

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 The first verifiable historical reference to *Oath* is Scribonius Largus (Epistula 3–4, c. mid-first century), who says *...anyone bound by the oath of medicine will not give a harmful drug even to his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.

“ΟΡΚΟΣ

1.i. (J: 1a.) Ὁρνύω **1.ii. Ἀπόλλωνα ἱητρὸν** καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν καὶ Πανάκειον καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ἵστωρας ποιεύμενος, **1.iii. ἐπιτελέα ποιήσεις κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν** ἐμήν ὅρκον τόνδε καὶ ξυγγραφὴν τήνδε· **1.iv. (J: 1b.)** ἡγήσασθαι τε τὸν διδάξαντά με τὴν τέχνην ταύτην **ἴσα (J: ἴσα)** γενέτησιν ἐμοῖσι **1.v. καὶ βίον** κοινώσασθαι καὶ χρεῶν χρηρίζοντι μετὰδοσιν ποιήσασθαι· **1.vi. καὶ γένος** τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ (J:αὐτέου) ἀδελφοῖς ἴσον (J: ἴσον) ἐπικρινέειν ἄρρεσι, **1.vii. (J: 1c.) καὶ διδάξειν τὴν τέχνην** ταύτην, ἣν χρηρίζωσι μανθάνειν, ἄνευ μισθοῦ καὶ ξυγγραφῆς, **1.viii. παραγγελίης** τε καὶ ἀκροήσιος καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀπάσης μαθησίος μετὰδοσιν ποιήσασθαι υἱοῖσι τε ἐμοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι τοῦ με (J: ἐμὲ) διδάξαντος καὶ μαθητῆσι ξυγγεγραμμένοιαι τε καὶ ὠρκιμένοις (J: ὠρκισμένοισι) νόμῳ ἱητρικῷ, ἅλλω δὲ οὐδενί.

2.i. (J: 2.) Διαιτῆμασί τε πάσι χρήσομαι ἐπ’ ὠφελείῃ καμνόντων κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμήν, **2.ii. ἐπὶ** δηλήσει δὲ καὶ ἀδικίῃ εἰρᾶειν κατὰ γνόμην ἐμήν. **3.i. (J: 3.)** Οὐ δῶσω δὲ οὐδὲ φάρμακον οὐδενί αἰτηθείς θανάσιμον, **3.ii. οὐδὲ** ὑφηγήσομαι ξυμβουλὴν τοιήνδε· **3.iii. ὁμοίως** δὲ οὐδὲ γυναιξί (J: γυναιξί) πεσσὸν φθόριον δῶσω. **4.i. (J: 4.)** Ἀγνῶς δὲ καὶ όσιός 4.ii. διατηρήσω 4.iii. βίον ἐμὸν καὶ τέχνην ἐμήν. **5.i. (J: 5.)** Οὐ τεμῶς δὲ οὐδὲ μὴν λιθιῶντας, **5.ii. ἐκχωρήσω** δὲ ἐργάτησιν ἀνδράσι πρήξιος τῆσδε. **6.i. (J: 6.)** Ἐς οἰκίας δὲ ὁκόσας ἂν ἐσίω, ἐσελεύσομαι ἐπ’ ὠφελείῃ καμνόντων, **6.ii. ἐκ**τὸς ἐὼν πάσης ἀδικίης ἐκούσης καὶ φθορῆς τε τῆς ἄλλης (instead of von Staden’s φθορήης, τῆς τε ἄλλης) καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἔργων ἐπί τε γυναικείων σωματίων καὶ ἀνδρείων, ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δοῦλων. **7.i. (J: 7.)** Ἄ δ’ ἂν ἐν θεραπεσίῃ ἣ ἔω ἢ ἀκούσω ἢ καὶ ἄνευ θεραπειῆς κατὰ βίον ἀνθρώπων, ἃ μὴ χρή ποτε ἐκλαλέσθαι ἐξω, **7.ii. συγῆσομαι**, ἄρρητα ἡγεύμενος εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα. **8.i.a. (J: 8.)** Ὅρκον μὲν οὖν μοι τόνδε ἐπιτελέα ποιέοντι, καὶ μὴ ξυγγέοντι, **8.i.b. εἴ**η ἐπαύρασθαι καὶ βίον καὶ τέχνης **8.i.c. δο**ξαζομένῳ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ (J: αἰεὶ) χρόνον, **8.ii.a. παρα**βαίνοντι δὲ καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντι, **8.ii.b. τ**άναντία τούτων (J: τούτέων).

