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BYZANTINE INCUBATION LITERATURE BETWEEN RELIGION AND MEDICINE: FOOD AS MEDICAMENT IN THE COLLECTION OF HEALING MIRACLES PERFORMED BY SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN (*BHG 373B*)

Abstract. Byzantine incubation literature is the term used in research to denote early Byzantine collections of healing miracles (5th–7th century) in which the saint's miraculous intervention is related to the incubation experience. Despite the centrality of the concepts of disease and healing in such literature, the relationship between medicine and Christian religion needs to be further explored. Based on the Egyptian collection of *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* contained in manuscript *Lond. Add. 37534 (BHG 373b)* as a case study, this paper intends to: (1) present those miraculous accounts where food is treated as medicament, starting from a close reading of the relevant passages; (2) looking at the (Byzantine) medical knowledge integrated in these narratives.

Keywords: Byzantine incubation literature, *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*, material culture, food as medicament, Byzantine history of food

1. Introduction

Among the Byzantine hagiographical works there is a specific group of miracle collections that, considering the richness of their content, have not been studied properly. They constitute so-called Byzantine incubation literature, i.e., collections of healing miracles performed by saints during the incubation experience of patient-devotees, who received messages or healings through the medium of the dream while sleeping inside a shrine¹.

Incubation, as a religious practice, was definitely not an original phenomenon of early Byzantium, but rather it had a long-standing tradition. As far as the Christian phenomenon of incubation is concerned, the Graeco-Roman one was

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¹ J.-M. HUSSER, *Dreams and Dream Narrative in the Biblical World*, London 1999, p. 21.

a particularly inconvenient precedent². Indeed, at the end of the 4th century the institutional Byzantine church showed hesitancy towards incubation, due to both the long preceding Graeco-Roman tradition and a theological scepticism towards dreams as bearers of divine truths because they might be sent by demons. As a consequence, even if laity probably believed in dreams nonetheless, the sources about incubation appeared only after the cult of the martyrs had been officially approved³. This aspect is of paramount importance in order to correctly evaluate the relationship between the Graeco-Roman precedents and the Christian phenomenon of incubation.

In earlier research, Christian incubation is considered to have been directly adapted from earlier practices, for the final purpose of eradicating pagan cults⁴. More recently, after the essays of Wiśniewski and Graf⁵, some scholars have been trying to argue against this interpretation⁶, but further research on the topic is still needed. In any case, Christian healing dreams have their own cultural rationale as an expression of Byzantine religiosity, just as Byzantine incubation literature shows that healing dream narratives acquired a major (and more complex) literary status in Byzantine culture in comparison to the Graeco-Roman world.

Indeed, even if the ritual practice of recording brief registrations about the experienced miraculous healings was probably shared by both the pagan and the Christian devotees, it cannot be denied that the textual development underwent by such early records in Byzantium was unparalleled. Quite differently from the Graeco-Roman epigraphic documents that are our sources on ancient incubation practices, the genesis of the said type of hagiographical literature is peculiar. Born from the ritual practice of collecting brief registrations written on real *libelli* by the recipients of the prodigious healings at the place of worship⁷, these works

² Especially the cult of Asklepios. Among the numerous Greek shrines of Asklepios, the most famous was certainly that of Epidauros, about whose activity important pieces of epigraphic evidence inform us. L.R. LIDONNICI, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Atlanta 1995. See also the recent F. STEGER, *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult*, Stuttgart 2016.

³ R. WIŚNIEWSKI, *Looking for Dreams and Talking to Martyrs: the Internal Roots of Christian Incubation*, [in:] *SP*, vol. LXIII, Leuven 2013, p. 205.

⁴ L. DEUBNER, *De Incubatione capita quattuor*, Leipzig 1900 (esp. p. 57, 97–98); M. HAMILTON, *Incubation. The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, London 1906 (esp. p. 110–111); M. DORATI, G. GUIDORIZZI, *La letteratura incubatoria*, [in:] *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 settembre 1994)*, ed. O. PECERE, A. STRAMAGLIA, Cassino 1996, p. 345–371, esp. p. 347. On Christian incubation see also L. CANETTI, *L'incubazione cristiana tra antichità e medioevo*, *RSCr* 7.1, 2010, p. 149–180.

⁵ R. WIŚNIEWSKI, *Looking...* and F. GRAF, *Dangerous Dreaming: The Christian Transformation of Dream Incubation*, *ARg* 15, 2014, p. 117–144 respectively.

⁶ H. VON EHRENHEIM, *Pilgrimage for Dreams in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium: Continuity of the Pagan Ritual or Development within Christian Miracle Tradition?*, *SJBMGS* 2, 2016, p. 53–95 and G. RENBERG, *Where Dreams May Come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*, Leiden 2016 [= RGRW], esp. p. 745–807.

⁷ H. DELEHAYE, *Les premiers Libelli Miraculorum*, *AB* 29, 2010, p. 427–434.

developed as a stratified textual tradition formed by continuous additions, until becoming compositionally structured miracle collections.

The *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* are among the most representative examples of Byzantine incubation literature⁸. There are two existing versions of this work: the more well-known *Versio Asiatica* (BHG 372) edited by Deubner⁹ and the singular “Egyptian version” (BHG 373B) contained in manuscript *Lond. Add. 37534* (*Londinensis* henceforth), which was edited by Rupprecht in 1935¹⁰. Contrary to the scarce attention devoted to it by previous scholars, it is very likely that the Egyptian collection witnesses a much more ancient – and allegedly “authentic”¹¹ – stratum of the tradition¹². Furthermore, out of the total number of 38 miracles, it has 14 original miracles which do not have any equivalent in the *Versio Asiatica*. Therefore, for the present I will base on the *Londinensis* as a case study.

