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# HIPPOCRATES:

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DEMONSTRATION

IN THE

*Library of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow,  
23rd November, 1891.*

BY

JAMES FINLAYSON, M.D.,

PHYSICIAN TO THE GLASGOW WESTERN INFIRMARY, AND TO THE ROYAL HOSPITAL FOR  
SICK CHILDREN, GLASGOW; HONORARY LIBRARIAN TO THE FACULTY OF  
PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF GLASGOW; ETC.

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1892.



# HIPPOCRATES:

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DEMONSTRATION.\*

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## VALUE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES.

IN resuming our "Bibliographical Demonstrations" to-night, I wish to take the present opportunity of saying that I have long desired to try this method of directing the attention of some of our students or young graduates to the history of medicine. I believe that the history of our art is not only full of interest to us as students, but that it is of great importance to us as practitioners. To those, especially, who have only recently entered on practice, it seems to me that some knowledge of the history of medicine affords the only means of supplying the place of personal experience, in judging of the ever changing phases of our art. The history of various revolutions in theories and in practice, and the indications thus afforded of the lines on which steady and substantial progress has been made since the earliest times, or, on the other hand, of the pitfalls into which our predecessors have been entrapped, seem to me the only way of securing for the inexperienced any sense of "perspective" in looking at new facts and new ideas as they arise.

But the history of medicine seems never to have been

\* This report has been written out from memory ; it is published here chiefly with the view of illustrating the plan of "bibliographical demonstrations," of which this was the third given by the writer this winter ; a fourth, on "Galen," is reported in the *British Medical Journal*, 12th March, 1892, vol. i, p. 573.

much of a success in the schools of Scotland; even when taught, as it has been in Edinburgh, by a man of the greatest eminence and ability, the success is reported to have been dubious, or at least slight. In England, so far as I know, the results have not been much better, although the requirements of the Royal College of Physicians of London in the examination for its membership have kept the subject more alive there than here.

#### METHOD OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DEMONSTRATIONS.

I have for a long time thought that this subject, like most of our medical subjects, should be approached—if approached at all in the form of lectures—by the practical methods we now adopt in other departments. My own personal experience was that I only began to feel the reality underlying such names as Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Bonetus, or Morgagni, when I was led, during my connection with the medical library in Manchester, to handle the works of the giants of the past. When thus made to realise the substantial character of their contributions, an occasional dip into their writings, if even only to read their title pages, the headings of their chapters, or a short passage on some subject having a special interest at the moment, gave me, from that time, a sense of a certain personal acquaintanceship with the writers, very different from the mere shadowy idea previously gathered from seeing or hearing their names in a book or a lecture. After such a glimpse, one sometimes felt impelled, and certainly more prepared, to gather up from historical or biographical works more detailed information as to the lives and doctrines of those who had left their mark for all time.

In charge of a valuable medical library in this great medical centre, I have often thought of trying how far the method of “bibliographical demonstrations” could be made available in stimulating interest and laying the foundations for future study; but the pressure of practical work, of a varied but

always of a more urgent kind, has hitherto prevented me from undertaking the experiment. Nearly two years ago, I obtained permission from the Council of the Faculty to give demonstrations in the Library to any members of the profession I might think of inviting, but I was only able to make a beginning this winter. The slight preliminary experiments already made this month seemed so encouraging that I have now ventured, at this third meeting, to enter upon a demonstration of the Hippocratic writings.

Our meeting here is small, but in my view that is one of the conditions of success in this plan. We wish the numbers to be such that you can all sit around the table on which the books are placed, see them when demonstrated, and look at them quietly for yourselves after the demonstration is over. I began the demonstrations with old anatomical works containing many curious and attractive illustrations, so as to cultivate this habit of personal examination; in the subject before us to-night, the illustrations must be drawn from selected passages which I will read from the books before you.

The next point of difficulty which had to be faced was the selection of an audience. Our over-pressed students can scarcely be expected to take the trouble of learning about anything which "does not pay" at the examinations, although at my second demonstration this winter, of books bearing on "Physiognomic Diagnosis," to which students were invited, I had a goodly number of them—as many, indeed, as desired. After consideration, it seemed to me that the most suitable audience, for my purpose, was such as I have to-night—an audience selected chiefly from the residents at the various hospitals here, according as they were understood to be interested in such matters, with the addition of any one else who expressed a desire to come. As most of you here have been more or less associated with me as hospital assistants, I felt that whatever deficiencies I showed in carrying through this new enterprise, I would at least receive a sympathetic hearing and a kindly judgment.

