The Cambridge Companion to Hippocrates

Hippocrates is a towering figure in Greek medicine. Dubbed the 'father of medicine', he has inspired generations of physicians over millennia in both the East and West. Despite this, little is known about him, and scholars have long debated his relationship to the works attributed to him in the so-called *Hippocratic Corpus*, although it is undisputed that many of the works within it represent milestones in the development of Western medicine. In this *Cambridge Companion*, an international team of authors introduces major themes in Hippocratic studies, ranging from textual criticism and the 'Hippocratic Question' to problems such as aetiology, physiology, and nosology. Emphasis is given to the afterlife of Hippocrates from Late Antiquity to the Modern period. Hippocrates had as much relevance in the medieval Islamic world as in the fifth century BC Greek world, and he remains with us today in both medical and non-medical contexts.

PETER E. PORMANN is Professor of Classics and Graeco-Arabic Studies at the University of Manchester. His main research interests are the transmission of Greek medical and scientific knowledge into the Islamic tradition, as well as the engagement over the centuries of Jews, Christians, and Muslims with the classical heritage. His recent publications include *The Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic 'Aphorisms'* (*Oriens*, with Kamran I. Karimullah; 2017), *Medical Traditions* (*Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, with Leigh Chipman and Miri Schefer-Mossensohn; 2017–18) and *Philosophy and Medicine in the Formative Period of Islam* (with Peter Adamson; 2017).

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Edited by

PETER E. PORMANN

University of Manchester

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107068209
DOI: 10.1017/9781107705784

First published 2018

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Pormann, Peter E., editor.
Title: The Cambridge companion to Hippocrates / edited by Peter E. Pormann.
Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018018142 | ISBN 9781107068209 (Hardback) | ISBN 9781107695849 (Paperback)
Subjects: LCSH: Hippocrates. Works. | Hippocrates – Influence. | Medicine, Greek and Roman – History. | Medical literature – Greece – Criticism, Textual.
Classification: LCC R126.H8 C36 2018 | DDC 610.938–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018018142

ISBN 978-1-107-06820-9 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-107-69584-9 Paperback

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Véronique Boudon-Millot is Research Director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and director of the research group Orient et Méditerranée (CNRS, University of Paris – Sorbonne). Apart from numerous articles and conference proceedings, she has produced four critical editions with French translations of works by Galen for the prestigious series *Collection des Universités de France: Exhortation to the Arts* (2000): *On My Own Books* and *On the Order of My Own Books* (2007), *Avoiding Distress* (2010) and *On Theriac to Piso* (2016).

David Cantor is a historian in the Office of History at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland and teaches at the University of Maryland, College Park. Apart from books and articles on the history of medicine in the twentieth century, such as *Stress, Shock, and Adaptation in the Twentieth Century* (co-edited with Edmund Ramsden; 2014); *Meat, Medicine, and Human Health in the Twentieth Century* (co-edited with Christian Bonah and Matthias Dörries; 2010) and *Cancer in the Twentieth Century* (2008), he edited *Reinventing Hippocrates* (2002). He is the series editor (edited collections) of *Social Histories of Medicine*.

Elizabeth Craik is Honorary Professor at the University of St Andrews. She has published widely on tragedy, social history, and history of medicine in ancient Greece, focussing in particular on Hippocrates and the *Hippocratic Corpus*. She produced critical editions and translations of four Hippocratic treatises, *Places in Man* (1998), *On Sight* and *On Anatomy* (2006), and *On Glands* (2009), and recently published an influential monograph, *The 'Hippocratic' Corpus* (2015).

Lesley Dean-Jones is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin. She has published on female patients and practitioners in ancient Greece; her books include *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (1994) and *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic: Papers Presented at the XIIIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, Austin, Texas, August 2008* (co-edited with Ralph M. Rosen).

R. J. Hankinson is Professor of Philosophy and Classics at the University of Texas at Austin. He has published numerous articles on many aspects of ancient philosophy and science; his books include *Cause and Explanation in the Ancient Greek World* (1998), *Galen on Antecedent Causes* (1998), *Simplicius: On Aristotle, On the Heavens* 1 (2002–6), and the *Cambridge Companion to Galen* (2008).