2. Food as medicament in the healing dream miracles performed by Cosmas and Damian

Cosmas and Damian are the main proponents of the so-called *Anargyroi*, namely those saints who heal without asking any payment (μηδένα παρὰ τῶν ἰασθέντων δεχόμενοι μισθόν)¹³, according to the evangelical precept *gratis accipistis, gratis*

⁸ The others are: *Miracula Theclae*, [in:] *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, rec. G. DAGRON, Bruxelles 1978; *Miracula Cyri et Ioannis*, [in:] *Los thaumata de Sofronio. Contribución al estudio de la “Incubatio” cristiana*, rec. N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, Madrid 1975, and see also SOPHRONE DE JÉRUSALEM, *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean: BHG I 477–479*, trans. J. GASCOU, Paris 2006 and V. DÉROCHE, *Un recueil inédit de miracles de Cyr et Jean dans le Koutloumousiou 37*, RSBN 49, 2012, p. 199–220; *Miracula Artemii*, [in:] *Varia graeca sacra*, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 1–75 and see also V.S. CRISAFULLI, J.W. NESBITT, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-century Byzantium. Supplemented by a Reprinted Greek Text and an Essay by John F. Haldon*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= Mme, 13].

⁹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, [in:] *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung*, rec. L. DEUBNER, Leipzig–Berlin 1907.

¹⁰ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, [in:] *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vitam et miracula e codice Londinensi*, rec. E. RUPPRECHT, Berlin 1935 (cetera: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT).

¹¹ While the *Versio Asiatica* served an official project of imperial propaganda of saints Cosmas and Damian’s cult. See Ph. BOOTH, *Orthodox and Heretic in the Early Byzantine Cult(s) of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, [in:] *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. P. SARRIS, M. DAL SANTO, Ph. BOOTH, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= BSEMA, 20], p. 114–128 (esp. p. 124).

¹² I. CSEPREGI, *The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Cyrus and John, Saint Artemios* [PhD Dissertation: Central European University, Budapest 2007] (esp. p. 238). On the relationship between the Egyptian and Asian collection(s) see also Ph. BOOTH, *Between Texts and Shrines in the Greek Cult of Saints (5th–7th Centuries)*, [in:] *Culte des saints et littérature hagiographique: accords et désaccords*, ed. V. DÉROCHE, B. WARD-PERKINS, R. WIŚNIEWSKI, Paris 2020, p. 23–38.

¹³ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 17–18.

date (Mt 10: 8)¹⁴. These holy healers act within, and at the same time contribute to redefine, the complex relationship between medicine and Christianity. Some scholars even interpreted the *anargyroi* as the necessary answer of the Church to defeat the Christians' mistrust of medicine. In fact, medicine was evaluated positively as a gift of God, but *with all the drawbacks derived from being an art performed by humans*¹⁵. For this reason, free medical service was a meaningful requirement and, together with the constant references to doctors' avidity and to money waste of patients, contributes to represent Cosmas and Damian – and all the saints-physicians more in general – as the alternative model to secular doctors.

The recurring invectives against physicians in hagiographical literature appear to be centred on their (im)morality, rather than on the medical art itself and its tools¹⁶. As a confirmation of that, Christian holy healers often resort to the methods of secular medicine, as well as it is not rare to find the "occult" to be used by the saints. The apparently contradictory hostility towards doctors' cures (τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων φαρμάκων¹⁷) and magical practices (ἐπωδὴν καὶ τὰ περιάμμα-τα¹⁸) can actually be attributed to the attempt of building a unitary and monopolised concept of "healing". As explicitly stated in the *Life* that prefaces the *Miracles* in the *Londinensis*, the activity as holy healers of Cosmas and Damian is founded on the principle of subordination of human to celestial knowledge. Only if within the same cultural expression, based on shared concepts, ideas and beliefs, also the instruments borrowed from the repertoire of the (medical and magical) opponents acquire an official status and can be used by Christians. The magical, scientific and miraculous-religious approaches to medicine thus coexisted and operated simultaneously on the basis of the cultural representation of disease shared by the sick and the healer¹⁹.

As compared to healing miracles collections more in general, another typical feature characterized Byzantine incubation literature: the saints who are depicted

¹⁴ Actually, already in HIPPOCRATES, *Praeceptiones*, 6, 2–6, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. IX, ed. É. LITTRÉ, Paris 1861 [repr. Amsterdam, 1962], p. 258. Despite being pagan, the way Hippocratic medicine devoted attention to patients complied with Christianity. See O. TEMKIN, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, Baltimore–London 1991 and A. TOUWAIDE, *Medicine and Pharmacy*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, ed. S. LAZARIS, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= BCBW, 6], p. 354–403 (esp. p. 367–368).

¹⁵ My translation of E. GIANNARELLI, *I cristiani, la medicina, Cosma e Damiano*, [in:] *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze*, ed. EADEM, Firenze 2002, p. 29.

¹⁶ On the topic, the essay A. KAHZDAN, *The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 43–51 still remains unsurpassed. See also A. KAHZDAN, A.W. EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkley–Los Angeles–London 1985, p. 155–158.

¹⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 3.

¹⁸ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 4–5.