## PETER LOWE'S TRANSLATION OF THE "PROGNOSTICS."

In this library it may be legitimate to begin a demonstration of the Hippocratic writings by showing you the first translation into English of any portion of them. This was made by Peter Lowe. He published his translation in 1597, and obtained a charter for our Faculty in Glasgow from James VI in 1599. His translation is notable as being the first attempt to render into English, for the use of practitioners, any of the great Hippocratic treatises. But we cannot regard it as a very scholarly translation. Indeed, it appears, from the researches of Dr. Creighton, that his translation of the "Presages" (as he calls the "Prognostics") was made neither from the Greek nor Latin, but from the French version by Canappe, published in Lyons in 1552; this, again, was from the Latin edition of Rabelais, and founded on the text of Copus. The source of Peter Lowe's translation is shown not merely by such things as the headings of the chapters in the "Presages," but by its association with a translation of the "Oath" also; and above all, by the prefixing of the same "Life" which occurs in Canappe's French translation, but not in Rabelais' edition.\* In this "Life," by a curious misprint, "Pereno" occurs in all the four editions of Peter Lowe's translation instead of Zeno (the Eleatic philosopher), who is referred to as a contemporary of Hippocrates.

It is in the PROGNOSTICS that the celebrated passage occurs describing what is known as the "Facies Hippocratica." I will read you Peter Lowe's rendering of it in his translation of "The Booke of the Presages of deuyne Hyppocrates." I quote from the third edition, but I believe it is the same text as in the first, published in 1597:—

*"How the Physitian or Chyrurgian may presage by signes of the Face, in sicknesse.—It is requisite to consider and contemplate the*

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\* Some further details on this subject may be found in *Account of the Life and Works of Maister Peter Lowe*, by James Finlayson, M.D. (Glasgow, 1889); also in an article by Dr. Chas. Creighton on "Falstaff's Deathbed," in *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1889.

Face of the sicke. First to know if it be such as in health, or but a little different: and if it be so, the Mediciner Chirurgian may haue a good presagment and hope of Recoverie. But if it be greatly altered, and changed, as followeth, hee shall esteeme it in perill and danger of death, when the nose and nostrills are extenuated and sharpened by the same maladie, and the eyes hollow, and the temples, viz., the parts betweene the eares and forehead are cleane, and the skinne of the brow is hard, dry, and loose, and the eares cold and shronke, or almost doubled, and all the face appeareth blacke, pale, livide or leaden, and greatly deformed, in respect of that which it was in time of health."

On reading any rendering of this passage, one is at once reminded of the celebrated description in Shakespeare of the death of Falstaff, where Dame Quickly says—

"For after I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers, and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way: for his nose was as sharp as a pen and a' babbled of green fields," &c.—(Henry V, act ii, scene 3.)

The question has arisen as to how Shakespeare could have obtained access to the description of the *Facies Hippocratica*, and it has been suggested that Peter Lowe's English translation may have been available for one who had "small Latin and less Greek." So far as the dates go, they might, indeed, fit in, as Peter Lowe's translation was issued in London in 1597, and "King Henry V" was first published in 1600. After a full investigation of the subject, however, Dr. Creighton has come to the conclusion that this translation is *not* the source of Shakespeare's phrases.\*

#### CHRONOLOGY—HIPPOCRATES A REALITY.

I have placed on the board some dates to guide you in your ideas of the time, according to the best authorities, when Hippocrates flourished, adding various dates selected from different countries for the sake of comparison:—

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\* See *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1889.



Hippocrates, . . . . .	(about) 460-357	B.C.
Socrates, . . . . .	469-399	„
Zeno, the Eleatic philosopher, born, . . . . .	488	„
Plato, . . . . .	428-389	„
Aristotle, . . . . .	384-322	„
Roman Decemviri created, . . . . .	451	„
Virginus killed his daughter, . . . . .	458	„
Second return of the Jews under Ezra, . . . . .	458	„

But on looking at such a table one is reminded of important preliminary questions which have been raised—viz., Was there such a man? Were not the Hippocratic writings merely a miscellaneous collection, issued under a traditional name?

