Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen
Greek Medicine
from Hippocrates to Galen

Selected Papers

By
Jacques Jouanna

Translated by
Neil Allies

Edited with a Preface by
Philip van der Eijk

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2012
CONTENTS

Editorial Preface ................................................................. VII
  Philip van der Eijk
Acknowledgements............................................................... XIII
Note on Translations and Abbreviations ............................... XVII

PART ONE
CLASSICAL GREEK MEDICINE IN ITS HISTORICAL,
LITERARY AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

1. Egyptian Medicine and Greek Medicine ......................... 3
2. Politics and Medicine. The Problem of Change in Regimen in
   Acute Diseases and Thucydides (Book 6) ......................... 21
3. Rhetoric and Medicine in the Hippocratic Corpus.
   A Contribution to the History of Rhetoric in the Fifth Century . 39
4. Hippocratic Medicine and Greek Tragedy ......................... 55
5. Disease As Aggression in the Hippocratic Corpus and Greek
   Tragedy: Wild and Devouring Disease ............................. 81
6. Hippocrates and the Sacred ............................................ 97

PART TWO
ASPECTS OF HIPPOCRATIC MEDICINE AND THEIR
RELATIONSHIP TO GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

7. Air, Miasma and Contagion in the Time of Hippocrates and the
   Survival of Miasmas in Post-Hippocratic Medicine (Rufus of
   Ephesus, Galen and Palladius) ........................................ 121
8. Dietetics in Hippocratic Medicine: Definition, Main Problems,
   Discussion ................................................................. 137
9. Water, Health and Disease in the Hippocratic Treatise Airs,
   Waters, Places .............................................................. 155
10. Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece .............................. 173
11. The Theory of Sensation, Thought and the Soul in the
    Hippocratic Treatise Regimen: Its Connections with Empedocles
    and Plato’s Timaeus ..................................................... 195
12. At the Roots of Melancholy: Is Greek Medicine Melancholic? .... 229
PART THREE
THE RECEPTION OF HIPPOCRATIC MEDICINE
IN GALEN AND IN LATE ANTIQUITY

13. Galen's Reading of Hippocratic Ethics .......................... 261
14. Galen's Concept of Nature............................................. 287
15. Galen's Reading of the Hippocratic Treatise *The Nature of Man*:
The Foundations of Hippocratism in Galen .......................... 313
16. The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise *The Nature of Man*: The
Theory of the Four Humours ............................................. 335

General Index................................................................. 361
Index of Passages Cited .................................................. 385
EDITORIAL PREFACE

Philip van der Eijk

The purpose of this volume is to make available for the first time in English translation a selection of Jacques Jouanna’s papers on medicine in the Graeco-Roman world. Following the enthusiastic reception of Hippocrates (1999),¹ the English translation of his 1992 monograph Hippocrates, this project hardly needs justification. Interest in ancient medicine has continued to grow, especially in the anglophone world,² where the subject appears frequently in undergraduate courses and graduate programmes at British and North American Universities. The annual conferences Approaches to Ancient Medicine in the UK, the panel of the Society for Ancient Medicine at the annual meeting of American Philological Association and the regular presence of ancient medicine and related topics in panel sessions at the annual general meeting of the Classical Association in the UK further testify to the expansion of studies in ancient medicine in the English speaking world. Moreover, ancient medicine continues to command broad appeal among members of the medical profession and in wider social and cultural discourse on issues such as health and disability, life style and quality of life, happiness and flourishing, medical ethics, the body and gender.

