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Sabotaging the Story: What Hippocrates Didn't Write¹

Hippocrates now belongs to everyone: mainstream medicine, alternative and complementary medicine, advertisers and the general public. This was not always the case. Writing about medicine in the United States in the period before the Civil War, John Harley Warner describes a key benefit of invoking Hippocrates as being that, 'At a time when a multitude of irregular healers were competing successfully for recognition and clients, recounting an historical story that displayed two millennia of enduring tradition was a tool that orthodox physicians could use to set themselves apart.'²

Today, however, many other forms of medicine claim Hippocrates as part of their family trees, showing a high level of confidence that Hippocrates would be one of their number; if Hippocrates 'were living today, no doubt he would be labelled a Naturopath'.³ Others fully accept that Hippocrates did not do what they are recommending, but are convinced he would have approved: he lived before the electric juicer, so 'it is doubtful that he was ever a "juice faster" in the present sense of that term. But I'll bet that he would be if he were alive in the 21st century – and reasonably so, given his philosophy of diet and medicine.'⁴ This is not a new phenomenon. In the late nineteenth century, when dosimetry was invented by Adolphe Burggraeve at Ghent, it was placed 'under the protection of a great name' by being associated with Hippocrates; 'had he had the benefits of modern medical knowledge, Hippocrates *would have been* favourable' to it (author's italics).⁵ 'No doubt', 'I'll bet that he would be' and 'would have been': perfect examples of how we think we know this man without a face and without a secure text to his name.

To return to one of my original questions, is there a point of reception, of recreation, of reimagining, beyond which he ceases to be Hippocrates? Does it

matter, as long as someone can cite a text – even one, isolated phrase which has at some time been associated with him – to support what they say about him? Not for the first time, the interpretations of the Hippocratic Corpus and the biographies here seem to me to resemble fundamentalist approaches to the Bible; everything depends on whether one can produce a verse in support. It is no coincidence that this is the language of alternative medicine, as in the title of Sandra Cabot's *The Juice Fasting Bible*.⁶ There is often a religious idiom used in alternative medicine, one which references the discourse of purity. Alan Levinovitz has observed that the language of sin and guilt, and of good and evil, is often applied to food today, and I shall return to this point in Chapter 7.⁷ As we shall explore further in this chapter, for Hippocrates, as for God, individuals can be comfortable going beyond the texts and into their own imaginings. If they place their story cleverly or have sufficient charisma to carry a crowd with them, their followers will believe their gospel.⁸

In the rest of this book, I shall explore some contemporary uses of Hippocrates, as well as looking at specific 'verses' from the holy scriptures that are the Hippocratic Corpus, usually pithy aphorisms which he is supposed to have 'said': for popular tradition, the focus is normally on speech, not writing.⁹ Among those currently most widely shared on the internet and via social media and memes are 'First do no harm', 'Let food be thy medicine', 'Walking is the best medicine' and 'All diseases begin in the gut'. Before that, however, in this chapter I want to explore in some detail a particularly striking example of a complete story about Hippocrates; an entirely new one, with no roots in any line of any text either of the Hippocratic Corpus or of the ancient biographical tradition. The creation and, even more, the later development of this story will introduce some of the specific roles Hippocrates has come to play in the early twenty-first century.

Writing new stories

Making up titles for 'Hippocratic treatises' is nothing new: the satirical writer Richard Armour came up with *The Cos and Effect of Disease*.¹⁰ In addition to the many medieval treatises which claimed to be by Hippocrates (above, p. 32), mentions of other fictional treatises, including their contents, appear on

the internet from time to time: for example 'In the fifth century BC, the Greek physician Hippocrates — namesake of the Hippocratic oath — wrote a thesis called "Natural Exercise" that references the therapeutic value of horseback riding.'¹¹ Since one of the few mentions of horse-riding (Greek *hippasiê*) in the Corpus is in *Airs Waters Places*, which offers as a reason for the infertility of the Scythians the 'constant jolting' of riding, this is an odd connection to make.¹² The treatise *Fistulas* also mentions horse-riding as a cause of fistulas, 'where blood collects in the buttock near the anus': no therapeutic value here.¹³ *Natural Exercise* is as imaginary, although not as amusing, as *The Cos and Effect of Disease*.

More seriously, however, I was recently able to document entirely new myths about ancient medicine, including an imaginary Hippocratic treatise, being created on Wikipedia and then spreading far beyond it. In the modern market of knowledge, Wikipedia still holds the key position, and what is posted by editors is regulated by other editors, although they are unlikely to have specific subject knowledge.¹⁴ Whether we are school students or general readers or journalists, it is the Wikipedia page that is likely to top our search lists and be our first destination in finding out the basics about Hippocrates. On 4 October 2014 I was looking at the Wikipedia article, 'Hippocrates', a 'Featured Article' (FA), meaning that it 'has been identified as one of the best articles produced by the Wikipedia community'.¹⁵ This status guarantees its 'accuracy, neutrality, completeness, and style', and only around 0.1 per cent of articles are included in this category.¹⁶ Those discussing the article 'Hippocrates' on its talkpage say things like 'the article seems so high-quality now that I am afraid to touch it'; the response from editor Rmrfstar posted on 28 February 2008 was 'You shouldn't ever be afraid to edit an article; any change can be easily undone. You are right, though, in the case of a Featured Article, it's probably better to ask first'.¹⁷

Despite its status, the page as it stands today is by no means one of the best in the English-language version of Wikipedia. The material mostly comes from tired secondary sources and histories of medicine by non-specialists, including outdated references to the supposed Coan/Cnidian split in Greek medicine and uncritical acceptance of material from the biographical tradition; it also has a very poor prose style.¹⁸ Yet it is very heavily used. Created in May 2001, the page is currently running at a daily average of over 1,900 hits.¹⁹ One

user was Ian Learmonth ('MBChB(Stell), FRCS, FRCS(Ed), FCS(SA)Orth, Professor Emeritus'), whose opening address to the European Hip Society Meeting in 2010 began with 'Hippocratic medicine was humble and passive. Treatment was gentle, kind to the patient, and emphasized the importance of keeping the patient clean and sterile.'²⁰ Every word there is taken straight from the Wikipedia Hippocrates page.