The first question seems capable of a satisfactory answer in the affirmative. M. Littré, in his valuable edition of Hippocrates, in the ten volumes now before you, has gone into this matter critically in the elaborate introduction contained in the first volume. M. Littré was a learned member of our profession; he is the same of whom you have all heard as the author of this great French dictionary, in four large volumes, which I show you here. Some of you may also have heard of him as an exponent of the positive philosophy of Comte. M. Littré (vol. i, p. 29) quotes a passage from one of the dialogues of Plato (*Protagoras*), where Socrates is represented as saying to one of his auditors, who happened to be called Hippocrates—

“If for example you had thought of going to Hippocrates of Cos, the Asclepiad, and were about to give him your money, and some one had said to you: You are paying money to your namesake Hippocrates, O Hippocrates: tell me, what is he that you give him money? How should you have answered?—

“I should say, he replied, that I give money to him as a physician.—

“And what will he make of you?—

“A physician, he said.”\*—(Jowett's Translation, second edition, vol. i. Oxford, 1875.)

\* M. Littré quotes another passage from Plato (*PHÆDRUS*) where Hippocrates is spoken of as an individual and as a writer of authority. The passage is quoted also by Dr. Warburton Begbie (*Selections from the Works of*): London, 1882, p. 385.

M. Littré contends that this passage from Plato, who lived shortly after the date ascribed to Hippocrates, proves that Hippocrates was a physician; of the Island of Cos; of the family of the Asclepiadæ; that he taught medicine, and received fees for doing so; further, that as the words are put into the mouth of Socrates, these two great men must have been contemporaries. This little glimpse shows you the kind of evidence which can be adduced to prove the veritable existence of Hippocrates and his approximate date. Another passage is quoted by M. Littré (vol. i, p. 72) from Aristotle who, although somewhat later, is still near enough to be an important witness (*Politics*, Lib. vii, Cap. 4), "When we speak of the great Hippocrates we understand not the man, but the physician."

In his elaborate and learned introduction, M. Littré goes into this discussion in great detail, quoting from Plato, Aristotle and others; certain phrases in their works being adduced to show that these ancient authors were familiar with certain portions of the Hippocratic writings.

From the necessity of this accumulation of proof, it must be evident to you that there is no *reliable* "Life" of Hippocrates. Three "lives" are referred to, the most important being one by Soranus, or rather according to Soranus (*Κατά Σωρανόν*). This has been repeatedly published, and is appended to the edition by Ermerins, as I show you, both in a Greek and Latin text. There are insuperable difficulties in deciding who this Soranus really was. It seems certain that he was *not* the same as the Ephesian Soranus otherwise well known in medical literature, although this biographer is also said to have been of Ephesus; it has been further supposed that there was also a Soranus of Cos, who explored the records of that island, and whose materials were used for the purpose of this biography.

The portraits of Hippocrates are all without authority. I show you some representations copied from busts or antique gems. I also show you portraits prefixed to certain editions of his works, but as none are authentic, we need not linger on this subject.

## HIPPOCRATIC WRITINGS: GENUINE AND SPURIOUS.

Although the personality of Hippocrates as a physician and an author is clearly established by the best historical evidence, the authenticity of the various treatises ascribed to him is quite open for discussion. The general consensus of critics points to there being three different groups of the treatises bearing his name.

1. Genuine works, undoubtedly Hippocratic.

2. Spurious works, certainly not written by the great Hippocrates.

3. Dubious works.

Of the spurious and dubious works one or two may have been earlier, but the most of such are regarded as being of later production.

It is quite possible that some of the spurious writings of later date may have been "Hippocratic" in the sense of being written by one of that name, although not by our author, who is distinguished sometimes by the adjective "Magnus,"\* to indicate his pre-eminence amongst all those of the same name, and often, indeed usually, by the adjective "Cous," to indicate the place of his birth.

## PRE-HIPPOCRATIC WORKS.

The most interesting question as to the authenticity of the writings turns on the date of certain of the works ascribed to Hippocrates being really *before* his time, a subject discussed with great learning by Houdart, Littré, Ermerins, Adams, Greenhill, and others. That there were ancient medical writings *before* Hippocrates may be taken as certain. One of the Hippocratic treatises regarded as undoubtedly genuine by M. Littré (Tome i, p. 320) is that "On Ancient Medicine." His opinion is based on a quotation from the *Phædrus* of Plato, and is supported by an elaborate argument; this

\* See the passage already quoted from Aristotle, where he is called "the great Hippocrates."