The need for greater and easier access to the sources of information about Graeco-Roman medicine has risen accordingly, for the linguistic skills to read the relevant texts in the original have become ever more rare. Substantial progress has been made over the past decades in meeting that need as far as the primary sources are concerned: most of the Greek medical writings attributed to Hippocrates are nowadays available in modern translations,³

---

¹ J. Jouanna, Hippocrates, transl. by M.B. DeBevoise (Baltimore 1999).
² For surveys of recent developments within the subject see G.E.R. Lloyd, ‘The transformations of ancient medicine’, Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 66 (1992), 114–132; V. Nutton, ‘Ancient medicine: Asclepius transformed’, in C. Tuplin and T. Rihll (eds.), Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture (Oxford, 2002), 242–255; V. Nutton, ‘Ancient medicine, from Berlin to Baltimore’, in F. Huisman and J.H. Warner (eds.), Locating Medical History (Baltimore, 2004), 115–138; P.J. van der Eijk, Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity (Cambridge 2005), 1–8; P.J. van der Eijk, ‘Medicine and health in the Graeco-Roman world’, in M.A. Jackson (ed.), The Oxford Handbook for the History of Medicine (Oxford 2011) 21–39.
³ The Loeb Classical Library currently boasts 9 volumes of works of Hippocrates; in addition, most current editions with commentaries contain translations in a modern language.
a new series of English translations of Galen is under way, and there are a number of source books on Greek and Roman medicine and science that present selections of primary texts in translation under thematic rubrics.

Yet as far as accessing secondary literature is concerned, there is still a long way to go. Scholarship on Greek and Roman medicine has a long and venerable history, much of which is still relevant today, and much of which is in languages other than English. The academic study of ancient medicine was, for a long time, a predominantly French, German, Italian and, more recently, Spanish business, and although publications in English were by no means absent, it is indisputable that the majority of contributions came from Continental Europe. While no serious scholar of Graeco-Roman medicine can afford to ignore this, the reality is that many students in the English speaking world, including a new generation of researchers, have more and more difficulty accessing these scholarly works in the original. Efforts are therefore needed to make scholarship on ancient medicine more accessible. To this end, a project “Accessing Ancient Medicine” was initiated at the Northern Centre for the History of Medicine at Newcastle University in 2009 (with Wellcome Trust support), subsequently continued at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, which aims to make available in English translation a number of key texts in the history and historiography of ancient medicine.

The present publication has arisen from this project. For Jacques Jouanna’s work is a powerful example of Continental scholarship that has had an enormous impact on the study of ancient medicine over the last forty years. In the early 1970s, Jouanna founded the Colloque International Hippocratique and thus created a major focus for the study of the medical writings transmitted under the name of Hippocrates. Since its inception in Strasbourg in 1972, the Colloque has been held every three or four years and it has acted like a strong magnet for scholars in ancient medicine, providing a training ground for a younger generation of PhD students and junior postdocs and a venue for them to present their work. Over the years, the Colloque Hippocratique has expanded in size as well as in intellectual and geographical horizon, extending beyond the strictly philological study of

---

4 The Cambridge Galen Translations, a series of scholarly translations of works of Galen in a unified format, in which the first volume is scheduled to appear in 2012. The Loeb Classical Library has recently published a three volume translation of Galen’s Method of Medicine.

5 For example, J. Longrigg, A Sourcebook in Greek Medicine (London, 1998); G.L. Irby-Massie and P.T. Keyser, Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era. A Sourcebook (London, 2001).
texts to embrace more contextual and socio-cultural approaches and gradually gaining ground also in the English speaking world, where it was organised first in Newcastle upon Tyne (2002) and then (after Leiden in 2005) in Austin, Texas (2008). And it is a nice irony that the publication of the present volume, the 40th in the *Studies in Ancient Medicine*, coincides with the 40th anniversary of the Colloque Hippocratique in Paris in 2012.

Yet the purpose and, one hopes, the value of this volume does not just lie in its provision of English translation, or in the practical convenience of having gathered in one volume a number of papers whose original publication was scattered over a wide range of sometimes rather specialised volumes. A further, and potentially even more weighty point of presenting a selection of Jacques Jouanna's papers in the context of one collection is to highlight certain dominant strands in scholarship on ancient medicine to which he has made major, innovative contributions. This, indeed, has been the most important criterion underlying the selection of the papers for this volume, apart from considerations of interest for a wider than just philological readership and from practical considerations of translatability.⁶

