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Excerpt

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE  
HIPPOCRATIC COLLECTION

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## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HIPPOCRATIC COLLECTION

THE Hippocratic Collection is a miscellany of books which probably represents the library of the Coan school of medicine. Losses on the one hand, and additions on the other, have resulted in the extant *corpus*, which contains some seventy works<sup>1</sup>.

Many of these books were for centuries the practical manuals of medical students and doctors, and it is not surprising that the manuscripts are many and various<sup>2</sup>. None of them, however, contains the whole *corpus*, though the two Paris manuscripts, 2255 and 2254, written by the same scribe in the fifteenth century, omit when taken together very little that is included in Littré's nine volumes. Some manuscripts contain thirty or more treatises, some several, others only one.

The manuscripts may be divided roughly into three classes.

(1) Our best authorities:

- (a) Vindobonensis med. IV ( $\theta$ ) xth cent.
- (b) Parisinus 2253 (A) xith cent.
- (c) Parisinus 446 suppl. (C') xth cent.
- (d) Laurentianus 74, 7 (B) xth cent. (?)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jones *Hippocrates* I pp. xxii–xxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. lxiii.

<sup>3</sup> None of these manuscripts contains *Oath*.

As no treatise is common to any two of these manuscripts, it is impossible to decide whether they represent one "family" or more than one. Perhaps Urbinas 64 ought to be included in this class, but as far as I can judge the text it gives is not quite so pure as that of the other four<sup>1</sup>.

- (2) Vaticanus Graecus 276<sup>2</sup>, and the manuscripts closely allied to it, if not actually copied from it, namely Parisinus 2146, Holkhamensis 282 and Palatino-Vaticanus 192<sup>3</sup>.
- (3) Marcianus Venetus 269<sup>4</sup>, and the manuscripts allied to it, which include most of the *recentiores*, more or less "edited."

A study of the Hippocratic text will convince any inquirer that it has not been preserved with verbal fidelity. At some period, or periods, in the history of the text, little care seems to have been given to literal faithfulness provided that the general sense was kept. There was no spirit of reverence among the possessors of manuscripts like that which has kept comparatively pure the text of many classical authors. The Hippocratic works are text-books, not literary master-

<sup>1</sup> It appears to me to be very closely allied to Littré's "S," an early Paris MS (Paris. 2228). I base this conclusion on my collation of *Aphorisms* in Urb. 64. The Milan manuscript Ambros. B 113 sup. contains much the same collection of works, including an excerpt from *Περὶ φύσων*.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Holk. 282 and Paris. 2146 were written by the same scribe. The handwritings are without doubt identical. Dr Minns after a close examination confirms my view.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 4.

pieces. Hence transpositions of words, glosses, interpolations, are more than usually common. Is there any parallel to the freedom with which the writer of the Christian oath treated his original?

#### MANUSCRIPTS OF OATH

The best manuscripts containing *Oath* are the following:

- (1) Urbinas 64 fol. 116 (in the Vatican Library), a manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century. It is very different from the manuscripts which follow, as it contains *Oath* modified "so that a Christian may take it." Its version of *Oath* is given in facsimile as frontispiece.
- (2) Marcianus Venetus 269 (M) fol. 12, an eleventh-century manuscript in the Library of St Mark at Venice.
- (3) Vaticanus Graecus 276 (V) fol. 1, a twelfth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library at Rome.

I have collated these manuscripts from rotographs.

The later manuscripts are:

- (1) The Christian form:

Ambros. B 113 sup. (xivth cent.) fol. 203v. A facsimile is given on p. 26.

Bonon. 3632 (xvth cent.) fol. 28.

- (2) The usual form:

Paris MSS: 2140 (xiiith–xiiiith cent.)<sup>1</sup> fol. 9v.

2142 (xiiiith–xivth cent.)<sup>2</sup> fol. 12v.

<sup>1</sup> So Diels. Littré (I 521) puts the date a century later.

<sup>2</sup> The part containing *Oath* is in the later of the two hands in which this MS is written.

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- 2143 (xivth cent.) fol. 11.  
 2144 (xivth cent.) fol. 13.  
 2596 (xivth cent.) fol. 185<sup>v</sup>  
 2047 (xvth cent.) fol. 16.  
 2141 (xvth cent.) fol. 8<sup>v</sup>.  
 2145 (xvth cent.) fol. 14.  
 2148 (xvth cent.) fol. 1.  
 2255 (xvth cent.) fol. 55.  
 2146 (xvith cent.) fol. 1.  
 Suppl. gr. 608 (xvith cent.) fol. 178<sup>v</sup>.  
 Rome MSS: Urbinas 68 (xivth cent.) fol. 16.  
     Vaticanus 277 (xivth cent.) fol. 25.  
     Palatinus 192 (xvth cent.) fol. 1.  
     Reg. Suec. 182 (xvth cent.) fol. 16.  
     Vaticanus 2238 (xvth cent.) fol. 180.  
 Florence MSS: Laurentianus plut. 74, 1 (xvth cent.)  
     fol. 9<sup>v</sup>.  
     Laurentianus plut. 74, 13 (xvth cent.)  
     fol. 7.  
 Milan MS: Ambrosianus B 113 sup.<sup>1</sup> (xivth cent.) fol. 2.  
 London MSS: Arundel 538 (xvth cent.) fol. 19.  
     Stowe 1073 (xvith cent.) fol. 2.  
 Oxford MSS: Baroccian 204 (xvth cent.) fol. 9.  
     Miscell. 132 (xvith cent.) fol. 1.  
 Vienna MS: Vindobonensis 4772 fol. 105.  
 Prague MS: Vindobonensis Philol. 219 (xivth cent.) fol. 140.  
 Escorial MS: Scorialensis Σ II 5 (xvth cent.) fol. 28<sup>v</sup>.  
 Cambridge MS: Caius 50 (xvth–xvith cent.) fol. 1.