argument is not admitted as conclusive by Dr. Adams; but the latter points out, as an evidence of the reality of an ancient medical literature before the time of Hippocrates, "that Xenophon, who was almost contemporary with Hippocrates, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who was certainly nearly of the same age, the saying that there were many medical works then in existence (*Memorab.*, iv)." If we accept the treatise "On Ancient Medicine" as really by Hippocrates Magnus, its very title may be taken as implying a pre-existing literature. If this treatise is rejected, we have the testimony of another, universally admitted as written by Hippocrates—viz., "The Regimen in Acute Diseases." In this book the writer begins with the words "Those who composed what are called 'The Cnidian Sentences;'" we have thus clear proof of some ancient literature in medicine available for Hippocrates to profit by and criticise. It would seem as if Cnidos had been a rival school to that of Cos, to which latter Hippocrates belonged; and these "Cnidian Sentences" have been supposed to be the analogue in that school of the "Coan Prenotions" pertaining to Cos. This latter work was long regarded as a production of Hippocrates, but is now supposed by many to be a part of that earlier literature on which our author founded his work.

It could not escape attention that three of the Hippocratic treatises—(1) "The Prognostics," (2) "The Coan Prenotions," and (3) "The Prorrhethics"—were in many ways similar. The first was universally regarded as the most perfect, and so at one time the others were ascribed to subsequent and somewhat inferior authors or imitators. The resemblances are well brought out in tabulations, such as I now show you in M. Houdart's book. A critical comparison shows that both the "Prorrhethics" and the "Prenotions" contain the names, in detail, of individual patients from whose cases some special prognostic is drawn, whereas the "Prognostics" contain no such personal details. It seems pretty clear, therefore, that the "Prognostics," a much more finished production, omitting all personal memoranda, must have followed and not preceded

the other two; and as the "Prognostics" are universally admitted to be by Hippocrates, we have very probably, in these other two, specimens of the work of earlier observers, by whose labours Hippocrates could profit, and in doing so could fairly enough rear for himself such a surpassing reputation as the "Father of Medicine;" for then, as now, acuteness of personal observation and independence of thought were quite compatible with profiting by the labours of others and the experience of the past. I have already read a short extract to you from the "Prognostics," describing the "Facies Hippocratica." This work is undoubtedly one of the greatest and most celebrated of the Hippocratic writings.

#### APHORISMS.

Another equally famous is the "APHORISMS." I have selected the first and the last aphorisms as specimens. The translations which I propose reading to you are from Dr. Adams' admirable rendering; but I avail myself of two of his alternative translations in the first aphorism, as somewhat more impressive, in my view, than those in his text:—

I. 1. "Life is short, and the art long; the time is urgent; experiment is dangerous, and decision is difficult. The physician must not only be prepared to do what is right himself, but also to make the patient, the attendants, and externals co-operate."

The first clause, familiar to so many, is recognised by comparatively few, even of the cultured, as being in the works of Hippocrates. The first portion of the aphorism has the gravity of the philosopher; the second shows the practical experience of the physician; I am sure you will find as you go on in the profession that all the difference between success and failure often depends on whether the physician possesses this invaluable power of compelling patient, attendants, and even external circumstances to co-operate with him in the proper management of the illness. Mere knowledge and skill often fail for the want of some measure of this power.

The last aphorism is also celebrated, and I read it to you now, although some doubts exist as to whether it has not crept into the first book of the aphorisms from a continuation by a later writer:—

VI. 87. "Those diseases which medicines do not cure, iron (the knife?) cures; those which iron cannot cure, fire cures; and those which fire cannot cure, are to be reckoned wholly incurable."

#### HIPPOCRATIC OATH.

The Hippocratic "OATH" is so widely known that perhaps it is scarcely necessary to read it; some modification of it was used when graduates in medicine were sworn in at the University here in my time; and even now it survives, to some extent, in the declaration still made by you. It will be better, however, for me to read this short Hippocratic piece in full, so that you may catch its full spirit and meaning. The rendering is by Dr. Adams, whose translations I use here whenever available:—

"I swear by APOLLO the physician and ÆSCULAPIUS and HEALTH [Hygeia] and ALL-HEAL [Panacéa] and all the gods and goddesses, that, according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this oath and this stipulation—to reckon him who taught me this art equally dear to me as my parents, to share my substance with him, and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this art, if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation; and that by precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the art to my own sons, and those of my teachers, and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none others. I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous.

"I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion.

“ With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practise my art.

“ I will not cut persons labouring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work.

“ Into whatever houses I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption, and, further, from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves. Whatever, in connection with my professional practice, or not in connection with it, I see or hear, in the life of men, which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, as reckoning that all such should be kept secret.