The volume ranges from the early beginnings of Greek medicine to late antiquity and covers more than thirty years of Jouanna's scholarship, most of which was conceived and developed during his Professorship at the Sorbonne (1981–2004), where for many years he taught a weekly seminar on Hippocrates and where he founded and directed the CNRS Research Group ‘Médecine Grecque', and subsequently at the various conferences

---

⁶ The selection of papers was made by the editor, in consultation with the author. Since the subtleties and nuances of translation of medical Greek into French can only be partially captured by a translation into another language, a number of Jouanna’s more text-centred, philological papers had to be excluded from consideration, although even in the present volume this difficulty could not entirely be avoided, some papers containing detailed observations about the semantics of Greek medical terms and expressions (not to mention the difficulties involved in trying to convey, in the English translation, the more subtle interpretive features of Jouanna’s French translations of longer quotations from the Greek). Jouanna’s work as a philologist, editor and textual critic of Greek medical texts is best illustrated by his editions, for the Corpus Medicorum Graecorunum (Akademie Verlag, Berlin) and for the Collection des Universités de France (Les Belles Lettres, Paris), of the Hippocratic works *Nature of Man* (Berlin, 1975; revised edition 2002), *Diseases II* (Paris, 1983), *Breaths. The Art* (Paris, 1988), *Ancient Medicine* (Paris, 1990), *Airs Waters Places* (Paris, 1996), *Epidemics V and VII* (with M.D. Grmek, Paris, 2000), *Sacred Disease* (Paris, 2003) and of the Galenic treatise *Avoiding Distress* (with V. Boudon-Millot and A. Pietrobelli, Paris, 2010), by his monograph *Hippocrate. Pour une archéologie de l’école de Cnide* (Paris, 1974; second edition with postface, Paris, 2009), and by his contributions to the conference series *Ecdotique des Textes médicaux grecs*, of which he has been one of the initiators.
and workshops he organised at the Villa Kérylos as a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Within this wide range, three strands are distinguished in this volume:

Part One is concerned with the relationship between Greek medicine and its historical and cultural background as manifested in politics, rhetoric, tragedy and religion. Greek medicine did not develop in a vacuum, and many of its features, both doctrinal and literary, cannot be adequately understood without consideration of their historical and cultural context. Here, two important qualifications are in order. First, 'context' is not necessarily confined to the Greek world but also includes other parts of the ancient Mediterranean, as Jouanna shows in chapter 1, which is devoted to the relationship between Egyptian medicine and Greek medicine and to the way this relationship is represented in Greek sources. Secondly, the relationship of Greek medicine to its historical context was not a one way process in which medicine was only on the receiving end. On the contrary, medicine itself has been a significant, formative player in the development of Greek culture, literature and thought. This is made particularly clear in chapter 2 for political thought, in chapter 3 for rhetoric, as indicated by its subtitle “a contribution to the history of rhetoric in the fifth century” and in chapter 4 for Greek tragedy. Another example is religion, discussed in chapter 6, where Jouanna stresses the compatibility of the rationalism of Greek medicine with the continuation of traditional religious beliefs—a compatibility that is nowadays taken for granted in scholarship but which, at the time the paper was first published, was less commonly accepted.

The papers gathered in Part Two are concerned with a number of salient ideas that can be regarded as characteristic of what is usually referred to as Hippocratic medicine, i.e. the core of ideas, concepts, principles and practices expressed and advocated in a number of 5th and 4th century BCE Greek medical writings attributed to Hippocrates. A leading thread here are the close connections, in the Classical period and beyond, between Greek medical thought and the ideas of a number of Greek philosophers, most notably

