

A Textual Examination of the Oath of Hippocrates



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This poster review is based on observations formulated in Healing Heroes: surveying the Greek text of the Hippocratic Oath (Part I: Comments on sections 1.i.-2.ii), Paul Martin,総合科学教育研究センター紀要(Vol.8 2019)

Introduction

Hippocrates is a historical figure whose existence and significance in science and philosophy are attested to by Plato (c. 429-347) and Aristotle (384-322, the son of a physician and tutor to Alexander the Great). The Oath of Hippocrates is a short document entitled *Oath* which is contained in the *Corpus* Hippocraticum (hereafter, CH), a collection of more than 60 diverse treatises attributed to Hippocrates but variously dating from as early as the fifth century B.C. and as late as the Roman period. The date of composition and authorship of *Oath* are unknown. The first verifiable historical reference to *Oath* is Scribonius Largus (Epistula 3–4, c. mid-first century), who says ... anyone bound by the oath of medicine will not give a harmful drug even to his enemies. Hippocrates the founder of our profession has passed the principles of the discipline on by means of an oath which ordains that no physician shall prescribe or recommend an abortive drug for a pregnant woman, thus moulding the minds of students towards the concept of what it is to be human. The tradition that attributes Oath to Hippocrates (born 460 B.C.) is exceedingly strong: Erotian (first-century physician, later than Scribonius) classified Oath as a genuine Hippocratic treatise. Notwithstanding the strong tradition dating Oath to classical times, Heinrich von Staden (2007) conducted an exhaustive textual analysis of Oath, hinting that the canonical version could be later than the traditional dating to the fourth century. Jacques Jouanna (2018), however, in his latest critical edition points to the legal aspects of Oath, Ionic dialect, and to the timing of the Asclepiads opening up their profession to outsiders as reasons not to doubt the more ancient dating. The study presented here returns to the text of Oath in order to measure the merit of both arguments. The text adopted is mainly von Staden's (2007); I have preferred Jouanna's reading where indicated. "J:"= Jouanna's numbering / reading

"ΟΡΚΟΣ

1.i. (J: 1a.) Όμνύω 1.ii. Ἀπόλλωνα <u>ἰητρὸν</u> καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ύγείαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεούς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ἵστορας ποιεύμενος, 1.iii. ἐπιτελέα ποιήσειν κατὰ <u>δύναμιν</u> καὶ <u>κρίσιν</u> ἐμὴν ὅρκον τόνδε καὶ ξυγγραφήν τήνδε: 1.iv. (J: 1b.) ήγήσασθαί τε τὸν διδάξαντά με τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἴσα (J: ἶσα) γενέτησιν ἐμοῖσι 1.v. καὶ <u>βίου</u> κοινώσασθαι καὶ χρεῶν χρηίζοντι μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι 1.νί. καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ (J:αὐτέου) άδελφοῖς ἴσον (J: ἶσον) ἐπικρινέειν ἄρρεσι, 1.vii. (J: 1c.) καὶ διδάξειν τὴν <u>τέχνην</u> ταύτην, ἢν χρηίζωσι μανθάνειν, ἄνευ μισθοῦ καὶ ξυγγραφῆς, 1.viii. παραγγελίης τε καὶ ἀκροήσιος καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀπάσης μαθήσιος μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι υίοῖσι τε έμοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι τοῦ με (J: ἐμὲ) διδάξαντος καὶ μαθητῆσι ξυγγεγραμμένοισί τε καὶ ώρκισμένοις (J: ώρκισμένοισι) νόμφ ἰητρικῷ, ἄλλφ δὲ οὐδενί.

