντος δ' ἐς χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπτυσε γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐγὰς
 ἡλίου φαέθοντος ὃ δ' αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις·
 [...]· στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες,
τῶν καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν εἰμι φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτες.
 [...]·

(my emphasis)

“There is an oracle delivered by Necessity, an ancient decree of the gods, [...], according to which when someone makes a mistake and stains his limbs, since, pushed by strife, he was wrong to swear a false oath, then those tutelary spirits who have been allotted a longer life wander for thirty thousand years away from the Olympians.[...]. The power of ether pushes them towards the sea; then, the sea casts them onto the surface of the earth; then the earth rises them up to the rays of the shining sun; then, the sun hurls them into the whirlpools of ether. [...], everybody hates them. I am one of them, now, and am a fugitive from the gods and a wanderer, [...]”.

(my own translation)

12) Emped. B8 DK (edition: Diels-Kranz 1968-9)

φύσις οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἀπάντων θνητῶν/οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή/ ἀλλὰ μόνον μίξις τε
 διάλλαξις τε μιγέντων/ ἔστι, φύσις δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισιν.

(my emphasis)

“I say another thing to you: there is neither birth for any mortals, nor an end coming from baleful death. Yet, there is only mixture and separation of mixing elements, and this takes the name of ‘nature’ among the humans”

(my own translation)

13) Emped. B111 DK (edition: Diels/Kranz 1968-9)

φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ
 πεύση, ἐπεὶ μούνφ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα.
 παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος οἷ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 ὀρνύμενοι πνοιαῖσι καταφθινύθοισι ἀρούρας·
 καὶ πάλιν, ἦν ἐθέλησθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματ(α) ἐπάξεις·
 θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινοῦ καίριον αὐχμόν
 ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου
 ῥεύματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τὰ τ' αἰθέρι ναιήσονται,
ἄξεις δ' ἐξ Αἴδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

(my emphasis)

“You will know those drugs that exist to cure diseases and you will know the protection against old age, for to you only I will establish all this. You will stop the strength of the tireless winds that move towards the earth and ruin the ploughed fields. And contrariwise, you will lead beneficial blows of wind, if this is what you desire. You will establish for human beings temporary aridness, after black rain; after arid summer, you will establish streams of water that nourish trees and that will reside in the ether; **and you will lead the spirit of a dead man from Hades**”.

(my own translation)

14) Portions of the proemial fragment from **Parmenides' Περὶ φύσεως** (text from Ferrari 2003)

1: Ἴπποι ταί με φέρουσιν

2: πέμπον

2-3: ἐπεὶ μ' ἐς ὄδον βῆσαν πολύφημον ἄγουσαι/δαίμονος ἢ κατὰ πάντ' ἄστη φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα

9: Ἡλιάδες κοῦραι

9-10: προλιποῦσαι δώματα Νυκτός/εἰς φάος

14: ἔνθα πύλαι Νυκτός τε καὶ Ἥματός εἰσι κελεύθων

15) **Parmenides' Περὶ φύσεως, ll. 25-9** (text from Ferrari 2003)

ὦ κοῦρ' ἀθανάτοισι συνάορος ἠνιόχοισιν
 ἵπποις ταί σε φέρουσιν ἰκάνων ἡμέτερον δῶ
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ οὔτι σε μοῖρα κακὴ προὔπεμπε νέεσθαι
 τήνδ' ὁδόν (ἧ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ἐστίν),
 ἀλλὰ θέμις τε δίκη τε. χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι,
 ἡμὲν Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος ἀτρεμέσ ἦτορ
 ἡδὲ βροτῶν δόξας, τῆς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀλήθης

(my emphasis)

“Son, comrade of both the immortal charioteers and the mares that are leading you, you come to my abode: hello! Since it was not evil Destiny that sent you and made you cover this road (it is, in fact, away from the mortals' path) but it was Norm and Justice, you have to know everything, the perfectly circular and unflinching heart of Truth, as well as the opinions of the mortals, in which there is no guarantee of truth”

(my own translation)

16) **Hes. Theog. 748-754** (edition: Solsen 1970)

[...], ὄθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἄσσον ἰοῦσαι
 ἀλλήλας προσέειπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
 χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
 ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος ἐντὸς ἐέργει,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἐοῦσα
 γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμου ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα
 μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὄρην ὁδοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν ἴκηται·

“[...], where Night and Day, proceeding closer, speak to one another, exchanging the great bronze threshold. One of the two will go in, as soon as the other comes to the door, and the house never shuts both them in, but always one goes out of the house and visits the earth, while the other, remaining inside, waits until it has come the time for its route, [...].”