In some cases, those who maintain the 'Hippocrates' article challenge claims without citations, and intervene with comments that show how cautious they are being; for example 'no way in hell is that illustration 2nd century AD', from Peter Isotalo after an attempt was made to insert a caption to a drawing of the 'Hippocratic bench' on 31 March 2014.²¹ However, contrary to Wikipedia editing guidelines, the Hippocrates page includes many unreferenced sentences, such as 'The drink hypocras is also believed to have been invented by Hippocrates. *Risus sardonius*, a sustained spasming of the face muscles may also be termed the Hippocratic Smile'. The first sentence is dubious: while spiced wine was known in the ancient world, the drink is usually associated with the medieval period, its name possibly derived from draining the spiced wine through a *manicum Hippocraticum* or 'Hippocratic sleeve' and, not surprisingly, that filtering method has also been seen as 'invented' by Hippocrates.²² The *risus sardonius*, a distorted grin caused by spasm, is one of the prognostic signs of imminent death, but the connection with Hippocrates in the wording of the second sentence seems to originate in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of the Four*, when Sherlock Holmes discusses the likely cause of death of a character as poisoning; a novel should not count as a reliable source by Wikipedia standards, but there is no other evidence.²³ The use of the term 'Hippocratic smile' is reminiscent of the 'Hippocratic face', the *facies Hippocraticus*, based on the list of indications that death is approaching which is given in the treatise *Prognostics*, a list still used in medicine today.²⁴ The list does not include the facial feature of the *risus sardonius*, but ends with 'It is also a deadly sign when the lips are loose, hanging, cold and very white.'²⁵

Even the presence of citations is no guarantee of accuracy, as they may serve as a screen disguising poor material. For example, on 29 December 2010 a user successfully added

In general, the Hippocratic medicine was very kind to the patient; treatment was gentle, and emphasized keeping the patient clean and sterile. For

example, only clean water or wine were ever used on wounds, though “dry” treatment was preferable. Soothing [[balm]]s were sometimes employed.²⁶

Despite its poor English, this is still there at the time of writing.²⁷ Indeed, it was copied verbatim, along with the Wikipedia reference to Hippocratic medicine as ‘humble and passive’, in one of the ‘A Closer Look’ textboxes punctuating Ben Witherington III’s 2012 novel *A Week in the Life of Corinth*.²⁸ Its stated source, the 1966 reprint of the fourth edition of Garrison’s *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, is responsible not for all three sentences, but only for the second of them; Garrison does indeed say that Hippocratic medicine claimed wounds ‘should never be irrigated except with clean water or wine, the dry state being nearest to the healthy’, but he never mentions soothing balm or balms.²⁹ Adopted from Wikipedia, these ‘balms’ feature widely in recent popular works; for example, in MacLeod and Wishinsky’s *A History of Just About Everything*, Hippocrates’ favoured treatments are, ‘cleanliness, diet, sleep and soothing balms’, while Steve Parker’s *Kill or Cure* includes, ‘Bandaging, massage, and soothing balm might be required now and then.’³⁰

Sometimes this Wikipedia page is clearly being hijacked for marketing purposes; for example, the citation of an article on curing male pattern baldness, discussed in the Introduction. Even more striking is the revision which, in the version visible in mid-February 2019, read ‘Generalized treatments he prescribed include fasting and the consumption of a mix of honey and vinegar. Hippocrates once said that “to eat when you are sick, is to feed your sickness.”’³¹ Despite having no references, this entered the article on 17 March 2014, but originally as ‘apple cider vinegar’ rather than ‘a mix of honey and vinegar’.³² Over the recent history of the page, ‘a mix of honey and vinegar’ keeps being reverted to ‘apple cider vinegar’.³³ Examination of the contributions of the anonymous user who originally inserted the reference to apple cider vinegar shows them enthusiastically promoting the virtues of this product; the ‘Vinegar’ page was amended, also in March 2014, to state that apple cider vinegar is ‘sweetened (usually with honey) for consumption as a health beverage’.³⁴ While there are many references to vinegar in the Hippocratic Corpus, acknowledged in modern medical articles, this is generic vinegar rather than apple cider vinegar specifically.³⁵

I am far from the first to observe that the page has been used to sell a particular kind of vinegar. Furthermore, an excellent discussion of ‘Apple cider vinegar in ancient Greece’ initiated by user ‘ScottOden’ on an Alexander the

Great discussion board on 22 April 2012 predates the Wikipedia insertion, and was based instead on a commercial site: Bragg Live Foods, who stated that Hippocrates was using this type of vinegar ‘in 400 B.C.’ Oden looked for references to apple cider vinegar in the Hippocratic Corpus, but found only vinegar, sometimes with ‘white vinegar’ specified. He ended his post with ‘My question is: am I missing something? Is Hippocrates’ use of ACV just an urban legend given long legs by the health and fitness industry? Any help or insight would be greatly appreciated!’³⁶ A week later, he shared the response of the company: they replied simply that ‘You can find it in the actual book of Hippocrates!’ Recoiling from this level of ignorance, Oden asked ‘why no one has called them on it, before’ and wondered where the original claim originated.³⁷ Bragg Live Foods continue to repeat the wording Oden read, that ‘Apple Cider Vinegar has been highly regarded throughout history’, and the advertising for their book on the product still claims that ‘Hippocrates, the father of medicine, treated his patients with Apple Cider Vinegar’.³⁸

The claims certainly go back long before 2012, at least in the USA. A typical late-twentieth-century example would be an article in a University of Pittsburgh at Bradford online journal in 1998, where first-year student Bonnie K. McMillen wrote on ACV, repeated the Hippocratic origin claims and then went further: ‘This naturally occurring germ killer was one of the very first medicines.’³⁹ Her source here appears to be the widely-used *The Vinegar Book* by Emily Thacker, first published in 1994 with several subsequent editions.⁴⁰ A 2015 story on a natural health site stating that ‘all doctors still take the Hippocratic Oath’ – a common error which will be discussed in Chapter 4 – comments that Hippocrates ‘was a huge fan of what’s now called “lifestyle medicine”’. He prescribed apple cider vinegar mixed with honey for coughs, colds, and even for treating diabetes – in the 4th century B.C.!⁴¹ On another site by an alternative health specialist, this vinegar is a ‘forgotten ancient remedy’ and ‘a holy grail for the fountain of youth’; ‘Hippocrates treated his patients with apple cider vinegar and honey for all sorts of ailments.’⁴² The specific focus on vinegar made from apples is an American feature, based on American traditions. The claim that ‘Hippocrates used vinegar as a medicine’ was used to introduce the various ingredients of vinegar production around the world in a 1924 United States government publication for farmers aimed at avoiding perceived wastage of ‘apples, peaches, grapes, and other fruits.’⁴³ In a study of the industry published in 1912,

