

years of the date when the collection of Nicetas was made in Constantinople, about 1100 A.D.⁸

The Origins and Life of Hippocrates, According to Soranus

Hippocrates, of Coan stock, was the son of Heracleidas and Phainarete.⁹ Tracing his family back to Heracles and Asclepius, he was the twentieth in line of descent from the former and the nineteenth from the latter. His lineage is mentioned by Eratosthenes, Pherecydes, Apollodorus, and Areius of Tarsus.

[2] He first studied with his father, Heracleidas, then Herodicus, and according to some, Gorgias of Leontini, the orator, and also the philosopher, Democritus the Abderite.

[3] Hippocrates flourished during the period of the Peloponnesian Wars—specifically, as Ischomachus says in the first book of his *On the Sect of Hippocrates*, he was born in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad [460/459 B.C.] and, as Soranus the Coan adds after research in the Coan archives, when Abriadas was presiding as *monarchus*, on the twenty seventh day of the month of Agrianus. For this reason, he says, the Coans have honored Hippocrates with sacrifices on that very same day, even up to the present.

[4] When he had completed his general education and was fully trained in medicine, after his parents had died, Hippocrates left his homeland. Andreas spitefully says in his work, *On the Descent of Medicine*, that Hippocrates left because he had burned the archives on Cos.¹⁰ Others say he did so to see how things were done in the surrounding districts and to widen his experience. But as Soranus of Cos relates, a dream came to him, ordering him to settle in Thessaly.

[5] He treated all Greece and was so admired that he was summoned by the King of the Macedonians, Perdiccas, who was thought to be consumptive, to come to him at public expense with Euryphon, who was slightly older than he. Hippocrates interpreted by certain signs that the affliction was psychic in origin. For after the death of his father Alexander Perdiccas fell in love with his mistress Phila. Hippocrates explained the situation to her after he caught Perdiccas changing color when he looked at her. He freed him from his illness and revived him.

[6] And he was summoned by the Abderites to come to them and to cure Democritus, because he was insane, and to save their whole city from the plague.

[7] But when the plague attacked the territory of the barbarians, the Illyrians and the Paeonians, and the kings of those regions begged him to come to them, Hippocrates, learning from their ambassadors what the predominant winds were there, sent them away unsuccessful. After concluding that the plague would come to Attica and foretelling what would happen, he took care of the cities and his pupils.

⁸ J. Ilberg, *Rh. M.* 42 (1887), p. 443.

⁹ In the second pseudepigraphic letter, Hippocrates' mother is Praxithea, daughter of Phainarete (*Pseud.* pp. 48–49).

¹⁰ I have changed *Cnidos* in Ilberg's text to *Cos* because Pliny (*Nat. hist.* 29.2) recounts basically the same anecdote, credited to Varro, using *Cos*. Also, cf. Tzetzes' version below, which has *Cos*. *Cos* also makes more sense in terms of the biographical fiction, as I explain below.

[8] He was such a Philhellene that when his fame reached the Persians and Artaxerxes, hearing it, begged him to come to him, making his request through Hystanes, Governor of the Hellespont, and offering great gifts, Hippocrates refused. This was due to his dignity, indifference to money, and love of home, as is shown by his letter to Hystanes.

[9] And, by begging help from the Thessalians, he saved his homeland, which was about to be attacked by the Athenians.

[10] For this he won brilliant honors from the Coans and also from the Thessalians and Argives and Athenians. The Athenians also initiated him at public expense in the Eleusinian Mysteries—the next after Heracles—and enrolled him as a citizen and granted him and his descendants the right to dine free in the Prytaneia.

Ungrudgingly he taught his close friends the art of medicine, in accordance with his own oath.

[11] He ended his days in Larissa, at the same age that Democritus is said to have died—some say at 90 years, others 85, some 104, and still others 109. He lies buried between Gyrtion and Larissa, and his tomb was still pointed out until recently. For a long time there was a bee hive on it that produced honey. When infants were afflicted with thrush, wet nurses, anointing their infants at the tomb, rid them of their disease.

[12] In many likenesses he is pictured with his head covered, as some say, by a felt cap, which is indicative of his noble birth, like Odysseus', but, as others say, by his cloak. Of those who say he covered his head with his cloak, some claim that he did so for appearance's sake, since he was bald; others say it was due to some weakness of the head; still others say it was to show the necessity of guarding the site of the body's governing principle. Others say the gesture is a sign of his love of travel; others a sign of his works' lack of clarity; while some say it represents the need to guard against injuries, even in medical treatment. Finally, still others say that he is shown this way because in surgery, to prevent anything from interfering with his hands, he used to gather together the hanging portion of his cloak and place it on his head.

[13] Much disagreement has arisen about his works, and a variety of conjectures has been made. Therefore, it is not easy to give one's opinion about them because many factors cloud one's judgment—first, the problem of his name [i.e., the attribution of the works]; second, the difficulty in perceiving the character of his style; third, the fact that the same man sometimes wrote powerfully, sometimes poorly, depending on his age. And it is possible to name other factors besides these.

[15] When he died he left two sons, Thessalus and Dracon, and many students, but the most notable, it is said, were his own sons.¹¹

In the following section I offer a brief commentary on the *VHSS*. The numbers in brackets correspond to the paragraph numbers in the text above.

[1] The *VHSS* opens by mentioning Hippocrates' parents and noting the number of generations separating Hippocrates from his famous ancestors, the panhellenic luminaries Heracles and Asclepius. There is no distinction between mythical and

¹¹ *VHSS*, in Ilberg, *CMG* IV.175–178. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own. Greek texts of these four biographical accounts of Hippocrates can be found in Appendix A.

third aphorisms, and the fourth sixty works. The number four in the *Suda*'s canon of Hippocratic treatises may reflect the late Alexandrian medical curriculum. Ibn Ridwān mentions that four books of Aristotle were studied, four works of Galen were read in each of the seven grades, and four Hippocratic works (*Aphorisms*, *Prognostic*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, and *Airs, Waters, Places*) were chosen by unnamed Alexandrian teachers to whet the interest of the more talented students to read other Hippocratic works.⁸¹ Of course each of the scrolls mentioned in the *Suda* contains a number of Hippocratic works. It is possible that the late Greek canon of sixty works in the last scroll may correspond to Islamic canons of approximately the same number, such as the one of approximately sixty-one titles given by Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, I, 31–33.⁸²

Tzetzes

Ioannes Tzetzes, the eccentric Byzantine scholar, wrote around the middle of the twelfth century.⁸³ His account of Hippocrates is found in his *Biblos Historike*, called *Chiliades* ("thousands") by its first editor, Gerbel (Basil, 1546), who divided the work into sections of a thousand verses to facilitate citation.⁸⁴ Written in scholastic Greek, the literary Attic used in the schools, the *Chiliades* is a miscellany of topics from Greek literature in 12,674 verses. Tzetzes used accentual iambic tetrameters catalectic, called by the later Byzantines *stichos politicos* ("popular verse").⁸⁵ In each fifteen-syllable line the quantitative value of syllables is ignored, but the last pitch accent and the last stress accent in each line regularly coincide. In my translation I have tried to suggest the rough energy of Tzetzes' style with the following unpolished iambs:

On Reaping Personal Pains According to Hippocrates

[944] This is the Coan physician, the great Hippocrates;
His father was Heracleidas, his mother Phainarete;
From Asclepius descended, he was the seventeenth.
After the capture of Troy, on the coast of Asia, opposite Rhodes,
Podalirius, son of Asclepius,
Begot Hippolochus. And he begot Sostratus,
[950] Father of Dardanus, who begot Crisamis. And he begot Cleomuttades,
Whose son, Theodorus, fathered another Sostratus.
And from this Sostratus was born a second Crisamis.