2.i. (J: 2.) Διαιτήμασί τε πᾶσι χρήσομαι ἐπ' ἀφελείη καμνόντων κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμήν, 2.ii. ἐπὶ δηλήσει δὲ καὶ ἀδικίῃ εἴρξειν κατὰ γνώμην έμήν. 3.i. (J: 3.) Οὐ δώσω δὲ οὐδὲ φάρμακον οὐδενὶ αἰτηθεὶς θανάσιμον, 3.ii. οὐδὲ ὑφηγήσομαι ξυμβουλίην τοιήνδε. 3.iii. ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ <u>γυναικὶ</u> (J: γυναιξὶ) πεσσὸν φθόριον <u>δώσω</u>. 4.i. (J: 4.) Άγνῶς δὲ καὶ όσίως 4.ii. διατηρήσω 4.iii. <u>βίον</u> έμὸν καὶ <u>τέχνην</u> έμήν. 5.i. (J: 5.) Οὐ τεμέω δὲ οὐδὲ μὴν λιθιῶντας, 5.ii. ἐχχωρήσω δὲ ἐργάτησιν ἀνδράσι πρήξιος τῆσδε. 6.i. (J: 6.) Ές οἰκίας δὲ ὁκόσας ἂν ἐσίω, ἐσελεύσομαι ἐπ' ώφελείη καμνόντων, 6.ii. ἐκτὸς ἐων πάσης ἀδικίης ἑκουσίης καὶ φθορῆς τε τῆς ἄλλης (instead of von Staden's φθορίης, τῆς τε ἄλλης) καὶ άφροδισίων ἔργων ἐπί τε γυναικείων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνδρείων, ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων. 7.i. (J: 7.) ή δ' ἂν ἐν $\frac{\partial εραπείη}{\partial r}$ ἢ ἴδω ἢ $\frac{\partial ακούσω}{\partial r}$ ἢ καὶ ἄνευ θεραπείης κατά βίον άνθρώπων, ἃ μὴ χρή ποτε ἐκλαλέεσθαι ἔξω, 7.ii. σιγήσομαι, ἄρρητα ήγεύμενος εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα.

8.i.a. (J: 8.) Όρχον μὲν οὖν μοι τόνδε ἐπιτελέα ποιέοντι, καὶ μὴ ξυγχέοντι, 8.i.b. εἴη ἐπαύρασθαι καὶ <u>βίου</u> καὶ <u>τέχνης</u> 8.i.c. δοξαζομένω παρὰ πᾶσιν άνθρώποις ές τὸν αἰεὶ (J: ἀεὶ) χρόνον, 8.ii.a. παραβαίνοντι δὲ καὶ έπιορχοῦντι, 8.ii.b. τἀναντία τούτων (J: τουτέων).

lexical item

1.vi. γένος "descendent,"

έργάτης ἀνήρ

1i.-1.viii. 医神アポロン、アスクレピオス、ヒュゲイア、パナケア、そ してあらゆる神々と女神を証人として呼び起こし、以下の誓いと契 約の条件を自分の能力と判断に従い、完全にみたすことを誓う。 私にこの技術を教えてくれた人を自分の両親と等しいものとみなし、 人生を共有し、彼の生活にいかなるものが必要になった場合、自 分のものを彼と分かち合う。彼の子孫は男の系統となる兄弟と等し く思い、彼らがこの技術を学びたいと思うときには、報酬や契約な しにこの技術を教えるとともに、教訓、口頭による教え、その他あら ゆる知識を私の息子、私に教えてくれた人の息子、医学の法則に 従って契約を署名し、誓いをたてた弟子たちと分かち合い、他の 誰にも伝えない。

2.i.-2.ii. 自分の能力と判断に従い、患者の利益のために、すべて の養成法を用い、そして、自分の良心に従い、患者を危害と不正 から遠ざける。 3.i.-3.iii. また、たとえ頼まれたとしても、死に導く薬 を処方したり、その可能性さえ仄めかしたりは決してしない。 同様に、女性に堕胎に導く膣座薬を処方しない。4.i.- 4.iii.常に自 らの生き方と技術を純粋かつ高潔に油断なく保つ。5.i.-5.ii.メス を用いることはしない、ましてや結石に苦しむ病人に対しても。そ んなときは、この処置を専門とする職人に委ねる。 6.i.-6.ii. いかな る家を訪問(往診)しようと、患者の利益を目的とし、あらゆる意図的 な不正、あらゆる堕落性に決してかかわることなく、特に [その世 帯の]自由人であろうとも、奴隷であろうとも 女性および男性との 性的関係を遠ざける。7.i.-7.ii. 治療に従事している時にも治療に 関わっていない時にも、この世の人間の生活について見聞きした、 戸外に言いふらすべからざるいかなる事柄は、秘密とみなし、決し て口外しない。8.i.-8ii.この誓いの条件を完全に守り、誤魔化そう としない限り、永久にあらゆる人間よりの高い評価と栄誉に恵ま れた私が生命と医術を享受することがあるように。逆に、背いたり、 偽ったりした私には、まさにその反対の運命が訪れるように。 (Martin, 2018)

describes regimen as a means of *maintaining* health by varying intake of fluids and solids according to age, season, physique and so on. Words (underlined)