“ While I continue to keep this oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art, respected by all men, in all times ! But should I trespass and violate this oath, may the reverse be my lot ! ”

There are two points in this OATH” to which I wish to call your attention. The opening phrase, “ I swear by all the gods and goddesses ” has been recognised as mentioned by Aristophanes, where one speaker says, “ What better oath than that of the brotherhood of Hippocrates ? ” The other answers, “ Well ! I swear by all the gods ” (Littré, tome i, p. 31 \*). The other point in connection with the “ OATH,” to which I direct your attention, is the remarkable passage forbidding those who are thus sworn to cut for the stone. Hippocrates practised various grave surgical operations, and it has been a matter of wonder that this one should be forbidden. Some, indeed, have sought to solve the difficulty by suggesting that he does not refer to lithotomy, but to castration.†

It is almost certain that the operation referred to was really lithotomy ; the separation of this operation from the ordinary practice of surgery is indicated by the Founder of our Faculty

\* M. Littré departed from this view of the passage while treating of the OATH (see tome ii, p. 48) ; M. Petrequin, however (*Chirurgie d'Hippocrate*, tome i, Paris, 1877, p. 172), still adheres to this meaning of the passage.

† This question is discussed in an elaborate note, at the end of the OATH, by M. Petrequin (*Chirurgie d'Hippocrate*, tome i, Paris, 1877, p. 192) ; he comes to the conclusion that the OATH refers to lithotomy, and that it was proscribed owing to the disasters following its practice at that time.

here, for Peter Lowe passes it over in his "Discourse of the Whole Art of Chyrurgerie," which was published while he was in Glasgow in 1612, referring its discussion to his treatise entitled "The Poore Mans Guide." The operation from the time of Hippocrates till very recently was practised by a set of men outside of the profession. In the Burgh Records of our city we have the following suggestive entry:—

"27th March, 1688.—The said day there was ane testificat produced in favor of Duncan Campbell, subscrivit be the haile doctors and most part of the chirurgianes in toune, of his dexteritie and success in cutting of the ston, as also in sounding with great facilitie, and hes given severall proofes therof within this burgh, whilk being taken to the said Magistrats and Counsell their consideration, they nominat and appoynt him to cutt such poor in toune as he shall be desyred be the Magistrats, in place of Evir M'Neil, who is become unfit to doe the same through his infirmitie."—(*Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1868, p. 258).

#### QUALIFICATIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PHYSICIAN.

With regard to the necessary conditions for the successful study of medicine, I read you the following short extracts from "THE LAW;" I desire your special attention to the profound wisdom of the last clause:—

"Whoever is to acquire a competent knowledge of medicine ought to be possessed of the following advantages: a natural disposition; instruction; a favourable position for the study; early tuition; love of labour; leisure. First of all, a natural talent is required; for when nature opposes, everything else is vain; but when nature leads the way to what is most excellent, instruction in the art takes place, which the student must try to appropriate to himself by reflection, becoming an early pupil in a place well adapted for instruction. He must also bring to the task a love of labour and perseverance, so that the instruction taking root may bring forth proper and abundant fruits.

. . . "But inexperience is a bad treasure and a bad fund to those who possess it, whether in opinion or in reality, being devoid



of self-reliance and contentedness, and the nurse both of timidity and audacity. For timidity betrays a want of power and audacity a want of skill. There are indeed, two things, knowledge and opinion, of which the one makes its possessor really to know, the other to be ignorant."

The following celebrated passage is from the "FIRST BOOK OF THE EPIDEMICS" (ii, 5):—

"The physician must be able to tell the antecedents, know the present, and foretell the future—must meditate these things and have two special objects in view with regard to diseases—namely, to do good or to do no harm. The art consists in three things—the disease, the patient, and the physician. The physician is the servant of the art, and the patient must combat the disease along with the physician."

Objection has been taken to the instruction that the physician should "do no harm" as being unnecessary and too trivial, but after twenty-three centuries the retention of this clause must be held to be still essential by all who have seen much of practice. In connection with this same spirit, I may refer to what has been called the "HIPPOCRATIC PARADOX." A thesis by G. A. Langguth, *De Paradoxico Hippocratico* (4to, Wittembergæ, 1754), discusses this paradox at some length as you see. The paradoxical passage referred to is found in the treatise on "ARTICULATIONS" (40), which is regarded as genuine; it occurs in connection with the treatment of injuries to the ears:—

"For it is a good remedy sometimes to apply nothing at all, both to the ear and to many other cases."