J.J. Schommer had noted that apple cider vinegar 'forms the bulk of the table vinegar of the United States and Canada', simply because of the amount of windfall apples and apple peelings available.⁴⁴

Wikipedia as a moving target

Despite the many acknowledged failings of this Wikipedia 'Featured Article' page, when I returned to the Hippocrates article in October 2014 I was nevertheless surprised to see the following:

Historians agree that Hippocrates was born around the year 460 BC on the [[Greece|Greek]] island of [[Kos|Cos]], and became a famous ambassador for medicine against the strong opposing infrastructure of Greece. For this opposition he endured a 20-year prison sentence during which he wrote well known medical works such as "The Complicated Body", encompassing many of the things we know to be true today. Other biographical information, however, is likely to be untrue.

(viewed 4 October 2014)⁴⁵

I had a moment of extreme unease. Was my knowledge of the Hippocratic Corpus defective? Was this a known fake, like *On the Anatomy of the Veins*, which I had never encountered?⁴⁶ Had I somehow managed to miss a medieval text once attributed to Hippocrates? There were plenty of them, for example the *Astrology* with its confident opening: 'Hippocrates who was the best doctor and teacher said . . .'⁴⁷ After a few minutes, I realized that this section described an entirely imaginary incident and an entirely imaginary text. But how did it come to be there, especially bearing in mind that this article is monitored by many different editors? And how had these additions remained on the page for what the History feature of the page revealed was a period of four years?⁴⁸

The Wikipedia talkpage reveals many of the other pressures on the Hippocrates page. Silly insertions, such as changing a spelling, or adding obscenities, simple 'I was here!' statements or adding 'was infact [sic] gay', are common but are automatically picked up and corrected, as are uses of the page as a site on which to declare one's love.⁴⁹ At one point, a suspect for some inserted errors was even named by an editor posting that 'There are NUMEROUS vandalisms here, even after some reversions. Why is it that whenever I type

“Hippocrates” into the Wikipedia Search it comes up with an article saying, “Why do I hate Canada so much?”⁵⁰

By its very nature, Wikipedia never stays still: like the internet as a whole, it is in what David Crystal called a ‘permanent state of transition, lacking precedent, struggling for standards, and searching for direction.’⁵¹ The movement of apple cider vinegar into and out of the page illustrates P.D. Magnus’s point that ‘One important difference between Wikipedia and traditional media, however, is the dynamic nature of its entries. An entry assessed today might be substantially extended or reworked tomorrow’,⁵² although in this particular case the movement is a pendulum swing rather than a reworking. Furthermore, the internet is both permanent and temporary: every piece of information posted there is stored indefinitely, available for those who know how to find and retrieve it.⁵³ On the other hand, comments and texts on the internet date quickly and fade from its collective memory; blog posts, comments on social networking sites, entire articles disappear from view as they are displaced by the new. The surfer is always a click away from the ‘item not found’ page, symbol of the transitory nature of the World Wide Web.

Experiments have been carried out to see how quickly errors inserted into Wikipedia are corrected. The additions I noticed had been on the page for four years, but those who have deliberately made false claims in order to see how quickly they were ‘reverted’ to the original wording have usually reported responses within hours or days. In 2004, Alex Halavais made thirteen changes to Wikipedia and left them there for two weeks.⁵⁴ A week later, he posted a piece on his blog entitled ‘Please don’t do this,’ because other people were trying it as well and he believed that there was a real risk that the potential destructive power of an ‘online mob’ ‘could ruin a beautiful thing’.⁵⁵ He used the same username and IP address for all his changes, which made it easier for both bots (automated tools which do much of the basic maintenance) and real people to find and undo the edits.⁵⁶ In November and December 2007, P.D. Magnus inserted what he called ‘fibs’ – very short fictitious biographical claims – into well-tended entries on famous philosophers, using different IP addresses; for example, on John Stuart Mill, ‘Following the death of his wife, Mill had a series of mistresses who helped him prepare manuscripts as well as sharing his bed.’ If the fib had not been corrected within forty-eight hours – and between a third and half of them were – then Magnus removed them.⁵⁷

Teachers at various levels of education sometimes change a Wikipedia article as a way of checking whether their students are developing the ability to evaluate what they find online: others change a page in order to give students live experience of editing.⁵⁸ In May 2018, Charles West, 'Wikipedia Advocate' at the University of Sheffield, published an important piece on 'Wikipedia in the History Classroom'.⁵⁹ He pointed out that the place of Wikipedia has been enhanced by the role it now plays as 'the go-to for Amazon's Alexa smart speaker', and contrasted the increase in Wikipedia's authoritative status outside the academy with 'official' history as performed in universities. For him, the key issue is that any encyclopaedia – online or otherwise – gives the impression that there are 'facts' on which all agree, whereas history is about teaching people to argue from evidence. West also discussed his own teaching and how he integrates digital literacy by asking his medieval history students to improve or create Wikipedia pages, assessing not the changes they make – which can rapidly be reverted – but their subsequent reflection on the experience. One of his students traced an error in dating a church council to other websites, and 'potentially from there into print'. There is still a misguided belief that 'the scholarly tradition of reporting back to published, print-on-paper sources' is somehow superior to using the internet, even though books and articles in print may take seriously something thoroughly untrustworthy which originated on the internet: for example, Hippocrates' time in prison.⁶⁰

When I spotted the insertions on the Wikipedia page, in my Wikipedia and Twitter identity as 'fluff35', I immediately contacted a Wikipedia administrator and master editor, Yun Shui,⁶¹ who shared my concern, replying that

The text appears to have been in the article for quite some time without a source, but has not been questioned until now. However, I've been unable to locate any scholarly sources that confirm Hippocrates (sic?) incarceration (there are a number of instances where the claim is repeated, but nothing that would constitute a reliable source by Wikipedia's standards).⁶²

Yun Shui then posted a notice on the article's talkpage, asking for a source, heading the discussion 'Hippocrates: Two decades in the slammer'.⁶³ He noted here that the only places he could find references to the imprisonment were 'just a couple of children's history books (not reknowned [sic] for their factual accuracy) and a self-published self-help book, together with a couple of websites with unknown levels of fact-checking'.