Brooke Holmes is Robert F. Goheen Professor in the Humanities, Professor of Classics and the director of the Interdisciplinary Doctoral Program in Humanistic Studies at Princeton University. Her publications include *The Symptom and the Subject: The Emergence of the Physical Body in Ancient Greece* (2010), *Gender: Antiquity and Its Legacy* (2012) and *The Frontiers of Ancient Science: Essays in Honor of Heinrich von Staden* (co-edited with Klaus-Dietrich Fischer; 2015).

Jacques Jouanna is Emeritus Professor at the University of Paris – Sorbonne and a member of the Institut de France (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres). He founded the Research Group Greek Medicine in Paris and instituted the *Colloque Hippocratique*, a series of international meetings now in its fifteenth iteration. He has received numerous awards for his groundbreaking work, especially in editing Hippocrates (Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Commandeur de l'Ordre des Palmes académiques and Chevalier des Arts et Lettres). His recent critical editions and translations for the *Collection des Universités de France* include *Prognostic* (with A. Anastassiou and C. Magdelaine; 2013), *Epidemics* 1 and 3 (2016), and *Hippocratic Problems* (with A. Guardasole; 2017). The second edition

of his monumental monograph on Hippocrates (*Hippocrate*; 2017) has just appeared.

Karl-Heinz Leven is Professor of Medical History and director of the Institute for the History and Ethics of Medicine at the Friedrich-Alexander University of Erlangen – Nürnberg. He has published widely on both the ancient and modern history of medicine, notably on infectious diseases and Hippocratic ethics and their reception. His works include *Antike Medizin: Ein Lexikon* (A Dictionary of Ancient Medicine; 2005) and *Geschichte der Medizin: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (History of Medicine from Antiquity to the Modern Age; 2008).

Daniela Manetti is Professor of Classics at the University of Florence. She has published widely on ancient Greek medicine, including the history of medical exegesis and Greek medical papyri. She is co-editor of the series *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici*. She produced critical editions of the Hippocratic *Epidemics* 6 (with Amneris Roselli; 1982) and the so-called *Anonymous of London, On Medicine* (2011), an introductory treatise on medicine.

Lorenzo Perilli is Professor of Classics at the University of Rome Tor Vergata and the director of the research centre Forms of Knowledge in the Ancient World, specialising in the history of science and medicine. His works include the critical edition of Galen's *Hippocratic Glossary* (2017), an edited Festschrift for two veterans in the field of Hippocratic studies (*Officina Hippocratica: Beiträge zu Ehren von Anargyros Anastassiou und Dieter Irmer*; 2011), an edited volume on the concept of Greek *lógos* (2013), and a collection of fragments of the empiricist physician Menodotus of Nicomedia (2004).

Peter E. Pormann is Professor of Classics and Graeco-Arabic Studies at the University of Manchester. Recent publications include two special double issues: *The Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic 'Aphorisms'* (*Oriens*, co-edited with Kamran I. Karimullah; 2017) and *Medical Traditions* (*Intellectual History of the Islamicate*

World, co-edited with Leigh Chipman and Miri Schefer-Mossensohn; 2017–18) and three edited books: *La construction de la médecine arabe médiévale* (with Pauline Koetschet; 2016), *Philosophy and Medicine in the Formative Period of Islam* (with Peter Adamson; 2017), and *1001 Cures: Contributions in Medicine and Healthcare from Muslim Civilisation* (2017).

Amneris Roselli is Professor of Classics at the University of Naples. She has published widely on ancient Greek medicine, especially the Late Antique tradition. She has edited a number of Greek texts, including the Hippocratic *Epidemics* 6 (with Daniela Manetti; 1982), *On the Sacred Disease* (1996), and Aristotle's *On Breath* (1992).