¹⁹ J.H. NEYREY, *Miracles, in Other Words: Social Science Perspectives on Healings*, [in:] *Miracles in Jewish and Christian Antiquity. Imagining Truth*, ed. J.C. CAVADINI, Notre Dame 1999, p. 20.

administrating healing through incubation are not just wonderworkers (*thaumaturgoi*) whose actions are modelled after the gestures of Christ, but they are out-and-out men of medicine. Indeed, the most recurring type of healing dreams is that of “medical dreams”²⁰, where patients are healed by resorting to scientific cures. Many miracles – the so-called *surgical* medical dreams, according to the classification provided by S. Constantinou²¹ – are solved through a real operation performed by the saints, providing us with valuable insights into the tools of the trade, such as razors (μάχαιρα, ξυρὸν), sponges (σπόγγος) and pots (σκύφος, ξέστα)²². Likewise numerous are the so-called *pharmacological*²³, where the cure consists in consuming or applying a medicine brought or suggested by the saint(s), and the *prescriptive* medical dreams²⁴, where the holy healers order the patient-devotee to behave in a certain way in order to be healed. Especially Cosmas and Damian’s healing miracles collection is deemed to be the one with the most leading scientific matrix²⁵, reflecting the increasing medical-scientific awareness which characterizes the Byzantine world starting from the 4th–5th centuries.

Looking into the medical knowledge integrated in these narratives is an approach that has not been yet systematically applied to research on Christian incubation literature. Next to drawing attention to a text which was for a long time neglected, this article aims to demonstrate the potential of such interpretative approach to the study of the history of medicine and food in Byzantium, encouraging further research on the topic. For this purpose, starting from a close reading of the relevant passages, I will focus on those miraculous accounts of the collection where food is treated as medicament.

²⁰ Healing dreams, as divine responses to the patient-devotee’s prayers for help, can be of three kinds according to the way of healing: corporeal, allegorical and medical. If the cure is obtained through the saint’s miraculous body, we refer to “corporeal dreams”. If the cure takes place in an allegorical way, the healing dream is specifically defined as “allegorical dream”. See S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology of Healing Dreams: Dream and Therapy in Byzantine Collections of Miracle Stories*, [in:] *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. ANGELIDI, G.T. CALOFONOS, London–New York 2014, p. 21–34, esp. p. 25, 33.

²¹ S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology...*

²² For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 50–52, 56–57. For an updated list of Byzantine surgical instruments classified according to the operations see St. GEROULANOS, Ch.V. PANARETOS, E. LYBEROPOULOU, *Surgery in Byzantium*, [in:] *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. D. MICHAELIDES, G. ANDROUTSOS, Oxford–Philadelphia 2014, p. 149–154.

²³ For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 60–61.

²⁴ For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 25–27, 68–72.

²⁵ On the Byzantines’ understanding of “science” see S. LAZARIS, *Introduction*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine...*, p. 1–26, esp. p. 21–22. For the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* as the most medicine-friendly text (in comparison, for example, to Sophronius in the *Miracles of Cyrus and John*, where the author, knows medicine and polemicizes against it) see J. LASCARATOS, *Miraculous Ophthalmological Therapies in Byzantium*, *DOPh* 81, 1992, p. 151.

2.1. Dietary habits

The most ordinary cases are those of the so-called prescriptive dreams, where dietary habits are often part of such prescriptions.

In the ninth miracle of the collection, an old man, who vomits blood mixed with pus (ἄμα μετὰ πύου μειγμένον ἀνέφερεν²⁶) over and over again, reaches the holy shrine in his search to be healed. While staying there, since he does not see any improvement, he soon starts swearing against the saints and he does not respect the Lenten fast. Appearing in dream to him, Cosmas and Damian prescribe him to eat only bread, salt and vegetables:

“παῦσαι καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀπρεπεῖς λόγους· εἰπεῖν παῦσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν ὀρνίθια, μάλιστα ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις [...] φάγε δὲ ἄρτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ὅσα λαχανώδη. Καὶ ἐὰν φυλάξης τὰς δύο ταύτας ἐντολάς, δυνήσῃ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἰάσεως τυχεῖν”²⁷.

“Stop pronouncing improper words against us and also stop eating birds, especially during these days [...] rather, do eat bread, salt and vegetables. And if you respect these two provisions, we will be able to heal you”²⁸.

Obviously, this account deals with the huge topic of food prohibition on religious grounds, in particular related to the practice of abstaining from all meat²⁹, which in Byzantium was the first and foremost fasting practice. The story is set during the “holy forty days” (ἡμερῶν οὐσῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἁγίων³⁰) of the Easter season. Nevertheless, the combination – and more precisely the formulation – of food prescribed by the saints is not so common as one might expect³¹. In the Byzantine monastic tradition fasting is usually associated with bread and water; if anything, salt – as allowed or not allowed seasoning – and wine are mentioned in addition to bread and water, which remain the staples of the meal(s)³².

²⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 25, 21–22.

²⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 26, 11–13, 17–20.

²⁸ All the translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

²⁹ See A.N.J. LOUVARIS, *Fast and Abstinence in Byzantium*, [in:] *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. MAYER, S. TRZCIONKA, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 189–198.

³⁰ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 26, 14–15.

³¹ Even the equivalent miracle of the *Versio Asiatica* (i.e., the sixth) does not display the same formula. Here, the dietary prescription of the saints is expressed in a very different way, through a sort of riddle. We indeed read: *eat only food starting with alpha* (*Kosmas und Damian...*, ed. L. DEUBNER, p. 110, 20). Festugière, in his translation of the Deubnerian edition, wrote that the solution of the riddle was *alphita* (see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Saint Thècle, Saints Come et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges*, Paris 1971, p. 107, no. 21). He clearly did not have in mind the Egyptian collection. The comparison with the ninth miracle of the latter indeed suggests that the *alpha* possibly refers to both *artos* and *alas*, as confirmed by the plural expression *en tois edésmasin*.