⁸¹ A.Z. Iskander, "An Attempted Reconstruction of the Late Alexandrian Medical Curriculum," *Medical History* 20 (1976) 245.

⁸² For Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa's canon of Hippocratic works, see A. Dietrich, *El²*, supp., fasc. 3–4 (Leiden, 1981), p. 155.

⁸³ E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), 1, 22.

⁸⁴ C. Wendel, *RE*, ser. 2, bd. 7, pt. 2, col. 1994.

⁸⁵ Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, pp. 22, 50.

This Crisamis, in turn, begat the second Theodorus of that name.
 From this Theodorus came Sostratus the third,
 [955] Who begat Nebros, who begat Gnosidicus, who begat Hippocrates.
 To this first Hippocrates, son of Gnosidicus,
 Was born Heracleidas. And he and Phainarete
 Begat the great, the second Hippocrates.
 His father Heracleidas taught him the medical art;
 [960] Then Herodicus of Selymbria and Gorgias the Leontine
 Imparted the rhetor's persuasive skills.
 Next, with Democritus he studied some philosophy.
 On Cos, as head librarian,
 Hippocrates burned the ancient books of medicine
 [965] And the library. Because of this he had to flee.
 He spent some time among the Edonians [Macedonians], in Northern Greece, and
 Thessaly.
 He was, you know, contemporary with Perdiccas and Artaxerxes.
 Hippocrates' sons were two—Thessalus and Dracon;
 These two, Praxagoras the Coan, and other sons
 [970] Of doctors he taught. And he wrote books—three and fifty. And then he came to the
 end of his life,
 Being a hundred and four years in all.
 When he died he was buried between Larissa and Gyrtion.
 Take note, there are seven Hippocrates.
 [975] The first, son of Gnosidicus, the second, of Heracleidas,
 The next, of Thessalus, then Dracon's son, and both boys of Thymbraius. Praxianax's
 son is the seventh Hippocrates.
 Yes, in that family, there were seven named Hippocrates.
 The great healer's pictured hiding his head with his cloak.
 [980] Four reasons they say there are for this:
 A pain in the head it showed or that he traveled abroad; or that he taught that the head was
 the organ of reasoning
 Or the way to cover one's head in surgery.
 This habit belonged to the man, and that's how he's pictured.
 [985] Some mistakenly call the man an Empiric.
 Soranus of Ephesus is my source for what I've said of Hippocrates.
 This Hippocrates, the physician, Heracleidas' son, the Coan,
 Proved that the race of physicians
 Suffer themselves from other people's misfortunes.⁸⁶

Tzetzes' slap-dash method of composition shows in the proportion of space he allows to each of the topics that are now familiar from the *VHSS* and *Suda*. Of the forty-six lines he wrote on Hippocrates' life, Tzetzes spends a disproportionate fifteen lines, a third, on Hippocrates' genealogy (944–958). All the other events of Hippocrates' life he compresses into the same number of lines—fifteen (959–973). Then Tzetzes spends five leisurely lines identifying six other men who had the name of Hippocrates (974–978). This topic represents a departure from the *VHSS*, although Tzetzes names its author as his source—or, more accurately, Soranus of Ephesus. Whether this Soranus wrote the *VHSS* will be discussed below. After

⁸⁶ Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 7.155. Ed. Kiessling, pp. 276–277.

The Origin, Life, Teaching of Yppocrates

Yppocrates was Coan in origin, the son of Eraclides [Heracleides] and Finerata [Phainarete], born of Asclepian stock. For Asclepius and Epione, the daughter of Hercules, produced two offspring, Podalirius and Macaon. Of the two, [5] Macaon, as most relate, died during the destruction of Troy, leaving no offspring. Podalirius, however, settling at Sime [Syma], died at Rhodes, as Antimachus mentions in *Thenitus*, after having fathered two sons, Rodo and Ippolochus by Ifianassa, daughter of Ucalegon. Ippolochus was the father of Apollonius and Sostratus. To the latter were born Dardanus and Cimno; to Dardanus were born [10] Ablavias and Crisamis; to Crisamis...

Likewise Tessalus [Thessalus], correcting what Apollodorus said about the honors accorded the book of Yppocrates, used other records and indications.

Yppocrates left two sons by his wife, Ablavia—Thessalus and Drago [Dracon].

[15] He had a great many students, inasmuch as he was the first medical writer. Of these he instructed his own noble and justly glorious sons, Drago and Thessalus, in the skill of medicine; also Polibius [Polybus]⁹⁹ and Filio, Dexippus, Apollonius, Praxagoras the elder; also many Coans and slaves of the Coans and, especially, his own slaves, Archipolis, Timbreus, Tumulicus, [20] Menalcus, Siennesius, Poliarcho, and Bonus.

Furthermore, Yppocrates is said to have had a rather small body and a weak head. Finally, they say that due to this he always went about with his head covered; this is the way most of [25] his likenesses appear. Some say that he perceived that the head was the foremost part of the body and, by demonstrating it, made this known. Others say that he, gathering together the edges of his clothing (that is, the sleeves) and joining them by an inward twist, showed that they were to be put on top of his head for the sake of speeding his surgery once the hindrance [30] was removed.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, overcome by old age, he ended his life, as they say, in his hundred and fourth year in the vicinity of Larissa in the state of Thessaly. He is buried between Virton [Gyrton] and Larisma [Larissa], which is revered in memory of him.

He wrote, as many mention, seventy two books

f. 3^r

[35]...which he said in Athens, after he returned from the Medes, from the city of Bacthana [Ecbatana], from Arfaxad, King of the Medes. Furthermore, at this time he received seven books from the city of Memphis, from [40] Polibius, son of Apollonius. These he carried with him into Chous [Cos], and from these books he correctly arranged the canon of medicine.

⁹⁹ Hippocrates' son-in-law. See H. von Staden, "A New Testimonium About Polybus," *Hermes* 104 (1976) 496.

¹⁰⁰ The very mention of sleeves (*manicae*), obviously not a feature of Greek or Roman male apparel, shows the late date of this document.