On 9 October Yun Shui returned to the talkpage to say,

The more I look at it, the more I'm convinced this was a very successful hoax. The information was added by an anonymous IP back in 2010 with this edit, and has never been sourced. The only references I can find which report this information about Hippocrates writing a book called *The Complicated Body* while in prison post-date that addition (and almost all of them use remarkably similar wording, suggesting that they took the information from this article in the first place). Like Fluff35, I can't find any other reference to *The Complicated Body*, nor does it appear to be extant in any form. People, I believe we've been hoodwinked – I'm removing the segment [sic] in question from the article.

Yunshui 雲水 08:30, 9 October 2014 (UTC)

Being the daddy

The removal of the story from the main Wikipedia page was not enough to kill it; it remains in its pre-October 2014 form on the Wikipedia for Schools page, but that is not the only problem.⁶⁴ Before going on to describe the subsequent life of these two Hippocratic myths, however, I would like to pause to examine the title 'Father of Medicine'. The various interventions on the Wikipedia Hippocrates page reflect wider disputes in the scholarly literature over how best he should be labelled: 'Father of Medicine', 'Father of Clinical Medicine', 'Father of Western Medicine' or 'Father of Modern Medicine'?⁶⁵ Beyond this page, he has also been claimed as 'the Father of Holistic Medicine'.⁶⁶ Claims of connection and fatherhood continue to be found today, particularly in the writing of medical practitioners, who want to construct a long and unbroken lineage for what they do; like American practitioners in the first half of the nineteenth century, by paying tribute to Hippocrates as the Father of Medicine they are 'confirming participation in a learned tradition and identity as a professional'.⁶⁷

On the Wikipedia page, where Hippocrates is currently simply 'Father of Medicine', a link takes the reader to a list of fathers (and mothers) of various branches of science, with three options for this global title: Hippocrates, Charaka and Imhotep.⁶⁸ What does it mean for anyone to be the 'father' of any sort of medicine? The early-twenty-first century slang phrase, 'Who's the daddy?', was used to assert dominance ('Who's the best?'), and has also been

adopted as the name of a DNA-testing service.⁶⁹ Both senses are relevant to this title of Hippocrates – superiority, and direct connection – but in the earliest tradition the title went to the god Apollo or to his semi-mortal son, Asclepius.⁷⁰ Jan Sapp's classic article on Mendel's role in the history of genetics shows how a founding father tends to be one whose ideas are at first rejected as 'ahead of his time', dies without recognition, but is then rediscovered during a later priority dispute, in which the solution to two scientists proposing the same thing at the same time is to project it back on to a previously-unrecognized 'founding father'.⁷¹ Mendel, he suggested, is a useful 'father' because he published so little that it is easy to construct stories about him: in contrast, I would argue that Hippocrates is useful instead because there are so many texts that anyone looking for a foundation document for their medical approach will find something that fits.

There is, however, an important proviso here. Those who have called Hippocrates the Father of Medicine over the centuries have had very different ideas about what even biological fatherhood means, as beliefs about generation and reproduction have changed. In the modern period, a common model for science has a feminized Nature on whom the male scientist imposes his will; in Sapp's words, "the founding fathers" penetrate Mother Nature to leave a child destined for greatness. However, the child is born "premature" . . . it is left to die because no one is prepared or willing to take care of it.⁷² In ancient Greek medicine, different models of the respective contributions existed. The woman may be a passive field in whom the father plants his seed; male seed may impose its form on blood, the raw material supplied by the woman; or both sexes may contribute to the sex and the qualities of the new being.⁷³ The male element in generation was particularly associated with the qualities of strength and speed. When the writer of the Hippocratic treatise *Generation/Nature of the Child* discussed 'quickening', the point at which the foetus first moves in the womb, he stated that this was generally at three months for a male and four months for a female because the male is 'stronger', formed from seed that is both thicker and stronger.⁷⁴

I find it interesting that the fatherhood of Hippocrates dominated in the era after the discovery of ovum and sperm, when users knew perfectly well that generation 'takes two'. But if Hippocrates is the father of medicine, who is its mother? Jonathan Sawday has argued that the Western medical tradition even

operates with ‘twin fathers’, Hippocrates and Galen. For him, this double paternity was combined with a view of Eastern medicine as unfathered, something which devalued it by feminizing it as a vessel passively ‘carrying’ Western medicine through the centuries.⁷⁵ Arabic translations of Hippocratic treatises and of Galen kept alive those ancient Greek works lost in the West, but only in the eleventh century was Eastern medicine able to ‘give birth’, when Constantine the African arrived in Italy with a cargo of books and proceeded to translate the lost works of Galen from Arabic into Latin. Here, fatherhood means priority, authority and – potentially – identity with the traits of the parent, characterized by being strong and moving quickly. In the terms of classical medicine, to have no father recalls the phenomenon of the ‘uterine mole’, a shapeless object formed from the mother’s blood but with inadequate contribution from the father; it has no power of movement.⁷⁶

In the many twentieth-century popular histories of medicine, no explicit attempt was made to explain what is implied by Hippocrates’ ‘fatherhood’: for example, the elision of royal and paternal power in Macfie’s 1907 *The Romance of Medicine*, where ‘The king of the physicians of the period of Greek philosophy was undoubtedly Hippocrates, who is usually called the Father of Medicine’; Withington’s 1921 ‘He is universally known as the Father of Medicine’ and that title is ‘well deserved’; or, in 1931, Stubbs and Bligh’s confident (but mistaken) presentation of ‘for over two thousand four hundred years Hippocrates has been acknowledged as the Father of Medicine’ as ‘incontrovertible fact’.⁷⁷ Sometimes, however, attempts made to justify the title reveal what was then considered important in medicine. For Guthrie in 1945, it was the ‘spirit of scientific inquiry which dominated all the work of Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine, whose leadership, undimmed throughout the centuries, remains unchallenged to this day’: the theme here is authority.⁷⁸ Poynter and Keele suggested that the title was due to the combination of ‘careful observation of the symptoms and signs of disease’ and ‘a systematic study of the structure and function of the human body in health and disease’: the implication here is that the father and his sons – the current medical profession – share the same qualities.⁷⁹

What about Galen? Galen was never the Father of Medicine, but the ‘Prince of Physicians’, ‘prince’ not in the sense of ‘heir to the throne’, but a Roman *princeps*, ‘first among equals’, accepted by his peers as most fully embodying

those qualities which they themselves share. Hippocrates, too, could be a *princeps*, as in the prefatory material to the 1525 Latin translation of the Hippocratic Corpus by Calvi where he is 'without dispute, of all physicians, the *princeps*' while in the 1546 translation by Stephanus we find 'Hippocrates and Galen, the *principes* of the best medical sect, namely the rational sect'.⁸⁰ Whatever we want medicine to be – rational, empirical, scientific, natural – that is the sort of medicine Hippocrates practised, and he transmits his own qualities to its later practice by 'fathering' it.