³² K. PARRY, *Vegetarianism in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The Transmission of a Regimen*, [in:] *Feast, Fast or Famine...*, p. 171–187 (esp. p. 178–184).

In the miracle water might certainly be implied, also because here the saints specifically take position against the fact that the man eats birds, therefore they insist on food rather than beverage. In this sense, a passage from the *Acts of Thomas* constitutes a first useful comparison, even if there string olive oil appears too³³. Taking into account the absence of the reference to oil – which clearly characterizes a higher degree of austerity in fasting diet – and the specific combination of the dietary prescription (bread–salt–vegetables), one might risk the opinion that this passage – despite dealing with a layman – recalls xerophagy, i.e., *a more severe fast [...] which permits eating of dry bread and fruits or vegetables prepared raw or sometimes with water, vinegar and salt*³⁴.

The same dietary list recurs identical only in another source³⁵, namely a passage from the *Vita brevior Ioannis Chrysostomi* (BHG 874d) – which is repeated in the spurious *Letters to Eudoxia* (CPG 4709)³⁶. In the future it may be useful to delve into the connections between the *Vita brevior* and the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*, since in the same manuscript that contains the abridged life of John Chrysostom (i.e., Sin. gr. 504 from the 10th c.³⁷) we find also the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*³⁸.

2.2. *Rofema* for a liquid diet

Among the patients of saints Cosmas and Damian a handful of female patients is enumerated too. The twenty-sixth miracle of the Egyptian collection gives the story of a woman who suffers from facial deformity – παραστρέφω is the verb to indicate that the face is crooked –, since the maxillary bones (σιαγόνα) are dislocated (μετατίθημι). The first part of the account lingers over the description of the woman's appearance, which was disgusting:

γυνή θεράπεινα κληρικού σεπτοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ τῶν ἁγίων πάθος ἔσχε δεινόν· τῶν γὰρ σιαγόνων αὐτῆς μετατεθέντων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τόπων ἄφνω παρεστρέφετο εἰς ἓν μέρος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἕως τῶν ὀμμάτων ἄνω, τὸ δὲ στόμα ὡσπερ καὶ

³³ *Acta Thomae*, 29, 5, [in:] *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. II.2, ed. M. BONNET, Leipzig 1903, p. 99–288. Quite curiously, also the verb εὐλογέω is present in this passage, but it is used with another meaning, namely that of “to speak a blessing over” the food before eating.

³⁴ “Xerophagy” in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, ed. K. PARRY, D.J. MELLING, D. BRADY, S.H. GRIFFITH, J.F. HEALEY, Oxford–Malden 2017, p. 521–522.

³⁵ Except for the fact that the noun λάχανον substitutes for the adjectivizing expression employed in the miracle.

³⁶ Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐπαρκεῖ πρὸς ἀποτροφήν ὀλίγος ἄρτος σὺν ἄλατι καὶ λαχάνοις οἰκτροῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν in *Vita brevior Ioannis Chrysostomi*, 28, 108–110, [in:] *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome*, ed. F. HALKIN, Bruxelles 1977, p. 335 and IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad Eudoxiam*, [in:] *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, ed. P.G. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Athens 1973, p. 287, 18–19.

³⁷ Diktyon: 58879.

³⁸ According to the *Versio Asiatica*'s version (BHG 372) and the collection *Miracula XIV* (BHG 389a).

τὸ πρόσωπον στρεβλὸν ὑπῆρχεν, τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους φυγόν. φοβερὸν ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πάθος· τὸ γὰρ στόμα χανὸν ἦν³⁹.

[...] a servant of a clergy man of the Cosmas and Damian's Reverend sanctuary of the Blachernai was afflicted by a dreadful disease: indeed, because the jawbones had moved from their locations, suddenly her face remained turned by one side up to above the eyes, and the mouth and the face as well remained crooked, because it had come out of its locations. The disease was horrible at sight: indeed, the mouth stayed wide open.

In order to heal the woman, Cosmas and Damian will appear in dream to her and perform an (invasive) orthopaedic intervention, one (Cosmas) holding the feet tight, while the other (Damian) gripping with his left hand her head and with the right making the jawbones come back to their locations⁴⁰. Beyond that, this miracle reports an interesting detail, which is worthy of more attention. When describing the crooked face of the woman, it is said that *It was not possible to close or to open it* [= the mouth], *nor to emit an articulated sound or eat food, only salted thin oat stock was given to her* (ρόφημα δὲ μόνον ὕφαλμον ἐδίδετο αὐτῆ)⁴¹.

The combined expression ρόφημα ὕφαλμον found in this passage seems to be unparalleled. As for the lemma ὕφαλμος, -ον, only five instances are known, in addition to that of the miracle, but they are all unrelated to oats or other crops. *Rofema* is one of the terms under which thin liquid food made of oats is known⁴². In particular, it refers to “a sort of thin oat stock”⁴³.

Next to confirming that this dish was drunk, the miracle in question provides more information concerning its therapeutic use and of oats more in general. Indeed, oats was applied either externally – as a component of cataplasms – or internally. This case clearly belongs to the latter: the stock given to the woman seems to be akin to our modern liquid diet. In this sense, the administration of *rofema* as a foodstuff to those patients who are not able to eat shall be added to the already known treatment of sicknesses accompanied by high temperatures, of ailments of the alimentary tract, of liver fundus inflammation and of persons coming out of lethargy⁴⁴.