[45] From this [canon] the *Oath* of Hippocrates is found first, which we call in Greek *Orchon*.¹⁰¹

After the *Oath* he wrote, as many mention, the following four books: [50] *On Joints*, *On Fractures*, *Prognostic*, and *Regimen*.¹⁰² But Eraclides [Heraclides] of Ephesus adds, as Comarchus [55] of Bithynia corroborates, that *Regimen* was written by him.¹⁰³

[60] After this he wrote other books that he called the *Epidemics*.¹⁰⁴

After these a theoretical work that he called *In the Surgery*, then *Aphorisms*. Accius [Baccius], moreover, the follower of Erophilus [Herophilus], [65] mentions that after *Aphorisms* Yppocrates put *On the Nature of the Child*.¹⁰⁵

After this *On Liquids* and *On Places*; [70] then *Prorrhetic*, or in Latin, *Praedictorum liber*; and next, *On the Epitome*; then *On Breaths*, which he called *Persifon*.¹⁰⁶

[75] Next, *Picticulum*, which he called *Muclicon*.¹⁰⁷

Next, *On Waters and Air*, which he called in Greek *Peri aeron kai hydaton*. [80] and another *On Places*;¹⁰⁸

After this, *On Sores* and *On the Withdrawal of Missiles*.¹⁰⁹

Next, two *On Diseases*; after these, one *On the Foetus* and [85] one that is *On Diet*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ *Oath* ("Ορκος) Littré 4.628–633. For detailed information on the most recent critical editions and translations, see P. Potter, *Short Handbook of Hippocratic Medicine* (Québec, 1988).

¹⁰² *Joints* (π. ἄρθρων) Littré 4.78–327; *Fractures* (π. ἁγμάτων) Littré 3.412–536; *Prognostic* (προγνωστικόν) Littré 2.110–191; *Regimen* (π. διαίτης) Littré 6.466–662.5

¹⁰³ Comarchus may well be a corruption of *Ischomachos*, mentioned in the *VHSS*. What this gloss means is not certain, but I have interpreted it as attributing authorship of *Regimen*, corroborated by *Ischomachos*, to Heraclitus of Ephesus. If this is correct, it is a natural conclusion, based on the "oracular" style of *Regimen*, Book I, and its theory of the constant flux of fire and water in determining the nature of human beings, health, and disease. See W.H.S. Jones, *Hippocrates*, 4.xxxix–xlvi, who discusses modern scholars' attribution of this work to Heraclitus. See, also, the more recent discussion of R. Joly, *Hippocrate Du régime*, *CMG* I 2,4 (Berlin, 1984), pp. 25–34.

¹⁰⁴ *Epidemics*, Books 1–7 (Ἐπιδημιῶν) Littré 2.598–717; 5.72–139; 3.24–149; 5.144–197; 5.204–259; 6.266–357; 6.364–469.

¹⁰⁵ *In the Surgery* (κατ' ἰητρειῶν) Littré 3.271–327; *Aphorisms* (Ἀφορισμοί) Littré 4.458–608; *On the Nature of the Child* (π. φύσιος παιδίου) Littré 7.486–543.

¹⁰⁶ *On Liquids* = *On the Use of Liquids* (π. ὑδάτων) Littré 6.119–137; *On Places* (π. τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον) Littré 6.276–349; *Prorrhetic*, Bk. I (Προρρητικόν α') Littré 5.510–573; *On the Epitome* = *Prorrhetic*, Bk. II (Προρρητικόν β') Littré 9.6–74 (?); *On Breaths* (π. φυσῶν) Littré 6.91–115.

¹⁰⁷ *Muclicon* = *Instruments of Reduction* (Μοχλικός) Littré 4.340–395.

¹⁰⁸ *On Waters and Air* ... and another *On Places* = *Airs, Waters, Places* (π. ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων) Littré 2.12–93.

¹⁰⁹ *On Sores* = *Ulcers* (π. ἔλκων) Littré 6.400–432 (?); *On the Withdrawal of Missiles* (π. βελῶν ἐξαιρέσεως) lost.

¹¹⁰ *On Diseases* = *Diseases*, Bks. 1–4 (π. νόσων α'–β') Littré 6.140–205; 7.8–115; 7.118–161; 7.542–615. *On the Foetus* = *On the Excision of the Foetus* (π. ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου) Littré 8.512–518 (?); *On Diet* = *Regimen for Health* (π. διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς) Littré 6.72–87 (?).

After this, *On Wounds in the Head*; next, *On Hemorrhoids*; after this, *On Fistulas* and [90] *On Purges*.¹¹¹

Following, *On Fleishy Wounds* and two *On Gynaikeia*, that is, *Diseases of Women*, [95] *On the Humours of the Body*, which he called *Peri Chymon*, and *On the Fluxes of Women*, which he called *Peri ton Gynaikon*.¹¹²

[100] Next, *On the Number Seven*, which he called *Peri Ebdomadon*; next, *On the Eight Month's Child*, which he called *Peri Octamenou*, and *On Fixed and Legitimate Days in Affections*, that is, *On Crises*.¹¹³

[105] Next, one *On the Injunctions of Ancient Medicine* and one *On Dropsy*; *On Headaches*; *On Gout*; [110] *On Neurotrois*, that is one *On Cut Sinews or Muscles*; and one *On Epilepsy*; and one *On the Seed*.¹¹⁴

[115] and one *On Resemblances*; and one *On Jaundice*; and one *On Twins* and one *On Hermaphrodites*; and one *On Diseases of the Stomach* and [120] one *On Sufferers from Liver Complaints*.¹¹⁵

The most interesting part of the fragment may be lines 34–43, which describe how Hippocrates went to see Arfaxad king of the Medes in Ecbatana. Arfaxad is mentioned at the opening of the book of Judith.¹¹⁶ The author of the Brussels life either did not know the story that Hippocrates refused to visit Artaxerxes or, more likely, could not make sense of the name *Artaxerxes* and substituted *Arfaxad*, a known Biblical figure. The following anecdote relates how Hippocrates traveled to the city of Memphis in Egypt. There he obtained seven books from Apollonius. These books, which Hippocrates rearranged in Cos, constituted the canon of his writings.

Both anecdotes taken together follow a common pattern in ancient biographies according to which a philosopher traveled to the East and Egypt to receive instruction.¹¹⁷ The two anecdotes also indicate the late date of the Brussels life. The first shows at least a familiarity with the Old Testament, probably in a Latin

¹¹¹ *On Wounds in the Head* (π. τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων) Littré 3.182–261; *On Hemorrhoids* (π. αἱμορροΐδων) Littré 6.436–445; *On Fistulas* (π. σιρίγγων) Littré 6.448–461; *On Purges* (π. φαρμάκων), lost; see J. Ilberg, "Prolegomena," in *Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia*, ed. H. Kühlewein, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1894, 1902), 1.xxvi.

¹¹² *On Fleishy Wounds* (?); *Diseases of Women*, Bks. 1 and 2 (γυναικείων α'-β') Littré 8.10–407; *On the Humors of the Body* (π. χυμῶν) Littré 5.476–503; *On the Fluxes of Women*, lost.

¹¹³ *On the Number Seven* (π. ἐβδομάδων) Littré 8.634–673; *On the Eight Month's Child* (π. ὀκταμήνου) Littré 8.634–673; *On Fixed and Legitimate Days in Affections*, that is, *On Crises* = *On Crises* (π. κρίσεων) and *Critical Days* (π. κρίσεων ἡμερῶν) Littré 9.2276–307.

¹¹⁴ *On Ancient Medicine* (π. ἀρχαίης ἱατρικῆς) Littré 1.570–637; *On Dropsy*, lost, *On Headaches*, lost, *On Gout*, lost, *On Cut Sinews*, lost; *On Epilepsy* = *On the Sacred Disease* (π. ἱερῆς νόσου) Littré 6.352–397; *The Seed* (π. γονῆς) Littré 7.470–485.