Two decades in the slammer?

No matter how flexible we believe the reception of Hippocrates can be, for me the Wikipedia claims for Hippocrates' prison term and his treatise fall into a category all of their own. Other than a correction – 'ambassador' was originally spelled 'embassador' – an attempt to change 'The Complicated Body' to 'The Complicated boy', a short-lived piece of vandalism in replacing 'ambassador for medicine' with 'ambassador for bullying', and an (unfortunately) unsuccessful attempt to make 'Historians agree that ...' into 'Historians don't agree that ...' they survived unchallenged from their insertion on 12 December 2010 to their deletion in October 2014.⁸¹ One attempt was made to delete the whole section, but this was purely to replace it with the words 'Paige Durkin', and the section was back online within four hours.⁸² An addition was made on 15 November 2012 to the effect that Hippocrates was given his 'twenty-year prison sentence for sodomizing his mother and killing his family', but that was deleted and reverted in less than an hour.⁸³ There was also an unsuccessful attempt to add to this section 'Hippocrates had sex with Dora the explorer every night'.⁸⁴

Most significantly, during their four years on the page, the claims for the prison term and the treatise were widely repeated online and, despite their deletion, the nature of the internet means that they still survive: I shall discuss some examples in the next section. Not surprisingly, I have not found the claims cited in print media before 2010, but after the creation of these myths on Wikipedia they spread beyond the internet as well; for example Volume 1 of *The Puffin History of the World* (2013) tells children that Hippocrates 'wrote a

book, *The Complicated Body*’ while another children’s book published in the same year states that Hippocrates spent twenty years in prison because his ‘medical ideas contradicted many of the beliefs of his time.’⁸⁵ Children’s books are not the only places to find these myths; they also feature in work for an adult audience that one would expect to have been through peer review. For example, the preface to Michael A. Taylor’s *Hippocrates Cried: The Decline of American Psychiatry*, published by OUP in 2013, presents the familiar Hippocrates who argued that disease arose from ‘environmental factors, poor diet, and unhealthy living habits’ rather than the gods, before stating ‘Hippocrates’ novel opinions about disease and treatments got him into hot water with the Hellenistic powers that were and he was imprisoned for 20 years. He did not waste this time, however, and spent it writing several of his most famous treatises such as *The Complicated Body*.’⁸⁶

No time wasting: while in the Wikipedia original, Hippocrates merely ‘endured’ his jail sentence, here he becomes a role model for the Protestant work ethic, as in a similar comment in an online biography, ‘In fact, he used his time in prison productively as he wrote “The Complicated Body”’.⁸⁷ Here, the message becomes how an initial obstacle proves to be a benefit. This ‘productive’ approach perhaps suggests one possibility for the origin of the prison story; Hippocrates’ older contemporary Anaxagoras was imprisoned for denying that the sun was a god, and continued to work while in prison on the mathematical problem of ‘squaring the circle.’⁸⁸ This puzzle was also attempted by Hippocrates’ namesake, the mathematician Hippocrates of Chios. Perhaps somehow the names of the mathematicians have been swapped?

Another myth in Taylor’s brief preface to *Hippocrates Cried* is that Hippocrates died ‘in his 80s, probably at the hands of another physician.’⁸⁹ I have not located this story anywhere else; it is possible that it represents confusion with yet another Hippocrates, the Spartan governor, killed by Alcibiades according to Plutarch’s biography of the latter.⁹⁰ Murder features in a further medical Hippocrates story, but with Hippocrates as criminal not victim: in a medieval legend, with a delightful disregard for around 700 years of history, Galen is Hippocrates’ nephew, and Hippocrates murders him when he becomes too successful as a doctor.⁹¹ As for Hippocrates’ own death, Wikipedia currently restricts itself to ‘Several different accounts of his death exist.’⁹² The year given for Hippocrates’ death has varied on this page; changed

from c. 370 BCE to c. 377 BCE on 13 December 2010, this was rapidly changed back to the original. A further attempt on 13 January 2011 also failed, briefly reverting not to 370 but to 369, until 370 was reinstated on the following day.⁹³ There have been subsequent attempts to insert 377, but 370 remains the default position. As for the cause of death, another 'conspiracy theory' – 'some believe the government killed him' – was inserted on 9 September 2011 but rapidly removed.⁹⁴

Spreading the myths

As Schultze and Bytwerk showed in the case of a fake Goebbels quote, 'The originator, whoever he or she was, lost all control over the original fabrication once it first appeared online. Originals can easily beget more copies of the fabrication no matter what the first author later intends.'⁹⁵ As with other Wikipedia articles, this Hippocrates story is widely copied by other websites. Answers.com, with its over-optimistic tag line, 'Making the world better, one answer at a time,' includes the question 'Did Hippocrates get put in prison?' and gives the answer 'He was in prison for twenty years.'⁹⁶ Another question there, 'How important was the influence of Hippocrates on Roman and medieval medicine', receives one answer copied straight from the Wikipedia entry:

Historians agree that Hippocrates was born around the year 460 BC on the Greek island of Kos (Cos) and became a famous ambassador for medicine against the strong opposing infrastructure of Greece. For this opposition he endured a twenty year prison sentence during which he wrote very well known medical publications such as "The Complicated Body", encompassing many of the things we know to be true today.⁹⁷

In another variant on this site, the Wikipedia wording on the prison sentence and the new book is followed immediately by the multiple anachronism that 'During medieval times the church was the main medical care and because of this Hippocrates theories were taught because Hippocrates had the church in mind at all times and his treatment usually involved God or the bible.'⁹⁸ This mixes Wikipedia with something entirely incomprehensible, as well as chronologically impossible.⁹⁹ It recalls another, but more elegant, chronological

mishmash described by Vivian Nutton; the *Oath* as taken in Basel from 1570–1868, sworn before ‘God the One and Three, the father of Hygieia and Panacea’.¹⁰⁰ In the ancient Greek version of the Hippocratic *Oath*, the doctor swears by Asclepius and his daughters, Hygieia (Health) and Panacea (All-Heal).