---

7 A comprehensive list of Jouanna’s publications on Greek medicine up to 2007 can be found in V. Boudon, A. Guardasole and C. Magdelaine (eds), La science médicale antique. Nouveaux regards (Paris 2007) 1–18.
8 Jouanna has also published widely on Greek tragedy, most notably his monograph Sophocle (Paris 2007).
9 The question of the composition and doctrinal unity of the so-called ‘Hippocratic Corpus’ is discussed by Jouanna on several occasions in the present volume; see p. 55, 74 n. 30, 97.
Plato, Aristotle and Empedocles. In the present volume, these connections are made particularly clear in Jouanna’s study of Hippocratic ideas about the transmission of disease (air, miasma and contagion, chapter 7), in concepts of health and its maintenance through dietetics (chapters 8, 9, 10), in theories of cognition and sensation (chapter 11) and in models of psychosomatic interaction (chapter 12). In these latter two chapters, a further recurrent point of interest in Jouanna’s work manifests itself in his study of medical accounts of mental health and insanity, such as the explanation of degrees of intelligence and their dietetic treatment in the Hippocratic treatise Regimen (chapter 11) and the development of the well-known, influential Greek concept of melancholy in Hippocratic and post-Hippocratic thought (chapter 12). Here, again, Jouanna challenges widely held views (also in more popular thought) by pointing out that in the study of the history of the concept of melancholy one needs to make careful distinctions between the idea of melancholia as a disease, the notion of black bile as a bodily fluid and the concept of the melancholic constitution or temperament, first in the sense of a predisposition to certain illnesses and later, in the transition of late antiquity to the early middle ages, as the physical basis for a certain personality type (see also chapter 16).

Part Three studies the reception of Hippocratic medicine, especially medical ethics (chapter 13) and the theory of the four humours, in Galen and in late antiquity. Here, Jouanna's analysis ties in with other recent work on Galen’s Hippocratism that stresses the transformations and adaptations that Galen applied to the traditional picture of Hippocrates as this had been handed down by earlier generations. Galen had a strong personal agenda, and this colours his representation of Hippocrates and of his own relationship to Hippocrates, even if some of his ideas, such as his concept of nature (chapter 14), owe more to other thinkers, most notably Aristotle, than to the Father of medicine from Cos. A Leitmotiv within this section is Jouanna’s long standing interest in the Hippocratic work The Nature of Man, a treatise that according to some (including, most prominently, Galen) represents the core features of Hippocratic teaching, such as the theory of the four humours. Yet as Jouanna shows in chapters 14, 15 and 16, this treatise had a long, varied and, at times, troubled aftermath, and later authors went far beyond the tenets which the Hippocratic author had originally envisaged. The final chapter also reveals a number of exciting new discoveries of hitherto unknown medical texts from the late antique and early Byzantine period. Apart from thus showing how new material continues to be found beyond the traditional canons of Hippocratic and Galenic works, it also demonstrates how these texts both confirm and significantly enrich
our picture of the ways in which Greek medicine from Hippocrates to Galen continued to be of profound influence on the subsequent history of Western medicine.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All translations are based on the papers as they were originally published (see below). In some selected cases, information on more recent relevant publications was added in the footnotes; these updates are marked “[…].

Chapter 1, “Egyptian Medicine and Greek Medicine,” was originally published in J. Jouanna and J. Leclant (ed.), *La médecine grecque antique—Actes du 14e colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 10 et 11 octobre 2003* (Paris 2004), 1–21, under the title “Médecine égyptienne et médecine grecque” and is here translated with the kind permission of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres/De Boccard.

Chapter 2, “Politics and Medicine. The Problem of Change in *Regimen in Acute Diseases* and Thucydides (Book 6),” was originally published in M. Grmek and F. Robert (ed.), *Hippocratica—Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Paris, 4–9 septembre 1978, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, nº 583* (Paris 1980), 299–319, under the title “Politique et médecine. La problématique du changement dans le *Régime des maladies aiguës* et chez Thucydisde (livre VI)” and is here translated with the kind permission of CNRS Éditions.

Chapter 3, “Rhetoric and Medicine in the Hippocratic Corpus. A Contribution to the History of Rhetoric in the Fifth Century” was originally published in *Revue des Études grecques* 97 (1984), 26–44, under the title “Rhétorique et médecine dans la *Collection hippocratique*. Contribution à l’étude de la rhétorique au Ve siècle” and is here translated with the kind permission of the Association pour l’encouragement des études grecques en France.