¹¹⁵ All of these have been lost.

¹¹⁶ Judith, in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, new rev. standard version, ed. B.M. Metzger and R.E. Murphy (New York, 1991), p. 21 AP.

¹¹⁷ See, e.g., Thales (D.L. 1.24), Solon (D.L. 1.50), Plato (D.L. 3.6–7), Pythagoras (D.L. 8.2–3).

APPENDIX A

GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS OF THE CLASSICAL LIVES OF HIPPOCRATES

Ἱποκράτους Γένος καὶ Βίος κατὰ Σωρανόν

(p. 175) Ἱποκράτης γένει μὲν ἦν Κῶος, υἱὸς Ἡρακλείδα καὶ Φαιναρέτης, εἰς Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν τὸ γένος ἀναφέρων, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν εἰκοστός, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐννεακαίδέκατος. μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτοῦ (5) Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Ἄρειος ὁ Ταρσεύς. [2] μαθητὴς δὲ γέγονεν Ἡρακλείδα τοῦ [ιδίου] πατρός, εἴτα Ἡροδίκου, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου ῥήτορος, φιλοσόφου δὲ Δημοκρίτου Ἀβδηρίτου. [3] κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησιακοὺς ἤκμασε χρόνους γεννηθεῖς, ὥς φησιν Ἰσχόμαχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ (10) τῆς Ἱποκράτους αἰρέσεως, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ὥς δὲ Σωρανὸς ὁ Κῶος ἐρευνήσας τὰ ἐν Κῷ γραμματοφυλακεῖα προστίθῃσι, μοναρχοῦντος Ἀβριάδα, μὴνὸς Ἀγριανίου ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστῇ, παρ' ὃ καὶ ἐναγίζῃ ἐν αὐτῇ μέχρι νῦν Ἱποκράτει φησὶ τοὺς Κῶους. [4] συνασκηθεῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱατρικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθη- (15) μασι τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ τελευτησάντων μετέστη τῆς [ιδίας] πατρίδος, ὥς μὲν κακοήθως Ἀνδρέας φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἱατρικῆς γενεαλογίας, διὰ τὸ ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ ἐν Κνίδῳ γραμματοφυλακεῖον. (p. 176) ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν, ὅτι προθέσει τοῦ κατὰ τόπους τὰ ἀποτελούμενα θεάσασθαι καὶ συγγυμνασθῆναι ποικιλώτερον· ὥς δὲ Σωρανὸς ὁ Κῶος ἱστορεῖ, ὄνειρος αὐτῷ παρέστη κελεύων τὴν Θεσσαλῶν γῆν κατοικεῖν. [5] τὴν δὲ σύμπασαν Ἑλλάδα θεραπεύων ἐθαυμάσθη, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ Περδίκκα τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως φθισικοῦ νομισθέντος παρακληθέντα (5) δημοσίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν μετ' Εὐρυφῶντος, ὃς καθ' ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτερος ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ σημειώσασθαι ψυχῆς εἶναι τὸ πάθος. ἦρα γὰρ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρός Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον Φίλας τῆς παλλακίδος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἣν δηλώσαντα τὸ γεγονός, ἐπειδὴ παρεφύλαξεν ταύτης βλεπομένης παντελῶς ἐκείνον τρέπεσθαι, λῦσαι μὲν τὴν νόσον, ἀνα- (10) κτήσασθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα. [6] παρεκλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ [τῶν] Ἀβδηριτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Δημόκριτον μὲν ὥς ἐν μανίᾳ θεραπεῦσαι, ῥύσασθαι δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. [7] ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παϊόνων βαρβάρων γῆν λοιμοῦ κατασκήψαντος καὶ δεομένων τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων

The Greek text of the *Vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum* (VHSS) was edited by J. Ilberg, in *Sorani Gynaeciorum Libri IV*, CMG IV (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), pp. 175–178. The page numbers in parentheses here refer to the page numbers of Ilberg's text; the numbers in brackets correspond to the numbers of the sections of his text; and the lines here, indicated by parentheses, are equivalent to his lines.

APPENDIX B

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE HIPPOCRATIC LIVES OF AS-SIJISTĀNĪ, AL-MUBASHSHIR, AND IBN JULJUL

Abū Sulaymān as-Sijistānī

Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah

Hippocrates, the Perfect Virtuous Doctor

He and Democrates appeared during the time of Bahman B. Esfandiar, and he became famous for practicing medicine. Word of him reached Bahman, who wrote to Filāṭus the King of Cos, which was the homeland of Hippocrates, ordering him to send Hippocrates to him, and he set aside for him 100 *qintars* of the purest gold. The *qintar*, according to the Greeks, is 120 *ratls*, and the *ratl* is ninety measures. The Greeks at that time had rulers who were regional petty princes, with no single ruler to unite them, and each of them was subject to the King of Persia and had to pay him a portion of the produce of the land. So Filāṭus the King of Cos ordered Hippocrates to go to the King of Persia, and Hippocrates refused to emigrate because of his attachment to his country and people. Filāṭus informed him that if he did not do so, since he had been sent for, he could not be sure that it would not lead to his death and the death of the people of his kingdom, for they did not have the power to resist the King of Persia, who was the King of Kings on earth. So Hippocrates, because of Filāṭus' warning, resolved to go to Bahman. This was too much for Filāṭus and for the people of his kingdom, and they grudged Hippocrates' leaving their country and going to Persia. So they agreed unanimously and said: "We will be killed to the last man rather than send Hippocrates away from our country." So Bahman's messenger wrote to Bahman about what he had seen and explained it to him, so he softened towards them, allowed him to stay in his country, did not insist upon requesting him and taking him away from them, and he ordered the 100 *qintars* of gold to be sent to him.

Before practicing medicine he had been a king who had turned ascetic, abdicating his rulership and dressing in black. He would only take three things from those whom he treated: a collar, a crown, or an armlet of gold. He was asked, "Professor, why do you wear black, and why have you insisted upon taking these three things in payment for practicing medicine?" He said, "I have made black the distinguishing color of medicine, and I have made these three things payment for practicing medicine because the common people and the poor are unable to give

The Arabic text of as-Sijistānī is edited by D.M. Dunlop, *The Muntakhab Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah of Abū Sulaimān As-Sijistānī* (The Hague, 1979), pp. 74–78. The translation here is by Alia Al-Osh, with certain revisions by David Pinault.

them; therefore, I only take payment from the rich or the well-off, and spend it on the common people and the poor."

He used to say to his students, "Your way to the people is your love for them, your concern about their affairs, your knowledge of their condition, and your goodness to them. Charity to the needy and the desperate is better than charity to those who are not in need or desperate, even though all charity is good."

He said, "Make light of death, for its bitterness comes from the fear of it."

He also said, "Walls and towers do not protect a city. Rather, it is protected by the opinions of men and the practice of the wise."

He also said, "Each sick person should be treated with the remedies of his native soil, because each person's nature inclines towards its native climate and native food. This is because a wall of brick, once it has crumbled, cannot be suitably repaired with sand."

He said when death approached him, "Take all my knowledge from me. He who sleeps much, whose temperament is moderate, and whose skin is moist will live long."

He also said, "A diminution of harmful things is better than an increase of beneficial things."