While the original Wikipedia phrasing, that Hippocrates was imprisoned because he was a ‘famous ambassador for medicine against the strong opposing infrastructure of Greece’, is often repeated verbatim, many users find this wording so opaque that they modify it. For example, ‘Plato’ posted in ‘Classical Wisdom Weekly’ on 12 March 2013, moving the words around so that Hippocrates ‘was a strong proponent for medicine, even when it was opposing the infrastructure of Greece. As a result he endured a period of twenty years inside a prison where he authored many famous medical works, such as *The Complicated Body*’.¹⁰¹ In another variant, it was ‘his opposition against prevalent beliefs in Greece at the time regarding medicine’ which led to his prison sentence.¹⁰² Others have tried to combine the support for medicine and the ‘infrastructure’ with what they think they know about Hippocrates as an opponent of religion; he was ‘jailed for 20 years’ ‘because he was a strong proponent of medicine being separate from religion’.¹⁰³ Again, this would resonate with the imprisoned Anaxagoras being punished for accounting for the sun in entirely natural terms.

In this story, then, Hippocrates is a rebel, not the voice of medical orthodoxy. Yet popular receptions are here very far from current scholarly views on what the Hippocratic texts say on religion. Did ‘Hippocrates’ fight against superstition, or religion, or both? The presentation of Hippocrates (historically, known as ‘the divine Hippocrates’) as the rational opponent of anything supernatural ignores the place of ‘the divine’ in the Hippocratic Corpus; Philip van der Eijk noted that the author of *On the Sacred Disease* shows ‘a sincere religiosity in his vigorous defence of religion and his combat against magic and superstition’, a key plank of which is that it is impious to accuse the gods of causing a disease.¹⁰⁴ Isabelle Torrance described the *Oath* – which calls on all the Greek gods as witnesses – as ‘a religious text which binds the medical student to his craft through the invocation of a series of divinities’.¹⁰⁵

The popular tradition much prefers simple dualisms here: light and dark, clean and dirty, science and religion. Nuland, for example, claims that

Hippocratic medicine 'provided the clear light which led Greek medicine out of the mire of theurgy and witchcraft'.¹⁰⁶ Bringing witchcraft into the mix is an odd move: the default position of the tradition has long been that not witches but priests are Hippocrates' rivals, as in the ancient stories that he himself had once been a priest, that his treatments were based on the inscriptions in the temple of Asclepius on Cos which described what the god had ordered patients to do, and that he burned a temple library to disguise his reliance on what he had learned as a priest.¹⁰⁷ Temkin rightly described this as 'The fable of the development of clinical medicine from temple medicine', but it remains alive and well, particularly among medical writers.¹⁰⁸

In October 2012, on his website *Weeks MD*, Bradford S. Weeks repeated the twenty years in prison story. He used the usual dualistic language in describing Hippocrates as someone 'credited with bringing medicine out of the realms of superstition and into the light of science' who

did some serious time. In his day, illness was understood to derive from Gods who were displeased and the remedy was delivered by the priest (after receiving adequate payment). Whether the cure worked or not, depended upon your degree of sin and the priest kept the payment regardless. If disease persisted, the only option was to go back to the priest and pay more . . . The priests, their status and livelihood threatened, conspired with their political cronies to imprison their competition, Hippocrates, for 20 years.¹⁰⁹

Whodunnit, here? The priests: their motive for silencing Hippocrates, financial. For many readers of the Wikipedia prison story, the priests represent the 'strong opposing infrastructure' and they work with their friends in politics, meaning that 'the establishment' more generally can be seen as responsible for Hippocrates' unjust treatment. In the way Hippocrates plays out on the internet, the message of money is often near the surface, recalling the story of him refusing the gifts offered by the Persian king in return for his services.¹¹⁰ The priests are venal and value money: Hippocrates is honest and values something higher. This can be read as saying that modern medicine is ruled by the attempts of the pharmaceutical industry to sell its products: Hippocrates offers a simple, cheaper and more 'natural' solution to illness.

Other non-fiction (if that is the right word here) interpretations of the prison story have been created. Sean Patrick's 2013 motivational book, *Awakening your Inner Genius*, was marketed *inter alia* by telling potential

readers that they can discover ‘How Hippocrates’ epic quest to reform medicine in ancient Greece was fueled by his unparalleled judgment, and how you too can sharpen your ability to make the right decisions at the right times.’¹¹¹ Here, Hippocrates becomes a sort of proto-Socrates. Using Hippocrates, you can learn ‘how to sharpen your judgement to a razor’s edge.’¹¹² In Chapter 9, Patrick added yet more to the original Wikipedia prison story, stating that the ‘governing authorities – who claimed they were the spokespeople for the gods of health’ resisted Hippocrates’ ‘reform’. They

ordered Hippocrates to cease his teachings at once . . . Arriving in small rural city to treat citizens, he was arrested for disrespecting the gods. He was quickly sentenced to indefinite detention in state prison . . . while incarcerated, he wrote one of his most famous works, *The Complicated Body*, which contains many physiological conclusions that we know to be true today. Hippocrates spent nearly two decades in prison before finally being released.

Here Hippocrates is condemned by a coalition of the state and religion. He has already been warned not to teach; he goes on treating patients, but avoids the big cities (perhaps because he is more likely to be noticed if he goes there); the original sentence he receives is longer (does he have time off for good behaviour?); and, once again, *The Complicated Body* is ‘true’.