Chapter 4, “Hippocratic Medicine and Greek Tragedy,” was originally published in P. Ghiron-Bistagne (ed.), *Anthropologie et Théâtre antique—Actes du colloque international Montpellier 6–8 mars 1986* (Montpellier 1987), 109–131, under the title “Médecine hippocratique et tragédie grecque” and is here translated with the kind permission of Presses Universitaires Montpellier 3.

Chapter 5, “Disease As Aggression in the Hippocratic Corpus and Greek Tragedy: Wild and Devouring Disease” was originally published in P. Potter,
G. Maloney and J. Desautels (ed.), *La maladie et les maladies dans la Collection hippocratique—Actes du VIe Colloque international hippocratique, Québec, 28 sept.–3 oct. 1987* (Québec 1990), 39–60, under the title “La maladie comme agression dans la Collection hippocratique et dans la tragédie grecque: la maladie sauvage et dévorante” and is here translated with the kind permission of Sphinx.

Chapter 6, “Hippocrates and the Sacred,” was originally published in *Koinonia* 12 (1988), 91–113, under the title “Ippocrate e il sacro” and is here translated with the kind permission of the Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi.

Chapter 7, “Air, Miasma and Contagion in the Time of Hippocrates and the Survival of Miasmas in Post-Hippocratic Medicine (Rufus of Ephesus, Galen and Palladius),” was originally published in S. Bazin-Tacchella, D. Quéruel and É. Samama (ed.), *Air, miasmes et contagion. Les épidémies dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Langres 2001), 9–28, under the title “Air, miasme et contagion au temps d’Hippocrate et survivance des miasmes dans la médecine posthippocratique (Rufus d’Éphèse, Galien et Palladios)” and is here translated with the kind permission of Éditions Dominique Guéniot.

Chapter 8, “Dietetics in Hippocratic Medicine: Definition, Main Problems, Discussion,” was originally published in J. Leclant, A. Vauchez and M. Sartre (ed.), *Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Méditerranée de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance, XVIIIe Colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 4,5 et 6 octobre 2007* (Paris 2008), 53–72, under the title “Le régime dans la médecine hippocratique: définition, grands problèmes, prolongements” and is here translated with the kind permission of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres/De Boccard.

Chapter 9, “Water, Health and Disease in the Hippocratic Treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*,” was originally published in R. Ginouvès, A.M. Guimier-Sorbets, J. Jouanna and L. Villard (ed.), *L’eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec—Actes du colloque 25–27 novembre 1992* (Athens 1994), 25–40, under the title “L’eau, la santé et la maladie dans le traité hippocratique des *Airs, eaux, lieux*” and is here translated with the kind permission of the École française d’Athènes.

Chapter 10, “Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece,” was originally published in *Revue des Études grecques* 109 (1996), 54–64, under the title “Le vin
et la médecine dans la Grèce ancienne" and is here translated with the kind permission of the Association pour l’encouragement des études grecques en France.

Chapter 11, “The Theory of Sensation, Thought and the Soul in the Hippocratic Treatise Regimen: Its Connections with Empedocles and Plato’s Timaeus,” was originally published in AION—Annali dell’Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” 29 (2007), 9–39, under the title “La théorie de la sensation, de la pensée et de l’âme dans le traité hippocratique du Régime: ses rapports avec Empédocle et le Timée de Platon” and is here translated with the kind permission of Fabrizio Serra Editore.

Chapter 12, “At the Roots of Melancholy: Is Greek Medicine Melancholic?,” was originally published in J. Clair and R. Kopp (ed.), De la mélancolie (Paris 2007), 11–51, under the title “Aux racines de la mélancolie: la médecine grecque est-elle mélancolique?” and is here translated with the kind permission of Gallimard.

Chapter 13, “Galen’s Reading of Hippocratic Ethics,” was originally published in H. Flashar and J. Jouanna (ed.), Médecine et morale dans l’Antiquité, coll. Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique XLIII (Vandœuvres-Geneva 1997), 211–253, under the title “La lecture de l’éthique hippocratique par Galien” and is here translated with the kind permission of Fondation Hardt Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique.