> in *Oath* surviving in English • Υγείαν (Hyg(i)eia, goddess of health) > hygiene

iητρον (doctor) > -iatry δώσω (give) > dose, dosage bio-, biology βίον (life) > τέχνην (skill) > technoφάρμακον (drug) > pharma-

dynamic

chronic

δύναμιν (ability) > αρίσιν (crisis, judgement) > crisis, critical thinking διαιτήματα (regimen)>

άφροδισίων (of love) > aphrodisiac ἔργων (work) > en*ergy ergo* nomics

θεραπείη (care) > therapy ἀνθρώπων (human) > anthropology

γυναικείων (of woman) >

carelessly"

7.ii. $\alpha \rho \eta \tau \alpha > \alpha \rho \eta \tau \alpha \varsigma$ "unutterable"

to me... + participles"

the spirit of," "seek loopholes"

χρόνον (time) >

gynecology android ἀνδρείων (of man) > ἀκούσω (hear) > acoustic σωμάτων (body) > somatic

P. Oxy. XXXI 2547, papyrus fragment dating from late 3rd or early 4th century (papyrus uncials approximated computer font below) LA POHILOSTUM SIAKPOHCIOCKAI 4かなり丁丁でかりた MABHCIOCUETA ではしていいたと CTEFUOICKAITO しているというというと KAULABHTAIC FINE IND KICHE KAIFOMPKICHE コストロイラと 38YOJAIWALL CTYNEL WHENLY ETTACIXPHCOULD TWO BETTER !! TWNETTOLEOPWI HE WIKDOM PAW EZWKATATNO TAFNIDAPUA LUONOYDEKA property of VIHNT H

the much later Ambrosianus and Vindobonensis manuscript tradition: namely, πᾶσι (all) qualifying διαιτήμασί (regimens) (2.i.) and κατά γνώμην έμήν (2.ii.) (to the best of my conscience), adverbial in the [1.viii.][παραγγελίης τε κ]αὶ ἀκροήσιος καὶ [τῆς λοιπῆς ἀπάσης] μαθήσιος μετά (modern Greek [δοσιν ? υίοῖ]ς τε έμοῖς καὶ το[ῖς] polytonic font) [τοῦ ἐμὲ διδάξαντος] καὶ μαθηταῖς [συγγεγραμμένοις τε] καὶ ἐφωρκισμέ-[νοις νόμωι ἰητριχῶι] ἄλλωι δὲ ούθε-[νί, [2.i.]διαιτήμασί τ]ε πᾶσι χρήσομαι

This fragment notably confirms two readings found in

[ἐπ' ώφελείηι καμνόν]των ἐπ'ὸλέθρω [??] εξω [2.ii]χατὰ γνώ [μην έμήν. [3.i]ού δώσω δὲ ο]ύδενὶ φάρμα [πον αίτηθεὶς θανάσ]ιμον [3.ii.]ο]ὑδὲ κα [θηγήσομαι ξυμβου]λίην τα[οι]<ή>νδε.[??] [3.iii.]πεσσὸν [φ]θόριον

[??][4.i.]ῶς κα[ὶ εὐ]σεβῶς

[4.2.][διατηρήσω [4.iii.]βίον] ἐμ[ὸν κ]αὶ τέ

Textual analysis in terms of usage of the entire Corpus Hippocraticum (CH) (Page numbers are von Staden, 2007, unless otherwise indicated.)

1.ii.	Άπόλλωνα θεούς πάντας	Three generations of healing-related gods and goddesses. Combination of deities not otherwise found in CH or elsewhere,
	τε καὶ πάσας	giving impression of being no earlier than the end of the classical period, probably later. (430–433; Torrance, 375).
	κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμὴν	Combination of δύναμις (ability) and πρίσις (judgement) in this way not found elsewhere in <i>CH</i> or anywhere else; ἐμός (my) "exceedingly rare in Hippocratic texts" (436), but this can be accounted for as context-specific to genre of oath.
1.iv.	•	Διδάσχειν with double accusative: rare in pre-Hellenistic works of <i>CH</i> ; more frequent in Hellenistic works. (440). Also, importantly see von Staden, 1996: "téchnē and its cognates make no appearance at all in more than half the extant Hippocratic treatises of the classical period"
1.iv.	ἴσα "equivalent to"	Hippocratic texts use ἴσως when the adverbial form is required; the only other instance is Hellenistic. (439)