³⁹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 40, 21–25; 41, 1–6.

⁴⁰ This intervention (to heal temporomandibular disfunction due to mandibular dislocation) is ascribable to the field now recognised as Oral and Cranio-maxillofacial Surgery and Pathology, which was not distinguished from General Surgery by Byzantine physicians. See A.I. MYLONAS, E.-F. POU-LAKOU-REBELAKOU, G.I. ANDROUTSOS, et al., *Oral and Cranio-maxillofacial Surgery in Byzantium*, JCMS 2, 2014, p. 159–168, esp. p. 163.

⁴¹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 41, 7–10.

⁴² M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common Oat as Food and Medicament in Greek Medical Treatises of Antiquity and Byzantium, II–VII C. AD.*, [in:] *Tasting Cultures. Thoughts for Food*, ed. M.J. PIRES, Oxford 2015, p. 99–113 (esp. p. 101–102).

⁴³ M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common...*, p. 102. Oribasius – reporting a passage of Dieuches – explains the exact proportion of oats and water (i.e., 1:10) to prepare it. See *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, IV, 7, 20, vol. I, rec. I. RAEDER, Leipzig 1933 [= CMG, 6.1–4], p. 103, 27–30.

⁴⁴ See M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common...*, p. 103–104.

2.3. Cedar oil: a nasty-tasting medicine

The twenty-second miracle is perhaps the longest of the whole Egyptian collection and, as a consequence, one with a more sophisticated narrative structure. It indeed contains four prescriptive dreams, of which the two dreams that follow the first one are repetitions, while the fourth dream has a different content.

This miracle displays a so-called ‘punishment miracle’: God inflicts on the main character a jowl abscess as punishment, because he assiduously attends the chariot races. Once he has reached the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian, the saints appear in dream to him:

καὶ ἀποστήσαι τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος βουληθέντος, τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπόστημα κατὰ τῆς γνάθου ἀνενέγκας οὗτος δεινῶς εἶχεν. κατέφυγεν εἰς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἱατροὺς τῶν δυσκόλων νοσημάτων Κοσμᾶν καὶ Δαμιανόν. ἔκειτο οὖν ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ νεῷ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦς ἀξίων ἰάσεως τυχεῖν [...] οἵτινες αὐτῷ φανέντες ἐν μέσῃ νυκτὶ προθύμως ἐμήνυσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἰατρείαν οὕτω φάσκοντες πρὸς αὐτόν. “εἰ σὺ θέλεις τῆς νόσου τὴν ὑγίαιαν λαβεῖν, ἐκ κεδραίας κρᾶσιν λαβὼν ἀπόπιε τοῦτο καὶ ταχέως ἰαθήσῃ”⁴⁵.

He felt ill seriously, having developed the so-called jowl abscess. Then, he rushed to the real healers of the incurable diseases, Cosmas and Damian. So, he laid sick in the holy shrine of saints Cosmas and Damian, asking them for the healing [...]. Having appeared to him at midnight, they benevolently revealed the cure for his ailment, saying to him: “If you want to be healed, after having taken one solution of cedar oil, drink it and you will immediately recover”.

The same dream will repeat for two more times – except for the increasing quantity of the liquid the patient is ordered to drink, which becomes two and eventually three solutions –, but the man’s reaction is always the same:

καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἀπὸ ὕπνου παίγνιον τι οἶεται εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ φαντασίαν τινά, “μηδέποτε” λέγων “οἱ ἅγιοί τινι τοιοῦτο πιεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν”⁴⁶.

And having woken up from the dream, he thought that it was a joke and an illusion, telling himself: “The saints never order to anyone to drink such a liquid”.

After these three unsuccessful dreams, a fourth dream unblocks the story: he would recover, only after going at night to the hippodrome and burying a pot with inside the cedar oil he refused to drink. Except that, while it has given the impression that the patient could avoid to drink the cedar oil, the fourth dream will reveal to be a trap, leading the character to follow the saints’ original order⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, 30, 18–22; 31, 1–4.

⁴⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, 31, 5–7.

⁴⁷ For the narratological analysis of this miracle see S. CONSTANTINOY, *The Morphology...*, p. 32–33.

Beyond the fascinating narrative structure of this miracle, what pertains to the topic of the present article is the (incredulous) reaction of the man when the saints order him to drink the cedar oil: his refusal is so firm that he doubts the dreams' authenticity. In view of the scarce instances of the term κεδραία, this is a precious source: indeed, it seems to witness the *communis opinio* about the nasty taste of the liquid⁴⁸.

Commonly available in the small stores of Constantinople⁴⁹, cedar oil is mentioned by Nicholas Myrepsos (end of 13th c.) in three recipes of his *Dynameron*⁵⁰. Quite interestingly, the third one is suggested for several diseases, among which there is also the abscess (ἀποστήματα)⁵¹. Taking into account the compiling character of the *Dynameron*, the miracle in question contributes to the hypothesis that such (or similar) recipe circulated also earlier.

2.4. Fava beans mush for the treatment of pleurisy

In the twenty-eight miracle a man is affected from pleurisy (πλευριτικός) and, because of a bloody abscess in the chest, he constantly spews blood mixed with pus. Appearing in dream to him, the saints order:

“ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν Κοσμάς καὶ Δαμιανὸς οἱ μέλλοντές σοι ποιήσαντι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὀρθῶς, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν· τοιγαροῦν φάβατος πολταρίου μεταλαμβάνων ταχέως ἰαθήσῃ”. ποιήσας οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς προσετάγη, ταχέειαν εὔρε τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν⁵².