Chiara Thumiger is Wellcome Trust Medical Humanities Fellow at the University of Warwick, working on ancient histories of *phrenîtis*. She has published widely, including on topics at the intersection between literature and history of medicine in the ancient world. Her main publications are *Hidden Paths: Self and Characterization in Greek Tragedy: Euripides' 'Bacchae'* (2007), *Erôs in Ancient Greece* (co-edited with Ed Sanders, Christopher Carey and Nick Lowe; 2013), *Homo Patiens: Approaches to the Patient in the Ancient World* (co-edited with Georgia Petridou; 2015), *A History of the Mind and Mental Health in Classical Greek Mental Thought* (2017), and *Mental Illness in Ancient Medicine: From Celsus to Paul of Aegina* (co-edited with P. Singer; 2018).

Laurence M. V. Totelin is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Cardiff. Her work focusses in particular on the history of pharmacology and botany. Her publications include *Hippocratic Recipes: Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Greece* (2009) and *Ancient Botany* (with Gavin Hardy; 2016).

Mathias Witt is a surgeon, jurist, classicist, and historian of medicine. He is Associate Professor (*Privatdozent*) for History, Ethics, and Theory of Medicine at the medical faculty of the Ludwig-

Maximilian University of Munich. His research focusses on ancient medicine and its afterlife, in particular on ancient surgery. His publications include a collection of fragments of the Hippocratic treatise *Wounds and Missiles* (2009). An edition of Arabic and Greek fragments of the surgical manual by Antyllus, one of the most important surgeons from second century AD Alexandria, is forthcoming.

Preface

Hippocrates, the 'father of medicine', inventor of the famous Hippocratic Oath, from whom and in whom all medicine originated. There can be no doubt that Hippocrates is the most famous physician from antiquity, and possibly of all time. In the five years preceding publication of this book alone, some 300 articles in medical journals have discussed various aspects of Hippocrates, often portrayed as embodying Greek medicine in general. To this day, in ethical debates Hippocrates looms large. On the subject of abortion, for instance, the Oath has been scrutinised to see whether it allowed the practice or not. The judgment by the US Supreme Court in the landmark case *Roe v. Wade* refers to scholarly debates about it. Hippocrates plays his part even in the popular media, with the Oath referenced in various episodes of the US television series *Star Trek*.

Already in his lifetime, Hippocrates appears to have been the most famous physician. For both Plato and Aristotle, he is *the* physician par excellence, and soon after his death, many legends about his life were told and myths forged, which enhanced his quasi-God-like reputation. Hippocrates allegedly refused to cure the king of Persia, but treated Democritus for melancholy. Whether it is in Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, or the early modern period, Hippocrates emerged as a model, and the most modern and progressive physicians claimed to be his heirs: one has, for instance, a 'second Hippocrates' in the eleventh-century Arabic writer Ibn Abī Ṣādiq and an 'English Hippocrates' in Thomas Sydenham (1624–89), also seen as the 'father of English medicine'. Hippocrates' appeal also transcends the confines of country and creed. Christians, Jews, and Muslims appropriated him in various ways. His influence in Arabic is arguably greater than in Latin, and his fame reaches all the way to India and China.

Therefore, Hippocrates and the works attributed to him clearly deserve an easy guide to a topic that can appear extremely baffling to the uninitiated. In spring and summer 2012, Michael Sharp, my commissioning editor at Cambridge University Press, discussed with me the possibility of producing such a guide in the form of a *Companion to Hippocrates*, and I was immediately enthusiastic about the idea. I had just moved to Manchester and begun my project on the 'Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*'; I had time on my hands, and a great desire to provide an easy introduction to a fascinating, yet difficult and recondite topic. I put together a proposal and a team of contributors, and in May 2013, the Syndics approved it. Progress remained good and steady, and all the contributors and I met as a group in September 2014 to discuss pre-circulated papers. The workshop was incredibly fruitful, and on the fringes, we also planned the fifteenth *Colloque Hippocratique*. A year later, during the Hippocratic Colloquium, we came again together in Manchester, although quite a few of the authors had not yet produced their final version, and my dream to have the *Companion* ready for this meeting was squashed. As always is the case, some authors took longer than others, but I am glad to have handed over the manuscript just as my *Aphorisms* project draws to a close at the end of July 2017.