Chapter 14, “Galen’s Concept of Nature,” was originally published in J. Barnes and J. Jouanna (ed.), Galien et la philosophie, coll. Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique XLIX (Vandœuvres-Geneva 2003), 229–268, under the title “La notion de nature chez Galien” and is here translated with the kind permission of Fondation Hardt Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique.

Chapter 15, “Galen’s Reading of the Hippocratic Treatise The Nature of Man: The Foundations of Hippocratism in Galen,” was originally published in M.O. Goulet-Cazé (ed.), Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation—Actes du colloque international de l’Institut des traditions textuelles, Paris-Villejuif 22–25 sept. 1999 (Paris 2000), 273–292, under the title “La lecture du traité hippocratique de la Nature de l’homme par Galien: les fondements de l’hippocratisme de Galien” and is here translated with the kind permission of Vrin.
Chapter 16, “The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise The Nature of Man: The Theory of the Four Humours,” was originally published in C.W. Müller, Ch. Brockmann, C.W. Brunenschön (ed.), Ärzte und ihre Interpreten. Medizinische Fachtexte der Antike als Forschungsgegenstand der klassischen Philologie. Fachkonferenz zu Ehren von Diethard Nickel, 14. bis 15. Mai 2004 (Munich-Leipzig 2006), 117–141, under the title “La postérité du traité hippocratique de la Nature de l’homme: la théorie des quatre humeurs” and is here translated with the kind permission of K.G. Saur.

The idea of publishing a selection of Jacques Jouanna’s papers on ancient medicine in English translation was suggested by Irene von Rossum from Brill Publishers at a most agreeable dinner for the members of the Editorial Board of the Studies in Ancient Medicine during the 13th Colloque Hippocratique in Austin, Texas, in August 2008. The papers were selected by Philip van der Eijk in consultation with Jacques Jouanna. The translation was made by Neil Allies (Newcastle University) and edited by Philip van der Eijk. Work on the translation was funded by the Wellcome Trust through a Strategic Award in the History of Medicine, held by the Northern Centre for the History of Medicine at Newcastle University; by a grant from the CNRS/Sorbonne research group ‘Médecine Grecque;’ and by a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, held at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

The editor wishes to acknowledge the help of Roger Brock in the translation of technical terminology about wine in chapter 10.

The editor wishes to acknowledge the help of Ricarda Gäbel, Stefanie Jahnke and Markus Heim (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) in the final stages of the editing process.

The author wishes to express his profound gratitude to the editor, Philip van der Eijk, for the planning, selection and realisation of this volume of French articles published in English, and for the generous and meticulous attention given to this project by one of the most eminent specialists in the field of ancient medicine to whom we owe, among numerous other works, the organisation of the Colloque Hippocratique at Newcastle. The author further wishes to express his thanks to the translator, Neil Allies, for his attention to the nuances of the text, to all the institutions that have supported the project and to Brill Publishers for their willingness to publish in English this homage to French scholarship in 2012, forty years after publishing in French the Proceedings of the Colloque Hippocratique of Strasburg of 1972. Times have changed, but the spirit remains the same, regardless of the language in which it expresses itself.
NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

All English translations of quotations from the original Greek and Latin texts were made afresh in accordance with the author's own French translations in the original papers, except in the following cases, where existing English translations (sometimes with slight modifications) were used:

Chapter 1, “Egyptian Medicine and Greek Medicine”:
Isocrates, Busiris, tr. G. Norlin, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Isocrates, vol. 3/373 (1928)
Diodorus of Sicily, tr. C.H. Oldfather, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Diodorus of Sicily, vol. 1/279 (1933)
Aristotle, Politics, tr. H. Rackham, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Aristotle. Politics, vol. 21/264 (1932)

Chapter 4, “Hippocratic Medicine and Greek Tragedy”:
Sophocles, Oedipus Rex: tr. Sir Richard Jebb, published by Cambridge University Press as The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Edited with introduction and notes by Sir Richard Jebb. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1887

Chapter 6, “Hippocrates and the Sacred”:
Hippocratic Writings, Airs, Waters, Places: tr. W.H.S. Jones, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Hippocrates, vol. 1/147 (1923)