“We are Cosmas and Damian, those who, sent by Christ, will provide with salvation you who have made a right profession of faith: therefore, if you eat fava beans mush, you will be quickly healed”. So, the man, having done as he had been ordered to, found a quick recovery from the disease.

⁴⁸ Speaking of the dangerous double effect of its properties, Dioscorides reports that *some called it also 'life of the death'*. See *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, I, 77, vol. I, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907 [repr. 1958] (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*), p. 76, 11 – 78, 4; translation: PEDANIUS DIOSCORIDES OF ANAZARBUS, *De materia medica*, trans. L.Y. BECK, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2005 [= ATS, 38], p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, 13, 1, 1–7, rec. J. KODER, Vienna 1991 [= CFHB.SV, 33], p. 118.

⁵⁰ *Das Dynameron des Nikolaos Myrepsos*, 38, 77 (p. 942); 47, 5a (p. 1111), rec. I. VALIAKOS, Heidelberg 2019 (cetera: NICOLAUS MYREPSUS).

⁵¹ NICOLAUS MYREPSUS, 10, 18, 1–4, 11–19, p. 436. As far as I am concerned, we are acquainted with just two more cases in which drinking the cedar oil was prescribed, namely to heal the diseases elephantiasis and sea-hare. See DIOSCORIDES, *Euporista vel De simplicibus medicinis*, I, 195 (p. 224, 26 – 225, 6); II, 160 (p. 314, 7–18), [in:] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia...*, vol. III. Contrary to what is written in DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 77, 3, where cedar oil in lozenge form or through smearing is suggested for elephantiasis.

⁵² *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 49, 1–7.

Here, it is precisely the fava beans mush (φάβατος πολτάριος) that guarantees the healing of the sick. As in other cases, to contextualize the medical information provided by this passage is not easy, but this makes the source even more precious.

Indeed, as for the term *poltarios*, only sixteen instances can be counted and they all pertain to medical literature. In particular, a decent number are from Oribasius' works, while none is from Aetius Amidenus', who instead seems to be recalled in other passages of the collection: this might suggest that, as far as the medical terminology of the Egyptian collection is concerned, Oribasius represents a more relevant source⁵³. Regarding the term *faba*, the instances are few (around one hundred). Lastly, the combined use of *poltarios* and *faba* is not attested elsewhere. For this reason, it does not seem inappropriate to mention that Symeon Seth (second half of the 11th c.) in his monography on dietetics writes that fava beans decoctions (ἀπόζεμα) can purify the chest (λεαίνει τὸν θώρακα)⁵⁴, in addition to other properties.

According to the information provided in the miracle about diagnosis and therapy, I believe that the *fabatos poltarios* of the miracle coincides with the *apozema* mentioned by Symeon Seth.

2.5. Hot olive oil

As already written above, physicians are always present in Byzantine incubation literature because they are necessary to build by negation the identity of Christian healer saints. From a narrative point of view, secular doctors can hold several roles. The twenty-ninth miracle is the only one of the whole Egyptian collection where a doctor, called Μηνάς, appears as a patient⁵⁵.

In the opening, as usual, the patient is introduced. In this specific case, the expertise and the knowledge of the doctor are mentioned: nevertheless, the praise should not be misleading, since it results in making the saints' intervention appear even more prodigious. The name of the disease from which Menas is affected is unknown and generically addressed as a serious disease (νόσῳ βαρεία συνεσχέθη) causing haemoptysis.

After having experimented many cures in vain, he decides to go to the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian:

⁵³ Particularly relevant and surely worthy of more attention is also the occurrence in Aelius Promotus' *Dunameron*: ELIO PROMOTO ALESSANDRINO, *Manuale della salute (Δυναμερόν)*, 107, 7, rec. D. CRISMANI, Alessandria 2002 [= Hel], p. 212.

⁵⁴ *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ad vocem περι φαβάρτων, rec. B. LANGKAVEL, Leipzig 1868, p. 115, 3–4.

⁵⁵ A doctor called Menas and performing his cures in Egypt (Latopolis, to be precised) is known from an inscription published in J. BAILLET, *Les Inscriptions grecques des Tombeaux des Roi sous syringes à Thèbes*, Le Caire 1926, p. 140–141, n. 658 and E. SAMAMA, *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*, Genève 2003, p. 491.

[...] ἤτει τῆς ἰάσεως τυχεῖν [...] αὐτῶν ἀνέμενε τὴν ἴασιν. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ φανέντες αὐτῶ οἱ ἄγιοι ἔλεγον τάδε· “τὸ λεγόμενον χίδρον φάγε καὶ τὸν θώρακα θερμῶ ἐλαίῳ χρίε, καὶ μὴ καταψυγῆς ἐν τῇ νόσῳ· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ προσταχθέντα σοι παρ’ ἡμῶν ποιήσας τάχιον εὐρήσεις τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν”. ποιήσας οὖν, ὡς προσέταξαν ἰάθη συντόμως⁵⁶.

[...] he asked for the healing [...] He waited for the cure. Having appeared to him shortly after, the saints said: “Eat the so-called cooked wheat and rub the hot oil into the chest, and don’t get cold while being sick: indeed, if you carry out these orders, you will recover more quickly”. So, after having done as he had been ordered to, he recovered in a short time.

The application of hot olive oil (ἔλαιον θερμόν) to the chest (θώραξ) is not so common as one might expect in medical literature, but two sources are particularly relevant to prove that anointing the chest with oil was considered by physicians in relation to chest pains.