He also said, "If a man had been created from one nature alone, then he never would get sick because there would be nothing to oppose the nature and thus make him sick."

He also said, "The prudent should drink wine; as for the ignorant, they should drink hellebore."

He was asked, "Why is a man's body most disturbed after he has taken medicine?" He said, "This situation is like a house which appears more dusty when it is regularly swept."

He entered the room of a sick man and once said, "You, the illness, and I are three. If you help me against it by accepting what you hear from me, we shall become two, and the illness will be isolated. We shall become two, and the illness will be alone. We shall be stronger than it, since two can overcome, if they join against one."

The son of the king of that time fell in love with a concubine of his father's, and his body wasted away, and his illness became severe. Hippocrates was brought, and he checked his pulse and examined his urine, and did not find in them any trace of bodily illness. So he sat away from him for a long while, and then spoke to him about desire and love. At that, he saw him become stirred up and agitated and knew that he was in love. So he called for his nurse and guardian and [all] those in whose lap he had been raised and from whom he had never been separated. He asked them, "Has this young man ever gone out and seen a free woman or a slave-girl?" They said, "No, he has never left the palace of the king." So he went to the king and said, "Order the chief eunuch to obey me in whatever I order him." So the king ordered him to do so. Hippocrates said to the servant, "Take me with the king's son

into the quarters of the women, and bring them out one by one." They came out, while Hippocrates held his finger on the pulse of the boy, and not a vein throbbed. So he said to the servant, "Is there anyone in the room?" The servant said, "Only the king's concubine remains." So he said, "She must come out." And so she was brought out. When the young man looked at her, his pulse became tumultuous and confused, and his heart leaped, so Hippocrates knew that he loved her. He went to the king and said that the illness of his son was grave and there was no way to treat it. He said, "What is his illness?" He said, "He is in love with one who is difficult to attain." He said, "And who is that?" Hippocrates resisted him for a while and then said, "Sire, he loves my wife."

The king asked him to give her up for him, so Hippocrates showed sorrow and was gloomy. Then he said, "Have you ever heard of someone requiring another to divorce his wife, especially the king in his justice, fairness, and good behavior?"¹ The king said, "My son is more important to me than you; I will recompense you and put at your disposal the women and girls of the city, whom I offer you." He said, "I do not wish this." The king grew irritated and said, "She must be my son's, or else I will kill you." When Hippocrates saw that he was serious he said, "The king, and especially a just one, must demand fairness, even from himself. Do you think that if she were the wife or the concubine of the king, he would give her up?" He said, "Yes, by God, and I would gladly save his life by giving up the likes of her!" So he said, "He loves the concubine of the king, So-and-so herself." So he said, "Hippocrates, your mind is even more perfect than your knowledge," and he gave her up for his son, and the young man was cured.

And he said, "Know whether what you are eating is digestible, for if you do not digest it, it will eat you."

He also said, "Every body into which wine does not enter will more quickly decay, for wine banishes sufferings, awakens pleasures, and brings friends together."

Hippocrates was asked, "Why is a dead man heavy?" He said, "Because he was two: one was light and buoyant, and the other heavy. When the heavy is left alone and the other does not lift him up, he becomes heavy." He said, "For the wind is light and buoyant, lighter than the sparrow, and it lifts the sparrow."

He also said, "Three things which cause emaciation are: drinking water on an empty stomach, sleeping without intercourse, and speaking a great deal in a loud voice."

¹ Al-Shahrastānī, [*Kitāb*] *al-mīlāl wa-al-mīḥāl*, ed. M. Sayyid Kīlānī, 2 vols. in one (Cairo, 1976), 2.110, who, for the most part has the exact wording of the *Ṣiwān*, has a fuller version for this sentence, which may reflect the original, unabridged text of the *Ṣiwān*. "Have you seen someone impose on someone the burden of divorcing his wife, especially the king in his justice and fairness, ordering me to separate from my wife, when separation from her amounts to separation from my spirit?"

He also said, "The body should be treated, on the whole, with five things: head ailments with gargling, stomach ailments by vomiting, body ailments with laxatives, subcutaneous ailments by perspiring, and that which is deep and inside the veins by cupping the blood."

He also said, "If bodies are not cleansed, then the more they are nourished, the worse they become, and such is the base, sick soul with respect to its nourishment, which is knowledge and wisdom."

He also said, "Four things which destroy the body: going to the baths after overeating, intercourse when satiated, eating dried, jerked meat, and drinking cold water on an empty stomach."

He also said, "Yellow bile's dominion is the liver;² phlegm's home is in the stomach, and its dominion is the chest; black bile's home is in the spleen, and its dominion is the heart; and blood's home is in the heart, and its dominion is the head. Yellow bile is like a child who cries for no reason in order to get a bit of kindness, at which he will be silent. Phlegm is like a depraved enemy who cannot overcome his opponent fairly. If he gets an opportunity, he will say, 'If I leave him, he will kill me,' and so he will not withdraw until he commits murder. Black bile is like a prudent enemy who wishes his opponent harm, so he waits and considers whether or not he has a way out, and will not seize him until he has become thoroughly enraged. Blood is like a king who becomes angry; nobody is able to speak to him until he is calmed down or has committed murder."

He also said, "He who has not looked at wealth will not despise poverty, and he who has not been crushed by misfortunes is not secure against adversities, and the perfect man is one who has not grown accustomed to good health."

He also said, "Man is an image, language is expression, and clarity is a guide."

He said to his student, "Let your best way to the people be your love for them, your concern about their affairs, your knowledge of their condition, and your goodness to them."

He said in the first essay of his *Aphorisms*: "Physical overdevelopment of athletes is dangerous, if they have achieved it to an extreme. This is because they cannot remain in this condition or maintain it, and since they cannot remain this way, and it is not possible for them to improve, nothing remains except for them to deteriorate. For this reason development of the body should be less than perfect: it should not be retarded, so that the body becomes overfed, nor should it be taken to an extreme in terms of effort expended, because that is dangerous. One should aim for the degree of effort which the nature of the body can tolerate. Furthermore, any attempt to reach an extreme limit is dangerous, and an extreme amount of nourishment is also dangerous."

² Al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal*, 2.110, again, probably provides the *Ṣiḥān*'s original reading: "The house of yellow bile is the gall bladder, and its dominion is the liver."

He said in his second essay, "If, in the course of an illness, sleep causes harm, then it is a sign of death. And if sleep is beneficial, then it is not a sign of death. When sleep calms the tumult of the mind, this is a good sign."

He said in his third essay, "If the seasons of the year fall in accordance with their system, and each one is when it is supposed to be, the occurrence of illnesses in them will be well fixed and organized, and each will neatly run its course. And if the seasons of the year are not in accordance with their system, then the occurrence of illnesses in them will be disorganized, and they will not run their course."

He said in the fifth essay, "If you wish to know whether or not a woman is pregnant, give her honey-water to drink before she goes to sleep. If she gets cramps, then she is pregnant, and if she does not get cramps, then she is not pregnant."

He also said, "The king is the disciplinarian of those who know no discipline: he encompasses us and protects our property, and prevents us from doing evil."