(my own translation)

17) *Eur. HF.296-7* (edition: Murray 1913)

ἤξειν νομίζεις παῖδα σὸν γαίας ὕπο;/καὶ τίς θανόντων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἄιδου πάλιν;

(my emphasis)

“do you think your son will be able to reach the underworld? **Who, among the dead, managed to come back from Hades?**”

(my own translation)

18) *Theog.736-9* (edition: Solmsen 1970):

Ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος/πόντου τ’ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος/ἔξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ’ ἔασιν,/ἀργαλέ’ εὐρώεντα, τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ.

“There, of the gloom earth, of nebulous Tartarus, of the billowing sea, of the starry sky, in succession, there are the origins and the gates, grievous and muddy, which even the gods hate”.

(my own translation)

19) *Eur. HF. 822-32* (edition: Murray 1913):

‘θαρσεῖτε Νυκτὸς τήνδ’ ὀρῶντες ἔκγονον

Λύσσαν, γέροντες, κάμει τὴν θεῶν λάτριν
 Ἴριν· πόλει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἤκομεν βλάβος,
 ἑνὸς δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς σῶμα συστρατεύομεν,
 ὃν φασιν εἶναι Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τ' ἄπο.
πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ἄθλους ἐκτελευτήσαι πικρούς,
τὸ χρὴ νιν ἐξέσωζεν, οὐδ' εἶα πατήρ
Ζεὺς νιν κακῶς δρᾶν οὔτ' ἔμ' οὔθ' Ἥραν ποτέ·
ἐπεὶ δὲ μόχθους διεπέρασ' Εὐρυσθέως,
Ἥρα προσάψαι καινὸν αἶμ' αὐτῷ θέλει
παῖδας κατακτείναντι, συνθέλω δ' ἐγώ'

(my emphasis)

“Have courage, elders, while seeing here the daughter of Night, Lyssa, and myself, Iris, the minister of the gods: we are bringing no damage to the city, in fact, but we are marching against the body of one man, who, they say, is the son of Zeus and Alcmena. **Before he completed his harsh challenges, it was right to save him, and father Zeus did not ever let either me or Hera work harm to him. But since he went through the fatigues of Eurystheus, Hera wants to attach unexpected blood to him while he slaughters his sons, and I want the same**”.

(my own translation)

20) Eur. *HF*. 425-35 (edition: Murray 2013)

δρόμων τ' ἄλλων ἀγάλματ'
 εὐτυχῆ διῆλθε· τόν τε
 πολυδάκρουν ἔπλευσ' ἐς Ἄι-
 δαν, πόνων τελευτάν,
 ἵν' ἐκπεραίνει τάλας
 βίοτον, οὐδ' ἔβα πάλιν.
 στέγαι δ' ἔρημοι φίλων,
 τὰν δ' ἀνόστιμον τέκνων
 Χάρωνος ἐπιμένει πλάτα

βίου κέλευθον ἄθεον ἄδι-
κον

(my emphasis)

“He reached the successful honors of other pursuits. He sailed to the grievous Hades, the end of his fatigues, where a miserable brings his life to completion, and does not come back. The house is without friends, and Caron’s ship is waiting for your children to carry them along the path out of life, with no return, **the path that does not know neither god nor justice**”.

21) **Eur. HF. 930-5** (edition: Murray 1913)

καὶ χρονίζοντος πατρὸς
παῖδες προσέσχον ὄμμ’· ὁ δ’ οὐκέθ’ αὐτὸς ἦν,
ἀλλ’ ἐν στροφαῖσιν ὀμμάτων ἐφθαρμένος
ρίζας τ’ ἐν ὄσσοις αἱματῶπας ἐκβαλὼν
ἀφρὸν κατέσταζ’ εὐτριχος γενειάδος.
ἔλεξε δ’ ἅμα γέλωτι παραπεπληγμένω·
‘[...]’

“And since their father was taking time, the children turned their gaze towards him. He was no longer himself; yet, he was devastated for the rolling of his eyes, and with his eyes streaked with blood the foam was dropping down from his hairy bear. The he spoke with the laughter of a deranged man: ‘...’”

(my own translation)

22) **Hipp.Aph. 6.56** (edition: Jones 1931):

Τοῖσι μελαγχολικοῖσι νοσήμασιν ἐς τάδε ἐπικίνδυνοι αἱ ἀποσκήψιες· ἀπόπληξιν τοῦ σώματος, ἢ σπασμόν, ἢ **μανίην**, ἢ τύφλωσιν σημαίνει

(my emphasis)

“In the melancholic diseases, humor overflows (*scil.* ‘of the black bile’) are risky in terms of the following symptoms: apoplexy of the body, spasm, madness, or blindness”

(my own translation)

23) **Hipp. Hum.I** (edition: Jones 1931)

Τὸ χρῶμα τῶν χυμῶν, [...], ὡσπερ ἀνθέων (my emphasis)