The first one is a passage from the anonymous work *De morbis acutis et chronicis*⁵⁷, written by a nameless physician of the imperial age. Here, while explaining the therapy for phthisis, it is said: *Soothe pains in any part of the chest with fomentations of oil [...]*⁵⁸. This therapeutic prescription is perfectly compatible with the therapy described in the miracle, even if the symptoms to be healed are different: blood-spitting in the case of the miracle, *expectoration of pus towards daybreak*⁵⁹ – listed among the symptoms of phthisis in the anonymous work on acute and chronic diseases. Anyway, both of them – blood-spitting and phthisis – are part of the typical chest physiopathology of chronic diseases.

Secondly, in a passage from the *Liber medicus* by Paul of Nicaea (uncertain, 7th–10th c.) *embrocation made of marjoram and olive oil*⁶⁰ are mentioned among the therapies suggested to heal chest abscesses (ἐμπυϊκοί).

2.6. Broom millet for the treatment of surgery wounds

Among the various diseases that women suffer from in the Egyptian collection, breast pain is the most recurring one. The forty-fifth miracle of the collection is an interesting example, since it connects the ailment to the fact that the young woman does not breastfeed her son, a maternal behaviour that the Church condemned harshly⁶¹.

⁵⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 50, 1–2, 3–9.

⁵⁷ *Anonymi medici De morbis acutis et chronicis*, 27, 3, 32, rec. I. GAROFALO, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= SAM], p. 154, 2–4.

⁵⁸ Adapted translation from that provided by Garofalo (p. 155). I do not agree with translating “fomentations of oil poultices” the Greek ταῖς δι’ ἐλαίου πυρτιας, I think that here they refer to liquid medicinal treatment.

⁵⁹ Translation of Garofalo (p. 151).

⁶⁰ PAOLO DI NICEA, *Manuale medico*, 43, 11–12, ed. et trans. A.M. IERACI BIO, Naples 1996 [= HByN, 16], p. 112.

⁶¹ See G. GOLLO, *Female Presence in the Incubation Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian: MS Londinensis Addendum 37534 and the Representation of Women* [in manuscript].

Refusing to be cut by the doctors, the woman goes to the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian to be healed. This is how the story continues:

καὶ τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ πάλιν οἱ ἅγιοι φανέντες τάδε ἔφασαν· [...] “εἰ σὺ τῆς ἰατρείας βούλει τυχεῖν, κέγχρον λαβοῦσα καὶ τρίψασα τῷ πάθει τοῦ μαζοῦ ἐπίχρισον καὶ ράϊση ἐξ αὐτοῦ”. γενομένης ἡμέρας τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν διηγεῖτο τὸ πρὸς αὐτὴν λεχθέν. οἱ δὲ ταχέως κέγχρον προσήνεγκαν αὐτῇ· καὶ τρίψασα ἐπαλείψασα τοῦτο, ὡς προσετάγη, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας παρελθούσης ἔκοιμήθη. μέσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς εὐχὴν ἐγερθεῖσα διαρραγέντα τὸν μαστὸν ἤυρεν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξέθλιβεν ὄλον τὸ πῦον, καὶ τῇ αὐτομάτῃ τομῇ κηρωτὴν ἐπιβαλοῦσα τελείαν ἔσχε τὴν ὑγίειαν⁶².

And appearing again to the wife, (the saints) said these words: [...] “If you want to recover, after having taken some broom millet and having ground it, rub it into the affected part of your breasts, and in this way you will be healed from the disease”. When it was day, she told her relatives what had been said to her. And they immediately gave her the broom millet; after having minced and rubbed it, as she was ordered to, when the day was over, she fell asleep. Waken up to pray in the middle of the night, she found her breasts split. So, she made all the pus pour out right away, and, having applied the wax-salve on the spontaneous cut, she definitively recovered.

A key-element in this prodigious healing is broom millet (κέγχρον). According to the narrative, its therapeutic use consists of causing a cut, through which the infected fluids can pour out, as a result of rubbing (ἐπιχρίω) ground (τρίβω) broom millet into the affected part. It is clear that the use of broom millet replaces the real incision that secular doctors intended to perform on the woman and she fearfully refused to undergo. From this point of view, the account appears to be much more focused on describing the female patient as fearful of facing the surgery and at the same time in promoting the image of the saints as capable of painless healings, rather than in showing off demonstrated medical knowledge.

Acknowledging the marked fictional character of this healing, actually a kernel of truth is present. The use of broom millet in medical procedures is indeed attested in medical literature. Millet pottage, warming poultices and cataplasms with drying effect are definitely more common⁶³, but flour ground from broom millet to be applied as powder on surgery wounds and head injuries is envisaged by Galen⁶⁴.

⁶² *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 77, 3–15.

⁶³ M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Common and Foxtail Millet in Dietetics, Culinary Art and Therapeutic Procedures of the Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, LSE 54, 2015, p. 71–104 (esp. p. 91–100).

⁶⁴ GALENUS, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, II, 2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XII, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1826, p. 577, 8–10. Probably this passage comes from Archigenes.

2.7. Honey as antiseptic

The main character of the forty-sixth miracle is a man who has been suffered from a scrofula (χοιράς) in his butt (πρὸς τὸ κάθισμα τοῦ μέρους ἐνὸς) for five years. After having received an invitation dream, he goes to the shrine of Cosmas and Damian. There, the saints appear in dream to him and operate the man, performing a surgery. It is to be noted that this scene happens *in the hospital standing near the sanctuary* (ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῷ νεῶ νοσοκομείῳ). This is the first and only one reference of the whole collection to the hospital of the *Kosmidion* shrine⁶⁵, where all the miraculous accounts are set⁶⁶.