1.iv. γενέτησιν > γενέτης Unique in CH. Plural signifying parents is predominantly found in inscriptions of the Roman period. (439) Also, see Jouanna 2018 (Budé I (2)), XIII, CXVIII–CXIX. Unique in CH; otherwise classical. This verb means "share," connoting "communality." ??extending to "shared values"? 1.v. xοινώσασθαι > xοινόειν

1.v. $\chi \rho \epsilon \tilde{\omega} \nu > \chi \rho \epsilon \sigma \zeta$ "necessity in Occurs only in post-classical *Decorum* and *Epist*. Also once in disputed *Gland*. Jouanna (2018, 20) points to relative frequency in Herodotus: "χρέος est parfaitement à sa place dans l'ionien de l'époque classique." daily life," "money" 1.ν. μετάδοσιν ποιήσασθαι

Unique in CH; otherwise classical. This expression means to share, but in a less abstract sense than $\varkappa o \iota \nu \omega \sigma \alpha \sigma \vartheta \alpha \iota$. Not otherwise found in CH with meaning offspring (439 n. 54). Otherwise, standard, if poetic, from Homer. Highly "offspring," "progeny" resonant term in the sense of the Asclepiad lineage. 1.vi. $\dot{\epsilon}$ πικρίνειν $> \dot{\epsilon}$ πικρινέειν

Verb meaning "consider," "regard." Unique in CH; otherwise classical. Unique instance of χρηίζειν with infinitive in CH (439 n. 56), but regular classical Greek, often indicating a strong desire

1.vii. χρηίζωσι μανθάνειν "such as as desire to learn" to do something. (See Jouanna 2018, 21.) Three post-classical instances in CH (Index Hippocraticus, s.v. $\mu \sigma \vartheta \delta \varsigma$). Otherwise, standard classical Greek.

1.vii. μισθοῦ > μισθός "fee"1.viii. παραγγελίης >In CH, solely as title of Precepts, which is post-classical. Classical sense usually command, although used by Aristotle in παραγγελία "rule" sense of *precept*. Famous biblical instance:1 Timothy 1.5.

1. viii. ἀπροήσιος > ἀπρόασις "lecture," "learning transmitted orally" Only in post-classical *Precepts* (440 n. 64). (See Jouanna 2018, 23.)

Grammatically compressed, obscure; future infinitive of εἴργειν ("keep from") grammatically awkward. Δήλησις 2.ii. ἐπὶ δηλήσει δὲ καὶ ἀδικίη

εἴρξειν 3.i. οὐ δώσω > διδόναι ("will Von Staden points to absence of future in classical works of CH, but future required by promissory nature of the oath

"lethal," "deadly" Numerous occurrences in CH of this adjective, but not used elsewhere in CH with $\varphi \acute{\alpha} \rho \mu \alpha \varkappa \sigma \nu$. (445)

"in a pure and holy way" Neither adverb found again in CH, where only two late instances of ὅσιος; ἀνόσιος does occur in

"men who are practitioners" Not found in CH in this combination. $E\rho\gamma\dot{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ "worker" appears but once, in Nature of Man, attributed to Hippocrates' son-in-law Polybus. This combination is otherwise standard classical Greek. (448) 6.ii. $\dot{\epsilon}$ κτὸς $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\omega}$ ν > $\dot{\epsilon}$ κτὸς $\dot{\epsilon}$ ιναι "being outside, far from" Only one other instance in CH (Precepts) Otherwise, standard classical Greek. (449) "injustice," "wrongdoing" Only one other instance in CH (Precepts). (Index Hippocraticus s.v. ἀδικίη.) (448) 6.ii. $\dot{\alpha}$ δικίης > $\dot{\alpha}$ δικίη ($\dot{\alpha}$ δικία)