誓い

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)しようも、患者の利益を目的とし、あらゆる意図的な不正、あらゆる墮落性に決てかわることなく、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し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)

REGIMEN or DIET (ΔΙΑΙΤΗΜΑΤΑ(diētēmata)) as a central element of Hippocratic medicine

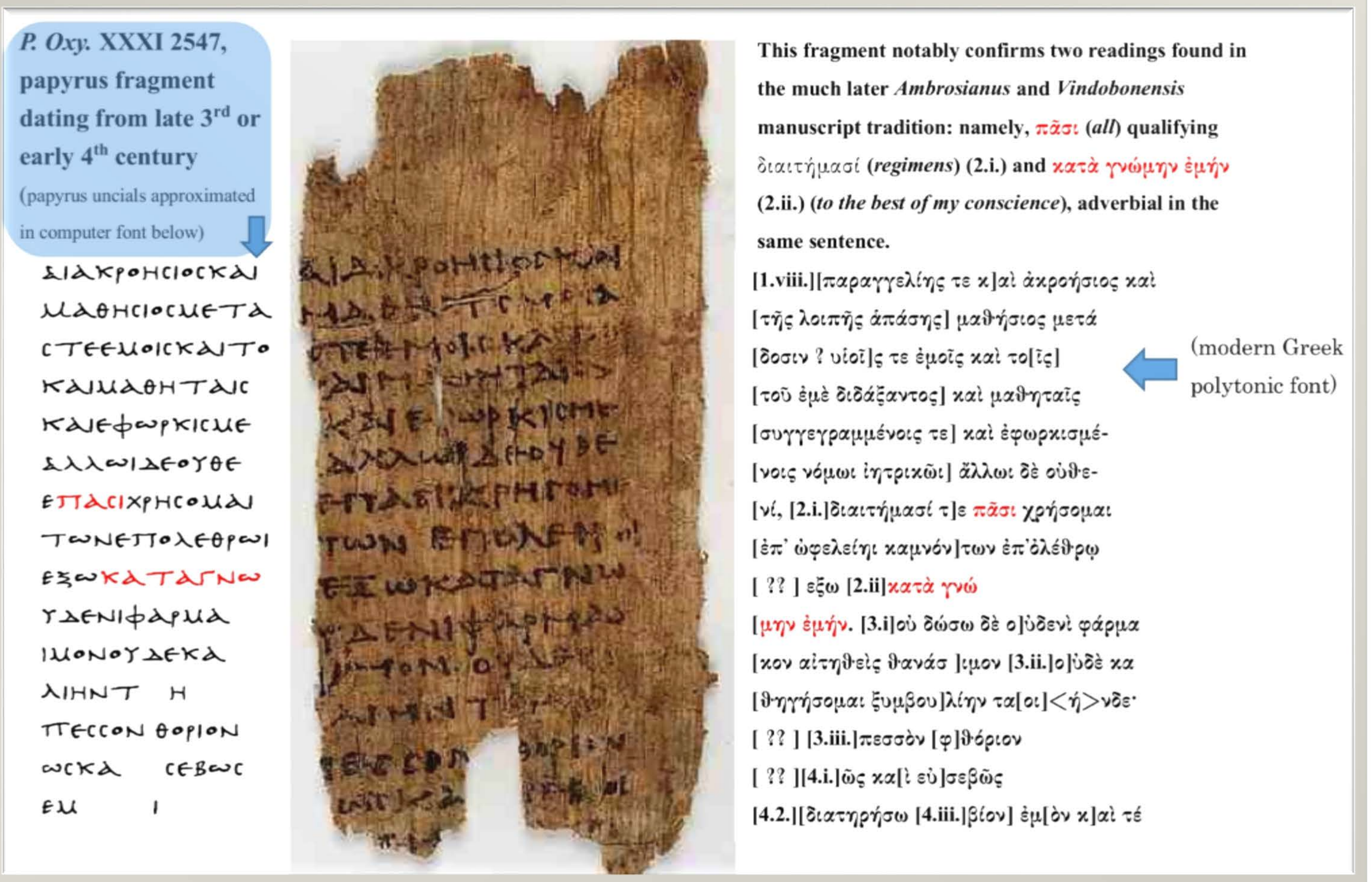
Jouanna significantly incorporates the two readings of *P. Oxy.* (shown below) into his canonical version of *Oath*. The addition of *πᾶσι* indicates that the swearer aspires to be a physician (as opposed to a surgeon) committed to the use of “ALL regimens” in the treatment of patients. Many commentators 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*. The Greek term *διαιτήματα* (diētēmata, 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, 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) 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 organisms: water (the cold, humid nourishing force) and fire (the hot, dry mobilizing force): “It is the *blending* that causes ‘intelligence’ or the lack thereof.” *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 *καίριός* (timing of medical intervention) are inextricably bound in Greek medicine, being a crucial element of the art of healing. The Hippocratic treatise *Regimen in Acute Diseases* shows that of the three elements of nutrition (solids, soups (i.e., semi-liquids), and liquids), solids were avoided surrounding crisis while diet was sparse before crisis. This treatise and *Ancient Medicine* stress that research into diet is an essential element of *technē* (the professional art of 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 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* 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