The Complicated Body

Turning now to this written product of Hippocrates’ incarceration, what precisely is this imaginary text thought to contain? Described – in a strange irony – as the only one of Hippocrates works not ‘lost to history’,¹¹³ in its post-Wikipedia life it has become not just ‘very famous’, revolutionary and ‘true’, but also – as in *Awakening your Inner Genius* – a treatise on physiology.¹¹⁴ Hippocrates ‘wrote *The Complicated Body* while in prison, a work dealing with human mechanics.’¹¹⁵ ‘Most information in the book was verified by modern science’, according to a 2014 account of a visit to Cos by Sylvie Halouzková.¹¹⁶ It was not merely theoretical in approach, because the incarcerated Hippocrates had continued to see patients: ‘During those 20 years, in addition to treating other prisoners (and visiting dignitaries – including, one supposes, numerous priests!) Hippocrates wrote his revolutionary medical text “The Complicated Body.”’¹¹⁷

In late 2017 it featured in a historical novel ('a riveting medical romp through the War of the Roses') by Ornsby Hyde: *Dr William Hobbys: The promiscuous king's promiscuous doctor*.¹¹⁸ The eponymous hero corrects another character with

Hippocrates was born some four and a half centuries before Christ, and I am sure we are all familiar with his texts, *On the Physician* and *The Complicated Body* in which he also described the swelling of the terminal digit of the fingers called drumstick fingers, which you may perhaps have noticed the Queen also shows. Hippocrates thought this was due to chronic suppuration.

There is no mention of this symptom or its causes in *On the Physician*.¹¹⁹

For some, it is a general medical textbook. For example, *The Health Moderator* stated 'While in prison Hippocrates wrote a number of medical treatises such as *The Complicated Body*, encompassing many of the things about the body we know to be true today. Medicine at the time of Hippocrates knew little about anatomy and physiology because of the Greek taboo forbidding the dissection of humans.'¹²⁰ Another site invites us (how?) to 'review' it for ourselves:

he wrote 'The Complicated Body,' a treatise that was many centuries ahead of its time. A great deal of what we know today to be true in modern medicine can be traced to the material in this work. Upon reviewing it, most will agree Hippocrates truly does deserve the title of being the "Father of Western Medicine".¹²¹

However, some people on the internet think they know even more about the specific contributions of this non-existent treatise. In 2012 one blogger developed the Wikipedia article to the effect that:

Hippocrates was imprisoned for 20 years over his belief that diseases had natural causes rather than as the result of superstitions and gods. While he was in prison, he wrote a paper called 'The Complicated Body' and included his belief in the healing power of nature and that the body could heal itself. His writing encompassed many things about the body that we know to be true today.¹²²

The Complicated Body must contain whatever is considered the essence of Hippocratic medicine; here, Nature as cause and as healer, a view commonly attributed to Hippocrates, as in Wikipedia's 'Hippocrates is credited with being

the first person to believe that diseases were caused naturally, not because of superstition and gods' or its source, Nuland's 'the human body tends to heal itself'.¹²³

In 2011, 'Sara C.' created a photo-book on mixbook.com called 'Hippocrates. The Pursuit to the Truth'.¹²⁴ Here we are told a lot of 'facts' about Hippocrates; he learned to read, write, spell, and play music at the young age of nine. Soon after, he went to a secondary school where he had two years of thorough athletic training. This is based on the online *Encyclopedia of World Biography*: 'After nine years of physical education, reading, writing, spelling, music, singing, and poetry, he went to a secondary school, where he spent two years and had very thorough athletic training.' In Sara C.'s interpretation, however, he must have started his education at birth.¹²⁵ The *Encyclopedia of World Biography* mentions neither the prison sentence nor *The Complicated Body* – probably this entry was created before the Wikipedia page was enhanced – but Sara C. naturally also drew on Wikipedia, particularly for her section 'Jail Time'. She picked up Hippocrates as 'the first person to believe that diseases were caused naturally, not because of superstition and gods' and the twenty-year imprisonment, but also incorporated further elements into the myth of *The Complicated Body*, explaining:

As Hippocrates continued to pursue his career in medicine, it was realized that his ideas and theories were contradicting the Greek politics and governance. He believed that diseases were prevalent due to natural cause not as a result of superstition and gods. For this very reason, the physician spent twenty years in prison. While in jail Hippocrates wrote the well-known book of medicine, *The Complicated Body*. This book discusses many of the well-known ailments of the human body such as asthma and allergies. However, during his time the anatomy and physiology of the human body was not perfected, due to the Greek taboo forbidding the dissection of humans.¹²⁶ Hippocrates pursued his idea of how diseases occur and his belief is his pursue to find truth.

So Sara C. assumes the opposition to Hippocrates was due to his support of natural causes at a time when 'Greek politics and governance' (a gloss presumably based on looking up 'infrastructure' in a dictionary) supported the gods as cause. But 'asthma and allergies' are new to this myth, and pick up other internet sources including asthma sites and answers.com which state that

Hippocrates 'was the first person to describe the symptoms of asthma', that 'it was Hippocrates, particularly in his *Corpus Hippocraticum*, who made asthma a household name', or that he 'defined the disease asthma for the medical community'.¹²⁷ In a version of the story created in early 2019, the text includes remedies: 'In *The Complicated Body*, written by Hippocrates, he writes about the medicinal properties of willow bark and how it could be used to ease pain and reduce fevers'.¹²⁸

One aspect still baffles me: the title. Was *The Complicated Body* chosen entirely at random? Searching online may suggest that the person who created the story based it on a Master's thesis by Nikolaos Angelou on healing from Hippocrates to the Christian Fathers: 'Each humour is tightly related to the corresponding basic elements (fire, air, earth and water) and qualities of matter as well as to a season of the year and particular diseases, all of which are also related to each other forming a complicated body of interdependence'.¹²⁹ However, the timing does not work; the thesis was submitted in August 2012 and the change to the Wikipedia page occurred on 12 December 2010. I have also found one attempt to present 'Corpus' as the author, not the texts. An online biography of Hippocrates with a particularly strange mixture of material that is presented as factual alongside comments that are supposed to be humorous states that 'despite his overwhelming fame there is actually very little we know of the man himself. This is because most of his work we know from the writings of Corpus, a practitioner under Hippocratic medicine and not from Hippocrates'.¹³⁰ Later in the short biography, however, its writer Kevin Lepton reverts to 'the Hippocratic Corpus' as a collection of medical works by several authors.

A post-doctoral researcher from Utrecht, Aiste Celkyte, suggested another possibility after I spoke there in June 2018. She wondered if the title *The Complicated Body* could somehow be a mistranslation of 'Hippocratic Corpus'. While I could see how 'corpus' could become 'body', how could 'complicated' enter the picture? She pointed out that in the period around 2010, when she was an undergraduate and when the insertion to the page was made, there were some unreliable Latin-English dictionaries online which gave what she described as 'very strange and elaborate translations of even simple words'.¹³¹ While the dictionaries now available online are very different to what was available in 2010, she noted that the dictionary *Ultralingua* gives as their final

translation of the word ‘corpus’ ‘a whole composed of parts united, a body, frame, system, structure, community, corporation.’¹³² This suggests that the word implies some complex structure, so the author of that paragraph from Wikipedia might have found the phrase ‘Corpus Hippocraticum’, assumed it was the name of a single treatise, googled for a Latin dictionary and then chosen ‘a more flowery translation’ from those offered. We can only speculate as to the editor’s original intention. Others who have heard me speak on the topic have also noted possible links in the story to Socrates, as an imprisoned visionary, and to Adolf Hitler, who wrote the first part of *Mein Kampf* in prison.