1.viii. $\mu \alpha \vartheta \eta \tau \tilde{\eta} \sigma \iota > \mu \alpha \vartheta \eta \tau \acute{\eta} \varsigma$ Rare in CH, predominantly Hellenistic. (440 n. 60). Standard classical Greek for pupil, student, apprentice. ("harm"), regular classical Greek, but unique in CH; ἀδικία (injustice) found solely in Precepts within CH. (443–444) not give") genre. 3.i. θανάσιμος > θανάσιμον 3.iii. πεσσὸν > πεσσὸς "pessary" Uncommon in gynecological treatises of CH, (only three other instances) ("pessary" usually πρόσθετον, βάλανος, etc.). 4.i. $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\tilde{\omega}\zeta$ δὲ καὶ ὁσίως >άγνὸς ὅσιος Morb. Sacr., where also the only instance of $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\dot{\delta}\varsigma$, — as neuter superlative. (See Jouanna 2018, 30–32.) 4.ii. $\delta \iota \alpha \tau \eta \rho \dot{\eta} \sigma \omega > \delta \iota \alpha \tau \eta \rho \epsilon \tilde{\iota} \nu$ Standard classical Greek; only once in CH in Letters and Decorum respectively. (446). Von Staden, 1996: "The Hippocratic expression "to guard one's life" (diaterēin bion) is not common in the classical period." Also: "monitor" "guard vigilantly" 5.i. οὐδὲ μὴν "and by no means" Twice in CH: On Fleshes and Decorum. Extremely difficult to interpret; rare in classical standard, too. Probably corrupt. 5.ii. ἐκχωρήσω > ἐκχωρεῖν Simultaneously with genitive of thing/place yielded and dative of person yielded to not found in CH in sense of yield, "bow out and leave to..." although relatively frequent in medical non-figurative senses. (447–448) 5.ii. ἐργάτησιν ἀνδράσι >

(textual analysis continued from left)

TEMP

REGIMEN or DIET (ΔΙΑΙΤΉΜΑΤΑ(diêtēmata)) as a central element of Hippocratic medicine

patients. Many commentators focus on Oath's negative commitments to avoid such treatments as surgery and abortive pessaries. However, the

positive commitment to all forms of regimen is important in comparing the medical outlook expressed in Oath and that of other treatises in CH.

Jouanna significantly incorporates the two readings of P. Oxy. (shown below) into his canonical version of Oath. The addition of $\pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \iota$

indicates that the swearer aspires to be a physician (as opposed to a surgeon) committed to the use of "ALL regimens" in the treatment of

The Greek term διαιτήματα (diêtēmata, origin of our "diet") most often signifies a mode of living or regimen, i.e., treatment involving not

only diet, but other aspects of lifestyle such as exercise, bathing, sleep, clothing, administering of emetics, and sexual conduct. For example,

alone include: running, massages, wrestling, walks, vomiting, purging, unction, bathing, sexual intercourse, exercise, and vapour baths.

Regimen I stresses that effective regimen is thought to benefit the soul by improving the balance of the dual fundamental elements of living

lack thereof." For example: "Given the right kind of regimen, a patient will become even more intelligent and astute than his natural

adjuncts of regimen that figure in the Hippocratic treatise Regimen I (end of fifth century or first half of fourth century) in one chapter (XXV)

organisms: water (the cold, humid nourishing force) and fire (the hot, dry mobilizing force): "It is the blending that causes 'intelligence' or the

disposition." CH often shows regimen to take the form of a diet prescribed in stages and designed to correspond to such stages of the patient's

condition as led up to and away from the crisis. Κρίσις (medical crisis), κρίσις (judgment), and καιρός (timing of medical intervention) are

that of the three elements of nutrition (solids, soups (i.e., semi-liquids), and liquids), solids were avoided surrounding crisis while diet was

on which the entire life of men depends whether in health, in recovery or in sickness. Regimen can variously indicate therapeutic dietetics,

scrupulously timed interventions surrounding crisis, and regimens prescribed in therapy of non-critical ailments. Nature of Man

sparse before crisis. This treatise and Ancient Medicine stress that research into diet is an essential element of technē (the professional art of

inextricably bound in Greek medicine, being a crucial element of the art of healing. The Hippocratic treatise Regimen in Acute Diseases shows

the physician), being conducive to health in cases of illness, to freedom from illness in states of health, to good condition in athletes in training,

and to attaining whatever state anyone should wish. Similarly, the author of Ancient Medicine asserts that the nature of nutriment is something

άφροδισίων ἔργων > άφροδισία ἔργα Not found elsewhere in CH in this combination. CH simply uses neuter plural $\dot{\alpha}\phi\rho \delta \iota \sigma i\alpha$, which is also classical standard. In combination with $\xi \rho \gamma \alpha$, the phrase is very late (Roman, "sexual acts," "erotic acts" second century AD onwards) (449-450).

As a phrase, this is not found anywhere, either in CH or in classical Greek. Found only in late 7.i. ἄνευ θεραπείης "outside treatment" Greek, often Christian texts (451-2).

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Used but once in CH, in Letters, which is post-classical. As an adverbial phrase, not 7.1. κατὰ βίον ἀνθρώπων "in the course of human life" characteristic of classical Greek, but common in Hellenistic period (452).

έκλαλεῖσθαι > ἐκλαλεῖν "blab," "disclose Not found elsewhere in CH. Standard classical Greek. However, collocation with ἄρρητος late.