Chapter 8, “Dietetics in Hippocratic Medicine: Definition, Main Problems, Discussion”:
Hippocratic Writings, Ancient Medicine: tr. W.H.S. Jones, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Hippocrates, vol. 1/147 (1923)

Chapter 9, “Water, Health and Disease in the Hippocratic Treatise Airs, Waters, Places”
Hippocratic Writings, Ancient Medicine: tr. C.D. Adams, published by as The Genuine Works of Hippocrates, New York and Dover, 1868

Chapter 10, “Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece”
Hippocratic Writings, Epidemics 5: tr. W.D. Smith, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Hippocrates, vol. 7/477 (1994)
Chapter 11, “The Theory of Sensation, Thought and the Soul in the Hippocratic Treatise Regimen: Its Connections with Empedocles and Plato’s Timaeus”

Plato, Timaeus, tr. W.R.M. Lamb, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Plato, vol. 9/234 (1925)

Chapter 12, “At the Roots of Melancholy: Is Greek Medicine Melancholic?”

Hippocrates, Airs, Waters, Places, Transl. tr. C.D. Adams, published by as The Genuine Works of Hippocrates, New York and Dover 1868

Chapter 13, “Galen’s Reading of Hippocratic Ethics”

Hippocrates, Precepts, tr. W.H.S. Jones, Hippocrates, published by Harvard University Press in the Loeb Classical Library as Hippocrates, vol. 1/147 (1923)

Chapter 16, “The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise The Nature of Man: The Theory of the Four Humours”

Galen, Commentary on Hippocrates’ On the Nature of Man, tr. R.J. Hankinson, to be published in Galen, Works on Human Nature, ed. P.J. van der Eijk and P.N. Singer, Cambridge 2013.

The following abbreviations were used

L. (in references to works attributed to Hippocrates) means Littré and the numbers refer to the volume, page (and sometimes line) numbers in E. Littré, Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrate (Paris 1839–1861)

K. (in references to works attributed to Galen) means Kühn and the numbers refer to the volume, page (and sometimes line) numbers in C.G. Kühn, Claudii Galeni opera omnia (Leipzig 1821–1833)

Further abbreviations

AJPh American Journal of Philology. Baltimore (Md.): Johns Hopkins University Pr.

Anon. Lond. Anonymus Londinensis

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter

BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Athènes: École française d’Athènes; Paris: de Boccard.

BHM Bulletin of the History of Medicine. Baltimore (Md.): Johns Hopkins University Pr.

BICS Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.

CAG Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca.

CAM Galeni De consititutio artis medicae

CMG Corpus Medicorum Graecorum

CNRS Centre national de la recherche scientifique
NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CRAI  Comptes rendus / Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris: de Boccard.

CUF  Collection des Universités de France (Paris: Les Belles Lettres)

DK  Hermann Diels, Walther Kranz. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Berlin 1961

GP  J.D. Denniston, The Greek Particles, Oxford 1950 (second edition)

HNF  Galeni In Hippocratis de natura hominis.

HVA  Galeni In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria.

IG  Inscriptio Graecae, Berlin 1873–

LCL  Loeb Classical Library

LSJ  H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones. A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and augmented throughout. Oxford 1996. [1843]

Med. Hist. Journal  Medizinhistorisches Journal. Stuttgart.

MH  Museum Helveticum. Basel: Schwabe.

PG  J.P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca

Par. gr.  Parisinus graecus

PHP  Galeni De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis.

PMG  Denys L. Page (ed.). Poetae melici graeci. Oxford 1962.

QSGN  Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin.

QUCC  Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica. Pisa: Serra.

REG  Revue des Études Grecques. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

REL  Revue des Études Latines. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

RhM  Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer

RHT  Revue d’histoire des textes. Turnhout: Brepols.

SM  Galen, Scripta minora, ed. G. Helmreich et al.

SVF  Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, ed. H. von Arnim, Berlin: De Gruyter 1903–1924

TAPhA  Transactions of the American Philological Association. Baltimore (Md.): Johns Hopkins University Pr.