“The color of the humors, [...], is like the color of the flowers”

(my own translation)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Angelino/Salvaneschi 1981. C. Angelino/E. Salvaneschi, *Aristotele. La “Malinconia” dell’uomo di genio*, Genova.
- Assaël 1994. J. Assaël, “L’Héraclès d’Euripide et les ténèbres infernales”, *Les études classiques*, (LXII), pp. 313-26.
- Cerri 1995. G. Cerri, “Cosmologia dell’Ade in Omero, Esiodo e Parmenide”, *La parola del passato*, (L), pp. 437-67.
- Id. 2014. G. Cerri, “L’Ade ad Oriente, viaggio quotidiano del carro del sole e direzione della corrente dell’oceano”, *Tekmeria*, (XVI), pp. 165-80.
- Chitwood 2004. A. Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy. The Biographical Tradition in the Life and Death of the Archaic Philosophers and Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus*, Ann Arbor.
- Croissant 1932. J. Croissant, *Aristote et les mystères*, Liège/Paris.

- Diels/Kranz 1968. H. Diels /W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* [Band I], Dublin/Zürich.
- Ferrari 2003. F. Ferrari, “Il ritorno del *kouros*: tradizione epica e articolazione narrativa in Parmenide 28 B 1 D.-K.”, in D. Accorinti/P. Chauvin (éds.), *Des Géants à Dionysos : mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à Francis Vian*, Alessandria.
- Fitzgerald 1991. G.J. Fitzgerald, “The Euripidean Heracles. An Intellectual and a Coward?”, *Mnemosyne*, (XLIV.1-2), pp. 85-95.
- García Gual 1984. C. García Gual, “Del melancolico como atrabiliario. Segun las antiguas ideas griegas sobre la enfermedad de la melancolía”, *Faventia*, (VI.1), pp. 41-50.
- Goold 1975. G.P. Goold, *Aristotle: Volume XIX*, Cambridge (MA)-London.
- Griffiths 2002. E.M. Griffiths, “Euripides’ ‘Herakles’ and the Pursuit of Immortality”, *Mnemosyne*, (LV.6), pp. 641-56.
- Jones 1923. W.H.S. Jones, *Hippocrates: II*, London/New York.
- Id. 1931. W.H.S. Jones, *Hippocrates: IV*, Cambridge (MA).
- Kazantzidis 2018. G. Kazantzidis, “Between Insanity and Wisdom: Perceptions of Melancholy in the Ps.-Hippocratic Letters 10-17”, in C. Thumiger/P. Singer (eds.), *Mental Illness in Ancient Medicine: From Celsus to Paul of Aegina*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 35-78.
- Montevicchi 2007. “L’eterno movimento della *physis*. Alcune riflessioni su Empedocle di Agrigento”, *La società degli uomini*, (XXVII.1), pp. 9-21.
- Montiglio 2005. S. Montiglio, *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture*, Chicago/London.
- Padel 1995. R. Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy. Elements of Greek Madness and Tragedy*, 1995.
- Page/et al. 1965. T.E. Page/et al., *Aristotle: Problems [II: Books XXII-XXXVIII]. Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Cambridge [MA]/London 1965
- Papadopoulou 2005. T. Papadopoulou, *Heracles and Euripidean Tragedy*, Cambridge.
- Pigeaud 1989. J. Pigeaud, *La maladie de l’âme. Etude sur la relation de l’âme et du corps dans la tradition médico-philosophique antique*, Paris.
- Id. 1995. P. Potter, *Hippocrates: Volume VIII*, Cambridge [MA]-London.
- Rodríguez Moreno 2000. I. Rodríguez Moreno, “Le héros comme μεταξύ entre l’homme et la divinité dans la pensée grecque”, in V. Pirenne-Delforge/E. Suárez de la Torre (éd.), *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs (Kernos : Supplément 10)*, Liège, pp. 91-100.
- Scarpi 2007. P. Scarpi, “Empedocle in mago”, in G. Casertano (ed.), *Empedocle tra poesia*,

medicina, filosofia e politica, Napoli, pp. 143-56.

- Smith 1990. W.D. Smith, *Hippocrates. Pseudepigraphic Writings (Letters – Embassy – Speech from the Altar–Decree)*, Leiden/New York/København/Köln.
- Solmsen 1970. F. Solmsen, *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et dies, Scutum*, Oxford.
- Stafford 2010. E. Stafford, “Herakles Between Gods and Heroes”, in J.N. Bremmer/A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations*, Edinburgh, pp. 228-44.
- Trépanier 2017. S. Trépanier, “From Hades to the Stars: Empedocles on the Cosmic Habitats of Soul”, *Classical Antiquity*, (XXXVI.1), pp. 130-82.
- Van der Eijk 2005. P.J. Van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity. Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease*, Cambridge.
- Vernant 1974. J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne*, Paris.