These are his pledges and his oath: I swear by God, the Lord of life and death, and the bestower of health, and I swear by Asclepios and by the creator of healing and every treatment, and I swear by the saints of God, men and women together, and call them to witness by fulfillment of this oath and this covenant:

That I hold the one who taught me this art as equal to my parents, and I will share my life with him; if he needs money I will share with him and give him some of my money. As for his descendants, I will hold them as equal to my brothers, and I will teach them this art if they need to learn it, without compensation or covenant. I will share the oral directives, sciences, and all that is in the art, with my sons, the sons of my teacher, and the students who have signed the covenant and have sworn by the medical law, and as for any other, I will not do this for him.

I will seek in my life the benefit of the sick, as much as I am able. As for that which may harm them or expose them to injustice, I shall present it as I see fit. I will not administer a deadly medicine if I am so requested, nor counsel such a thing. Nor shall I give women *farzajah* to cause abortion if I am so requested. I will preserve in my lifetime my soul and my art in holiness and purity. I will not perform surgery on anyone in whose bladder there are stones, but will leave this to one whose job it is.

All houses which I enter, I will enter to benefit the sick, and I shall be above any intentional crime, injustice, or corruption, especially regarding intercourse with females or males, be they free or slaves. Whatever I see and hear while treating the sick, or in the lives of people when I am not treating them, which should not be spoken about publicly, I shall keep to myself, holding that such things should not be talked about. May he who fully keeps his oath and does not violate any part of it, live out his life and practice his art in the best and most perfect of situations, and may he be praised among men in the future and for all time, and may he who transgresses this suffer the reverse.

Al-Mubashshir b. Fātik
Mukhtār al-ḥikam
 The Story of Ibbuqrāt the Physician

Ibbuqrāt the physician, the son of Īrāqlīs, was a disciple of Asqilībiyus the Second, the physician. He was a descendant of Asqilībiyus the First. He had made a covenant with his sons that they would not teach the craft of medicine to strangers. The kings used to choose the (i.e., their) physician from the descendants of Asqilībiyus. The craft of medicine originated with him. He taught it to his sons and forbade teaching strangers any part of it. He commanded them two things, one of which was to take up residence in the land of the Greeks in the middle of the inhabited part of it on (p. 45) three islands, one of them called Rūdhūs, the second Qnīdūs, and the third Qū—Ibbuqrāt was from the island of Qū. The other thing was that the craft of medicine should not pass from them to others. Rather, the sons should learn it from the fathers, so that its nobility would remain constant.

The places in which medicine was studied were three: the city of Rūdhūs, the city of Qnīdūs, and the city of Qū. The instruction offered in the city of Rūdhūs disappeared speedily because its masters had no heirs. The one offered in the city of Qnīdūs was interrupted because its heirs were few persons. The one offered in the city of Qū remained and was constant because of the constancy of its heirs.

Asqilībiyus the First's view on medicine was experience,³ since he had invented medicine just by experience. Medicine and the discussion of it remained based upon experience in the same way for 1,416 years, until there appeared Mīnūs the physician. He looked at that and found that experience alone was a mistake. Thus he added analogical reasoning⁴ to it. He said, "Experience without analogical reasoning is risky." This went on this way for 715 years, until there appeared Barmānidīs the physician. He vilified experience, saying, "It is a mistake." He followed analogical reasoning alone. He left three disciples, Thāsālus, Aqrūn, and Dhiyūqīs. Dissension occurred among them, and they became three sects. Aqrūn spoke only about experience, and Dhiyūqīs only (p. 46) about analogical reasoning. Thāsālus claimed method, mentioning that medicine was just a "method."⁵ This remained thus for 735 years. Then there appeared Aflāṭūn the physician. He

The Arabic text of al-Mubashshir is edited by A. Badawī, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (Madrid, 1958), pp. 44–49. The page numbers of the Arabic text appear here in parentheses. The translation is by Franz Rosenthal, with certain revisions by David Pinault.

³ *Tajriba* can also mean *experimentation* here—see J. M. Cowan, ed. *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca, NY, 1976), p. 118.

⁴ *Qiyās* describes the analogical reasoning used in Islamic law. One seeks out the Quranic passage that is closest to the legal situation at hand, and then one makes a judgment by analogy. See *Wehr*, p. 804.

⁵ The root of *ḥīla* means to get around a problem, hence, a *stratagem*, *device*, *maneuver*, or *expedient*, *Wehr*, p. 217.

considered their statements and looked at their views. It thus became clear to him that experience alone was risky and that it was bad, and that analogical reasoning alone was not sound. Thus he followed both views combined. He burned the books of Thāsālus and his colleagues on methods, and the ones composed by those who followed a view [derived] from either experience or analogical reasoning alone. He left alone the ancient books which contained both views combined. He died, and after his death things remained among his disciples as he had set them up with them. They were six:⁶ Mirāus, whom he had made to specialize [in the judgment of diseases; Būriyūs, whom he had made to specialize] in the (dietetic ?) handling⁷ of bodies; Qūrās, whom he had made to specialize in the handling of bloodletting and cauterization; Nāfirūn, whom he had made to specialize in the treatment of wounds; Sarjis, whom he had made to specialize in the treatment of the eye; and Qāyinūs, whom he had made to specialize in the setting of broken bones and the correction of dislocated [limbs].⁸

Then there appeared Asqilībiyus the Second after 1,420 years. He looked at the [various] views and declared that of Aflātūn correct and relied upon it. He died⁹ and left three disciples: Ibbuqrāt, Māghārīs, and Ārkhus. Māghārīs died after some months. He was joined by Ārkhus. There remained Ibbuqrāt, the one unique in his time, the one of perfect virtue. Through his ability the craft of experience and analogical reasoning grew strong. Ibbuqrāt saw that the craft of medicine was near extinction because of the small number of the three categories, (p. 47) which we have mentioned before, of the descendants of Asqilībiyus the First in Rūdhūs, Qnīdus, and Qū, so much so that only the remnant in Qū revived by Ibbuqrāt was left of them. He also looked at the statements of his relatives from the inhabitants of the three islands, and he found that many of them had produced wrong views on medicine, which became more and more all the time. Therefore he feared that corruption would grow, and what their ancestor Asqilībiyus had left behind would be lost, and the craft of medicine be wiped out. He therefore saw fit to set it down permanently in books by means of obscure statements. He urged his sons Thāsālus and Dharāqun to teach these things to those deserving of them, for this one (that is, the one who deserves these things) is more suitable than the undeserving stranger. He also saw fit to spread them over the rest of the earth lest they disappear. And so the two of them did that, especially Thāsālus. Thus the nobility of medicine remained in existence from that long time on to today. He made the strangers who studied medicine like sons by the oaths imposed upon them. There had been no

⁶ Since six are mentioned, and the printed text mentions only five, it must be corrected according to parallel versions in other Arabic authors. The supplied words are not found in the Arabic manuscripts.

⁷ The Arabic for *handling* is *tadbīr*, which means *regulation, management, planning, Wehr*, p. 270.

⁸ *Māylinūs* in the printed text has no manuscript authority and is probably a misprint. The name may be *Polybos*.

⁹ "He died" is omitted by mistake in the printed text.

books on medicine. Rather, everyone of the family of Asqilibiyus would teach it (i.e., medicine) to whatever person they taught by way of dictation and memorization in languages which only he would know, so that this noble craft would not pass to any other people, entailing the loss of its good aspects and an increase in error with respect to it.