7.ii. σιγήσομαι > σιγάειν "hold one's tongue" Von Staden: "the unique transitive use of the middle voice stands out within the Corpus." (453)

Not found elsewhere in CH. Standard classical Greek. (451 n. 114)

8.i.a. συγχέοντι > συγχέειν "fudge," "act again Figurative use of this verb not found in *CH*. Used since Homer of *invalidating agreements*, but not part of standard boilerplate of oaths. (463)

8.i.b. ἐπαύρασθαι> ἐπαυρίσκειν, Classical standard dating from Homer. Von Staden points out that all examples of this verb in έπαυρίσκεσθαι "reap the rewards of" the classical works of *CH* have *impersonal* subjects. (464) Optative expression with this verb (μη εἴη ἐπαύρασθαι) echoed in *Precepts*, in other words, Hellenistic at earliest.

8.i.c. δοξαζομέν ϕ > δοξάζειν "hold in high The only example of the verb in CH with meaning "hold in honor," "magnify," and this meaning is overwhelmingly late elsewhere, frequently biblical. LSH, s.v. $\delta o \xi \alpha \zeta \omega$. (463) esteem² 8.ii.a., παραβαίνοντι δε καὶ πιορκοῦντι,τἀναντία Jouanna (2018) shows that the prevailing formula is to end in τἀναντία alone, while citing six

τούτων (J: τουτέων). "May the opposite be inscriptions with τάναντία τουτέων as deriving from a geographical area proximate to Cos. (Jouanna 2018, 42)

While Scribonius Largus regards *Oath* as a means of imbuing the minds of medical students with a spirit of *humanitas* that extends to offering treatment even to one's enemies, this is not generally borne out by what we know of the spirit of the fourth century B.C. Scribonius, living slightly before the middle of the first century A.D., is our earliest undisputed terminus ante quem for Oath, which forces to ask ourselves whether what he perceives as a drilling in humanitas had always been an element of Oath. On the evidence of an internal linguistic comparison, the relatively high incidence of words and phrases characteristic of post-classical Hippocratic treatises tempts us to admit the probability that the canonical version is a post-classical elaboration of an earlier core version. Moreover, the clumsy mixing of future infinitive and finite future straddling 2.i and 2.ii, seemingly indiscriminate use of future and aorist infinitives, and the puzzling clause whereby the swearer abjures surgery suggest a stitching together of disparate components. Jouanna, however, points to ionicisms and turns of phrase found in the prose of Herodotus as consistent with language of the classical period, preferring not to emphasize the poetic diction of Oath and likewise denying religious or mystic elements. Jouanna rather sees the inconsistency of the infinitives (future vs. aorist) as a sign of authenticity. In this connection, it is necessary to remain aware of the two essential parts of Oath: the section from 1.i. to 1.viii. is a carefully drafted set of legal guaranties, both in terms of moral and monetary considerations, to be made by the apprentice, who presumably did not belong to the family of the Asclepiads. In the sense, therefore, that Oath bears throughout characteristics of a legal drafted document Jouanna's approach of denying or underplaying poetry and mystery of diction is understandable. In fact, Jouanna's final sentence in his 2018 commentary on Oath demonstrates his thinking concerning the dating of Oath in general: "The comparison with Herodotus [in the instance of the usage of ἐπαυρίσκω] is the best method of assessing how far back the Hippocratic Oath goes." However, the ancient provenance of Oath was never in question; what is in question is the extent to which later elaborations, accretions on the ancient core. have come to constitute our canonical version.

Edelstein sought to demonstrate Oath as a Pythagorean bridge from paganism to Christianity. While this view finds little favour these days, there can be no doubt that Oath, in its canonical form, is a bridge of sorts, introducing certain ethical notions uncharacteristic of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., a period that certainly coincided with the opening up of the profession to disciples not born into the Asclepian lineage—a bridge from one era to another in the transmission of the healing profession. Oath is thus at once ground-breaking and conservative, seeking to extend and restrict. In the same manner, Oath affirms the gods, while moving towards a more developed consideration of humanity and medical etiology. It is thus tempting to view *Oath* in the same light as one might view the *Iliad*—a glorious edifice in bricks brought together from various kilns, elaborated and enriched over several generations, but unlikely the product of a single hand. Though a strong awareness of legal elements permeates *Oath*, mere legal drafting is transcended by a mode of expression that is characterized by balance, rhythm and a *dignity* of language and thought, an awareness of the wholeness of man.

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