In connection with these same ideas, I have to call your attention to a passage in one of the Hippocratic treatises; although it is considered to be of a later date than our author himself, this is of little importance under the circumstances; he speaks of Herodicus (his own teacher and the inventor of medical gymnastics) as having occasioned the death of not a few patients, affected with fever, while subjecting them to

treatment by means of vapour baths and violent exercises instead of rest (Littré, tome v, p. 303).

The passage in which Hippocrates, according to the usual translation, speaks of "nature" as the healer of our diseases has been discussed by Professor Gairdner in one of his essays, and subjected to his fruitful criticism. The meaning of the phrase *νούσων φύσις ἰητροί* (*Epidem.*, vi, 5) is shown by him to be somewhat different from the general dictum about the "vis medicatrix naturæ." He shows that what Hippocrates alleges is that "OUR NATURES ARE THE PHYSICIANS (or healers) OF OUR DISEASES," and he paraphrases it thus, "that normal function is in every instance to be evoked and supported, and protected, as what is usually the only way open to us for effectually overcoming abnormal function." \* This Hippocratic view of our natures being themselves the physicians of our diseases is at present receiving fresh illustrations in the remarkable studies now being pursued regarding the processes which secure "immunity."

#### ARE ANY DISEASES SACRED OR DIVINE ?

The view taken by Hippocrates of "THE SACRED DISEASE," as epilepsy was called, is most philosophical. The mysterious outbursts of this remarkable disease by which a person, often in perfect health, is suddenly struck down and given over to the most violent convulsions, which may quickly pass off, so that he can resume his usual course in a short time, have suggested in various ages and countries the idea of some special supernatural agency, whether divine or demoniacal. He begins thus :—

"It is thus with regard to the disease called sacred ; it appears to me to be nowise more divine nor more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause from which it originates like other affections.

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\* W. T. Gairdner, *The Physician as Naturalist* (Glasgow, 1889, p. 260) ; see also Dr. Warburton Begbie, *Selections from the works of* (London, 1882, p. 386).

Men regard its nature and cause as divine from ignorance and wonder, because it is not at all like to other diseases. And this notion of its divinity is kept up by their inability to comprehend it, and the simplicity of the mode by which it is cured, for men are freed from it by purifications and incantations. But if it is reckoned divine because it is wonderful, instead of one there are many diseases which would be sacred ; for, as I will show, there are others no less wonderful and prodigious, which nobody imagines to be sacred."

In a similar strain, he writes in the treatise "ON AIRS, WATERS, AND PLACES" (22), with regard to some disorder prevailing amongst the Scythians :—

"It appears to me that such affections are just as much divine as all others are, and that no one disease is either more divine or more human than another, but that all are alike divine, for that each has its own nature, and that no one arises without a natural cause."

It has been a great puzzle that, with such a clear statement of his views on the subject, Hippocrates should himself, in his "BOOK OF PROGNOSTICS" (Lib. i), say that we are to ascertain

"Whether there be anything divine in the diseases."

It has been supposed that he may here use the word "divine" in the sense of atmospheric or pestilential, or that he may be adapting himself, for the time, to the popular language.

#### HIPPOCRATIC AUSCULTATORY SIGNS.

In modern times we are so saturated with physical methods of diagnosis, especially in chest disease, that we can scarcely think of diagnosis without them. Although nearly all these methods have been introduced within this century, there is one, at least, which goes back to ancient times, and is even now termed "Hippocratic succussion." I have marked the passages in Littré's edition so that you may see where this is referred to. In some of the passages it is merely named or alluded to in passing, as a thing well known, but I will render

from Littré's translation one passage where the process is described:—

“ You will place the patient on a seat which does not move, an assistant will take him by the shoulders, and you will shake him, applying the ear to the chest, so as to recognise on which side the sign occurs ” (Littré, tome vii, p. 153).

A very similar passage occurs in tome vii, p. 71. Both of these are from the treatise “ DE MORBIS ” (Lib. iii and Lib. ii respectively). The fact that this sign may be absent in cases requiring operation is recognised and ascribed to the quantity or density of the pus being too great. The bulging and the pain are then to be taken as guiding to the affected side. (Other passages referring to succussion may be found in Littré's edition, tome v, p. 681, and tome vi, pp. 151 and 309).

The practical importance of succussion seems to have consisted specially, in his view, in determining which side to operate on in cases of empyema.

Another passage has been pointed out as referring to auscultatory signs apart from succussion. I will translate for you Littré's rendering of this passage, the exact meaning of which is still involved in considerable obscurity:—

“ And if applying the ear against the chest, you listen for a long time, it boils within like vinegar ” (*De Morbis*, Lib. ii; Littré, tome vii, p. 95).