When Ibbuqrāt died, he left his sons Thāsālus and Dharāqun, his daughter Mālānā'arsā, and of his grandchildren Ibbuqrāt, the son of Thāsālus, and Ibbuqrāt the son of Dharāqun. He left a large number of disciples who were strangers.

Bahman Ardashir, the King of the Persians, sent to Filāṭus,¹⁰ the King (p. 48) of Qū, the island of Ibbuqrāt, requesting that he send Ibbuqrāt to him. He ordered that Ibbuqrāt be given one hundredweight of gold—a hundredweight being 120 *riṭl*, and a *riṭl* ninety *mithqāl*, so that the total was 1,080,000 *mithqāl* of gold. The realm of the Greeks belonged at that time to the petty kings. They did not have one common king. Some of them paid tribute to the King of the Persians. Filāṭus, the King of the island of Qū, approached Ibbuqrāt with (the request to) go to the King of the Persians. He informed him that he could not be sure that his staying behind would not be a reason for his destruction and the destruction of the people of his place because they did not have the power to resist the King of the Persians. He ordered him to go to him and treat him and treat the Persians for the pestilence that had befallen them. However, Ibbuqrāt did not agree to treating the enemies of the Greeks, and he refrained from that. He repeated the request. Then he referred the matter of what (Hippocrates) should do to the people of his city. They felt very strongly about it. They did not want him to leave their country and refused to make it possible for him to leave, saying, "We will be killed to the last man, but Ibbuqrāt shall not leave our country." Then he excused himself with the king with reference to their refusal. His messenger wrote him a letter telling him about what he had experienced from the people of this place. Thereupon, he refrained from asking for him.

Ibbuqrāt came forth in the year 146 of Bukhtnaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar). He composed many books on medicine. Those we have heard of are about thirty. Most (p. 49) of these thirty (books) exist today. The books to be studied by the reader of the craft of medicine at this time, when his study is to proceed on a sound basis and in good order, are twelve, after the sixteen books composed by Galen.

Ibbuqrāt was of medium size, white, and well formed. (He had) dark blue eyes and big bones. He was irascible. His beard was medium long and white. His back was bent. His head was big. He moved slowly, when he turned, with his entire (body). He bowed his head frequently (in meditation). He was precise and deliberate in his speech and repeated (what he had been saying) to those who were listening to him. When he was sitting, his sandals were always in front of him. When he was spoken to, he replied, and when he was not spoken to, he asked

¹⁰ The reading of the last syllable of the names as -ṭis with long ī, as indicated in the printed text, appears in only one of the many manuscripts of the work and is clearly wrong.

questions. When he was sitting, he looked down at the ground. He did some joking. He fasted much and ate little. In his hand he always carried either a lancet or a probe.

He died at the age of ninety-five years. Of these he lived sixteen as a child and student and seventy-nine as a scholar and teacher.

(There follows a section with his wise and learned sayings.)

Ibn Juljul

Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-al-ḥukamā'

Greco-Roman Wisdom, from Among Those Who Have Spoken of Medicine and Philosophy and Have Excelled Therein

(p. 16) The first of them: Hippocrates, the preeminent, who is from the family of Asclepius. His dwelling was the city of Qū, and this is the city of Ḥimṣ in the land of Syria.¹¹

And it is he who spoke of medicine and who composed concerning it writings and books, and he is the author of the *Book of the Chapters*, and the *Book of Presentation of Knowledge*, and the *Book of Epidemics*, and the *Book of Acute Diseases*, and the *Book of Bone-setting and Dislocation*, and the *Book of the Nature of Man*, and the *Book of the Humors*, and the *Book of Wounds and Surgical Procedures of the Head*, and the *Book of Waters and Airs*, and many books.

And he was preeminent, more than mortal, ascetic. He would treat illness through careful reckoning. He would wander and roam about the land. His student who succeeded him from the people of his city was Fülūnis. And he was in the realm of Azdashīr Bahman (p. 17) the Persian, grandfather of Darius, son of Darius. And Galen has mentioned in his treatise which he composed, "The Physician Must Be a Philosopher," that Azdashīr Bahman summoned Hippocrates to treat him for an illness to which he had been exposed; but he (i.e., Hippocrates) refused this, since Azdashīr was an enemy of the Greeks. And two kings from among the Greek kings summoned him to treat them, and so he gave them both medical assistance since they both lived morally upright lives. He did not accept a post with the two of them once they had recovered from their illnesses. Azdashīr

The Arabic text of Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-al-ḥukamā'*, is edited by Fu'ad Sayyid, *Les Générations des Médecins et des Sages* (Cairo, 1955), pp. 16–17. The translation here is by David Pinault. The page numbers in parentheses refer to the Arabic text.

¹¹ For the Arabic tradition that Hippocrates visited Syria, first attested in Ibn Juljul's identification here of Cos with Ḥimṣ (=Emesa), see Hans J. Oesterle, "Die hippokratische Schrift 'Über die Umwelt' und eine unbekannte arabische Tradition zur Hippokrates-Vita," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 63 (1979) 326–337.

offered Hippocrates a thousand *qintars* of gold on the condition that he become his companion, but he refused him that.

And Galen said in this essay, "If someone desires Hippocrates' learning, let him imitate Hippocrates in preeminence and in the desire for moral excellence and let him avoid depravity."

And I have seen a charming tale of Hippocrates. I have brought in the mention of it so as to give an indication of his moral excellence. Namely, Aflimūn, the master of physiognomy, claimed in his [science of] physiognomy that through an individual's physique he could judge the moral quality of that person's soul.¹² And so Hippocrates' disciples gathered and said to each other, "Do you know in this our present age anyone more excellent than this excellent man Hippocrates?" Others replied, "No, we do not." One of them said, "Let us go use him to test the knowledge of Aflimūn in that which he claims concerning physiognomy." And so they made a picture of Hippocrates, then they brought it up to Aflimūn and said to him, "O preeminent one, look at this person and render judgment as to the moral qualities of his soul from his physical appearance. And so he gazed at it and compared one limb with another, and then he passed judgment and said, "This is a man who loves fornication." They replied to him, "Liar! This is a picture of Hippocrates the Sage." He said to them, "My learning must be correct. So go question him, for the man will not accept dishonesty." So they returned to Hippocrates and informed him of what they had done and of what Aflimūn had said to them. And Hippocrates said, "Aflimūn has spoken truth. I do love fornication, but I have mastery over myself." And so this indicates Hippocrates' moral excellence and his self-mastery and the way in which he schooled his soul in moral virtue.¹³

And in the *Book of His Oath and His Pledges* he adjured that the student of medicine should be only a person of abstinence and virtue and compassion towards his fellow humans and that he should be fine of feature, immaculately attired, trained in the four professions,¹⁴ wise, of noble descent, discerning.

¹² D. Pinault notes that Ibn Juljul's text reads *bi-tarkīb al-asnān* ("through the arrangement of the teeth"), but Sayyid, p. 20, n. 26, offers the reading *bi-tarkīb al-insān* ("through an individual's physique") on the basis of the wording in other Arabic versions of this tale. *Al-asnān* is in all likelihood a textual error which crept in via metathesis of the consonantal root-letters.