A project of this nature would not have been possible without the generous support of many different individuals and institutions. First and foremost, I would like to thank the contributors for their willingness to embark on this journey and their readiness to put up with my editorial interference; in one case I had to cut a chapter to a third of its length. My team in Manchester also deserves my profound gratitude, especially my administrators Drs Steven Spiegl, Michelle Magin, and Melissa Markauskas, all of whom helped compile and edit the chapters in the various iterations. Michelle in particular helped organise the workshop and colloquium and Melissa compiled the appendix and bibliography. Other team members such as Drs Nicola Carpentieri, Kamran Karimullah, Hammood Obaid, and Elaine van Dalen all helped in various ways. Moreover, I am grateful to

Professors Manfred Horstmannshof, Helen King, Vivian Nutton, and Philip J. van der Eijk for their advice in the initial phase of the project. Institutional support came in many guises. First and foremost, I would like to thank the European Research Council, who made this endeavour possible. The British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust also provided a small grant in connection with the *Colloque Hippocratique*, which allowed us to discuss our work-in-progress further. Finally the University of Manchester, our School of Arts, Languages, and Cultures, and my own Department of Classics and Ancient History have provided an extremely congenial environment in which to compile, write, and edit this *Companion*, and, to name but two for many, my current Head of Division, Professor David Langslow, and my current Head of School, Professor Alessandro Schiesaro, have lent many a helping hand and facilitated things that would probably have been impossible elsewhere. My gratitude also goes out to my commissioning editor at Cambridge University Press, Dr Michael Sharp, without whom this project would never have seen the light and whose flexibility, forbearance, and intellectual involvement helped it come to fruition; and to my copy editor, Ms Theresa Kornak, for her professionalism and meticulous attention to detail. Dr Hammood Obaid compiled the index with great care and also corrected many an error.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Dr Nil Özlem Palabıyık, for her forbearance and help with many aspects of this book. Shortly after I delivered it to the Press, she delivered our first daughter, Julia Helena.

Notes on Citations

Classicists value precision and love Latin abbreviations. There are few fields in the humanities in which scholars have established a comprehensive system that allows them to refer not just to the pages of a text in a certain edition, but also to the line of that text in numerous editions. Classicists have achieved this: they can refer to each line of Homer and Hesiod, Plato and Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen, and the fragments of Presocratic philosophers. This in itself is great, and I am going to explain in a moment how this is achieved. Likewise, classicists have created well-established abbreviations, so that most would readily understand that 'A. *A.* 689' (first 'A.' in Roman font, second in italics) refers to line 689 in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*; or 'Hp. *VM*'' refers to the treatise *On Ancient Medicine* attributed to Hippocrates. 'Why *VM*?,' you might ask. The answer is simple: from the Renaissance onwards, a tendency to refer to Greek works by their Latin titles developed. *VM* stands for *De Vetere Medicina* ('On Ancient Medicine'), just as 'Gal. *QAM*'' stands for Galen's treatise *The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body*, called *Quod Animi Mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* in Latin. In the last title, the Latin word *mores* ('manners'; 'character') is a particularly misleading translation of the Greek *dynámeis* ('capacities') and goes back to the Middle Ages.

How do these references work? Let me explain by looking at the five examples that are most relevant to this *Companion*. For Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen, there are standard editions. Plato's *Complete Works* were printed in Geneva in three volumes by Henri Estienne, Latinised as Henricus Stephanus, in 1578. Each page has two columns, a Latin and a Greek one, and in the space between the two columns there are four to five letters (A–E) that further divide the text. Therefore, the reference 'Pl. *R.* 617e4–5' refers to Plato's *Republic*,