What auscultatory sound this was, which was to guide the operator to the side on which the incision should be made, is not clear. That it really was a *sound* which constituted the sign is clear from the context, and amidst various readings M. Littré prefers the word meaning to boil.\*

A sound resembling that made by new leather is described in pleurisy (*De Morbis*, ii, 59; Littré, tome vii, p. 93). These and other references to auscultation are given by Dr. Gee in his book on *Auscultation and Percussion* (third edition, London, 1883), p. 100.

\* Ζέει : ὀζεί : ὠζεί : ὀψεί.

## CHEYNE-STOKES' BREATHING.

It is not in physical signs, but in general symptoms, that the power of observation, undoubtedly pertaining to the Hippocratic school, comes out most strongly. The "Prognostics" are full of the keenest clinical observation. It is very interesting, and even startling, to read a description of Cheyne-Stokes' Respiration in those old times. This remarkable form of breathing is generally regarded as being a matter of observation only in recent times, noted by the two great clinical observers whose names it bears. But, according to Dr. Warburton Begbie (*Selections from the Works of*, p. 390), the case of Philiscus, in the "FIRST BOOK OF THE EPIDEMICS" (13), as described by Hippocrates, agrees with this type of breathing. It seems to me that Dr. Begbie makes out his case; but I will read the passage in full, from Dr. Adams' translation, so that you may judge for yourselves.

"Philiscus, who lived by the Wall, took to bed on the first day of acute fever; he sweated; towards night was uneasy. On the second day all the symptoms were exacerbated; late in the evening had a proper stool from a small clyster; the night quiet. On the third day, early in the morning and until noon, he appeared to be free from fever; towards evening, acute fever with sweating, thirst, tongue parched; passed black urine; night uncomfortable; no sleep; he was delirious on all subjects. On the fourth, all the symptoms exacerbated; urine black; night more comfortable; urine of a better colour. On the fifth, about midday, had a slight trickling of pure blood from the nose; urine varied in character, having floating in it round bodies, resembling semen, and scattered, but which did not fall to the bottom; a suppository having been applied, some scanty flatulent matters were passed; night uncomfortable, little sleep, talking incoherently; extremities altogether cold, and could not be warmed; urine black; slept a little towards day; loss of speech; cold sweats; extremities livid; about the middle of the sixth day he died. The respiration throughout like that of a person recollecting himself, was rare and large, the spleen was swelled up in a round tumour, the sweats cold throughout, the paroxysms on the even days."

Dr. Adams says in a note—"The modern reader will be struck with the description of the respiration—namely, that the patient seemed like a person who forgot for a time the *besoin de respirer*, and then, as it were, suddenly recollected himself. Such is the meaning of the expression as explained by Galen in his Commentary, and in his work *On Difficulty in Breathing*. By 'rare' is always meant 'few in number.'"

#### BEST MODERN EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

In English, we are fortunate in having a most admirable translation by Dr. Francis Adams, who practised his profession in Scotland, in the rural district of Banchory; while, at the same time, he held his own with the leading scholars of Europe as an authority on the medical writers of antiquity. His book is entitled "The Genuine works of Hippocrates, translated from the Greek, with a Preliminary Discourse and Annotations" (2 vols., London, 1849). This translation contains, of course, the most celebrated treatises; but, as it is limited to the "Genuine" works, it fails us when reference has to be made to the others; but some account of all the treatises is contained in the "Preliminary Discourse."

M. Littré's edition is, on the whole, the most convenient for references. It contains the Greek text, a French translation, a collection of various readings, critical notes, and introductions to the whole collection, and also to each individual treatise. It is in 10 volumes of convenient size, and the last volume contains a good index to the whole. Its title runs, "Œuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate, Traduction Nouvelle avec le Texte Grec en regard, Collationné sur les manuscrits et toutes les éditions" (tomes i-x, 8vo, Paris, 1839-61).

Another edition of the first value is Ermerins (F. Z.), "Reliquiæ Hippocratis et Aliorum Medicorum Veterum" (3 vols., 4to, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1859-64). This contains a Greek and Latin text with elaborate introductions and notes.

Another edition, although partial in character, must also be mentioned—viz., the French translation by Ch. Daremberg; “Œuvres Choiesies d’Hippocrate Traduites sur les Textes, Manuscrits et Imprimés, Accompagnées d’Arguments, de Notes, et Précédées d’une Introduction” (seconde édition, 8vo, Paris, 1855). This is of great value as the work of a scholar of eminence. It does not profess to be limited to the “Genuine” works, as Dr. Adams’ English translation does. It is enriched with notes of great importance.