¹³ The basically unflattering portrayal of Hippocrates in this anecdote resembles similar stories told about famous men in classical biographies (See Chapter One, n. 28). Specifically, this story could have developed from an anecdote in Diogenes Laertius' life of Democritus (D.L. 9.42) in which Democritus greets the maidservant accompanying Hippocrates as a girl (*χαίρε κόρη*) on the first day, then as a woman (*χαίρε γύναι*) on the next, after she has been seduced. The text implies, but does not state directly, that Hippocrates is her seducer. Here, in its new Islamic context the anecdote has been altered in an attempt to illustrate Hippocrates' moral superiority. The result is not, I suggest, wholly successful.

¹⁴ F. Sayyid, *Les Générations*, p. 20, notes that the four professions refer to the four branches of learning, i.e., instructional, natural, theological, and logical.

APPENDIX C

THE PSEUDO-HIPPOCRATIC LETTER CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HIPPOCRATES AND ARTAXERXES

1. The King of Kings, great Artaxerxes, to Paitus, greetings:

Sickness approached our armies, the sickness called plague, and despite all our efforts, it did not let up. For this reason, I ask you in every way, in return for all the gifts given to you by me—send quickly either some remedy you know found in nature or made according to the systematic practices of art, or the advice of another man who is able to heal. Whip, I ask you, this sickness. For there is distress among the troops, a great agitation that produces gasping and panting breathing. Without making war, we are warred upon, since we have for an enemy a wild beast that devours the flocks. It has wounded many; it left many incurable; it continues to hurl down bitter missiles on missiles. I cannot bear it. I no longer intend to take counsel with men of high birth. Put an end to all of this by not holding back any good information. Farewell.

2. Paitus, to the great King Artaxerxes, greetings:

Natural remedies do not put an end to an epidemic of plague. When diseases arise from an individual nature, that nature, using its own good judgment, heals them. However, when diseases arise from a widespread occurrence, the medical art, making judgments on the basis of art, heals the destructive changes in bodies.

Hippocrates the physician heals this disease. He is of Dorian stock, from the city of Cos, son of Heracleidas, son of Hippocrates, son of Gnosidicus, son of Nebros, son of Sostratus, son of Theodorus, son of Cleomuttades, son of Crisamis. Hippocrates, making use of his divine nature, has led medicine from its small and amateurish accomplishments to a great and systematic art. Now then, the divine Hippocrates is ninth¹ in line of descent from Crisamis the king, and eighteenth from Asclepius, and twentieth from Zeus, while on the side of his mother, Praxithea, daughter of Phainarete, he is descended from the family of the Heracleidae. Thus, on both sides the divine Hippocrates is the offspring of gods—being by his father a descendant of Asclepius, and by his mother a descendant of Heracles. He learned the medical art from his father Heracleidas and from his grandfather Hippocrates.

The Greek text on which my translation is based has been newly edited by W. D. Smith, *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 48–54. For an alternative translation, see Smith, pp. 49–55.

¹ “Ninth” (ἕνατος), counting inclusively. Smith’s translation, “eighth” (*Pseud*, p. 49) here and “seventeenth” for ὀκτώκαιδέκατος and “nineteenth” for εἰκοστός in the same sentence, takes into account that ancient Greeks counted inclusively. For example, in the sequence 1, 2, 3, 4, 4 would have been counted by, say Aristotle, as the *fourth* number from 1; to us, of course, 4 is the *third* number from 1. To avoid confusion, I have followed the Greek inclusive counting of generations in my translations.

And it is likely that he was first initiated by them into the preliminaries of medicine—probably as much as he thought even they knew. But he taught himself the whole art by using his inspired nature, surpassing his predecessors as much in his natural goodness of soul as he did in the excellence of his art. He purges most of the land and the sea, not of the race of savage beasts, but of savage and untamed diseases, by scattering all over—just as Triptolemus scattered the seed of Demeter—the remedies of Asclepius. Therefore, most justly he has been revered in many places in the world and has been thought worthy of the same privileges given to Heracles and Asclepius by the Athenians.

Send for him, proposing to give as much silver and gold as he may desire. For this man knows more than one way of curing this disease, this father of health, this savior, this allayer of pain, quite simply, the chief of the divine art. Farewell.

3. King of Kings, the great Aratxerxes, to Hystanes, Governor of the Hellespont, greetings:

Hippocrates the Coan physician, descendant of Asclepius, has a skill in medicine whose fame has reached even me. Give him, then, as much gold as he wants and everything else he needs in abundance and send him to us. For he will be equal in honor to the noblest of the Persians. And if there is another man in Europe who is good, make him a friend of the royal household, sparing no wealth; for it is not easy to find men capable of giving advice. Farewell.

4. Hystanes to Hippocrates the physician, descendant of Asclepius:

The Great King Artaxerxes, having need of you, sent lieutenants to us and commanded us to give you silver and gold and all other things in abundance that you need and as much as you desire, and to send you to him swiftly. For he commands that you will be equal in honor to the noblest of the Persians. You, then—come quickly! Farewell.

5. Hippocrates the physician to Hystanes, Governor of the Hellespont, greetings:

Send to the king as quickly as possible that we have enough food and clothing and housing and every possession sufficient for life and that I am not willing to enjoy the prosperity of the Persians nor to relieve the illnesses of the barbarians, since they are enemies of the Hellenes. Farewell.

6. Hippocrates to Demetrius, with the hope that you are well:

The King of the Persians has sent for us, not knowing that for me wisdom's message is more powerful than gold. Farewell.

7. To the King of Kings, my great master Artaxerxes, Hystanes, Governor of the Hellespont, greetings:

I sent the letter that you sent me, saying to send it on to Hippocrates the physician of Cos, descendant of the Asclepiads; and from him I obtained an answer, which he gave me in writing and ordered me to send to your court. Accordingly, I dispatched Phenakaspes,² who is carrying it, to you. Fare thee well.

8. The King of Kings, great Artaxerxes, says to the Coans the following:

Give my messengers Hippocrates, who has an evil character and who has behaved outrageously toward me and the Persians. If you do not, you will be judged guilty and will be punished for your first error.³ For after ravaging your city and after pulling down your island into the sea, I will make sure that no one knows for the rest of time if there ever was on this spot an island or a city of Cos.

9. Answer of the Coans:

It was directed by the people to reply to the messengers of Artaxerxes that the Coans would never do anything unworthy of Merops, Heracles, or Asclepius; for the sake of these ancestors, all the citizens will not give up Hippocrates, even if they should die the most awful death. For truly, when Darius and Xerxes wrote letters demanding earth and water from their fathers, the people did not give them because they saw that the Persians who went against them were mortal men like the rest. And now they give the same answer: depart from the land of the Coans because they are not giving up Hippocrates. Tell him, O messengers, that the gods will not be unmindful of us.

² Smith, *Pseud*, p. 55, notes: "*Phenakaspes* is perhaps a mock Persian name on the model of such names as *Hystaspes* (Herodotus 1.183, etc.). *Phenakizo* means "cheat" in Greek; *phenake* is "false hair."

³ Littré 9.319: "Il s'agit ici de la résistance des habitants de Cos à Darius et à Xerxes."