- Ὑγείαν (Hyg(i)eia, goddess of health) > hygiene
- ἱητρὸν (doctor) > -iatry
- δώσω (give) > dose, dosage
- βίον (life) > bio-, biology
- τέχνην (skill) > techno-
- φάρμακον (drug) > pharma-
- δύναμιν (ability) > dynamic
- κρίσιν (crisis, judgement) > crisis, critical thinking
- διαιτήματα (regimen)> diet
- ἀφροδισίων (of love) > aphrodisiac

- ἔργων (work) > energy,
- θεραπείῃ (care) > ergonomics
- ἀνθρώπων (human) > therapy

- γυναικείων (of woman) > anthropology
- ἀνδρείων (of man) > gynecology
- ἀκούσω (hear) > android
- σώματῶν (body) > acoustic
- χρόνον (time) > somatic
- chronic



(textual analysis continued from left)

6.ii.	ἀφροδισίων ἔργων > ἀφροδισία ἔργα “sexual acts,” “erotic acts”	Not found elsewhere in <i>CH</i> in this combination. <i>CH</i> simply uses neuter plural <i>ἀφροδισία</i> , which is also classical standard. In combination with <i>ἔργα</i> , the phrase is very late (Roman, second century AD onwards) (449-450).
7.i.	ἄνευ θεραπειῆς “outside treatment”	As a <i>phrase</i> , this is not found anywhere, either in <i>CH</i> or in classical Greek. Found only in late Greek, often Christian texts (451-2).
7.1.	κατὰ βίον ἀνθρώπων “in the course of human life”	Used but once in <i>CH</i> , in <i>Letters</i> , which is post-classical. As an adverbial phrase, not characteristic of classical Greek, but common in Hellenistic period (452).
7.i.	ἐκλαλέσθαι > ἐκλαλεῖν “blab,” “disclose carelessly”	Not found elsewhere in <i>CH</i> . Standard classical Greek. However, collocation with <i>ἄρρητος</i> late. (451).
7.ii.	συγῆσομαι > σιγάειν “hold one’s tongue”	Von Staden: “the unique transitive use of the middle voice stands out within the Corpus.” (453)
7.ii.	ἄρρητα > ἄρρητος “unutterable”	Not found elsewhere in <i>CH</i> . Standard classical Greek. (451 n. 114)
8.i.a.	συγχεόντι > συγγέειν “fudge,” “act against the spirit of,” “seek loopholes”	Figurative use of this verb not found in <i>CH</i> . Used since Homer of <i>invalidating agreements</i> , but not part of standard boilerplate of oaths. (463)
8.i.b.	ἐπαύρασθαι > ἐπαυρίσκειν, ἐπαυρίσσεσθαι “reap the rewards of”	Classical standard dating from Homer. Von Staden points out that all examples of this verb in the classical works of <i>CH</i> have <i>impersonal</i> subjects. (464) Optative expression with this verb (μὴ εἴη <i>ἐπαύρασθαι</i>) echoed in <i>Precepts</i> , in other words, Hellenistic at earliest.
8.i.c.	δοξαζομένῳ > δοξάζειν “hold in high esteem”	The only example of the verb in <i>CH</i> with meaning “hold in honor,” “magnify,” and this meaning is overwhelmingly late elsewhere, frequently biblical. <i>LSH</i> , s.v. <i>δοξάζω</i> . (463)
8.ii.a., 8ii.b.	παραβαίνοντι δὲ καὶ πιορκοῦντι, τάναντία τούτων (J: τούτέων). “May the opposite be to me... + participles”	Jouanna (2018) shows that the prevailing formula is to end in <i>τάναντία</i> alone, while citing six inscriptions with <i>τάναντία τούτέων</i> as deriving from a geographical area proximate to Cos. (Jouanna 2018, 42)

Discussion

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 *Ilíad*—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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