The description of the surgery, which acquires a grotesque tone, ends with the line of the patient, who advises the saints to rub honey on the incision before bandaging (μέλιτι χρίετε τὴν τομὴν πρὸ τοῦ καταδησαί με⁶⁷). The saints do not appreciate the suggestion, and prefer to use a gauze soaked in medicine (ράκος {ἐπίδεσμον} φαρμάκων πληρώσαντας)⁶⁸.

Even if Cosmas and Damian do not follow their patient's suggestion, we know that honey was used to cicatrize a wound, because, thanks to its antibacterial properties, it was an efficient antiseptic, being able to disinfect and inhibit bacteria at the same time⁶⁹.

3. Conclusive remarks

As the previous examples have shown, the medical component in Byzantine incubation literature is particularly obvious. Moving away from authoritative medical literature, healing dreams narratives provide us with an access to the process itself of development of the rational and scientific medicine, which benefited from the contribution of popular traditions and beliefs too⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ It was the most important holy sanctuary devoted to the healing saints Cosmas and Damian and made of a church, a monastery and a neighbouring hospital. See R. JANIN, *La Géographie Eclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine*, vol. III, *Les églises et les Monastères*, Paris 1969, p. 284–89. In this passage of the Egyptian collection the *Kosmidion* as a philanthropic institution is addressed as *nosokomeion*, while the Asian collection selected *xenon* (*Kosmas und Damian...*, ed. L. DEUBNER, p. 174, 29). To be added to T. MILLER, *Philanthropic Institutions*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople*, ed. S. BASSETT, Cambridge 2022 [= CCAW], p. 246.

⁶⁶ Except for the first two stories that take place in Pheréman (Φερεμᾶν), Syria.

⁶⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 79, 10–11.

⁶⁸ My revision of the Greek text in *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 79, 28–29.

⁶⁹ See J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport Conn.–London 2006, p. 85 and C. BALANDER, *Production et usages du miel dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine*, [in:] *Des hommes et des plantes. Plantes méditerranéennes, vocabulaire et usages anciens. Table ronde Aix-en-Provence Mai 1992*, ed. M.-C. AMOURETTI, G. COMET, Aix-en-Provence 1993, p. 93–125 (esp. p. 107–110).

⁷⁰ I. ANDORLINI, A. MARCONE, *Medicina, medico e società nel mondo antico*, Firenze 2004, p. 10. On the importance of investigating the presence of medicine in non-medical literature in order to expand our knowledge of the Byzantine medical culture see A. TOUWAIDE, *Medicine...*, p. 402.

The literary description of the so-called incubatory medicine sheds light on a mixed reality, which was separated from and in competition with scientific medicine but where traditional healing methods coexist with (more or less) contemporary medical knowledge nonetheless. Furthermore, since the corpus of Byzantine incubation literature is mostly datable to the period between the 5th and the 7th century – and very often the compositional nucleus of these works has an earlier origin –, these narratives witness a transition period in the development of Byzantine medicine. In this sense, medicament in healing miracles collections does not only serve the purpose of constructing a devotional story, by showing off the saints' healing powers. The medical procedures described in such literature are the result of a long-standing tradition and at the same time contribute to the preservation of this cultural memory.

For the present, the use of food as medicament – clearly indebted to traditional Hippocratic medicine that considered food and diet as (usually) the most important medical treatment⁷¹ – should be addressed as one of the components that contributed to make up the field of Byzantine pharmacological therapeutics⁷², which had a clear development of its own in Byzantium as compared to the classical heritages⁷³. The recurring presence of foodstuffs among the medicaments suggests that in the (both chronological and cultural) context where this collection was conceived for the first time the boundary between food and drug (and that between dietetics and pharmacology) was rather blurred⁷⁴, so that we can speak of a food-drug continuum⁷⁵. At the same time, as the forty-sixth miracle – where the holy healers prefer a gauze soaked with medicine to honey – and the presence of more “innovative” medical procedures suggest that the difference between traditional and rational medicine was perceived.

To conclude, Byzantine incubation literature has a lot to offer to researchers interested in the relationship between religion and medicine in Byzantium and in the history of Byzantine medicine more in general, therefore I hope that this paper – which constitutes only a preliminary study on the topic – will pave the way for further studies of this kind.

⁷¹ See V. DÉROCHE, *La médecine hippocratique dans la littérature hagiographique byzantine*, [in:] *Hippocrate et les hippocratismes. Médecine, religion, société*, ed. J. JOUANNA, M. ZINK, Paris 2015, p. 437–460.

⁷² A. TOUWAIDE, E. APPETITI, *Food and Medicines in the Mediterranean Tradition. A Systematic Analysis of the Earliest Extant Body of Textual Evidence*, *JEpH* 167, 2015, p. 11–29, esp. p. 12.

⁷³ J. SCARBOROUGH, *Early Byzantine Pharmacology*, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 213–232, esp. p. 213.

⁷⁴ L. TOTELIN, *When Foods Become Remedies in Ancient Greece: The Curious Case of Garlic and Other Substances*, *JEpH* 167, 2015, p. 30–37, esp. p. 34.

⁷⁵ M. VALUSSI, A.S. SCIRÈ, *Quantitative Ethnobotany and Traditional Functional Foods*, *NutF* 11, 2012, p. 73–81, esp. p. 73–74.

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