There are also sixteenth-century MSS at Athos (BIBA. MON).

<sup>1</sup> There is in the Escorial a copy of this manuscript made in the sixteenth century, when the original was not in Milan but in Venice. See Dietz *Scholia in Hippocratem et Galenum* II pp. v and vi.

IBHP. 4302.182 fol. 8<sup>v</sup>), Leyden (Voss. fol. 10), and at Copenhagen (Hauniens. ant. fund. reg. 224).

Nearly all the *recentiores* appear to be closely related to M or V, mostly the former.

The descriptions of the manuscripts I have taken from Diels<sup>1</sup>. His foliation is often wrong<sup>2</sup>, and where possible I have corrected it.

For the pagan oath I have recorded the readings of M, V and R (Vaticanus Graecus 277), a fourteenth-century manuscript which is perhaps the best of the *recentiores*.

In making my *apparatus criticus* I have noticed every variant, with the exception of punctuation marks, accents and omitted iota subscript.

Neither M nor V has any notes, but R has several. There is a long marginal note on *γενέτησιν*, which Littré quotes from the margin of Paris. 2255 (E). It has *μάρτυρας* written over *ἱστορας*, *συμφωνίαν* over *ξυγγραφήν*, *συμφωνίας* over *ξυγγραφῆς* and some case of *παράκλησις* over *παραγγελίης*. In the margin *ὑποθήσομαι συμβουλίην* is written as an explanation of *ὑφηγήσομαι ξυμβουλίην*.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. "Laurent. plut. 74, 3 p. 188 b" should be "fol. 191<sup>v</sup>," and the version is that given on p. 57. So too Vat. 2304 [once 2217] fol. 1 contains the same metrical oath, with an extra line after *ὀπάζειν*, which seems to be:

*οὔτε χάριν φίλης ἐτέρῳ κακὰ νείμαι ὑπο....*

Diels, however, gives it as a manuscript of the ordinary oath. The Librarian of the Estense Library, Modena, has sent me a transcript of Mutinensis 61 fol. 29<sup>v</sup>. It too contains the metrical oath. Again, *Oath* is on fol. 16 of Urbinas 68, not on fol. 4, as Diels says. Vindobonensis Philol. 219 is at Prague, not Vienna. This list of errors shows how much spade work remains to be done for the Hippocratic Collection.

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The text printed below does not pretend to be more than an attempt to reproduce the archetype of M, V and R—in other words the *textus receptus* of mediaeval times. In two respects at least the printed text must be faulty:

- (1) The aorists ἡγήσασθαι, κοινώσασθαι, ποιήσασθαι cannot be co-ordinate with the futures ἐπικρῶεῖν and διδάξειν.
- (2) The infinitive εἶρξεν cannot be co-ordinate with the indicative χρήσομαι.

I have, however, left these errors in the text because, although it would be easy enough to write something grammatical with the required sense, yet they appear to represent a combination or conflation of earlier forms, and it is not yet possible, if it ever will be possible, to determine what these forms originally were. Fortunately the uncertainty of the text does not represent a corresponding uncertainty of the sense.

The spelling has been modified so as to follow the rules laid down in the Teubner edition of Hippocrates (Kühlewein).

## ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΚΟΣ

Ὅμνύω Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ἑγείαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ἵστορας ποιεύμενος, ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμὴν ὄρκον τόνδε καὶ συγγραφὴν τήνδε·

- 5 † ἡγήσασθαι τε τὸν διδάξαντά με τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἴσα γενέτησιν ἐμοῖσι, καὶ βίου κοινώσασθαι, καὶ χρεῶν χρηίζοντι μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῖς ἴσον ἐπικρινεῖν ἄρρεσι, καὶ διδάξῃν τὴν τέχνην ταύτην, ἣν χρηίζωσι μαθάνειν, ἄνευ μισθοῦ καὶ συγγραφῆς, παραγγελίης τε καὶ ἀκροήσιος καὶ τῆς  
10 λουπῆς ἀπάσης μαθήσιος μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι † υἱοῖσί τε ἐμοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι τοῦ ἐμὲ διδάξαντος, καὶ μαθητῆσι συγγεγραμμένοις τε καὶ ὠρκισμένοις νόμῳ ἰητρικῷ, ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενί.

δαιτημάσιν τε χρήσομαι ἐπ' ὠφελείῃ καμνόντων κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμὴν, ἐπὶ δηλήσει δὲ καὶ ἀδικίῃ † εἶρξῃν †.