p. 617, 4–5 lines down from the marker 'E' in the Stephanus edition, Volume Two (the volume is not given, but the title tells us where to look). Most scholars will not consult the Stephanus edition, but a modern one such as that by S. R. Slings in the *Oxford Classical Texts* series, which has the Stephanus pagination in the margins. Likewise, for Aristotle, the standard edition was produced under the auspices of the Prussian Academy by August Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871). It appeared between 1831 and 1870 in five volumes; the first two volumes contain the Greek text and have a continuous pagination, with each page comprising two columns, a and b. So, 'Arist. 980a21' refers to page 980, first column, line 21 (which happens to be in Volume Two). For Presocratic philosophers, the standard edition is by Diels and Kranz, two German scholars. Hermann Alexander Diels published the first edition (with German translation) in 1903, then Walther Kranz further improved text and translation with new additions until the fifth edition (1934–7) and a sixth was published after both editors' deaths in 1952. They divide the fragments into a (accounts), b (verbatim quotations), and c (imitations), and each philosopher has a number. Therefore, DK24B3 refers to author number 24, Alcmaeon, and there the third verbatim quotation.

Throughout this *Companion*, there are occasional references to Plato, Aristotle, and the Presocratics, yet Hippocrates and Galen figure much more prominently. The standard Hippocratic edition is that by Émile Littré (1839–61) in ten volumes; it is often just abbreviated as 'L.', and here, we shall use the following two formats: '2.636 L.' refers to Volume 2, p. 636 and '2.636.1–2 L.' to Volume 2, p. 636, lines 1–2. For Galen, the bilingual Greek-Latin printing in twenty-two volumes by Karl Gottlob Kühn (1819–33) remains standard; it is abbreviated as 'K.'. So, '1.64 K.' refers to Volume 1, p. 64 of Kühn's edition, and '1.64.1–2 K.' to Volume 1, p. 64, lines 1–2.

Precision and concision are often achieved at the expense of clarity and easiness. Although Stephanus and Bekker references are quite standard in most modern editions and translations, and are often indicated in the margins, the same cannot be said for references to

Littré or Kühn. The older Loeb editions (with English translations), for instance, do not have Littré page numbers; nor does, for instance, the English translation of Galen's *On the Sects for Beginners* by Michael Frede (1985: 3–20) have Kühn numbers. Therefore, to identify a Littré or Kühn reference, one has to go to the Greek text and then find the corresponding translation, which is not so easy without knowledge of Greek.

Another way of referring to classical texts in general and the *Hippocratic Corpus* in particular is to give titles, books and chapter numbers. Some texts in the *Corpus* are short and comprise only one book, such as *Art*; others have more than one, such as the *Aphorisms* and *Epidemics* (both in seven books). Therefore, *Art* 1 refers to chapter one of *Art*, whereas *Epidemics* 6 or *Aphorisms* 5 refers to the sixth book of the *Epidemics* or fifth book of the *Aphorisms;* in different Hippocratic texts, there are further subdivisions. Therefore, the famous phrase 'to help, or at least to do no harm' occurs in *Epidemics* 1.11 (*Epidemics*, book one, chapter eleven in the Loeb edition), corresponding to 2.634.8–636.1 L. (Volume 2, p. 634, line 8 to p. 636, line 1 in Litre's edition), to ed. Smith (1923) 164 (the Loeb edition with facing English translation), and Jouanna (2016), 18, line 1 (Jouanna's latest critical edition with facing French translation). In other words, there are many ways of referring to the same passage in Greek, and this looks more complicated than it is. In practice, we have favoured book and chapter references here, as well as references to the Loeb translations, now also available online.[1] Sometimes, however, the individual authors felt that further references, either to Littré as the standard edition or to the latest and most authoritative critical edition, were needed.

Moreover, to make the book even more user-friendly, I have included an appendix with all the Hippocratic works, their titles in English and Latin (full and abbreviated forms), as well as English translations. There are two very helpful lists of Hippocratic and Galen

[1] www.loebclassics.com (accessed 26 July 2017).

works, respectively, originally compiled by the late and lamented Gerhard Fichtner, and now updated by the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum (Fichtner 2016, 2017); they are available also from their websites.[2] If an uninitiated reader comes across recondite abbreviations in the notes, then these Fichtner lists will help, and anyone who wants to engage with the more detailed scholarship on Hippocrates and the *Hippocratic Corpus* will need to learn this scholarly apparatus in any case.

[2] http://cmg.bbaw.de/online-publications/hippokrates-und-galenbibliographie-fichtner (accessed 26 July 2017).