#### OLD EDITIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

Amongst the old editions is the *editio princeps*—the “Aldine”—published in Venice, in folio, in 1526. This has the Greek text. We recently obtained a copy of it for this library.

I show you the edition by Fœs (or, in the Latin form of his name, Anutius Fœsius), with the Greek text and Latin translation. The volume on the table was published in Geneva in 1657, but the first edition appeared in 1596. The work of Fœs is reckoned one of the most valuable for scholars.

The Latin translation by Calvus, Copus, &c., published in Basle, 1526, is one of the earliest and best. The copy on the table may interest some of you as being bound in wood.

The translation by Cornarius, Paris, 1546, is also before you.

Van der Linden, “Opera Omnia, Grece et Latine,” 2 vols., 8vo, Lugd. Batav., 1665, was long esteemed one of the best.

Albertus de Haller, “Opera Genuina,” 4 vols., 8vo, Lausannæ, 1769-1771.

Charterius, R., “Hippocratis et Galeni Opera,” 13 vols., folio, Lutet. Paris, 1679.

Kühn, “Opera Omnia,” 3 vols. (tom. 21-23, Medici-Græci), Lipsiæ, 1825-27.

Nearly all these celebrated editions are before you for inspection.

SPECIAL WORKS OR PARTIAL COLLECTIONS IN THE ORIGINAL  
OR IN TRANSLATIONS.

Partial collections are extremely numerous; some of them are laid out for your inspection as curiosities. I may call your attention in particular to one in German, by Paracelsus, with some of the aphorisms, published in Augsburg about 1556-1585; and to another, in a Spanish translation, with a Greek text, of selected works, published in Madrid, 3 vols., 1757-81.

I have already spoken of Peter Lowe's translations of the "Presages," in four editions, London, 1597-1654; for those of you who may wish to compare the "Prognostics" with the "Prorrhetics," there is an English translation of the latter by Moffat, London, 1788.

A very important work on the SURGERY of Hippocrates is the following:—Petrequin, J. E., "Chirurgie d'Hippocrate," Greek-French, with introductions and notes, 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1877, 1878.

## COMMENTARIES AND CRITICAL WORKS.

The most important of the ancient commentaries are those by Galen. These are most extensive, and are in every sense most valuable. I show you 5 thick octavo volumes of Galen's works (about a fourth of the whole), as being taken up with his commentaries on Hippocrates; he discusses the authenticity of the different treatises and their meaning, often adding long disquisitions of his own on the subjects.

I show you a book consisting of a collection of three very ancient lexicons or glossaries for the Hippocratic writings—"Erotiani, Galeni, et Herodoti Glossaria in Hippocratem; access. emendationes Henrici Stephani, &c.; recensuit J. G. F. Franzius" (Lipsiæ, 1780). Galen's Glossary occurs in vol. xix of Kühn's edition of his works. Erotian and Herodotus both lived before the time of Galen—the former in the reign of Nero, the latter about 100 A.D.; Galen himself lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.



Allied to these Glossaries, is the celebrated work by Foesius; "Œconomia Hippocratis, Alphabeti Serie Distincta, in qua Dictionum apud Hippocratem omnium, usus explicatur, velut Lexicon Hippocraticum" (folio, Francof., 1588).

Of critical works on Hippocrates and the Hippocratic writings, many of the most important have already been mentioned as contained in the introductions to the editions by Littré, Ermerins, Adams, and Petrequin. The editions by Kühn and Charterius may also be mentioned in this connection. In addition to these, we have before us the Article by Dr. Greenhill on Hippocrates, in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography" (vol. ii, London, 1870).

I show you also an important work by Houdart (M. S.): "Études Historiques et Critiques sur la Vie et la Doctrine d'Hippocrate et sur l'état de la Médecine avant lui" (seconde édition, Paris, 1840). The first edition of this appeared in 1836, but a preliminary Thesis was published in 1821; the last edition appeared in 1852. This author claims to have anticipated Littré and Ermerins in their theory as to certain of the Hippocratic writings having appeared before the time of Hippocrates, and as to their being utilised by him.

Another important treatise is by Petersen (C.) "Hippocratis Nomine quæ Circumferuntur Scripta ad Temporis Rationes" (4to, Hamburgi, 1839).

I bring these books before you, as they seem to me the most important, but there are multitudes of others.