1. 1 ὁμνύω MV ὄμνυμι R. 2 πάντας τε MR ἅπαντας V. 2, 3 So MR. V has ἵστορας· ποιεύμενος ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃν. 4 συγγραφὴν V (with ξ written over the σ) ξυγγραφὴν MR. 5 τε V δὲ MR. R adds καὶ after ἴσα and reads γενέταισιν. Probably the aorists ἡγήσασθαι, κοινώσασθαι, ποιήσασθαι should be changed to futures. 6 ἐμοῖσι VR ἐμοῖσιν M. χρεῶν MR χρέους V, which also reads χρήζοντι. 7 ἐωυτέου MR. V omits καὶ γένος το μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι. ἐπικρινεῖν MR. 9 ξυγγραφῆς M ξυγγραφῆς R. 11 μαθηταῖσι MVR. 12 M has ὠρκιζόμενοις, the three dots meaning that -ζ- is to be considered erased. 14 ἐπὶ δηλήσει VR ἐπιδηλήσει M. εἶρξῃν MV εἶρξῃν R. Perhaps εἶρξω should be read.



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## PAGAN OATH

## TRANSLATION

I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Health, by Heal-all, and by all the gods and goddesses, making them witnesses, that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgment, this oath and this indenture:

To regard my teacher in this art as equal to my parents; to make him partner in my livelihood, and when he is in need of money to share mine with him; to consider his offspring equal to my brothers; to teach them this art, if they require to learn it, without fee or indenture<sup>1</sup>; and to impart precept, oral instruction, and all the other learning<sup>2</sup>, to my sons, to the sons of my teacher, and to pupils who have signed the indenture and sworn obedience to the physicians' Law, but to none other.

I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgment, but I will never use it<sup>3</sup> to injure or wrong them.

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether the *συγγραφή* is a part of our extant text. It is the same as the indenture mentioned a little later on, and possibly refers to the deed of apprenticeship between master and pupil, and not to *Oath*.

<sup>2</sup> These strange phrases probably mean:

(a) *παραγγελία*, general rules of the art of medicine, as given for instance in *Precepts* (*Παραγγελίαι*).

(b) *ἀκρόησις*, oral instruction, probably esoteric.

(c) *ἡ λοιπὴ μάθσις*, practical instruction given in the surgery, like our "walking the hospitals."

<sup>3</sup> The construction probably is, "I will keep away all treatment which is intended to cause injury or wrong."

15 οὐ δώσω δὲ οὐδὲ φάρμακον οὐδενὶ αἰτηθεὶς θανάσιμον, οὐδὲ  
 ὑφηγήσομαι συμβουλίην τοιήνδε· ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ γυναικὶ πεσσὸν  
 φθόριον δώσω· ἀγνώως δὲ καὶ ὀσίως διατηρήσω βίον ἐμὸν καὶ  
 τέχνην ἐμήν.

οὐ τεμέω δὲ οὐδὲ μὴν λιθιῶντας, ἐκχωρήσω δὲ ἐργάτησιν ἀνδράσι  
 20 πρήξιος τῆσδε.

ἐς οἰκίας δὲ ὀκόσας ἂν ἐσίω, ἐσελεύσομαι ἐπ' ὠφελείῃ καμνόντων,  
 ἐκτὸς ἐὼν πάσης ἀδικίης ἐκουσίης καὶ φθορίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ  
 ἀφροδισίων ἔργων ἐπὶ τε γυναικείων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνδρείων,  
 ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων.

25 ἂ δ' ἂν ἐν θεραπείῃ ἢ ἴδω ἢ ἀκούσω, ἢ καὶ ἄνευ θεραπείης κατὰ  
 βίον ἀνθρώπων, ἂ μὴ χρή ποτε ἐκλαλείσθαι ἕξω, σιγήσομαι, ἄρρητα  
 ἠγεύμενος εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα.

ὄρκον μὲν οὖν μοι τόνδε ἐπιτελέα ποιέοντι, καὶ μὴ συγχέοντι,  
 εἴη ἐπαύρασθαι καὶ βίου καὶ τέχνης δοξαζομένω παρὰ πᾶσιν  
 30 ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, παραβαίνοντι δὲ καὶ ἐπιорκέοντι  
 τάναντία τούτων.

1. 16 ξυμβουλίην MVR. 16, 17 So MV. φθόριον δώσω πεσσὸν R. 17, 18 So MV. R places τὸν before ἐμὸν and τὴν before ἐμήν. 19 ἀνδράσι VR ἀνδράσιν M. In V (as usual) πρήξιος appears as πρήξιος. 21 ἐς V εἰς MR. 23 ἀνδρείων MV ἀνδρώων R. 25 V omits ἢ before ἴδω: perhaps rightly. M and R have θεραπήης. 26 ἐκλαλέεσθαι MVR. 27 εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα MR τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι V. 28 συγχέοντι MVR. 30 ἐς V εἰς MR. αἰὲ V αἰεὶ MR. ἐπιорκέοντι MVR. 31 τοιούτων MVR.