From coercion to freedom

There is, however, one more question to consider: why does the story of Hippocrates in jail resonate so powerfully on the internet? Many modern reworkings contain a negative message about mainstream medicine today, often building on the themes addressed by the satirist Richard Armour: “There are some fascinating legends about Hippocrates. One is that he never gave a thought to money. Another is that he admitted his errors. The reader should keep in mind that these are legends.”¹³³ Here, Hippocrates stands for a better past which did not really exist, characterized by no concerns for payment and honesty about results. Commonly, as well as being the Father of Medicine, he also represents active resistance to medicine today. In *Assassin’s Creed: Odyssey*, when the Spartan soldier Alexios meets Hippocrates, he knows it is him because he doesn’t follow ‘tradition’: ‘Challenging tradition ... you must be Hippokrates.’¹³⁴ This is the Hippocrates who is the first, who is not held back by the past, and who resists ‘the authorities’ or ‘the infrastructure’. It is not the Hippocrates who himself became ‘the tradition’.

The main critiques of modern medicine contained in retellings of Hippocrates now are that it is all about money, controlled by the government, and refuses to accept it is wrong. *The Health Moderator* likes the story of Hippocrates in prison because the site stands for ‘health freedom issues that affect our right to choose our own pathway to health’; for protecting the individual against ‘governmental restrictions and regulations that affect our ability to practice our “health beliefs” as we see fit.’¹³⁵ This Hippocrates, therefore,

was 'opposed by authorities, who considered themselves mediators and spokesmen for their many gods, including those who ruled health . . . Now all we need to do is de-fang the profiteering pharmaceuticals, the Monsantos and their GMOs—along with their coercive handmaidens among the government agencies—and return to genuine choice and food freedom.'¹³⁶

The use of Hippocrates not as representative of current medicine but as a challenge to it is not new. As John Harley Warner pointed out in his study of the Hippocrates of antebellum America, this is a complex manoeuvre; there too, the stories told about him 'called for revolt while invoking the theme of return.'¹³⁷ For British medicine in the interwar period, Hippocrates 'offered an ideal to invoke against specialism and some forms of state medicine' as part of a move back to the individual doctor and the individual patient.¹³⁸ In an article predating the Wikipedia insertion, Wesley J. Smith (not to be confused with the scholar of ancient medicine, Wesley D. Smith), a lawyer and activist against abortion, euthanasia and cloning, and an opponent of 'scientocracy' – the situation in which scientists determine what is ethical – argued in favour of 'Defending the *Hippocratic Oath*,' and for 'the importance of conscience in health care.' He stated that what he called the 'coercive trend' in US medicine dates from the Mayor of New York City 'mandating abortion training for all OB/GYN residents working in the city's public hospitals' other than those who could assert their conscience.¹³⁹ Since then, he claimed, conscience clauses across the world had been dropped, with doctors who refuse to perform abortions being compelled to refer a woman to a doctor who will.¹⁴⁰

Hippocrates provides a rallying call not only to resist the state and its demands, but also to fight back against 'Big Pharma,' the derogatory term for the global pharmaceutical industry and for what is perceived as its infiltration of all areas of our lives. For the US, Rebecca Carley, an anti-vaccination and alternative medicine provider who will be discussed further in Chapter 7, made the following claim: 'Note that it is actually illegal to use the "cure" word when using natural therapies due to the corrupt influence of Big Pharma on lawmakers.'¹⁴¹ As is the case here, criticism of Big Pharma is often linked to the promotion of an anti-vaccination agenda. In April 2014, the US satirical site GomerBlog posted 'New Medical Graduate Takes Hippocratic Oath, Followed by Big Pharma, Government Vaccine Oath,' a story in which a medical graduate takes in quick succession his public *Hippocratic Oath* and a secret oath 'To

forever hold the true knowledge of toxic vaccines and all the dangers that accompany them, a secret forever'.¹⁴² A discussion of the situation in the Philippines, where a Traditional Alternative Medicine Act was passed in 1998 and promoted various medicinal plants, argues that the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) there is not actively encouraging this, speculating: 'Sometimes I wonder whether FDA's passivity on its obligation to promote the aforesaid plant cures is proof its officials' "golden fidelity" to the Big Pharma.'¹⁴³

Developing the themes of resistance to the state and to Big Pharma, the story of Hippocrates in prison can become one of his many areas of appeal to alternative and complementary medicines. For example, it accounts for an article on 'Who was Hippocrates?' appearing on the website 'Rethinking Cancer', run by the Foundation for Advancement in Cancer Therapy, which promotes 'non-toxic biological approaches' to cancer treatment and prevention; if Hippocrates 'were living today . . . he would be disregarded or limited in his work by those who now claim him as their patron saint and swear to the oath that bares [sic] his name'.¹⁴⁴

Using the word 'Hippocratic' or 'Hippocrates' may be about distinguishing one type of medicine from others, or about promoting a particular approach to the body – the holistic Hippocrates, or the natural foods Hippocrates, both of whom will be discussed later in this book. It also claims a connection with the idealized 'Father of Medicine'. Hippocrates is 'timeless' but he wrote within a particular context. In the Wikipedia myth of Hippocrates in prison, he becomes a role model for hard work and for altruism: he can make the most of a bad situation, and he treats both prisoners and visiting dignitaries. He did not accept the status quo, particularly in religion. The imaginary treatise *The Complicated Body* reinforces the message that what he wrote is still true today. The book is about physiology, or about physiology and anatomy, or lists diseases including asthma and allergies. It is revolutionary: it can still be read: indeed, it is the only one of his works that survives.

For the users of Hippocrates described here, he remains a force for good, and an ideal to which to aspire. In the words of Dr Weeks, 'So, now you know the true history: Hippocrates spend [sic] two decades in the slammer for practicing above the standard of care.'¹⁴⁵ Only he didn't.